

British Rock Modernism, 1967-1977

The Story of Music Hall in Rock

Barry J. Faulk

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ASHGATE

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General Editor's Preface

The upheaval that occurred in musicology during the last two decades of the twentieth century has created a new urgency for the study of popular music alongside the development of new critical and theoretical models. A relativistic outlook has replaced the universal perspective of modernism (the international ambitions of the 12-note style); the grand narrative of the evolution and dissolution of tonality has been challenged, and emphasis has shifted to cultural context, reception and subject position. Together, these have conspired to eat away at the status of canonical composers and categories of high and low in music. A need has arisen, also, to recognize and address the emergence of crossovers, mixed and new genres, to engage in debates concerning the vexed problem of what constitutes authenticity in music and to offer a critique of musical practice as the product of free, individual expression.

Popular musicology is now a vital and exciting area of scholarship, and the *Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series* presents some of the best research in the field. Authors are concerned with locating musical practices, values and meanings in cultural context, and draw upon methodologies and theories developed in cultural studies, semiotics, poststructuralism, psychology and sociology. The series focuses on popular musics of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is designed to embrace the world's popular musics from Acid Jazz to Zydeco, whether high tech or low tech, commercial or non-commercial, contemporary or traditional.

Professor Derek B. Scott
Professor of Critical Musicology
University of Leeds

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Acknowledgments

Rock music in the 60s and 70s still represented the sound of a subculture—or so it seemed to me, growing up. And even though I thought rock music was uncompromisingly, aggressively, modern, there also seemed to be something older than rock itself about the British groups that mattered to me. Whatever this ancient element was, it seemed deeply exotic, and vibrantly other, to a teenager living in the American South. My interest became an obsession; this book is the result.

I am fortunate enough to work in an academic environment—the English Department at Florida State University—that has been both nurturing and inspiring. I couldn't have written this book, or any book, without the support of supremely generous colleagues like Mark Cooper, Robin Truth Goodman, Helen Burke, Ned Stuckey-French and Jim O'Rourke, to name just a few. Ralph Berry, Timothy Parrish, Lauren Onkey, and Neil Nehring provided intellectual guidance when I most needed it. I am forever grateful to some brilliant former students who were tireless listeners and unswerving in their enthusiasm for the project; my debt to Jackie Bitsis, Cameron Stuart, and Hala Herbly is enormous. I was also fortunate in having a superb editor, Heidi Bishop, and a sympathetic reader, Derek Scott, who believed in what the book could be. It has been a pleasure throughout working with the amazingly professional staff at Ashgate Publishing. My heartfelt gratitude to Moscovia as well: another untiring listener, and the world's most reluctant rock fan. The mistakes, of course, are uniquely my own.

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Introduction

British Rock Modernism, 1967-1977 explains how the definitive British rock performers of this epoch aimed, not at the youthful rebellion for which they are legendary, but at a highly self-conscious project of commenting on and thereby intervening in the commercial art enterprise in which they engaged. They did so by ironically appropriating the traditional forms of Victorian music hall. I focus on the moment in the mid to late 1960s, when British rock bands who had already achieved commercial success began to aspire to aesthetic distinction. To grasp the significance of the moment, we must look beyond rock music itself to the tradition of British music-hall song. The book discusses recordings (the Beatles' *Magical Mystery Tour* record, the Kinks' *The Village Green Preservation Society*, the Sex Pistols' *Never Mind the Bollocks, Here's the Sex Pistols*), and television films (the Beatles' *Magical Mystery Tour*, the Rolling Stones' *Rock and Roll Circus*) that defined rock's early high art moment. I argue that these texts disclose the primary strategies by which British rock groups, mostly composed of young working and lower middle-class men, made their bid for aesthetic merit by sampling music-hall sounds. The result was a symbolically charged form whose main purpose was to unsettle the hierarchy that set traditional popular culture above the new medium. Rock groups engaged the music of the past in order both to demonstrate the vitality of the new form and signify rock's new art status, compared to earlier British pop music.

Rock groups like the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and the Kinks began to reference the 19th-century musical entertainment that preceded British rock, the music hall, as rock music's Other; it was made to represent everything that rock was supposedly not. The music hall past was engaged in two ways that substantially altered the evolution of British rock music: first, 60's bands invoked music hall largely in order to hijack its authority for the new music; later, bands like the Sex Pistols, conscious of the association that developed in the rock era between music hall entertainment and a fully outmoded Englishness, revived the older form in defiance of the consumerist ethos of 70's British pop, but also to subvert the authority of the previous generation of British rock bands.

