LOOKING FORWARD TO THE PAST: BAROQUE ROCK'S POSTMODERN
NOSTALGIA AND THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

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In the mid-1960s, baroque rock music blended the sound of string quartets, harpsichord ostinatos, and contrapuntal techniques with rock instrumentation. This contemporary representation of the distant past presents an ironic anachronism that is humorous in its novel affect while allowing this dissonance to alert the listener about constructions of memory and the perception of time. Some of the biggest names in rock and roll were influenced by the Early Music revival but took a non-linear approach to history rather than undertaking "historically informed performance." They cultivated what I call postmodern nostalgia: a symptom of crisis and progress that is simultaneously reflexive in its detached interpretation of history and imagined in its participants' ability to reference a past they have not themselves experienced. Through close examinations of artist interviews, album critiques, publicity materials, and musical analysis, I argue that baroque rock artists utilized stylistic representations of the past not out of a desire to return to a simpler time (as is often the narrative associated with nostalgia), but to react against modernism, mainstream society, and traditional norms. Even though baroque rock artists were engaging with the canonization of baroque music, they were influenced by their own modern-day conceptions of the past. Viewing the movement through the lens of memory politics, hipness, and postmodernism, my research shows that baroque rock artists re-imagined hipness with sounds of the distant past in order to question the truth of nostalgic memory. This study includes backward and forward-looking approaches to history as it documents the cultural, social, and historical implications of an overlooked subgenre that is mentioned but in passing in

popular music scholarship. Its significance lies in its examination of music's power to reconstruct sounds of the distant past through an ironic interpretation of historical memory. Memory politics is applied to popular music not to point out that profit can be made by catering to the aesthetics of nostalgia, but rather to question why one is nostalgic at all.

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PREFACE

I will begin by including a blanket "thank you" to my family, friends, professors, and colleagues at Youngstown State University, University of Liverpool, and the University of Pittsburgh in order to avoid the dissertation equivalent of the "wrap it up" music they play at awards ceremonies to indicate that the recipient has talked too long. Thank you for all of your indispensable support (emotional, financial, and otherwise) throughout the years. I would like to give special thanks to the Center for Popular Music Studies at Case Western Reserve University and the University of Pittsburgh's Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences for awarding me fellowships that supported research at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum, Library and Archives. I am grateful for the archive staff but especially Jennie Thomas and Anastasia Karel who made my experiences at the archives not only productive but enjoyable. I would like to extend gratitude to my committee members who supported me throughout the entire process. Your never-ending commitment to students is an attribute I am both grateful for and motivated to replicate throughout my career. Thank you, Deane Root for your wisdom, your helpful commentary on music and life in the 1960s, and for helping me prepare for my first conference presentation as a graduate student. Thank you, Joyce Bell for continuing to serve on my committee while traveling from Pittsburgh to Boston to Minneapolis and for providing feedback that helped me find productive ways to discuss the sociology of music. Thank you, Emily Zazulia for your willingness to remain on my committee while traveling all over the world,

having a child, and starting a new job. Your willingness to read materials, provide constructive and supportive feedback, and offer career advice through prompt e-mails and Skype chats helped me in ways I cannot express. I don't know how you found the time but I'm forever grateful that you did. Thank you, Michael Heller for giving me the opportunity to workshop portions of my Prospectus in your writing course and for writing me an unwieldly number of recommendation letters. Thank you for forever changing the way I approach writing by showing me the power of the "Write first. Edit later" mantra. This dissertation would have taken exponentially longer without you. Thank you, Jim Cassaro, my advisor, teacher, mentor, and friend, for your unwavering support. Your fervent belief in my abilities, your passionate pep talks, and our engaging discussions about music and life were all the motivation I needed. Thank you for editing my Virginia Woolf style-sentences and for providing invaluable feedback. Most importantly, thank you for your literal "open door" policy which allowed me to frantically appear at your office door seeking advice. You will never know how much it meant to me and how much I will miss our unscheduled, daily meetings. I simply cannot thank you enough. Lastly, I dedicate this dissertation in memory of my grandma, who always brought music, love, and laughter wherever she went. Thank you for sharing your love of music, nurturing my creativity, and introducing me to live musical theater. This one is also for my Mom:

> "My ultimate inspiration comes from my best friend, the dazzling woman from whom I received my name and my life's blood. My mother never gave me any idea that I couldn't do whatever I wanted to do or be whomever I wanted to be. I don't know if she ever realized that the person I most wanted to be was her. Thank you, Mom. You are my guidepost for everything."

> —Rory Gilmore, *Gilmore Girls*

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The Beatles' "In My Life" (1965) appears to be a straightforward folk-rock ballad, at least until it is interrupted halfway through by a harpsichord solo that seems to call from the eighteenth century.[1] Out of nowhere the guitar and drums give way to anachronistic trills, pedal point ostinatos, and contrapuntal lines in this unconventional bridge. Many of us have heard this song so many times that the strangeness of this moment has been smoothed over by familiarity, but if we were able to hear it anew, we might be surprised to hear an instrument associated with Old-World aristocracy encroaching on the rock soundscape. From the start, the song's lyrics meditate on the past and the bittersweet feelings evoked by recollection. It is only when the lyrics shift to John Lennon's recognition that memories lose their meaning when faced with the reality of the present that the listener is sonically transported back in time. This musical manipulation of chronological time is a sonic manifestation of memory's ability to reconstruct the past in order to influence present perceptions. Baroque instrumentation and style are not sounds one would expect from a genre whose raucous, incessant beats were once accused of degenerating the youth. This curious sound combination is known as baroque rock because it blended the neoclassic sound of string quartets, harpsichord ostinatos, and contrapuntal techniques with rock instrumentation. It was used not only by the Beatles but by many other rock groups including the

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[1] Paul Elie, *Reinventing Bach* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), 276.
George Martin admits that the baroque "harpsichord" solo was performed on a piano down at half normal speed and played back at double-speed "because you get a harpsichord sound by shortening the attack of everything."

Beach Boys, the Kinks, the Left Banke, Procol Harum, and the Rolling Stones. Why would these rock artists, later praised for creating revolutionary music and breaking away from mainstream society, turn to the sound of a distant past? Why do scholars and critics point to 1965 as the beginning of baroque rock? What was happening during the mid-sixties that might have inspired the birth of this new subgenre? What influenced the subgenre, who are its major players, and where are its major hubs of creativity? How does our engagement with representations of a past we can never experience affect our reading and understanding of these textual representations in the present?

I argue that the 1960s counterculture, concerned with war, technology, modernism, and conformity, found musical and cultural solace in a historical turn. Music of the distant past offered a solution to the counterculture's consumption crisis because it provided respite from the mainstream ideals of capitalism and the corporate machine. Postmodernism questioned hierarchies of "high/low," commercial/non-commercial, and past/present and operated concurrently with an increased ability to access the distant past through technological advancements. Baroque rock's postmodern aesthetic of blending these hierarchies appealed to the countercultural values of esotericism and all things deemed "not mass." Baroque rock artists utilized stylistic representations of the past not out of a desire to return to a simpler time (as is often the narrative associated with nostalgia), but to react against modernism, mainstream society, and traditional norms. They participated in what I refer to as postmodern nostalgia: a symptom of crisis and progress that is simultaneously reflexive in its detached interpretation of history and imagined in its participants' ability to reference a past they have not themselves

experienced.[2] Postmodern nostalgia involves contemporary representations of the past that challenge the listener to question the truth of nostalgic memory. This questioning process creates awareness about how we remember the past and how that affects our perception of present experiences. Even though baroque rock artists were engaging with the canonization of baroque music, they were influenced by their own modern-day conceptions of the past. Their goal was never to create historically informed performances but instead to adapt baroque style to a rock context in order to create commentary about the present and the future. Viewing the movement through the lens of memory politics and its' relation to history, postmodernism, and popular culture, I argue that baroque rock artists participated in postmodern nostalgia, performed through detached interpretations of history and stylistic allusions to the past, in order to reimagine hipness with sounds of the distant past.[3]

1.1   WHAT IS BAROQUE ROCK?

Like most genres, baroque rock is difficult to define because the process of genre categorization is firmly rooted in exclusion and inclusion. Genres should not be viewed as lists of musical characteristics but rather as an expression of identity enacted through the interaction between performers and listeners. Forcing baroque rock into a single definition would miss the point of the 1960s rock revolution which witnessed a burgeoning music scene that embraced pluralistic

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[2] Music scholar Lisa Scoggin's *The Music of Animaniacs: Postmodern Nostalgia in a Cartoon World* (2016) includes the term "postmodern nostalgia" in the title but not in the main text. Her work focuses on the nostalgia for *Looney Tunes*' postmodern music and *Animaniacs*' ability to bring modern sensibilities to the past.

[3] I use "baroque rock artists" to refer to bands who identified themselves as baroque rock groups as well as bands who occasionally created hit songs with baroque instrumentation and style.

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styles. Baroque rock, folk rock, raga rock, psychedelic rock, or any other subgenre under the umbrella of rock would not exist without this pluralistic state of mind.

However, genre categories are necessary in order to easily see the connection between musical styles of one genre in relation to another, and how meaning is circulated within the interconnected web of performers, producers, and consumers. The boundaries between baroque rock and other genres are quite fluid and change over time as artists are influenced by various places and moments in music history. Baroque rock participated in what Phil Ford refers to as a "transnational, transcultural, transtemporal chain of influence"[4] as it was influenced by pop from the 1940s and '50s, Early Music, R&B, early rock 'n' roll, and folk music which was made possible by merchant seamen and soldiers traveling between port cities in the United States and Britain as well as U.K. record labels that had access to the U.S. market. Baroque rock subsequently influenced novelty music that blended baroque and rock styles, psychedelic rock, bubblegum pop, and eventually progressive rock.

The only published definitions of baroque rock are provided by rock journalist Lillian Roxon and music business executive Arnold Shaw in their comprehensive dictionaries and encyclopedias on pop and rock music. In *Lillian Roxon's Rock Encyclopedia*, Roxon does not provide a straightforward definition but instead includes examples of bands and songs that fall into the category. She references the Bach cantata in Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale," Chrysalis' use of a harpsichord on double speed, and New York Rock and Roll Ensemble's blending of rock and baroque.[5] These examples imply that Roxon includes both baroque instrumentation and style as well as complete melodic appropriations of baroque works into her definition. In the glossary of Arnold Shaw's *The Rock Revolution*, he defines the subgenre as

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[4] Phil Ford, *Dig: Sound and Music in Hip Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 34.
[5] Lillian Roxon, *Lillian Roxon's Rock Encyclopedia* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1969), 24.

"The sound and also the instrumentation of music of the Bach era."[6] He explains that ensembles in Bach's era included bowed instruments, recorders, valveless horns, pre-Boehm flutes, and harpsichord played in a contrapuntal style. However, he does not discuss how baroque rock bands engaged with these instruments and styles, leaving (much like Roxon) "A Whiter Shade of Pale" as a shining example of the subgenre. This is an interesting choice considering that the song is contrapuntal but does not include any of the aforementioned instrumentation, furthering my argument that baroque rock was a pastiche, uninterested in "historically accurate" instrumentation. Both Roxon and Shaw suggest that baroque rock was commercially unsuccessful with the exception of Procol Harum's outlier perhaps explaining why it is written out of pop and rock histories that take a more positivistic approach. Their limiting definition, while helpful in bringing an awareness to baroque rock at the time, does not account for bands that may not have identified as baroque rock groups but nevertheless created hit songs with baroque instrumentation and style.

Baroque rock incorporates instrumentation not commonly found in popular music such as harpsichord, violin, cello, oboe, flute, French horn, and piccolo trumpet into rock instrumentation associated with electric guitars, bass, and drum set. Performers typically played on modern instruments that sounded similar to their baroque counterparts, indicating the subgenre's tendency to represent a stereotypical view of baroque instrumentation and style rather than a historically informed performance. Baroque rock attempts to imitate the style of the baroque period through the use of counterpoint, fugue, ornamentation, and ostinato. For the purpose of this dissertation, I define baroque rock as rock music that utilizes both baroque instrumentation *and* style because it situates the subgenre in the 1960s. Harpsichords and string arrangements

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[6] Arnold Shaw, *The Rock Revolution* (New York: Paperback Library, 1971), 231.

were used in popular music before baroque rock began in 1965 but they rarely ever focused on baroque style. Since baroque rock relies on a stereotypical pastiche style, the definition does not include rock (or pop) music that appropriates the entire melody of a baroque piece while changing very little or improvising over the melody. However, the definition does include rock music that incorporates quotations of baroque pieces and/or uses the style of a specific piece as a foundation for a rock song. While baroque rock incorporated period style and instrumentation into the rock format of two to three minute songs, progressive rock included flamboyantly impressive and virtuosic solos within a symphonic framework or multi-movement song cycles with each movement lasting upward of ten minutes. A dialogic process also occurs between baroque rock, psychedelic rock, and progressive rock because these three subgenres began around the same time period, continually influenced each other, and shared similar musical characteristics.

The terms baroque rock and baroque pop are often used interchangeably due to the connotations of rock and pop genres. For instance, the "pop" referred to in baroque pop can be associated with the general category of popular music, suggesting the importance of blending the perceived distinction between high art (i.e., baroque) and low art (i.e., popular music). "Pop" may also refer to the genre's lighter sound in contrast to most rock music of the 1960s that relied on heavy drum beats and sound distortion. I prefer the term baroque rock as it connects with rock's ideas of anti-commercialism and desire for experimentation. Rock (including its subgenres) and pop music were similar in their two to three minute single lengths, repetitive chord progressions, and simple structures; however, rock's desire to break from these industry-enforced elements was seen in opposition to pop's commercialism in the late 1960s. This suggests that baroque rock is not only a subgenre but an attitude toward modernity in the form of

a hip sensibility, a resistant stance against an unaware world. Baroque rock artists resisted the commodity culture by incorporating the non-commercial music of the baroque period with the commercial music of rock 'n' roll in an attempt to question these distinctions which opened the doors for rock to explore opportunities in experimentation.

1.2   STAKES OF RESEARCH

Although some of the biggest names in rock and roll participated in baroque rock, its coverage in histories of popular and rock music is minimal at best. Books devoted to the history of popular and rock music are the only scholarly resources that specifically mention baroque rock (Shaw 1969 and 1982, Roxon 1969, Gendron 2002, and Brackett 2005). These mentions of the topic are brief as they are usually included within one chapter dedicated to English rock groups. Shaw, Gendron, and Brackett suggest that the subgenre began in 1965 with the release of the Beatles' "Yesterday" as it was the first time classical elements became an essential part of rock rather than just a flourishing touch. Several scholars do not mention baroque rock by name but discuss reasons for the blending of rock and art music such as the Early Music revival (Upton 2012), the popularity of baroque recordings to demonstrate the technological capabilities of LPs (Fink 2005), and art school training of British musicians (Wicke 1990). These are all possible factors influencing the subgenre that should not be looked at individually but as operating within a web of interconnected social factors along with the aesthetic of postmodernism, early popular music string arrangements, labels that recorded popular and classical recordings in the same studio, and the artists' relationships (either professional or personal) with people formally trained in Western art music.

Limited to token mentions, there is no comprehensive study that documents the cultural implications of the subgenre. In fact, baroque rock has been written out of Reebee Garofalo's "Genealogy of Pop/Rock Music."[7] This is no innocent oversight, however: I argue that baroque rock has been written out of the dominant narrative because it is seen as an embarrassing stain on rock's harder image. This embarrassment was evident in the Rolling Stones' decision to give "As Tears Go By" to Marianne Faithfull before feeling comfortable enough to release it themselves; the Beatles initially feared to release "Yesterday" as a single in the U.K. for the same reason. Even the rock mockumentary *This is Spinal Tap* documents hard rocker David St. Hubbins' embarrassment upon hearing his baroque rock hit "Cups and Cakes" on an oldies radio station. By looking at the bands listed in the British Invasion sections of genealogies and history books, one can see that many of these bands wrote songs considered to be baroque rock at some point in their careers.[8] However, the British Invasion label implies that British bands had similar sounds that shared little with other rock styles. This ignores the influence of black vocal groups in the U.S. that used string quartets as well as other U.S. groups that also participated in baroque rock, such as the Beach Boys who are consistently labeled only as a surf group.

Much like the postmodern artists I am writing about, I aim to challenge the barriers between art and popular music; globalization and advancements in recording technology have rendered these distinctions obsolete. My research provides alternative modes of historicizing Baroque texts in order to avoid separating research on the Baroque period and research on contemporary representations of the Baroque. For example, music scholarship focuses on the

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[7] The original hand-drawn version was featured in Garofalo's *Rock 'N' Roll is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry* but a poster version can be found on his website.
Reebee Garofalo, "Poster," accessed March 1, 2015, http://www.reebee.net/rock-genealogy/.
[8] Some examples include the Beatles' "In My Life" (1965), the Rolling Stones' "As Tears Go By" (1965), the Kinks' "Two Sisters" (1967), and Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale" (1967). For additional examples, see Janell R. Duxbury's *Rockin' the Classics and Classicizin' the Rock: A Selectively Annotated Discography* (1985).

history of Bach's works (as understood from a Baroque perspective) while largely ignoring the history of how the Beatles, Procol Harum, and other contemporary artists interpreted these works. This assumes that history operates in only one direction. This willful ignorance has caused rock history to perpetuate an arrow of influence that extends unidirectionally from artists and genres of the past to those of the present. My study remedies this gap by rewriting the narrative in order to account for how the past and present continuously inform one another. I take a closer look at how Bach's music was canonized to the point of sonically representing the entire Baroque period and how baroque rock artists drew on this familiarity to critique canonization's perpetuation of uncritical dominant narratives. Thinking about the fluidity rather than the fixity of time affords individuals the agency to alter their perception of the past in order to serve their contemporary needs.

The non-linear historiography I propose for baroque rock applies beyond the bounds of this particular study. Memory politics' relationship to baroque rock and the Early Music revival provides a model for understanding the social politics connected with contemporary musical representations of the past that apply well beyond the scope of this period. As historians we recognize that the past is never dead and fixed; part of our duty must be to acknowledge how the past seeps into modern life. Throughout this project, I avoid separating history (done by the academy) and memory (done by laymen) because history is nothing more—nor less—than a legacy of memories positioned in the realm of possibility by the academy. Recent turns in academic scholarship have begun to give a voice to those who had long been silenced, and I include voices of memory that typically fall outside of the academy. This includes existing interviews from producers and musicians as well as fan blogs in order to juxtapose the historical work of academics with memories voiced by social actors involved in the music's creation

and/or reception. Baroque rock provides a potent example of artists remembering representations of an historical time period that they reconstructed within their own music in order to create awareness about present experiences and alter socio-cultural hierarchies. Viewing history and memory as coterminous replaces the linear view of history with a view that allows us to remain in the present while thinking about the past in order to form a reconstruction that will determine our future. Theories included in this study can be applied to research of contemporary representations of the past in order to highlight the social and political motivations involved in the ever-changing relationship between memory and history.

1.3   METHODOLOGY

A study like this requires a diverse set of methodologies. Having completed degrees in Music History, Sociology, and Popular Music Studies, I have gathered the necessary skills to discuss baroque rock within its sociohistorical context. I explore the agency of social actors (musicians, producers, record executives, critics, and audience members) that discussed these transtemporal styles across cultures (specifically the United States and Britain, which despite sharing a common tongue, are remarkably different). I draw attention to these social actors' relationships with other actors, geographical space, and historical influences. Baroque rock was not limited to its sounds, expressing its agenda through album art, fashion, and publicity materials. In addition to more traditional musical analysis focusing on instrumentation, style, and lyrics, I broaden my analytic scope in order to place baroque rock within popular culture and society in the 1960s. The postmodern aesthetic and the ways it reflected on the past were not reserved for music alone. I go out of my way to ensure that my musical analyses will be accessible to a wide audience. I

use musical notation sparingly and primarily as a tool to compare and contrast melodic lines. In most cases, even readers uncomfortable reading notation will be able to see the similarities and differences in the figures, especially as they appear in conjunction with descriptions of the sound.

I draw from literature in popular music studies, ethnomusicology, sociology, history, musicology, media studies, philosophy, memory studies, music criticism, business marketing, cultural theory, and anthropology to aid in my analysis of primary sources ranging from art and music to promotional photographs, personal correspondence, newspaper and magazine articles of the era housed at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum Archives. I also draw on existing interviews from producers and musicians as well as fan blogs in order to blend the historical work of academics with memories voiced by social actors involved in the music's creation and/or reception. This insures that the reader understands baroque rock as a cultural practice, not just a subgenre with stylistic similarities to Bach.

Since I focus on the cultural practice of baroque rock and its rise to popularity despite attempts to remain outside of mainstream society, my attention is drawn to commercially successful bands whose baroque-influenced music reached the top ten position on the rock and pop charts. While I discuss the influence and impact of the Beatles, the Zombies, the Rolling Stones, the Kinks, the Beach Boys, Brill Building groups, and the New York Rock & Roll Ensemble, I provide in depth analyses of the Left Banke's "Walk Away Renée" (1966), Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale" (1967), and Big Brother and the Holding Company's "Summertime" (1968), in order to represent the cross-cultural communication between New York, England, and California in relation to the subgenre's chronological development.

1.4   CHAPTER SUMMARY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The dissertation is organized chronologically but also topically. The chapters narrate the history of baroque rock from its influences, to its height of popularity, and finally to its demise and legacy. Topics such as postmodernism, memory politics, hip sensibility, trans-cultural communication, and cultural accreditation are not isolated to their respective chapters, but are woven throughout this timeline in order to determine how sounds of the past became popular during a decade marked by revolutionary change.

Chapter 2 (The New Sensibility and Postmodern Nostalgia) documents the beginning of baroque rock and how it gained popularity during the 1960s. In "One Culture and the New Sensibility," literary theorist Susan Sontag coins the term "new sensibility" which refers to the creation of pluralistic art that challenged the distinction between "high" and "low" (also referred to as "mass" or "popular") art.[9] In a 2000 interview with Evans Chan, Sontag admits that her intent was not to bridge the gap between high and low cultures because cultural hierarchy's stabilization is the main difference between the new sensibility and postmodernism. Sontag suggests that postmodernism's tendency to make everything equivalent makes a product easier to sell, thus reinforcing its participation in consumerist capitalism.[10] Sontag's theories on postmodernism are useful in understanding how people viewed art in the mid-1960s, how these views were changing, and how the attempted destruction of the hierarchy eventually led to mass-consumerism that some rock artists desperately tried to avoid.

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[9] Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (New York: Picador, 1966), 296.

[10] Evans Chan, "Against Postmodernism, etcetera--A Conversation with Susan Sontag," accessed February 9, 2015, http://pmc.iath.virginia.edu/text-only/issue.901/12.1chan.txt.

Baroque rock, whose name alone severs the aforementioned hierarchies, incorporated stylistic connotations of the past into the present ironically rather than earnestly yearning for a former time. Baroque rock operates within the postmodern framework because it was not just a reaction against modernist concepts of art but a response to a modernist view of history, especially as technology (in the form of LP recordings) enabled contemporary artists to easily access the distant past. In *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, political theorist Fredric Jameson discusses "nostalgia films" like *American Graffiti* and notes that "a postmodernist nostalgia art language" and historicity are incompatible as "nostalgia films" do not represent historical content but rather approach "the past through stylistic connotation."[11] Nostalgia, used in this way, draws on stereotypical views of a period's style rather than trying to accurately represent the reality of history, which is a near impossible task. I draw on Jameson's concept of approaching the past through stylistic connotation to account for the lack of historically accurate Baroque instrumentation and counterpoint within the subgenre.

In *Media and Nostalgia: Yearning for the Past, Present and Future*, media studies scholar Katharina Niemeyer and her fellow contributors have a different take on nostalgia as they argue that it is a symptom of crisis as well as of progress. Nostalgia is not just time spent reminiscing about the past but rather a powerful tool that can reshape memory and history. Drawing on theories of nostalgia and postmodernism from media studies, history, and philosophy, I propose the term postmodern nostalgia to refer to an ironic representation of the past that highlights the danger of dominant mythologized versions of history. Postmodern nostalgia utilizes the past in order to comment on the present with a desire to progress into a society that questions its surroundings rather than accepts categorical distinctions as facts.

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[11] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 24.

Therefore, we can view baroque rock not as reactionary or progressive but as a subgenre with backward and forward looking aspects that operates simultaneously within these categories.

Chapter 3 (What is H.I.P? Early Music and the Rock Revolution) draws on the theories set forth in chapter 2 as it connects postmodern nostalgia with the notion of hipness that was so dominant during the 1960s. Drawing on theories of hipness and resistance from popular music studies and sociology, I argue that both the Early Music revival and baroque rock used music of the distant past to resist hegemony inherent in master narratives and hierarchical binaries, providing commentary on contemporary society for a self-reflexive revolution in the minds of their audience.

Musicologist Elizabeth Upton's article "Concepts of Authenticity in Early Music and Popular Music Communities" focuses on how Early Music revivalists rediscovered historical music while simultaneously playing a part in contemporary music. While Elizabeth Upton discusses four waves of Early Music revivals, I am concerned most with the first wave (postwar Baroque revival) because it derives from economic factors of LPs and includes chamber ensembles performing on modern instruments except for the harpsichord. Upton suggests that these sounds influenced popular music as she traces the lineage of the harpsichord within non-classical contexts. Similar to Jameson's theory of stylistic connotations of the past, Upton suggests that Early Music influences in 1960s pop music referenced the nostalgia for a non-specific past rather than a reference to the Baroque era.

The second wave Early Music revival responded with a serious concern for "historically informed performance" or H.I.P. Cultural industries professor Nick Wilson discusses the "rhetorics of Early Music" and their corresponding dualistic oppositions in his book *The Art of Re-enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age*. The first rhetoric is "revolutionary,"

which Wilson describes as the radical steps taken to break away from the umbrella of Classical music and its work-centeredness. The Early Music revival corresponded with the postmodern turn toward moving beyond accepted modes of thought because it focused on social and historical factors of the music rather than just the work. Early music also provided a voice for the underrepresented amateur musician through affordable historical instrument DIY kits in direct opposition to the classical mainstream's professionalization and connection with the elite. Wilson's arguments position the Early Music movement within the revolutionary ideals of the counterculture because the movement was formed in opposition to the classical mainstream which suggests that the movement was not an escape to the past but rather a new way of understanding music. These theories support my thesis that baroque rock and the Early Music revival influenced each other because they both had a postmodern view of music which leads me to argue that H.I.P. is hip only as long as its participants recognize their contemporary biases in their reading of history.

In order to understand the popularity and social significance of the harpsichord in both popular music and Early Music circles, I look to two works by musicologist Jessica Wood. Her "Historical Authenticity Meets DIY: The Mass-Market Harpsichord in the Cold War United States" places the harpsichord in a historical context of the Cold War years by explaining that harpsichords, like home ownership and home improvement projects, possessed the dual qualities of fanciness and accessibility.[12] The harpsichord was associated with aristocracy and esotericism yet was marketed to the mass population as affordable and easy to build. Wood discovers newspaper and magazine articles that discuss the novelty of "do-it-yourself" (DIY) harpsichord kits. Wood is quick to point out the classed implications of historical authenticity during the

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[12] Jessica Wood, "Historical Authenticity Meets DIY: The Mass-Market Harpsichord in the Cold War United States" *American Music* 30 (2012): 230.

Early Music revival of the 1950s and how the makers of the kits wanted to subvert those implications. The harpsichord kit, much like baroque rock, was born with the contradictions of having one foot in the present and one in the past, having the aura of aristocracy while marketed toward a mass audience, and purporting to subvert commercialism while appealing to mainstream consumers.

In "Keys to the Past: Building Harpsichords and Feeling History in the Postwar United States," Wood points out that record companies profited from releasing records of "off-the-beaten-path repertoire" such as Early Music and experimental music following WWII.[13] She explains how novelty sounds such as harpsichords, Theremins, and non-Western percussion instruments were used to showcase the capabilities of high fidelity equipment. This history is useful in terms of discussing the impact of record companies on reproducing sounds of the past and how that influenced baroque rock artists who co-opted novelty sounds initially incorporated to sell new technology in order to create social commentary.

The counterculture questioned historical authenticity by using the past to comment on the present. Baroque rock was not the only source for this commentary as Renaissance faires and the Society for Creative Anachronism flourished in the 1960s and also reflected on the construction of memory and history through the ironic juxtaposition of the past and present. In *Well Met: Renaissance Faires and the American Counterculture*, American studies scholar Rachel Rubin tracks the history of these faires beginning with their establishment in the early 1960s and how they functioned in society as "a resounding slap in the face of 1950s conventions."[14] Rubin explains how these conventions were overturned through rifts in one's relationship to historical

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[13] Jessica Wood, "Keys to the Past: Building Harpsichords and Feeling History in the Postwar United States" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 2010), 111.

[14] Rachel Rubin, *Well Met: Renaissance Faires and the American Counterculture* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 4.

time as a characters' historically informed appearance did not always connect with the contemporary commentary he/she espoused. Rubin also recognizes that in its formative years, the Renaissance fairegoers invested in the countercultural ideal of "authenticity" which focused more on societal issues such as anti-consumerism than on historical exactitude. This concept can be applied to baroque rock and the first wave of the Early Music revival as it forced its listeners to question their relationship with history and how that relationship affects the present.

The relationship between performers, producers, and listeners is explored in Chapter 4 (Coast to Coast and Trans-Atlantic Connections), in order to demonstrate how the renegotiation of hipness is determined by one's surroundings and how that affects the music when it is dispersed transculturally. This chapter draws on theories of race, gender, and place in order to demonstrate how hipness, once a black male's form of protection against white society, was adopted by the counterculture (dominated by white males) as a form of protection against mass society in general. Chapter 4 also traces the lineage of baroque rock by briefly discussing the history of harpsichord and strings in pop music that eventually influenced Brill Building songwriters in New York City. String accompaniments in the music of the Brill Building (and later Detroit's Motown) found its way to the port cities of Liverpool and London through trans-Atlantic record companies, influencing English bands such as the Beatles, the Zombies, the Rolling Stones, and the Kinks.

Popular music scholar Michael Brocken's *Other Voices: Hidden Histories of Liverpool's Popular Music Scenes, 1930s-1970s* is useful for documenting how English bands came into contact with Brill Building records from the United States. Brocken dispels the romanticized myth of the Cunard Yanks, merchant seamen between Liverpool and New York on the Cunard line, bringing R&B records to Liverpool as he suggests that these records were available and sold

in the United Kingdom. Brocken points out that the Beatles' (and other Mersey beat groups) covers of R&B songs are examples of pop music's intertextuality as groups look to the past while attempting to remain relevant in contemporary society.

Meanwhile, the Beach Boys of California began incorporating baroque instrumentation and counterpoint into their songs. San Francisco became the hub of psychedelic and baroque rock toward the end of the decade with music from Big Brother and the Holding Company as well as the Doors. In *Counterculture Kaleidoscope: Musical and Cultural Perspectives on Late Sixties San Francisco*, musicologist Nadya Zimmerman suggests that the counterculture demonstrated its wish to be outside of the political system through pluralism which was demonstrated by its acceptance of multiple and divergent styles. Zimmerman does not specifically mention baroque rock as a genre but her theory of pluralism provides an explanation as to why the counterculture accepted the musical synthesis of two divergent styles such as baroque and rock. The counterculture accessed mainstream capitalism in order to separate themselves from it; but the capitalist system invariably transformed the ideology of the counterculture by broadcasting and selling the counterculture as an antiestablishment fighting against the mainstream. This description of commercialism is useful in explaining how baroque rock transformed into bubblegum rock.

Chapter 5 (Cultural Accreditation) details how the incorporation of a "high" art form raised rock to a level of appreciation by those who held cultural authority (both scholars and critics). This accreditation was signaled by the birth of rock journalism, contemporary popular music courses taught at the university level, television specials devoted to rock music, and the incorporation of rock elements into baroque music by baroque ensembles and art music composers. In *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club: Popular Music and the Avant-Garde*,

philosopher Bernard Gendron defines cultural accreditation as "the acquisition of aesthetic distinction as conferred or recognized by leading cultural authorities."[15] Gendron conceptualizes the Beatles' North American invasion as the beginning of rock 'n' roll's cultural accreditation which is crucial to this dissertation as he tries to pinpoint a definitive beginning of baroque rock. Gendron locates the beginning of baroque rock in the summer of 1965 because baroque music ensembles began arranging Beatles' songs into a baroque framework. By 1966, baroque rock was used to describe rock recordings that used baroque or classical instrumentation.

The gap between "high" and "low" art dissipated as performers from each side of the divide uprooted works from their contexts and placed them in dialogue with works from other eras. Theories of postmodern nostalgia are used to analyze how these performers viewed the past's relation to the present as they retroactively reacted against contemporary society. I analyze how, through the combination of seemingly disparate styles, pluralism became a musical aesthetic that pushed the boundaries of genre classification. Baroque rock, designed to be esoteric in its ironic commentary about traditional modes of musical and cultural thought, drew the attention of cultural figures who assigned aesthetic value to the genre and explained it to the mainstream adult audience it initially resisted. This is exemplified in a 1969 episode of the *Young People's Concerts* series entitled "Bach Transmogrified" and a 1967 CBS News special, *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*. In both broadcasts, composer and conductor Leonard Bernstein highlights baroque rock's stylistic allusions to J.S. Bach in order to prove Bach's hipness, make rock palatable to a mainstream adult audience, and grant cultural accreditation to rock.

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[15] Bernard Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club: Popular Music and the Avant-Garde* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), 161.

Chapter 6 (Hip Consumerism and Baroque Bubblegum) charts the shift from countercultural hipness that resisted mass society and commercialism to a hip consumerism that operated within the mass counterculture (itself an ironic development). Music criticism and industry marketing inform my discussion of the power relations between record companies, performers, and consumers. Hip consumerism is defined by journalist Thomas Frank in *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* as a construct that is "driven by disgust with mass society itself."[16] This theory applies to baroque rock because it was a style that was initially difficult to market due to its musical diversity, but became easily marketed to a group whose consumer identity was founded on the appreciation of diversity over conformity. Record companies soon recognized that they could co-opt postmodern nostalgia's non-categorical, non-mass, non-linear style in order to pander to hip consumers. Frank's theory of mass-produced culture as a site of both oppression and rebellion gives agency to consumers. Consumers are not cultural dupes but rather individuals who can choose what products to consume and how to consume them.

Chapter 6 also explores the relationship between hipness and co-optation. Hipness is constantly renegotiated depending on what society deems acceptable, while co-optation can be wielded by both consumers and producers. In *Dig: Sound and Music in Hip Culture*, musicologist Phil Ford defines hipness as a resistant stance against an unaware world and this stance is "renegotiated moment by moment as the individual deals with whatever that world might propose."[17] Ford documents the shift from the Beats to the hippies, including hip sensibility's shift from the margins of society to the center of American life in the mid-1960s.

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[16] Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 28.
[17] Ford, *Dig*, 4.

Ford's main argument is that hipness is inescapably collective because an individual's expanded consciousness cannot expand the consciousness of society unless it is shared, which explains the cyclic power struggle between hip consumers and the entertainment industry.

While record companies co-opted baroque music to demonstrate the technological capabilities of the LP, baroque rock artists co-opted that music to point out the irony of historical authenticity. Record companies soon recognized that they could co-opt postmodern nostalgia's non-categorical, non-mass, non-linear style in order to pander to hip consumers (or at least consumers desiring to be hip). The counterculture's ideology of collective consciousness had to be shared which led to the formation of a mass counterculture stripped of its hipness. Hipness can only operate as arcane knowledge in order for it to function as a form of resistance. However, it is also inescapably social, allowing it to reach large populations before losing its power. Elements of baroque rock, specifically instrumentation, reached mass countercultural status when it was heard in bubblegum pop, a commercialized subgenre that was targeted toward young adults and children during the end of the decade.

2.0   THE NEW SENSIBILITY AND POSTMODERN NOSTALGIA

In their histories of popular music, Arnold Shaw, Bernard Gendron, and David Brackett suggest that baroque rock began in 1965 but fail to explain the importance of the year. This chapter looks at 1965 as the year Early Music ensembles and rock groups musically inspired each other, literary theorist Susan Sontag recognized this form of postmodernism as a new phenomenon in art, and rock artists were introduced to hallucinogenic drugs that offered an alternate perception of time and memory. Three baroque rock hits ("Yesterday," "As Tears Go By," and "In My Life") and the *Baroque Beatles Book* were released in 1965, signaling both rock groups' and Early Music ensembles' willingness to blend baroque and rock music. In 1965, Susan Sontag referred to this propensity for questioning the previously separated hierarchical binary of "high" and "low" art as "the new sensibility." Artists used postmodern tools such as irony, pluralism, and intertextuality in order to question categorical divisions of art and the linear progression of time. Several major rock artists were introduced to psychedelic drugs in 1965, which offered an experience of time perpetually in the present with intrusions from the past and future folded into this experience. The rejection of a linear perception of time underlined the constant reconstruction of memories and histories of the past in the present. Baroque rock artists participated in postmodern nostalgia, performed through detached interpretations of history and stylistic allusions to the past, in order to highlight the listener's awareness of representations of

the past and the dangers of nostalgia. Their postmodernism of resistance sought to subvert the existing power relations involved in canonization and the construction of master narratives.

2.1   HISTORY OF BAROQUE ROCK

Drawing on the popularity of Beatlemania, ensembles such as the Barock and Roll Ensemble and the Baroque Ensemble of the Merseyside Kammermusickgesellschaft began incorporating familiar Beatles' songs into an Early Music framework in order to parody classical music stereotypes through sonic and visual anachronisms. These arrangements reciprocally inspired the Beatles and other rock artists to incorporate baroque instrumentation and style into rock. This musical meeting of classical and rock music occurred after musicologist William Mann began a trend of finding value in rock music by favorably comparing the Beatles' songs with works from the Western art music canon. He praised the foursome for their pandiatonicism, Aeolian cadences similar to those found in Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* (Song of the Earth), and eclectic instrumentation.[18] By the summer of 1965, accredited or self-proclaimed highbrow music experts (critics, musicians, scholars) noticed similarities between "I Want to Hold Your Hand" and the Credo of Charles Gounod's *St. Cecilia Mass*. They even likened the Beatles' repeated chords and fragmented melodies to the works of Carl Orff.[19] Perhaps in an attempt to bring previous and recent musicological readings to life, the Barock and Roll Ensemble released "Eine Kleine Beatle-Musik" in 1965. Despite the witty reference to the baroque period in the ensemble's name, the song was a Classical rendering (in the style of Mozart) of a Beatles'

[18] David Brackett, *The Pop, Rock, and Soul Reader: Histories and Debates*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 202.
[19] Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 171.

medley.[20] The album was only released in England and did not garner much acclaim but it did influence a more highly promoted album released by Elektra/Nonesuch Records.

The Baroque Beatles Book was released by Elektra/Nonesuch Records in 1965 and captured both visually and sonically the "new sensibility" that literary theorist Susan Sontag would write about in the same year. Both the album cover and the liner notes utilize ironic humor by displaying a cartoon version of George Frideric Handel, Johann Sebastian Bach, and Georg Philipp Telemann sitting around a table and looking over a musical score. The only part of the picture that seems remotely out of place is that Bach's overcoat is opened revealing an "I like the Beatles" t-shirt picturing the Fab Four (Figure 1).
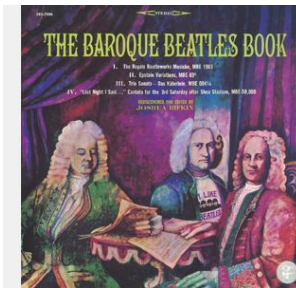
Figure 1. The cover of *The Baroque Beatles Book*[21]

Throughout the album, humor is found in these anachronisms and the novelty of juxtaposing "high" and "low" art. Anachronisms elicit humor because a distance between a canonical version of history and its new context is created through an unexpected inversion of traditional forms. Philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin describes this phenomenon as representing the exotic past on an

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[20] Throughout this dissertation, I will use "Classical" to refer to the time period from approximately 1750-1830 and "classical" to refer more widely to music created within the Western art music tradition.

[21] Cover art by Roger Hane, *The Baroque Beatles Book* (1965), Nonesuch Records, accessed January 2, 2017, http://www.nonesuch.com/albums/the-baroque-beatles-book.

equal plane with contemporary life. Placing an unexperienced canonical version of history into an everyday environment creates a rupture between the past's sacred space and the present's comforting level of familiarity.[22]

In the liner notes, Joshua Rifkin jokingly feigned historical authenticity by claiming that he rediscovered and edited a lost score rather than admitting that he arranged the music himself. The track listings reference historical tropes and important people, places, and events related to Beatlemania. For example, "Last Night I Said…Cantata for the 3rd Saturday after Shea Stadium" comments on the comparison between sacred religious worship and the devotion of crying rock fans who proved to be louder than the amplified music at the Beatles' record-breaking stadium show. The opus number for that particular piece is 58,000, the number of fans reportedly in attendance at Shea Stadium on August 15, 1965. The remaining opus numbers are outrageous and mock musicology's numerically-based organizing system by including subscripts and fractions in the figures. Rifkin's use of catalogue numbers is similar to the music of Peter Schickele's alter ego P.D.Q. Bach, who premiered his musical parodies in April 1965 at New York City Town Hall. Rifkin had initially suggested to Jac Holzman that Peter Schickele arrange the album but Schickele was under contract with Vanguard Records at the time.[23] Catalogue identifiers (most famous examples include Bach's BWV and Mozart's K) are also mocked; Rifkin's arrangements are listed as MBE, an acronym for Members of the Order of the British Empire, a status the Beatles acquired in October 1965.

Despite the visual humor on the album's front cover, the music was performed with reverence as outlined in the Beatle's policy against parody of their copyrighted material, forcing

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[22] Marcia Landy, "Comedy and Counter-History," in *Historical Comedy on Screen: Subverting History with Humour*, ed. Hannu Salmi. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 191.
[23] Richie Unterberger, "Liner Notes for Joshua Rifkin's *The Baroque Beatles Book*," accessed February 6, 2016, http://www.richieunterberger.com/rifkin.html.

the musical irony to remain quite subtle.[24] Rifkin, following formal conventions of the baroque period, placed the Beatles' melodies within cantatas, overtures, recitatives, arias, chorales, and concerti grossi in order to compare the writing team of Lennon/McCartney with the great baroque masters. While the *Baroque Beatles Book* catered to Early Music and Beatles fans alike (just in time for the Christmas season), the subtlety of musical quotations created an inside joke for an audience that had experience listening to both Early Music and rock. This unusual blend of classical and popular music as well as anachronistic styles first gained popularity as a novelty before becoming recognized for its commentary on the basis of these divisions.

Arrangements of the Beatles' music into a Classical and/or baroque framework by formally-trained music ensembles and music critics, who compared the Beatles to composers of the Western art music canon, inspired rock artists to borrow instrumentation and style from outside of their genre standards. The release of the Beatles' "Yesterday" in 1965 was the first time Classical elements became an essential part of rock rather than just a flourishing touch, perhaps due to a perception that the elements are an embarrassing stain on rock's harder image. This would explain why the Beatles initially feared to release "Yesterday" as a single in the U.K. and why the Rolling Stones gave "As Tears Go By" to Marianne Faithfull in 1964. The Rolling Stones eventually felt comfortable enough to release the song themselves a year later in the midst of the Beatles' popularity with such risks.

Marianne Faithfull's version of "As Tears Go By" includes an oboe playing the main melody and strings accenting chord changes in a lush manner, which may have inspired the Beatles to include strings in order to serve a similar function. Paul McCartney was initially skeptical about adding a string quartet to "Yesterday" because he did not want an ostentatious,

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[24] Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 172.

vibrato sound "like Mantovani."[25] The string section became famously associated with "Yesterday" because it was an exclusively acoustic rock song. Paul McCartney's voice was accompanied only by strings and acoustic guitar. While "Yesterday" drew more from Classical period influences such as even, legato lines (while distancing itself from the lush sounds of commercial pop orchestrations), the Stones' version of "As Tears Go By" includes more overt baroque references. The Stones' string quartet shifts from serving an accompanimental function to performing contrapuntal pedal points during the instrumental bridge. Rock critic Lester Bangs argues that "As Tears Go By" was derived from old musical traditions "but in a much more cornball fashion, and one imagines the Stones could have only recorded it to prove they could carry it off…"[26] The lighter side of the Stones continued into 1966 with their release of *Aftermath* as one critic commented: "Brute force has been replaced by tenderness, impatience and more than a touch of the sardonic."[27] These critiques suggest that the Rolling Stones, and other bands that would come to embrace baroque instrumentation and style, performed representations of the baroque with ironic detachment rather than reverent seriousness. Even though the Rolling Stones wrote what would become a baroque rock hit a year earlier than the Beatles, they would not become synonymous with the subgenre because they thought the song was better suited for a respectable female pop artist rather than a rock group with a bad boy image to protect.[28]

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[25] Ian MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head: The Beatles' Records and the Sixties*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2007), 158.
Paul McCartney offered "Yesterday" to Marianne Faithfull but her company did not respond in time.
[26] Lester Bangs, "Review: Hot Rocks, 1964-1971," *Rolling Stone*, December 20, 1971, accessed January 3, 2016, http://www.rollingstone.com/music/albumreviews/hot-rocks-1964-1971-19720217.
[27] Atlantic/Rolling Stones Records, "The Rolling Stones: Changing Moods," *The Rebel Yell*, October 27, 1976, 8.
[28] Baroque music's association with respectability in relation to issues of race and gender is discussed in Chapter 4.

