

## Notes

### 1 Six boys, six Beatles: the formative years

1 Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 324.

2 Billy Shepherd, *The True Story of the Beatles* (London: Beat Publications, 1964); Hunter Davies, *The Beatles* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968; rev. edns., New York: Norton, 1985, 1996); Barry Miles, *Paul McCartney: Many Years From Now* (London: Secker & Warburg; New York: Holt, 1997); and The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology* (London: Cassell; San Francisco: Chronicle, 2000).

3 Albert Goldman, *The Lives of John Lennon* (New York: William Morrow, 1988); Ray Connolly, *John Lennon 1940–1980: A Biography* (London: Fontana, 1981); and Henry W. Sullivan, *The Beatles with Lacan: Rock 'n' Roll as Requiem for the Modern Age* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995).

4 Epstein, *A Cellarful of Noise*; Cynthia Lennon, *A Twist of Lennon* (London: Star Books, 1978); Sutcliffe and Thompson, *Stuart Sutcliffe*.

5 Three examples of biographical confusion can be adduced here. The earliest “official” biography, by Billy Shepherd, published in 1964, mistakenly dated the meeting of Lennon and McCartney at Woolton Fete as July 1955, when Paul was only thirteen, instead of 1957. This error was repeated as late as 1981 by an eminent American critic in the authoritative *Rolling Stone* history of rock (Greil Marcus, “The Beatles,” in Jim Miller [ed.], *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock and Roll* [London: Picador, 1981], 177–89). Second, the occupational status of Lennon’s uncle George Smith is given by most authors as the owner of a small dairy business; but Pauline Sutcliffe claims, without supporting evidence, that he was simply an employee and that John had exaggerated his uncle’s importance and his own social status (Pauline Sutcliffe and Douglas Thompson, *Stuart Sutcliffe: The Beatles’ Shadow and His Lonely Hearts Club* [London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 2001], 34). Meanwhile, Bob Spitz says that at some stage Uncle George left the dairy business to become a bookmaker, quoting Lennon’s cousin Stanley Parkes from an unpublished interview made in 1985 for Goldman’s book (*The Beatles* [New York: Little,

Brown, 2005], 2). Perhaps betraying some incredulity at this revelation, Spitz adds that “no one was sure how George squared such activities with upright Mimi.” Thirdly, until 2000, it was widely accepted that the first Brian Epstein had heard of the Beatles was when “Raymond Jones,” a regular customer of Epstein’s NEMS music store, placed an order for a copy of the German single “My Bonnie.” This was attested by Epstein himself in his memoir (*A Cellarful of Noise* [London: Souvenir Press, 1964], 43), and by his assistant Alastair Taylor (with Martin Roberts, *Yesterday: The Beatles Remembered* [London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1988], 6). No subsequent biographer was able to trace Jones, but this did not shake their faith in the story. Only the *Mersey Beat* editor Bill Harry, in a 1997 interview with Bob Spitz (which was not published until nine years later), was skeptical of the role of “Jones” in bringing the existence of the band to Epstein’s attention, since this supposed event occurred several months after Harry had supplied Epstein with copies of *Mersey Beat* in which the Beatles were heavily featured (*The Beatles*, 265–6). Meanwhile, in 2000, Alastair Taylor admitted in the late Debbie Geller’s television documentary and book about Epstein that he had invented “Raymond Jones” because, while a number of individuals had enquired after the disc, he needed to show that an order had been placed so as to persuade Epstein to buy a box of discs from Polydor in Germany (Debbie Geller and Anthony Wall (eds.), *The Brian Epstein Story* [London: Faber & Faber, 2000], 35). Nevertheless, as late as 2003, Philip Norman, in the “revised and updated” edition of his *Shout! The True Story of the Beatles* ([London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 2003], 126), once again repeated the story that Jones was “an 18-year-old Huyton boy” and even that Epstein remembered him as a fan of Carl Perkins. Norman’s book may have been updated, but clearly not revised, at least on this point!

6 Sutcliffe and Thompson, *Stuart Sutcliffe*, 74.

7 Ray Coleman, *Brian Epstein* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), 507.

8 Barry Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary – An Intimate Day by Day History* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2004), 4.

9 Peter Hennessey, *Having It So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), 9.

- 10 Ibid., 19.
- 11 The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, 38.
- 12 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 55.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 John Lennon was won over to the producer George Martin when he realized that Martin had produced albums by the group and by Peter Sellers, who starred in the Goon Show with Spike Milligan and Harry Secombe. Another link was Dick Lester, the director of the two Beatles films. Lester had directed the Goons' short *The Running, Jumping and Standing Still Film*.
- 15 Peter Townshend, *The Family Life of Old People* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957), 108.
- 16 Peter Brown, with Steven Gaines, *The Love You Make: An Insider's Story of the Beatles* (London: Macmillan, 1983), 29.
- 17 Sutcliffe and Thompson, *Stuart Sutcliffe*, 18.
- 18 Townshend, *The Family Life of Old People*, 108.
- 19 Sutcliffe and Thompson, *Stuart Sutcliffe*, 47.
- 20 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 20.
- 21 *The Beatles Anthology*, 36.
- 22 The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology* (London: Cassell; San Francisco: Chronicle, 2000), 36.
- 23 Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London: Heinemann, 2005), 395.
- 24 Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good: A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* (London: Abacus, 2000), 206.
- 25 Ian MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head: The Beatles' Records and the Sixties* (London: Fourth Estate, 1994), 65.
- 26 Ibid., 457.
- 27 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, xi.
- 28 Sullivan, *The Beatles with Lacan*, 86.
- 29 Ibid., 86.
- 30 Ibid., 61.
- 31 Hennessey, *Having It So Good*, 69–70.
- 32 Ibid., 74.
- 33 Ibid., 75–6.
- 34 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 40–3.
- 35 Originating in the East End of London, the Teddy boys (or Teds) were a much reviled youth group. They were linked to rock and roll and the cinema "riots" that occurred during showings of *Rock Around the Clock*. Some Teddy boys were prominent in the attacks on Caribbean immigrants in the Notting Hill "riots" of 1958 in London. For non-metropolitan teenagers such as Lennon and Harrison, it was possible to detach the look of the Teds from their subculture or lifestyle.
- 36 Alan Clayson and Pauline Sutcliffe, *Backbeat: Stuart Sutcliffe – The Lost Beatle*, (London: Pan, 1994), 17.
- 37 Simon Frith and Howard Horne, *Art Into Pop* (London: Methuen, 1987).
- 38 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 50.
- 39 Phil Bowen, *A Gallery To Play To: The Story of the Mersey Poets* (Exeter: Stride Publications, 1999).
- 40 Royston Ellis, *Rave* (Northwood: Scorpion Press, 1960).
- 41 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 53.
- 42 Coleman, *Brian Epstein*, 172.
- 43 John Lennon, *School Days*, which he wrote during his time at grammar school (no record of publication).
- 44 Michael Wood, "John Lennon's Schooldays," in Elizabeth Thomson and David Gutman (eds.), *The Lennon Companion: Twenty-Five Years of Comment* (London: Macmillan, 1987, 146 (originally published in *New Society*, June 27, 1968).
- 45 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 23.
- 46 On the character and history of skiffle see Brian Bird, *Skiffle: The Story of Folk-Song with a Jazz Beat* (London: Robert Hale, 1958); Chas McDevitt, *Skiffle: The Definitive Inside Story* (London: Robson, 1997); and Michael Brocken, "Was It Really Like That?: *Rock Island Line* and the Instabilities of Causalities of Popular Music Histories," *Popular Music History* 1/2 (2006), 147–66.
- 47 Roland Barthes, "Musica practica," in Roland Barthes, *Image–Music–Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana; New York: Noonday Press, 1977), 149.
- 48 Alan J. Porter, *Before They Were Beatles: The Early Years 1956–60* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2003), 18.
- 49 Quoted in Richard Mabey, *The Pop Process* (London: Hutchinson Educational, 1965), 48.
- 50 The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, 36–7.
- 51 Porter, *Before They Were Beatles*, 152.
- 52 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 89.
- 53 Cynthia Lennon, *A Twist of Lennon*, 134.
- 54 Bob Spitz, *The Beatles: The Biography*, 2nd edn. (New York: Little, Brown, 2007), 37. Brian Bird's 1958 book *Skiffle* made a parallel point. He wrote that for young men, singing was a "sissy extra" in school and "whereas in the past a young man sang only in his bath" – as private as Lennon and Shotton's sylvan seclusion – "now he does so openly on every occasion when he foregathers with his friends" (56–7). Thanks to Simon Frith for this reference.
- 55 Porter, *Before They Were Beatles*, 33.
- 56 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 30.