My project situates British rock in the 1960s and 70s within a broader social history, but does not reduce music merely to its context. Focusing on the evolution of aesthetic projects from within British rock in the late 1960s and 70s provides a way of addressing rock as a music genre with its own rules distinct from other cultural spheres. The link I posit between aesthetic value and classic British rock may still be provocative to some, even in a world of Rock museums and "Halls of Fame." Yet British rock bands at this time entertained artistic ambitions, sometimes explicitly modeling themselves on earlier generations of modernist artists, more

often by rediscovering the objectives of modernist artists, concerned with achieving greater control over the means of artistic production, for themselves. My focus on rock music in its art-phase rather than pre-art rock is for greater descriptive purchase, not a prescriptive purpose. The point is not to reinforce a binary between rock as art music and rock as dance music, but to clarify the specific role played by “classic” rock in various discourses of class and nation specific to the British 1960s and 70s.

Any one who cares about the music of the era can think of artists and bands missing from this story of rock’s evolution; it is even difficult to treat every British rock group that made music with a nod to music hall. The project of recapturing childhood experience, begun with the Beatles’ *Sgt. Pepper’s* record and a touchstone of British psychedelia, often resulted in music built on the formulas of music hall song. The Small Faces’ *Ogden’s Nut Gone Flake* (1968) is exemplary British psychedelic rock in this regard, a record where the music’s experimental ambitions co-exist with antique Englishness. “Rene” is a rock song that incorporates music hall sing-a-long, and tells a not-uncommon story about East London life: a woman of extraordinary vitality at the center of a large, multi-racial family, fathered by sailors temporarily docked in the East End and looking for company (which dates both Rene and Marriot/Lane, hearkening back to an older time when the East End docks were a major shipping center rather than the low traffic zone it was by the 1960s). The intrusive neighbors we hear complaining about the singer in Marriot/Lane’s “Lazy Sunday” on the same album have signature, and caricature, East London voices. However, the Small Faces evoke the recent past without the larger aesthetic ambitions of contemporaneous records by the Beatles and the Kinks, and for this reason falls outside the parameters of this study. In defense of this and other exclusions, I can only reiterate my primary aim of focusing on bands that invoke the music hall in a manner to authorize British rock as a modernist art project.

One of the book’s sub-arguments is that it is a mistake to claim that 60’s rock music is somehow intrinsically radical on account of the link between the rock music of this era and a generation of politically radicalized youth. It is true that rock music played a major role in fostering generational solidarity during this era, especially among the politicized university students across the globe. In Britain, rock pushed out jazz music to become the primary soundtrack of the British underground, and fostered a generational divide that separated a British Left which had come of age before the 60s from younger radicals. The link between British rock and the 60’s counterculture is so strong that rock, at least in its subcultural forms of heavy metal or “hardcore,” still retains the reputation of being underground music. As Robert Colls observes, British university students of the 1960s sought authenticity in a large class of goods, among them various media forms: in blues and folk, the free jazz movement, realist cinema, modernist or “Mod” fashions, and later, in long hair and ethnic clothing (366). Rock was valued at the time, along with other cultural goods and practices, as a mode of authentic expression. I argue that contemporaneous claims for rock’s greater authenticity

were exaggerated, and that the radical aspect of British rock in the 1960s and 70s resides instead in its aesthetic form. Not that the new audience binding features that distinguished the rock audience weren't radical: only that such arguments tend to overlook the revolutionary character of music at its most "arty" (e.g. the Beatles' "I Am the Walrus"). In retrospect, it seems most of the rock audience—or at least the rock critic or journalist—associated the music with a vision of classlessness that had more in common with the free market ideologies that came to dominate the neo-conservative 1980s than with rock's aesthetic development.¹ At any rate, the primary focus of the book is not on the efforts which British rock musicians made to align themselves with the activist politics of the age, although my chapter on the Rolling Stones' *Rock and Roll Circus* interprets the program as a self-conscious attempt by Jagger and the band to harness their anti-establishment reputation in the service of New Left activism.² My primary focus instead is on how key British rock groups addressed the specific medium of studio-based recording.