2.2   THE NEW SENSIBILITY AND POSTMODERNISM

In the same year as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones were melding sounds of baroque and rock, literary theorist Susan Sontag recognized the presence of a different ideology and corresponding aesthetic that questioned existing narratives about classical and popular art. She referred to this participation in the creation of pluralistic art as "the new sensibility."[29] This new sensibility challenged the distinction between "high" and "low" (also referred to as "mass" or "popular") art. Sontag explains that "high" art was given a special value because it was associated with serious artists who imprinted a unique signature on their work, while "low" art was valued less because it was associated with manufactured objects that did not come with a stamp of individuality.[30] By questioning the hierarchy of "high" and "low" art, popular culture could be freed from its associations of escapism and sheer entertainment in order to be taken seriously. Popular artists wanted the same aesthetic respect afforded to classical composers. Even though these artists were serious in their desire to alter artistic and social hierarchies, they set out to accomplish these goals with ironic humor. Sontag suggests that the new sensibility was rooted in:

> Our experience, experiences which are new in the history of humanity—in extreme social and physical mobility; in the crowdedness of the human scene; in the availability of new sensations such as speed; and in the pan-cultural perspective on the arts that is possible through the mass reproduction of art objects.[31]

From this description, it should come as no surprise that Sontag's "new sensibility" operated within the framework of postmodernism. Sontag contends that the chasm between two cultures (literary-artistic and scientific) which opened with the dawn of the Industrial Revolution was

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[29] Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*, 296.
[30] Ibid., 297.
[31] Ibid., 296.

closing at the time she was writing. She claims that both cultures possessed a "history-mindedness" that requires knowledge of the past in order to make references to and comment on past art (or science).

During this time, postmodernism was gaining momentum as a movement in art that led to the counterculture's desire for pluralism in music, film, visual arts, literature, fashion, etc. It also questioned the hierarchies of "high/low," commercial/non-commercial, and past/present as it operated concurrently with technology's increased ability to access the distant past. In a 2000 interview with film director Evans Chan, Sontag admits that her intent was not to bridge the gap between high and low cultures but rather to explain how one can have a pleasurable experience in both cultures without destroying the cultural hierarchy. The hierarchy's stabilization is the main difference between the new sensibility and postmodernism. Sontag suggests that postmodernism's tendency to make everything equivalent "is the perfect ideology for consumerist capitalism" because it makes a product easier to sell to every consumer.[32] This would eventually be the fate of baroque rock as its pluralistic style made it accessible for mass consumption devoid of ideological concern, thus stripping the subgenre of its power to create self-awareness.

The new sensibility and postmodernism highlight the impossibility of comparing "highbrow," "lowbrow," and even "middlebrow" because these concepts are always positioned vertically rather than horizontally. Even their signifiers suggest the importance of a hierarchical scale in which it is assumed that anything demarcated "high" is in a better position than "low." This concept is most vividly apparent in the American class system. Issues of race and ethnicity are inherent in culture because "high" art is typically not associated with the working classes,

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[32] Chan, "Against Postmodernism."

composed of immigrants and migrant blacks. The distinction between "highbrow" and "lowbrow" was first established around the turn of the twentieth century to determine whether or not someone/something was highly intellectual or aesthetically refined. These terms were derived from the nineteenth century practice of measuring cranial shapes to determine the correlation between racial types and intelligence. These practices depicted the "Caucasian" as having the highest brow, speculating that the brows were higher of people who originated from western and northern Europe.[33] This explains how the concept of culture became synonymous with Eurocentric institutions and products such as the symphonic hall, opera, and museums.

Framing concepts without these hierarchical positional monikers does not prevent problematic associations with race and class because the "high" and "low" dichotomy is usually replaced by terms such as "classical" and "popular." These terms are used in an aesthetic sense rather than a literal sense as "classical" music typically refers to the Western art music canon, not pieces composed during the Classical period. "Popular" music references an aesthetic antithesis of "classical" rather than music that draws large audiences because of its popularity. "High" and "low" culture is hard to define because culture, like history, is not fixed. The distinguishing characteristics of each category change over time as the functions of these categorical divisions change. What constitutes culture will constantly change because it is a representation of identity (of an individual or a collective group) and what gets presented to others is determined by present concerns. Cultural leaders are responsible for establishing canons as well as appropriating modes of performing and means of receiving culture. For example, European playwrights wanted performers to present their material without imposing interpretation and

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[33] Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 222.

audiences were expected to passively and silently receive "high" art.[34] At the turn of the twentieth century, social forms were changing and culture was positioned as "high" art that was to be held in high esteem. Culture was imposed to create order in society and halt the ensuing chaos. Music was believed to be a civilizing agent, but only the type of music deemed appropriate by these cultural leaders.

Postmodernism's attempt to bridge the gap between "high" and "low" art was created out of necessity to resolve the crisis of bourgeois art. Popular art asked audiences to think about the relationship between art and reality because popular art was distinguished by its realism while classical art was kept in isolation by bourgeois society. Postmodern artists brought the distant past (perhaps isolated by never having been experienced) into the "low" language of a realistic, contemporary, everyday space. Therefore, baroque rock artists were not merely attempting to raise popular music to the status of "high" art nor demote classical music from its highest position within the aesthetic hierarchy. They wanted rock to gain the art status of individual expression and creativity but remain popular in terms of vernacular and playing outside of the sacralized canon. They also questioned the manner in which these distinctions were established from the beginning and why they were still relevant.

2.3   THE POSTMODERN AESTHETIC

The term postmodernism initially referred to architecture before quickly spreading to other fields such as visual and performing arts. The term reached its peak in the middle to late 1970s and

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[34] Ibid., 184.

become a cliché by the mid-1980s.[35] Postmodernism is one of the most difficult "isms" to define because it became a catchall term to describe anything (arts, architecture, literary criticism) that superseded modernism. Just as the past is reconstructed to serve contemporary needs, postmodernists rejected a version of modernism that had been domesticated in the 1950s as a cultural propaganda weapon of the United States' Cold War anti-communism.[36] Modernist music and classical music (more so than popular or jazz music) were used as examples of America's concern for culture. The United States poured money into the performing arts by offering grants to orchestras and erecting performing arts centers partly in an attempt to "out-culture" the Russians.[37] Postmodernists recognized the irony in the United States allowing modern artists, whose art was designed to resist institutionalization, to function as political representations of culture. While postmodern artists appreciated (and were influenced by) modernism's avant-garde revolution, they disagreed with its canonization in the academy that led to modernism's inclusion into high culture. Canonization led to the loss of modernism's bohemian power to shock the middle class, proving canonization's ability to drain the subversive power of the avant-garde.

Postmodernism was not just a reaction against modernist concepts of art but a response to modernist ideals such as history progressing in only one direction, objectivity, and reason. While modernists believed that science would make the world a better place, postmodernists were skeptical after World War II when scientists created weapons of mass destruction. Philosopher Walter Benjamin states, "For every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one

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[35] Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Late Twentieth Century*. Vol. 5 of *The Oxford History of Western Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 412.

[36] Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 190.

[37] Alex Ross, *Listen to This* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), 17.

of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably."[38] This describes the postmodern thought of history repeating itself and its inability to escape its past even though time progresses chronologically. The rise of postmodernism occurred simultaneously with the rise of electrical recording and magnetic tape which made it easier than ever before for contemporary artists to manipulate, edit, and copy sounds as well as easily access the distant past. Postmodernist composers utilized the ability to manipulate sound in order to further their ideals of timelessness, plurality, artistic freedom with all mediated material, and the simultaneous operation of multiple levels of referentiality. Composers' ability to manipulate time and space exemplified the postmodern thought of historical time existing on multiple levels at once with no concern for progressing toward a specific goal.

The mass media, which relies on recording technology, reruns, anniversary specials, and period dramas for financial profit, has been critiqued for altering the origins and intentions of messages because the format in which the media delivers these messages is non-linear. The format of replaying recorded material allows consumers to gain memories of a past that has no geographic or personal connection to them rather than participating in a collective memory based on shared place or ancestry. Walter Benjamin argues that this lack of connection will lead to an alienated world because music (and other artifacts) will appear as a contextless mass consumed independently of its origins and the social life of its creators.[39] The age of mechanical reproduction brought about the possibility of creating infinite reproductions, leading to the destruction of the unique existence of an original. With each reproduction, the value of the original decreased and became easily accessible for mass consumption. Walter Benjamin argues

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[38] Martin Irvine, "Approaches to Po-Mo," accessed September 5, 2014, http://faculty.georgetown.edu/irvinem/theory/pomo.html.
[39] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 83.

that mechanical reproduction destroys the "aura" of a work which he defines as the "unique phenomenon of a distance, however close it may be."[40] For Benjamin, a reproduction (or a copy) physically brings an object closer to its perceiver but only by creating a distance from the original object. Alternatively, cultural theorist David Roberts argues that the aura is the:

> Unique appearance of nearness, however distant…Through technical reproduction, William Byrd is as much our contemporary as Luciano Berio, or Boulez, and Beethoven is more our contemporary than he was for the Vienna of his time.[41]

This exemplifies the postmodern subversion of history because a reproduction can bring objects and concepts from the distant past into present conversations. Mechanical reproduction aided postmodernists in blurring the divisions between "high" and "low" art because recording technology meant that reproductions of both art forms could be mass produced. Postmodernism blends multiple styles and genres from all over the globe and throughout history as a symptom of the mediated experience, thus destroying the modernist construct of an "original" place and time. The ability to transcend place and time disarms the past's power to determine present experiences and gives the power to the consumer who can reconstruct the past.

Baroque rock is responsible for playing a memory; a distorted memory of the baroque period understood through historical representations. Artists do not strive for historical accuracy; rather their music ironically comments on the absurdity of that concept. The music plays against the expectations of the audience because it juxtaposes two anachronistic styles categorized in disparate genre classifications. Beneath the novelty of this juxtaposition is a critique of history's construction. Popular music, like other art forms, relies on re-presenting past works. In order to represent something, artists must engage with texts, stylistic codes, and other representations to

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[40] Jeongwon Joe, "Opera on Film, Film in Opera: Postmodern Implications of the Cinematic Influence on Opera" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1998), 45.
[41] Ibid., 46.

express meanings. Postmodern representations are not purely imitative because they are not performed with a desire to copy nor do they uphold the values and customs of the thing that is represented. Instead, this representation is political in that it "incriminates not only the formal stagnation, [but also] the complacency of correct, canonical, mainstream discourse, tastes, and promotion tactics."[42]   Linear time and the construction of the canon is called into question through the process of recycling materials and intertextuality.

Intertextuality requires an understanding of all textual references and thus provides a stimulus for memory to recall the impression that each text has on an individual. Intertextuality operates under the premise that a text simultaneously absorbs and transforms another text in order to create a double-language that prevents a unitary language from imposing specific limits to meaning. Each representation and its meanings are recalled, intertextually tied to, and understood through other representations and their meanings. This stimulus counteracts the brain's function as a palimpsest in which every new text covers the previous one.[43] The juxtaposition of two seemingly incompatible styles reflects "a dialogic process, one embedded in collective history and nurtured by the ingenuity of artists interested in fashioning icons of opposition."[44] Culture is a dialogic process because the act of creating is innately social and historical as it references what has come before in the same manner as it was presented through the media. The dialogic space relies on the fluidity of memory because it places works in continual dialogue with one another so that they continue to inform one another. The dialogic process involves an intersection of texts rather than each text acting as a fixed point, creating

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[42] Christian Moraru, *Memorious Discourse: Reprise and Representation in Postmodernism* (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005), 171.
[43] Ibid., 24.
[44] George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 99.

dialogue between writer, reader, as well as contemporary and earlier contexts. While it may appear that a score written in the seventeenth century is unchangeable, a more contemporary work can alter the reading of the previous work. For example, baroque works not only influenced baroque rock but listeners of baroque rock inevitably hear baroque works differently than they had before. An aural imprint is created in the mind that makes a listener compare and contrast familiar music in an attempt to organize and make sense of what they are hearing. The purpose is not to find fixed meaning within each work but to alter dominant ideologies through the positioning of these works (along with their fluctuating meanings). The yielding relationship shatters the illusion of fixed form and meaning because dialogue between the past and present result in works that are continuously in flux.

Postmodern music, like postmodern architecture, did not merely reject the "aesthetic oppression" associated with modernism but instead attempted to balance multiple perspectives through pluralism.[45] In music, pluralism resulted in the introduction of popular elements into what would otherwise be classified as classical music. Pluralism also involved the incorporation of various genres (from different points in time) and cultures (specifically cultures that are defined as "other" in modernist ideology) as available musical material.[46] The postmodern tenet of pluralistic styles, genres, and cultures was realized in the recording studio as artists could cut the magnetic tape with a razor blade and juxtapose or overlap fragments of sound with primarily unrelated fragments of sound thus altering a listener's association with place. Rather than the physical act of cutting tape, baroque rock artists created the aforementioned effect by performing on seemingly unrelated instruments in addition to incorporating unrelated genre characteristics.

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[45] Taruskin, *Music in the Late Twentieth Century*. Vol. 5, 413.
[46] Musical pluralism is evident in rock's various subgenres such as baroque rock, raga rock, folk rock, and psychedelic rock to name just a few. The popularity of "othering" the past and different cultures in forms of fashion as well as music is discussed in Chapter 4.

Double coding was realized through the principle that each sound carries its own code which an artist can alter by taking the sound fragment out of its original context and placing it in a new one. Every individual will experience and interpret coded sounds differently depending on their level of familiarity of the sound and its contexts. For example, the wide leaps and melodic sequencing in the second stanza of Bach's *Wachet auf* (BWV 140) signals the waking and rising of Zion as she prepares for the arrival of Christ while these same musical techniques are taken out of this context to signal the hallucinogenic effects of a drunken evening in Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale." Those familiar with both contexts would be able to recognize the irony of performing an altered representation of "Sleeper's Awake" in order to depict vacillating perceptions in the stage between sleep and awakening, dream and reality.

While modernists believed that people were capable of original thoughts, postmodernists witnessed the rise of mass-mediated popular culture in the 1960s as well as "hyper-reality," the inability to distinguish between the real and the simulated.[47] The postmodern tenet of hyper-reality suggests the absence of originals because everything has been reproduced through mediation. Simulation makes it increasingly difficult to distinguish between the original and a copy and therefore, impossible to distinguish between idealism and reality. Hyper-reality fits within the postmodern framework because it removes the possibility of binaries such as true and false, real and imaginary. Media formats have the ability to create a replica of an object that appears more realistic than said object existing in reality. For example, a recording of Bach's music will sound more real than a live performance due to recording's ability to capture the presence of performers and edit it to perfection in the recording studio. This concept gives the

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[47] "Approaches to Po-Mo."

artists license to draw from any already existing sound in order to create new music which subverts the modernist ideology of authenticating an "original." Jean Baudrillard states:

> When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second-hand truth, objectivity and authenticity…And there is a panic-stricken production of the real and the referential, above and parallel to the panic of material production.[48]

In a moment of crisis, when things are not what they seem to be, people turned to a simple nostalgia that focused on trying to find reality but resulted in an acceptance of realistic simulations.

Hyper-reality places the function of representations in question because they become reality rather than one remove away from reality. Postmodern artists ironically point out the absurdity of searching for origins and authenticity because these concepts are constructed and are less applicable in the age of mechanical reproduction. Postmodern reality is the belief that the world and everything in it is constructed, imagined, fictionalized, and narrated.[49] It is this lack of reality that makes it easier for artists to create stylistic allusions to the past through representation rather than searching for historical authenticity, which for them does not exist. Philosopher and sociologist Jean-François Lyotard claims that the postmodern "refuses the consensus of taste permitting a common experience of nostalgia for the impossible, and inquires into new presentations—not to take pleasure in them, but to better produce the feeling that there is something unpresentable."[50] Postmodernism overcomes the nostalgia for absent reality and presence because these concepts do not truly exist.

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[48] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila F. Glaser (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 6-7.

[49] Moraru, *Memorious Discourse*, 166.

[50] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Explained: Correspondence, 1982-1985*, trans. Don Barry et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 15.

2.4   THE PERPETUAL PRESENT AND POSTMODERN NOSTALGIA

Postmodern artists not only challenged the distinction between "high" and "low" art but also, due to a deeply embedded non-linear and self-reflexive view of history, challenged the distinction between art of the past and art of the present. Political theorist Fredric Jameson argues that contemporary culture is historicist not only because of its "omnipresent and indiscriminate appetite for dead styles and fashions" but more importantly because it creates a "perception of the present as history."[51] Viewing the present as history creates a distance from the immediacy of living in the moment and allows one to reflect on how the present is or will be viewed within a historical context. Postmodernists rejected the separation between memory and history. They embraced history's association with self-consciousness while simultaneously revealing their preference for memory's time-warped perception rather than history's linear progression of time. History operates similarly to hyper-reality because its constructions can erase, amend, displace, and divide events, creating order out of chaos, in order to compose a consecutive narrative that appears clearer than reality.[52] Artists exposed this information through postmodernism's ability to pull music from one era and place it into another, subverting the division between memory's subjectivity and history's objectivity.

Frederic Jameson understands the lack of historical relevance in postmodernism as cultural schizophrenia.[53] Cultural schizophrenia does not experience time on a continuum but rather is marked by its perpetual present with only brief intrusions from the past and/or future. The inability to see oneself within a linear timeframe increases the perception of one's present

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[51] Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, 192-94.
[52] Raphael Samuel, *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, vol. 1 of *Theatres of Memory* (London: Verso, 1994), x.
[53] Frederic Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," in *Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (London: Pluto, 1985), 120.

experience. Postmodernism's rejection of the linear time narrative was designed to avoid the exclusionary nature of master narratives that silenced voices and omitted experiences that did not fit the goals of the story. Since the past is inevitably determined by the present, reconstructions of the past can be utilized to make statements about contemporary society. This argument counteracts the claim that postmodernism's perpetual present is ahistorical marked by its political disinterest in the present and ignorance of the past. Postmodernism is very much concerned with history because it draws from its representations in order to comment on its construction. Walter Benjamin argues that "History is the structure whose site is not homogeneous, empty time, but time filled by the presence of the now."[54] Viewing history as a perpetual present is a revolutionary ideal because bringing the past out of the continuum of history and into the present disavows a linear progression of time. This concept is similar to political revolutions introducing new calendars and days of remembrance which highlights how historical time can change with new regimes. Benjamin differentiates between two views of history: historicism which is marked by an eternal image of the past that is fixed and historical materialism which is marked by a unique experience with the past.[55] Historical materialism defines the perpetual present as a time in which to write history. While critics were concerned that a lack of historical context would lead to constant repetition of the past from which we would never learn, postmodernists were learning from history by rewriting it in order to understand its relation to contemporary society and thus preventing a cycle of repeatable mistakes.

While Jameson understands the perpetual present as "historical amnesia" due to its lost sense of history, film and cultural studies scholars Peter and Will Brooker view the perpetual

[54] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 261.
[55] Ibid., 262.

present as a "new historical sense…the shared pleasure of intertextual recognition, the critical effect of play with narrative conventions, character and cultural stereotypes, and the power rather than the passivity of nostalgia."[56] The passive form of nostalgia can also be labeled as historical amnesia in order to explain moments when people remember only the good in the past rather than a complete view. However, recognizing the power of these nostalgic visions can also inspire artists to poke fun at all social constructs, thus forcing the audience to recognize their nostalgia within intertextual references. Baroque rock used baroque music to represent rock music's Other because baroque music belongs to the classical canon and recalls a past so distant from contemporary society that nostalgic feelings for it would seem absurd. Even though artists were creating ironic juxtapositions, the appropriation of baroque music challenged the perception that rock lacked a sense of history and intellectual seriousness.[57]

The year 1965, when Sontag acknowledged the existence of a "new sensibility," was also the year many rock bands (the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Beach Boys, and the Byrds to name a few) experienced LSD (Lysergic acid diethylamide) for the first time. The psychedelic drug would come to have a large impact on what these artists produced in the studio. In his analysis of the Beatles' "Strawberry Fields Forever," Ian MacDonald argues that "the true subject of English psychedelia was neither love nor drugs, but nostalgia for the innocent vision of the child."[58] Drugs were not always the subject of psychedelic rock songs but they did have an impact on artists' perception of the past. Psychedelic drugs, among other hallucinogens, not only increase awareness and consciousness but also sentimentality and sensitivity which accounts for

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[56] Peter Brooker and Will Brooker, "Introduction," in *Postmodern After-Images,* ed. Peter Brooker and Will Brooker (London: Edward Arnold, 1997), 7.

[57] Barry J. Faulk, *British Rock Modernism, 1967-1977: The Story of Music Hall in Rock* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 13.

[58] MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 216.

nostalgia's relationship with the psychedelic experience and artists' decision to write about their childhood and/or earlier times. Other than music from the British music hall tradition, they primarily used music from the baroque period (a period they have never experienced) to represent and refer to a past they had experienced.[59] This musical choice is ironic because lyrics of sentimentality toward the past are paired with detached, strict baroque counterpoint rather than smooth, flowing melodic lines with simple accompaniment, creating a cognitive dissonance between what the lyrics suggest and what is understood from the music. The listeners' expectations are disrupted which elicits humor through the incongruity between what is said (the lyrics' sentimentality for the recent past) and how this concept is delivered (the music's detachment recalling the distant past). The ironic anachronism is humorous in its novel affect while allowing this dissonance to alert the listener about constructions of memory and the perception of time.

As the countercultural sensibility emerged, rock music followed its desires to go back to nature and/or back to childhood simplicity. The Kinks, particularly lead singer Ray Davies, wrote songs about returning to the conservative or pre-modern past (i.e., "Apeman," "Animal Farm," "Village Green Preservation Society," and "Village Green") but in a way that was absurdly exaggerated. Davies does not provide authorial guidance and instead leaves the listener to laugh at or evaluate the conservative-spouting dry character.[60] The Kinks' use of caricature humor was camouflaged nostalgia that critiqued political structures at the same time that the Beatles and Rolling Stones were releasing more direct critiques such as "Revolution" and "Street Fighting Man." Davies' ironic critiques demonstrated a reach beyond contemporary issues and

[59] Although artists never experienced the baroque period, they were indeed familiar with the music through common modes of cultural transmission as mentioned in Chapter 4.
[60] Iain Ellis, *Brit Wits: A History of British Rock Humor* (Bristol, UK: Intellect, 2012), 40.

how those issues connect to the past and future. Ray Davies viewed the heady promises of peace and love in the San Francisco scene as "a carrot held up to the youth to distract us so that we would not rebel against the ruling classes."[61] In response to this distraction, Davies questions nostalgia for an idyllic past and utopian visions of the future through an imaginary village green metaphor in *The Kinks Are the Village Green Preservation Society* (1968). Popular culture scholar Michael Lupro views this confrontation between the idyllic past and utopian future as "where the future is a regeneration of the past and the past a legacy of antiquated future visions."[62] The Kinks dealt with this confrontation by drawing on the British concept of a village green that straddled between the country's escape from the city and the city's economic connectivity.

The themes of idyllic past and utopian future are present throughout *The Kinks Are the Village Green Preservation Society* (1968) but "Village Green" describes the imaginary green space through a baroque framework and multiple temporalities. "Village Green" is a story about Ray Davies' departure from his childhood home, told through the perpetual present as his mind shifts from descriptions of the past and hopes for a future return. The song's alternation between verse and chorus acts out Davies' narration as the first verse is told in the past, the second verse in a preserved past, and the last verse in the future all while returning to choruses that place him in a self-reflexive present. The song's introduction positions the listener in the distant past through baroque stylizations such as the harpsichord, bassoon, and oboe's melodic sequencing and trills that lead into the first verse. The village green is described in the first verse as a space in the country that is far from the city's environmental and noise pollution. Davies fondly recalls

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[61] Michael Mooradian, "Preserving the Old Ways, Protecting the New: Post-War British Urban Planning in *The Kinks Are the Village Green Preservation Society*," *Popular Music and Society* 29 (2006): 194.
[62] Ibid., 190.

his first love in direct opposition to his ultimate decision to leave the green in order to find fame. The harpsichord follows and ornaments Davies' vocal line with quick trills in the first stanza while a chorus and oboe undermine the otherwise reflective minor key with a cheerful melody (sung on "la") that is reminiscent of a children's playground rhyme. The oboe outlines the chord progression before it performs one of the most recognizable baroque ornamentations: trillo and mordant (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Trillo and mordant ornamentation

The combination of trill and mordent was often employed in baroque works and was identified by J.S. Bach (in his *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*) as an important ornamentation for keyboardists. The undeniably baroque trill leads directly into the chorus which features the cellos' descending chromatic bass line, the harpsichord's chord changes, and the guitar's syncopated rhythms that lead back into another verse.

Even though baroque instrumentation is present in the chorus, the harpsichord forgoes its leading melody and excessive trills to blend with the guitar's chordal accompaniment, leaving the choruses to sound far more contemporary in relation to the baroque-sounding verses. The choruses' contemporary sound aligns with a lyrical transition from past descriptions to present self-reflexivity as Davies lists everything he misses about the village green. Returning to the baroque sound in the second verse, while describing the present situation of American tourists descending on the green, also suggests a preservation of the past. The village green has become a tourist location that represents a pre-modern imaginary simple past which is preserved like a

museum artifact. The village green is a result of national collective memory's shared pasts that become nostalgically narrativized in order to create a sense of continuity between the past and present. History becomes a national heritage in which individuals become custodians of the past. These custodians extract history from its context and reimagine England as a "museum-land conserved by National Trust, marketed by Heritage, and tailor-made for tourists."[63] The ideal rural landscape, represented here by the village green, is purposefully conflated with Englishness despite England's predominantly industrial and urban geographical makeup since 1861.[64] Davies recognizes that much like stepping into a museum of preserved artifacts, he (and the tourists) can enter the village green in order to hide in a nostalgic oasis of imagined traditions.

Davies mocks the southern American accents of the tourists and their need to take photographs (another preservation tool) in order to prove their own experience of its existence. Photography and National Historic Sites are both attempts to secure an imagined past but Davies' mockery highlights that these attempts are futile because they lack context and multiple perspectives. Both photography and National Historic Sites preserve the land (one visually and one physically) but they can only ever offer representations of the land which leave the American tourists without context about the land's past. The tourists' photographs can only offer a trace, connecting the image (photograph) with its referent (the village green), that affirms the past's existence and the photographer's experience of it. However, the photograph's limiting frames and stoppage of time can also create distance from the referent and a misleading representation of the past. As Marianne Hirsch argues, remembering and engaging with a photograph both yield an "encounter between two presents, one of which, already past, can be

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[63] Katharine W. Jones, *Accent on Privilege: English Identities and Anglophilia in the U.S.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 19.
Jones is quoting Roy Porter, *Myths of the English* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 2.
[64] Ibid., 20.

reanimated in the act of looking."[65] Just like photographs, memories can come with limited frames and filters, resulting in the preservation of idealized images and misrepresentations of the past.

The baroque instrumentation becomes slightly more present in the second chorus as the high strings play a plucked staccato ascending chromatic line that contrasts with the low strings' bowed legato descending line, suggesting a conflicted memory and realization (from the second verse) that Davies' version of the village green has changed. The last verse depicts a future in which Davies returns to meet his love while they laugh and talk about the village green. Music journalist Paul Williams states, "Ray's vignettes are wry, ironic—and one suspects it's not just that he's capable of a certain detachment, but also that he can't escape that detachment."[66] In this sense, Davies' nostalgia is ironic because he has only ever known how to look at the world (and the past) through a detached lens. While the song's baroque sound evokes a distant past, the past it represents is so far removed from the past of Davies' childhood that it seems anachronistic. This anachronism is particularly present in the last verse when his dreams of a utopian return to his hometown is accompanied by baroque style and instrumentation. The baroque sounds become representative of the village green and the anachronisms highlight the impossibility of preserving an imagined past even if conservation societies were successful in preserving the physical land. Even Davies' eventual return to the space results in him talking about the green as it once was rather than how it is.

The 1960s drug culture reinforced the postmodern perception of time. Drug consumption's effect on awareness is detailed in Aldous Huxley's book *The Doors of Perception*

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[65] Marianne Hirsch, "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14 (2001): 21.
[66] Paul Williams, "The Kinks Are the Village Green Preservation Society," *Rolling Stone Magazine*, June 14, 1969.

(1954), whose title was inspired by a phrase from William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: "If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is, Infinite. For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things thro' narrow chinks of his cavern."[67] This phrase would become a mantra to the counterculture that wished to increase awareness of one's surroundings through altered perceptions. Huxley documented how this change takes place while taking mescaline, a psychedelic drug similar to LSD. Huxley's title also influenced Jim Morrison and Ray Manzarek to name their band The Doors in 1965. In a 1967 interview with *Newsweek*, Manzarek states that the Doors are in between the known and the unknown, arguing that "you have to 'break on through to the other side' to become the whole being."[68] The reference to the Doors' "Break on Through," a song that presents ways of perceiving day and night as well as understanding time through weeks, days, and hours, is a call to be aware of all that can be known. The reference to doors as transitions between different perceptions and time is also connected to Janus, the Roman god of transitions, doors, and passages. Janus is depicted as having one face looking to the past and another one simultaneously looking to the future.[69] This image is a reminder that while time seems to operate on a continuum, we are living in a perpetual present with the ability to recall the past (either through memory or representations) and subvert these recollections thereby transitioning into a new perception.

Under the influence of mescaline, Huxley admitted a "complete indifference to time" in which he perceived an abundance of time without regard for an exact duration resulting in a

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[67] William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (London: William Blake, 1827), accessed February 10, 2016, http://www.blakearchive.org/exist/blake/archive/object.xq?objectid=mhh.i.illbk.14&java=no.

[68] Associated Press, "This Way to the Egress," *Newsweek*, November 6, 1967, 101.

[69] *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Janus", accessed October 7, 2015, http://www.britannica.com/topic/Janus-Roman-god.

feeling of a "perpetual present."[70] This feeling aligns with the postmodern sensibility that lacked concern for a linear progression of time from past to present to future. Therefore the drug culture and postmodernism recognized that beginnings and endings were simply monikers used to organize time. These monikers do not account for time's state of perpetual transition or people's ability to alter how they view and participate in both beginnings and endings. Instead of the past being over, it becomes constantly reconstructed in the present just as the future is determined by what occurs in the present. Frederic Jameson argues that postmodernism represents history through nostalgic images and/or stylistic imitation which signals the inability to retain the past and its traditions. [71] The perpetual present runs the risk of the distant past only existing through stereotypes or fantastical versions of history.

Nostalgia's place within the postmodern aesthetic is difficult to track because there are varying forms that operate differently depending on how they are used in a work of art. In its history, the word "nostalgia" has transitioned from a psychological condition to a structure of feeling. In the late seventeenth century, the term denoted a painful desire to return home recognized by symptoms such as mood swings and melancholia.[72] Nostalgia has since lost its specificity of yearning for home as any former time and space (even those that have not been experienced) can be earnestly yearned for in a way that is bittersweet in its unattainability of a perfect, filtered memory. While nostalgia is associated with the recent past or at least an experienced past, media studies scholar Katharina Niemeyer defines false nostalgia as "a pleasure-seeking yearning for former times that we have not, in fact, lived."[73] This concept

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[70] Aldous Huxley, *The Doors of Perception: Heaven and Hell* (London: Thinking Ink Limited, 2011), 6.
[71] Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism,* 170.
[72] Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 1.
[73] Katharina Niemeyer, "Introduction: Media and Nostalgia," in *Media and Nostalgia: Yearning for the Past, Present and Future*, ed. Katharina Niemeyer. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 9.

allows rock artists from the 1960s to draw on styles from the baroque period even though the artists are historically far removed from that period. These musicians did not simply yearn to return to the baroque period but rather reflected on the issues of nostalgia. Reflexive nostalgia questions the truth of nostalgic memory by asking if one's memory (or second hand memory) is an accurate portrayal of historical reality and if one will feel nostalgia for the present as much as they do for the past. Sociologist Fred Davis explains that reflexive nostalgia "goes on to deny the legitimacy, and sometimes even the subjective reality, of nostalgic feeling *per se*."[74] Nostalgia can be a reaction to rapidly changing technology which speeds up the pace of life and removes one further from nature (very similar to Sontag's suggestion that the new sensibility was born as a reaction to new experiences in humanity's history). Nostalgia can reinvent the past, present, and future, and it can be used for political, commercial and consumer purposes. Therefore, nostalgia is a symptom of crisis as well as progress.[75]

Memory politics involves history's effect on memory, specifically when the ruling class imposes commemoration on the subaltern classes as a weapon of social control.[76] This constructed collective memory legitimizes the current state of affairs through an acceptance of a mythologized version of the past. Nostalgia, with its potential for sanitized representations of the past concealing the disturbing realities of actual events, is similar to "false consciousness," stemming from institutional powers concealing motives behind ideologies in order to mislead subordinate classes.[77] The symbolic ritualistic practices that we associate with culture such as remaining silent during a performance, waiting until a piece has concluded before showing

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[74] Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday*, 27.
[75] Niemeyer, "Introduction: Media and Nostalgia," 2.
[76] Samuel, *Past and Present*, 17.
[77] Friedrich Engels, *Marx and Engels Correspondence*, trans. Donna Torr (New York: International Publishers, 1968), accessed September 21, 2015, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1893/letters/93_07_14.htm.

appreciation with applause, wearing our best outfits to the symphony, etc., are examples of how memory politics functions to control. These traditions were invented with the purpose of signifying continuity with an imagined past. Cultural institutions, designed to maintain and perpetuate established values and behavior systems, redefined the past to serve the present goals of social control.[78] They created a perception that products of high culture were created in order to be appreciated with seriousness as deemed appropriate by nineteenth-century institutions. Postmodern artists recognized the construction of these cultural values and traditions and held it under a microscope to reveal the intentions behind a narrative that was blindly followed for years. Postmodernists embraced the agency to accept and redistribute culture to serve different functions, in different times, and within different groups of people. They recognized that people not only receive culture but they also utilize it which allows them to take control of their lives and society.[79]

Jameson's discussion on "nostalgia films" like *American Graffiti* notes that "a postmodernist nostalgia art language" and historicity are incompatible, as "nostalgia films" do not represent historical content but rather approach "the past through stylistic connotation."[80] This suggests that postmodernists used styles of the past in order to create connections with a particular time period but not necessarily to further those associations into the realm of events or ideologies of that time period. If the intention was to represent a past to which the listener could escape from uncertainties of the present, then artists would have chosen to create a more static past, unchanged and disengaged from an ironic interpretation. Baroque rock relies on a stereotypical pastiche style and thus involves music that alludes to a baroque style or to the style

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[78] Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 229.
[79] Ibid., 240.
[80] Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, 24.

of a specific piece rather than appropriating the entire melody of a familiar baroque piece while changing very little or improvising over the melody. Baroque rock is not simply comprised of rock versions of famous pieces within the Western art music canon because this would reinforce the work concept's focus on the written score rather than the performance. Therefore, the Toy's quotation of Bach's "Minuet in G Major" in their 1965 hit "A Lover's Concerto," which extended the quotation to four beats per measure to fit the rock style rather than the expected triple meter of a traditional minuet, still drew clear aural connections to the canon. If the popularity of the melody was not enough to summon images of the famous Baroque composer, surely the bust of Bach smiling approvingly at the female vocal group during a performance of the song on *Hullabaloo* did the trick.[81] In contrast, Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale" includes organ parts that draw from musical characteristics in both Bach's "Air on the G String" and "Sleepers Awake" rather than incorporating complete melodic quotations, allowing the listener to understand the baroque references in a more general sense rather than dealing with tropes inherent in recognizing a famous piece of music. Baroque rock artists were more concerned with creating the allusion of a distant past rather than directing the listener to a specific composer, work, or even performance. Nostalgia, used in this way, draws on stereotypical views of a period's style rather than trying to accurately represent the reality of history which (as previously mentioned) is a near impossible task. For instance, baroque rock artists did not draw on baroque elements because of a desire to return to the life and times of the 1600s but rather because the baroque style was heard in contrast to rock 'n' roll. The two styles could be combined in order to create a new, pluralistic style of music.

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[81] *Hullabaloo* was an American musical variety television series that ran on NBC beginning in 1965.

Drawing on aforementioned theories of nostalgia and postmodernism, I introduce the term postmodern nostalgia to refer to a symptom of crisis and progress that is simultaneously reflexive in its detached interpretation of history and imagined in its participants' ability to reference a past they have not experienced. Postmodern nostalgia deviates from the common usage of nostalgia because it provides an ironic and detached interpretation of history while feelings of nostalgia are typically earnest. Postmodern nostalgia combines reflexive nostalgia's ironic incorporation of past styles with false nostalgia's potential to delve into the distant past. Therefore, postmodern nostalgia is an ironic form of nostalgia that makes one question one's relationship with the past, experienced or not. Postmodern nostalgia can be viewed as both reactionary and progressive. It is reactionary in that it is operating within a postmodern framework that is reacting against modernist views of history, elitist views of "high" art, and the ideologies of mainstream society. It is progressive as media studies scholar John Potts suggests that both progress and nostalgia require an "abdication of memory, in that the past is represented as other, backward, superficially appealing but ultimately undesirable."[82] Progress occurs when one recognizes that the past is not always better than the present and questions nostalgia's rose-tinted view of the world that dismisses unpleasant memories of the past. However, the desire to forget the past completely is just as dangerous as nostalgia's selective memory because the absence of collective memory offers no foundation for response or development.

The reactionary and progressive characteristics of postmodern nostalgia were mentioned in a 1967 issue of *The Oracle*, an underground San Francisco paper, which listed the principles of rock music. The fourth principle states:

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[82] John Potts, "Journeys through the Past: Contempt, Nostalgia, Enigma," in *Media and Nostalgia: Yearning for the Past, Present and Future*, ed. Katharina Niemeyer. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 217.

That far from being degenerate or decadent, rock is a regenerative and revolutionary art, offering us our first real hope for the future (indeed, for the present) since August 6, 1945 [date of the explosion of the atomic bomb over Hiroshima]; and that its effects on the younger population…have all been essentially good and healthy so far.[83]

The references to degeneration, decadence, and regeneration suggest the reactionary nature of baroque rock's postmodern nostalgia as it reacted against modernist views of art as well as the stereotype of rock as music that destroys young minds. The principle of rock listed above also discusses the possibility of revolutionizing the future by reconstructing the past. Media studies scholar Katharina Niemeyer states, "Nostalgia can be regarded here as a wishful tool of relief, helping to transform the past into a way to invent the future."[84] Baroque rock artists did not posit any solutions to contemporary issues (such as civil unrest, race riots, America's participation in the Vietnam War, etc.), but instead utilized postmodern nostalgia in order to provide insight and aid listeners in recognizing that the past is a social construct. The way one remembers the past may not be an accurate representation of what truly occurred. Postmodern nostalgia asks one to reflect on the dangers of simple nostalgia because perceiving the past as better than it was does not prevent us from repeating history but makes sure we are doomed to repeat it. For instance, there is danger in remembering the atomic bomb over Hiroshima as a progressive turning point in technological warfare rather than an event that took many lives. How we remember the past determines how we progress in the future.

Postmodern nostalgia accounts for both the irony and nostalgia that is read in postmodern art. A postmodern representation of the past is not merely an escape to an idealized era nor a rejection of modernity's refusal to embrace the past. Ultimately, it is up to the listener to respond with an understanding of irony or a feeling of nostalgia because both irony and nostalgia are

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[83] Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1979), 453.
[84] Niemeyer, "Introduction: Media and Nostalgia," 18.

responses of social actors rather than qualities of the music. Literary theorist Linda Hutcheon states:

> The ironizing of nostalgia, in the very act of its invoking, may be one way the postmodern has of taking responsibility for such responses by creating a small part of the distance necessary for reflective thought about the present as well as the past.[85]

Postmodern nostalgia involves the ironic double vision that comments on the impossibility of nostalgia, due to the irreversibility of time in search of a non-existent idealized authenticity, while simultaneously invoking nostalgia's power to reconstruct the past in conjunction with the present. Much like sociologist Maurice Halbwach's conception of collective memory, postmodern nostalgia relies on viewing the past as a social construct that is constantly reconstructed in order to serve present goals.[86] Postmodern nostalgia utilizes the past in order to comment on the present with a desire to progress into a society that questions its surroundings rather than accepts categorical distinction as fact. Therefore, we can view baroque rock not as reactionary or progressive but as a subgenre with backward and forward looking aspects that operates simultaneously within these categories.

2.5   BAROQUE ROCK'S NEOCLASSIC IMPULSE

The American and British counterculture of the 1960s, which was concerned with war, technology, anti-modernism, and anti-conformity, found musical and cultural solace in neoclassicism, and their music offered a combination of various musical styles, including baroque, to an accepting, pluralistic society. Neoclassicism, as postulated by musicologists Scott

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[85] Linda Hutcheon and Mario Valdés, "Irony, Nostalgia, and the Postmodern: A Dialogue," *Poligrafías* 3 (2000): 30.
[86] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 40.

Messing and Richard Taruskin, is a complicated ideology rather than a simple musical allusion to eighteenth-century compositional techniques. Baroque rock's connection to neoclassicism comes from the intention to incorporate eighteenth-century styles into contemporary rock. Neoclassicism can reference various styles and time periods depending on the field in which it is discussed. Neoclassicism's reference to the past in the fine arts will differ from music because each field's definition of classicism is different. Despite this, the general meaning remains the same as neoclassicism refers to the borrowing of or allusion to a canonized work and/or artist from an earlier period.[87] Classicism in music refers to the eighteenth-century because canonization has defined this time period's style as the model of perfection for representing European high culture. Neoclassicism is not a catch-all term for music that refers to Baroque and Classical styles but rather music that does so through a detached representation rather than nostalgic yearnings for the past. While some composers yearned for a return to past styles, neoclassic composers such as Igor Stravinsky appreciated eighteenth-century aesthetics which includes "clarity, simplicity, objectivity, purity, refinement…" to combat and break away from romanticism's past and contemporary serialism.[88]

Just as postmodern nostalgia is a symptom of both crisis and progress, musical neoclassicism yields both reactionary and revolutionary ideologies that appear to oppose one another. In the 1920s, neoclassicism's compositional regression into traditional Western European styles—such as the incorporation of leading tones and dominant-tonic progressions— was a reaction to the new atonal style as well as to romanticism's nationalism, which was one of several factors believed to have precipitated World War I. While neoclassicism may seem to

[87] Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1988), xiv.
[88] Richard Taruskin, "Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology," *19th Century Music* 16 (1993): 288.

have been inspired by nostalgia for a simpler time, it must also be seen as a revolutionary compositional technique designed to salvage the deteriorating tonal system and defy history through a modernist viewpoint.[89] A reactionary ideology is not always a conservative sensibility placed in opposition to a linear progression of evolution. In fact, reactionism is quite radical in its suggestion that things do not necessarily evolve with the progression of time because it rejects the master narrative of goal-oriented history. New developments in technology do not necessarily produce positive outcomes or aid in our desire to be complex individuals but rather can yield barbaric tendencies by facilitating war and mass death without remorse. Reactionary and revolutionary ideologies should not be viewed as complete opposites because even though they have differing views on progress, they both have similar intentions and means of affecting desired change.

Neoclassicism was either praised or demonized depending on whether the listener heard the music as imitating the past in order to restore it or interpreting the past in a new light in order to develop it. The style embraced both ideologies as it brought older styles that reverted to nostalgic visions of the past into contemporary art forms which prevented compromised creativity caused by recycling ideas. Baroque rock drew on these neoclassic impulses by creating a brand new subgenre that had never been heard before despite its emphasis on a baroque style. It was not designed to restore the past but rather to extend it into the realm of rock's countercultural concerns. George Lipsitz states:

> The presence of the past in rock and roll music has meaning beyond the lure of nostalgia and the persistence of artistic clichés…[it is] an arena where memories of the past serve to critique and change the present.[90]

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[89] Ibid., 287.
[90] Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 100.

Much like 1920s neoclassicism's reaction against Romantic nationalism, baroque rock reacted against nationalistic Cold War propaganda's fear-mongering about an apocalyptic future by musically performing a perpetual present in which the past was not a savior but a representation of a socially constructed idea. Propaganda used the fear of a future filled with nuclear weapons as a tool to cast America's entrance into the war in a positive light. Baroque rock highlighted history's construction and a group's ability to manipulate the past in order to serve their needs. This revolutionized society's agency in engaging with historical memory rather than passively receiving it.

2.6   IRONY AS A FORM OF RESISTANCE

The counterculture was so named because its ideologies ran counter to that of society's social mores which were designed to prevent anarchy while simultaneously operating as a tool to keep the ruling class in power and use culture as a form of nationality. The counterculture also rejected culture's hegemony by presenting other voices and counter-histories, even though the counterculture was dominated by white males. Agency accounts for counter-hegemonic ideas put forth by intellectuals in the oppressed position, even though those in power within the hegemonic structure tried to manage consent of these intellectuals by making domination appear natural and voluntary.[91] For instance, the division of musical genres seems natural because it is portrayed as though the divisions are created by sonic aesthetics of style. The underlying marker of distinction is identity (race, class, age, gender) because it is easier for record companies to market their

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[91] Ibid., 152.

products toward categorized groups of people. Postmodern artists used weapons of irony, juxtaposition, and intertextuality in order to subvert existing power relations. These groups formed what Antonio Gramsci refers to as an "historical bloc," which was not a block against history or thinking about the past but rather a block against the way history is reconstructed to account for and excuse contemporary oppression.[92] Baroque rock musically portrayed history and divisions of art as social constructs in order to break out of dominant narratives that perpetuated a social order.

Juxtaposition and irony are key ingredients in the postmodern aesthetic because postmodernism, in its desire to hear voices previously excluded from dominant narratives, shines a light on minorities who have used juxtaposition and irony to combat their injustices. The underrepresented minority's "double consciousness," caused by an attempt to adapt to dominant groups without the permission to gain full entry, yields self-reflexivity that allows them to see how they view themselves as well as how they are viewed by others.[93] Due to exclusion and exploitation, they are increasingly aware of the problems in society and reference the past in order to explain and attempt to solve these problems. These characteristics provide an alternative mode to Frederic Jameson's postulation that postmodern pastiche is nothing but the imitation of dead styles randomly juxtaposed due to a lack of progress. "Double consciousness" that comes with positioning oneself within a dominant group without actually being a part of a group (either because membership access was denied or the person in question refused to follow the codes of conduct) leads to the bifocality inherent in irony. Bifocality allows the social actor to have one foot in each culture with enough distance to see both sides. In a 1973 article reflecting on the Beatles' career, John Mendelson argues that the band's material was often ambiguous because it

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[92] Ibid., 152.
[93] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: The New American Library, 1969), 45.

left the listener questioning whether their songs expressed their subjects or commented on them. Mendelson states, "As in Stravinskian neo-Classicism, there is always a double-take, a sense of involvement and of being once-removed at the same time."[94] Distance is an important factor in ironic commentary because the artist must be aware of the expectation's operation in order to subvert it but the artist is also distant in his/her unwillingness to subscribe to that operation.