- 57 Julia Baird, with Geoffrey Giuliano, *John Lennon: My Brother* (New York: Henry Holt, 1988), 30 (emphasis added).
- 58 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 24.
- 59 The addition of new words had a very practical dimension: songs were often learned from radio broadcasts and it was impossible to memorize or even note down all the lyrics at one listening. This necessity – to create new words to fill in gaps – was undoubtedly a spur to the composition of wholly new songs. Alan Porter mentions another example from the early days of the group: a Burl Ives record of “Worried Man Blues” was so scratched that some lyrics were indecipherable, so John improvised replacements (Porter, *Before They Were Beatles*, 37).
- 60 Coleman, *Brian Epstein*, 169.
- 61 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 36–7; Coleman, *Brian Epstein*, 182.
- 62 Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary*, 51.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 52–3.
- 64 Barbara Bradby, “She Told Me What to Say: The Beatles and Girl-Group Discourse,” *Popular Music and Society* 28/3 (2005), 359–90.
- 65 Quoted in the Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, 49.
- 66 *Ibid.*
- 67 Lutgard Mutsaers, “Indorock: An Early Eurorock Style,” in *Popular Music* 9/3 (1990), 307–20.
- 68 In 1961, Stuart Sutcliffe decided to leave the group and remain in Hamburg with his new girlfriend, Astrid Kirchherr, and to study art there with Eduardo Paolozzi. He died in Hamburg in April 1962.
- 69 George Martin, quoted in Kenneth Womack, *Long and Winding Roads: The Evolving Artistry of the Beatles* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 51.
- 70 MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 93.
- 71 These include Clayson and Sutcliffe, *Backbeat*; MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*; Spitz, *The Beatles*; Jeff Russell, *The Beatles Album File and Complete Discography*, rev. edn. (London: Blandford, 1989); and Bill Harry, *The Book of Beatle Lists* (Poole: Javelin, 1985).
- 72 Listed in Kevin Howlett, *The Beatles at the Beeb 1962–65: The Story of Their Radio Career* (London: BBC Publications, 1982).
- 2 The Beatles as recording artists**
- 1 Gareth Pawlowski, *How They Became the Beatles* (New York: Dutton, 1989), 36.
- 2 The Beatles Ultimate Experience website, First Radio Interview, October 28, 1962, at [www.beatlesinterviews.org/db1962.1028.beatles.html](http://www.beatlesinterviews.org/db1962.1028.beatles.html) (accessed May 18, 2009).
- 3 Hunter Davies, *The Beatles* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968), 107.
- 4 Quoted in David Simons, *Studio Stories* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2004), 18.
- 5 All quotations from the author’s telephone interview with Van Dyke Parks, March 2007.
- 6 From [www.nonesuch.com/artists/brian-wilson](http://www.nonesuch.com/artists/brian-wilson).
- 7 Brian Wilson interviewed by Andy Battaglia, August 30, 2005 at [www.avclub.com/content/node/40133/2](http://www.avclub.com/content/node/40133/2) (accessed May 18, 2009).
- 8 Author’s telephone interview with Van Dyke Parks, March 2007.
- 9 Jim Irvin, “The *MOJO* Interview: George Martin,” *MOJO* 160 (March 2007), 37.
- 10 Paul McCartney, quoted on the Beatles Ultimate Experience website: [www.beatlesinterviews.org/dba01please.html](http://www.beatlesinterviews.org/dba01please.html) (accessed May 28, 2009).
- 11 Geoff Emerick, and Howard Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere: My Life Recording the Music of the Beatles* (New York: Gotham, 2006), 44.
- 12 George Harrison, interviewed with the other Beatles by Larry Kane in Chicago, August 20, 1965; at the Beatles Ultimate Experience website: [www.beatlesinterviews.org/db1965.0820.beatles.html](http://www.beatlesinterviews.org/db1965.0820.beatles.html) (accessed May 28, 2009).
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 70–1.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 16 Mark Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 36.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 18 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 81.
- 19 Ringo Starr, interviewed on the US radio program *Inner-view* in two parts, 1976; at the Beatles Ultimate Experience website: [www.beatlesinterviews.org/db1976.00rs.beatles.html](http://www.beatlesinterviews.org/db1976.00rs.beatles.html) (accessed May 18, 2009).
- 20 Keith Badman, *The Beatles: Off the Record* (New York: Omnibus, 2000), 210–11.
- 21 As reported on <http://www.rarebeatles.com/photopg7/nonusa/php7466.htm>.
- 22 Author’s interview with Van Dyke Parks, March 2007, continued by email.
- 23 Ringo Starr, interviewed on *Inner-view*.
- 24 George Harrison, interviewed by *Crawdaddy* magazine, February 1977.
- 25 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 63.
- 26 Paul McCartney, interviewed by Alan Smith on June 16, 1966, and published in the *New Musical Express*, June 24, 1966; at the Beatles