It is important not to lose rock's text in its many contexts of production and reception; that said, understanding the role music hall played in rock offers considerable insight into issues of class construction and the British national imaginary in the post-WWII years under review. As the book makes clear, residual ideas of an empire and working class associated with Victorian/Edwardian England retain their potency in the adolescence of post-WWII musicians. This persistent Englishness had a lot to do with WWII itself and the struggle of an island people to resist invasion, as well as the uncertain position of England in the decolonizing world of the Cold War. For this generation, music hall condensed the old Victorian era, and the survival of older notions of class and community in modern times.

Although music hall later became a way of preserving unfashionable values, it initially had transformed British culture. As the first British mass entertainment, music-hall fare reached cross-class audiences; its popularity, often based on communal conceptions of working-class London, also upheld stereotyped images of working-class character. At the same time, music hall song and comedy tended to subsume class differences to a broader discourse of national identity. For these

¹ In "Eight Arms to Hold You," Hanif Kureishi emphasizes the symbolic importance of the Beatles as northern outsiders who rise to the top in a rigid, caste-ridden country: which seems an all-too familiar gesture of the 60's generation, where counterculture freedom becomes indistinguishable from the "freedom" to consume. In other words, Kureishi claims the Beatles as avatars of the exceptional individuals who flout conventions of caste and class in Kureishi's own novels.

² In this regard, the British rock festival at the Isle of Wight at the end of the 1960s demonstrates the inherent gap between left politics and rock musicians as a social group. A politicized segment of the audience demanded free entry into the festival, not only to the horror of Murray Lerner, the festival promoter and organizer, but to the general indifference or active resistance to the free concert idea expressed by the artists themselves. Joni Mitchell interrupts her own performance, pleading for a restless audience to recognize the labor involved in performing, and songwriting as hard work; see *Message to Love*.

reasons, a history of British rock and its music-hall past tells us much about class, nation, and that reordering of global mass culture that was the British invasion.

To understand why and how British rock took a modernist path, we must first briefly consider how music hall came to represent the past of the British nation. By the 1880s, British music hall had evolved from its mid-Victorian origins in comic song and sing-a-longs in pubs and penny gaff stages in seedy neighborhoods into a fully capitalized enterprise (Fountain 32). Victorian folklore scholar A.L. Lloyd condemned the music hall as a commercial enterprise that replaced the folk song believed to offer a direct means of communication in the working-class community; yet most middle-class intellectuals, from Arthur Symons and Max Beerbohm in the Victorian era to T.S. Eliot and George Orwell in the 20th century, celebrated the music hall, even in its upscale form as syndicate owned “variety theater,” as quintessentially English pastime. In 1903, American theater critic Horace Barnes claimed with confidence that London music hall, unlike New York vaudeville or Parisian cabaret, had attained “the dignity of [an] institution,” and a general knowledge of the stars and songs was common to all classes of English people. The commercial music hall had gained the unique power to insinuate itself into all corners of everyday life. “From the lout to the lord,” Barnes declares, “there isn’t a Londoner who doesn’t look on the halls as his own...Each hall has its specific audience, its quota of regulars, its own peculiar feeling and atmosphere in keeping with its environment” (www.arthurlloyd.com/). The most successful music-hall performers, he suggests, were those who reflected the aspirations of the entertainment’s mass audience. When one of the most celebrated music-hall singers of the day, Marie Lloyd, performed at several halls in London each night, Barnes insists that every show effortlessly creates a community in each new space: “if you followed her you will find that in each instance, strong as is her personality, it has been merged, chameleon-like, into the omnipresent personality of the hall.”³

Late-Victorian and Edwardian music hall was both a pop culture form and a nascent culture industry. Popular culture is a contradictory phenomenon, containing the voices and values of different social classes. As Stuart Hall observes, pop culture, including popular music in industrial capitalist societies, is neither the unfiltered voice of the people nor a confidence scheme, but a site of conflict between social and cultural elites and non-elites.⁴ As recent studies of the 19th-century music hall have shown, even the more commodified entertainment of the variety theaters built for middle-class patrons still posed problems for late-Victorian cultural elites because of its continuing popularity among the British working class.

³ T.S. Eliot also praises the ability of famous music hall performers like Little Tich and Marie Lloyd to take on the character of their audience in “The Romantic Englishman, The Comic Spirit, and the Function of Criticism.” Eliot goes even further than Barnes in suggesting that the persona of music hall performers convey timeless national archetypes.