The artist's decision to have a revolution in the head, an inner revolution of feeling and perception in the minds of ordinary people, over overt activism in the realms of institutional power stems from his/her attempt to reconcile between increased awareness through distance and immediate experience.[95] Musicologist Phil Ford states:

> Cold War hipness was above all ironic, valuing disaffiliation over activism, individualism over populism, skepticism over enthusiasm…this was a sensibility not in opposition to its culture, but of a piece with it.[96]

The postmodern sensibility is marked by its reciprocity of perspectives so that these perspectives are exchanged with the purpose of creating awareness and benefitting those on both sides of the issue. This awareness is accomplished through the juxtaposition of multiple perspectives and intertextuality because dialogue is created between seemingly unrelated styles that each have their own set of meanings before they are placed into new contexts that will alter these meanings. Baroque rock did not include lyrics that overtly posed solutions to any major social issues of the time but it did include juxtapositions of the past and present as well as "high" and "low" art in order to demonstrate that hierarchical binaries of time and class should be questioned. Once awareness is created and perceptions are altered, socio-political activism can begin.

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94 John Mendelson, "Nine Ways of Looking at the Beatles 1963-1973," *Stereo Review* 30 (1973): 57.
95 MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 27.
96 Ford, *Dig*, 83.

Irony is an essential component to baroque rock because it is one of the defining characteristics that differentiates between baroque rock and progressive rock. Baroque rock is often confused with progressive rock because progressive rock is a more widely known genre category. While progressive rock was undoubtedly influenced by baroque rock's incorporation of baroque instrumentation and style into the rock genre, it took this concept and performed with a reverent seriousness that baroque rock artists rejected. Baroque rock artists were serious about questioning conventional thought but they resisted reverence for the Western art music canon which was designated, by cultural institutions, as appropriate behavior for receiving art. Music critics also despised progressive rock artist's pomposity in demanding rock music be raised to a higher level of art rather than question why these levels exist in the first place.

The Beat culture of the 1960s, operating within postmodernism, prized experience over language because language (especially the written word) could be reproduced and easily manipulated ad infinitum without the presence of production inherent within the text. It should be no surprise that they would turn to mind-enhancing drugs to increase their perception of awareness. Huxley applies the Bergsonian theory of memory and sense perception to the drug culture as he suggests that each individual is capable of remembering and perceiving everything that has ever happened to and around him/her but the brain, in an attempt to prevent confusion, creates a reduced awareness by funneling out only what it deems useful. Language was invented to express this reduced awareness and while it provides records of experiences, it also alters the beneficiary's sense of reality, "so that he is all too apt to take his concepts for data, his words for actual things."[97] Psychedelic drugs are temporary bypasses to the reduction of awareness because they do not prevent reduction but rather provide more than the narrow-minded picture of reality.

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[97] Huxley, *The Doors of Perception*, 6.

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The Beat culture's love of experience explains why they preferred recordings over the written word on a page. Recordings capture the energy and presence of an artist rather than his/her ideas alone. Hearing music with ironic musical characteristics aids the listener in experiencing irony rather than passively reading ironic language on a page, thus increasing the listener's awareness through performing ironic commentary in both the music and lyrics.

If irony is understood to be a figure of speech in which the intended meaning is the opposite of the expression of words, how does a listener detect this device in a non-representative art like music? Music with lyrics is arguably the easiest to hear because (based on a long history of tropes and associations with emotions) the music's divergence from the words creates an ironic effect. Irony can also be interpreted if the music contains incongruities in formal properties such as refusing to resolve to a chord that the listener was expecting to hear or not following the expectations of a genre's formal characteristics. Most importantly for baroque rock, musical irony can also occur with pastiche of stylistic and/or conventional clichés of earlier artists and time periods.[98] In a 1967 review of the Left Banke's baroque rock hit "Walk Away Renée," Sandy Pearlman argues that the band's irony becomes merely structural and serves as an underlying principle for the beauty of the harpsichord and string quartet. She also states, "Just as anything can become a style, so can anything become an object for self-conscious artistic manipulation."[99] In this case, the baroque instrumentation and style is understood at face value as novel or merely beautiful but the irony of its incorporation into a rock song is only recognized by those who are familiar with the conventions of both genres. Irony requires familiarity with the conventions of a particular genre in order to recognize when these conventions have been

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[98] Katherine L. Turner, "Introduction: The Sound of Irony/The Irony of Sound," in *This is the Sound of Irony: Music, Politics and Popular Culture*, ed. Katherine L. Turner (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 3.
[99] Sandy Pearlman, "The Left Banke," *Crawdaddy*, August 1967, 38.

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twisted. As previously stated, the interpreter (in this case the listener) determines whether or not the utterance is ironic, regardless of the artist's intentions. The only way of knowing for sure if a statement is intended ironically is to understand the social, cultural, and linguistic references of the speaker as well as his/her audience because the participatory nature of irony requires a shared knowledge of conventions and expectations within a context.[100] Thus, an in-crowd must understand the irony in order for it to function properly; to be "in" was to be hip and in the know.

Irony allows artists to be self-consciously satirical, revealing (in a Brechtian sense) their critical use of history to serve their own purposes, one of which is to establish a postmodernism of resistance.[101] Irony requires self-reflexivity and awareness because one needs to be able to perceive an expectation and all of its meaningful implications in order to properly subvert it. Postmodernism uses irony in order to surprise the audience with a deviation from the model, highlighting the modernist claim of innovation as false because there is no such thing as a completely new invention in culture. The new does not replace the old but rather incorporates it into invention. Everything draws on influences from everything else. Appropriations of the past must be ironic in order to flaunt the constructed nature of creativity, subjectivity, and authorship. The subversion reduces the expectation to a part of its former whole as the perceiver becomes estranged from something that should have been familiar. In this scenario, the performer participated in the expectation only in order to demonstrate his/her resistance to it and its lexicon of meanings. The ability to create new meanings based on familiar gestures is also achieved through juxtaposition, which relies on the premise that the same gesture will have different meanings with each new context especially when it is placed next to a gesture that will result in a

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[100] Linda Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 118.
[101] Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (London: Routledge, 1995), 164.

contrasting effect. Baroque rock ironically subverted expectations of style and instrumentation relating to rock and the baroque because each genre (bringing along all of its unwritten rules of engagement) was placed in a new context. As we have seen, irony is more than a literary or musical device; it is a means of social awareness that undermines stereotypes and reveals the absurdity of fixed categorical divisions. Social norms dictate expectations but these norms are called into question when the irony-induced unexpected takes place, allowing the perceiver to become aware of other modes of operation.

Baroque rock's irony highlights the listener's awareness of representations of the past and the dangers of nostalgia. This irony is performed through detached interpretations of history and stylistic allusions to a general time period rather than through historically informed performances or quotations of baroque works. Historical authenticity is of little importance to baroque rock artists because they did not participate in the rules of classical music. They were, however, aware of their functions which allowed artists to approach them with complete irreverence. Their awareness of historical authenticity's constructedness was evident as they performed baroque instruments in a rock style, played rock instruments in a stereotypical baroque style, and avoided note-for-note replications of canonized works. The following chapter outlines how baroque rock's ironic representations of a distant past operate not only as a tool of postmodernity, but also of hipness. Despite the second wave's serious concern for "historically informed performance" or H.I.P, baroque rock was influenced by the Early Music revival of the 1950s because its participants became aware of historical authenticity's improbability. Both baroque rock and the Early Music revival participated in hipness, an awareness against social perils, conventional values, and mass society, in order to question socio-cultural hierarchies of high/low art, past/present, oral/written cultures, professional/amateur, and the work/performance.

3.0   WHAT IS H.I.P? EARLY MUSIC AND THE ROCK REVOLUTION

Contrary to popular belief, the 1960s counterculture was not a stereotypical collective of hippies with flowers in their hair, gathering in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco to protest the Vietnam War. Rather the counterculture should be defined by its ideologies in order to avoid perpetuating these narrow associations with specific groups and their activities. The countercultural ideology, as the name suggests, was an alternative to mainstream culture and its social restrictions. While different countercultural groups developed this ideology in various ways to serve their own purposes, several groups (including baroque rock artists) utilized postmodern techniques. Postmodernism, in its questioning of constructed master narratives, aligned perfectly with the countercultural ideology of altering the perception of hierarchies and acceptable social mores. This altered perception, designed to increase awareness of one's surroundings, is an example of hipness. While being hip is typically associated with being cool, it is first and foremost an act of being in the know as a form of protecting oneself from accepting oppressive dominant narratives as fact. Both postmodernity and hipness are resistant stances against an opposing ideology and/or style. Hipness, however, encompasses an awareness of social perils, rejection of conventional values, and disgust for mass society.

Operating as a tool of postmodernity and hipness, baroque rock initially resisted mainstream society as well as musical and social hierarchies by juxtaposing rock music of the present with the less familiar music of a very distant past. This juxtaposition of past/present and

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high/low art was designed to highlight the irony inherent in these false cultural dichotomies that represented even deeper issues in society. These cultural dichotomies were also called into question by members of the Early Music revival whose music influenced baroque rock and increased in popularity due to technological innovations such as long-playing records, high fidelity, and record changers.[102] The first wave of the Early Music revival in the 1950s included ensembles that performed on modern chamber instruments until the second wave responded with a serious concern for "historically informed performance" or H.I.P. While trying to break away from the Classical invention of the work concept, H.I.P. revivalists aimed for historical authenticity. They increasingly became aware that history is a social construct based on canonized narratives that change with each contemporary representation. Both the Early Music revival and baroque rock used music of the distant past to resist hegemony inherent in master narratives and hierarchical binaries, providing commentary on contemporary society for a self-reflexive revolution in the minds of their audience.

3.1   POSTMODERN NOSTALGIA AND HISTORICAL AUTHENTICITY

The stereotypical representation of the hippie standing in as a symbol for the counterculture is a romantic construction powered by nostalgia for a time when people believed love could triumph over the establishment's oppressive reign. Ironically, the countercultural ideology highlights the absurdity of this romantic narrative and questions why its authors would choose to hide in the past instead of reconstructing it in a way that would empower themselves in the present. Drawing

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[102] Early Music is a genre that encompasses the Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods of Western art music.

on the aforementioned theories of nostalgia and postmodernism set forth in the previous chapter, postmodernism rejects the dominant narrative that suggests time progresses linearly with a clear past, present, and future in favor of historical time existing on multiple levels at once. Since the past is inevitably determined by the present, reconstructions of the past can be utilized to make statements about contemporary society. Postmodern nostalgia is a form of hipness because its participants are made aware of the pitfalls inherent in the linear construction of time.

Hipness and postmodernism are designed to create self-awareness and reflection for their participants in hopes of resisting the norms of mainstream culture by contemplating the basis of master narratives. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines hip (interchangeable with hep) as "well-informed, knowledgeable" but lists the origin as unknown.[103] However, several suggestions for the etymology of hip are in circulation. One explanation suggests that wearing hip boots for protection from the weather is analogous to "the way in which awareness or sophistication arms one against social perils."[104] Another explanation suggests that the term is from a West African language in which "hip" comes from the verb "hipi" (to open one's eyes).[105] These associations of an awareness of one's surroundings suggest that hipness is a resistant stance against an unaware world and that this stance is "renegotiated moment by moment as the individual deals with whatever that world might propose."[106] Both hipness and the past are constantly reconstructed in order to serve the present functions of the group.

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[103] Oxford English Dictionary, "hep, adj.," *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), accessed September 6, 2015, http://www.oed.com.pitt.idm.oclc.org/view/Entry/85984.
[104] Ford, *Dig*, 20.
[105] Ibid., 20.
[106] Ibid., 4.

Those that aligned themselves with what would become known as the counterculture were from different collectives but shared a sensibility due to common interests and outlooks rather than a shared history. Musicologist Phil Ford defines the countercultural idea as:

> A political idea insofar as it renders a specific critique of society, particularly American society, but among political ideas it is unique in the specifically cultural remedy it proposes. The remedy may lie in cultivating a certain style of music or a certain style of self…This aesthetic, the countercultural notion of the beautiful, is hipness...[107]

Hipness as a defining characteristic of beauty can be traced back to a philosophical shift concerning the aesthetics of music in the eighteenth century. Before this time period, musical beauty was determined by the mathematical and cosmological organization of harmonies and rhythms. A shift to a more subjective point of view understood beauty to be based on experience and sensory perception. Since hipness is awareness achieved through experience, it makes sense that the countercultural idea would find beauty in anything that altered perception. Those that believed in this countercultural idea demonstrated their desire to be outside of political and social systems through pluralism. By the mid-1960s, music reflected this desire as the rock genre embraced seemingly disparate styles such as Early Music (i.e., baroque rock) and music from Eastern cultures (i.e., raga rock).

How can hipness as a form of resistance be read into baroque rock, a subgenre whose participants wrote music with an ironic sense of humor and avoided lyrics that addressed key issues of the time? Artists, even if they eventually became active in politics, chose to make their audience aware of the irony in false cultural dichotomies (high/low, written/oral cultures, professional/amateur) that represented even deeper issues inherent in society. Culture and politics can seem at odds with one another especially if culture is viewed as a passive form of hegemony and/or resistance while politics is viewed as an active form. Sociologist George

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[107] Ibid., 77.

Lipsitz states, "Culture can become a rehearsal for politics, trying out values and beliefs permissible in art but forbidden in social life."[108] A revolution in culture can lead to real political change especially with the aid of mass-produced popular culture that can disseminate messages to vast audiences at a fast rate. British music critic Ian MacDonald argues that the revolution in the 1960s occurred less within institutional power than within the minds of ordinary people, altering how they viewed their place within society. He refers to this revolution in inner feeling and assumption as a "revolution in the head" that may or may not lead to an external revolution of physical action.[109] Baroque rock's ability to point out the absurdity of separating the past and present may not conjure up images of mass revolution bent on overthrowing the government, but it changes perception and allows people to think about their position within the political structure. Lipsitz argues that an uncritical acceptance of the conception of the past and present ignores the role of human agency in their construction and "rejects the complicated and plural history that has happened in favor of a mythical construct invented to impose cultural unity and obedience to the present government."[110] Self-reflection on the construction of master narratives aids individuals in navigating their world and avoiding or combating oppression.

During the 1960s, the concept of authenticity referred to the countercultural ideal of being real or hip rather than an attempt at historical exactitude. The authenticity surrounding hipness contrasted with a supposedly inauthentic society that blindly participated in mass consumption and societal expectations. The counterculture questioned historical authenticity by using the past to comment on the present. They not only made this type of commentary in the music of baroque rock but also through participation in Renaissance faires. These faires were

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[108] Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 16.
[109] MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 27.
[110] Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 27.

established in the early 1960s and functioned as "a resounding slap in the face of 1950s conventions of Cold War bellicosity, compulsory female domesticity, stifling anticommunism, and narrow ideals of nuclear family."[111] Antimodernism and avant-garde combined as the turn to an unexperienced past opened up a space cut off from the rest of society, allowing experimentation with sexuality, gender roles, drugs, and communal living. While Renaissance and Medieval faires still exist in the present day, long-time attendees have commented that the faire has become more commercialized and family-friendly over the years rather than its initial premise of an alternative oasis.[112] Renaissance faires were designed to operate similarly to the events of Carnival in that participants are free to invert the social hierarchy by hiding behind a different identity. In this way, the faire becomes a "happening" because fairegoers participate and create the environment rather than resign themselves to the position of a spectator. Participants wear elaborate costumes to conceal their position within society but they do not merely hide in the past but rather create social commentary through connections between contemporary political events and the barbaric ideologies of the past.

The faires also poke fun at commercialism as evidenced by an incident at the 1964 Pleasure Faire and May Market in which an "authentically attired" monk shouted to fairegoers: "Let me absolve you of the punishments and everlasting torments of commercialism!"[113] This statement creates a rift in one's relationship to historical time as the character's historically informed appearance does not connect with the contemporary commentary he espouses. In order to point out the issues surrounding societal conventions, faire performers and fairegoers must agree that the authenticity that is performed is "a socially agreed-upon construct in which the

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[111] Rubin, *Well Met: Renaissance Faires and the American Counterculture*, 4.
[112] Ibid., 68.
[113] Ibid., 34.

past is to a degree misremembered."[114] The historical inaccuracies of blending the past with the present allow one to reflect on how the present compares and contrasts with the past. The irony of a character from a historically distant, antiquated society recognizing the troubles of our contemporary, presumably progressive society forces us to contemplate our relationship to the past.

The Society for Creative Anachronism, founded in 1966, is yet another example of postmodern nostalgia. The group is devoted to recreating Medieval European history in a way that highlights the impossibility of historical authenticity. The group's first gathering was designed as a protest against the twentieth century, operating as a reactionary stance against modernism, technology, and societal norms. Their nostalgic visions see the Middle Ages "as they should have been" and their name reflexively refers to historical memory's reconstruction.[115] They selectively recreate Medieval culture by choosing elements that interest them rather than closely following historical narratives. The postmodern organization creates stylistic allusions to a general Middle Ages which is evidenced by their decision not to reenact specific times and places. While it appears the organization is trying to escape the present, they are consciously contemporary in their references to popular culture and recognize the impossibility of living history. They juxtapose romantic notions of the Victorian era with jokes about plague, religious wars, and despotism, thus demonstrating an awareness of dominant narratives and the influence contemporary culture has on their reconstructions.[116] The society, aware of the Medieval culture's problems as well as its advantages, looks to this time period not only as a temporary escape from contemporary society but also as a way to understand the present.

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[114] Ibid., 34.
[115] Michael A. Cramer, *Medieval Fantasy as Performance: The Society for Creative Anachronism and the Current Middle Ages* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), xi.
[116] Ibid., 21.

Medievalism, understood as the reception of medieval culture in post-Medieval times, can be received as simultaneously barbaric and ideal. Ideally, the medieval past is presented as a solution to the troubled present but anti-medievalism exposes this idealization as a ludicrous construct.[117] As the concept of postmodern nostalgia would help us understand, these two views can co-exist as well as compete with one another. One may be inclined to fear technological innovation in the 1960s because nuclear bombs have the potential to kill thousands with the press of a button, however returning to a period with a lack of progress in scientific medicine would result in even more deaths. Perhaps the most familiar example of anti-medievalism is *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975) because it parodies films that idealize myths of the Middle Ages such as chivalry and a nostalgic view of feudalism in which upper classes provide for those below them. The film makes it explicit that King Arthur's kingship is a construct when his position is defended with a narrative about the Lady of the Lake granting Arthur with Excalibur out of Divine Providence to which his subject Dennis replies, "watery tarts lying around in lakes distributing swords is no basis for a system of government."[118] Dennis acknowledges the construction of master narratives and refuses to accept their existence without contemplation. Susan Aronstein, an English scholar specializing in Medievalism and popular culture, suggests that Monty Python's postmodern techniques break social and narrative conventions, calling "their audience's attention to the fact that all narratives, from genres to political and social discourses, are assembled out of disparate parts and bound together…designed to make them seem natural."[119] *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, Renaissance faires, and baroque rock operate within this framework of postmodernism that calls attention to the memory politics of

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[117] Susan Aronstein, *Hollywood Knights: Arthurian Cinema and the Politics of Nostalgia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 6.
[118] Ibid., 113.
[119] Ibid., 110.

constructed historical narratives and socio-political hierarchies while treating the simple nostalgic yearnings for a "pre-civilized" period as absurd and undesirable.

3.2   THE EARLY MUSIC REVIVAL AND BAROQUE ROCK

Baroque rock not only questioned the social construction of the past but also appropriated music of the Baroque period that previously had associations with complexity, elitism, and seriousness to question the legitimacy of those associations while creating commentary on the commercialism of culture. Baroque music was so far removed from popularity and commercialism that it was perfect for co-optation by the counterculture that raged against mass consumption. Musicologist Robert Fink states:

> Music can drown out the omnipresent barrage of commodity culture with a barrage of its own. Music can even place that barrage under the control of the listener, and encourage her to toy with it, dominate it…[120]

Baroque rock artists resisted commodity culture by incorporating the non-commercial music of the baroque period with the commercial music of rock 'n' roll in an attempt to question these distinctions and thus participate in hipness.

Baroque rock artists utilized acoustic instrumentation in contrast to more traditional sounds of rock that incorporated electronic amplification and distortion. This decision not only fulfilled the countercultural idea of resisting mainstream society by juxtaposing new popular music with the unfamiliar music of a very distant past but also by resisting the conventions of a contemporary genre. But why did artists choose music specifically from the Baroque period?

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[120] Robert Fink, *Repeating Ourselves: American Minimal Music as Cultural Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 205.

Communication scholar Emmanuelle Fantin describes the artistic and literary movement of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:

> In art and literature, baroque is defined by its inclination to illusions, contrasts and antitheses, representing the place where borders between opposite concepts vanish, where everything seems reconcilable: death and life, dream and reality, and, of course, past and present.[121]

While this definition holds true for visual arts, music of this period was riddled with antitheses. Baroque music accepted dissonance, fragmented forms, ornamentation, and struggles between the highest and lowest range as well as the juxtaposition of solo and tutti passages while the music of the Classical period, in line with its Enlightenment ideals, stressed harmony, balanced forms, and the resolution of tension. This definition of the baroque style explains why artists, operating with the countercultural idea in mind, embraced a style that aligned with their intentions to underline the absurdity of categorical divisions rather than erase them completely.

A second factor in the decision to use Baroque music was the presence of an Early Music revival in the 1950s. In the revival's infancy, record companies co-opted sounds of the Baroque period by releasing recordings of Italian baroque concertos to demonstrate the technological capabilities of LPs. These concertos were the perfect length to show off an LP's storage capacity of twenty-two minutes which was designed to avoid the interruption of changing discs between movements. While previous recording technology relocated music listening from public to more domestic spaces, LPs also affected performers because they could conceive of performances on a larger scale without dividing a piece into sections which would have disrupted the formal conception of a work.

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[121] Emmanuelle Fantin, "Anti-nostalgia in Citroën's Advertising Campaign," in *Media and Nostalgia: Yearning for the Past, Present and Future*, ed. Katharina Niemeyer. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 97.

Record companies were not only interested in demonstrating the capabilities of LPs but also high fidelity recordings. By the early 1950s, record companies took advantage of new technology and sought to make the classical music canon hi-fi. These records found an audience in affluent urban listeners who could afford the technology. As the name suggests, high fidelity (hi-fi) played into the distinctions between "high" and "low" art as hi-fi was targeted to middle-class adults in the form of long-playing classical records that could pick up a large range of frequencies with a minimal amount of noise, rather than to the teen market which was dominated by lower sound quality pop singles. Baroque music's association with "highbrow" music and the high cost of high fidelity records and record changers led Baroque recordings to be used as a status symbol in addition to mere appreciation. While co-optation usually refers to a powerful group subsuming a less powerful group, it also operates as a two-way cycle that revolves between those that wield power and those that wish to redistribute power. The latter group does not necessarily aim to take power from the upper echelon of society but rather to gain agency in controlling how they are approached by the first group. A prime example of this theory is demonstrated by the co-optation strategies of both consumers and the entertainment industry.

The record changer was a device designed to play multiple records in sequence without the listener having to manually change the discs. The device made repetitive listening easier and made it possible for consumers to put Baroque recordings on in the background at parties without giving proper attention to the music as deemed appropriate within the rituals of classical canon consumption. Music consumers co-opted Baroque recordings and record changers and used them for repetitive listening that was unintended by record companies even though they were profiting from this practice. Robert Fink argues that Baroque music, listened to in this fashion, "is the perfect music for shallow social climbers who want the prestige of classical

music without the effort."[122] Whether consumers were buying records for display or enjoyment, the records were indisputably popular but despite the intent to reach more people in different echelons of society they remained in middle to upper class homes due to high-priced technology.

Baroque rock artists (as is described in later chapters) were either raised in middle-class environments or attended art schools designed to lift students out of their working-class backgrounds. They undoubtedly heard Baroque recordings at home or in school, recognizing classical music's potential to reach the masses through recordings and questioning the high-class pretensions of that music especially in relation to rock. Baroque music's influence on rock music was mentioned in yet another principle of rock, listed in *The Oracle*, which reads:

> That rock is a legitimate avant garde art form, with deep roots in the music of the past (especially the baroque and before), great vitality, and vast potential for growth and development, adaptation, experiment, etcetera.[123]

While baroque rock artists utilized Baroque music ironically, they wanted to be taken seriously as innovators of a new pluralistic style of rock that went beyond the traditional associations of rock as a genre with a simplistic form and chord structure targeted to a raucous, degenerate youth by blending "high" and "low" art. Baroque music's associations with high society were never fully severed by baroque rock and even played a part in helping rock gain cultural accreditation.

Both baroque rock and the Early Music revival sought to alter multiple antitheses including professional and amateur, "high" and "low" art, the work and performance, oral and visual culture, as well as history and memory. French historian Pierre Nora differentiates between memory and history by suggesting that "Memory is always a phenomenon of the

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[122] Fink, *Repeating Ourselves*, 198.
[123] Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 453.

present, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past."[124] This false memory-history binary separates the accurate, objective history of academics from the inaccurate, subjective memory of laymen. Much like the hierarchy of "high" and "low" art, history is assigned a higher value because it is done by professionals with degrees asserting their accreditation while memory can be done by anyone, making it that much harder to construct one dominant historical narrative.

Recordings also play an important role in memory and history because, like writing, the recording is a form of graphic preservation of content. Playback technology offers the potential for repeated listening that is absent from live performances, the details of which are soon forgotten. The ability to listen to a recording ad nauseam allows a listener to pick out specific details of a performance in contrast to remembering only a handful of memories from a live performance where presence disappears as soon as it is produced. While recordings capture the presence of social actors at a particular moment in time, they are by no means capsules of indisputable fact. Memory is constantly in flux because it changes with experience. What one hears and remembers from a recording (even with the advantage of playback) will ultimately depend on the listener's experience during each listening. Early Music performers engage in aspects of both memory and history because they experience history through their performing bodies operating in the present. Artists perform this history not with a desire to return to its origins but to create a marker by which they define themselves in the modern age. Historical memory accounts for the simultaneous presence of memory and history and thus explains why the performers can indirectly simulate the past even though they cannot directly recall the

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[124] Pierre Nora. "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in *Conflicts and Divisions*, vol. 1 of *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, ed. Pierre Nora (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 3.

musical events of the Baroque era.[125] Instead, revivalists and baroque rockers were drawing on narratives and other representations of the past.

Narratives, especially those that become dominant, are created with the purpose of establishing order and commonality between groups of individuals.[126] Both the Early Music revival and baroque rock involve reconstructions of the past which require participants to come face to face with aspects of the old narrative they are resisting in order for their interpretations to make sense. For instance, a listener cannot be expected to question the constructed narratives of cultural hierarchies and the work concept if these narratives are ignored by performers. The H.I.P. revivalists took the work concept's focus on intentionality and shifted it from the composer to the performer while baroque rock artists played with stereotypical representations of Baroque music that would be easily recognizable and associated with high society.[127] Historical memory accounts for social actors remembering events not through direct experience but through reading, listening, and/or participating in commemoration activities. Words such as representation and reconstruction are inherently involved in memory as suggested by the prefix "re" meaning "again." One cannot present something again without having memory of the initial object or experience. However, memory itself is based on representation because a conception of the past must be articulated in order for it to become a memory.[128] Even if a person experienced an event firsthand, a rendition of the event must be created in order for it to be committed to memory. Remembering involves a version of the event heavily influenced by the dominant version that is canonized by social institutions.

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[125] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 24.
[126] James A. Beverly, *Imagining Postcommunism: Visual Narratives of Hungary's 1956 Revolution* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2005), 17.
[127] Baroque music's association with high society stems from the music (especially chamber music and operas) being performed primarily in European courts before the rise of public concerts and published music.
[128] Huyssen, *Twilight Memories*, 2-3.

Recordings were easily co-opted by listeners to serve a multitude of goals and this technology allowed the first wave of Early Music revival performers to hear music differently than their predecessors, offering a different view of the work concept. Musical notation was invented with the purpose of aiding one's musical memory of a piece learned aurally. Notation acted similarly to mnemonic devices in that a prescriptive groundwork (or skeleton) was laid in order to trigger memory of the whole entity. This device enabled performers to draw on a combination of visual, aural, and oral senses in order to enhance their memory. Musical notation evolved into more detailed instructions with the Ars Nova style as music (particularly for multiple voices) became more complicated. In the Baroque period, the ground bass (a repeating pattern in the bass) acted as the written mnemonic device from which soloists were expected to improvise their virtuosic lines. Baroque artists drew from both oral and written cultures that would eventually transition into an almost exclusively written culture during the Classical period.

The Classical invention of the work concept prized a descriptive notation that instructed the performer how to execute dynamics, notes, rhythms, time signatures, articulations, and even specific moods rather than a prescriptive ground bass.[129] This notation left it up to the performer to articulate the wishes of the composer while the ground bass allowed the performer more freedom and creativity. As the name suggests, the work concept focused solely on the notes written on a page rather than the socio-historical context of the work, the composer, or the performers. The concept functioned on the premise that preservation and visual cultures operated within the mind while oral dissemination operated within the body. The mind/body binary is

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[129] In *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (1992), philosopher Lydia Goehr outlines the work concept as having arisen in the Classical era only to be reified and made dominant through Romantic literature and ideals.

directly related to the high/low art division because the classical music canon is taught through notation while popular music is typically taught by ear. These binaries also lead to the assumption that professional musicians are more qualified because they are formally trained in music while amateur musicians are assumed to have a deficiency in reading music. The work concept also created a division between the work and the performance with more importance placed on the work.

Rather than focusing primarily on written traditions, the revivalists were also interested in oral traditions. The work concept is altered when a performance is recorded because both the work and the performance are captured and preserved. Mechanical reproduction in the twentieth century functioned similarly to museums in the nineteenth century. Recordings (much like museums) removed "the work" from its context and placed it in dialogue with works from any time, space, and place.[130] Performers have the freedom to respond to performances from years before they were born, geographical spaces they have never visited, and social classes they would otherwise be dissuaded from engaging in conversation. This intertextuality accounts for the fact that while canonical texts demand exact recitation, they (in and of themselves) cannot be circulated without an interpreter who can communicate the meaning of the text to a third party. The interpreter (i.e., the performer) can take the socio-historical background of the work, the composer, and himself/herself into consideration when extrapolating meaning. This allows the performer to adapt his/her interpreted meaning of an historical work to the current social situation which helps keep the meaning and the canon alive. Baroque musical scores have survived into the present due to the canonization of Western art music. German Egyptologist Jan Assmann argues that while the prescriptive notation on a page remains unchanged, a canonized

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[130] Elie, *Reinventing Bach*, 224.

text must be translated to contemporary society through interpretation rather than exact recitation in order to appeal to the heart and to serve present concerns.[131] Early Music performers broke from the work-centeredness of the Classical music canon and became the third party interpreters that mediated between the text and the listeners by placing the text's meaning into a contemporary context.

The re-imagination of Baroque music was suited to a poststructuralist society because its notation style incorporated aspects of written and oral cultures, leading to innovation through interpretation. Memory and creativity are linked, in that memory requires one to create images that link unrelated ideas, while creativity involves forming connections between unrelated ideas in order to create something new. Baroque music's mnemonic notated ground bass aids a performer in remembering the sound of the music by looking at the framework which then leads him/her to connect the written framework with the sound of the piece through an improvised solo that fits within both ideas. Mnemonic notation grants creative control to the performer which aligns with the understanding that music, unlike the visual arts, needs human intervention to create the desired effect. The *Mona Lisa* is the particular combination of colors on a canvas that spectators view at first glance while Beethoven's *Symphony No. 5* is simply notes on a page until it is performed. This postmodern understanding not only affected the revivalists but also Beat poets (whose influence on baroque rock artists is discussed in the next chapter), who believed oral utterances preserved energy and presence rather than just ideas because orality is directly tied to the bodies, spaces, and times in which it is produced.[132] The written word, on the other hand, can be reproduced indefinitely and its meanings are not tied to experiences surrounding

[131] Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 79.
[132] Ford, *Dig*, 16.

production. The classic cliché of distinguishing between *what* was said and *how* it was said demonstrates the importance of an interpreter. The Beats believed that an abstraction from life caused the horrors of the modern age which lead them to prize experience over the uninterpreted written word. Just as the Beat generation understood the importance of presence in creating awareness, members of the Early Music movement placed more emphasis on the experience of performance than just the work.

Just as baroque rock has several waves separated by ideologies and sonic characteristics, the Early Music revival has multiple waves separated by ideologies concerning the historical authenticity of a performance. Listening to LPs of Italian Baroque music, ensembles in the revival's first wave performed on modern chamber instruments with an ear toward nineteenth century conceptions of performance articulations and tempi.[133] Thus they were not ideologically concerned with the temporal disparity between seventeenth-century music and music from the Classical period. This wave was appealing to amateurs because they performed in domestic spaces rather than at public events and their modern instruments were more easily accessible than their traditionally baroque counterparts.[134] They participated in hipness by recognizing that "historical authenticity" was nearly impossible; a position that would come to haunt the second wave.

The second wave was comprised of amateur musicians experimenting with period instruments, but while they may have been amateur performers, they were highly educated

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[133] Ensembles outside of Italy adopted this style of performance, including the Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields in London and the Orpheus Chamber Orchestra in New York City.
Elizabeth Upton, "Concepts of Authenticity in Early Music and Popular Music Communities," *Ethnomusicology Review* 17 (2012): 3.
[134] Modern orchestral instruments are constructed differently than baroque instruments which creates a difference in pitch, timbre, and performance technique. For example, string instruments used to be made with gut strings which required the performer to attack the string harder than on a modern instrument. Baroque brass instruments were valveless which makes it more physically demanding to change pitch.

professionals (academics, doctors, teachers) who based their performance on their own research endeavors.[135] Unlike the first wave, the second wave tried to recreate performance techniques discussed in Baroque treatises like Georg Muffat's *Regulae Concentuum Partiturae* (1699). Musicology, like history, is presumed to be legitimate when it is conducted within the academy, however, memory plays an important role in its construction. The second wave had to contend with the contradiction between trying to recreate the composer's intentions by closely following the written score and recapturing the performative freedoms of earlier eras.[136] Ironically, members of the second wave eschewed modern instrumental technologies but embraced technological advancements in contemporary recording practices. Members of this wave realized that instruments of the Baroque period were constructed differently and thus sounded different from their modern counterparts. They sought out copies of Baroque instruments in order to get them as close to their perception of the original sound as possible. The second wave co-opted the record company's playback technology in order to respond with a serious concern for historically informed performances or H.I.P.[137] Playback technology, with its ability to repeat the same performance, helped create the presumption that an exact reproduction of a performance is possible. Therefore, the members' memory of lived and contemporary experiences played an equal role in constructing a recreation of the unexperienced past.

Early Music performers also blended "high" and "low" art through their contemporary interpretations of the Baroque past which were influenced by popular culture. Both contemporary popular music and Baroque music (as suggested by several treatises) limited the

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[135] Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 22.

[136] Kailan R. Rubinoff, "(Re)Creating the Past: Baroque Improvisation in the Early Music Revival," New Sound 32 (2008): 80.

[137] Upton, "Concepts of Authenticity," 3.

use of vibrato to the end of long, sustained notes unlike nineteenth-century opera which incorporated vibrato as a central aspect of vocal production.[138] Early Music performers, influenced by the light vocal style found in popular music recordings, chose a pure vocal timbre that aligned with Baroque performers' decision to reserve vibrato for ornamentation.[139] In spite of a desire to recreate past styles, both the performers and the listeners are influenced by their modern-day conceptions of the past and thus can never approach the piece with historical authenticity. This thinking stems from the postmodern view that history is a social construct, suggesting authenticity is an impossible goal particularly if it is defined as an exact replica of the composer's intentions and/or an exact re-enactment of the techniques portrayed in the first performance. A performer can only attempt to simulate what written history has told us to be true but he/she certainly cannot reproduce the composer's (nor the first performers') sexuality, class, race, religion, or mental state. Cultural studies scholar Nick Wilson states, "It is perhaps rather more than just a coincidence that the acronym for historically informed performance…is also the root of the word hippie (hip or hep, denoting awareness)."[140] Early Music performers were aware of the limitations of notation and instrument manufacturers, thus recognizing their contemporary biases in the reading of history.

The movement also rejected the classical music mainstream that adopted the nineteenth-century notion of concert halls, upheld the Western art music canon, and gave credence to only professional performers and composers who gained an iconic status.[141] The movement gave a voice to Early Music composers and amateur performers who would not have been given

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[138] Sally A. Sanford, "Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Vocal Style and Technique" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1979), 72.
[139] Upton, "Concepts of Authenticity," 3.
[140] Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment*, 26.
[141] Ibid, 9.

credibility under classical canonic formation. It was easier for amateur performers to join the Early Music movement due to the availability of affordable DIY kits that allowed consumers to construct their own historical instrument.[142] Unlike Classical music which had strict rules for performance practice, Early Music did not have an established performance tradition thus granting performers more freedom to draw from their own conceptions of the past guided by present interpretations of history.

Contemporary interpretations of past music occurred before, during, and after the formation of the work concept in order to keep a piece in circulation and increase its relevance. Some examples include Mozart's re-orchestration of Handel's *Messiah* to include the newly-invented clarinet as well as Respighi's orchestration of sixteenth and seventeenth-century lute music for his "Ancient Airs and Dances" suites.[143] Early Music revivalists and their audience would have been familiar with similar arrangements found in popular culture, such as musical scores for cartoons that borrowed from the classical music canon. The most famous example of a cartoon reference during this time period is Leopold Stokowski's orchestral arrangement of Bach's *Toccata and Fugue in D minor* (originally written for organ) which is heard in Disney's *Fantasia* (1940). Just as these composers updated music to suit the needs of a contemporary orchestra, Early Music performers during the post-war wave of the revival often arranged Baroque music in order to fit the modern instrumentation available in their ensembles. They performed on primarily modern instruments but included the harpsichord which is solely associated with the Baroque period.

The harpsichord made a comeback in the post-war era after being displaced for approximately 100 years by pianofortes. Compared to pianofortes, harpsichords are

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[142] This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter specifically in regard to harpsichord kits.
[143] Upton, "Concepts of Authenticity," 2.

disadvantaged in that their touch sensitivity makes it difficult to express dynamic changes, they cannot be heard over a modern orchestra, they fall out of tune easily, and their wooden soundboards do not fare well in weather changes.[144] Production of the instrument was halted from 1807 until 1889 which led its popularity in the 1940s to be based on the novelty of a relatively "new" instrument. Wanda Landowska revitalized interest in the harpsichord in the 1940s and '50s by releasing recordings of Bach's *Goldberg Variations* and *The Well-Tempered Clavier* that had previously only been released as piano performances. Record companies at this time found it was profitable to release records that did not fit within the mainstream repertoire such as Early Music and experimental music.

Record companies chose to release recordings of Baroque music because it was unique in comparison to Classical recordings and it was cheaper than recording new material. This is evident in the business practices of Nonesuch Records, Elektra's subsidiary company, which was founded at the height of the revival in 1964. The independent label was able to sell records at half the price of regular LPs (list price of $2.50 per album rather than the usual $5.98) because it licensed European recordings of Baroque music.[145] Founder Jac Holzman praised both companies for releasing repertoire that was unique and hard to find elsewhere. A statement in a mid-1960s Elektra catalog reads, "We are not interested in releasing yet another *Pathetique*, *Eroica*, *Unfinished* or similar overworked warhorse. We will issue what we like, and our tastes lean heavily toward music of the Baroque, Renaissance, Medieval and Moderns."[146] This mission statement aligned with the revivalists' desire to break from the Classical music canon.

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144 Wood, "Keys to the Past," 31-2.
Dynamic changes can only be expressed on a double manual harpsichord, or a single manual with two or more "stops," thus controlling different sets of strings which creates the effect of dynamics.
145 John J. O'Connor, "Making Music—and Money—at Elektra," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 15, 1969, 18.
146 Elektra Catalog edited by Nina M. Holzman, 1964-65, box 1, folder 2, Coll. ARC-0033, Lenny Kaye Collection, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.

Even though the harpsichord was "old" in a historical sense, its absence from the performance repertoire for so many years made it seem "new" to the uninitiated soundscape. This fascination for the novel explains why the harpsichord was positioned alongside Theremins and synthesizers in popular music records, and incorporated into experimental works by John Cage and György Ligeti.[147]

The innovations of magnetic tape and long-playing records made it possible to record a wider range of frequencies than before. Instruments were used in recordings for the purpose of showcasing hi-fi equipment's ability to display a complete frequency and dynamic range with minimal background noise. The harpsichord, with its lack of dynamic range, surprisingly large frequency range, and the clicking action noise of key strikes, was a perfect test of the equipment's claim of clarity.[148] In this context, the harpsichord had carried its aristocratic associations with it into a middle-class domestic space allowing it to be fancy yet accessible. Due to higher wages and more disposable income for many white Americans during the Cold War years, home ownership and mass-produced affordable items to place within the home became readily available. The harpsichord found its way into this space through Early Music LPs on hi-fi equipment but would become most prevalent with the invention of the do-it-yourself (DIY) harpsichord kit in 1960.

The DIY harpsichord kits (costing $150) made an esoteric and complicated instrument relatively affordable and easy to build.[149] The invention placed the harpsichord into the hands (and homes) of amateur performers who may have viewed the instrument as a hobby rather than a way to make a living. The harpsichord, which had once been pushed to oblivion, now became a

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[147] Wood, "Keys to the Past," 128.
[148] Ibid., 122.
[149] Wood, "Historical Authenticity Meets DIY," 230.

mass-produced consumer product, which altered the notion that "high" art was marked with individuality and not meant for the mainstream. The democratization of the harpsichord aligned with the Early Music revival's desire to break from the Classical model of professionalism and complexity. Much as baroque rock attempted to question commercialism with its appropriation of a music in direct contrast to pop that would later flood the market, DIY harpsichord kits "offered an esoteric, anti-commercial escape, yet it meanwhile had become a large industry with thousands of consumers and ad campaigns running in the mainstream news."[150] In both cases, the contradiction between Early Music and modern sensibilities reflects the contradiction of an esoteric idea being mass-produced. The hip sensibility craved the old/new contradiction because it marked its tastes in opposition to the masses rather than focusing on individual preferences.[151]

By the end of the 1940s, popular music genres made up ninety percent of record sales, and the harpsichord found its place in swing, country, R&B, and jazz. As a continuo instrument responsible for playing a continuous bass line while occasionally improvising the melody, the harpsichord was well-suited to boogie's rhythmic style of ostinatos in the bass with syncopated lines in the treble. The most famous example of this can be found in Rosemary Clooney's number one single "Come On-A My House" (1951). Musicologist Jessica Wood argues:

> These recordings played on the irony and novelty of the "highbrow" instrument playing "lowbrow" repertoire, and on the acoustic similarities between honky-tonk pianos and harpsichords … [both instruments] derived their acoustic character from being aged and weathered.[152]

The irony of juxtaposing the boogie style associated with industrial workers in early twentieth-

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[150] Ibid., 241.
[151] This concept is known as hip consumerism and is discussed in length in Chapter 6.
[152] Wood, "Keys to the Past," 115.

century America with the harpsichord instrumentation associated with seventeenth-century Old World European aristocracy was appealing to a group wishing to subvert musical and social hierarchies.

Baroque rock artists also subverted the distinction between memory and history while questioning the harpsichord's role in escaping the fears of a post-War era. Wood states, "Othered by its distance from the twentieth century…and its closeness to Nature (as indexed by the unruliness of its organic components), the instrument is made to service twentieth-century fears of modernity's onslaught."[153] The natural, acoustic sounds of an instrument created well before the fear of technology and nuclear war was welcoming to those participating in the "back to the land" movement. In returning to nature, there is a sense that the past was better than the present because the lack of technology made life more simplistic. Baroque rock artists paired acoustic instrumentation of the past with electronic amplification and instrumentation of the present in order to suggest that escaping to the past without questioning its relationship to contemporary society is not only impossible but is just as dangerous as living in the present unaware of modernity's threats. Escaping into nostalgia will not create awareness about the past's power to comment on present situations in hope of creating a better future. Nostalgia will not lead to revolution or change but to sedentary apathy and repetition.

Baroque rock artists co-opted the record companies' novel and functional use of the harpsichord in order to create social commentary and awareness. Rather than just incorporating the harpsichord into recordings, baroque rock artists drew on the stylistic tendencies in order to make the listener's recognition of the referenced period unmistakable. The harpsichord playing a boogie style leaves the instrument to serve a technical function because the isolated timbre

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[153] Ibid., 51.

provides less historical context than when the timbre is paired with its associated style. Baroque rock's use of the harpsichord's timbre and style within a rock framework leaves the instrument to perform an extramusical function of commenting on high/low distinctions in music and the perception of history. The harpsichord's associations with royalty, wealth, and power have remained since its Golden Age from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century during which the instrument appeared in cathedrals, theaters, and became collector's objects for nobles.[154] These aristocratic associations caused the instrument to be banned at France's National Institute of Music (Institut de France Académie de musique) during the French Revolution because it reminded listeners of the old regime rather than the revolutionary ideals positioned to overthrow it.[155] Popular representations of the harpsichord have not changed much as the instrument is either depicted as a dusty relic of Old World Europe hauntingly exotic in its pastness or as an object of wealth accompanying fancy dinner parties in hundreds of movies and television shows. Baroque rock artists subverted instrumental and genre associations by combining Baroque music's fancy "high" art for the mind with rock's primitivistic "low" art for the body.