- Ultimate Experience website:  
www.beatlesinterviews.org/db1966.0616.  
beatles.html (accessed May 18, 2009).
- 27 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 64.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 67–9.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 30 Badman, *The Beatles*, 206.
- 31 Geoffrey Giuliano, *The Lost Beatles Interviews* (New York: Plume Books, 1994), 236.
- 32 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 120–3.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 84.
- 34 Badman, *The Beatles*, 208.
- 35 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 116.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 Badman, *The Beatles*, 209.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 208.
- 39 John Lennon, interview in *New Musical Express*, March 11, 1966; at the Beatles Ultimate Experience website:  
www.beatlesinterviews.org/db1966.0311.  
beatles.html.
- 40 Paul McCartney, interviewed by Alan Smith.
- 41 Badman, *The Beatles*, 256.
- 42 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 190.
- 43 Badman, *The Beatles*, 263.
- 44 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 135.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 139.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 141.
- 47 John Lennon, quoted in *Playboy*, “Playboy Interview with John Lennon,” 1980, as reproduced at www.john-lennon.com/playboyinterviewwithjohnlennonandyokoono.htm (accessed May 29, 2009).
- 48 Badman, *The Beatles*, 265.
- 49 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 91.
- 50 Badman, *The Beatles*, 257.
- 51 Jeff Russell, *The Beatles Complete Discography* (New York: Universe Publishing, 2006), 97.
- 52 Badman, *The Beatles*, 269.
- 53 John Harris, “Sgt. Pepper, the Day the World Turned Day-Glo,” *MOJO* 160 (March 2007), 72.
- 54 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 88.
- 55 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 204.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 95.
- 57 Harris, “Sgt. Pepper,” 76.
- 58 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 189.
- 59 John Lennon, “John Lennon and Yoko Ono: Candid Conversation.”
- 60 *Ibid.*
- 61 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 99.
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 Badman, *The Beatles*, 288.
- 64 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 96.
- 65 *Ibid.*
- 66 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 188.
- 67 Badman, *The Beatles*, 289.
- 68 John Lennon, interviewed by Norrie Drummond on May 19, 1967, published in the *New Musical Express*, May 27, 1967; at the Beatles Ultimate Experience website:  
http://www.beatlesinterviews.org/db1967.0519.beatles.html.
- 69 John Lennon, quoted in *Playboy*, “Playboy Interview with John Lennon,” 1980, at  
http://www.john-lennon.com/playboyinterviewwithjohnlennonandyokoono.htm (accessed May 29, 2009).
- 70 Badman, *The Beatles*, 389.
- 71 Ringo Starr, interviewed on *Inner-view*.
- 72 Walter Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians: Revolver Through the Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 175.
- 73 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 138.
- 74 Badman, *The Beatles*, 387.
- 75 *Ibid.*, 397.
- 76 Ringo Starr, interviewed on *Inner-view*.
- 77 Badman, *The Beatles*, 344.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 381.
- 79 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 260–1.
- 80 Badman, *The Beatles*, 381.
- 81 *Ibid.*
- 82 Kenneth Womack, *Long and Winding Roads: The Evolving Artistry of the Beatles* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 1.
- 83 Russell, *The Beatles Complete Discography*, 153.
- 84 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 168–9.
- 85 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 277.
- 86 *Ibid.*, 280.
- 87 Womack, *Long and Winding Roads*, 293.
- 88 Russell, *The Beatles Complete Discography*, 142.
- 89 *Ibid.*
- 90 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions*, 191.
- 91 Emerick and Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 322.

### 3 Rock and roll music

1 Paul McCartney, quoted in The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology* (London: Cassell; San Francisco: Chronicle, 2000), 23.

2 John Lennon, quoted in *ibid.*, 67.

3 Quoted in Mark Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions: The Official Story of the Abbey Road Years* (London: Hamlyn, 1988), 16.

4 Quoted in *ibid.*, 24.

5 *Ibid.*

### 4 “Try thinking more”: *Rubber Soul* and the Beatles’ transformation of pop

1 Mary Gaitskill, *Veronica* (New York: Vintage, 2005), 28–9.

2 The darker flipside of this latter type, the “beautiful but suddenly dead teenager” genre represented in songs such as “Endless Sleep” (death is foiled in this one), “Patches,” “Teen Angel,” “Last Kiss,” and “Leader of the Pack” largely affirms a romanticized notion of adolescent love rather than prompting any soul-searching. Notable among other parodists of the “death rock” genre, Jimmy Cross alludes to Beatlemania in setting up the tragedy: “I remember we were cruising home from the Beatles concert. I’d had such a wonderful evening, sitting there watching my baby screaming, and tearing her hair out, and carrying on. She was so full of life.” Baby dies in a car crash on the way home, of course, but months later Cross’s narrator digs up her corpse.

3 Paul McCartney claimed that the title riffed on an “old blues guy’s” disparaging comment about Mick Jagger’s “plastic soul.” Quoted in The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology* (London: Cassell; San Francisco: Chronicle, 2000), 193.

4 “Love Me Do,” the Beatles’ first single, appeared on October 5, 1962, while the *Rubber Soul* sessions commenced on October 12, 1965. See William J. Dowling, *Beatlesongs* (New York: Fireside, 1989), 29, 112.

5 Greg Clydesdale disputes this, arguing that “the Beatles’ early compositions showed no sign of their later genius”: “Creativity and Competition: The Beatles,” *Creativity Research Journal* 18 (2006), 129–39, 132.

6 Kari McDonald and Sarah Hudson Kaufman cite the *Rubber Soul* sessions as integral to the more sophisticated aesthetic: “In earlier recording sessions, the Beatles followed strict studio guidelines, defining where, when, and how they were to record. Beginning with *Rubber Soul*, the Beatles began to break these rules by extending their hours in the studio. By *Revolver*, this was common practice”: “‘Tomorrow Never Knows’: The Contributions of George Martin

and His Production Team to the Beatles’ New Sound,” in Russell Reising (ed.), “*Every Sound There Is*”: *The Beatles’ Revolver and the Transformation of Rock and Roll* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 151.

7 See Mark Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Chronicle* (London: Hamlyn, 2000), 136–79.

8 Lewisohn remarks, however (*ibid.*, 181), that the band’s frustration with their live audience’s inability to listen quietly prompted them to give up trying to replicate their earlier inspired performances at the Cavern Club and drove Lennon to shout (inaudible) obscenities at the crowds. Such vexation no doubt contributed to the Beatles’ embracing of the studio, a secure space where they could control the quality of their music (indeed, where they could hear their music!) and reward careful listeners with richly brocaded sounds and thoughtful lyrics.

9 Quoted in The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, 193.

10 Quoted in *ibid.*, 197.

11 Indeed, many of the Beatles’ fans were disappointed, despite the band’s more measured approach to change.

12 One need not cite the riots provoked by the radical musical innovations of Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Berg, and others to understand the shock and frustration of audiences over abrupt experimentalism. In one notorious example, the Beatles’ contemporary Bob Dylan faced the wrath of his traditional folk audience when he merged pop technology (“going electric”) with his folk aesthetic. In Dylan’s case, the experiment resulted in a wider audience, but countless examples of the reverse exist. Some notable ones include Rick Nelson (use of honky-tonk aesthetic), Elvis Costello (experimentation with multiple non-pop/rock genres), and the Violent Femmes (inclusion of “Christian” lyrics). Too much adherence to one’s “brand,” however, can lead to charges of being formulaic, stale, etc.

13 Theodor Adorno, “On the Contemporary Relationship of Philosophy and Music,” in Richard Leppert (ed.), *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 135.

14 Theodor Adorno, “Why Is the New Art so Hard to Understand?,” in Richard Leppert (ed.), *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 128, 131.

15 Theodor Adorno, “On Popular Music,” in Richard Leppert (ed.), *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 453. Adorno further notes that in typical pop music, “recognition” becomes an end in itself, thus stifling the spontaneity necessary for

advanced art. In *Rubber Soul*, the Beatles move between the two modes.

16 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Chronicle*, 202.

17 Walter Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians: The Quarry Men Through Rubber Soul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 315. Everett adds that the quirky intro results “from an apparent overdub of McCartney’s bottleneck-slide guitar over the bass/drum track.”

18 Tim Riley, *Tell Me Why: The Beatles – Album by Album, Song by Song, the Sixties and After* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo, 2002), 157.