⁴ See Hall.

The music hall was perhaps exceptional in the late 19th century on account of its enthusiastic supporters among the artistic elite. Once music-hall entertainment had become a commodity form, it gained defenders among the cultured class; in their many partisan accounts of music hall comedy and song, they inevitably identified the halls with “folk” entertainment, and authentic Britishness. In particular, middle-class observers characterized the apparently intimate relationship the halls fostered between performers and their popular audiences as thoroughly “English.” T.S. Eliot’s famous appreciation of Marie Lloyd is exemplary in this respect; he insists that Lloyd’s popular success has a deeper meaning. “Popularity in her case was not merely evidence of her accomplishment,” he writes, but “evidence of the extent to which she represented and expressed that part of the English nation which has perhaps the greatest vitality and interest” (172). Even in the music-hall’s decline, and with the passing of its most successful entertainers, Eliot saw the art form as an authentic cultural expression of the popular classes, with the special function of reinforcing British unity. The praise of Arthur Symons in the 1890s and of later intellectuals like Eliot and Orwell for music hall also attested to the special capacity of the modern bourgeois to properly appreciate working-class culture; this discourse also helped popularize a specific image of the redeeming social function of British music hall.⁵

Music hall began as popular entertainment on the margins of London, but soon became a commercial force that marketed its own popular appeal, expanding the reach of consumer culture. Many music halls were replaced by movie theaters in the 1930s, but the form persisted long enough to remain a powerful image of class solidarity for a generation of British youth born after WWII. For that generation, growing up in households without a television and only three radio stations, music remained a mostly amateur affair, a craft learned in the family, and mostly performed for neighborhood audiences. For them, the writing, music, and comedy of the British music hall constituted their first experience of popular culture. Music hall carried over an image of working-class community, even as American-style consumerism was beginning to impact British society.⁶ Music-hall conventions had a second life in film and television comedy, with music-hall singer Gracie Fields making the transition to British cinema, and comics like Max Wall and Arthur Askey becoming a staple of BBC radio and television fare. The entertainment may have been moribund by the late fifties, but Tommy Steele and Billy Fury, the first generation of British rock and roll singers, still came up through the old music-hall circuit and shared the bill with its comedians. Cliff Richard’s first performances were at the Metropolitan music hall on Edgware Road in 1957; Billy Fury shared the bill with comedian Frankie Howerd (Double 37).

⁵ I argue that one of the distinctive features of the late-Victorian bourgeois is the development of a “taste” for working-class entertainments; see Faulk.

⁶ For a comprehensive history of consumerism as ideology and social organization in 20th-century Britain, see Hilton; Chapter 8 focuses on consumerism and the individual in the 1960s.

Such odd pairings would persist into the 1960s, and in fact, reach absurd heights with Jimi Hendrix's first tour of the UK paired with middle of the road pop singer Engelbert Humperdinck. Such concert bills suggest the typical way that rock music, whether Fury or Hendrix, fit into distinctly British institutions. The week the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* record was released in June 1967, "The Black and White Minstrel Show," a BBC One program that recreated the "Blackface" entertainment that was standard late-Victorian and Edwardian music hall fare, was among the top rated television programs in Britain. The ITV television program *Sunday Night at the London Palladium*, which lasted well into the rock era, was the British equivalent to the equally long running *Ed Sullivan Show* in America. Both programs presented variety entertainment in a format which derived from music hall and its American equivalent, vaudeville, and helped define the cultural mainstream. The young working-class and lower middle-class musicians who formed rock bands in the 1960s would find it difficult to exorcize the powerful associational link between the halls and working-class Englishness that they had learned in their youth.⁷

The main experience of the post WWII generation of British rock musicians with music hall was in the more sensory, existentially immediate context of the Blitz and decolonization, of growing up with scarcity and state-imposed rationing, without a recognizable mass media, in an era that revived the austere Victorian values of self-denial, discipline, and sexual prudery. These musicians learned to associate the music hall with older visions of Britishness, and the kind of Victorian morality that seemed newly relevant as necessary equipment for surviving the dangers of life during wartime. Music-hall's glory days coincided with the height of empire, with many of its posh theaters dubbed little "empires" and flaunting exotic names like the "Alhambra."