3.3   REINTERPRETING AND REPURPOSING BACH

Just as collective memory is constructed to serve socio-political purposes, the high/low divide and the Western art music canon was constructed to preserve moral order. Canonization plays an important role in memory construction because a group's identity is inherent in the formation of collective memory. Music canonization creates a set of pieces that everyone is expected to know

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[154] Ibid., 34.
[155] Ibid., 35.

thus establishing a cultural order to be followed. This list represents a group's interests and values to those outside of the group while those within the group have an established history to draw on that informs their present and future. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the distinction between "high" and "low" cannot be compared aesthetically because, as the names suggest, it is constructed vertically rather than horizontally on an uneven playing field. This vertical construction of musical hierarchies is based on social hierarchies such as class, race, and gender. Hierarchical distinctions change with time as evidenced by musical hierarchies playing a larger role in twentieth-century America than in the nineteenth century, and by these distinctions becoming more fluid with postmodernism.

In order to sacralize the Western art music canon, popular music genres were relegated to a position of lesser importance which increased the distance between the professional and the amateur.[156] The professional title was not given to those who made money from performing music but rather to those formally trained in music with the presumed knowledge and skill required to carry out the intentions of composers. Low art was considered to be simple, accessible to a large number of amateurs, and infinitely reproducible while high art was considered to be complex, sacred, unique, and possessing individuality.[157] A tradition of ritual practices was invented that established continuity with a symbolic past in order to fall back on something stable during modernity's endless changes. Canonization's role in pedagogy served to connect people's experiences to past eras through an appreciation of culture. Historian Lawrence Levine states:

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[156] Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 136.
[157] Ibid., 161.

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What was invented was the illusion that the aesthetic products of high culture were originally created to be appreciated in precisely the manner late nineteenth-century Americans were taught to observe: with reverent, informed, disciplined seriousness.[158]

Institutions that upheld these rituals and standards of appreciation were less concerned with the historical accuracy of audience behavior during symphonic performances in the 1700s than with their own motives for sacralization. They created an imagined past to serve contemporary needs rather than engaging with historical research that documented audience reception. Audiences were not the only targets of these rituals as society itself was also supposed to benefit from moral order's prevention of chaos enacted by "high" art's dissemination.[159]

Baroque rock was also able to comment on the aforementioned division because the ornamented melodies of Baroque music were associated with the serious individual expression of "high" art, whereas the repeating chord progressions of rock music were associated with the simplistic, pre-packaged commercialism of "low" art. Postmodern artists called attention to the "high/low" division not necessarily to democratize the Classical canon while raising popular music to higher levels of appreciation, but to comment on the hegemonic struggles created by the dividing structure. Canonized representations of events or works of art are continuously repeated or in some cases ridiculed. As Andreas Huyssen points out in his analysis of Duchamp's *L.H.O.O.Q.*, "It is not the artistic achievement of Leonardo that is ridiculed by moustache, goatee and obscene allusion, but rather the cult object the *Mona Lisa* had become in the temple of bourgeois art religion, the Louvre."[160] Baroque rock music neither venerated nor mocked Bach's works but it did mock the sacralization and cult-like status of his music. The artists' commentary was delivered on both an aesthetic and political level. "High" art was to be consumed in a pursuit

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[158] Ibid., 229.
[159] Ibid., 200.
[160] Huyssen, *After the Great Divide*, 147.

of culture which perpetuated the bourgeois domination of socialization and education as culture was meant to refine the mind and cultivate the untamed savage.[161] Like all binaries (real or imagined), each division is defined by its opposition. Popular culture is only viewed as the Other to high culture's aesthetic ideals and vice versa. While high culture privileges abstraction over experience, popular culture actively engages the audience in familiarity.[162] This preoccupation with familiarity has led some critics (Theodor Adorno, Fredric Jameson, etc.) to charge popular culture (specifically postmodernism) with a lack of innovation and originality. Even though baroque rock may have had an anachronistic and novel tinge to its sound, it was operating within popular culture's modes of familiarity to reach its audience. Artists relied on familiarity of the Western art music canon, the same system they were resisting, in order to create awareness.

As we have learned with canonical memory, the frequency in which something is adapted to contemporary society is directly related to its preservation, which explains why Johann Sebastian Bach is one of the most widely recognized Baroque figures to professionals and non-professionals alike. The music of Bach, Vivaldi, and Handel is the earliest music that listeners are expected to understand because it is the foundation of general music education. This recognition stems from these composers being among the earliest to build upon the newly developed tonal system and instrumental forms of Italian virtuosi.[163] Bach's popularity rose in the 1950s with multiple LP releases due to a Bach year (1950 was the 200th anniversary of his death), and grew in the 1960s with adaptations of his work by the Swingle Singers (*Bach's Greatest Hits* or *Jazz Sébastien Bach* in 1963) and Wendy Carlos (*Switched-On Bach* in 1968).

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[161] Ibid., 167.

[162] Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 14.

[163] Richard Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 2, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 234.

Baroque rock artists would come to hear Bach as a shining example of the Baroque period but they would focus on the general style of his works rather than quoting famous passages.

Bach has undergone many interpretations of both his character and music and remains a perfect example of how memory politics operates through an alteration of the past to serve present concerns. Even neoclassic composers (specifically Igor Stravinsky and Paul Hindemith) in Paris and Weimar regarded Bach as an anti-Romantic in an attempt to view the composer as an employee of the church churning out music to be consumed on Sundays rather than as a genius with artistic pretentions.[164] The neoclassic view of Bach only partially placed him within his own historical context but Bach would not identify as an anti-Romantic simply because the concepts of the Romantic period and its ideologies were not yet formed. Even though Bach was canonized underneath the classical music umbrella, he became the antithesis to expressive melodies which made his music easily adaptable to any situation. Bach left his pieces open for adaptation because he was not operating within the Classical framework of a work concept that drew a fine line between creation and performance. There was no definitive work because even Bach himself arranged violin concertos for harpsichord and placed excerpts of one piece into another. The most familiar works are the ones leaving themselves open to interpretation and not necessarily the works the composer or his contemporaries found most appealing.

While Bach has been viewed as an anti-Romantic, his music has and can also be heard as questioning social and instrumental hierarchies. Just as instruments can become symbols (i.e., the harpsichord as a symbol of the aristocracy) they also serve pre-determined roles established within a particular musical form. The orchestra has often been viewed as a mirror of societal hierarchies because melodic instruments such as the violin are given more prominence than

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[164] Fink, *Repeating Ourselves*, 172.

accompanying instruments like the harpsichord. These hierarchies are also determined by musical form while instrumental associations change over time as adaptations and innovations occur. In "The Blasphemy of Talking Politics During Bach Year," Susan McClary argues that the first movement of Bach's *Brandenburg Concerto No. 5* (specifically the harpsichord's performance) symbolically represents resistance to social order. Many rock artists (such as members of the Beatles, the Kinks, Big Brother and the Holding Company, Procol Harum, the Doors, and the Left Banke to name a few) have admitted in interviews to listening to Bach's concertos but even if they had not heard the piece with McClary's reading in mind, they certainly embraced the alternating, contrasting textures of the concerto grosso form.

The concerto grosso form was made popular by Antonio Vivaldi in the early eighteenth century and it integrated the sixteenth century's equally harmonized voices with the seventeenth century's virtuosic solo genres in order to demonstrate the compatibility between social harmony and individual expression.[165] The concerto grosso's organization is based on the interactions between the large ensemble and one or more soloists, representing both society and the individual. The form involves the alternation between the collective ensemble's ritornello (thematic material that returns) and the soloist(s) representing the individual's mobility that is appropriated by society as it has the last word. The beginning of *Brandenburg Concerto No. 5* Mvmt. 1 follows the aforementioned order with the flute and violin acting as soloists but instead of returning to the final statement of the ritornello, the harpsichord overthrows the soloists and performs an unusually lengthy virtuosic cadenza. The harpsichord, primarily found in the continuo section of Baroque ensembles with a melodic bass instrument (similar to a rhythm

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[165] Susan McClary, "The Blasphemy of Talking Politics During Bach Year," in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*, ed. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 23.

section in jazz or rock), provided the harmonic and rhythmic groundwork for the rest of the ensemble making the overthrow of the orchestra in this movement even more impressive.

The harpsichord soloist eventually permits the ensemble to perform the final ritornello in order to end the movement, commenting not only on how individual expression can be subsumed by society's rules but also on the danger of completely abandoning that order. McClary states, "For Bach is here enacting the exhilaration as well as the risks of upward mobility, the simultaneous desire for and resistance of concession to social harmony."[166] While musicologist Michael Marissen prefers to view Bach's revenge of the harpsichord as a musical depiction of Lutheran theology's view that all hierarchies in the present world will not be necessary in the heavenly world, both scholars agree that Bach created commentary about how to cope with contemporary hierarchies rather than calling for physical action.[167] As previously mentioned, these particular readings of this concerto may not have been what Bach had in mind but they serve an important role in appropriating Bach to serve contemporary society's political ends while shining light on our own identity. These readings are memory politics in action because they take an interpretation of the past that aligns with society's present goals of questioning hierarchies which says a lot about the presence of these hierarchies and how they affect our daily lives.

A baroque rock group that drew on Bach's instrumental manifestation of social hierarchies in order to subvert the binary of "high" and "low" as well as the construction of history was The Left Banke. The American group released "Walk Away Renée" in 1966 and it

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[166] Ibid., 41.
[167] Michael Marissen, *The Social and Religious Designs of J.S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 116.

spent thirteen weeks on the U.S. charts, reaching a top spot at number five.[168]   The song combines instrumentation associated with rock and Baroque music such as harpsichord, strings, flute, electric bass, guitar, and drums. However, these instruments cross stylistic boundaries as they are not confined to performing within the conventions of their historical style. The Left Banke, much like Bach, gives the harpsichord a leading role rather than a subordinate position within the ensemble. While the harpsichord may not get an exciting solo cadenza, it does get a chance to play the melody rather than serving a mere rhythmic function. It is heard above the guitar, an otherwise dominant force in rock music. The traditional roles of the guitar and harpsichord are reversed as the amplified harpsichord alternates between chordal accompaniment (verses) and performing the main melody with the lead vocals (chorus) while the guitar (typically responsible for leading the melody) is barely audible as it strums chord changes.

The band not only appropriated Bach's techniques but also a harmonic staple of the Baroque period. The obbligato string melody begins each verse with a descending chromatic line (Figure 3) that is reminiscent of the chromatically descending ground bass in Henry Purcell's "Dido's Lament" aria from his opera *Dido and Aeneas* (1688) (Figure 4). This famous bass line, whether The Left Banke recognized it as Purcell or not, is a musical trope for sadness in several musical genres. The strings' chromatic descent represents a simple nostalgia as it suggests sadness and yearning for the past, especially in conjunction with the lyrics: "And when I see the sign that points one way/ The light we used to pass by every day." The singer is constantly reminded of the past and of Renée by everyday objects along his commute that they once experienced together.

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[168] "The Left Banke," *Billboard*, accessed December 7, 2014, http://www.billboard.com/artist/418507/left-banke/chart.

Figure 3. The Left Banke, "Walk Away Renée," mm.1-6
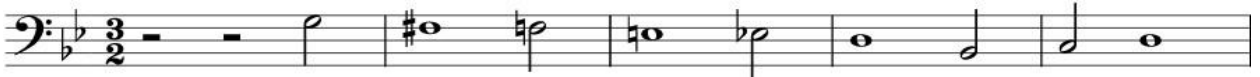
Figure 4. Henry Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, "When I am laid in earth," mm.1-6

The chorus replaces the chromatic line with a traditional rock chord progression of I-vi-IV-V. The lyrics of this section portray the narrator's resolve:

> Just walk away Renée,
> You won't see me follow you back home
> The empty sidewalks on my
> block are not the same
> You're not to blame

These lyrics reflect on the past differently than do the lyrics of the first verse as the narrator decides to move on and forget about Renée. He embodies reflexive nostalgia as he recognizes that the memory will always be there and his reflections on the past are not necessarily better, just different.

The verses, with lyrics of simple nostalgia, keep the baroque instrumentation within their traditional roles while the choruses, with lyrics that fall under the category of reflexive nostalgia, break tradition as the baroque instruments play a rock chord progression. Rather than focusing solely on the relationship between society and the individual as Bach did, the Left Banke also questions the perceived binaries of high/low art and past/present. They break the distinctions between "high" and "low" art as the baroque instrumentation associated with "high" art performs in the baroque style during the verses while these same instruments perform in a rock style (associated with "low" art) during the chorus. The Left Banke alternates between simple and reflexive representations of nostalgia but ends the song on a reflexive chorus demonstrating their

use of postmodern nostalgia to uphold postmodern ideals and attract hip consumers that want an anti-mainstream, pluralistic sound.

Postmodernism is a form of hipness because it questions master narratives by placing seemingly unrelated material in direct conversation with one another in hopes of stimulating awareness of how society operates on constructed ideals. As previously mentioned, modes of hipness will change as narratives and opposing ideologies reveal themselves. Operating similarly, the Early Music revival and baroque rock resisted mainstream narratives of history, memory, art, and class. Even though these groups were comprised of primarily white, middle-class males, ironically, they were influenced by black artists who participated in hipness as a form of protection from a white-dominated mainstream society. The next chapter will trace the influence of these artists, the Beat Generation, drug culture, and fashion on baroque rock and how hipness (and the aesthetic of a musical genre) is renegotiated when music is dispersed transculturally (particularly between the U.S. and the U.K.) as well as transnationally (between the major recording hubs of New York and California).

4.0 COAST TO COAST AND TRANS-ATLANTIC CONNECTIONS

Hipness does not belong to any one subculture, geographical space, or historical moment but instead circulates through networks of time and place. Hipness, like memory, is shaped by social collectivity and while its process remains the same, its results are constantly changing. Memory is not a repository of information that preserves the original stimuli of an event in order to be later retrieved with accuracy during a desired recall. Instead, as time passes and we remember back to a particular event, the memory becomes a representation, a simulacrum of itself, which speaks more about the person than about the event. This representation has been constructed by the person and influenced by social experiences such as people sharing their own memories of the same event. Hipness is also a social process that constantly changes based on the cyclic power struggle between those in power and the oppressed. Just as memory does not retain its original stimuli, hipness does not grant a hip status to any one object or person indefinitely. The power of hipness lies in its ability to resist dominant forces through the constant subversion of tradition which involves renegotiation as social norms change. Hipness is not only constantly renegotiated as time passes but also as it occurs in different places. The fashion, visual art, and sound that are considered to be hip in one area will inevitably differ from those in another country or region. Music, even songs within the same subgenre, will have different sonic characteristics depending on the place in which they were produced. Music scholarship has addressed the relationship between cities and the music that is produced there. I will draw on

these theories as well as theories of hipness and respectability politics in order to document how baroque rock was influenced by the music of Motown and the Brill Building and how the subgenre changed as it was dispersed—particularly through the major cities of New York, Liverpool, London, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

4.1   HIPNESS, GAME IDEOLOGY, AND RESPECTABILITY POLITICS

Hipness, as a discourse, originated as an African American initiative designed to define the self along a particular set of symbols as well as to challenge public stereotypes of black culture. Artists participating in hip culture have since put these symbols in play alongside others from European literary and intellectual traditions.[169] Artists created coherency from these otherwise disparate cultural symbols, which explains why hipness incorporates many different cultures. Hipness also aided people in becoming aware of and ultimately embracing the ever-present changes in modern life such as the rise of capitalism, industrialization, and urbanization. For instance, black and white migration to American cities in the 1940s allowed for more interactions and cultural exchanges between diverse racial and ethnic groups, resulting in a variety of music that was popular with a diverse audience.

Hipsters of the 1930s and '40s, portrayed as young black men lounging in the streets and nightclubs, are rarely discussed in hip discourse because, unlike the literary Beat Generation of the 1950s, they did not express their views publicly in print. Their decision to keep their views private stems from their existence *in* society but not *of* it as evidenced by their modifications of

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[169] Ford, *Dig*, 25.

language through slang as well as their exaggerated style and dress. Since the voices of these hipsters were not documented, critics and columnists reported on the aesthetic which immediately created a distance between the observer and the observed. The hipster was portrayed in the black press as a nuisance and an embarrassment to middle-class columnists who wished young black men would instead perpetuate the progress of their race. The hipster felt as though middle-class black people were pretentious and accused them of catering to white people who hated them anyway.[170] While the black middle-class wanted to combat stereotypical representations of their race by portraying respectability in fashion, art, and demeanor, hipsters participated in what R. Lincoln Keiser calls "game ideology."[171] This ideology proposes that the hipster acts as the trickster within a game. In this scenario, the game is life and its rules are arbitrarily created by others to serve their own ends (i.e., systemic racism). The game's prize is achieving middle-class affluence; the rules state that the player will win if they are educated and work hard while following the law. However, the game is rigged in favor of white society because it created the rules. The hipster, aware of how social rules are constructed, can view these rules as strategies to win the game rather than following them as social mores. The hipster can appear to be complying with the rules while covertly undermining them by participating within the white power structure he/she seeks to subvert.

The most familiar musical example of hipness is bebop because it operated as a response to the social conditions that postwar America's modernity placed on the black community. Bebop participated in what Guthrie P. Ramsey, Jr. terms "Afro-modernism," defined by its quest for freedom through upward mobility's capacity to increase opportunities within the American

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[170] Ibid., 48.
[171] R. Lincoln Keiser, *The Vice Lords, Warriors of the Streets* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 54-5.

capitalist system.[172] Bebop recreated the stereotypical public image of black culture by rejecting the limits placed on it by the white-dominated music business that expected simple, recognizable, and danceable melodies. Bebop performers responded to the minstrel-like portrayal of black performers by emphasizing art rather than pure entertainment. Artists resisted tradition by taking familiar Tin Pan Alley melodies and altering the expected texture, harmony, instrumentation, pitch, melodic contour and rhythmic accents. These alterations signaled complexity and literacy in an attempt to reverse the stereotypes that regarded black vernacular music as simple and black artists' creativity as a natural gift. Bebop artists also refused to speak in mainstream English (choosing to adhere to hip slang instead), or play at mainstream dance tempos. Bebop was not dance music and therefore was not meant for public consumption but it was also not created for traditional, "highbrow" audiences. Cultural elitism was used as a weapon against racial discrimination and a system of ideologies designed to keep people subservient.

The black middle-class viewed middle-class manners, morals, and respectability as a strategy to subvert the white mainstream's primitivist assumptions. They were not trying to abdicate the black vernacular nor subscribe to white mainstream ideals. Instead, they highlighted that their race should not be viewed as an absence of morality. Ingrid Monson describes the issues connected with race and respectability: "Respectability…is *not* a marker of assimilation but the assertion of a professional, urban, cosmopolitan African American identity."[173] Bebop's incorporation of avant-garde and "high" art forms was eventually taken up by the writers and performers in the Brill Building and Motown who were creating music for mass consumption.

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[172] Guthrie P. Ramsey, Jr. *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 106.
[173] Ingrid Monson, "The Problem with White Hipness: Race, Gender, and Cultural Conceptions in Jazz Historical Discourse," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48 (1995): 421.

These songwriting institutions also sought to change the public image of black culture while simultaneously promoting crossover artists who would sell to both black and white audiences. Unfortunately, the introduction of the classical canon into black vernacular styles in order to resist racial discrimination and reverse stereotypes was also co-opted by white artists in the name of cultural pluralism. Ironically, baroque rock artists (primarily white males) drew on these musical influences in order to subvert the cultural imposition of the "mainstream" (as defined in opposition to the counterculture), rather than an oppressive white society, the hipster's original target.

The subcultural youth in Britain latched on to American rock 'n' roll not only because it exoticized black culture, but also because it was a contemporary popular music that spoke to subcultural ideals, as opposed to British popular music that looked to the past. In the 1950s, British popular music primarily fell under the genre categories of light orchestral music, romantic ballads, and novelty songs drawing from the music hall tradition. All of these musical genres were marketed toward adults and sounded sentimental, nostalgic, or outdated as they idealized the pre-war notions of courtship and domesticity.[174] British rock bands grew up listening to the aforementioned genres of British popular music because of their parents but they enjoyed the rebellion of listening to American rock 'n' roll and R&B records.

Linear music histories, as often constructed and delivered about all musical genres, are created with the purpose of making large-scale histories easily digestible. Linear narratives that focus on legacies, a chain of influences between the greatest hits and hit makers of the period, as well as cause and consequences are easier to follow than the shared influences between two or more groups. For example, it is easy to suggest that the Beatles were influenced by Elvis, Carl

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[174] Simon Warner, *Text and Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll: The Beats and Rock Culture* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 217.

Perkins, and Little Richard before "invading" America with their own music, music that influenced hundreds of bands in both countries. It is harder to suggest that Motown and Brill Building artists and the Beatles simultaneously influenced one another because it runs counter to the dominant narrative's postulation that these artists disappeared once the Beatles hit the scene. English rock groups who were forming in the 1950s were unable to hear R&B music on the radio because the BBC did not focus its attention on the genre. Instead, artists relied on record collecting and the ability to listen to these records over and over until they were able to imitate the style that they heard. Bands whose members were from middle-class families could afford the recording and playback equipment as well as their instruments; however, working class bands were able to get this equipment through hire purchase, a popular market in the 1960s.[175]

A romanticized myth of the Cunard Yanks, merchant seamen between Liverpool and New York on the Cunard line, bringing R&B records to Liverpool is documented as the main influence for the Mersey Beat sound. This myth is still perpetuated not only in countless books but also in Liverpool's history museum, Liverpool tour buses, and by fellow Liverpudlians. The Cunard Yanks did bring records with them on their travels but these records were primarily from jazz and country and western genres. The Cunard Yanks' lack of R&B records coupled with the fact that R&B records were sold at the U.S. Air Base at Burtonwood (near Liverpool) implies that the historical narrative of the Cunard Yanks' relationship to Mersey Beat is a romanticized view of the trans-Atlantic connections between the United States and Britain in the post-World War II era.

Songs that were covered by the Beatles and other Mersey Beat groups were available for purchase in the U.K. because they were from labels that had access/connections to the U.S.

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[175] Michael Brocken, *Other Voices: Hidden Histories of Liverpool's Popular Music Scenes, 1930s-1970s*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 28.

independent market, for example London-America, Pye R&B International, Oriole, and Top Rank. Popular music scholar Michael Brocken astutely points out that fifteen out of the twenty-four cover versions the Beatles released up to 1966 were available in Liverpool through the London-America label.[176] The Beatles' studio debut album, *Please Please Me!* (1963), included a large number of cover versions of songs written by Brill Building composers like Gerry Goffin, Carole King, Burt Bacharach, Bert Berns and/or friends of these composers such as Wes Farrell. Their second album, *With the Beatles* (1963), featured cover versions of Motown artists such as Brian Holland, Smokey Robinson, and Berry Gordy. By the mid-1950s, BBC radio was disinclined to play songs of U.S. origin when a U.K. cover version of those songs existed. The London-America label introduced American recorded material to British youth, who repeatedly listened to these records, created their own cover versions, and flooded a British market which refused to compete with American "originals."[177]

While popular music, especially within the rock genre, is viewed as relying on familiarity with the present and constantly searching for a new sound, the process of covering a song from the past articulates the artist's perpetual present. Rock artists have covered other artists from whom they develop their own repertoire and inform their performance, diving into inter-textuality by immersing themselves in past recordings/performances, while simultaneously remaining relevant by re-working the song into a contemporary style. A text influencing a cover of that text does not promote a unidirectional line of influence, as is usually suggested by rock historians, because the text now has a never-ending web of semiotic meaning. Both the text and the cover inform one another and a listener will no longer be able to hear each song in isolation.

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[176] Ibid., 29.
[177] Ibid., 136.

A listener (in most cases) will recognize the text from a cover but a listener will also be able to hear sonic characteristics of the cover with every subsequent hearing of the text.

The British Invasion narrative argues that the Beatles' (and other British bands to follow) success was founded on a completely new sound that would inevitably knock all American artists off of the charts. Even though the Beatles were an all-male group who wrote their own songs in a quick studio session without lavish production at a time when girl groups singing pre-composed songs with a "wall of sound" proved to be a successful format, they still incorporated the song-writing style of Brill Building and Motown artists into their music. They also competed with these institutions, especially Motown's Supremes, for chart success at the height of Beatlemania. The American public was not responding so much to a new style but to a relatively new format of male guitar bands rather than female vocal groups. The production styles were also different because Phil Spector created a "wall of sound" that blended instrumentation and vocal timbres, while George Martin, at least at the beginning of the Beatles' career, strived to recreate a live performance. Popular music studies scholar Jon Fitzgerald argues that "the transition to the British invasion era actually involved much greater continuity with the musical past than is often acknowledged."[178] The Beatles and other British rock groups not only drew on the Tin Pan Alley song forms from Brill Building artists and the R&B vocals from Motown but they incorporated both institutions' string arrangements into rock. These string arrangements, designed to alter "high" art's association with respectability as a white, middle-class value, were eventually appropriated by rock artists and played a large role in rock's transition into a respectable art form.

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[178] Jon Fitzgerald, "When the Brill Building Met Lennon-McCartney: Continuity and Change in the Early Evolution of the Mainstream Pop Song," *Popular Music and Society* 19 (1995): 73.

Motown and the Brill Building incorporated string arrangements into their music, most often heard in girl group songs within these institutions, in order to signal respectability as a female responsibility and to question respectability's association as a white attribute. British rock bands incorporated string accompaniments into their music once they had more time to experiment with instrumentation in the studio. Not only did the Beatles cover five American girl-group songs on their first two albums, but Manfred Mann toured with the Crystals and the Rolling Stones toured with artists closely associated with the Brill Building such as the Ronettes.[179] While string arrangements were prevalent in popular music by this time, particularly in Tin Pan Alley songs, ballads, and musical theater, the first time they were used in rock/R&B occurred within the Brill Building. The Brill Building was located on Broadway in New York City's theater district, just uptown of the Tin Pan Alley neighborhood. The building's geographical location within the city made it the home of music publishers, songwriters, and performers. Similarly to the songwriting process of Tin Pan Alley, everything needed to create a hit was located in one building. Initially, the Brill Building was composed of musicians that belonged to the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) which favored Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood composers while another building (1650 Broadway) down the street was comprised of Broadcast Music Inc. (BMI) members. BMI, founded by radio broadcasters, openly welcomed songwriters from any genre and thus attracted writers of country western, R&B, and rock 'n' roll.[180] The two buildings, separated by generations and genres, appeared to be in direct competition with one another, but rock and R&B would soon start to infiltrate the Brill Building. Songwriters Hal David and Burt Bacharach (who

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[179] Ibid., 73.

[180] Ken Emerson, *Always Magic in the Air: The Bomp and Brilliance of the Brill Building Era* (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 21.

were trained in the Tin Pan Alley tradition) began writing rock songs, Alan Freed had an office in the building, and eventually Mike Leiber and Jerry Stoller would move into the building after the success of "Hound Dog." Most of the songwriters were trained in or influenced by classical music, Broadway musicals, and Tin Pan Alley tunes, thus they were tempted to include these styles into their new music despite the initial backlash from producers who were concerned about marketing a product to one specific type of audience.

The traditional R&B formula of drums, bass, and piano was augmented for the first time, through the addition of timpani and a string quintet in "There Goes My Baby" (1959) performed by the Drifters and written by Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller. During rehearsal, Stoller admits to "playing a Borodin-like counterline on the piano" which inspired Leiber to suggest that it sounded like a string line.[181] Composer and arranger Stan Applebaum added to the counterline and created a score for four violins and a cello. Even though the string lines were inspired by Russian music of the Romantic period, the instrumentation and the style of these lines participating in a call and response between the lead vocal line would later influence baroque rock artists. Applebaum not only had success in popular music with the Brill Building but also with major symphony orchestras such as the New York and London Philharmonic orchestras.[182] The timpani as well as violins and cellos are commonly associated with music from the Classical era which, through canonic formations, has achieved the status of highbrow music. Whereas, popular art forms (such as rock and R&B) are classified as lowbrow music, which involves "prominent rhythm, shouted vocals, risqué lyrics, and sexuality…" associated with black culture

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[181] Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, *Hound Dog: The Leiber and Stoller Autobiography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 159. Borodin is in reference to Alexander Borodin who was a Russian composer of the Romantic era known for his symphonies and string quartets.
[182] Ibid., 159-60.

thus reinforcing the racial hierarchy through the terms "high" and "low."[183] Therefore, "high" and "low" art forms were integrated and performed by black artists with the intent of reaching both black and white audiences. Producer Jerry Wexler, unaware of the potential marketing power of mixing art and popular music, hated the record and stated, "You've wasted our money on an overpriced production that sounds like a radio caught between two stations."[184] Despite his contestation, Atlantic Records released the single and it reached the number one spot on the *Billboard* R&B chart and the number two spot on the *Billboard* Hot 100.[185] The combination of doo wop vocals and the orchestration associated with Romantic Russian composers contributed to Wexler's confusion about the song's potential, but it also led to its success as a crossover hit.

Motown promoted its music as "the sound of integration" because it sold its products to both black and white audiences while promoting the idea of integration associated with the Civil Rights Movement.[186] However, they stripped the performance of racial identity from their artists in a reenactment of stereotypes associated with the listening practices of both groups. This minimization of the importance of racial identity is described by Maureen Mahon as, "Many black artists and audiences see crossover as a choice that requires crossing out aspects of one's blackness to gain mainstream pop chart visibility."[187] While the true intentions of composers and artists within the Brill Building and Motown may never be known—they may have intended to incorporate various styles of music associated with different races in an attempt to represent and promote a progressive multiculturalism—the fact remains that the finished products can be

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[183] Maureen Mahon, *Right to Rock: The Black Rock Coalition and the Cultural Politics of Race*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 154.
[184] Leiber and Stoller, *Hound Dog*, 160.
[185] Ibid., 161.
[186] John J. Sheinbaum, "Think about What You're Trying to Do to Me": Rock Historiography and the Construction of a Raced-Based Dialetic," in *Rock Over the Edge: Transformations in Popular Music Culture*, ed. Roger Beebe, et al (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 111.
[187] Mahon, *Right to Rock*, 158.

interpreted as racist. Much like bebop artists in the early twentieth century, black R&B artists encountered a similar dilemma in their desire to become modern artists. In an interview, Jerry Leiber admits that he initially viewed Motown as "white bread" because he felt as though they were singing about white teenage stories rather than about black culture. He states, "We'd have discussions about that with some black music people from time to time. They'd say, 'What? Are you in love with the ghettos? That's not the black image any longer.'"[188] Artists' attempts to reverse racial stereotypes provided fodder for other artists to argue for the diminished importance of race which leads to colorblind racism. Ingrid Monson explains:

> If it enabled African American musicians to partially break out of a race-based, second-class citizenship by appealing to merit and genius, it also provided a rhetoric through which white musicians could insist that the music be understood as colorblind...[189]

Motown and the Brill Building appeared to integrate their workers and styles by dissolving the distinct racial divisions in the music charts; however, they accomplished this appearance by positioning themselves within the ideology of colorblind racism. Both institutions silenced political messages in order to avoid upsetting consumers. Therefore, the gap between the ideal (integration & equal rights) and the real (silencing the voices of the Civil Rights Movement) manifested itself in both the identity of the country as well as the marketing of music. Musical institutions, much like the majority of Americans, subscribed to the ideologies of the white racial frame in order to protect or gain power.

In *Systemic Racism*, Joe Feagin defines the white racial frame as "an organized set of racialized ideas, stereotypes, emotions, and inclinations to discriminate."[190] The Brill Building

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[188] "Jerry Leiber & Mike Stoller: The First Independent Producers Part II" audio interview conducted by Ted Fox, 1975-86, box 7, folder 100, Coll. ARC-0024, Michael Ochs Collection, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.
[189] Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 70.

and Motown Records accepted and reimagined these stereotypes in order to appease the group with the most buying power: white, middle-class Americans. It was within the institutions' best interests to invest in the white racial frame as its inheritance since the colonial period has granted economic domination. Feagin explains:

> Some of the earliest European American images of Africans assert notions of cultural inferiority and the superiority of European 'civilization.' Continuing throughout the 1950s and 1960s, many whites extended the concept of racial inferiority to many areas of U.S. cultural life.[191]

The stereotype that blacks are culturally inferior or less civilized than whites permeated throughout the 1960s and individuals within the Brill Building and Motown sought to alter this perception by instructing their artists to perform respectability both musically and socially.

The Motown Artist Development system enrolled their artists in a finishing school that included classes in deportment, dance, singing, and stage chatter. Musicologist Jacqueline Warwick states, "Motown identified respectability as a tactic, a tool with which youth from penurious inner-city backgrounds…could scale the social and professional ladder and earn success according to the standards of middle-class suburban whiteness."[192] Motown not only prized an enculturated demeanor but also vocal precision with a rounded tone in contrast to the shouting and bending pitches with a raspy tone associated with traditional blues singers. For example, while the musicians at Motown preferred Florence Ballard's gritty blues style to Diana Ross' thin vocals, Ross led the Supremes due to the market's request for a less traditional, less

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[190] Joe Feagin, *Systemic Racism: A Theory of Oppression*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 25.
[191] Ibid., 180.
[192] Jacqueline Warwick, *Girl Groups, Girl Culture: Popular Music and Identity in the 1960s* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 158.

black sound. Warwick suggests, "to upwardly mobile black urban youth in the industrialized north, her voice [Ballard] may well have sounded like an unfortunate relic of their parents' rural southern poverty…"[193]

The ideology that morality is a female responsibility while aggression is tolerated as a part of male social identity is reinforced within the vocal timbre of male and female black vocal groups. Men are permitted to sing with a gritty tone and approach the timbre of screaming while women are expected to use a clear tone at a whisper. Warwick explains that these associations were promoted to mass audiences in films as "most of which drew clear distinctions between "good" (white, middle-class) girls and "bad" (non-white, working-class) ones who initiated sex and corrupted young American manhood."[194] Therefore, while the Brill Building and Motown attempted to change the representation of black females, they remained within the frames of these stereotypes and double standards in order to sell a product. Motown's most popular girl group, the Supremes, adhered to traditional R&B instrumentation; however, the timbre of the vocals and inclusion of flourishing piano chords associated with concertos in "I Hear A Symphony" (1965) conveyed the artists' non-threatening approachability. Warwick states:

> Girl group music—aimed at middle-class, suburban, presumed heterosexual and respectable girls, adheres for the most part to conventional harmonic language, affords few opportunities for virtuosic excess, sticks to industry-standard lengths and structures, and almost never purports to offer a transcendental, rebellious experience.[195]

This offers an explanation as to why a song about hearing a symphony in reference to seeing a loved one does not include orchestral instrumentation or extravagant trills but rather a subtle representation of respectability.

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[193] Ibid., 159.
[194] Ibid., 141.
[195] Ibid., 151.

Similarly to bebop, rock 'n' roll presented black culture in a way that subverted negative stereotypes which forced listeners to reassess issues of race. Interracial relations were undoubtedly changed through crossover hits of the late '50s and early '60s as both black and white teenagers identified with and enjoyed the sound and themes of the songs. However, in striving for a sound that pleased everyone, Motown and the Brill Building placed a social and financial investment in whiteness. R&B songs could only reach the popular charts if they were covered by a white artist, or if respectability was portrayed aurally through vocal timbres, instrumentation, and musical form associated with "highbrow" music of the white male European canon. Musical institutions altered the preconceived notions and associations with black identity held by the group with the most buying power: middle class to upper class whites. Popular music institutions recognized the potential to strip performances of racial identity for a profit which required the reinforcement of the racist binary with its negative associations of blackness and positive associations of whiteness. The desire for respectability is a double-edged sword for black artists, as it can be viewed as an attempt to disrupt the stereotypes associated with the racial binary, or it can be viewed as an attempt to assimilate into white society, as respectability is commonly associated with the white middle class. Respectability and hipness, once black society's forms of protection against white society, were adopted by predominantly white subcultures (i.e., the Beats, Mods, Teds, and the counterculture) who applied the hipster's subversion of oppressive ideologies to mass society more generally.

4.2   TRANS-ATLANTIC HIPNESS AND RETROCHIC FASHION

While hipness developed in subcultural isolation, it eventually became intercultural as whites latched onto the stereotypical idea of hipness that they read about, even if some of them did not understand its function. The Beats benefited from this intercultural exchange as these bohemians of New York City's Greenwich Village immersed themselves in black culture, becoming what Norman Mailer would term the "White Negro," a hipster who absorbed the existentialism of the black man's code.[196] The Beats were literary hipsters that drew from the black hipster's notion that society's social mores are forms of oppression. While black hipsters viewed America's racial politics as oppressive, the Beats viewed conformity to any and all of society's rules as oppressive attempts to stifle creativity and rebelliousness. Even though social rules are designed to prevent anarchy, Norman Mailer proposes that the final move for hipness is to remove every social restraint and category because it would yield people that are more creative than murderous.[197] The Beats created a narrative that viewed the subversion of these rules as heroic and as a means of establishing self-authenticity and most importantly self-awareness.

The black hipster was described as cool, cerebral, and looking for the finer things in life in order to distinguish himself from "impulsive types" in the ghetto. In contrast, the Beat was a white, middle-class college-educated male who was dissatisfied by his inherited city and culture, wishing to find a distant, exotic space to write.[198] Even the fashion statements of both groups depicted their desire to move within the social hierarchy. The hipster's zoot suits embodied the aspirations to move up within society while the beats' unkempt jeans and sandals simulated a

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[196] Norman Mailer, "The White Negro: Superficial Reflections on the Hipster," *Dissent*, Fall 1957.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 48.

relation to poverty that they imagined as a divine freedom from middle-class concerns.[199] This tradition of white, middle-class, educated males drawing from the musical and stylistic influences of black artists continued during baroque rock's development. Similar altered expectations of class and race were made during an historic meeting between the Supremes and the Beatles in the 1960s. The Beatles were shocked by the Supremes' "square" demeanor as they were dressed in fur coats with gloves and handbags while the Beatles wore grubby T-shirts and jeans.[200]

The Beats accepted and perpetuated an idealization of black culture in which, despite the systemic trappings of poverty and violent streets, the black man won the game by tricking those in power and remaining true to himself. The black man served as a model of freedom for white youth who exoticized black culture's Otherness in relation to white society precisely because this Othering offered an alternative to traditional norms. Perhaps bell hooks said it best when she stated, "Ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture."[201] The Beats saw themselves as non-racists because they sought to transgress racial boundaries. As a socially progressive and politically aware group of people, the Beats saw themselves as outside of the typical black and white racial divisions. However, their willingness to use a race different from their own in order to find pleasure and satisfaction within these new experiences suggests a racial dilemma that shines light on difference rather than on sameness.

Admiration and the stabilization of racial stereotypes are not mutually exclusive. The romanticization of a racial stereotype, whether it be hedonism or the perceived absence of social mobility, is often the object of admiration. Much like the concept of the "noble savage,"

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[199] Ibid., 49. Hebdige uses the term "the beats" (uncapitalized) most likely to reference the stereotyped beatnik subculture phenomenon influenced by the literary Beat Generation.
[200] Warwick, *Girl Groups, Girl Culture*, 146.
[201] bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 21.

primitivism (projected onto the Other) is celebrated and yearned for because it is viewed as freedom from the troubles of the modern world. White youth, dissatisfied with American imperialism, unemployment, and alienation, found appeasement in identifying with the Other. The commodification of Otherness appeases the contemporary crises felt by white youth culture by rebranding primitivism as a focus on diversity and pluralism.[202] Black culture's once esoteric hipness understood only by the initiated, found itself in the hands of white intellectuals who spread the word through novels and poetry until it became widely recognized due to commodification. Signs of resistance are stripped of their power when they are commodified. What was once a form of protest becomes nothing more than a spectacle; acts of resistance are replaced by acts of consumption.[203]

The American Beat subculture, marked by its exoticization of and desire for black culture, found its way to Britain in the 1950s in the form of Teddy Boys (or Teds; Teddy as a nick name for Edward, referencing their Edwardian fashion style) and Mods (or Moderns named for their love of modern jazz music). While there was not a large black presence in British working-class communities, rock 'n' roll's convergence of black gospel and blues with white country and western established a virtual connection between the two seemingly desperate communities. Many of the mainstream British bands of the era (the Beatles, Rolling Stones, Kinks) exhibited several cultural signs of both the Teddy Boy and Mod subcultures, with the exception of the Who whose members identified primarily with the Mods.[204] For example, in an interview during the *A Hard Day's Night* film, Ringo Starr is questioned about whether the

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[202] Ibid., 25.
[203] Ibid., 33.
A contemporary example is hearing bebop, a musical genre initially designed to avoid easy imitation by whites, in a Starbucks; an institution that will gladly sell a bebop album with a morning cup of coffee.
[204] The Who would go on to write another rock opera about the Mod subculture in 1973 entitled *Quadrophenia*.

Beatles are Mods or Rockers to which Ringo responds, "We're mockers."[205] This quote encapsulates the group's wry sense of humor and their desire to outwit the media, but it also exhibits the band's attempt to defy labels. While the Teds and the Mods were both working class subcultures, the appearance of a class distinction was the defining difference. Teds were seen as jobless and living in poverty while Mods worked with their eye on weekend festivities. Both groups, like most subcultures, appropriated an existing style for their own use as a defining characteristic of group identity.

The Mods, in particular, were similar to American hipsters in that their style was a parody of consumer society. They sought to invert the meanings of straight society's norms such as neatness and short hair.[206] They were not passively consuming goods to remain within the good graces of mainstream society, but instead ironically purchased these goods as a way to subvert traditional expectations. They were overtly close to the mainstream society while esoterically combating its traditions. They were living *in* straight society, but not a part *of* it. Unfortunately, as the commercial industry discovered the consumer practices of these subcultures, they began to produce commodities directed specifically to those subcultural markets. The commercial industry reversed the ironic consumption practices of the Mods by reproducing their style rather than having them create it on their own, thus stripping the style of its subversive power. This same fate occurred with the hipsters, the Mods, and eventually the hippies (along with their musical styles, including baroque rock). It is a fate destined to occur

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[205] *A Hard Day's Night*, DVD, directed by Richard Lester (1964; Burbank, CA: Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2002).
[206] Dick Hebdige, "The Meaning of Mod," in *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, ed. Stuart Hall et al. 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006),76-7.

with all subcultures because a movement's hipness declines as the movement grows, leading it to be spread by cultural industries for profit while losing the esotericism that drew people to the subculture in the first place.

The Mods' style was very closely related to the Beats because they were the first all-British "White Negroes" that Norman Mailer described. The Mods, just like the Beats, had an emotional affinity for black culture displayed through an idealization of their style as well as America's Rhythm & Blues (R&B), and soul music. The Black Man symbolized an imagined underworld that opened possibilities for a new order, one that Dick Hebdige describes as "A beautifully intricate system in which the values, norms and conventions of the 'straight' world were inverted."[207] The Beat Generation and eventually the Counterculture's bohemianism, defined by a lifestyle outside of traditional societal norms and their like-minded interests in non-traditional musical, literary, and artistic pursuits, characterized their own class identity. They idealized and wanted to become an imagined, romanticized view of blackness that took middle-class society at face value and played against its expectations. They mimicked white ideologies of black manhood by portraying themselves with a cool, sexual abandon but ironically, the Beat Generation *was* the white, middle-class society that their imaginary blackness was opposing. Their white privilege allowed them to don this type of blackface in a safe space, without the socio-economic consequences of having dark skin.

Similarly to the black hipsters' "game ideology," Teds and Mods were placed in a lower societal position because of their class, and therefore sought to alter their position by covertly undermining canonized works of art while simultaneously participating within the aristocratic structure they sought to subvert. Teddy Boys positioned themselves away from the respectable

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[207] Hebdige, *Subculture*, 54.

working class by creating an exaggerated style that ran counter to expectations of hard labor and education. This style juxtaposed the blatantly stolen sounds of black rhythm and blues with the aristocratic Edwardian fashion style.[208] After World War II, British tailors proposed a style of clothing for middle to upper class men that would hearken back to the period of their grandfathers and the golden age for the British Empire and its upper classes: the Edwardian period. England was a dominant force globally, militarily, and economically until World War I in 1914 which set in motion a string of brutal conflicts with the intention of defending or retaining power between France, Germany, and Russia.[209] In a period of decline, tailors utilized the upper class' nostalgia for and desire to return to England's golden age in order to sell their products. Tailors drew on influences from this period's fashion (1890-1910) to create an Edwardian suit complete with a lapelled sack coat, narrow pants, and an ornate waistcoat. These suits catered to young aristocratic men at first but shortly after were appropriated and modified by working class youth. The Teds initially purchased these suits as a status symbol due to the fashion's aristocratic associations. Eventually the Teds crowded the market and the suits became unwearable by their initial clientele because they were now associated with a lower class. Teds modified the suits with bootlace ties, suede shoes, drainpipe pants, and loud colors in order to create their own style.