19 Indeed, when the song carries the sexual metaphor to its conclusion, he, not she, will be the driver, and her body, potentially the site of her autonomy, becomes reinscribed as a car, an object.

20 Quoted in Barry Miles, *Paul McCartney: Many Years From Now* (London: Secker & Warburg; New York: Holt, 1997), 270.

21 The Beatles, of course, have a history of toying with their interviewers and duping them with bogus responses.

22 Riley, *Tell Me Why*, 158. Riley correctly identifies as innovative the song’s strategy of “inference rather than . . . description.” This methodology comes closer to Adorno’s conception of the “tension” required by serious music. See Adorno, “On Popular Music,” 440.

23 Walter Everett, quoted in The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, 193.

24 Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians*, 333.

25 Interestingly, Dowling reports that Lennon exclusively penned “No Reply,” while McCartney was solely responsible for “You Won’t See Me.” See Dowling, *Beatlesongs*, 82, 116.

26 Kenneth Womack, *Long and Winding Roads: The Evolving Artistry of the Beatles* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 118.

27 Michael Fraenkel, “Passing of Body” in *Death Is Not Enough: Essays in Active Negation* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1939), 24.

28 John Lennon, quoted in The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, 193.

29 Devin McKinney, *Magic Circles: The Beatles in Dream and History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 100; Theodor Adorno, “The Aging of the New Music,” in Richard Leppert (ed.), *Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 181.

30 Adorno, “Why Is the New Art so Hard to Understand?,” 130.

31 Riley, *Tell Me Why*, 163.

32 Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians*, 329.

33 Womack, *Long and Winding Roads*, 120.

34 Riley, *Tell Me Why*, 165. Riley aptly notes that “none of them mean the same thing below the surface.”

35 McKinney, *Magic Circles*, 115.

36 Womack, *Long and Winding Roads*, 124.

Womack reminds readers that the song was written for *Help!*, which no doubt helps explain its relative lack of sophistication.

37 Sheila Whiteley, “Love, Love, Love:

Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Selected Songs by the Beatles,” in Kenneth Womack and Todd F. Davis (eds.), *Reading the Beatles: Cultural Studies, Literary Criticism, and the Fab Four* (Albany: State University of New York Press), 65.

38 John Lennon, quoted in The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, 197. Lennon further adds that he disliked “Run for Your Life.”

39 Everett provides a possible rationale with his observation that “Run for Your Life” and “Drive My Car” function as “effective bookends [being] the only two straightforward hard-rocking blues-oriented numbers”: *The Beatles as Musicians*, 312.

40 Adorno, “On Popular Music,” 439. Adorno contrasts this with “serious” music, which relies on a “concrete totality” in which details are never “an enforcement of a musical scheme.” Adorno suggests that the pop listener focuses on differences in the details and avoids contemplation of the whole. In *Rubber Soul*, the Beatles had not yet abandoned the pop musical scheme as dramatically as they were to do in albums such as *Revolver* and *Abbey Road*.

### 5 Magical mystery tours, and other trips: yellow submarines, newspaper taxis, and the Beatles’ psychedelic years

1 Stanislav Grof, MD, *LSD Psychotherapy: Exploring the Frontiers of the Hidden Mind* (Alameda, CA: Hunter House, 1980), 25.

2 See Steve Turner, *The Gospel According to the Beatles* (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), for a full discussion of the evening.

3 Bob Spitz, *The Beatles: The Biography* (New York: Little, Brown, 2005), 564–6.

4 Dr. Max “Feelgood” Jacobson, a personal “Dr. Robert” for Timothy Leary, Andy Warhol, and others, also served as John F. Kennedy’s personal physician during his presidency, and often administered “vitamin” injections that left JFK flushed and excited (Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, *Acid Dreams: The Complete Social History of LSD: The CIA, the Sixties, and Beyond* [New York: Grove Press, 1985], 102).

5 Steve Turner, *A Hard Day’s Write: The Stories Behind Every Beatles Song* (New York:

- HarperCollins, 1999; London: Carlton, 2000), 111.
- 6 Timothy Leary, Ralph Metzner, and Richard Alpert, *The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on "The Tibetan Book of the Dead"* (New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1964), 14.
- 7 For our more detailed analysis of the psychedelic dimension of Sgt. Pepper's *Lonely Hearts Club Band*, see Russell Reising and Jim LeBlanc, "The Whatchamacallit in the Garden: Sgt. Pepper and Fables of Interference," in Olivier Julien (ed.), *Sgt. Pepper and the Beatles: It Was Forty Years Ago* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009). For two excellent cultural histories of psychedelia, from which we have both learned, see Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*.
- 8 Timothy Leary, *Flashbacks: An Autobiography – A Personal and Cultural History of an Era* (New York: Putnam, 1983), 261.
- 9 Timothy Leary, *High Priest* (Berkeley: Ronin, 1995), 4, 6, 7. Leary also changes "Albert Hall" to "Alpert Hall," a reference to his colleague, Richard Alpert (later Baba Ram Das), in the following: "Now he knows how many moles it takes to fill the Alpert Hall."
- 10 Cited in Jay Stevens, *Storming Heaven: LSD and the American Dream* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987), 57.
- 11 Albert Hofmann, *LSD: My Problem Child* (Los Angeles: Tarcher, 1983), 15.
- 12 Leigh Henderson, "About LSD," in *LSD: Still with Us after All These Years* (New York: Lexington Books, 1994), 45–6.
- 13 Jim DeRogatis, *Kaleidoscope Eyes: Psychedelic Rock from the '60s to the '90s* (Secaucus, NJ: Carol Publishing Group, 1996), 10.
- 14 Sheila Whiteley, *The Space between the Notes: Rock and the Counter-Culture* (London: Routledge, 1992), 4.
- 15 Geoff Emerick, with Howard Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere: My Life Recording the Music of the Beatles* (New York: Gotham, 2006), 167.
- 16 Russell Reising, "Introduction: 'Of the Beginning,'" in Russell Reising (ed.), "Every Sound There Is": *The Beatles' Revolver and the Transformation of Rock and Roll* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 7.
- 17 Tim Riley, *Tell Me Why: A Beatles Commentary* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 176.
- 18 Spitz, *The Beatles*, 596–7, 600.
- 19 Mark Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Chronicle* (London: Hamlyn, 2000), 216.
- 20 For more on Starr's work on "Tomorrow Never Knows," and on *Revolver* in general, see Steven Baur, "Ringo Round Revolver: Rhythm, Timbre, and Tempo in Rock Drumming," in Reising (ed.), "Every Sound There Is," 171–82.
- 21 Emerick, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 8–10.
- 22 Barry Miles, *Paul McCartney: Many Years from Now* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), 291–2.
- 23 See, for instance, Stuart Madow and Jeff Sobul, *The Colour of Your Dreams: The Beatles' Psychedelic Music* (Pittsburgh: Dorrance Publishing, 1992), 4; and Riley, *Tell Me Why*, 178.
- 24 Walter Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians: Revolver through the Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 44.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 49.
- 26 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Chronicle*, 220.
- 27 For more on the Beatles' frequent use of the subtonic (bVII) chord during this period, see Ger Tillikens, "A Flood of Flat-Sevenths," in Reising (ed.), "Every Sound There Is," 121–36.
- 28 Miles, *Paul McCartney*, 286–7.
- 29 Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians*, 66.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 31 The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, vol. 3 of the televised series, directed by Geoff Wonfor (Apple, 1996).
- 32 While scholars like Everett maintain that Sgt. Pepper, along with the single that preceded it in the winter of 1967, "capture the Beatles at their peak of creativity, and the introspective psychedelia in the words and sounds of these records would revolutionize popular music even more thoroughly than the Beatles did in 1964," others, like Tim Riley, feel that "Sgt. Pepper is the Beatles' most notorious record for the wrong reasons – a flawed masterpiece that can only echo the strength of *Revolver*" (Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians*, 87; Riley, *Tell Me Why*, 203). For a thorough summary of critical responses to *Revolver* since the 1960s, see Reising, "Introduction: 'Of the Beginning,'" 2–9.
- 33 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Chronicle*, 235.
- 34 The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, vol. 6, directed by Geoff Wonfor (Apple, 1996).
- 35 Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians*, 84.
- 36 Miles, *Paul McCartney*, 303–6, 349–50.
- 37 George Harrison, *I Me Mine* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2002), 106.
- 38 Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians*, 132; Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Chronicle*, 253.
- 39 Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians*, 138, 143.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 141.
- 41 David Sheff, "John Lennon and Yoko Ono: Candid Conversation," *Playboy*, January 1981, 112.
- 42 Grof, *LSD Psychotherapy*, 29.