The career of the young Julie Andrews provides an exemplary case. Andrews was already a national icon before her stage career, the youngest performer ever to give a command performance at the London Palladium (in 1948, at the age of 13). The stories of how she entertained the troops with her music-hall parents and sang music-hall songs in the bomb shelters during the Blitz became common knowledge—a small child singing in that little corner of the world that even under siege and fire, will be forever England.⁸ Although I know of no concrete evidence

⁷ Not surprisingly, the generation of 60's rock bands had ambivalent regard for music hall, especially televised programs that recreated the older entertainment form. The music of the Small Faces frequently uses music hall forms, ironically ("All Our Yesterdays") and not ("Itchycoo Park"), but in a 1969 interview, Steve Marriott expresses both his admiration and his distaste for music hall comedy. Asked by Keith Altham about "how much brain damage" you get from TV, he replies, "Quite a lot from things like the Ken Dodd show and those Palladium-type shows. They are all so Workers Playtime mentality. I don't believe it" (23). Yet when asked what makes him laugh, he rattles off a list of comedians in the classic music hall mode: Frankie Howard, Tommy Cooper, and Marty Feldman.

⁸ See Julie Andrews, 29.

that a young John Lennon or Paul McCartney listened to Julie Andrews, just five years or so their senior, on the BBC, it is almost impossible to imagine that they would not have, and thus be reminded of the continuing presence of music-hall Englishness into the modern age.

The image of the northern woman as popularized in music hall by Marie Lloyd and Gracie Fields (the latter would take the persona into a popular film career) also passed into the rock era with minimal changes. In Mark Simpson's account, the northern woman persona mixed emotional intensity, directness, good cheer, and the stoic strength of the lone survivor (48). She lives large in a world she didn't create and appears powerless to change; the contradictory aspects of the stereotype suggest that we are in the presence of ideology. Simpson also notes that "Northerness in British culture has faint echoes of blackness in American culture," suggesting the extent to which feminine identity acquires a quasi-biological aspect here (50).

The ideology of the suffering northern woman helped construct a complete identification of the singer with the song. Pop singer Petula Clark began as a child singer in the music halls; a decade later she began her pop career with hits like "I Know a Place," a song about the Cavern, the Liverpool club where the Beatles had their residency, and which helped establish Clark as a rock fellow traveler. But all of Clark's hit records, especially her biggest chart record, "Downtown," suggest the strength of her ties to music hall, as well as the logic linking the music-hall stage and the pop world in the rock era. Clark celebrates individual agency, but within the frame of a consumer ethos that was implicit from the beginning in music-hall song.⁹ Fame for women singers largely meant complying with an industry structure that severely limited the autonomy of the individual performer. Singers who accepted the terms of stardom set in the old days had to assume a subordinate role to their management; in the studio, they had to take orders from the company producers brought in by their managers for the purpose of making studio records. As a consequence, 60's women pop singers were from the start almost totally incorporated within an industry scheme.

Whereas the image of the music hall preserved connotations of working-class community as authentically British in a post-War era, or its derivations preserved older notions of class, the young men who formed rock bands in the 60s themselves experienced the alienation and identity crises endemic to young celebrities. Bluntly, the Beatles and the Stones made a pile of money in their early twenties, enough money to convince anyone that they were *déclassé*. This unprecedented celebrity was accompanied by a particularly acute identity crisis. Was the rock star a bohemian, alienated from the middle-class; part of the new social elite; or a glorified contract laborer, exploited by record company owners? If class barriers

⁹ See Wilson for more on music hall song's presentation of the urban consumer. Even as Dusty Springfield attempted to make the transition from cabaret pop to grittier song in 1968, the British media still represented women performers as privileged consumers rather than auteurs; see Hagan for a blatant example of this.

seem to be eroding a bit as the British empire was in its death throes and you are fortunate enough to be making piles of money in your early twenties, then it makes sense to write deeply ambivalent songs about a pastoral, English past that was perhaps never your past, but rather that of your parents and grandparents. Here too, youth identity crisis overlaps with a broader authority crisis: had a younger generation earned the right to draw on the legacy of Britishness?