The juxtaposition of "high" and "low" styles was a cultural expression of the Teds' position as outsiders of traditional working class norms. The juxtaposition also expressed their grudging aspiration for high status marked by their desire to live hedonistically in an urban setting.[210] This juxtaposition would later appear in the fashion styles of baroque rock artists as

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[208] Ibid., 50.
[209] Warner, *Text and Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll*, 218.
[210] Tony Jefferson, "Cultural Responses of the Teds," in *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, ed. Stuart Hall et al. 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 70.

they adopted the Baroque era's *habit à la française* which included a coat, waistcoat, breeches, and lace jabots (ornamental ruffles on the front of the shirt). The coat was the most decorative and included elaborate embroidery or ornamented patterns. Baroque rock artists and those participating in the countercultural sensibility appropriated the baroque era fashion and turned the coat into a blank canvas. Baroque rock album art either featured artists in plain coats with their image distorted in a psychedelic manner (Figure 5) or artists adorned with a cornucopia of bright colors and/or flowered with paisley patterns. The cover of the Left Banke's second album depicts the band wearing what appears to be historically informed fashion from the baroque period. The otherwise aristocratic photograph is mirrored vertically and horizontally creating a psychedelic effect of blossoming. The four images meet together in the middle to form a flower, drawing its influence from the Op art movement in the 1960s that used optical illusions to give the impression of warping. This blossoming effect and the flowered-shaped candelabras juxtaposed with the band dressed in baroque attire standing in an elaborately ornate space, highlights the old meets new and "high" meets "low" art aesthetic. This aesthetic is also portrayed on the back cover of Procol Harum's self-titled album. Guitarist Ray Royer wears a lace jabot with a solid-colored baroque coat juxtaposed with contrasting-colored paisley pants. Royer's style was common with the counterculture and combined styles from completely different eras but also from Western and Eastern cultures. Music and fashion of the 1960s in America and Britain exoticized and pluralized other cultures *as well as* other time periods, particularly the distant past.

Figure 5. The cover of the Left Banke's second album, *The Left Banke Too*[211]

The fashion trend of exoticizing the distant past flourished with the rise of retro second-hand clothing stores in London, specifically Granny Takes a Trip (1966) and I Was Lord Kitchener's Valet (1964). I Was Lord Kitchener's Valet was a second-hand boutique that specialized in promoting antique military uniforms as fashion items (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Customer being fitted outside of I Was Lord Kitchener's Valet[212]

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[211] *The Left Banke Too* (1968), Sundazed Music, accessed January 2, 2017, https://www.sundazed.com/post-link/?Product=/p/1062-The-Left-Banke-The-Left-Banke-Too-CD.aspx.

Lord Kitchener is a reference to the British Secretary of State for War during World War I. He was famously depicted in the 1914 military recruitment poster stating, "Your Country Needs You" which inspired America's Uncle Sam "I Want You" poster. The boutique's use of military uniforms for fashion and the appropriation of a popular patriotic figure provided ironic commentary on the futility of war and the dangers of mindless patriotism.[213] The fashion style asked its customers to question the historical narrative of nationalistic propaganda by co-opting symbols such as the Union Jack and military uniforms and wearing them in a popular, civilian context rather than with militaristic honor. The second-hand store became more than a place that offered discounted clothing as it transitioned into a shrine for exoticizing the past and making the old new again.

Granny Takes a Trip, as the name's euphemism implies, offered clothing from the era of the youth culture's grandparents (i.e., the Victorian period) but with a psychedelic twist. The Beatles and the Rolling Stones were among the boutique's first customers and they wore these outfits on *Revolver* and *Between the Buttons* respectively.[214] There was a sense of historical eclecticism in which people were less concerned about what historical period a style came from than about recycling the all-encompassing past and incorporating it into a new context with an ironic sensibility.[215] Baroque rock artists, as previously argued, focused their attention on the baroque period instead of drawing from multiple eras, but their interest in the distant past appealed to the consumers of retro fashions.

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[212] Photograph courtesy of Paul Townsend and Wikimedia Commons, posted September 18, 2010, accessed January 2, 2017, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1960s_-_I_Was_Lord_Kitcheners_Valet_-_Kings_Road_(5000561347).jpg.

[213] Geoffrey Rayner, Richard Chamberlain, and Annamarie Stapleton, *Pop!: Design, Culture, Fashion 1956-1976* (Woodbridge, England: ACC Editions, 2012), 110.

[214] Ibid., 147.

[215] A contemporary example of this historical eclecticism is "Thrift Shop" (2012). Macklemore and Ryan Lewis sing about the hipster phenomenon of making out-of-style clothes ("grandpa style") cool again.

The act of a perpetual present, both forward and backward-looking, is apparent in re-fashioning old styles because it plays with the idea of the past while remaining within the present. Since hipness relies on the esoteric and unnoticed items untouched by mainstream culture, the counterculture sought out the anachronistic because it was unfashionable in a country whose business model relies on the "new is always better" mantra. Once the fashionistas dug deeper into these fashions without an understanding of its politics and with reverence rather than irony, the past became fetishized through authentic replicas. At this point, retro fashions lost the power they once had to break conventional boundaries. The fashion obsession with the past, what Raphael Samuel refers to as "retrochic," began as anti-fashion because it "wanted to be outrageous, shocking the salons by its irreverence towards the pretentions of high art, flouting public decorum by ignoring the conventional boundaries of sex or class."[216] Retrochic, like baroque rock, does not have an obsession with historical authenticity nor does it seek to restore original detail because it appropriates the past as an icon that changes meaning when placed in a new context. Retrochic and baroque rock do not attempt to disguise their modernity because they prefer to highlight juxtapositions with an ironic detachment from history rather than with a desire to be at one with the past. In terms of approaching history with detached irony, Samuel argues that "Only when history has ceased to matter can it be treated as a sport."[217] As previously argued, the countercultural sensibility was not completely indifferent to history or the past in general, but it was detached from and uninterested in the dominant narratives of history and its construction. If history could be manipulated by the group in power in favor of their politics, why could the counterculture not try their hand at playing history as a game to be won?

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[216] Samuel, *Past and Present*, 91.
[217] Ibid., 95.

Just like baroque rock, retrochic dismisses the categorical differences between the past and present by creating a two-directional line between them rather than the traditionally perceived unidirectional progression from the past to the present. Both styles do not passively imitate dead styles but instead they proactively reinvent them to the point of gross stereotypical representations that are counter to historical authenticity. Contemporary representations of the past (like baroque rock and retrochic) are caught in between traditionalists who deride them for separating form from function in their frivolity with period styles, and modernists who accuse them of being backward-looking and recycling old ideas. Postmodern artists desire this position between traditionalists and modernists because it means that their art successfully escapes all categorization. The 1960s vogue for dressing in period clothes had a strong camp element to it that gave consumers the freedom to fantasize and fetishize not only about the past but about class and gender stereotypes. Retrochic was a caricature of class stereotypes because baroque frills and Victorian suits signaled aristocratic associations that were outrageously highlighted through exaggeration more so than the contemporary styles that signaled luxury through understated moderation. The Victoriana revival also had class implications because its revival in the 1920s was an upper-middle-class hobby which was then co-opted by working class subcultures in the 1950s. Samuel argues that dressing in period clothing gave license to cross-dressing and camp styles, thus subverting sexist ideologies through the androgyny of young male's long hair, "granny" clothes, and frilly coats.[218] Both Baroque rock and retrochic played with the past using a camp sensibility that exaggerated binaries of historical time, gender, and class while juxtaposing these exaggerations in order to give voice to alternative histories that recognize the fluidity rather than the fixity of dominant constructions.

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[218] Ibid., 98.

4.3   THE BEATS AND THE COUNTERCULTURE

Major players of the Beat Generation would go on to befriend and co-inspire members of the rock intelligentsia. The rock generation drew on the Beats' white bohemian intellectualism and exoticization of black culture but both groups shared a desire to disseminate challenging ideas to a large audience. In the mid-sixties, rock's lyrical component transitioned from describing the pain of teenage love to outlining revolutionary countercultural messages and/or surrealistic, contemplative manifestos. The Beats were inspired by music's dependence on experience and its effectiveness for reaching the listener. Meanwhile, rock artists were inspired by Beat poetry as a means of earning the status of a songwriter who shied away from assembly-line produced pop songs. While Allen Ginsberg is most associated with the sixties counterculture due to his participation in Oakland, CA anti-war demonstrations, the Human Be-In, and the Chicago Democratic National Convention riots, not all of the Beat writers were as sympathetic to the hippie subculture. Jack Kerouac and William S. Burroughs rejected the postured peace and love sentiments but this did not stop the counterculture from adopting Kerouac's truth-seeking adventures and Burroughs' narcotic indulgences.[219] The Beats drew on the black hipster's subversion of oppressive white ideologies and applied it to mass society in general by rejecting the oppressive hierarchical binaries established within constructs of power, class, race, sex, and gender. These binaries set up an either/or and an implied right/wrong that the Beats and eventually the counterculture resisted.

The counterculture mimicked the Beat's Greenwich Village of the 1950s which was itself a mimicry of the Left Bank (Rive Gauche) in Paris during the 1920s. The Left Bank refers to the

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[219] Warner, *Text and Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll*, 18-19.

southern bank of the River Seine but it also refers to an earlier time in Paris when artists, musicians, writers, and philosophers gathered at Montparnasse. The name implies a sense of bohemianism and counterculture in direct contrast to the Right Bank's (Rive Droite) bourgeois connotations.[220] Beginning in the 1840s, the Paris bohemian café scene, a meeting place for artists, was cultivated due to the breakdown of the art patronage system and aristocratic salons' hostility toward the modernist aesthetic. This hostility excluded modernist artists and writers from institutionalized, official culture. The act of placing art within a café, a populist establishment for drinking, rather than a sacralized salon or gallery demonstrates the artists' desire to revolutionize traditional rules for creating and consuming art. John Lennon makes the connection between the Left Bank and "Swinging London" of the 1960s as he describes the exchange of ideas between artists in bohemian settings: "Even London we created something there, with Mick and us and all of them. We didn't know what we were doing, but we were all talking and blabbing over coffee like they must have done in Paris talking about painting."[221]

By the turn of the twentieth century, modernism found a niche in Parisian life by becoming a touristic wonder where surprises came to be expected, attracting intellectuals, adventurous aristocrats, and alienated American writers.[222] The Left Bank became the home of a group of young composers and artists known as "Les Six" as well as Jean Cocteau, Pablo Picasso, Igor Stravinsky, and Erik Satie who promoted jazz as a part of their bohemian identity. Jazz fit in with the group's desire for cutting-edge modernity because it evoked the vulgarity of

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[220] Josh Noel, "Left Bank vs. Right: A Tale of Two Cities," *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 2009, accessed November 9, 2015, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2009-04-12/travel/0904090490_1_odile-hellier-usual-tourist-haunts-famous-ice-cream-shop.

[221] Faulk, *British Rock Modernism*, 13.

[222] Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 69.

America as well as a primitive Africa.[223] Thus, the incorporation of jazz into modernist art was executed for shock value that served aesthetic goals rather than executed with the intention of overcoming the separation between sacred "high" art and familiar "low" art. Despite their intentions, the juxtaposition of these previously separated art forms undoubtedly inspired the Beat Generation and eventually baroque rock artists. The bohemian sections of Paris that influenced the Beat Generation also inspired the name of a New York baroque rock group: the Left Banke. Tom Finn, bass guitarist for the group, recalls hearing the proposed name and imagining a group of well-dressed, gentlemen rockers. They agreed to add an 'e' to the end of 'Bank' in order to make it look old fashioned.[224] Baroque rock artists, like the Left Banke, would create similar juxtapositions between art forms just as Left Bank artists did, highlighting the stylistic components of each art form in order to sound difference.

Similarly to the Beat Generation, those living in British suburbia also appropriated the music and style of black artists in an attempt to embrace the alienation they felt from living in a society that privileged their identity: white, middle-class males. However, jazz, blues, and rock also suggested a disengagement from English nationalistic pride because it broke away from traditions of culture that were taught in their formal schooling. These sounds had to be accessed from radio stations outside of the BBC. While the Beatles grew up in working class Liverpool, they were afforded the opportunity to attend art school which was designed to lift students out of their lower class positions. Art school training as well as friend and familial artistic relationships introduced British rock artists to the avant-garde and bohemianism. These artists were taught to embrace this type of art not so much in spite of their proletarian upbringing, but because of it. Paul McCartney recalls going to art school parties thrown by John Lennon's tutor and mingling

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[223] Ibid., 84.
[224] Mike Fornatale, "Everything Returns Again," *Shindig! Magazine*, August 25, 2011, 89.

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with members of the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra. Fritz Spiegl, the orchestra's principal flautist, attended one of these parties and placed Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsodies* on the record player. McCartney remembers that Spiegl was not amused when George Harrison asked him if he had any Elvis instead.[225] Years later, Spiegl returned into the Beatles' lives in November 1965 when he arranged "She Loves You" for his Barock and Roll Ensemble (comprised of members of the Liverpool Philharmonic) to be performed for *The Music of Lennon and McCartney* television special.

Art schools also provided young British rock musicians with the vocabulary to articulate their music as a form of anti-establishment resistance. Members of the Beatles, the Kinks, the Rolling Stones, and the Who (to name just a few) attended art schools during their youth. Ian Macdonald argues that art school training allowed 1960s rock groups "to introduce the concept of 'concept' into pop, along with other postmodern motifs like eclecticism, self-referentiality, parody, and pastiche."[226] Rock artists used these postmodern tools to rewrite a history that perpetuated the domination of nationalistic tendencies and placed larger cultural value in "high" art. In order to question the linear construction of time in which the past is either dead or a burden, rock artists knew it would not be long before something new would fall into the past's dark shroud. They blended the old and new with the prospect that if they waited long enough, anything old could be repurposed into something new and fashionable again.

British rock artists were hearing Classical-style string arrangements blended with the doo-wop vocals of R&B in the music of the Brill Building and Motown and, through their art school training, understood that these sounds could be cleverly juxtaposed to yield self-reflexive

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225 Brian Roylance, Julian Quance, Oliver Craske, and Roman Milisic,ed., *The Beatles Anthology* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), 198.
226 Faulk, *British Rock Modernism*, 10.

social commentary. Of course, these artists had to gain enough attention and popularity in order to gain access to recording studios filled with the necessary equipment and connections to classically-trained musicians and/or producers. Brill Building, Motown, and baroque rock artists were familiar with classical music through schooling, the increased market for LPs (itself a marker for the art music genre), and/or through a composer/producer/arranger in the studio who had formal music training. Most baroque rock groups had some connection to a classically-trained musician whether it was members of the band, a producer, arranger, family member, or a lover. These relationships demonstrate that it was not solely the recordings that influenced musicians but also relationships they cultivated in specific geographical spaces. The Beatles, for example, had several connections to the Western art music canon. Most famously, the group's producer George Martin was a graduate of the Guildhall School of Music and Drama where he studied with Margaret Asher, mother to Paul McCartney's early girlfriend Jane Asher. Jane introduced Paul to the music of baroque composers such as a Vivaldi.[227] Even though the Beatles could not read music in the conventional sense, they knew the names of famous composers and their associated styles. John Lennon recalls, "If Paul wanted to use violins he [Martin] would translate it for him…We would say, 'Play like Bach,' or something, so he would put twelve bars in there."[228] The boys left it up to George Martin to take their suggestion of style and translate it for classically trained studio musicians.

While there was certainly a perceived opposition between popular and classical music, particularly in terms of how each category was targeted to specific audiences, many record companies used the same recording spaces for both genres. For example, EMI's Abbey Road studios (famously associated with the Beatles) were used for both classical and pop records.

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[227] MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 204.
[228] Elie, *Reinventing Bach*, 276.

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Martin, who worked for the BBC's classical music department before joining EMI, had many connections with some of the best classically trained artists in England. After arriving at EMI, Martin produced and recorded Classical and Baroque music, cast recordings of plays, as well as comedy and novelty records. Martin was responsible for bringing in musicians from London's Royal Philharmonic Orchestra to perform on the Beatles' records.[229] Since the EMI studio space was shared between classical musicians and rock artists, instruments were often left in the studio. Particularly cumbersome instruments, such as the harpsichord, were left only to be found by artists like the Beatles who experimented with the sound.

The recording format of sharing studio space for classical and pop albums also applied to Elektra Records in New York which recorded folk and pop music while its subsidiary label Nonesuch Records recorded chamber and baroque music. Jac Holzman, the owner of Elektra Records (folk and rock music focus) and its subsidiary label, Nonesuch Records (classical music focus), believes that his love of Early Music brought him to appreciate folk and rock music. He states, "When I was a young man, old instruments fascinated me. I especially liked harpsichords. Harpsichords led to lutes, lutes to guitars, guitars to folk music, folk music to Elektra Records."[230] Joshua Rifkin, a graduate of Juilliard specializing in Baroque music and employee of Nonesuch in the mid-1960s, was approached by Holzman to create a Beatles-meets-Baroque novelty record, *The Baroque Beatles Book*, which entered the pop Top 100. The album's success led Holzman to request that Rifkin work with Judy Collins on her *In My Life* album (1966). Rifkin created the string arrangement and performed the arpeggiated harpsichord part on Collins'

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[229] Most notably, these musicians performed on "All You Need Is Love" and "A Day in the Life." David Mason, principal trumpet of the Royal Philharmonic performed the piccolo trumpet solo on "Penny Lane." Principal horn Alan Civil performed the French horn solo on "For No One."

[230] Millicent Brower, "Man on a Motorcycle—or How Holzman Becomes Elektra," *The Village Voice*, February 15, 1956, 6.

"Both Sides Now" which blended these baroque sounds with the folk-pop style found in college coffeehouses. Paul Elie suggests, "The record made clear that from then on most serious musicians would see and hear from both sides—classical music and popular music—whether they wanted to or not."[231] Both *The Baroque Beatles Book* and *In My Life* represented the "new sensibility" aesthetic of art as well as the larger institution that produced these sounds by utilizing talented resources from both sides of the record company.

4.4   TRANSCULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

Just as the British invasion did not introduce a music completely disassociated from American rock 'n' roll, baroque rock was not the all-English phenomenon that many historical rock narratives portray. Brief mentions of baroque rock in scholarly resources focus attention on the Beatles' "Yesterday" or Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale." Bands that participated in baroque rock are consistently categorized as English/British Invasion rock groups in genre family trees. The lack of baroque stylistic gestures in "Yesterday," the late arrival of "A Whiter Shade of Pale" into the subgenre that gained publicity due to the Left Banke's "Walk Away Renee," and the Brill Building and Motown's influence on British bands challenge the dominant narrative that defines baroque rock as a strictly English style. Baroque rock, like other genres of music, is altered as it is dispersed to other countries and even different regions within the same country. Through an analysis of selected songs by The Beach Boys, The Left Banke, Procol Harum, and Big Brother and the Holding Company, the reader will become aware of baroque

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[231] Elie, *Reinventing Bach*, 292.

rock's place within each geographical scene but also how baroque rock became increasingly psychedelic. Baroque rock became a sonic representation of transcending and questioning the perception of measured linear time. This concept became more lyrically prevalent throughout the decade, most noticeably in the case of the Beatles when one contrasts the past's certainty in "Yesterday" with the perpetual present of "Tomorrow Never Knows."[232]

4.4.1   Los Angeles, California 1964: The Beach Boys

The Beach Boys of Southern California are often left out of conversations about baroque rock because they are primarily known as a surf rock group. Their career was founded on songs about young men's preoccupations with surf, sand, automobiles, and bikini-clad girls before they transitioned into more fully orchestrated songs about adulthood. Brian Wilson, producer, songwriter, singer, and instrumentalist for the band, did not attend art school or major in music but he was exposed to a music appreciation course that presented the pop/art divide to students. Wilson states:

> In college I took a music appreciation course but the teachers were 100 per cent against anything except operas, symphonies, cantata, chamber and classical stuff…Well, I wasn't going to sit there and let any guy tell me that pop music is bad. I love both.[233]

The band listened to the same Motown and Brill Building groups as the Beatles. Both the Beatles and the Beach Boys were increasingly aware of contemporary developments in rock music, even to the point of creative competition. On their albums in 1965, the Beach Boys covered music by Phil Spector, the Beatles, and Bob Dylan. Brian Wilson began to incorporate sounds of early

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[232] Russell Reising, "Melting Clocks and the Hallways of Always: Time in Psychedelic Music," *Popular Music and Society* 32 (2009): 529.

[233] "Brian Wilson—Brain Behind the Beach Boys," *Hit Parader*, October 1966, 11.

sixties pop tunes, experimenting with a full orchestra into his productions in order to blend the old and the new sounds of rock.[234] Wilson's new sound was designed to break away from the lush sounds of sentimental pop music which was usually accompanied by strings performing in a legato, lugubrious, Classical style as opposed to the detached, syncopated, and sharp sound of baroque rock. Wilson's concern about the presence of tawdry string arrangements within his compositions was very similar to Paul McCartney's request that the strings not sound like Mantovani in "Yesterday." Bruce Golden writes, "The Beach Boys will never again be satisfied to rely on superficial nostalgia evoked by a simplistic mesh of strings and harmonies."[235] Rather than simply reverting back to child-like wonders, the Beach Boys began experimenting with new sounds on a song about the sadness of childhood's brevity and the power of adulthood to change an individual's outlook on life. Wilson's experimentation with the new sound occurred in 1964 when the band included a harpsichord on "When I Grow Up," which was released before the Beatles began experimenting with instrumentation outside of the traditional rock setting. The harpsichord's association with seriousness while playing rock riffs fit aptly within a song that questioned adulthood from a child's point of view.

Baroque rock groups' undefined style had a hard time breaking into record companies' pre-determined list of marketing genres. The Beach Boys' experimental albums like *Pet Sounds* became commercial failures because their record label relied on old formulas revolving around the band's image. Capitol Records assumed that the band's audience would expect car songs not profound lyrics and exotic instrumentation so they spent more time promoting *The Best of the Beach Boys*, *The Beach Boys Deluxe Set*, and *Stack O' Tracks* instead of the band's new

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[234] Bruce Golden, *The Beach Boys: Southern California Pastoral* (San Bernardino, CA: The Borgo Press, 1976), 24.
[235] Ibid., 25.

direction.[236] As the Beach Boys and the Beatles released records, each one more complex and ground breaking than the last as evidenced by their chain of mutual inspiration, both groups moved away from the music that they initially popularized. The Beatles' *Rubber Soul* (1965) inspired the Beach Boys' *Pet Sounds* (1966) which inspired *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967) which inspired *Smiley Smile* (1967).[237] Rock, following their lead, became increasingly self-reflexive.

4.4.2   New York, New York 1966: The Left Banke

The Left Banke's Tom Finn and George Cameron grew up listening to and singing American doo wop melodies but Cameron quickly turned to rock after hearing the Beatles. The members of the Left Banke were highly influenced by British rock groups and incorporated their style into their music. Finn was also fascinated by the Rolling Stones and waited outside their hotel during their 1965 visit to midtown Manhattan. Tom Finn became friends with Steve Martin during this excursion and introduced him to Cameron. The three boys auditioned for Harry Lookofsky, owner and producer at World United Studios who experimented with multi-track recording by layering violin parts on top of one another. Lookofsky was a studio musician who played violin on albums by Louis Armstrong, Quincy Jones, and Grover Washington. He even performed with the NBC Orchestra under the direction of Arturo Toscanini.[238] Lookofsky's son Mike (who went by the name Mike Brown) worked odd jobs around the studio but he was also a classically-trained keyboardist. Cameron recalls how Mike played with their group: "He had studied

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[236] "The Beach Boys: A Short History," promotional booklet written by Richard Cromelin, 1971, box OS1, folder 6, Coll. ARC-0037, Jeff Gold Collection, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.
[237] MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 246.
[238] Fornatale, "Everything Returns Again," 85.

classical music, and he was fine at that, but he didn't know any s*ongs*…We sang a few Beatles songs that we all knew, and Mike picked away until he figured them out."[239] Mike also served as a songwriter for the group because he was skilled at writing bridges for unfinished songs.

Tom Feher (later pianist and guitarist for the group) admits, "While the rest of us leaned more toward the Stones' type of image and music, Brown was entranced by The Beatles and Brian Wilson."[240] The band chose to go in the direction of the Beatles because their voices blended in a similar way that could not be compared to any other group in New York. Mike Brown, on harpsichord, was the only member who played on the orchestral backing track of "Walk Away Renee" and the remaining string players were acquaintances of his father. Once the single garnered national attention in 1966, reporters and critics were quick to find a name for the relatively new sound and they landed on "Baroque Pop." However, the Left Banke did not see themselves as innovators of a new sound but rather as a logical progression from what the Beatles were releasing at the time.[241] The single's instrumental arrangement fit well with the Beatles' *Revolver* (released one month later) because "For No One" and "Eleanor Rigby" incorporated strings, harpsichord, and other classical instruments into the rock framework.

The band toured with the Beach Boys in order to support the release of their first album in 1967 but Mike Brown followed in the footsteps of his hero Brian Wilson and decided to stop touring in order to focus his attention on songwriting and working as a studio musician.[242] Brian Wilson stopped touring in order to focus his attention on writing *Pet Sounds* (1966), a decision that not only influenced Mike Brown but also the Beatles who would soon withdraw from live

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[239] Ibid., 87.
[240] Ibid., 88.
[241] Ibid., 91.
[242] "Parting of the Ways for 3 Top Groups," 1976, box 7, folder 98, Coll. ARC-0024, Michael Ochs Collection, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.

performances after *Revolver*'s release. Until 1965, recorded pop and rock songs differed very little from their live versions because rock instrumentation was easily portable and studio musicians were not needed to reproduce the aural marker of a song.[243] Imagine "Yesterday" without the string quartet answering and outlining McCartney's vocals. After their 1966 tour, the Beatles turned their backs on touring and reverted back into the studio which solved many technical problems that baroque rock bands confronted such as the expenses of touring with studio musicians, extra instrumentation, and reproducing sound effects that could only be performed with studio equipment. Studio rock not only solved these existing complications but it provided more bands with the ability to experiment with baroque sounds. Baroque instrumentation and classically trained musicians were at the artist's disposal and technology capable of simulating these sounds were also available in the studio. The studio provided a space for contemplation and experimentation that was not easily found on the road where artists are expected to perform the same songs every night.

The Left Banke was initially difficult to market because of their unique blend of styles. Lookofsky signed his son's group to a management deal but failed to sell "Walk Away Renée" to several record companies before Smash Records purchased the master copy.[244] The group was marketed as innovators for a pluralistic style. A statement from the publicity department of Smash Records reads:

> Time was when string quartets were reserved for chamber music concerts or drawing room soirees. The same went for harpsichords and all other such instruments of the

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[243] MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 202.
The Beatles performed "Yesterday" live on their 1965 tour without the familiar sounds of the string quartet.
[244] "The Left Banke: Teenage Pioneers of Jangle-Pop," *Fresh Air*, National Public Radio (Washington, DC: NPR, December 19, 2011).

Baroque. No more! Such instrumentation is now [found] in the mainstream of "beat" music, and it's providing the impetus for a new renaissance in pop music.[245]

The band, in a 1967 interview, recognized the popularity of blending styles: bassist Tom Finn described the phenomenon as "a new conglomerate kind of music" in which listeners could collectively join together as pop fans.[246] Drummer George Cameron went so far as to suggest a utopian vision for a future that would have only one kind of music that blends all styles, to which guitarist Rick Brand stated that it would be "a catastrophe for the record companies."[247] This dialogue is a perfect example of the anti-mainstream idealism that was difficult to commercialize because the record companies had always relied on generic categories to market music to target audiences. In the 1960s, the practice of "market segmentation"—defined as the discovery that "targeting slightly different products to specific groups of consumers is significantly more effective than manufacturing one uniform product for everyone"—matured as a legitimate business practice.[248] A brand's image had to align with the identity of its targeted consumer in order for the product to sell. Therefore, it would be difficult to market a product that aligned with disparate consumer identities (such as listeners of baroque and listeners of rock music). Baroque rock, a style that was difficult to market due to its musical diversity, was easily marketed to a group whose consumer identity was founded on the appreciation of diversity over conformity. Record companies soon recognized that they could co-opt postmodern nostalgia's non-categorical, non-mass, non-linear style in order to pander to hip consumers.

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[245] "A New Musical Sound Coming From Where? The Left Banke," advertising circular by Smash Records, 1966, box 7, folder 98, Coll. ARC-0024, Michael Ochs Collection, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.
[246] Ken Schaffer, "New Legitimacy to Pop Music," *Hit Parader*, May 1967, 54.
[247] Ibid.
[248] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 23.

4.4.3   London, England 1967: Procol Harum

The English rock group Procol Harum is an example of a band that was specifically marketed to an audience who was attracted to the idea of displacing categorical divisions. Lead singer Gary Brooker studied classical music composition with a "with-it teacher" who allowed him to work classical forms into any genre he desired, resulting in combinations of boogie, jazz, and classical themes.[249] Organist Matthew Fisher studied at the Guildhall School for Music in Classical Studies on a full scholarship.[250] In 1967, the band released "A Whiter Shade of Pale" which not only questioned the construction of distinct musical categories such as baroque and rock but it also questioned the existence of reality. The song reached the number one position on the U.K. charts and the number five position in the U.S.[251] The group was marketed differently than The Left Banke despite both groups drawing inspiration from baroque music and critics categorizing their sound as baroque rock. Whereas the press release for The Left Banke suggested that they were bringing baroque instrumentation into the genre of mainstream rock, Procol Harum's press release distanced the band from anything that had come before. The press release states, "to cope with Procol Harum, unlearn the rules, discard your recall of other scenes, pay no attention to precedent, dissociate yourselves from what has gone before…and believe me."[252] The band was marketed as a group that defied categorization and labels because that is what hip consumers

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[249] "Biography of Gary Brooker," promotional statement released by Gifford/Wallace Inc., 1967-73, box RG1, folder 43, Coll. ARC-0037, Jeff Gold Collection, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.
[250] Ibid.
[251] "A Whiter Shade of Pale," EveryHit, accessed December 7, 2014, http://everyhit.com/searchsec.php.
[252] "News from A&M Records Press Release," by Derek Taylor, 1967, box RG1, folder 43, Coll. ARC-0037, Jeff Gold Collection, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.

wanted. Even the band's name in Latin means "beyond these things."[253] This marketing strategy asks listeners to question simple nostalgia in order to open their minds to new possibilities.

"A Whiter Shade of Pale" incorporates postmodern nostalgia but in a way that offers a literal interpretation of a perpetual present which views time as surreal. The song represents reflections of the past as not necessarily undesirable but as a possible hallucination or dream. The suggestion of a hallucinogenic experience connects with the psychedelic experience of contemplative listening under the influence of drugs. This form of listening subverts the traditional notion that popular music serves the basic function of entertainment. Procol Harum's producer Denny Cordell suggested that the song was made to be intellectually stimulating, not for dancing: "It's pretty introvert music and definitely not for leaping about. They are real mood makers and should be listened to whilst stoned out of your mind at 3 A.M."[254] The entire song (the verses and the choruses) follows the same repeating chord progression that is outlined by a descending step-wise bass line (Figure 7) that is reminiscent of the beginning of Bach's *Air on the G String* (Figure 8). The vocal line works independently of the rhythmic bass as the voice's pentatonic melodic line rises and falls, furthering the sensation of a dream-like state.

Figure 7. Procol Harum, "A Whiter Shade of Pale," mm.1-4

[253] Ibid.
[254] Michael Long, *Beautiful Monsters: Imagining the Classic in Musical Media* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 153.

Figure 8. Johann Sebastian Bach, BWV 1068, second movement, mm.1-3

Much as in The Left Banke's "Walk Away Renée," the guitar is forced into the background and is hardly heard while a Hammond organ leads the melody in the instrumental interludes and fills out the melody during the verses. The lyrics of the song refer to a dream-like state by documenting the in and out of consciousness moments that accompany a drunken evening. The space between dream and reality is sonically described through the organ's stylistic reference to the fourth movement of Bach's *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*, BWV 140, written to signal the coming of the Lord, which becomes a signal of awakening one's perceptions and state of consciousness. The organ borrows from the syncopated rising melodic sequence performed by the strings in the opening of the movement but does not directly quote from Bach's work (Figures 9 and 10).

Figure 9. Procol Harum, "A Whiter Shade of Pale," mm. 3-6

Figure 10. Johann Sebastian Bach, BWV 140, fourth movement, mm.7-8

Nonetheless, the piece is arguably one of Bach's best-known movements and the reference would also have been recognizable to those who hear the piece performed during the Advent season. Reising argues, "Waking up, literally and figuratively, then, anchors the psychedelic call

both to reject hazily defined conception of obsolete time and to embrace the moment of glistening, existential immediacy."[255] The psychedelic counterculture sought to move away from the linear construction of time and embrace the immediacy of the moment in order to become aware of various perceptions. In this sense, timelessness does not refer to lasting power, but rather the concentration on a perpetual present that refuses to rely solely on recollection or anticipation, creating a new way of orienting our relationship between time, memory, and history.

The lyrics of the last three verses in "A Whiter Shade of Pale" focus on the perception of truth and reality as they detail illogical possibilities. The second verse reads "the truth is plain to see," the third verse reads "She said, I'm home on shore leave/ Though in truth we were at sea," and the fourth verse reads "And likewise if behind is in front/ Then dirt in truth is clean." The lyrics not only question nostalgic memory but also question time and reality. They also make archaic references such as "sixteen vestal virgins" and "the miller told his tale."[256] Musicologist Michael Long suggests that the song triggers "temporally dislocative experiences of nostalgia" because it does not idealize the past nor does it problematize the present.[257] The listener cannot distinguish if the narrator is in the past or present nor if he is hallucinating or dreaming. The song takes an ahistorical stance because it evokes both dreams and hallucinations which have nonlinear perspectives of time even though time is passing in reality (an existence that is questioned). Once again, baroque music is utilized to reference the past and place it in contrast with its new context in order to expand consciousness. "A Whiter Shade of Pale" fits perfectly

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[255] Reising, "Melting Clocks and the Hallways of Always," 529.
[256] Literary references such as these were also found in The Left Banke's music especially "Barterers and their Wives."
[257] Long, *Beautiful Monsters*, 155.

within the countercultural idea of distancing itself from the mainstream because it questions the existence of reality and whether the concept of the mainstream even exists.

The Hammond organ bridges the past and present as the listener associates organs with baroque music but a Hammond organ operates electronically rather than driven by pressurized air, suggesting a connection with the electronic and amplified instruments of a rock band. The Hammond organ was designed as an alternative to the pipe organ because it was one-tenth the price of a modern pipe organ and it could fit inside a private home, small studio, or a cocktail lounge. Black blues, R&B, and jazz artists were influenced by the sound of the Hammond organ heard in churches, especially in the South, and introduced it into their compositions. These compositions, as previously mentioned, were heard by British rock artists who re-introduced these sounds into the American soundscape as the organ's use was becoming more prevalent in the 1960s. The Hammond could easily take the place of multiple musicians and thus saved bands money while leaving the organist to innovate ways of filling out the missing textures. For instance, Matthew Fisher's replacement Chris Copping and the Doors' Ray Manzarek used electric keyboards (such as the Hammond) in order to double or eventually replace the bass guitar.[258] Other synthesized keyboards, such as the Moog and Mellotron, allowed artists to simulate different instruments which made it easier to recreate the sound of a particular instrument on tour without the presence of a studio musician. Similar to other organs, the Hammond allowed artists to play many different voices on several manuals along with the pedals, however, the Hammond was cheaper, smaller, and could travel much easier than other organs.

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[258] Scott Faragher, *The Hammond Organ: An Introduction to the Instrument and the Players Who Made it Famous* (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Books, 2011), 327.

Just as George Martin's harpsichord sound in "In My Life" was a product of recording studio technology, Hammond organs, Vox organs, Mellotrons, Moog keyboards, and other synthesizers replaced acoustic baroque instrumentation later in the 1960s. Several artists continued to use acoustic harpsichords found in recording studios for certain songs but most artists found it much easier to use the technology afforded to them. Baroque rock artists typically played on modern instruments (both acoustic and electronic) that sounded similar to their baroque counterparts in order to represent a stereotypical view of baroque instrumentation and style rather than a historically informed performance. They wanted to sonically reference the general concept of a distant past (specifically the Baroque period) in order to ironically comment on the construction of time and memory. Thus, whether or not artists were using harpsichords or synthesized keyboards designed to sound like harpsichords is irrelevant. A simulation of baroque instrumentation and style was enough to achieve the desired effect of a group wishing to reflect on perceptions of historical reality.

4.4.4   San Francisco, California 1968: Big Brother and the Holding Company

Just as the Beats living in San Francisco in the 1950s shaped the North Beach district into their own cultural neighborhood, the 1960s counterculture co-opted the Fillmore district and created Haight-Ashbury. During World War II, many immigrant and minority groups settled in the area near the intersection of these two streets, as laws prohibiting ownership did not apply there. Redevelopment agencies in the post-war period promoted urban renewal in order to lure wealthy, white home-owners back into the city. The predominantly black district fought not only the agencies to keep the space but also the white, educated, middle-class counterculture who took advantage of the cheap rental rates in order to create a bohemian playground for the

intelligentsia.[259] Ironically, the counterculture who would have been opposed to a mainstream organization, such as the redevelopment agency, were responsible for carrying out the beginning of the agency's desired gentrification.

The California sound, once associated with the Beach Boys' surf rock anthems in Los Angeles, found a new creative scene up north in the Bay area in the late sixties with bands such as Big Brother and the Holding Company, the Doors, Jefferson Airplane, the Grateful Dead, and more. By 1967, the rock scene had shifted back and forth between America and England twice before returning to the northern part of California. A 1967 issue of *Time Magazine* reported that San Franciscans were referring to their city as "the Liverpool of the U.S.":

> Blues, folk, country and western, ragas, psychedelic light and sound effects, swatches of Mahler, jazzlike improvisations—all are spaded into the mulch by such vital and imaginative groups as the Doors, the Grateful Dead, the Jefferson Airplane, the Paul Butterfield Blues Band, the Byrds…[260]

As the rock scene was circulating through different cities in the U.S. and England, baroque rock was flowing into other subgenres such as psychedelic rock. Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale" included the instrumentation and style of the Baroque period but with added psychedelic aspects such as surrealistic lyrics about the passage of time, swirling organs, and an extended solo. Baroque influences also seeped into psychedelic music in the San Francisco scene. Even though the characteristics of baroque rock include both baroque instrumentation and style, it is important to note that references to baroque instrumentation got lost in psychedelic rock as listeners craved more distortion and fuzz effects. Organs replaced harpsichords and electric guitars took back their place in the forefront of the sound.

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[259] Nadya Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope: Musical and Cultural Perspectives on Late Sixties San Francisco* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2008), 26-7.
[260] "The Messengers," *Time Magazine*, September 22, 1967, 62.

While earlier British rock groups admitted their admiration for the Brill Building and Motown sounds by performing covers of songs, psychedelic rock musicians distanced themselves from these sounds because they were sonically coded as white, achieved mainstream popularity, and became commercialized.[261] Psychedelic bands preferred to incorporate old blues sounds into their music rather than rely on the music that was flooding the radio. These bands assigned authenticity to the black experience and defined this experience based on stereotypical notions of blackness rather than allowing the black artists of songwriting institutions to define their own experiences. The countercultural sensibility viewed black artists singing radio-friendly material as selling out and preferred to align themselves with blues artists that artistically found themselves on the outskirts of society.

English artists were not the only ones influenced by their art school training as American artists also reaped these benefits. Big Brother and the Holding Company's drummer David Getz and guitarist Peter Albin both majored in art either at a college or an art institute. Even though Janis Joplin did not attend an art school, her father introduced her to classical music.[262] The band's guitarist Sam Andrew admits, "I like to play pre-classical things, more Baroque, Elizabethan and that kind of thing. Lute things. Much better than Beethoven and contemporaries."[263] In 1968, the San Francisco-based psychedelic rock group created a cover version of George Gershwin's "Summertime" from *Porgy and Bess* that made use of the pluralism of high and low brow music. The band exaggerates Gershwin's musical pluralism of jazz and opera by applying techniques from baroque, jazz, blues, and psychedelic rock. They apply baroque techniques to the structure, guitar picking, accompanimental patterns and themes,

[261] Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 41.

[262] "Big Brother and the Holding Company," promotional biography from Columbia Records, 1968, box RG1, folder 10, Coll. ARC-0037, Jeff Gold Collection, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.

[263] Alec Dubro, "Big Brother Gets Along All Right," *Rolling Stone*, November 11, 1971, 16.

as well as the final chord of the piece. Jazz/blues techniques are applied to improvisatory solos, rhythms, vocal diction, structure of the bridge, and accompanimental call and response. The band also applies psychedelic rock techniques to the distorted sound of electric guitars, instrumentation, reverberation and space techniques.

Jazz and baroque elements meet from the outset of the song when the drummer initiates a four beat pattern by using a wire brush on the ride cymbal which is followed by an electric guitar (Electric Guitar 1) performing the subject of a fugue in eighth notes, designating the meter as twelve-eight. The meter gives the illusion of a jazz feeling because the eighth notes are felt as swinging triplets while the tempo remains strict in order to exchange the subject and answer of the fugue. The bass guitar provides a walking bass pattern that functions to enunciate the pedal tones of each chord. Electric Guitar 1 takes five measures to complete the subject which is answered by Electric Guitar 2 while Electric Guitar 1 provides a countersubject for four measures completing the introduction. The fugue accurately uses conventional subjects, answers, and countersubjects while sounding similar to J.S. Bach's Fugue No.2 in C minor from *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, BWV 847 (Figures 11 and 12).[264] When Electric Guitar 2 answers the subject it does so at a lower pitch which is reminiscent of a keyboardist's left hand and follows the conventions of the answer by being present in a different voice than the subject (Figure 13). Electric Guitar 2's answer sounds distant compared to the foregrounded sound of the subject. This creation of aural depth provides the listener with a sense that the answer and the subject are not only present in two separate voices but that the answer echoes in response to the subject. The light picking technique of the guitars simulates the lack of reverberation on a harpsichord. Much

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[264] In a fugue, the subject is a melody that introduces the primary melodic and rhythmic material for the entire fugue. The answer imitates the subject in a different voice immediately following the first statement of the subject. In this example, Electric Guitar 2 performs a tonal answer because it remains in the same key as the subject (G minor) but with different intervals.

like the timbre of pressing a key on a harpsichord, once the string is plucked the sound quickly dissipates, allowing the two lines of the fugue to complement each other without creating a lugubrious cacophony of sound. The sounds of Electric Guitar 2 and the bass guitar are pumped into the left side of the speakers while Electric Guitar 1 is presented in the right side, further implying that the space is determined by an instrument's pitch much like that of a keyboard. For instance, a keyboardist uses the right hand for the upper range and uses the left hand for the lower range.

Figure 11. Big Brother and the Holding Company, "Summertime," mm. 2-5
Electric Guitar 1 performs the subject of the fugue

Figure 12. Johann Sebastian Bach, BWV 847, Fugue No. 2 in C minor, mm. 1-3

Figure 13. Big Brother and the Holding Company, "Summertime," mm. 7-11
Electric Guitar 2's tonal answer to Electric Guitar 1's subject

Janis Joplin's vocals begin on the fourth pulse of measure ten which initiates an eight bar verse. Joplin makes use of the twelve-eight meter, re-emphasis, and elongation of syllabic pronunciation in order to lengthen the verses. Joplin manipulates the English language by separating syllables and lengthening consonants. In the first verse, Joplin extends the length of the second syllable in "summer" by two beats and repeats "time" twice. Joplin also lengthens the pronunciation of "easy" by singing the first syllable and sliding the pitch down in order to finish the second syllable. The continuity of the last line is broken with exclamations of "Lord!" and

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the re-emphasis of "high." Joplin calls on black music's tradition of preaching by repeating words and phrases in a polyrhythmic fashion throughout the song. Each mention of the word "time" in the first line is presented as a 3:2 cross rhythm. For instance, "time" is stated three times in the space of the bass guitar playing two down beats and the electric guitar subdividing six eighth notes. The listener's attention is drawn to these polyrhythms as they are presented in contrast to the strict subdivided rhythms of the introduction's fugal section. Joplin calls on the black preacher tradition as she exclaims "Lord" for emphasis in the first and third verse. The second verse demonstrates the repetition of phrases such as "lookin' good" and "don't you cry" as well as the repetition of "baby" in a polyrhythmic fashion.[265] The significance of re-emphasizing words is found in Joplin's appropriation of black characteristics that play an important role in contrasting with the baroque characteristics of the instrumental sections in order to create pluralism.

The mixture of stereotypical black and white styles of music can be interpreted as a comment on society's need for racial integration rather than an appropriation of black styles in order to create revenue for white artists. In her research on San Francisco in the late sixties, Nadya Zimmerman explains how critics viewed Janis Joplin's representation of the blues as stereotypical because she exaggerated the style which was perceived by some as imitating black performers and emphasized the stereotype of overt sexuality.[266] We are reminded of this when we hear Joplin's use of reemphasis and prolonged syllables in "Summertime." Zimmerman explains this exaggeration by stating, "Joplin hangs on notes that desperately long for resolution

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[265] Joplin's dialect and vocal quality are also white representations of black aural performance. For further information, see Nadya Zimmerman's *Counterculture Kaleidoscope: Musical and Cultural Perspectives on Late Sixties San Francisco* (2008).
[266] Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 43.

and hammers away at others that might easily have gone unnoticed."[267] This exaggeration can be interpreted as emphasizing certain characteristics of each musical style (baroque, rock, blues) in order for them to sound more in contrast with each other, which creates a more powerful effect when they are positioned next to each other. After all, the band appropriated styles from both black and white performers in order to create a new sound distinction. Zimmerman explains, "While Big Brother seems to intellectualize Gershwin —either in an attempt to honor him or appropriate his cultural capital —Joplin tries to shape Gershwin's work in the mold of a much blacker tradition."[268] Big Brother appropriated and exaggerated the styles of jazz, blues, baroque, psychedelic rock in order to accent contrasts, not to oppress or use people of a particular race. Zimmerman suggests, "The counterculture used the blues for its own entertainment, enjoying the recognizable musical features and cultural cache of the blues without explicitly engaging with its history or intricacies or potential expression of racial oppression."[269]

The listener's attention alternates between the vocalist and the solo instruments that rise out of the texture to respond to the vocalist's statements. These responses, primarily delivered by Electric Guitar 1 and 2, alternate between baroque and psychedelic rock characteristics. For instance, Electric Guitar 1 plays an accompanimental arpeggio pattern as the first line is sung, followed by Electric Guitar 2's statement of the fugue's original subject. Guitar 1 provides an answer to the subject and then switches immediately to a blues guitar lick that accents pulses two and three followed by a descending chromatic figure. Joplin sings, "Cotton's high" which is followed by a reverberant psychedelic rock solo that enters on an upbeat and produces a fuzzy, distorted tone. Guitar 2 restates the arpeggiated pattern at the beginning of verse two which is

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[267] Ibid., 44.
[268] Ibid., 48.
[269] Ibid., 50.

followed by another statement and answer of the fugue. The instrumental bridge goes straight into the arpeggiated pattern, which is followed by yet another fugal section after the second line. However, Guitar 1's answer to the subject ends in a blues rhythm (eighth-quarter-quarter-eighth) which accents the second beat rather than the first. The blues rhythm is followed by another virtuosic guitar solo that explores the range of the scale and becomes the arpeggiated figure in order to begin verse four. The last verse consists of an alternation between the fugal statements and Guitar 1 playing continuous upbeats in response to Joplin's repetition of the word "no."