- 43 R. D. Laing, *The Politics of Experience* (New York: Ballantine, 1967), 190.
- 44 Leary, *High Priest*, 234. Leary summarized the impact of his first LSD experience in representative terms: “It was the classic visionary voyage and I came back a changed man. You are never the same after you’ve had that one flash glimpse down the cellular time tunnel. You are never the same after you’ve had the veil drawn” (34).
- 45 Sidney Cohen, *The Beyond Within: The LSD Story* (New York: Atheneum, 1966), 177.
- 46 Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians*, 104.
- 47 Alan Bisbort and Parke Puterbaugh, *Rhino’s Psychedelic Trip* (San Francisco: Miller Freeman, 2000), 74.
- 48 Stevens, *Storming Heaven*, 57.
- 49 The first words spoken (by John Lennon) in the 1967 television movie *Magical Mystery Tour*. “Mystery tours” were popular, low-budget getaways in Britain during the period, involving day trips on buses to surprise locations.
- 50 Cam Cloud, *The Little Book of Acid* (Berkeley: Ronin, 1999), 11.
- 51 Cohen, *The Beyond Within*, 108.
- 52 Madow and Sobul, *The Colour of Your Dreams*, 62, 68.
- 53 Emerick, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 214–16.
- 54 See Marsha Alexander, *The Sexual Paradise of LSD* (North Hollywood: Brandon House, 1967); and Warren Young and Joseph Hixson, *LSD on Campus* (New York: Dell, 1966). See also R. N. Ellson, *Sex Happy Hippy* (San Diego: Corinth, 1968).
- 55 G. Gordon Liddy, *Will: The Autobiography of G. Gordon Liddy* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1996), 148.
- 56 Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 117. As the authors note, Liddy’s later “arsenal of dirty tricks included LSD and other hallucinogens to neutralize political enemies of the Nixon administration.”
- 57 Miles, *Paul McCartney*, 190. Lennon’s comment is cited in G. Barry Golson, *The Playboy Interviews with John Lennon and Yoko Ono: The Final Testament* (New York: Berkeley, 1981), 191.
- 58 Ian MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head: The Beatles’ Records and the Sixties* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994), 258.
- 59 Emphasis added.
- 60 Stevens, *Storming Heaven*, 206.
- 61 Malden Grange Bishop, *The Discovery of Love: A Psychedelic Experience with LSD-25* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1963), 134.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 139.

## 6 Revolution

- 1 These included John Lennon’s acting role in *How I Won the War* (Dick Lester, 1967), Paul McCartney’s music for *The Family Way* (Roy Boulting, 1966), George Harrison’s film score for *Wonderwall* (Joe Massot, 1968) and Ringo Starr’s acting role in *Candy* (Christian Marquand, 1968).
- 2 Christopher Booker, *The Neophiliacs: The Revolution in English Life in the Fifties and Sixties* (London: Collins, 1969), 311–13.
- 3 Mark Hertsgaard, *A Day in the Life: The Music and Artistry of the Beatles* (New York: Delacorte, 1995), 228.
- 4 Ian MacDonald, *Revolution In The Head: The Beatles’ Records and the Sixties* (London: Fourth Estate, 1994), 187–8.
- 5 T. J. O’Grady, *The Beatles: A Musical Evolution* (Boston: Twayne, 1983), 148.
- 6 David Sheff, *The Playboy Interviews with John Lennon and Yoko Ono*, ed. G. Barry Golson (New York: Playboy Press, 1981), 172.
- 7 Bob Neaverson, *The Beatles Movies* (London: Cassell, 1997), 92.
- 8 Bruno Edera, *Full Length Animated Feature Films* (London: Focal Press, 1977), 87.
- 9 Derek Taylor, sleeve notes, *The Beatles, Yellow Submarine* (Apple PMC 7070, 1969).
- 10 Barry Miles, *Paul McCartney: Many Years from Now* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1997), 449.
- 11 George Harrison, *I Me Mine* (London: W. H. Allen, 1982), 118.
- 12 Sheffn, *The Playboy Interviews*, 162–3.
- 13 Wilfrid Mellers, *Twilight of the Gods: The Beatles in Retrospect* (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 138.
- 14 Miles, *Paul McCartney*, 465.
- 15 Walter Everett, *The Beatles As Musicians: Revolver through the Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 195.
- 16 Sheff, *The Playboy Interviews*, 158.
- 17 See, for example, the comments of Apple director Denis O’Dell, in Denis O’Dell and Bob Neaverson, *At The Apple’s Core: The Beatles from the Inside* (London: Peter Owen, 2002), 101–2; and of *Rolling Stone* editor and founder Jann Wenner, in Nicholas Schaffner, *The Beatles Forever* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1977), 113.
- 18 The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology* (London: Cassell, 2000), 305.
- 19 See, for example, Lennon’s angry response to Epstein’s comments during the recording of “Till There Was You,” in Ray Coleman, *Brian Epstein* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), 175.
- 20 Mark Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Recording Sessions: The Official Story of the Abbey Road Years* (London: Hamlyn, 1988), 141.



- 21 Geoffrey Giuliano, *Two of Us: John Lennon and Paul McCartney Behind the Myth* (New York: Penguin, 1999), 128.
- 22 Jann Wenner, *Lennon Remembers: The Rolling Stone Interviews* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 51.
- 23 David Quantick, *Revolution: The Making of the Beatles' White Album* (London: Unanimous, 2002), 13.
- 24 O'Dell and Neaverson, *At the Apple's Core*, 133–4.
- 25 Hertsgaard, *A Day in the Life*, 254.
- 26 Chris Salewicz, *McCartney: The Biography* (London: Queen Anne Press, 1986), 202.
- 27 Malcolm Doney, *Lennon and McCartney* (New York: Hippocrene, 1981), 89.
- 28 Philip Norman, *Shout! The True Story of the Beatles* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981), 340.
- 29 Ed Whitley, "The Postmodern White Album," in Ian Inglis (ed.), *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society: A Thousand Voices* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000); Jan Wenner, *Lennon Remembers* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 105–25.
- 30 Allan Kozinn, *The Beatles* (London: Phaidon, 1995), 180.
- 31 O'Grady, *The Beatles*, 150.
- 32 Whitley, "The Postmodern White Album," 122–3.
- 33 Schaffner, *The Beatles Forever*, 111.
- 34 Quantick, *Revolution*, 141.
- 35 Mellers, *Twilight of the Gods*, 131–2.
- 36 Double albums released in the preceding two years included Bob Dylan, *Blonde on Blonde* (May 1966); Frank Zappa and the Mothers of Invention, *Freak Out* (July 1966); Donovan, *A Gift from a Flower to a Garden* (April 1968); and Cream, *Wheels of Fire* (June 1968).
- 37 Giuliano, *Two of Us*, 132.