As stated, the narrative of my book does not begin with the commercial success of British rock but with what a few select groups did after they attained popular recognition. Soon after the beginning of the British Invasion, pop musicians quickly adopted the modernist persona of musician as artist and savant.¹⁰ The ideology of rock as a modern art form is vividly displayed in the otherwise dispiriting documentary film of the Beatles' sessions for what would be their last record release, *Let It Be* (1970). By this time the consensus that rock musicians were artists and not mere entertainers had settled to the extent that George Harrison could shut down a conversation with his fellow Beatles about touring by reminding his band mates that they had no obligation to their audience, or to anything else, aside from their art—the sort of sentiment that any self-respecting modernist since Stravinsky would have immediately understood (Christgau 145). For Harrison, the Beatles' sole responsibility is personal: to the pursuit of the artistic vocation for its own sake, rather than to a popular audience.

The Beatles, the Kinks, and the Rolling Stones consciously cultivated artistic ambitions that potentially set their status as a franchise at risk. Unlike an earlier generation of music hall artists, these bands did not seek a more intimate, organic relation to its popular audience; instead, they aspired to exert control over every facet of the music-making process by performing their own material and making the key decisions in arranging songs and in the recording process. Songwriters like Lennon/McCartney and Ray Davies resembled an earlier generation of modernist writers in their aspirations to autonomy more clearly than they did music-hall singers like Alma Cogan and Gracie Fields.¹¹

The ideological struggle between rock as modern art and music hall as traditional Englishness determines the form that the new, most ambitious British rock music would take. Bands evoked the sound of earlier British music primarily to show off the dense musical textures of the new genre. The first casualty in this clash of musical styles was the notion of musical authenticity which had been the source of the music-hall's special charisma. In contrast, British rock would champion instead the values of artifice, technical expertise, and musical eclecticism: all values that fostered an ironic, self-aware perspective of Britain's past. The contradiction between the new values of British rock and the core values of the

¹⁰ See Richard Williams on 1965 as both the emergence and artistic zenith of British rock, 78-91.

¹¹ Of course, not all British rock bands had songwriters with auteur ambitions, and even those bands that did inevitably began their recording careers with covers of American music.

youth audience for rock music are often overlooked. As Robert Colls observes, the university student community of the 1960s craved clothes and art that they regarded to be anti-Establishment and thus more authentic (183). As British rock musicians followed their ambitions to produce music based on artifice, lacking a clear organic relation to earlier British music, these musicians potentially set themselves at odds with their youth audience.

In spite of the demands of the core audience that constituted rock's primary consumer base, you can hear the new, potentially unpopular agenda of British rock in songs like the Beatles' "Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band," the Rolling Stones' "Something Happened to Me Yesterday," or the Kinks' "Picture Book." Such songs compound two musical styles: voices of regional Englishness, singing to rock rhythms, the jazz horns of the "trad" band interrupted by the prominent guitar sound of the 'heavy' rock combo. These songs show their seams, so to speak, by sonic means; they mix hybrid parts that never add up to an organic whole. The result is music that wryly acknowledges its composite character, reminding listeners of the distance separating the singer either from the song's lyrical content, or between the sound of English music and Black Atlantic rhythms.

Songs like these underscore the fundamental artifice at the core of the enterprise of British rock. A statement by Robert Christgau succinctly captures the perception that British rock was "inauthentic," compared to its American counterparts: "For the English, rock and roll has never involved doing what comes naturally. No matter how well off the prospective American rock musician, it seems he is closer to down-home funk than his often working class English counterpart" (243). Critical and audience discourse on British rock often recapitulates Beat ideology from the late 50s and continues the white middle-class romance of the hipster; but it is also true that British bands often signify their essential distance from Blackness and highlight the artifice at the core of their brand of American music. Strictly speaking, British rock was "art rock" from its conception: that is, music based on a conceptual, intellectual relation to its sources. For the Beatles and Stones, it was a given that "their distance from the Afro-American source would be a necessary and authentic part of whatever they did with it" (Christgau 245). The modernist moment in rock emerged with the awareness that no amount of love or reverence for the sources of British rock could breach the distance between England and America.¹² The constructed character of British rock is precisely what made it possible for rock musicians to establish new work rules for rock music settled on by the managers, as it were, and differentiating their work from amateur practice.

Recognizing the link between British rock and artifice is not the same as saying that the taste of a post-WWII generation for American blues and R&B was a mere pose; no one takes up a pose knowing that it will remain so. For that matter, calling

¹² Similarly, Devin McKinney suggests that the Beatles' music was shaped by the fact that "they simply had to work harder": "Foreigners playing a foreign music, they couldn't assume it as a national birthright, or absorb it in all its Afro-centric detail; and so, driven to somehow own it, they were forced to absorb it as pure feeling" (38).