The structure of Big Brother's version of "Summertime" follows that of a conventional rock song in that it begins with an introduction, states two verses followed by an instrumental bridge, and ends with another two verses. The song does not contain a traditional chorus but neither does Gershwin's piece. The final measure of the song resolves with a Picardy third which is typically found in the works of J.S. Bach. The instrumental bridge is comprised of what is commonly known to jazz performers as "trading fours" in which the rhythm section provides an accompaniment based on the original chord progression while soloists take turns improvising four measures at a time. The first four measures of the instrumental break begin with yet another statement of the original fugue with Guitar 1 stating the subject and Guitar 2 providing the answer. However, the subject and answer are stated with fuzz distortion effects rather than mimicking a harpsichord's less reverberant sound. Guitar 2's answer continues throughout the next four measures while Guitar 1 (still distorted) begins to play pedal point ostinatos that are common in baroque harpsichord music. The ostinato is presented in sixteenth notes and the pedal points are placed on the second and fourth sixteenth note of each four sixteenth note cluster. The pedal points act as non-chord tones in that they begin as belonging to the first chord and then

create dissonances within the following chords only to revert back to belonging to a chord once the guitar player changes the pedal point tones during the fourth measure.

The next four measures consist of Guitar 2 performing a psychedelic, distorted solo that shows disregard for normal time constraints as the performer pushes and pulls on the tempo while the rhythm section continues to provide a steady beat. Guitar 1 removes the fuzz distortion effects and strums chords on the four down beats while the bass guitar swings a sixteenth-eighth-sixteenth-eighth note rhythm. The last four measures of the bridge are broken into two subsections that I have named "Nightmare" and "Dream" respectively. The first two measures, the "Nightmare," are the climax of cacophony and pitch within the song. Both guitars are heavily distorted while Guitar 2 constantly bends pitches which create dissonances with the pitch bending entrance of Guitar 1. Guitar 1 removes the distortion and soars above the sound with ear piercingly high notes and the subsection ends with the two guitars creating a dissonant sound. An instant distance is felt as the listener enters the "Dream" because all distortion effects are removed, the texture becomes simpler, and the performers play their instruments as quietly as they did at the beginning of the song. The drummer uses the ride cymbal, the bass outlines the four beat pulse with pedal notes of each chord, and Guitar 2 strums chords on each pulse while Guitar 1 plays sixteenth note arpeggios. The "Dream" section acts as a transition between the "Nightmare's" psychedelic improvisation, which feels timeless especially in comparison to the previously heard strict fugal sections, and the return of the first section of the song. The "Dream" returns the listener to familiar motifs and highly structured time, representing a time shift that occurs during a drug-induced psychedelic experience as time seems to pass more slowly, quickly, or even outside of the concept of time.[270]

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[270] Ibid., 528.

I have chosen to assign names to these subsections within the instrumental break in order to reiterate Peter Doyle's idea of "pictorial spatialising" which he defines as "reverb and echo effects deployed in combination with certain lyrics to render aural vistas."[271] While the bridge does not contain any lyrics, the distorted sounds of the guitars are combined with the surrounding lyrics which come from Gershwin's lullaby. The fuzz effects, the cacophony, and the dissonances create a picture of participating in a nightmare filled with uncomforting fears while the instant consonance and the rising and falling arpeggios depict a child being rocked to sleep in his/her mother's arms. The lyrics preceding the bridge are begging the baby not to cry and the lyrics following the bridge are about rising and flying presumably to overcome obstacles. The dichotomy between obstacles and clearances is depicted through the dichotomy between high and low art as well as dissonance and consonance in the instrumentation. If the "Dream" section articulates order then the "Nightmare" section represents disorder suggesting that one part of a dichotomy cannot be defined without the existence of its counterpart. Big Brother and the Holding Company use pluralism in their music to comment on the harmony of pluralities in society.

Big Brother and the Holding Company comment on Gershwin's idea of pluralism which combines music that has been associated with highbrow styles (classical, opera) and lowbrow styles (jazz, folk) by exaggerating this notion. The concept of combining a Bach fugue with psychedelic rock and jazz was as brand new in the late sixties as the concept of a black folk opera in the mid-thirties. Big Brother draws on musical styles from a time period that is even further in the past (baroque) than Gershwin's use of opera and combines it with styles of the present (psychedelic rock) much like Gershwin had done with jazz. Even though psychedelia is

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[271] Peter Doyle, "From 'My Blue Heaven' to 'Race with the Devil': Echo, Reverb, and (Dis)ordered Space in Early Popular Music Recording," *Popular Music* 23 (2004): 32.

typically concerned with the idea of a perpetual present, in rare cases, it has also been known to explore the past. *The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience* uncovers four levels of unconsciousness recovered by subjects under LSD and the third level ("symbolic") involves a sense of a continuous historic process. R.E.L. Masters and Jean Houston explain, "He may act out myths and legends and pass through initiations and ritual observances often seemingly structured precisely in terms of his own most urgent needs."[272] This observation demonstrates the importance of memory's ability to pick out pieces of the past that are most useful for navigating present concerns, including moments of the past that are unexperienced such as myths and legends. Psychedelic music, with its desire to celebrate newness and embrace technological innovations, recovered inspiration from the past, whether it be a recent childhood experience (i.e., "Strawberry Fields Forever") or ancient and/or mythic past (i.e., "Scarborough Fair").[273] The contradictory and anachronistic sound of performing a Bach fugue on electric guitars with fuzz box distortion was no longer done with irony (as baroque rock had started) but more with an alignment to the time-warping feeling of a psychedelic experience, a place where the soundscapes of the past, present, and future coexist. Similarly to "A Whiter Shade of Pale," "Summertime's" incorporation of the baroque past into the contemporary psychedelic soundscape and its sonic references to sleep/awake states signals the increased awareness of present perceptions.

Big Brother and the Holding Company's version of "Summertime" appropriates blues, psychedelic rock, and baroque music in order to comment on the pluralism of society during the counterculture movement of the 1960s. The song is filled with multiple pluralities including the

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[272] R.E.L. Masters and Jean Houston, *The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966), 147.
[273] Reising, "Melting Clocks and the Hallways of Always," 537.

existence of both "high" and "low" art, obstacles and clearances, disorder and order, as well as nightmares and sweet dreams. As contrasting as these dichotomies seem they cannot exist or be defined without their opposites. Musical styles cannot be defined without pre-existing styles, life cannot be defined as easy without having experienced troubles, and disorder cannot be defined without order. Big Brother and the Holding Company's interpretation of Gershwin's "Summertime" offers a suggestion to embrace dichotomies through pluralism rather than to separate opposing forces. In keeping with the intentions of a lullaby, this suggestion removes fear and replaces it with security. In *Porgy and Bess*, "Summertime" is sung as a lullaby by a black woman to her baby in order to console and protect the child from the inevitable dismal conditions of black life on Catfish Row, but Janis Joplin sings the lullaby to the counterculture of which she was a member.[274] This appropriation of black forms is fitting for the counterculture in general because members (primarily white middle-class males) appropriated a notion of hipness, traditionally performed as a form of protection against white society, in order to distance themselves from mainstream society.

Big Brother and the Holding Company's interpretation of Gershwin's "Summertime" offers a suggestion to embrace dichotomies through pluralism as an alternative to the separate opposing forces of political society. The counterculture's pluralism, of accepting multiple and divergent styles and time periods in music, art, and fashion, demonstrated their wish to be outside of the political system. The following chapter demonstrates how, through the combination of seemingly disparate styles and forms of art, pluralism became a musical aesthetic that pushed the boundaries of genre classification. Ironically, the music that was designed to be

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[274] Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 49.

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esoteric in its reaction against mainstream consumerism was granted cultural accreditation by those who held cultural authority and pushed into the public view through television broadcasts that sought to educate the public to appreciate both art and popular music.

5.0   CULTURAL ACCREDITATION

"Something is happening and you don't know what it is do you, Mr. Jones? You know who Mr. Jones is, don't you? Us." – Leonard Bernstein, *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*[275]

The above epigraph, from CBS' television special on the 1960s rock phenomenon, pointedly demonstrates how hipness loses its resistance and therefore becomes unhip once it is explained to those it was designed to resist. In an irony of all ironies, Bernstein appropriates the lyrics of Bob Dylan's "Ballad of a Thin Man," a song about "a hapless bourgeois intruder into the hipster world" and his impossible quest to understand the hip crowd due to his incessant questioning.[276] Bernstein attempts to explain the hipness of rock to a presumably "square" television audience as he proceeds to identify both himself and his mainstream viewers as the song's main character: Mr. Jones. The song's analysis of a square (the antithesis of a hipster) purposefully evades their understanding because their essence as squares relies on their obliviousness to hipness' esotericism. The song functions on the premise that its audience (young hipsters) do not identify with the limited awareness of Mr. Jones (older squares). The Mr. Joneses of the world were highly educated but could not understand the hip sensibility because it was based on experience rather than the written word. Bernstein's ability to understand Dylan's lyrics and explain hipness to an audience of his peers on a mass-media format undermines hipness' reliance on esotericism and rejection of an oppressive mass culture and therefore its power to resist. Bernstein's position

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[275] *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*, CBS News (New York: CBS, April 25, 1967).
[276] Andy Gill, *Classic Bob Dylan: My Back Pages* (London, UK: Carlton, 1998), 86-7.

as director of an established cultural institution placed him in a position of power to grant music the status of "art" and all of the privileges that come with this status. His quotation of Dylan on a television documentary suggests both an attempt to provide rock music with cultural accreditation and increase the visibility of the countercultural sensibility in the eyes of mainstream society, both of which subvert the genre's claim to hipness.

Rock music's pluralistic tendencies of incorporating "high" art and exotic instrumentation and styles led to its acceptance by cultural critics such as Bernstein. Bernard Gendron defines cultural accreditation as "the acquisition of aesthetic distinction as conferred or recognized by leading cultural authorities."[277] In the case of performers, the term means achieving the status of artist rather than entertainer. This transformation became apparent in the late 1960s when the rampant use of the label "rock" replaced what had previously been known as "rock 'n' roll." "Rock," influenced by abbreviated composite names such as baroque rock, raga rock, and folk rock, became associated with maturity and self-consciousness while "rock 'n' roll" had connotations of adolescence and fun.[278] Rock's incorporation of baroque stylistic gestures signaled classical music's influence on rock but rock in turn influenced classical music as evidenced by classically trained artists and avant-garde composers incorporating popular music elements into their works.[279] Rock began to lose its powers of resistance once it was explained to and accepted by mainstream society through the birth of rock journalism, record company campaigns, television specials, music education, and the formation of ensembles designed to bring rock and classical music together.

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[277] Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 161.

[278] Raga rock is classified as rock music influenced by Indian classical music. Famous examples include the Kinks' "See My Friends" and the Beatles' "Norwegian Wood." Folk rock combines elements of both folk and rock such as socio-political lyrics and distortion-free electric instrumentation. The most famous example is the Byrds' cover of Bob Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man."

[279] Examples include Joshua Rifkin, Fritz Spiegl, Peter Schickele, Alfred Schnittke, and Lukas Foss.

5.1   THE MASS MEDIA GRAB HOLD OF THE ROCK REVOLUTION

British music critic William Mann published one of the first articles that discussed the Beatles in terms of their music rather than purely about the social phenomenon they sparked. His 1963 article in the London *Times* drew a musical lineage between the Beatles, pre-Classical European music, and modernism by drawing attention to the band's use of medieval modes and pandiatonicism. Even if the average reader of the *Times* was not familiar with these terms, they were able to see that the simplicity they heard in the band's music was not an effect of laziness or ignorance but rather a style deemed worthy of attention. This article led to numerous analyses that attempted to explain the Beatles' use of unusual scales and chord changes.[280] Musicologists and other highbrow critics' attempts to compare rock artists with Western art music composers by examining their use of pre-Classical modes were not always laudatory nor did they grant accreditation. More praise was given to formally trained musicians who arranged popular tunes into an acceptable baroque framework than to the rock artists themselves. The praise for rock music sounding similar to canonized composers was condescending and denied rock's sonic specificity, making it subservient to "the classics" by suggesting that rock artists ripped off "the masters" rather than utilized their own creativity or skill. It also led to arguments about whether the Beatles and other rock artists were conscious in their decision to utilize these medieval modes considering their presumed inability to recognize them by name. The presumption that rock artists could not read music and therefore were unaware of compositional techniques strips the artists of their agency and demotes popular music to a lesser position by perpetuating the racialized myth that popular music is "natural" and unlearned. This position also assumes that

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[280] Ibid., 165.

the artists' lack of musical terminology somehow devalues the music and the intentions of those who wrote it. The Beatles, in an attempt to evade and/or deride the press, publicly viewed their success as a fluke and ironically suggested that they had no real talent. For example, in early interviews the Beatles addressed the media's superficial questions with humorously sarcastic answers that poked fun at the interview process but chose to earnestly answer intellectual questions about their musical choices. Perhaps anticipating how highbrow critics would react to their music, the band outsmarted them by agreeing with criticisms of their work rather than vehemently defending themselves. This put the power back into their hands rather than the hands of the elitist press who assumed the band desired to raise themselves to a "highbrow" level. They certainly wanted to be respected but they did not intend to reach this status by riding the metaphorical coattails of classical music composers.

Directly after the beginning of Beatlemania and even into 1965, those who deemed themselves as highbrow music experts or musicologists were unwilling to admit their appreciation of the Beatles in highbrow journals. Instead, these conversations were reserved for middlebrow to lowbrow journals. Even though Leonard Bernstein would come to use the Beatles' music for examples of classical music features such as sonata form and modes during his *Young People's Concert* series, his opinion of the group was only reported in society sections of newspapers or magazines rather than in the music sections.[281] Even though musicologists may have appreciated the Beatles, rock music did not achieve cultural accreditation at this point in time because these admissions only occurred in lower arenas of accreditation. Rock achieved full cultural accreditation once it acquired its own publications and critics devoted to fighting for rock's equal position within the cultural hierarchy. Gendron argues that "no field or movement

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[281] Ibid., 172.

of aesthetic production can achieve full canonical certification without securing its own journals and critics who propagate and promote it…"[282] The professional rock critic and the genre of rock shared a symbiotic relationship in which the critic depended on the accreditation of rock while rock depended on the critic for its own accreditation. Rock critics were expected to be young in order to discuss their own culture unlike Bernstein who attempted to explain the youth culture to an adult audience of which he was a member. Rock critics, who were professionally trained writers and/or fans interested in the music, influenced the appreciation of the genre. For instance, Paul Williams was a student at Swarthmore who entered rock criticism as a fan and became a writer when he founded *Crawdaddy!*, the first rock journal in 1966. Richard Goldstein, on the other hand, was a graduate of Columbia University School of Journalism who created the rock column "Pop Eye" which appeared regularly in the *Village Voice* beginning in 1966.[283] The birth of rock criticism presupposed that rock was worthy of discussion and its written form removed itself from the experiential mode of listening and expanded rock from a purely oral culture to a written one.

The varying levels of rock appreciation and accreditation granted by professional "highbrow" musicologists and "lowbrow" amateur rock critics is ridiculed in Monty Python's mockumentary about the Beatles' history, *All You Need is Cash* (1978). The mockumentary, narrated by a news reporter, follows the career of the faux rock band, the Rutles. Immediately after a clip of the Rutles' performance on the *Ed Sullivan Show*, the narrator reports that the Rutles' music "had been attracting respectable critical attention" and that the London *Times* called it "the best since Schubert."[284] The reporter is determined to find out how good the Rutles

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[282] Ibid., 190.
[283] Ibid., 191.
[284] *The Rutles: All You Need is Cash*, National Broadcasting Company (New York, NY: NBC, March 22, 1978).

were from two different "musicological" perspectives. First, the news team travels to England to ask Sir Brian Morrison, Regent Professor of Music at the University of Oxford, what he thinks of the Rutles' music. The balding, white-haired professor, dressed in a suit and cloak, looks up from his desk covered in stacked books and busts of ancient Greek figures. He never smiles and offers no response as he slowly approaches the camera and slams the door in the reporter's face. The professor is representative of cultural gatekeepers protecting their ivory tower institutions from frivolous conversations about pop stars. Perhaps he would have been more willing to discuss the band's musicality in private or in a more appropriate lowbrow context.

The news team travels to sunny California to ask the same question to Stanley Jay Krammerhead III Jr., occasional visiting professor of applied narcotics at the University of Please Yourself, California. He is introduced as "a keen historian of pop music."[285] Stanley is found lounging poolside on a beach chair wearing a headband around his long hair, bright white pants, an opened Hawaiian shirt displaying an overwhelming amount of jewelry. He describes the band's music "musicologically and ethnically" as:

> Historically innovative melodical material transposed and transmogrified by the angst of the Rutlian experience which elevated from essentially alpha exponents of in essence merely beta harmonic material into the prime cultural exponents of an aeolian cadenzic cosmic stanza form.[286]

At the end of his analysis, Stanley, still holding his cigarette between two fingers, loudly sniffs through one nostril and leaves. The reporters comment that even though Stanley took the time to speak with them, they did not receive a satisfactory answer to their inquiry. Instead, Stanley

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This comment could be in reference to classical composer Ned Rorem who compared the Beatles' music to that of Monteverdi, Schumann, Poulenc, and Chopin. See Ned Rorem, "The Music of the Beatles," *New York Review of Books*, January 18, 1968, accessed June 2, 2016, http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1968/01/18/the-music-of-the-beatles/.

[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.

appropriates academic buzzwords in order to draw attention to the art form and gain access past the institutional cultural gatekeepers. Monty Python's parody highlights the divisions and reception differences between degree-accredited musicologists and self-accredited popular music critics. With the exception of musicologists like William Mann, critics were the ones who were responsible for drawing attention to rock music's value.

Leonard Bernstein, perhaps the most unexpected proponent of rock music, drew attention to the genre through educational television programming. His roles during CBS' *Young People's Concert* series were to conduct the New York Philharmonic's performances of classical canonized repertoire, explain its impact on music history, and introduce this repertoire to a new generation. During these episodes, Bernstein often used rock music to explain musical modes and forms also found in classical music. Just as William Mann drew a musical lineage from pre-classical European music to the Beatles which awarded the group validation in the eyes of the press, Bernstein reframed this musical lineage in the opposite direction in an attempt to award classical composers validation in the eyes of the youth. Bernstein's tactic engaged the audience with familiar pop music and created relationships between their music and canonized classical works they may have otherwise not been inclined to hear had their parents not taken them to the concert. The concert series, recorded for television broadcast, panned back and forth between the performances on stage and the reactions of audience members. Bernstein's transition from directing the orchestra's performance of classical works to lecturing the audience about what they had just heard through rock examples. He played these examples on the piano and sang them in a borderline monotone vocal timbre, eliciting smiles and laughter from the children in the audience who also found humor in the juxtaposition of classical and rock music.

Bernstein admitted to the importance of understanding pop music as a means to understanding the current state of America and he primarily incorporated this music into the concert series, not for its own value but to entice the youth into appreciating classical music. His young daughter Jamie inspired the "What Is a Mode" episode of the *Young People's Concerts* because she was having trouble harmonizing a Beatles' song on her guitar and was unfamiliar with modes.[287] In this episode, Bernstein uses the Association's "Along Comes Mary" to demonstrate the sound of the Dorian mode as well as the Kinks' "You Really Got Me" and the Beatles' "Norwegian Wood," both examples of the Mixolydian mode. In an episode on sonata form, Bernstein analyzes the structure of the Beatles' "And I Love Her" and compares it to Mozart's Piano Sonata No.16 in C major, K. 545. This linkage of comparison between classical and rock music legitimized rock music in the eyes of adults and made classical music more acceptable for the youth.

The *Young People's Concert* series was targeted toward the youth that were still under the care of their parents and therefore not yet swept away by the hippie lifestyle. A majority of middle-class American adults felt threatened by hippies but as the decade continued, their style increasingly became a staple of American life in fashion, music, movies, etc. This style became "in" which no longer referenced an initiated member's position of being in the know but instead referenced something/someone's popularity status within mainstream society. In order to make classical music relevant, Bernstein had to carefully balance the youth's interest in popular music and his own position as a representative of the New York Philharmonic. He had to embrace the hippie's prevalent societal influence while also honoring the traditions of Western art music and its sacred symphonic space. He strove to incorporate current topics and contemporary music in

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[287] Alicia Kopfstein-Penk, *Leonard Bernstein and his Young People's Concerts* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 18.

order to point out the relevance of art music texts and bring them to life rather than fashioning the program as an "out-of-touch museum" in which pieces are performed out of context and cannot be touched by the viewer/listener.[288] For example, Bernstein related the astrologically-focused lyrics of "Aquarius/Let the Sunshine In" (then on the *Billboard* charts) from *Hair: The American Tribal Love-Rock Musical* with Gustav Holst's *The Planets*. Recognizing the prevalence of drugs within hippie culture, he also used Hector Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* to warn his audience about the horrors of a drug trip. Despite Bernstein's well-intentioned means of reaching out to a younger audience through popular culture references, his identity as an adult working within a sacralized cultural institution whose program was sponsored by a mass media company meant that his references to the once subversive countercultural sensibility became understood, accepted, and sanitized by the group it initially resisted.

Rock's increasing popularity with the youth culture required in-depth investigation and explanation for the adult generation left perplexed by rock's power to draw thousands of people from across America to festivals such as Woodstock. Musicologist Alicia Kopfstein-Penk writes that before 1972, Leonard Bernstein "was an acolyte of tradition and could discuss any aspect of the hippie's lifestyle with impunity, authority, and the approval of parents, sponsors, the CBS network, and the Philharmonic."[289] Bernstein was thus the perfect candidate to teach rock music to an otherwise uninterested audience. Bernstein wrote and hosted *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*, a CBS News special that aired on April 25, 1967. His role from the *Young People's Concerts* series was reversed as he was now expected to understand the importance of the youth's music and explain it to their parents' generation. Bernstein, clad in a suit and tie, presents pop music as a legitimate art form through his intellectual insight and serious demeanor

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[288] Ibid., 136.
[289] Ibid., 124.

yet his bias occasionally seeps in throughout the documentary. Bernstein's identity as a father, introduced to contemporary pop music by his children, and as the conductor of a world-renowned orchestra resulted in his complicated relationship with pop music. He suggests that he only likes about "five percent of the whole output" of pop music and "it's mostly trash but that good five percent is so exciting and…significant that it claims the attention of every thinking person."[290] Bernstein seeks to answer why adults resent this music and why he likes it.

The program opens with Bernstein conducting an interview with a young man in which Bernstein lays out the stereotypes of the generation gap on the table for discussion. Bernstein suggests that he, as an older bourgeois family man who represents an institution such as the New York Philharmonic, represents everything the youth hates. Likewise, he believes the young man represents everything that the older generation does not understand. Bernstein claims to understand but is shocked to find that the young man is not rebelling against him. The pop music scene is presented as strange and unlike anything that has come before it because it is made for and by the youth. He points out that the youth are responsible for creating the market and setting the fashions (clothing, language, and social attitudes). These comments focus on active rather than passive consumption as well as the agency to determine how the mainstream market changes to their whims in a battle of co-optation.

The next part of the program features the composer/conductor explaining the pop music scene to a presumably middle-aged audience through lyrical, musical, and socio-political analysis of musical examples from the Rolling Stones, the Beatles, Bob Dylan, the Byrds, the Association, and the Left Banke. Bernstein attempts to replace the stigma of rock as a passing fad by highlighting the music's artistic innovation, eclecticism, and revolutionary societal

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[290] *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*.

insights. In his analysis of the Beatles' "Good Day Sunshine," he suggests that mixed meter, sudden key changes, and contrapuntal canons are new inventions in pop music. The Left Banke's "Pretty Ballerina" is also mentioned for its combination of Lydian and Mixolydian modes. Bernstein argues that these unexpected techniques in pop music are different than those used in the music of George Gershwin and Duke Ellington because the new generation has rejected the chromatic sounds of the 1930s and '40s as "too sophisticated, the sound of an older, slicker generation" in favor of basic triadic harmonies[291]. Bernstein also mentions pop music's limitations in melody, harmony, and rhythm which have since been expanded to include the aforementioned techniques as well as an increase in vocal range. The eclecticism of pop music with its freedom to incorporate all musical styles and elements grabs Bernstein's attention as he plays musical examples for each style. These stylistic elements include the blues (the Shondells' "Hanky Panky"), a high Bach (piccolo) trumpet (the Beatles' "Pennylane"), a harpsichord (Janis Ian's "Society's Child"), a string quartet (the Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby"), Indian ragas (the Beatles' "Love You To"), and Arabic café music (Rolling Stones' "Paint It Black"). However, Bernstein comments that pop music can also be "coarse, faddish, a victim of its own sameness" which suggests that the popularity of its eclecticism could also produce commercial complacency that churns out similar products.[292]

The documentary features Janis Ian (then only fifteen years old) performing "Society's Child," a song she wrote about interracial romance. Due to the controversy surrounding the lyrical content of the song, radio programmers were hesitant to play it on the airwaves but the song soon became a hit due to Bernstein's laudatory praise after the documentary aired. The spotlight Janis Ian and her musical message received by appearing on the program raises an issue

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[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid.

of pop and rock music's hipness paradox. In order for rock music to remain hip, it must be esoteric and understood by a select few, however, its existence and dissemination through popular media as well as its desire to spread messages of awareness and resistance forces it into the public consciousness. An acceptance of these messages at the public level by the structure they are hoping to resist, especially by a well-established cultural figure, can be read as assimilation into the mainstream but it can also spread desire for societal change to a larger audience. Bernstein comments that the negative aspects of pop music had been overwhelmingly represented in the press but his television special was designed to express the positive aspects of this music. He holds "Society's Child" up as a shining example of these positive aspects. The song incorporates many of the techniques Bernstein previously mentioned on the episode such as the "strange use of harpsichord" and electric organ, key changes, tempo changes, ambiguous cadences, and unequal phrase lengths. Bernstein argues that the song is a social document that is neither protest nor satire but that underneath it "lies the spirit of protest" with the implication that this is not the way things ought to be.[293] The lyrics are written from a young white girl's point of view of her interracial romance. Each verse describes the disapproving stares she receives from her mother and teachers who tell her that her lover is not of her "own kind," resulting in her decision not to see him anymore which is stated in each subsequent chorus. This decision is, of course, not necessarily hers but rather set in motion by the rules of society of which she is a byproduct. The last verse depicts her hopes for a future in which these societal rules are no longer in place but the song ultimately ends with a broken relationship caused by adherence to oppressive societal ideals.

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[293] Ibid.

The harpsichord in "Society's Child" (as in most baroque rock hits) represents a past so distant that a desire to return to it is unfathomable but it also represents the older generation whose ideas of racial segregation seem equally antiquated. The song opens with a harpsichord solo that includes mordents and a Picardy third that leads the minor baroque introduction into the song's main syncopated pop rhythm presented in a major key. The verses push the harpsichord into the background as it performs in a pop style that responds to Ian's Motown girl group-inspired melodies. The instrumentation is stripped down and Ian's vocals carry the listener into the choruses which feature an electric organ holding eerie chords that change the timbre and mood of the song. If the harpsichord represents the backward-looking older generation, the electric organ symbolizes technologically-advanced youth that are trying to fight for change under the oppression of a society run by adults. Even though the narrator states she must end the relationship in the choruses, the organ's searing timbre and unwillingness to resolve on held notes alerts the listener of her indecision and that her final decision to end the relationship, although coming from her lips, is not hers. The alternation between verse and chorus continues in a similar fashion until the last verse. She describes her desire to ignore society and listen to her heart as the strummed guitar chords become increasingly louder until sudden silence interrupts the anticipated climax to reveal Ian's quiet realization that her hopes for progress will have to wait until society has grown. The last chorus ends with the electric organ's chords which are finally allowed to resolve and lead into a blues outro. The baroque harpsichord and blues electric organ that bookend the song depict the generation gap of the era and the hope for the future embrace of progressive thinking. The harpsichord's antiquated introduction features its classic restraint within the confines of Western art music's rules of brief ornamentation and strict

resolution while the song progresses into the electric organ's more contemporary outro that features the freedom of blues improvisation, an allegory to the song's message of hoping for a better future.

The messages in songs like "Society's Child" are delivered by implication, and Bernstein suggests that implication is a strong weapon for the youth culture and "amounts almost to a private language" delivered through "oblique allusions and way out metaphors."[294] Much like the hipsters' use of slang to evade the language of white mainstream society, rock artists' lyrical allusions spoke only to the initiated until its presence and translation in educational documentaries lifted the once mystic shroud. The cover of allusion and metaphor allows songwriters to create social statements without fear of censorship or recognition of these messages by mainstream society. Bernstein connects popular music's literary devices to poetry which creates an association with a relatively high art form that is respected and studied. The shrouded lyrics' connection to social awareness debunks the myth that rock's function is purely for entertainment purposes and that the youth that are responsible for creating it are apathetic about their surroundings.

Bernstein ends his section of the program by advising viewers that they must take rock music seriously because of its role within a larger historic revolution. He argues that the historic revolution has been going on for fifty years but the youth's grasp of mass media through records with their musical messages, potentially distressing to adults, should be heard as the voice of the next generation. He states, "We must take it seriously, as both a symptom and a generator of this revolution. We must listen to it, and to its makers, this new breed of young people with long hair

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[294] Ibid.

and fanciful clothing."[295] This seriousness led to rock music reaching its cultural accreditation peak in 1969 when members at the Music Educators National Conference voted to formally endorse the teaching of rock music in public schools, colleges, and universities.[296] While there were still opponents to this venture, the vote brought an end to any organized resistance to rock music's incorporation into the music education curriculum. Just like other cultural institutions, music education's acceptance of rock was done not purely out of respect but because the organization wanted to profit from rock's popularity as a means to counter music education's marginalization and low enrollment. In a form of grand irony, rock music, once perceived as a simple form of entertainment, gained cultural accreditation through ironic references to "higher" art forms which culminated in Leonard Bernstein imploring an audience of mainstream adults to treat the genre with the utmost seriousness.

5.2   BACH AS LAUDATORY AND EMBARRASSING

Composer and conductor Leonard Bernstein discusses J.S. Bach's rediscovered popularity in an episode of the *Young People's Concerts* series entitled "Bach Transmogrified" (aired on April 27, 1969). Bernstein refers to Bach's appearance on covers of national news magazines which claim that the Baroque composer is "in."[297] The act of being "in" refers to participating in the "in crowd," a group that presumably knows what is hip. Bernstein spends the remainder of the episode explaining to the audience how artists after Bach have devised new ways of experiencing his works and therefore justify the composer's contemporary popularity. Johann Sebastian Bach

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[295] Ibid.
[296] Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 222.
[297] "Bach Transmogrified," *Young People's Concerts*, CBS (New York: CBS, April 27, 1969).

appears on the cover of the December 27, 1968 issue of *Time Magazine* in a cartoonish

depiction, still stoic but with his head tilted askew in the style of Pablo Picasso (Figure 14) rather

than the familiar upright, straightforward-looking visual representations of the composer. This

visual interpretation and representation of the composer's physical features mirrors the argument

of the cover story and Bernstein's ensuing episode: impressions of Bach have changed over time

but he remains a perpetual presence in society.
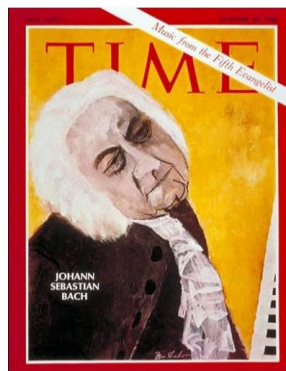
Figure 14. Johann Sebastian Bach on the December 27, 1968 cover of *Time Magazine*[298]

The composer's contemporary appreciation and hip status is very different, as the article points

out, from Bach's reception in his own time in which his son Johann Christian referred to him as

"the Old Wig."[299] Bach seemed backward-looking to his contemporaries because he used

outdated forms such as the fugue and summarized musical developments that predated him.

Alternatively, the composer seemed forward-looking to his contemporaries because he extended

these inherited musical developments.[300] Bernard Jacobson, music critic for the *Chicago Daily*

News, argues that the increase in the number of teenagers (aka "Bachniks") purchasing the ever

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[298] Cover art by Ben Shahn, *Time Magazine* (1968), accessed January 2, 2017,
http://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19681227,00.html.
[299] "A Composer for All Seasons (But Especially for Christmas)," *Time Magazine*, December 27, 1968, accessed
April 21, 2016, http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,900456-1,00.html.
[300] Ibid.

growing number of Bach recordings in the 1960s is because "Bach is a revolutionary figure, allied with the liberals, while Beethoven, the archrevolutionary, has become the bulwark of the conservative establishment."[301] Beethoven remained a staple within symphonic halls while Bach's rise in popularity did not yield an increase in Bach pieces performed at these halls comparable to the increase in records featuring his music. Symphonic halls still represented their concert series subscribers who were predominantly aging adults, while recordings were the preferred sound medium of the youth who could step into a record store and find recordings of Bach but also discover Bach's influence in the music of Dave Brubeck, Lalo Schifrin, Modern Jazz Quintet, and the Swingle Singers.

The *Time Magazine* article suggests that rock musicians' attraction to Bach stems from their desire for eclecticism and the improbability of blending his music with their own. Bach's music is "melodic but not meandering, emotional but not sentimental" which aligns with baroque rock artists' straightforward melodies that fit within a pop song framework and their tendency to replace the sentimentality of simple nostalgia with strict counterpoint.[302] Bach provided solidity to 1960s youth culture during a time of political and social revolution; he provided "a firm ground-bass that stabilizes their improvisatory life style."[303] Bach was not viewed as a reactionary figure whose music was reflected on with a desire for simpler, more structured times but rather as a composer whose music found balance between extremes. Counterpoint is one of the aspects of Bach's music that draws contemporary listeners because he balances mathematics

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[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid.

and emotion, structure and improvisation, as well as technical precision and feeling. These seemingly binary oppositions are shown to be opposite sides of the same coin because each side needs the other in order for the whole to function.

Bach and his music are canonized within the Western art music tradition and are thus familiar to the public but also subject to myriad interpretations. As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, canonized texts must be translated into the language of contemporary society in order for the music to connect with their lives. In "Bach Transmogrified," Leonard Bernstein suggests that "Bach's music naturally lends itself to transmogrifications" but Bernstein's only evidence is in performing the transmogrifications themselves.[304] Bernstein introduces the audience to three versions of Bach's Little Fugue in G minor (BWV 578). The first version is performed on an organ (the instrument it was written for), the second version is Leopold Stokowski's orchestral transcription, and the third version is Wendy Carlos' arrangement performed by a Moog synthesizer as featured on her popular *Switched-On Bach* (1968) album. Bernstein comments that artists justify their transcriptions by arguing that if Bach were alive today, "he would have given his music the full treatment," which is a common adage by proponents of postmodernism not only because performing an "original" is impossible but also because it offers a perpetual present that relieves the tension between the past and present.[305]

Carlos' decision to use the Moog synthesizer was mostly likely based on the novelty of the instrument at the time. At the 1967 Monterey International Pop Festival, a booth was set up for Moog synthesizer demonstrations and it attracted the attention of the Byrds and Simon and Garfunkel. The instrument was featured on electronic musicians Gershon Kingsley and Jean-Jacques Perrey's album, *Kaleidoscopic Vibrations: Electronic Pop Music from Way Out* (1967).

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[304] "Bach Transmogrified."
[305] Ibid.

The album included Moog-featured covers of several songs related to baroque rock ("Lover's Concerto" and "Winchester Cathedral") as well as an original that combined baroque and country, "Baroque Hoedown" which became the theme song for Disneyland's Main Street Electrical Parade in 1972. Carlos also chose to use the synthesizer due to its ability to produce a detached representation of an organ sound that could perform Bach's work of the past with an electronic timbre of the future. The synthesizer's transformative power to change familiar instrumental sounds into electronic timbral imitations was also used by performers with the countercultural goal of transforming states of consciousness and breaking out of the strains of mainstream society.[306] A synthesized version of a famous musical figure offered an escape from the traditional modes of thought and replaced these with alternative modes of perception about the past and canonization.

Carlos chose to transcribe and perform Bach's music for the album because she wanted to overcome the general public's reaction to the synthesizer, a relatively unknown instrument, and to the electronic music genre, perceived as too avant-garde to become familiar. The album participated in accreditation politics by using familiar, canonized music of the distant past to promote acceptance of a relatively futuristic instrument and genre. Carlos remarked, if "they could clearly hear the melody, harmony, rhythm and all the older values, they'd finally see that this was really a pretty neat new medium."[307] Once again, Bach was utilized not only for his status as a pinnacle figure for respectable art but also for his familiarity. By the late sixties, Bach's music (in one form or another) had been featured prominently in popular music and accepted by the counterculture through baroque rock which was becoming increasingly

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[306] Trevor Pinch and Frank Trocco, *Analog Days: The Invention and Impact of the Moog Synthesizer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 138.
[307] Ibid., 134.

mainstream. The Moog synthesizer's large commercial success did not arrive until *Switched-On Bach* (1968) when the album reached the number ten spot on the U.S. *Billboard* 200 chart and it spent three years at the number one spot on the *Billboard* Classical Albums chart, bringing synthesizers and electronic music to the attention of both pop and classical aficionados. In the same vein as *The Baroque Beatles Book*, *Eine Kleine Beatlemusik*, and *Jazz Sébastien Bach*, *Switched-On Bach* demonstrates how artists who would otherwise be categorized as classical musicians incorporated rock and/or contemporary elements into their works.

The first proposed album cover for *Switched-On Bach* (Figure 15) features a Bach impersonator, dressed in historically informed attire, seated in front of the Moog synthesizer. He wears headphones over his wig and his wide eyes make it clear to the viewer that he is visibly shocked by the new sound especially as he holds a quill pen in one hand and a slightly crumpled piece of sheet music in the other. This cover was replaced by one that featured Bach standing next to the synthesizer proudly holding earphones in his one hand and his jacket in the other with an emotionless facial expression expected by those familiar with Bach's portraits (Figure 16).
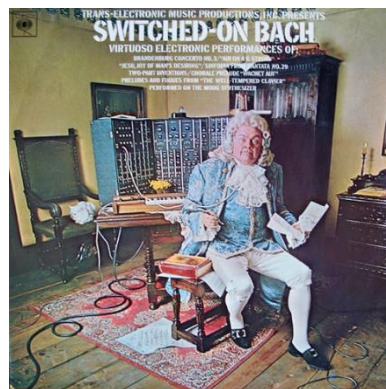
Figure 15. The initial album cover of Wendy Carlos' *Switched-On Bach* (1968)[308]

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[308] *Switched-On Bach* (1968), original album cover art, unavailable since 1968, CBS, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Switched-On_Bach_first_sleeve_(seated_Bach).jpeg.
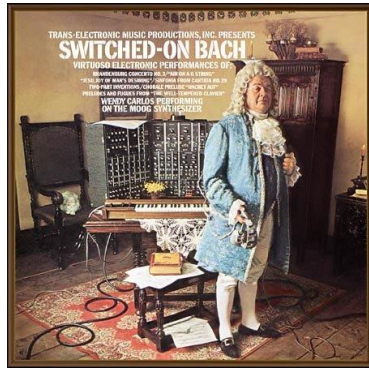
Figure 16. The replacement album cover of Wendy Carlos' *Switched-On Bach* (1968)[309]

Both covers visually represent anachronisms that the listener should expect to hear as Bach and a contemporary imagined representation of a baroque drawing room are juxtaposed with the electronic machine and its many protruding wires which lie on the floor next to the old-fashioned form of composing: sheet music. Carlos objected to the first album cover because it portrayed "a clownish, trivializing image of a mugging Bach, supposedly hearing some absurd sound from his earphones."[310] It is most fitting that *The Baroque Beatles Book*'s ironically comic portrayal of Bach wearing an "I like the Beatles" t-shirt had by 1968 been replaced by another version of Bach who still accepted the "new" music but with the same reverent seriousness afforded to his own works. This visual transformation also occurred with baroque rock as it began as a mockery to "high" art's sacralization before gaining accreditation by the same cultural institutions it set out to deride which eventually led to the genre's dissolution into progressive rock's elitism.

Bernstein demonstrated the next Bach transmogrification by conducting Bach's Praeludium from *Partita No. 3 in E major* (BWV 1006) and juxtaposing it with a performance of Lukas Foss' "Phorion" from his *Baroque Variations* (1967) that borrows from the aforementioned Praeludium. "Phorion," the Greek word for "stolen goods" references Foss'

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[309] *Switched-On Bach* (1968), Wendy Carlos, accessed January 2, 2017, http://www.wendycarlos.com/cdcovers/SOBNew.jpg.

[310] Wendy Carlos, *Switched–On Boxed Set*, East Side Digital B00002DDS5, 1999, CD liner notes.

propensity for stealing (more likely quoting) Bach's written notes in a new context. The title of the movement insinuates a sarcastic reference to critics of postmodern music who suggest that contemporary composers are devoid of original thought and instead rely on putting on the stolen mask of dead styles. Foss, much like baroque rock artists, does not merely quote Bach but instead subjects Bach's notes to aleatory procedures, leaving the ever-changing instrumentation (instrumentalists continuously alter between inaudible and audible performance) to the composer's discretion. Foss' desire to create "waves of sound rather like ocean waves rolling in unpredictably" and his incorporation of acoustic and electric instrumentation associated with baroque and rock genres (orchestra, harpsichord, electric guitar, electric piano, and electric organ) creates commentary about the past and the notion of authorship.[311] While Bernstein spends a majority of the concert explaining how instruments and scores worked differently than in Bach's day, he makes a statement after "Phorion" that makes the listener stop and think about what they have just heard: "So if he seems to you to be murdering Bach, it may be really that he's expressing something about our century that can be expressed only by committing this kind of violence on the music of the past."[312] Bernstein's strong vocabulary of "murder" and "violence" expresses the position of those who believed in historical authenticity, the sacralization of the Western art music canon, and that the written text should dictate a performance. Foss took Bach's written notes, changed the instrumentation, and the process by which these notes would be performed, resulting in an alternative reading of Bach. Perhaps Foss' commentary about our century was a jab at notions of creativity and authorship or a demonstration of memory's ability to reconstruct the past in order to create this commentary in

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[311] Lukas Foss and Edward Downes, "Baroque Variations (1967)," Program notes for *Baroque Variations*, Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra, March 10, 1968.
[312] "Bach Transmogrified."

the present. His inaudibility techniques, in which he more or less erases notes of the "original score" demonstrates memory's ability to obscure what was once thought to be an original. Foss commented that *Baroque Variations* were actually less variations of familiar baroque works and more dreams about these works, suggesting both memory and dreams' rejection of linear time and the ability to compose a memory out of accumulated fragments.[313]

Bernstein's reference to "murdering Bach" also conjures associations with Roland Barthes' "The Death of Author" essay from 1967 in which he argues against imposing the author's intentions because it places a limit on the interpretation of a text. Barthes argues that as soon as a fact is narrated, the voice loses its origin and the author dies.[314] Bach stands in as a familiar figure for "high" art and past tradition. These two signifiers are blindly followed and expected falsely to embody and perpetuate connections between accuracy and origination. The past represented through history does not necessarily imply accuracy or origination because there can be no original and therefore accuracy cannot be assigned to an Urtext. Barthes argues that the temporality between author and reader are different because the author is the text's past (with the assumption of authority) but the modern scripter's enunciation of the text is in the present, fostering the reader's agency to change the past. Lukas Foss and baroque rock artists alike did not murder Bach simply by altering his music because Bach, as an author, was dead as soon as he composed his texts which became available for interpretation. Just like baroque rock, Foss demonstrates that the past (represented through Bach's text) is not a fixed entity and listeners/readers/interpreters have the same agency to alter a musical work as they do to alter their past. Throughout these interpretations, Bach becomes a ghostly memory as listeners still recognize his voice which functions as an expectation of meaning that is directly subverted.

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[313] Foss and Downes, "Baroque Variations (1967)."

[314] Roland Barthes, *Image–Music–Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142.

Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic perform the opening of Bach's *Brandenburg Concerto No. 5* (BWV 1050) before welcoming the New York Rock & Roll Ensemble to the stage to perform their "Brandenburg," the last transmogrification of the evening. Bernstein introduces the ensemble as "five hybrids…half blue blood and half Beatles, half conservatory trained and half trained at the college of hard rock."[315] The group was formed by three Juilliard students who had experience playing in rock groups and invited two rock guitarists to join them. The group, dressed in tailcoats with lace jabots, are positioned on the stage with stands and sheet music, appearing as though they will play Bach "as written." The song begins with a conventional performance of the fifth concerto on oboes, classical guitar, and cello before an acoustic guitar breaks from tradition by strumming chords in a rock rhythm that transitions into a rock song. *Washington Post* music critic Richard Cowan's comments that although the band may start off with either straight rock or baroque, baroque riffs are ever present even in moments of hardest and heaviest rock music.[316] The opening baroque ensemble continues to quote portions of Bach behind the vocals in the first verse and then transition into the second verse that brings in drums, electric bass, and electric guitars that trade melodic ideas with a synthesized harpsichord. The harpsichord takes over the ensemble, performs a brief fantasia in a minor key before ending the section on a Picardy third. A drum fill carries the listener into the next section where the drums, electric guitars, and bass swing the opening of Bach's concerto. The guitar erupts with a blues solo, bending and sliding pitches into the chorus where the familiar Bach quotes are stated, this time without baroque instrumentation. The song's climax is reached when the vocalist lets out a scream à la Little Richard in contrast to his soft, folk vocals from the first verse, which

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[315] "Bach Transmogrified."
[316] Richard Cowan, "Baroque Rock," *The Washington Post*, April 29, 1969, B6.

leads into another improvised blues guitar solo. The entire ensemble ends the piece with a return

of a straight forward rendition of Bach only this time the electric guitar's distorted feedback

provides the final blow to the song.