#### 7 On their way home: the Beatles in 1969 and 1970

- 1 Walter Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians: Revolver through the Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 244–5.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 144.
- 3 The last session, that is, until the three surviving Beatles regrouped to finish John's demos "Free as a Bird" in 1994 and "Real Love" in 1995.
- 4 This version contradicts the common assumption voiced by Mark Lewisohn (*Day by Day: A Chronology 1962–1989* [New York: Harmony, 1990], 114), Ian MacDonald (*Revolution in the Head: The Beatles' Records and the Sixties* [London: Fourth Estate, 1994], 264), and Steve Matteo (33 1/3: *Let It Be* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 48) that George left because of chronic mistreatment at Paul's hands.

- Granted, Paul had been riding George hard, but the rehearsal tapes reveal that "George had finally had enough of John's unwillingness (or inability) to engage in rational communication. His resentment was heightened by Yoko's habitual and presumptuous tendency to speak in John's place which, if accepted, would give her a voice in the future of the group equal to or overshadowing his own" (Doug Sulpy and Ray Schweighardt, *Get Back: The Unauthorized Chronicle of the Beatles' "Let It Be" Disaster* [New York: St. Martin's, 1997], 169).
- 5 Sulpy and Schweighardt, *Get Back*, 177.
- 6 Philip Norman, *Shout! The Beatles in Their Generation* (New York: MJF, 1981), 383.
- 7 Paul recalls: "It was like when he told Cynthia he was getting a divorce. He was quite buoyed up by it" (The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology*, 347).
- 8 Nicholas Schaffner gives the date as April 9 (*The Beatles Forever* [Harrisburg, PA: Cameron House, 1977], 131), adding that the insert was placed inside "British copies of the album, but deleted by Klein . . . from the American ones" (135). According to McCartney, however, only the press received the insert-added albums: Barry Miles, *Paul McCartney: Many Years From Now* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), 574; see also Barry Miles, *The Beatles: A Diary – An Intimate Day by Day History* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2004), 316; and Mark Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Chronicle* (New York: Harmony, 1992, 2000), 341.
- 9 The two key studies are, respectively, William K. Wimsatt, Jr., and Monroe C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy," in Vincent B. Leitch (ed.), *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* (New York: Norton, 2001), 1374–87; and Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in Roland Barthes, *Image–Music–Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Noonday Press, 1977), 142–8. "The evaluation of the work of art remains public; the work is measured against something outside the author," write the former (1381). "A text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash," writes Barthes (146).
- 10 The concept of "timeless" art, although making a post-2000 comeback, is a tenet of modern and romantic notions of art – in short, of humanism. In this vein, Kenneth Womack argues that "the Beatles espouse a sense of hope and the promise of humanity and sameness in the face of an increasingly inexplicable present" (298); they urge "us to embrace the restorative powers of love, friendship, and a universalizing belief in a redeemable past" (*Long and Winding*

*Roads: The Evolving Artistry of the Beatles* [New York: Continuum, 2007], 306).

11 This is not to say that postmodern approaches have no place in the analysis of Beatles music in 1969 and 1970; however, it is to say that reliable readings begin with knowledge of the history of these so-called swan-songs. On the topic of closure alone, *Let It Be* and *Abbey Road* confound the conventional idea of ending, thus bringing into question postmodernism's much-debated concept of origins in works of art.

12 As late as his last interviews in 1980, Lennon denied any paranoia. He insisted that Paul sabotaged his (John's) songs by cultivating "this atmosphere of looseness and casualness and experimentation . . . I begin to think, well maybe I'm paranoid. But it's not paranoid; it's absolute truth" (David Sheff, *The Playboy Interviews with John Lennon and Yoko Ono*, ed. G. Barry Golson [New York: Playboy Press, 1981], 162). Ian MacDonald accuses Lennon of being the real saboteur: "McCartney left no technical blemish on any Beatles tracks, whoever wrote them. By comparison, Lennon's crude bass playing on "The Long and Winding Road" . . . amounts to sabotage when presented as finished work" (*Revolution in the Head*, 272). In 1969, John, not Paul, was the one usually unfocused, out of tune, tuned out, or late to sessions.

13 John Lennon, quoted in Bob Spitz, *The Beatles: The Biography* (New York: Little, Brown, 2005), 803.

14 This division of labor occurred in February, all Beatles consenting to it.

15 Various recorded in the main sources, John's outburst was, "I'm sick of being fucked about by men in suits sitting on their fat arses in the city."

16 Mark Lewisohn, *The Beatles Recording Sessions* (New York: Harmony, 1988), 172–6.

17 Miles, *Paul McCartney*, 548.

18 In their study of the Apple saga, Peter McCabe and Robert Schonfeld accuse Paul of hypocrisy: "For somebody who claims to have been so repulsed by Allen Klein, Paul McCartney was nevertheless quite prepared to reap a lot of benefits of Klein's hard work . . . When things went well and Klein secured good deals, Paul promptly placed his signature on the dotted line. When he felt things were not going his way, or were not to his liking, he ran to the open arms of the Eastmans, who were only too delighted to have the opportunity to denounce Allen Klein as a terrible person" (Peter McCabe and Robert D. Schonfeld, *Apple to the Core: The Unmaking of the Beatles* [New York: Pocket Books, 1972], 175–6).

19 Paul had a right to be angry. John had already released three non-Beatle albums (*Unfinished Music, No. 2: Life with the Lions*, *Wedding Album*, *Plastic Ono Band Live Peace in Toronto*) and two singles ("Give Peace a Chance," "Cold Turkey") – all 1969 – and one single ("Instant Karma") in 1970; George had released one solo album (*Electronic Sound*) in 1969, and Ringo had released one solo album in 1970 (*Sentimental Journey*).

20 Psychedelic/baroque pop trailed the Beatles like bad karma into 1969 in the form of the *Yellow Submarine* soundtrack (UK release January 17, 1969), which included indulgences like "Only a Northern Song" and "It's All Too Much."

21 Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Chronicle*, 306, 309.

22 Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*, 118.

23 Tim Riley, *Tell Me Why: A Beatles Commentary* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 292.

24 Matteo, 33 1/3, 49–55.

25 *Ibid.*, 127.

26 These official versions were "recorded at Savile Row on 28 January and remixed on 7 April" (Lewisohn, *The Beatles Recording Sessions*, 172).

27 Sex and religion were sufficiently taboo subjects in 1969 that an audacious use of them – "Christ, you know it ain't easy . . . They're going to crucify me"; "We're only trying to get us some piece/peace" – got John's "ballad" banned on the BBC and many American radio stations.

28 George Martin, quoted in *The Beatles, The Beatles Anthology*, 337.

29 Perhaps a bit melodramatically, Bob Spitz describes Lennon on two typical days in the first half of 1969: "With his painfully thin frame, gaunt face, stringy unkempt hair, and bloodshot eyes, John looked demonic, like a zombie had claimed his tormented soul" (*The Beatles*, 813); he "jabbered incessantly in a thickening Liverpool brogue, but incoherently, like a lunatic, and his appearance reflected it; he looked gaunt, sickly, from the heroin he ingested, his hair long, unkempt, and stringy" (834).

30 MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 292.

31 Spitz, *The Beatles*, 338.

32 *Abbey Road*, Ringo told Max Weinberg, "was tom-tom madness. I had gotten this new kit made of wood, and calfskins, and the toms had so much depth. I went nuts on the toms" (*ibid.*, 185).

33 Paul's contribution (piano and bass) to the tune's "swampiness" is discussed in Miles, *Paul McCartney*, 553.

34 Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave, *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock 'n' Roll* (New York: Da Capo, 1993), 47.

35 Geoff Emerick remembers that John “flatly refused to participate at all in the making of ‘Maxwell’s Silver Hammer,’ which he derisively dismissed” (Geoff Emerick and Howard Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere: My Life Recording the Music of the Beatles* [New York: Gotham, 2006], 280–1). “Rococo craftsmanship on a Gothic but hollow shell,” Walter Everett calls the tune, a judgment shared by the other three Beatles “marking their exits” (*The Beatles as Musicians: Revolver Through the Anthology*, 253, 251).

36 More conflicting reports: While MacDonald says the tune “appealed strongly to all four of them” (*Revolution in the Head*, 275), Emerick, who was there, says Paul “was very unhappy, not only with the song itself, but with the idea that the music . . . was being obliterated with noise . . . [He] seemed to be beaten down to argue the point with a gleeful Lennon, who seemed to be taking an almost perverse pleasure at his bandmate’s obvious discomfort” (*Here, There, and Everywhere*, 300).

37 Sheff, *The Playboy Interviews*, 171.

38 Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians: Revolver Through the Anthology*, 259.

39 Emerick, *Here, There, and Everywhere*, 293–4.

40 *Ibid.*, 289.

41 *Ibid.*, 295.

42 Paul recast “Cold Turkey” to brilliant effect as “Let Me Roll It” on 1973’s *Band on the Run*.

43 Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*, 120.

44 John Lennon, quoted in Peter Doggett, *Let It Be / Abbey Road* (New York: Schirmer, 1998), 123.

45 By Everett’s reckoning, Sulpy and Schweighardt (*Get Back*, 276) time the track at 8:23.

46 Where millions hear majesty in “Let It Be,” Ian MacDonald hears “complacent uplift rather than revelation” (*Revolution in the Head*, 270).

47 Dickinson wrote (c. 1862): “Renunciation – is a piercing Virtue – / The letting go / A Presence – for an Expectation” (Poem 745, in Thomas H. Johnson (ed.), *Final Harvest: Emily Dickinson’s Poems* [Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1961]).

48 *Let It Be . . . Naked*’s bonus disc of studio chatter is a paltry twenty-two minutes culled from thousands.

## 9 The solo years

1 See Richard Dyer’s landmark study of the Hollywood movie star apparatus, *Stars* (1980;

London: British Film Institute, 1998), which offers detailed commentary on critical and theoretical approaches to the study of star images. A star’s image is an evolving composite of traits emanating from a wide range of media texts including promotion (that is, materials created specifically to advance the star) and publicity (or what the media learn about a star – though this is sometimes “planted” by the star in service of their publicity), as well as work product (here, the music, films, books, etc., of the former Beatles), and commentary about a star’s work and life (63). See also Christine Gledhill’s introduction to her edited volume, *Stardom: Industry of Desire* (London: Routledge, 1991), in which she defines the star as “an intertextual construct produced across a range of media and cultural practices” (xiv–xv).

2 For a detailed account of the Beatles’ evolving image and its context in the 1960s, see Michael Frontani, *The Beatles: Image and the Media* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007).

3 The Record Industry Association of America (RIAA) began certifying gold albums (500,000 units sold) in 1958, and platinum albums (1 million units sold) in 1976. From 1958 to 1988, the RIAA required sales of 1 million units to certify a single as gold, and 2 million for platinum certification. In 1989, these requirements for singles were lowered to 500,000 and 1 million units sold for gold and platinum certification, respectively.

4 See Renata Adler, “Screen: ‘Candy,’ Compromises Galore,” review of *Candy* (Cinerama Releasing Corporation movie), *New York Times*, December 18, 1968, 54: “The movie . . . manages to compromise . . . almost anyone who had anything to do with it.” *Candy* was followed by a better-received starring role in director Joseph McGrath’s *The Magic Christian* (1969), co-starring Peter Sellers. The *New York Times*’s Roger Greenspun called Starr’s performance “fine,” in a film that was “funny,” and full of “lovely victories” (“Screen: Satirical ‘Magic Christian,’” *New York Times*, February 12, 1970, 29).

5 See William C. Woods, “Ringo Goes it Solo, Pleasantly Enough,” review of the sound recording *Sentimental Journey* (Apple LP), *Washington Post*, May 17, 1970, 142: “pleasant enough . . . [but] nothing is revealed in this collection . . . except that Ringo can’t sing, which we knew already, and that he doesn’t know it, which we didn’t know.” Lennon felt “embarrassed” about the album (see Jann Wenner, *Lennon Remembers: The Rolling Stone Interviews* (London: Verso, 1971).

6 See Don Heckman, “Recordings: Making a Star of Starr,” review of the sound recording *Beaucoups of Blues* (Apple LP), *New York Times*, November 22, 1970, 133: “What is remarkable is . . . that he does it so well.”

7 In addition to a documentary he made about British glam rocker T Rex, *Born to Boogie* (1972), Starr appeared in a number of films of variable quality, including Frank Zappa’s surrealist depiction of life on the road with the Mothers of Invention, *200 Motels* (1971), Ferdinando Baldi’s spaghetti western *Blindman* (1971), the critical and commercial failure *Son of Dracula* (directed by Freddie Francis, 1974), and Ken Russell’s *Lisztomania* (1975).

Noteworthy more for their directorial excess than the contributions of their actors, these films did little to further Starr’s acting career.

8 The *New York Times*’s Loraine Alterman called Ringo an “instant knockout” and “sensational album” (“Ringo Dishes Up,” *New York Times*, November 25, 1973, 188).

9 Most notable were those surrounding promoter Bill Sargent’s 1976 offer of \$50 million for one performance, and those circulating at the time of the Concerts for Kampuchea in 1979, though reunion rumors were a permanent fixture of the 1970s, often fanned by the four principals.

10 See Ben Gerson, “Records: Ringo,” review of the sound recording *Ringo* (Apple LP), by Ringo Starr, *Rolling Stone*, December 20, 1973, 73.

Gerson expanded on his point: “It is not polemical and abrasive like Lennon’s, harsh and self-pitying like Harrison’s, or precious and flimsy like McCartney’s, but balanced, airy and amiable.”