The New York Rock & Roll Ensemble deviates from the baroque rock model of

performing stylistic allusions to baroque works and instead performs direct quotes from Bach in

a rock style. This change from allusion to quotation is one of several defining characteristics that

differentiate baroque rock and progressive rock. For example, Jethro Tull's "Bourée" (1969)

which appropriates the melody of Bach's Lute Suite in E minor, BWV 996 before breaking into

an improvisation in the middle only to return to the original melody, while influenced by baroque

rock's Bach appropriations, falls more under the progressive rock category. The trend of creating

rock renditions of works from the classical canon became more prevalent in late sixties and early

seventies progressive rock. Examples include Ars Nova's "Zarathustra" (1968), Nice's

"Brandenburger" (1968), Emerson, Lake and Palmer's "Pictures at an Exhibition" (1972), and

Electric Light Orchestra's "In the Hall of the Mountain King" (1973) to name just a few. Cowan

comments that the New York Rock & Roll Ensemble's seemingly effortless exchange between

baroque and rock elements supports his belief that even though rhythms change, the overall

framework of music does not change. He suggests Bach was playing rock in the 1600s and "the

parents and the purists are railing at nothing but the instruments."[317] Of course, these parents and

purists were also concerned about performance "authenticity," amplification, rhythms, as well as

extra-musical concerns such as dancing, fashion, attitude, and demeanor. Bach's connection to

rock, which began as ironic commentary about traditional modes of musical and cultural thought,

[317] Ibid.

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slowly drew attention to rock's so-called "evolution" which raised the genre to a higher position offering it the same type of cultural seriousness afforded to Bach.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the incorporation of Bach (arguably the most familiar figure to stand in for an entire stylistic period of music) was perceived as embarrassing for rock artists who preferred to embrace a persona that aligned with pop music's association with anti-intellectualism. In his chapter on anti-intellectualism and popular music, Ian Inglis describes "a broad reluctance within popular music to claim publicly for itself anything more than a role as a mere provider–of–entertainment" while those outside of popular music tend to "dismiss those claims which appear to endorse any greater ambition as pretentious and risible."[318] The Beatles and the Rolling Stones initially viewed their incorporation of baroque elements as embarrassing because these elements were perceived as sonic claims to "high" art's pretentiousness which would undermine the credibility of each group's roots in working class beat music. Baroque rock artists with ambitions of raising their form of art through the incorporation of classical elements would never admit to these ambitions publicly for fear of being laughed off by cultural gatekeepers unwilling to relinquish cultural advantage as well as by rock fans expecting nothing more than to be entertained. Therefore, it was easier for baroque rock artists to portray these ambitions as ironic rather than demanding serious accreditation. The unwillingness to accept popular music's pretentions comes from a discourse which admits "the physical, the emotional and the behavioural impacts of popular music, but which finds no place for the cognitive."[319] Despite the strides made in popular music studies, this discourse still exists which has led scholars to question whether or not baroque rock artists "knew what they were doing" or if they

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[318] Ian Inglis, "Men of Ideas? Popular Music, Anti-intellectualism and the Beatles," in *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society*, ed. Ian Inglis (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 1.
[319] Ibid., 2.

"just liked the sound." These answers are not mutually exclusive and the presumption that artists did not know what they were doing not only strips them of their agency but reinforces popular music's stereotyped associations with music of the body rather than music of both the mind and body.

Ironically, the stereotype that rock musicians were untrained and could therefore only "feel" (body) rather than "understand" (mind) the baroque representations they were creating is one that the rock genre proudly accepted. The genre's obsession with "authenticity" came from a desire to draw from rhythm and blues roots rather than the classical canon. Rock's acceptance of unstudied simplicity instead of formal training's virtuosity led to the hatred of progressive rock and the embarrassment of baroque rock's acceptance. Rock was expected to challenge the establishment's conventions, therefore a style of rock that was influenced by the music of the establishment and aspired to the privileged status of that music (in the case of progressive rock) was inevitably treated with suspicion.[320] Baroque rock's cultural accreditation is noteworthy because rock's value system is in direct opposition to the value system used to elevate Western art music. What is highly valued in Western art music reception such as orchestral instrumentation, virtuosic instrumental sections, and multi-movement structures is typically seen as embarrassing or met with derision in the modes of rock music reception. Musicologist John Sheinbaum argues that progressive rock's reception represented "a complete inversion of musical values: striving for the conventionally "high"…was devalued, and aspects conventionally ascribed to "low" music were prized."[321] This inversion of musical values was created because "high" art music represented conventional value upheld and supported by the

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[320] John J. Sheinbaum, "Progressive Rock and the Inversion of Musical Values," in *Progressive Rock Reconsidered*, ed. Kevin Holm-Hudson. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 21.
[321] Ibid., 27.

establishment (i.e., cultural institutions and mainstream society) which was frowned upon by rock's increasing countercultural agenda. Baroque rock's ironic mocking of conventional values was popular with audiences because it was accepted by the youth but also by cultural institutions who misunderstood the classical references as serious attempts to legitimate the genre. Baroque rock's cultural accreditation led to the genre's wide acceptance among various marketing targets while simultaneously losing its power to resist, resulting in its descent into the forgotten, embarrassing realms of rock's historical narratives. Rock critics were concerned that "high" art influences would undermine rock's stance against formal art. Ellen Willis of the *New Yorker* argued that "rock has been co-opted by high culture, forced to adopt its standards," and thus ending rock's "radical experiment in creating mass culture on its own terms, ignoring elite definitions of what is or is not intrinsic to aesthetic experience."[322] High culture's only hope for extinguishing rock music's cultural revolution was to stop fighting against it, accept it, and raise it to a valued status under the rules of high culture's game. Once acceptance had been granted, rock's only move was to return to its less pretentious origins and make rock harder than it had ever been.

The incompatibility between the rock genre's propensity for raging against established tradition and baroque rock's acceptance by mainstream culture led to an embarrassing perception of baroque rock, making it a moment in rock history that people wish to forget. The transition to hard rock with its harsh, distorted timbres, screaming vocals, and driving rhythms also forced baroque rock's associations with acoustic timbres, light vocals, and counterpoint into the recesses of artists' memories. This embarrassment is parodied in a scene from the rock mockumentary *This is Spinal Tap* which documents hard rocker David St. Hubbins'

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[322] Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 210.

embarrassment upon hearing an oldies radio station play a little bit of his past. The radio DJ plays the Thamesmen's hit baroque rock single "Cups and Cakes" and tells his listeners that they are "going all the way back to 1965 with that one," suggesting that 1965 was indeed the year of baroque rock.[323] The humor in this scene not only comes from David's reaction to the song but also the song's exaggeration of the baroque rock style which draws attention to the stylistic markers found in familiar baroque rock hits that determine the subgenre. For instance, the driving eighth notes and legato lines of the string quartet, the trumpet's baroque fanfare, and the synthesized harpsichord's pedal point ostinatos all point to key moments in the Beatles' "Yesterday," "Eleanor Rigby," and "Penny Lane" as well as the Rolling Stones' "As Tears Go By." Meanwhile, the lyrics' reference to the British tradition of Sunday tea is a parody of Peter and Gordon's "Sunday For Tea."[324]

Canonized figures, such as Bach, held cultural accreditation and by appropriating their music, even ironically, rock was able to gain cultural and artistic credit. The shift to taking popular music seriously saw the genre's consumers expand from working class teenagers to youth in higher education and hip middle class audiences. Inglis argues that rock's "social and cultural context had been transposed from the nonconformity previously associated with the twilight world of beats and jazz into the radical chic of a thinking person's music."[325] The direct relationship between rock's accreditation and its increasing reliance on canonized art forms is evident in the transformation from baroque rock's ironic two to three-minute mini-pop symphonies to psychedelic rock's Romantic era-inspired concept albums to progressive rock's

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[323] *This is Spinal Tap*, directed by Rob Reiner (1984).
[324] John Covach, "Stylistic Competencies, Musical Humor, and This is Spinal Tap," Spinal Tap Fan Site, accessed April 27, 2016, http://www.spinaltapfan.com/articles/covach2.html.
[325] Inglis, "Men of Ideas?" 7.

ten to twelve minute instrumental suites. Figure 17 is a Venn diagram that depicts the similarities and differences between baroque rock and progressive rock.
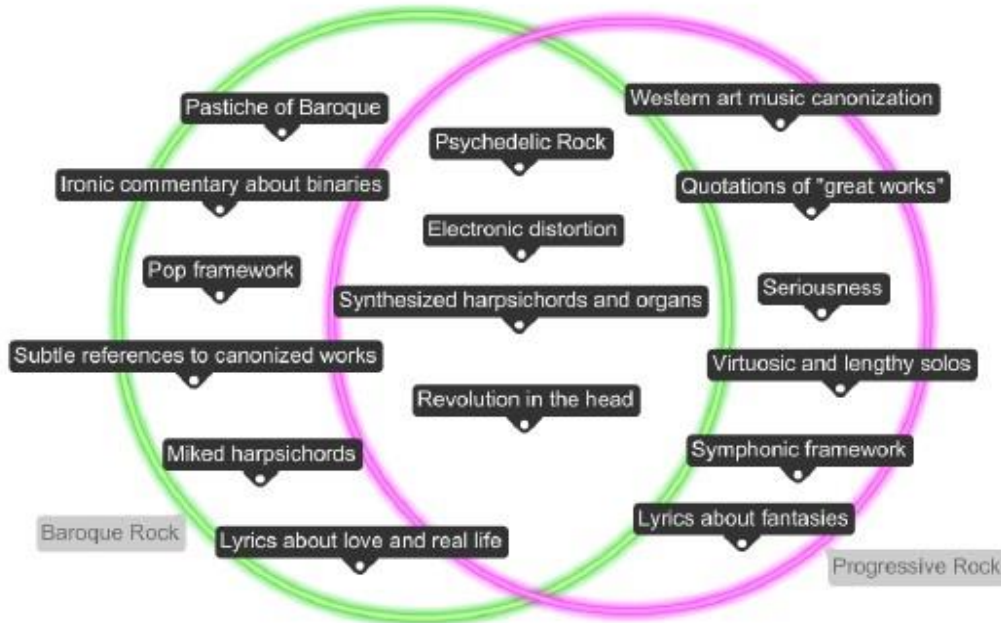
Figure 17. Venn diagram displaying the transformation from ironic to serious appropriations of the distant past through baroque rock, psychedelic rock, and progressive rock

The Venn diagram displays that although each subgenre of rock has its own characteristics, they should not be represented as separate entities because similar influences are found in each, allowing music to overlap into multiple categories. Baroque rock songs stylistically simulated a general concept of a baroque sound, followed the popular music format of two to four-minute long songs with some combination of verse and chorus that involved lyrics about love and everyday life, and usually included miked acoustic instrumentation (i.e., harpsichord). Progressive rock focused on the Western art music canon that baroque rock was trying to satirize by incorporating complete musical quotations from these "great works" with a demand to be taken seriously in order to continually raise rock music to higher cultural levels. Progressive rock also embraced the symphonic framework by creating multi-movement suites, song cycles, and

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virtuosic solos with each song lasting upwards of ten minutes and lyrics that either referenced the distant past or fantasy. Psychedelic rock shares commonalities with both baroque rock and progressive rock as all three subgenres focused on a "revolution in the head" sensibility that favored perceptual awareness over direct political action. Psychedelic rock also embodied the shift to electronic distortion and synthesized instruments that was found in later baroque rock and progressive rock.

As previously discussed, the largest difference is between baroque rock's ironic appropriations of the past and progressive rock's serious attempts to escape the present through musical quotations from the distant past and/or lyrical allusions to fantasy worlds. Following the direction of the back-to-the-land movement, both baroque rock and progressive rock included lyrics about nature to represent nostalgia for "authentic" times and places and thus an alternative to modern city life, commodification, mass population, and mainstream politics.[326] Both baroque rock and progressive rock engaged with the distant past in order to create awareness about our relationship to time, memory, and history but the subgenres express this concept differently. While baroque rock subtly pokes fun at nostalgia and the impossible fight to preserve imagined memories, progressive rock provides its listeners with moral stories that combine science fiction, mythology, and fantasy to depict a lost past or hypothetical future that forewarns of unsavory societal choices. In *Rocking the Classics*, Edward Macan uses Yes as an example of a progressive rock band that "stressed the belief that drawing on the distilled wisdom of the ages is the key to breaking out of our cycle of social strife and entering a new period of cosmic

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[326] Paul Hegarty and Martin Halliwell, *Beyond and Before: Progressive Rock Since the 1960s* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 48.

awareness."[327] Unlike baroque rock, critics believed that these messages in progressive rock were hidden behind excessive virtuosity which distanced the listeners from the music because song length, technical display, and messages shrouded in fantasy were not aimed at the common listener.[328] Instead, progressive rock's audience was white, educated, upper middle class males who wanted to continue to raise rock to the level of "high" art.

By the late 1960s, baroque rock's popularity reached the point of feeding into psychedelic and progressive branches of rock that were primarily more interested in baroque sounds than in questioning nostalgia. Baroque rock, initially designed to be esoteric in its reaction against mainstream consumerism, was ironically pushed into the public view through television broadcasts that sought to educate the public to appreciate both art and popular music. Cultural accreditation granted baroque rock with a new found respect but it increased its recognition among adult audiences and "high" art aficionados, a group the subgenre was designed to mock. While baroque rock's pluralism and eclecticism were appealing to the countercultural sensibility, these attributes also made the subgenre susceptible to consumer capitalism's urge to reach a wide array of marketing targets at once. Record companies soon recognized that they could co-opt baroque rock's pluralistic, non-categorical, non-mass, non-linear style in order to pander to hip consumers through the formation of a mass counterculture.

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[327] Edward Macan, *Rocking the Classics: English Progressive Rock and the Counterculture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 80.
[328] Sheinbaum, "Progressive Rock and the Inversion of Musical Values," 22.

6.0   HIP CONSUMERISM AND BAROQUE BUBBLEGUM

"It's hardly possible to be different in America without everybody wanting to be just like you.
Show that you're alienated by wearing a tulip in your ear, and before you can say hippie
everyone is doing it."
David Sanford, "Hippie Business," June 10, 1967[329]

Chapter 5 underscores the concept that canonization and/or recognition from an authority figure can strip music of its rebellious nature by offering it to mainstream culture, forcing hipness to lose its subversive power. When the Queen of England awarded each member of the Beatles a Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (MBE) in 1965, Mike McGrady of *Newsday* wrote, "And Queen Elizabeth has accomplished what an entire generation of parents and educators have been unable to do. In a single beautifully executed move, she made the Beatles square."[330] The Beatles were now respected in the eyes of a royal figure and they had been awarded the physical and metaphorical symbols of social acceptability. Even though the Beatles went on to create more revolutionary music, they were no longer perceived as a threat to mainstream society. Bernard Gendron argues that longevity in economic accreditation is directly related to aesthetic accreditation because short-term popularity and financial success are usually overlooked while long-term financial success equates to financial and capital profit.[331] Critic Ellen Willis commented on the economic and aesthetic accreditation of the Beatles:

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[329] David Sanford, "The Hippie Business," *The New Republic*, June 10, 1967, 7.
[330] Mike McGrady, "Beat the Drums Slowly," *Newsday*, June 17, 1965.
[331] Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 175.

When they were four silly kids jumping around on stage, making tons of money was a rebellious act—they were thumbing their noses at the Protestant work ethic. But once Leonard Bernstein had certified them as bona-fide artists they began in the eyes of society to *deserve* all that money.[332]

Rock's cultural accreditation was not only a way to dip into the burgeoning youth market but it was also a way to strip the movement of its power by including artists in the same economic and cultural value system of artistry that they initially resisted.

Rock's cultural accreditation, aided by baroque rock's "high" art associations, drew public attention to what had once been a genre marketed to and created for a relatively inclusive group. This chapter follows the cyclic structure of hipness as it shifts from a countercultural idea that resists mass society and commercialism to a hip consumerism that operates within the mass counterculture. Once mass culture becomes aware of a new "hip" phenomenon, they can market it as such to a public who wants to appear "hip." This co-optation of hipness is ultimately met with derision and a new form of resistance, thus perpetuating the cycle. Co-optation is inevitable as hipness is paradoxically individualistic and collective as well as *in* society but not *of* it, suggesting that hip consumers claimed a sense of authenticity that never existed. The opening epigraph illustrates both the attractiveness of difference in the 1960s and the speed at which this difference transitions from a symbol of resistance to a hot commodity. The hipness cycle has wide-ranging applications but is specifically applied here to the countercultural sensibility and its propensity for musical pluralism. The countercultural engagement with pluralism, initially accepted as a way to disengage oneself from target marketing, soon became an easy way for record companies to sell to an all-encompassing audience. Co-optation led to countercultural symbols and baroque sounds being stripped of their contextual meanings in order to sell a

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[332] Brackett, *The Pop, Rock, and Soul Reader*, 229.

product. Musicians, even the seemingly commercial bubblegum pop artists, appropriated baroque rock sounds in order to create ironic commentary about the hipness paradox and rock's claim of authenticity.

6.1   HIP CONSUMERISM AND MUSICAL PLURALISM

Hip consumerism in the 1960s is defined by journalist Thomas Frank as that which is "driven by disgust with mass society itself."[333] This consumerism aligned with the countercultural ideology of being critical of conventional values. Hip consumerism was presented in stark contrast to 1950s consumerism which focused more on caution and hierarchical boundaries than on creativity and flexibility. Business leaders looked to the 1960s youth culture as a reflection of their own struggle to replace the bureaucratic past with a new consuming order.[334] Companies' desire to follow youth trends while missing the mark entirely is parodied heavily in the Beatles' film *A Hard Day's Night* (1964). George Harrison stumbles into a fashion agency office only to have the secretary treat him as an animal that must be studied in order to understand his way of living. She announces to her boss that she's "got one," indicating that not only does George fit a desired type in the business world but also that she is not "hip" enough to recognize him as a Beatle who had previously been chased by the same hoard of screaming youth which the business claims to address as a market. The executive asks George to give a scripted opinion on teenaged fashions rather than asking him for his own opinion. Everyone in the office refers to George as a collective "they," suggesting that he fits the marketing archetype which ignores the

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[333] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 28.
[334] Ibid., 28.

individuality of consumers. The executive, presenting new shirts, condescendingly suggests that George will "really dig them, they're fab, and all the other pimply hyperboles" to which George remarks that he "wouldn't be seen dead in them."[335] The executive kicks George out of the office and is suddenly struck with the fear that George might be "a new phenomenon." He rushes to the calendar and is relieved to discover that George is only a troublemaker because "the change isn't due for three weeks yet." The scene parodies the commercialism of teenage culture and how businesses follow the youth but are often behind because their trends are developed from media representations rather than from individuals within the target audience.

The endless cycle of hipness involves hipsters/hippies being one step ahead of the consuming public until businesses catch up and co-opt these consumption choices only until hipsters/hippies start the cycle again. This cycle accounts for people being both consumers and producers because people produce their own rationale for consuming. Those with hip sensibilities create their own style of consumption that rebels against conformity, oppression, and the disappearance of individualism.[336] Their consumption practices reflect their lack of consumerist conformity, and businesses soon realize that these rebellious practices could be exploited to increase sales. The symbols of the countercultural lifestyle were "emblems of dissent that were quickly translated into harmless consumer commodities, emptied of content, and sold to their very originators as substitutes for the real thing."[337] While no true distinction exists between real (i.e., authentic) and fake symbols, there is a distinction between consuming/producing these symbols in order to adopt their rebellious meaning and consuming/producing them in order to conform to hip fashions. The hipness cycle demonstrates

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[335] *A Hard Day's Night*, DVD, directed by Richard Lester, Santa Monica, CA: Miramax Entertainment, 2002.
[336] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 31.
[337] Ibid., 16.

that the way these symbols are co-opted by businesses and sold to mass culture is ultimately irrelevant because subcultures will continually deconstruct and reassemble mass-marketed consumer products. Mass-produced culture is both a site of oppression and rebellion because even though it is designed to exploit consumers, it also unintentionally provides individuals with ways to empower themselves.[338] This theory gives agency to consumers as they are not cultural dupes or cogs in the machine but rather individuals who can choose what and how they consume products. Both the business culture and the counterculture play equal roles in producing and consuming modes of hipness as they constantly feed off one another for their own purposes: either to sell products or rebel against conformity.

Susan Sontag's argument (presented in Chapter 2) that postmodernism's erasure of hierarchies and genre boundaries lends itself to consumer capitalism holds a particular amount of weight in conversations about 1960s rock and its relationship to countercultural ideologies. More than a decade later, Jean-François Lyotard also recognized the dangers of marketing an "anything goes" eclecticism: "It is easy to find a public for eclectic works. By becoming kitsch, art panders to the confusion which reigns in the 'taste' of the patrons."[339] Both Lyotard's and Sontag's skepticism result from their recognition that consumer capitalism will take advantage of an amalgamation of consumer tastes. While this skepticism accounts for consumers who engage with this form of art seriously rather than ironically, it does not account for consumers who cultivate their tastes as expressions of themselves. The countercultural sensibility included a desire for musical pluralism because it reduced limitations of musical styles and discouraged genres that could be easily marketed to one specific target audience. Rock's pluralistic style of

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[338] Ibid., 17.
[339] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1984), 76.

incorporating music of other time periods and cultures made it more accessible for a larger audience with a wider variety of tastes than had the music remained within the traditional rock formula. Hip consumers were targeted with notions of non-categorization because they aligned themselves with that countercultural ideal. Hipness implies a resistance to mass culture because things are only new until they have been discovered by a large segment of the population. At some point, this resistance to the commercialism of popular culture is discovered and becomes commercialized. Thomas Frank states, "Business mimics and mass-produces fake counterculture in order to cash in on a particular demographic and to subvert the great threat that 'real' counterculture represents."[340] Capitalism views this large audience as a prime buyer's market and sells, without concern for ideology, what was once considered a form of hip resistance, thus stripping hipness of its power to create self-awareness. In order to strip a movement of its hipness, it must be explained to the rest of mainstream society, and the message is typically spread via media attention. Postmodern sensibility's propensity for erasing limits and boundaries between previously differentiated musical genres eventually resulted in new converts, legitimacy, and a co-optation designed to market this music to a mass audience.

Musical pluralism was reformulated into new hyphenated genres (i.e., baroque-rock, raga-rock, folk-rock, etc.) which were met with record companies co-opting these new genres to meet the market demands of a mass counterculture. The unintended consequence of musical pluralism is that it is much easier to market to a large target audience that embraces various styles of music than it is to target smaller audiences that follow a specific genre of music. Ironically, rock's esotericism of blending all styles of rock to the point of essentially erasing genre distinctions led to its wide acceptance by the audiences who liked the separate subgenres.

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[340] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 7.

In a 1968 *Billboard* article entitled "Rock for All Reasons Steals Stations' Play," journalist Mike Gross explores the phenomenon of musical groups formulating palatable hyphenated rock genres in order to capture the attention of both teen and adult audiences who would otherwise have to tune into separate radio markets: AM and underground radio.[341] This amalgamation of styles was referred to as soft-rock, an antithesis to the hard rock genre that was steadily increasing in popularity by the late 1960s. The instrumental sound of soft-rock was lighter and thus more appealing to adults while heavy lyrics, complex instrumentation, and youth-driven attitude from the hyphenated rock still remained. The willingness of these groups (such as Harpers Bizarre, Spanky and Our Gang, and the Fifth Dimension) to cater to all audiences offered a greater chance of getting more media coverage and thus reaching a larger fan base. Even bookings for these bands were diversified because they could perform in adult spaces such as hotel lounges while simultaneously appearing in teen markets. Gross interviewed Nat Ash, program director of WNEW-FM in New York, who believed that soft-rock was helping to close gaps in music. Ash argues that "this sound is providing a vital function in making underground sounds more palatable to older listeners."[342] Artists found a middle ground where they catered to adults by removing previously objectionable sonic characteristics in order to promote an acceptable version of rock that placated the artists' own commercial interests.

By the late 1960s, a record executive's fear of an audience confused by R&B and rock music's eclectic decision to incorporate strings in the late 1950s (e.g., the Drifters' "There Goes My Baby") was replaced by an embrace of this fusion in order to sell more records. Baroque rock's initial success and the desire for musical pluralism led to the preponderance of baroque elements in the rock music scene. In his 1968 article "Rock Music Groups Going for Baroque in

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[341] Mike Gross, "Rock for All Reasons Steals Stations' Play," *Billboard*, August 31, 1968, 1.
[342] Ibid., 4.

the New Eclecticism," *New York Times* music critic Robert Shelton reviews a performance by the New York Rock 'n' Roll Ensemble. Shelton is shocked to find that the audience did not appear confused by the blending of rock and baroque music and they even supported the band with shouts of "sock it to me" as well as "bravo."[343] Shelton states, "The argot of the conservatory and the discotheque are fusing as the record industry sets its sights on selling classical records to the rock generation."[344] Through rock music's legitimation, record companies could co-opt the countercultural sensibility's propensity for eclecticism which allowed them to increase their markets rather than separate them. Shelton cites the Beatles' *Rubber Soul*, Rifkin's *The Baroque Beatles Book*, and Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale" as music that pointed the way toward a new eclecticism. This music also led the way for groups who could speak the languages of classical and rock music fluently such as Ars Nova, the New York Electric String Ensemble, and the New York Rock 'n' Roll Ensemble.[345] Shelton refers to Columbia Records' "Bach to Rock" campaign that promoted classical recordings to the youth market through advertisements that portray Baroque to Modern era composers as anti-establishment characters.

CBS' Columbia record label's Bach to Rock campaign used the slogan "revolutionaries of rock" to market their classical music albums to those subscribing to the countercultural sensibility in 1968.[346] The revolutionary-themed promotion included ads that paired an avant-garde classical artist and a rock artist who shared anti-establishment views. The Bach to Rock campaign was in direct competition with Nonesuch label's popular marketing scheme. The

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[343] Robert Shelton, "Rock Music Groups Going for Baroque in the New Eclecticism," *New York Times*, September 6, 1968, 37.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Nathaniel Freedland, "Bach–to–Rock Movement Strikes Gold," *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 1969, 42.

Nonesuch label, which had set itself apart from other classical music recording labels by offering unusual repertoire at lower prices than its competitors, marketed itself as an "in" label by introducing a modern album cover concept for mass merchandising that focused on the college market.[347] The album covers featured bright psychedelic colors, paisley patterns, cartoon depictions of baroque performers and their instruments, and ornate lettering patterned from psychedelic poster art. Jac Holzman, founder of Elektra Records and Nonesuch, saw music as a source of expression from the youth: "It is a grievous error, however, to think of youth only as a market. Actually we are now in the midst of a sociological upheaval sparked by youth's legitimate desire for more freedoms…and music is at the forefront of their creative innovation."[348] In order to compete with Nonesuch Records' marketing scheme, designed to appeal to the increasingly mainstream countercultural sensibility, Columbia Records' Bach to Rock campaign spoke to the younger generation by dismissing differentiation and placing the classical masters into the 1960s psychedelic lifestyle. The campaign was an attempt to reach the college market, who were responsible for the largest record sales but not necessarily within the genre of classical records.[349] The campaign's motives suggest that the cultural accreditation granted to rock was not strictly due to baroque rock's incorporation of "high" art but also because companies could no longer afford to alienate an entire segment of the population whose cultural capital could be turned into economic capital. Capitalist institutions could no longer ignore the marketing potential of rock music's followers. Columbia appropriated what they saw as cultural markers of the counterculture such as love beads, Op art, and slogan buttons and sold

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[347] Letter to Nonesuch Distributors from Nonesuch sales manager Mel Posner, April 27, 1970, box 2, folder 18, Coll. ARC-0197, Schwartz Brothers Records, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.

[348] "Mergers and Amalgamations—Their Impact on the Independent Music Company" speech by Jac Holzman at the 1969 International Music Industry Conference, April 23, 1969, box 1, folder 9, Coll. ARC-0033, Lenny Kaye Collection, Library and Archives, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.

[349] Freedland, "Bach–to–Rock," 42.

them back to the generation that embraced them. Ad layouts of love bead-wearing Bach with kaleidoscope eyes and buttons with slogans such as "I'm on to Erik Satie," "Gabrieli Grooves," and "Brahms Not Bombs" were pitched to consumers. Obviously designed to offer only sameness rather than difference between classical and rock genres, this approach is an example of Susan Sontag's argument about postmodernism's appeal within a capitalist society. Even though baroque rock initially questioned the value distinctions between classical and rock genres, its popularity and eventual accreditation led to its acceptance by audiences of both genres which in turn made the blurred lines more marketable to a larger audience.

The Bach to Rock campaign was also motivated by the renewed interest in classical repertoire which was spearheaded by popular rock artists. John McClure, director of Columbia Masterworks at the time, supports this notion by stating, "A lot of rock musicians really like baroque chamber music and groups like Procol Harum will incorporate bits and pieces of the sound into their songs."[350] Since young listeners were drawn to classical sounds in a rock context, the classical music distributors as well as pianist Lorin Hollander and organist Virgil Fox (both of whom performed baroque music recitals in rock venues) believed the youth were turned off more so by classical music's institutionalized sacralization than by the music itself.[351] Capitalist and cultural institutions, in hopes of cashing in on profits, were following the desires of the college-aged baby boomers who were entering the rock market specifically designed for them. Steve Martin of the Left Banke noticed a shift in aesthetic tastes among aging baby boomers: "A few years ago almost anything with a driving dance beat could make it…today kids are more sophisticated, and only get turned on by records that hold water lyrically, and

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[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.
Both Fox and Hollander performed at venues such as the Fillmore East. Hollander typically performed clad in hip fashion styles while Fox's "Heavy Organ" concerts were performed with a light show as his backdrop.

musically."[352] This sophistication and appetite for classical progressions and instrumentation attracted new audiences and led pop music to new acceptance in circles that had previously never paid attention to teen-orientated sounds.[353]

6.2   COUNTERCULTURAL PARADOXES

Just as the terms "hip sensibility" or "hipness" are more useful in describing an active process of socialization than the adjective "hip" that describes an ever-changing modifier, the term "countercultural sensibility" encompasses a broader ideology that avoids reducing multiple groups into one "counterculture." The counterculture was not one organized community with shared oppositional agendas but rather a sensibility that attracted people who wished to disengage from mainstream society through pluralism, not necessarily transform society through antiestablishment stances.[354] The all-encompassing "counterculture," as understood in popular culture references, was divided into branches based on forms of activism in the 1960s. The Human Be-In at San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, which led up to the Summer of Love, was organized to bring together both local sides of a more global countercultural divide: the political Berkeley radicals who desired increased militancy in response to U.S. government politics and the cultural Haight-Ashbury hippies who focused on altering individual perceptions and were thus disengaged from political protest.

While the political activists and hippies stemmed from the same countercultural sensibility, their chosen forms of activism separated them and led to extreme degrees of

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[352] Ken Schaffer, "New Legitimacy to Pop Music," *Hit Parader*, May 1967, 54-5.
[353] Ibid.
[354] Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 5.

separation. Some chose to protest while others relied on drugs to elevate them to a new level of perception that, if felt by everyone, they believed could change the world. The extremists used either violence or a drug-induced pacifism without finding a middle ground that successfully combined the forceful action of protest with the peaceful passivity of a revolution of the mind. While activists sought to reform the existing system, the hippies predominantly chose to reject the system in its entirety by attempting to avoid it all together. They chose to create a society in which they negated associations with any one cultural stance by pursuing the pluralistic tendency of adopting everything.[355] Pluralistic rock music, through its divergent styles and genres, promoted the image of a countercultural group detached from the norm. The Human Be-In combined the hippies' humanist values (human be*ing*) and desire to exist in the moment with the radicals' sit-in protests. *The San Francisco Oracle* advertised the event as:

> A union of love and activism previously separated by categorical dogma and label mongering will finally occur ecstatically when Berkeley political activists and hip community and San Francisco's spiritual generation and contingents from the emerging revolutionary generation all over California meet for a Gathering of the Tribes…[356]

Despite their differences, these cultural and political groups influenced each other as hippies undoubtedly engaged in protests while radicals took drugs and listened to psychedelic music, thus mixing notions of political and cultural agency.[357] The countercultural sensibility shared by both groups was structured on aspirations to rid themselves of categories and labels because this linear, binary, hierarchical way of organizing ideas belonged to the mainstream society both groups were resisting.

The Human Be-In featured Beat poets, proponents of LSD, countercultural gurus, and Bay Area rock bands such as Jefferson Airplane, the Grateful Dead, Big Brother and the Holding

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[355] Ibid., 13.
[356] "The Gathering of the Tribes," Promotional article in *The San Francisco Oracle*, January 1967, 2.
[357] Ford, *Dig*, 114.

Company, and Quicksilver Messenger Service. The poster for the event, itself an image representing the countercultural sensibility, features a Native American man riding a horse and holding an unplugged electric guitar. The image of a Native American man represented a "noble savage" signaling environmental purity and a sense of antimodern primitivism that enabled the predominantly white counterculture to portray nonmainstream Otherness.[358] The poster's only reference to modern life is the electric guitar, creating a paradox between progressive technology and the Native American's natural environmentalism that would become a countercultural conundrum. The sensibility to withdraw from modernity while simultaneously enjoying the benefits of technology is very similar to the desire to disengage from mainstream society while never being able to fully escape materialism's grasp. Musicologist Nadya Zimmerman notes that electric guitar-centered music of San Francisco's psychedelic rock scene is incorporated into the Native American image in order to authenticate it "as the conveyor of past cultural significance."[359] The countercultural sensibility could not succeed in ridding the world of modernism but it did succeed in naturalizing it for its own purposes. Baroque rock's embrace of synthesized keyboards such as rocksichords and clavinets replaced the natural acoustic sounds of the harpsichord while simultaneously referencing the Baroque period's pastness as Other. This desire for the Otherworldly—found in exoticizing Eastern religions and music, mind-expanding drugs, as well as fashions and sounds of the distant past—was a means of disassociating from Cold War politics and technology. Combining these models of otherness with elements of mainstream culture without necessarily engaging with the politics of these juxtapositions led to pluralism's transition to mainstream popularity.

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[358] Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope*, 8.
[359] Ibid., 10.

In April 1967, after the success of the Human Be-In, San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury community formed The Council for a Summer of Love. The council was formed in order to address the city's concerns about health, safety, and the possibility of overcrowding once schools let out for the summer. The council expressed that the Summer of Love's purpose was to provide a space where people could meet in order to find guidance in the ways of peace and bring that information back to their homes, thus spreading these ideas all over the country.[360] The hippie culture that emphasized drug use focused on the utopian image of a peaceful planet rather than power struggles, political revolution, or engaging in the similar forms of violent aggression as the warmongers they railed against. They believed that a change in perception, often initiated by drugs, was a better, safer alternative to violent revolution. Increased awareness leads to contemplation untainted by time constraints but does not align with the temporal duties of action. The drug culture created a division between those calling for an active revolution and those hoping for a change to come from altered perceptions. Huxley argues that mescaline and other drugs cannot solve problems but can only pose them. He states:

> The full and final solution can be found only by those who are prepared to implement the right kind of Weltanschauung [worldview] by means of the right kind of behavior and the right kind of constant and unstrained alertness.[361]

In other words, change can only come from those willing to contemplate possible solutions and then follow through with action. Unfortunately, the paradoxical nature of hipness and the reliance on spreading an ideological message through mindful awareness rather than overt activism left the countercultural sensibility vulnerable to co-optation.

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[360] "Council for the Summer of Love," Public Broadcasting Service, accessed August 9, 2016, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/love/sfeature/timeline_council_trans.html.
[361] Huxley, *The Doors of Perception*, 12.

The counterculture collectively strove for their love of individualism which was seemingly paradoxical considering hipness' reliance on inside knowledge. In order to be an insider, there must be a collective group (no matter how small) that reinforces similar aesthetics and behaviors. More people become conscious of the group's existence and desire to be an insider until it reaches a point of media attention followed by wide-spread commercial co-optation of the group's activities most likely stripped of their intended meanings. The power struggle between the hip consumer and the entertainment industry is a cyclic struggle that will continue to occur because hipness cannot exist on a purely individual level. Ford states, "The countercultural idea is an ideology of radical individualism, but the mechanism by which things become hip is inescapably social and collective."[362] An individual cannot create a movement of resistance by himself/herself. An individual's expanded consciousness cannot expand the consciousness of society unless it is shared. In an attempt to promote public interest and thus gain more readers/viewers, newspaper and television reports created a sensational stereotype of the hippie lifestyle that is still perpetuated today: peace, love/sex, and drugs. This stereotype drew gawking tourists and confused young people, attracted by the misinformed characterization, to Haight-Ashbury. Just as rock music was explained to adults through television specials (as evidenced in Chapter 5), media outlets were responsible for bringing "summer of love" events to the public consciousness. In an article entitled, "Dropouts with a Mission," *Newsweek Magazine* drew national attention to the hippie scene in San Francisco when it reported about the Human Be-In in January. *Newsweek* reported that hippies were "nonviolent, mystical, bizarre" with their employment of psychedelics and dismissal of anything

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[362] Ford, *Dig*, 221.

considered square. The article also dubbed San Francisco "the hub of the hippie world" and pinpointed the Haight-Ashbury district as the mecca for hippie gatherings.[363]

CBS News created a documentary about the hippie subculture entitled *The Hippie Temptation*, which aired on August 22, 1967. Host Harry Reasoner takes the television viewer through a tour of the Haight-Ashbury district as he interviews its inhabitants. Reasoner discusses the irony involved in the Diggers offering free food for anyone who wants to partake. Hippies set themselves apart from a commercial society that buys/sells goods while they simultaneously depend on local businesses for food offerings, thus participating in the very society that is being rejected.[364] Once again, hipness relies on its participants being *in* society but not *of* it. The countercultural sensibility was primed for commercial exploitation because it promoted an escape from mass society while simultaneously relying on it for sustenance. This inescapable attachment to the society that is being rejected inevitably leads to mass attention. Reasoner also reports on a hippie street party by stating, "They claim they want to be left alone but they are masters at setting up public occasions which are bound to draw attention, if not interference."[365] This scene highlights hipness' indecisiveness about individualism and collectivism which leads to its co-optability and cyclical nature as it continually finds new methods of subversion.

In a 1987 interview, Paul McCartney recalled visiting the Grateful Dead in Haight-Ashbury and foreseeing the counterculture's demise due to the media's need for excessive control. He was concerned that the Haight-Ashbury area was starting to become "rip-off street": "They knew kids were running away from home and going to Haight-Ashbury to be a wonderful,

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[363] Robert Cottrell, *Sex, Drugs, and Rock 'n' Roll: The Rise of America's 1960s Counterculture* (Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015), 182.
[364] *The Hippie Temptation*, CBS News (New York: CBS, August 22, 1967), accessed August 9, 2016, http://www.sfweekly.com/exhibitionist/2011/11/04/call-it-occupy-haight-street-harry-reasoners-1967-the-hippie-temptation.
[365] Ibid.

peaceful person. So, of course, all of the rip-off merchants started to populate those places."[366]

The Oracle asked those attending the Human Be-In and other Summer of Love events to bring accessories such as costumes, cymbals, drums, beads, flowers, and feathers which would all become symbols of the counterculture and fated to be co-opted by mainstream society. These countercultural symbols over time became devoid of their intended meanings and tainted with the mainstream commercialism they once resisted. In June 1967, David Sanford of *The New Republic* foresaw the divisive dichotomy between "real and ersatz" hippies that would flood the San Francisco area when school let out for the summer. He suggests that symbols of the outsider such as paisley lamp shades, psychedelic posters, and buttons are within everyone's reach and can easily become the consumer item of the year. He argues, "One must be extremely estranged to avoid being engulfed by the loving middle class."[367] Even if one is extremely estranged, the messages and ideologies behind hippie artifacts will become sanitized and censored when appropriated for mass consumption. Objects that were once found to set oneself apart from the crowd were now available for purchase in one easy kit. An advertisement in the *San Francisco Oracle* announced the selling of "Hippi-Kits" which included "Flowers-bells-chants-flutes-headbands-incense burners-skin sequin-feathers" for $4.50 each.[368]

While the summer season was already officially over, the Summer of Love and the mediated conception of the hippie would also meet their demise by early October 1967. The San Francisco Diggers, an activist group who witnessed the commercialism of what was once an

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[366] *It was Twenty Years Ago Today*, Granada Studios (Manchester, UK: Granada TV, November 1987), accessed August 9, 2016, http://www.diggers.org/it_was_twenty.htm.
[367] Sanford, "The Hippie Business," 7.
[368] Dave Felton, "Haight-Ashbury Revisited," *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1967, A1.

expression of youthful resistance, organized the "Death of the Hippie" event, a mock funeral for the "Hippie, devoted son of mass media" (Figure 18).[369]
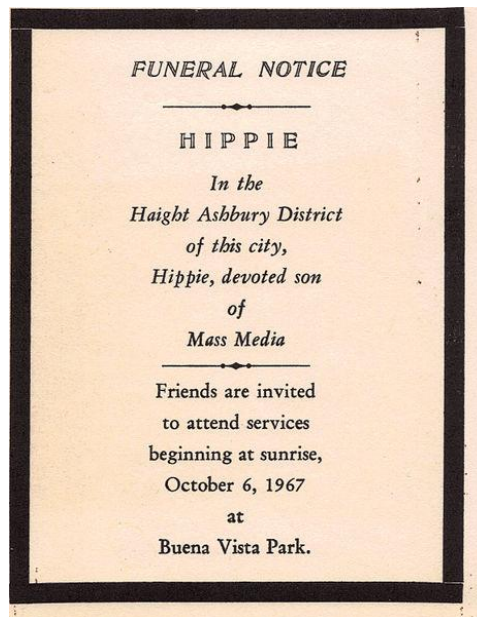
Figure 18. Death of the Hippie Funeral Announcement (1967)[370]

Ron Thelin, co-owner of the Psychedelic Shop in the Haight argued, "People imitate. It's not from their own soul, from their own conviction of what something is. It's an imitation and that's why we had the Death of the Hippie event is to beat the media at its own game."[371] The Diggers wanted to promote the idea that people should do what they feel because of who they are rather than what they are told to do, in this case, by the media. They carried a coffin down Haight Street as people threw beads and trinkets, former countercultural symbols now tainted by corporate representations, into the coffin to be burned. The funeral demonstrated that mass media flocks to centralized focus points of hipness, leaving these areas to become easy targets for media

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[369] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 7.
[370] Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, accessed August 9, 2016, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Death_of_hippie.jpg.
[371] *It was Twenty Years Ago Today*.

representations. In response to the event, *The Oracle* suggested that people move out of the Haight in order to help grow the scene elsewhere and hopefully make it more elusive for mass media. The message of the Death of the Hippie event was: "Stay where you are! Bring the revolution to where you live."[372] After the Death of the Hippie event ended in October, *Time* reported that the hippie's demise was inevitable:

> Their every antic reported at length in the national and local press, their ranks swollen with thousands of 'plastic' or part-time hippies, their language and life-style copied by 'straight' society, the hippies of San Francisco have come to feel that hip is no longer a fun trip.[373]

At this point, even the media were able to recognize their own intervention in reporting the hippie lifestyle and its inevitable outcome.

While hipness promotes individual thought, it is also responsible for its desire to be seen and heard disrupting social norms. The manifesto for the "Death of the Hippie" event postulated "Media created the hippie with your hungry consent."[374] This manifesto suggests that media's representation of the subculture was a hegemonic struggle in which those participating in the countercultural sensibility (consciously or subconsciously) consented to these representations in order to give their individualistic ideas a wide-reaching voice. While there were hippies like the Diggers who attempted to shun commercialization of their subculture, there were other hippies that accepted their assimilation into the mainstream and delivered the hippie lifestyle for a price to middle-class suburbanites in search of change.

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[372] "Death of the Hippie," Public Broadcasting Service, accessed August 9, 2016, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/love/sfeature/timeline_death.html.
[373] "Where have all the Flowers Gone?" *Time*, October 13, 1967, 30.
[374] Cottrell, *Sex, Drugs, and Rock 'n' Roll*, 201.

While countercultural art draws power from its resistance to authority, it simultaneously needs cultural authority in order to gain cultural capital.[375] The best outcome for countercultural bands was to create music that went against cemented cultural expectations only to laugh when cultural authorities assigned pretentious accreditation to their music with reverent seriousness. Questions of intentionality arise as this theory presumes that a shift occurred from the counterculture as a scene, whose participants' intent was to expand consciousness by questioning convention, to the counterculture as a consumer-driven industry's product designed to make money. While the shift occurred, the construction of a binary of intentionality ignores the complexity of individuals that wanted to change how people viewed society but also wanted to create a livelihood based on what they do. Frank comments that it was difficult to differentiate between the counterculture as a scene and the industry-driven mass counterculture because the counterculture became a mass movement that grew from developments in mass culture as well as at the grass roots level.[376] For example, bands begin at the grass roots level perhaps attracting a subculture that is interested in their music because it reaches beyond expected musical norms. They, in turn, spread the word which inevitably attracts media outlets expected to report on the newest developments. Before long, businesses attempt to capitalize on the new trend while the initial audience, displeased with the commercialization of their subcultural fashions, find another way to subvert existing norms until the cycle begins again. While bands may have begun playing small festivals for free, they could easily transition to making money for television, radio, and concert appearances by signing a record contract. Artists could espouse ideas of mass resistance while simultaneously performing as employees of the culture industry.

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[375] Ford, *Dig*, 36-7.
[376] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 8.

Since many members of countercultural music groups were art students, they were confronted with the seemingly contradictory relationship between art and commerce which separated artistic works from popular culture. These students' future job prospects depended on the reconciliation between artistic claims and earning a living wage.[377] Similar to today's climate, it was far easier to see the statistical outcomes of market capitalistic strategies than an artist's hopes of changing the world through his/her creation. The students' juxtaposition of art and popular culture was not only designed to question the mutual exclusivity of art and commerce but also to incorporate art's non-commercial tendencies into the popular music that they loved. Art schools provided a world in which students could temporarily be freed from capitalistic theories of utility, thus attracting alienated, bohemian youth as previously described in Chapter 4. Peter Wicke argues that "Their position as outsiders necessarily distanced them from the capitalist social system and its economic power centres, maintained the consciousness of the artist's social responsibility…"[378] The art school's curriculum, which offered fine arts courses that taught traditional concepts of art alongside design courses that taught art's relationship with modern mass communication, presented the ideology of art as a socio-political tool. Rock music provided these artists with the ability to combine individual artistic creativity with mass-mediated messages that would inevitably allow them to earn a living. Especially during the late '60s, rock music embraced experimentation with new sonic experiences such as non-Western music, music of the distant past, and new ways of using recording technologies that

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[377] Peter Wicke, *Rock Music: Culture, Aesthetics and Sociology*, trans. Rachel Fogg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 96.
[378] Ibid., 97.

went beyond traditional song forms. These new forms of expressing creativity were viewed as penetrating multiple levels of consciousness in order to attract new ways of perceiving the world and how to engage with it.

Artists stemming from the art school tradition were taught that art and commerce were not mutually exclusive, suggesting that the pretentious striving for an "authentic" experience rebelling against commercialism and mass society is not only impossible but arguably "inauthentic." This desire for authenticity stems from the same art/mass culture divide that baroque rock rebelled against. The artist was deemed authentic if he/she earnestly expressed themselves rather than performed for the function of earning money. This binary thinking ignores the reality of artists simultaneously creating an artistic product embedded with their own meanings to be consumed by audiences who will inevitably creatively reclaim this product for their own self-expression. Countercultural artists exploited the tension between private artistic innovation and public cultural change in order to turn on as many minds to their ideas as possible. Unfortunately, the tensions between distancing themselves from mass society and reaching popularity and between individualism and collective strategy resulted in co-optation and the imperceptible difference between a "real" and "fake" counterculture.[379] What began as a collective coming together of leftist ideologies during the Human Be-In escalated to an overcrowded mass of confusion before dissolving into pleas for individuals to take the message back home. Even though pluralism was supposed to be a form of coded subversion due to its presumed difficulty of marketing to certain targets, its potential audience was too large and eventually became commodified due to its ability to reach multiple markets at once.

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[379] Simon Frith and Howard Horne, *Art into Pop* (New York: Methuen & Co., 1987), 53.

There is no division between a real and fake counterculture; this would imply that one is more authentic than the other and that the counterculture represents only one group rather than varying levels of leftist ideologies. However, there is a mass counterculture that accounts for mass-mediated stereotypical representations of the hippie lifestyle as its message reached a growing audience. The mass counterculture refers to a moment in the mid-to-late 1960s during which people formerly unaware of the hip sensibility laid claims to it and the sensibility grew in its institutional presence in American life.[380] The mass counterculture seems like an oxymoron since hipness relies on defining the individual in opposition to mass culture; however, the mass counterculture is a reflection of the same society it professes to despise. A large portion of the hippie culture was raised with middle-class values and it is from these values that they were able to long for a utopian vision of free love and pure happiness as solutions to their problems. The late 1960s saw a shift from individual to collective consciousness which included the idea that this shift at the mass level could efficiently move the revolution forward.[381] Hippies were more interested in enlightening the masses than besting squares at their own games as the hipsters once did. This is a prime example of how co-optation can be utilized by both consumers and the entertainment industry.

Spreading the countercultural message quickly turned into a game of telephone in which the words as well as their meanings became increasingly distorted as they reached more people. A significant portion of the misunderstanding was the result of those outside of the countercultural tribe attributing particular gestures, fashions, objects, slogans, and musical styles to the counterculture without engaging with their representational symbolic meanings as understood within the tribe. Just as countercultural symbols became trinkets stripped of meaning,

[380] Ford, *Dig*, 111.
[381] Ibid., 111-12.

the sonic signifiers of baroque rock (i.e., harpsichord, string quartet, and baroque counterpoint) were used as factors that indicated a potential hit record rather than engaging with their ability to provide ironic commentary on time, memory, and divisions of art. However, several so-called bubblegum pop artists made their own ironic commentary behind the mask of pre-packaged commercialism.

6.3   BAROQUE BUBBLEGUM

Toward the late 1960s, once baroque rock aided in rock's cultural accreditation, the subgenre splintered into two seemingly opposing directions. Progressive rock furthered baroque rock's incorporation of instrumentation and style into the realm of serious high art aspirations while bubblegum pop was a counter-reaction to increasingly complex classical suites and poetic lyrics. Bubblegum pop is broadly defined by its unabashed desire for commercialism and preteen target marketing but more importantly its reliance on Brill Building-style songwriting and interchangeable band names/personas as fronts for studio musicians. The subgenre appropriated elements of other increasingly complex subgenres such as psychedelic, raga, and baroque rock because they had become popular in the mainstream. Bubblegum pop encapsulated a return to baroque rock's reliance on short-length singles rather than concept albums. These singles were marketed for mass consumption rather than to progressive rock's serious-minded audience.[382] Bubblegum pop also drew inspiration from baroque rock's ironic commentary on high culture elitism while seemingly undermining baroque rock's countercultural desire to break away from

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[382] Iain Ellis, *Rebels Wit Attitude: Subversive Rock Humorists* (Washington, D.C.: Soft Skull Press, 2008), 93.

mainstream society. Bubblegum pop's frequent use of cartoons/characters to mask the studio musicians behind the music was seen in opposition to rock's newfound credibility because it lacked the myth of authenticity. Rock critics vehemently opposed bubblegum's commerciality and inauthenticity, both of which became fuel for bubblegum's critique of pop music.

Rock critic Lester Bangs was a proponent of bubblegum pop because it humorously exposed rock bands' pomposity and fakery while revealing their product as just that—a product.[383] Rock's major record labels promoted and sold a non-commercial image of artists who simulated their disaffection from economic motivation. Rock's newfound elitist desire for authenticity was laughably unattainable because rock and folk had always had commercial influences and success within the market. In its wry honesty, bubblegum demonstrated it was less fake than rock groups crafting illusions of originality. Cultural studies scholar Iain Ellis states:

> There is clearly ironic humor in bubblegum existing in juxtaposition to high-art rock in the late 1960s; it provided a knowing wink and a constant reminder of bottom-line realities in much the same way that dada and pop art had provided a challenge within the fine arts.[384]

While there are many stories of producers hiding/altering the identities of band members in order to target an audience and make a profit, the ability to read the studio musicians/artists' music as ironic commentary grants them agency that was otherwise denied by critics who criticized them for being puppets operated by commercialism's hands. Little did they realize that these musicians had already cut the strings and fooled everyone into thinking they were still being controlled.

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[383] Ibid., 94.
[384] Ibid., 94.

6.3.1 Harpers Bizarre

An example of a baroque rock song associated with the mass counterculture is Harpers Bizarre's cover of Simon and Garfunkel's "The 59th Street Bridge Song (Feelin' Groovy)" because the entire concept of the cover stemmed from commercialistic prospects. The members of Harpers Bizarre were previously a surf rock band called The Tikis until their record label was sold to Warner Bros. Records in 1966. Soon after, producer Lenny Waronker had an idea for a hit when he heard a commercial for Simon and Garfunkel's new album *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary and Thyme*. The commercial included a snippet of "The 59th Street Bridge Song" and he wanted to record the song with The Tikis. The song was only a minute and thirty seconds long so Waronker hired an arranger who composed a woodwind and harpsichord arrangement for eighteen musicians thus extending the song to a perfect length for a single. However, the baroque sound did not fit the image or sound of The Tikis so the band changed its name to Harpers Bizarre as a play on *Harper's Bazaar*, a fashion magazine aimed at upper-class women.[385] Changing "Bazaar" to "Bizarre" also attracted hip consumers who were expecting to hear something outside of the norm.

Harpers Bizarre's "59th Street Bridge Song" exemplifies the rise of a mass counterculture because the producer took a song that had not been released as a single due to its length but was heard on a popular album that reached the number four position on the U.S. *Billboard* 200 charts in 1966.[386] By 1967, baroque instrumentation in rock had proven to be successful and almost expected as evidenced by *The Oracle*'s principle of rock that outlined rock's indebtedness to

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[385] Gene Sculatti, Liner Notes, *Feelin' Groovy: The Best of Harpers Bizarre*, Harpers Bizarre (Warner Bros. Records. 1997, compact disc).
[386] "Simon & Garfunkel," *Billboard*, accessed December 7, 2014, http://www.billboard.com/artist/279369/simon-garfunkel/chart?f=305.

music of the past (especially baroque music). Therefore, covering a chart topping song and extending it with popular baroque sounds almost guaranteed a hit. The cover reached the number thirteen spot on the U.S. *Billboard* Hot 100 chart when it was released in 1967.[387] Unlike early baroque rock, Harpers Bizarre's cover does not reflect on the past (even ironically) and uses baroque sounds in order to entice listeners that were familiar with the style. In this instance, the producer and arranger co-opted the anti-mainstream sounds of baroque rock in order to attract hip consumers at a time when the singer/songwriter warranted a certain level of authenticity. The cover begins with a solo bassoon playing leading notes into the first chord of the song at which point a flute plays the familiar melody followed by a clarinet choir performing broken chords leading into the first verse. The bassoon doubles the bass guitar in performing a descending bass ostinato while a harpsichord enters with repeated chords on each downbeat. The second verse introduces an oboe that provides a countermelody (complete with baroque trills) to the lead vocals. After the third verse, the volume of the band begins to diminish because this is where the Simon and Garfunkel version of the song ends. However, the instruments drop out and a four-part fugal vocal interlude, inspired by the Swingle Singers (a baroque-jazz vocal group), takes over the sonic space. The woodwinds answer with their own interlude before the solo bassoon returns with the "all is groovy" melodic line from the chorus which leads into a repeat of the first verse.

The band's cover of "59th Street Bridge Song" was featured on their album *Feelin' Groovy* which relied heavily on string and woodwind arrangements. The record producer's decision to feature baroque instrumentation throughout the album suggests a desire to reproduce the success of other baroque rock hits of the time rather than the use of the sonic aesthetic to

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387 "Harpers Bizarre," *Billboard*, accessed December 7, 2014, http://www.billboard.com/artist/303311/harpers-bizarre/chart.

create social commentary. The attention to instrumentation and the lack of baroque counterpoint (with the exception of the "59th Street Bridge Song") on the album sonically directs the listener to hear connections to "high" art and its related class associations rather than simultaneously suggesting an imagined past through counterpoint. At this point in time, baroque rock began to move beyond commentary about the past by using the instrumentation to stand in as a representation of bourgeois aristocracy (e.g., "Piggies") or the older generation (e.g., "Society's Child" and "She's Leaving Home").

While Harpers Bizzarre can be accused of cashing in on the baroque rock aesthetic as evidenced by their willingness to change their name, genre, and target audience, they can also be praised for their ability to poke fun at the upper classes. Not only does the band's name provide word play on an upper class women's fashion magazine which reports on the newest fashions, but its song "Debutante's Ball" sarcastically views aristocratic traditions as a game to be played. The song makes fun of aristocratic lineage and its ability to determine one's success in the game of life: "Isn't it a wonder that to play the game/All you need is a number following your name." The band mocks the tradition of "debuting" an upper-class female who has reached the age of maturity into society by performing in a moderately slow waltz-style throughout until the last vocal iteration of "debutante's ball" is stripped of the airy double-tracked echo and unexpectedly becomes one squeaky voice followed immediately by a low tone on a tuba. This parody of a vaudevillian tag ending further suggests that the entire song has been a joke.

6.3.2   The Turtles

In the late 1960s, the Turtles had achieved success with "Happy Together" and "She'd Rather Be With Me," both written by New York songwriters. Guitarist/vocalist Mark Volman, in ironic

bubblegum fashion, drew attention to the simulated nature of television performances during the group's many performances of "Happy Together" (1967). Depending on the performance, Volman would pretend to play a harpsichord, trumpet, or French horn but never actually blew air through the horn or pressed the keys of the harpsichord. During a February 1967 performance on the *Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, the band appears to be mocking baroque rock's new found seriousness as lead singer Howard Kaylan's suit, tie, top hat, and cane is juxtaposed with Volman's polka-dotted hat and comically large tie (Figure 19).

Figure 19. Mark Volman (harpsichord) and lead singer Howard Kaylan of the Turtles[388]

Volman hovers around a harpsichord and "plays" it with the lid closed. This scene is made even more comical by the fact that a harpsichord is not sonically present in the recording. Volman's gestures poked fun at the practice of lip-synching for television performances and the absurdity of bands passing it off as "live" when orchestral instruments were clearly heard but not seen by the viewers (in the last example, seen but not heard). For example, where are the auxiliary musicians playing string and woodwind instruments in "Happy Together?"

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[388] Still image from *Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* (February 3, 1967), CBS, accessed January 12, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aOvD-FV8bN4.

During another televised performance, Volman jokingly places his lips to the horn during the beginning moments of the song when brass instruments are sonically absent and then hits the horn like a tambourine during the brass-heavy chorus. The most climatic moment of Volman's performance is when he subverts the viewer's expectation by positioning himself to play only to immediately withdraw and throw the horn down by his side while he lip-synchs instead. The function of Volman's simulated "playing" is twofold: it demonstrates that all groups (not just studio-directed bubblegum groups) were "inauthentic" in their lip-synching for live audiences and it makes fun of the rigid seriousness and pomposity of orchestral instrumentalists in rock groups.

The Turtles are a prime example of a rock band consistently asked, by radio programmers and their own label White Whale Records, to create and stick to a single musical identity/persona for marketing purposes. Between 1961 and 1965, the group was known as the Nightriders (instrumental combo), the Crossfires (surf rock), the Crosswind Singers (folk), and impersonators of Gerry & the Pacemakers before becoming the Turtles and signing with White Whale.[389] The Turtles' multitude of past personas and their record company's desire to push them in the singular direction of recording more pre-written hits à la "She'd Rather Be With Me" led them to create the tongue-in-cheek concept album, *The Turtles Present the Battle of the Bands* (1968). The band, nodding to the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* concept of a fictional musical group, created not one but eleven alter ego groups performing eleven different musical styles. The Turtles are not listed as performers but appear on the album cover in tuxedos ready to present all eleven groups to the listener, setting up an expectation of seriousness that would be subverted by the second track.

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[389] Gary Pig Gold, "The Turtles," in *Bubblegum Music is the Naked Truth*, ed. Kim Cooper et al. (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2001), 92.

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The album included a fold-out that featured a picture of the Turtles dressed up as each "band" with names like Chief Kamanawanalea and his Royal Macadamia Nuts, Nature's Children, and Fats Mallard and the Bluegrass Fireball, featuring styles such as rock 'n' roll, psychedelic, bluegrass, surf rock, hard rock, and country. As one might imagine, the schizophrenic musical styles resulted in the album only reaching 128 on the *Billboard* Pop Albums Chart. However, the single "Elenore," written in response to White Whale's plea for another hit, reached the number six spot on the *Billboard* Pop Singles Chart.[390] After years of having their biggest hits written by outside songwriters, the Turtles (specifically Mark Volman and Howard Kaylan) wrote "Elenore," the only track on the album to list their names as the artists. The fold-out picture of "Howie, Mark, Johny, Jim & Al" simply featured the group wearing white T-shirts displaying their own names in the style of The Mickey Mouse Club. The concept album demonstrated that at a time when studio musicians were performing music for different bands with multiple personas, the Turtles were, in a sense, those studio musicians. They offered the listener a behind the scenes view of how bands are targeted to certain markets based on musical styles and promotional photographs that emphasize their fashion style. The Turtles were able to please their record company with the hit "Elenore" in exchange for the rest of the album being released as ironic commentary on the inauthenticity of target marketing.

One of the Turtles' alter-egos was the psychedelic rock group, The Atomic Enchilada. Their song on the album was entitled "The Last Thing I Remember" which referenced the enlightenment felt during a drug-induced trip. The group parodies heady lyrics familiar in psychedelic rock such as "The last thing I remember/ The first thing I knew" echoing the Summer of Love's prevalent messages regarding drugs as the gateway to a psychological and

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[390] Ibid., 93.

spiritual awakening. The lead singer's vocals are double-tracked and echoed with a slight delay while backing vocals are backmasked (reverse tape effect) and panned between left and right speakers to further ground the listener in a time-warped sonic representation of drug-induced hallucinations. The song remains stylistically similar between verse and chorus until an interlude before the last chorus introduces the baroque sounds of the harpsichord. This brief interlude seems out of place in terms of style and timbre not because of the song's genre, but because its ornamented version of the chorus is untainted by the elaborate studio effects that plagued the vocals. The harpsichord's straight rhythmic figures are presented in direct contrast to the funky bass rhythms that provide counterpoint to the harpsichord line. The two styles are presented at equal levels with the harpsichord in the right channel and the bass in the left channel, competing for the listener's attention before transitioning back into the rock style. By the late 1960s, baroque rock had become so pervasive to listeners that one could not create a parody of 1960s psychedelic music without sonically referencing the harpsichord and counterpoint. Whereas baroque rock incorporated harpsichord and strings throughout or at least in key moments that paralleled the sentiment of the lyrics, "The Last Thing I Remember" introduces the harpsichord for the sake of including it as if foreseeing the listener's expectations for the sound in at least one track on almost any album.

More specifically, The Atomic Enchilada appears to be parodying the Rolling Stones' foray into the psychedelic genre with *Their Satanic Majesties Request* (December 1967), itself a response to the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*.[391] The references to dreams and awakenings in "The Last Thing I Remember" are reminiscent of the Rolling Stones' "In Another

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[391] The "rivalry" between these two psychedelic concept albums is apparent not only in musical style but in the album covers. The famous collage featured on *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* features a doll with a Rolling Stones sweater. Reciprocally, the face of each Beatle can be seen on the cover of *Their Satanic Majesties Request*.

Land," a song about a man waking up from a dream only to find himself in yet another dream. The song was written as a self-parody of the Stones' reliance on drugs which made studio sessions unbearable. The harpsichord's incorporation in "The Last Thing I Remember" is not only a reference to psychedelic rock's propensity for harpsichord but also a nod to session musician Nicky Hopkins' harpsichord work on "In Another Land" and throughout *Their Satanic Majesties Request* (most famously in "She's a Rainbow"). The reference to the Stones' album is also visually apparent. *Their Satanic Majesties Request* features the Stones dressed in fantastical costumes with psychedelic colors set in the forefront of a landscape that juxtaposes an Indian palace, Saturn, and the Moon (Figure 20). The costumes have no apparent visual cohesion between each member as Bill Wyman wears an Elizabethan period costume, Mick Jagger wears a wizard robe and hat, and Keith Richards holds a fretted Indian instrument.

Figure 20. The cover of the Rolling Stones' *Their Satanic Majesties Request*[392]

The references to India and magic on the Rolling Stones' cover also appear in the Atomic Enchilada photograph as the band surrounds a glowing magic ball, Al Nichol wears a robe and hat similar to Jagger's, and Mark Volman holds a dilruba (bowed Indian instrument) (Figure 21).

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[392] *Their Satanic Majesties Request* (1967), The Rolling Stones, accessed January 2, 2017, http://www.rollingstones.com/release/their-satanic-majesties-request/.

Just as the Turtles reference the harpsichord sound prevalent in psychedelic music, they also reference the appropriation of Indian culture and mysticism that was popular in 1960s psychedelia.

Figure 21. The Atomic Enchilada promotional photograph found in the inside cover of *The Turtles Present the Battle of the Bands*[393]

6.3.3   The Banana Splits

Just as the Turtles provided witty sonic commentary on the state of popular music, the anthropomorphic bubblegum pop group, the Banana Splits, created a similar sentiment through the presumed innocent medium of children's television. *The Banana Splits Adventure Hour*, a television show that first aired on NBC in 1968 during the Saturday morning line-up aimed at a child audience, featured the group introducing cartoons in between their own musical segments. The Splits relied on the bubblegum formula of being a pre-packaged group known for making money (like the Monkees) and they were comprised of costumed fictitious characters (like the Archies). The use of costumed characters meant their artists were easily replaceable if they ever went against the record company's wishes. Anybody could be placed in those costumes and if

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[393] *The Turtles Present the Battle of the Bands* (1968), promotional photograph, copyright is believed to belong to the defunct label, White Whales Records, accessed January 2, 2017, http://theturtles.com/photos/battle-of-the-bands/.

they had achieved more fame, they could have easily toured around the country simultaneously with different sets of people masquerading as the Banana Splits.[394] The costumed individuals had very little agency in terms of the band's sound but the songwriters quickly subverted the record company's domineering control over the band's image.

Similar to the Turtles' parodies of various musical styles, the songwriters behind the Banana Splits displayed proficiency in styles as varied as psychedelia, soul, and bluegrass. The multitude of musical styles suggests that the writers were willing to parody the pluralism of contemporary rock bands. They recognized that musical pluralism expanded their audience, and/or they realized the functionality of having a steady rotation of studio musicians writing the group's songs.[395] Not only did the Splits release an album but also singles such as "Wait Til Tomorrow" which was the A side to "We're the Banana Splits." "Wait Til Tomorrow" is a baroque rock-inspired ballad that puts a drug-induced twist on the classic love song. The song's lyrics depict the simple story of a lost love through heady imagery such as gliding through mirrors and searching for stars with the promise that the lovers, unable to find love today, will surely find it in the future. The song's emphasis on the harpsichord is led by Snorky the elephant who, like the keyboardists in Procol Harum and the Doors, compensates for the band's lack of bass guitar with electronic keyboards. Just like other baroque rock songs, the harpsichord exaggerates references to the recent past with its own associations of a distant past, suggesting a dark underlying message that the promises of a better tomorrow will never come because there is always another tomorrow. The harpsichord performs an ornamented, melodic sequencing riff heard throughout the song's verses that describe the lover's past but is absent from the chorus

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[394] Carl Cafarelli, "An Informal History of Bubblegum Music," in *Bubblegum Music is the Naked Truth*, ed. Kim Cooper et al. (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2001), 19.

[395] James Porter, "Never Mind the Bollocks, Here's the Banana Splits," in *Bubblegum Music is the Naked Truth*, ed. Kim Cooper et al. (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2001), 208.

that urges the listener to wait until tomorrow for a better future. The song could be a formulaic blueprint for a baroque hit: the descending chromatic melody, the ornamented harpsichord riff, and the flute and oboe outlining the vocals all behind lyrics that juxtapose the past with the future.

By the late 1960s, the baroque rock style was referenced in music to attract more listeners who liked the sound through forms approachable enough for everyone to appreciate. Baroque rock was no longer only found in countercultural rock groups but had permeated the rock scene so that any syndicated group who desired a hit could be found on anything from cereal boxes to easy listening radio stations. The Banana Splits were a way of selling the countercultural musical styles and fashions to a wider audience who would otherwise find these styles to be too anti-establishment and distasteful. For example, The Banana Splits' EP featured a cartoon version of the group performing rock pluralism while wearing psychedelic glasses in front of a brightly-colored Op art background. The Split's video for "Wait Til Tomorrow" involves the group traveling throughout tourist attractions in San Francisco (i.e., the Golden Gate Bridge, cable cars, and Fisherman's Wharf) but does not engage with the far less blissful Haight-Ashbury district. The Banana Splits appropriates the safe, love-minded version of the counterculture which resonates with the dark underlying sentiment of the song's overall message. The hip forms of disseminating the countercultural sensibility (i.e., rock pluralism, Eastern religion, flower power, retro fashions, etc.) were appropriated by mainstream culture without confronting the meaning behind these symbols, leading to a lost message with the potential to be revisited in an optimistically undetermined future.

Baroque rock's further subdivision into progressive rock and bubblegum pop left the subgenre to carry on its influences while dissipating into various forms. While progressive rock

was criticized as being too pretentious for rock enthusiasts clamoring for anti-intellectualism, bubblegum music was criticized for being blatantly commercial and "inauthentic" during a time of singer/songwriters and a strong distaste for commercialism which was expressed, yet impossible to achieve. Bubblegum was considered juvenile by the teen-aged (eventually college-aged) market because the music was targeted to pre-teen children through cartoon shows and prizes in cereal boxes. However, bubblegum music contained lyrics with not so subtle sexual innuendos which suggest that the songwriters were subverting their own seemingly innocent fronts as costumed animals or cartoon characters. These double entendres were eventually discovered to be inappropriate for children, leaving bubblegum music without a target audience.[396] The increasing popularity of hard rock, progressive rock's charges of elitist pretentions, and bubblegum pop's charges of kiddy commercialism all led to baroque rock's decline in popularity.

Baroque rock, like all expressions of the hip sensibility, was altered during the cyclic power struggle between the entertainment industry and hip consumers. Baroque rock began as a subgenre which utilized postmodern nostalgia by blending "high" and "low" art as well as styles of the distant past and contemporary styles in order to question these very distinctions and a linear view of history. It eventually became a genre of the mass counterculture that incorporated baroque sounds in order to serve an aesthetic rather than an ideological function. While baroque rock once incorporated both baroque instrumentation and style in order to trigger the listener's historical associations, the instrumentation took precedence and adhered to the style of the

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[396] Kim Cooper, "Bubblegum Music is the Naked Truth," in *Bubblegum Music is the Naked Truth*, ed. Kim Cooper et al. (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2001), 26-7.
For example, the Banana Splits had sexually suggestive songs such as "Two Ton Tessie" but their name alone references both a childhood treat and a sexual act. While these references may have gone over the innocent heads of children, the sexual references are more comically explicit in punk band the Dickies' promotional video for their cover of the Banana Splits' theme song (1979).

already existing pop tune which normalized the sound and ignored the progressive statement of juxtaposing or blending different styles. Popular music's use of baroque instrumentation (specifically the harpsichord) without reference to its stylistic connotations became prevalent and even reached a high level of popularity through television theme songs such as *The Addams Family* and *The Partridge Family*. This stage of development in the cyclic struggle for power reflected the rise of the mass counterculture because that which was once hip became mainstream. Baroque rock's transformation demonstrates the complexity of mass culture and nostalgia as they are complex concepts that work on more than one level. Mass culture can operate as a form of oppression as well as rebellion while postmodern nostalgia can be progressive in its reference to the past as a reaction to convention. Mass culture changes depending on how and what people choose to consume and in turn consumers base their decisions on what the mass culture has to offer. If consumers choose to resist mass culture, mass culture will alter the products of resistance until they become products of consumption, thus forcing consumers to choose another form of resistance and the cycle begins again. Baroque rock's eclecticism did not signal the death of the subgenre but rather a brief moment of respite before it found its way back into the hip sensibility because both hipness and co-optation are cyclical.

7.0 CONCLUSION

In this study, I set out to determine why baroque rock, a subgenre with sonic connections to a distant, antiquated past associated with the canonized traditions of high culture, was created by and popular with a countercultural youth associated with revolution and anti-mainstream rhetoric. I initially wanted to frame baroque rock within a stereotypical "rise and fall" narrative that would end with the subgenre's failure as a result of commercial capitalism. I wanted to define the subgenre in stages, based upon how each one uses postmodern nostalgia (or its absence) in a different way, paralleling the varying levels of resistance to mass culture that occurred over time. In its beginning stages, postmodern nostalgia was used as a progressive tool that reacted against the mainstream. In its middle stage, postmodern nostalgia was still used as a tool of resistance but the market potential for aligning oneself with the concept of non-categorization was beginning to be recognized by the record companies. In its final stage, bubblegum pop did not use postmodern nostalgia but rather followed the instructions of record labels that recognized the popularity of baroque rock, altering how bands branded themselves through changes in name and genre. The subgenre transformed from an expression of postmodern nostalgia and musical pluralism, designed to resist mass culture's categorization and concept of historical time, to an all-encompassing sonic signifier of hip consumerism.

This initial argument stripped artists of their agency and perpetuated the notion of a chronological progression of time: two ideas I did not want to entertain. As I have mentioned

throughout, I prefer to view hipness as a cycle of power involving the constant struggle between hipness as a symbol of resistance and hipness as a commodity discovered by those it was initially created to resist. Marketing, consumerism, and resistance are processes too complex to fit into linear stages. For example, Procol Harum would qualify as existing in the aforementioned middle stage because they marketed themselves in a way that avoided any and all attempts at categorization, however, they were still engaging with postmodern nostalgia as a tool of resistance. Their first promotional video for "A Whiter Shade of Pale" was banned from the *Top of the Pops* television show because it alternated between footage of the Vietnam War and the group (dressed in baroque period clothing) walking around the ruins of an old English court. This alternation between current conflicts and ruins representative of the after effects of past conflicts suggests that the solution is not always found in the romanticization of the past and/or the legacy of British nobility. Therefore, the band was engaging with hip consumerism through promotional materials while simultaneously undermining the romanticization of nostalgia. I was also surprised to find that bands whose music was consistently labeled as bubblegum pop due to their blatant commercialism, poked fun at the music industry. Record companies had discovered the popularity of the baroque rock sound but were using the instrumentation without the period style, leaving its symbolic associations behind. Several bubblegum pop groups (Harpers Bizarre, the Turtles, the Banana Splits) met the companies' desire for musical pluralism while subtly highlighting the hypocritical claim of authenticity. These examples demonstrate that the "rise and fall" historical narrative does not work for baroque rock because its legacy continued in progressive rock and bubblegum pop, despite its decline in popularity during the late 1960s. Progressive rock expanded on baroque rock's classical music references by utilizing direct

quotations and symphonic structures from canonized works while bubblegum pop followed baroque rock's hit length formats and ironic humor but replaced the baroque style in favor of the harpsichord's unique texture.

Baroque rock became a trend in the 1960s in the sense that most rock bands wrote at least one song that incorporated the new style or, at the very least, included a harpsichord. While string ensembles and harpsichords entered the popular music soundscape before the 1960s, they had never appeared in the youth-driven rock genre and certainly not performed in a style associated with Johann Sebastian Bach. Rock musicians, drawn to the novelty of these instruments, experimented with these sounds and repurposed old fashions into a new subgenre. The harpsichord's prevalence in 1960s rock music has been noted by fans and rock critics alike. In 2011, *Rock Cellar Magazine* featured an article entitled "Harpsichord Mania!" in which a member of the staff argued, "Entire groups were spawned from this movement creating a full-blown epidemic of chamber rock bands. Oboes, French horns, stringed instruments and yes – harpsichords filled the air-waves creating a new sound in pop music."[397] Fans of the Rolling Stones supported this argument in the comments section of the fan club's blog. The posting asked fans to list their "favourite Rolling Stones baroque pop song" and one fan responded, "Every band in the 60ies had songs in this style…very sixties…"[398]

In my determination to find out why rock artists frequently drew from baroque music, I posted an anonymous questionnaire to the "Tea & Symphony-The Baroque Sound" Facebook group, a group dedicated to "a celebration of pop music with a baroque sound." One of my questions asked why baroque elements were incorporated into pop music in the 1960s and my

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[397] Rock Cellar Magazine Staff, "Harpsichord Mania!" *Rock Cellar Magazine*, June 20, 2011, accessed December 3, 2016, http://www.rockcellarmagazine.com/2011/06/20/harpsichord-mania/#sthash.8VBTbMvi.b6Q6B8B7.dpbs.
[398] Come On, November 6, 2013, (10:04 p.m.), comment on Favourite Rolling Stones "Baroque Pop" Song, *It's Only Rock 'n' Roll The Rolling Stones Fan Club*, https://iorr.org/talk/read.php?1,1946909,1947232.

respondents' answers fit into two categories: "Because the Beatles did" and "The juxtaposition of two eras in one performance—the time-traveling aspect—mostly, but also a sound that was distinct from contemporary electric guitar-based sound." While one of these answers suggests a continuation of the Beatles' experimentation with these sounds, the other suggests the importance of carving out a new space from rock's blues-based, guitar-driven traditions. Both answers revolve around notions of hipness because bands were interested in following new studio experimentation in order to subvert traditional expectations and playing with notions of time and history through retrochic fashions and musical allusions to the distant past.

In a 2013 *Wall Street Journal* article entitled "Bach & Roll: How the Unsexy Harpsichord Got Hip," Marc Myers lays out similar reasons for the instrument's renaissance in 1960s pop. He argues that some rock, pop, and R&B producers "sought a novelty touch while others wanted to be in step with London's colorful Edwardian fashion trend and the psychedelic scene that came with it."[399] As we have seen with retrochic fashions, baroque rock's historical accuracy regarding the Baroque period was quite loose in terms of instrumentation, musical style, and dress which suggests the countercultural desire to play with notions of reality and history. Myers, like my respondents, points out the importance of the Beatles. Even though the Beatles were not the first to incorporate baroque instrumentation and style into rock, "In My Life" was clearly a watershed moment in rock music history for its baroque influences as well as its success with studio experimentation as evidenced by its influence on producers and artists. Myers argues that pop producers added the harpsichord sound "to mimic the Beatles or just sound in sync with the British Invasion."[400] Producer Tommy LiPuma, who featured the

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[399] Marc Myers, "Bach & Roll: How the Unsexy Harpsichord Got Hip," *Wall Street Journal*, October 30, 2013, accessed November 22, 2016, http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304200804579163670969242120.
[400] Ibid.

harpsichord on early singles by the Sandpipers and Claudine Longet, admits, "Once the Beatles featured that harpsichord sound on 'In My Life,' pop producers began working it in."[401] The Beatles' experimentation with the sound coupled with their popularity resulted in baroque rock's conflation with the British Invasion. As my research has shown, even British bands were influenced by experimentations that were taking place on both sides of the Atlantic.

To some artists, the harpsichord's baroque stylization was utilized to signal the instrument and period's associations with high class sophistication and an antiquated sound. These two markers of instrumentation and baroque style were perfect for questioning "high/low" distinctions of art and the time traveling aspect of nostalgia. The harpsichord's sound could be simulated because they wanted to direct listeners' attention to these aforementioned associations without concern for historical authenticity. Don Randi, harpsichordist on Linda Ronstadt's "Different Drum," states, "On many pop recordings in the '60s we used a Baldwin electric harpsichord. The ear couldn't tell, especially when it was added to a larger arrangement."[402] To some producers and bands, the harpsichord's novelty was more important than the instrument's baroque associations as evidenced by its position within the sonic texture and by the declining use of baroque stylizations. The harpsichord began to meet listeners' expectations because it was becoming a trope of psychedelic music. Even bubblegum pop groups included the instrument more for parody than for commentary on the past or nostalgia, leading it to serve an aesthetic rather than an ideological function. By the end of the decade, the harpsichord had become so prevalent in popular culture that it was used in television show theme songs such as "The Partridge Family," "The Odd Couple," and "The Addams Family."

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[401] Ibid.
[402] Ibid.

Not only were rock artists interested in the novelty of baroque instrumentation and style, they were also confronted with the serendipity of finding harpsichords in studios that recorded both popular and classical music records. Harpsichords were housed in EMI and Elektra recording studios and there are too many stories to recount of musicians experimenting with studio instruments out of necessity. For example, the Yardbirds' organist Brian Auger could not find an organ in the recording studio so he played a harpsichord on the hit song "For Your Love."[403] Popular music scholarship often focuses on musical influences from one band to the next but musicians are also greatly influenced by the working and personal relationships connected with their own group. For instance, the Left Banke may never have sounded baroque if their producer had not had a son who was a classically trained keyboardist. Would the Beatles have sounded baroque without the influences of George Martin and Jane Asher? It is easy to suggest that baroque rock was the result of mere coincidences with recording studio harpsichords, classically trained musicians, and wise producers but this conclusion greatly undermines the complexity and ignores the social context of the post-war era. While my main argument relies on memory politics, baroque rock artists' engagement with postmodern nostalgia was a product of looking at canonization and artistic hierarchy from different perspectives, the willingness to play with constructions of time and history as evidenced by retrochic fashions, Renaissance faires, the Early Music revival, and psychedelic drug-induced perceptions of time and memory. I argue that baroque rock developed from an amalgamation of hipness, memory politics, postmodernism, new recording technology and studio experimentation, trans-Atlantic connections, and cultural accreditation in addition to the practicality of harpsichords and

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[403] Matthew Guerrieri, "Via Spector and Serendipity, the Harpsichord Invaded Pop," *Boston Globe*, January 22, 2016, accessed November 28, 2016, https://www.bostonglobe.com/arts/music/2016/01/21/via-spector-and-serendipity-harpsichord-invaded-pop/gZDq2y9nf2IbvOKIOJx82O/story.html.

classically trained musicians in the studio. In this dissertation, I have argued for all of these as answers to my initial questions and have made certain to point out that one is no more valid than the other.

Baroque rock is more appropriate as the name of a subgenre rather than as a label for a band. While critics used baroque rock and baroque pop interchangeably to refer to bands like the Left Banke who frequently used baroque instrumentation and style, more mainstream bands like the Beatles and Rolling Stones were the first to introduce this style but are not necessarily associated with the subgenre. It is difficult for most listeners to imagine the Rolling Stones as innovators of baroque rock because their oeuvre of hard rock hits overshadows songs like "As Tears Go By" and "She's a Rainbow." My research has shown that many groups wrote with baroque influences but were not labeled as baroque rock bands yet some of their songs were described as such. The refusal to recognize these major bands' influences on baroque rock not only diminishes the influence the subgenre had on rock music but it also perpetuates these bands' initial fear of embarrassment due to the perceived incongruity between classical music's pretensions and rock's associations with anti-intellectualism.

Due to marketing expectations and the raced, classed, and gendered implications of respectability politics, bands like the Rolling Stones and the Beatles initially offered baroque rock style songs, which were partly influenced by arrangements performed by black female vocal groups, to female artists like Marianne Faithfull. Ironically, white rock artists eventually appropriated these respectability politics and folded them into black notions of hipness, a form of protection from the injustices set forth by white society, in order to subvert the traditions of mainstream society. However, mainstream cultural figures took note of the "respectable" music, ignored its underlying irony, and assigned cultural accreditation to rock.

Baroque rock's cultural accreditation is noteworthy because rock's value system represents an inversion of the musical values used to elevate Western art music. Baroque rock's incorporation of J.S. Bach (and other iconic figures in the classical canon) was simultaneously perceived as a tool to elevate rock's status and an embarrassing stain on rock's harder image. Baroque rock, designed to be esoteric in its ironic commentary about traditional modes of musical and cultural thought, drew the attention of cultural figures who assigned aesthetic value to the genre, explained it, and made rock palatable to the mainstream adult audience it initially resisted. I argue that baroque rock's incorporation of Bach led to its cultural accreditation and thus its eventual descent into the forgotten realm of rock's historical narratives. The embarrassment of including a sound that has historically signified whiteness, femininity, and upper-class ambitions into rock and thus subsequently leaving the subgenre out of rock history only reinforces the racist notion that black music comes from a lower-classed, masculinized anti-intellectualism. Leaving baroque rock out of rock histories has once again erased and/or diminished the impact of American, black, and female artists on the so called "British Invasion."

It is appropriate that baroque rock was both inspired by and humiliated by canonization and cultural accreditation. Musicologists, scholars, and other intellectuals who were willing to analyze the Beatles' music (specifically "Yesterday") as they would classical music rather than dismiss it as a fad not only inspired Early Music ensembles to create baroque renditions of rock songs but also inspired rock artists to create music in a baroque style, albeit with an ironic twist. Baroque rock poked fun at high class pretensions, canonic works of art, and nostalgic dreams of an imagined past but all of this was hidden beneath classical sounding music that ran counter to rock's working class, hard aesthetic. The same postmodern thinking of these scholars/critics that supposedly erased divisions of art and class both fostered a countercultural hipness that desired

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musical pluralism and promoted an idea of equality which inevitably made it easier for record companies to market pluralistic music to the widest and most diverse group of listeners. For example, during a time when rock bands were constantly trying to outdo one another in terms of eclecticism, the New York Rock 'n' Roll Ensemble prided themselves on dressing in tailcoats, which made audiences assume they were going to play classical music only to perform rock arrangements of classical pieces and vice versa. The group's bassist Dorian Rudnytsky cites their ability to "remain slightly enigmatic and not so easy to cubbyhole (are they classical? Rock? Or what?)" as "both an advantage and disadvantage."[404] Baroque rock groups' musical pluralism was an advantage in that eclecticism was increasingly popular with hip consumers but it was also a disadvantage in that it was initially hard to categorize and market to certain audiences. Rudnytsky argues, "I think the media was still having problems with us, our image, and our place in the rock developments of that time."[405] Blending rock and classical music attracted both hip consumers looking for the newest form of eclecticism and parents who wanted a softer version of rock music. The same accreditation that sparked the subgenre would eventually result in recognition from cultural leaders such as the Queen of England and Leonard Bernstein, drawing the attention of more mainstream audiences and opening up the possibility for commodification of the sonic aesthetic.

It is ironic that by the end of the decade, "Yesterday," a song that inspired baroque rock, would be featured on soft rock radio stations aimed at adults. Many baroque rock hits were and continue to be in the line-up for these radio stations as well as Oldies radio stations aimed at the Baby Boomer generation. I was introduced to these songs through my parents (who were

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[404] Marios, January 19, 2015 (12:14 p.m.), blog entry, "New York Rock 'n' Roll Ensemble - Faithful Friends / Reflections (1969-70 us / greece, amazing baroque folk psych rock, 2005 edition)," *Rockasteria*, http://rockasteria.blogspot.com/2015/01/new-york-rock-n-roll-ensemble-faithful.html.
[405] Ibid.

teenagers in the 1960s) as we listened to these radio formats in the 1990s. In some ways, I experience nostalgia for the 1960s through "post-memory" as I remember the lived memories my parents shared with me about the decade.[406] Even though I love the music and my parents' fond memories, they have also shared not so fond memories of hiding under their school desks in preparation for a nuclear explosion, learning about the Kent State shootings as young adults living only thirty-nine miles away, and watching riots in the streets after Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated. I recognize that a return to those times is impossible, undesirable, and will not solve our current problems despite any similarities. It is perhaps the greatest irony that Oldies stations, designed to sell nostalgia to the Baby Boomer generation in hopes of reliving moments of their lives in the 1960s, are playing baroque rock hits that poke fun at this desire for nostalgia as a solution to contemporary problems.

During a time of crisis when the countercultural sensibility opposed mainstream society and traditional norms, baroque rock artists employed stylistic representations of an unexperienced past to step outside of the confines of contemporary society in order to increase awareness of how one perceives and engages with the past. Hipness, with its rejection of the mainstream and its desire for altered perceptions, became associated with sounds of the past as baroque rock artist's reactionary motivations evolved into a new way of perceiving the world. This study includes backward and forward-looking approaches to history as it documents the cultural, social, and historical implications of an overlooked subgenre that is mentioned but in passing in popular music scholarship. Its significance lies in its ability to situate baroque rock

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[406] "Post-memory" is a term first used by scholar Marianne Hirsch in an article entitled "Family Pictures: *Maus*, Mourning, and Post-Memory." She has since defined the term as describing "the relationship that the 'generation after' bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before-to experiences they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right." Marianne Hirsch, "Postmemory," accessed December 3, 2016, http://www.postmemory.net/.

within a specific time frame and provide several possible explanations for the classical-rock synthesis. Further study of this topic can lead to an understanding of the New Romantics in the 1980s, Britpop in the 1990s, and Alternative/Indie groups in the early 2000s that looked back to baroque rock for inspiration and followed the pop tradition of arbitrary historical reference points. Further research on the impact of formally trained session musicians on recordings by the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and the Kinks in addition to promotional videos for baroque rock songs will make clear postmodern nostalgia's social commentary through sonic and visual outlets.

Memory politics, the political uses and social circulation of memory, have been in recent scholarly conversations regarding anniversaries of historical events, nationhood, and even the marketing potential of nostalgia. Art's relationship and engagement with the past and remembrance, however, has been contested. Some scholars of memory have focused on memory's power to generate works of visual art such as monuments, graphic novels, and photography but also on how these works can aid in the construction of public memory (Hirsch 2001, Huyssen 2003). Yet, scholarship on music has focused on its power to link listeners to an idealized past (Flinn 1992, Dwyer 2015), as well as on the trend of marketing nostalgia through music (Reynolds 2010, Niemeyer 2014). However, none of these works have addressed how a temporal art like music can reconstruct sounds of the distant past through an ironic interpretation of historical memory in order to highlight the dangers of nostalgic memory. My research focuses on music's relationship to memory politics by bringing these conversations into dialogue with debates about music's temporality and its ability to represent the past. The political uses and social circulation of memory often promote nostalgic visions of an imagined past—visions that may be far from historical reality. By examining music's power to reconstruct sounds of the

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distant past through an ironic interpretation of historical memory, we can better understand the dangers of nostalgic memory. Research of contemporary representations of the past highlights the motivations involved in the relationship between memory and history as people can utilize the past to redefine (or even attempt to escape) their present or to serve future goals. Memory politics is applied to popular music not to point out that profit can be made by catering to the aesthetics of nostalgia, but rather to question why one is nostalgic at all. Much like history is too complex to be seen as operating in one direction, mass culture, nostalgia, and hipness should be freed from simplistic representations and viewed as complex systems that operate with or against one another in moments of crisis and/or progress.

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