11 *Rolling Stone*’s reviewer called it a “pleasant collection . . . in the winning tradition of Ringo’s breakthrough album, *Ringo*” (Tom Nolan, “Good Night Vienna,” April 24, 1975, 62).

12 See Larry Rohter, “No Reason to Cry,” *Washington Post*, November 3, 1976, D14: “Rotogravure is a routine album.” Even a positive review in *Melody Maker*, which called it “such a nice jolly record,” could not help the album on to the British charts. See “Jolly Nice, Ringo,” October 23, 1976, 27.

13 See Chris Welch, “Albums: Ringo Starr: *Ringo the 4th*,” *Melody Maker*, February 11, 1978, 20: “There comes a point where a man singing flat and stripped of all legend and nostalgia becomes just a man singing flat.” See also, Stephen Holden’s review (“Ringo the 4th,” *Rolling Stone*, November 17, 1977, 94), in which he judges the album to be “little more than the seedy extravagance of an exiled aristocrat whose legend resounds ever more faintly.”

14 See Tom Carson, “Bad Boy,” *Rolling Stone*, July 12, 1978, 52. Indicating a growing disaffection with the ex-Beatles, Carson continues, “but a record like Wings’ London Town is trash with pretensions, which is worse.”

15 See Richard Williams, “Solo Beatles,” review of the sound recording *All Things Must Pass* (Apple LP), by George Harrison, *The Times Saturday Review*, January 23, 1971, 17.

16 Among musicians playing on *All Things Must Pass* were Ringo Starr, Alan White (drums), Klaus Voormann (bass), Gary Brooker, Gary Wright, and Billy Preston (keyboards), Pete Drake (pedal steel guitar), members of Badfinger (acoustic guitars) and, late of Delaney and Bonnie and Friends, and now evolving into Derek and the Dominoes, Eric Clapton (guitar), Carl Radle (bass), Jim Gordon (drums), and Bobbie Whitlock (organ and piano), as well as Dave Mason (guitar), and Jim Price and Bobby Keys (trumpet and saxophone, respectively).

17 According to Simon Leng, in his detailed 2006 study of Harrison’s solo work, *While My Guitar Gently Weeps* (New York: Hal Leonard, 2006), even Harrison considered some of the album “overcooked” (85). In the booklet accompanying his 2001 remaster of the album, Harrison acknowledged Spector’s help in getting the record made, and, in a flash of his understated sense of humor, noted: “In his company I came to realize the true value of the Hare Krishna Mantra.”

18 See Jon Landau, “Singles: ‘My Sweet Lord’/‘Isn’t It A Pity,’” *Rolling Stone*, December 24, 1970, 56. “My Sweet Lord” was number one in the US singles chart, and, backed with “What Is Life,” number one in the UK.

19 See Tom Zito’s “Within Him, Without Them: The Consciousness of George Harrison” (*Washington Post*, January 3, 1971, F1–F2). Zito judged that the album “would add much speculation to the still unanswered question” – “Who was really the genius behind the Beatles?” *Time* magazine found the album an “expressive, classily executed personal statement . . . one of the outstanding rock albums in years” (William Bender, “Let George Do It,” November 30, 1970, 57). The *New York Times*’s Don Heckman wrote: “If anyone had any doubts that George Harrison was a major talent, they can relax . . . This is a release that shouldn’t be missed” (“Pop: Two and a Half Beatles,” December 20, 1970, 104).

20 See, for example, “Fellow Traveling with Jesus” (*Time*, September 6, 1971, 54–5), which described the Way and the Process, two movements enjoying some popularity among the young. The “Jesus Craze” was the focus of a *Life* feature, also from 1971 (December 31, 1971,

38–9). Additionally, *Look* published a lengthy feature on the growth in popularity of revivals among American youth (Brian Vachon, “The Jesus Movement is Upon Us,” February 9, 1971, 5–21).

21 Interestingly, late in 1969, there were press rumors that Lennon would play Christ in the Tim Rice / Andrew Lloyd Webber musical *Jesus Christ Superstar*, to be performed at St. Paul’s Cathedral. Apparently he was interested, but it was decided that “a relative unknown should have the starring role,” for “someone like Lennon would imprint his own personality to such an extent that people would read the star’s character into the character of the part” (See “John and Yoko’s Christmas Gifts,” *Rolling Stone*, January 21, 1970, 6).

22 See Ben Gerson, “Records: All Things Must Pass” (*Rolling Stone*, January 7, 1971, 46). The *New Yorker’s* Ellen Willis was impressed by the album’s “beautiful sound” and an Indian influence that had been “integrated quietly” (“Rock, Etc.: George and John,” review of *All Things Must Pass* [Apple LP], by George Harrison, and *John Lennon/Plastic Ono Band* [Apple LP], by John Lennon, *New Yorker*, February 27, 1971, 95–7).

23 The single, the concert, and the resulting *Concert for Bangladesh* album and film, were forerunners of Bob Geldof and Midge Ure’s efforts for Ethiopian hunger relief, including the Band Aid project and the single “Do They Know It’s Christmas” (1984), and the Live Aid concert (1985) and resulting film and recordings, as well as Michael Jackson and Lionel Richie’s charity single for East African famine relief, “We Are the World” (1985), Farm Aid (held annually since 1985), Live 8 (2005), and the Live Earth (2007) concerts, films, and recordings. McCartney also followed Harrison’s lead, organizing, with UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, the Concerts for the People of Kampuchea, to benefit the victims of Pol Pot’s regime in Cambodia, in December 1979.

24 See Stephen Holden, “Records: Living in the Material World,” *Rolling Stone*, July 19, 1973, 54: “A seductive record . . . the album stands alone as an article of faith, miraculous in its radiance.” Less impressed, the *New York Times’s* Ian Dove called it an “informally produced . . . mélange . . . Introspection . . . abounds here, but it sounds like notes in passing” (“Records: Harrison’s Turn,” June 6, 1973, 37). See also David Sterritt, “Latest from ex-Beatles McCartney, Harrison,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 29, 1973, 12: “The music never jells solidly enough to support the lyrics’ mystical didacticism.” *Melody Maker* judged:

“there isn’t a bad cut, but at the same time there aren’t as many obvious stand-outs as there were on [*All Things Must Pass*]” (Michael Watts, “Living in the Material World,” June 9, 1973, 3).

25 See Jim Miller, “Dark Horse: Transcendental Mediocrity,” *Rolling Stone*, February 13, 1975, 76. Miller painted a bleak picture: “Stripped of the Beatles’ company . . . Harrison’s weaknesses as a musician have gradually surfaced.”

Specifically, “his voice has always been dogged by a limited range and poor intonation, just as his guitar playing, adequate for fills within precise arrangements, has always been rudimentary and even graceless in an affecting sort of way . . . How long will his fans continue to tolerate such mediocrity? . . . George Harrison has never been a great artist, as he himself must know . . . the question becomes whether he will ever again be a competent entertainer.”

26 See “Dark Horse,” *High Fidelity*, April 1975, 101.

27 The ever-welcoming *Melody Maker*, though approaching the album “with some trepidation, fearing a lot of whining sitar, thudding tablas and groaning out-of-tune voices,” happily found that “the Sacred Cowboy has produced a good one” (“Harrison: Eastern Promise,” December 21, 1974, 36).

28 See John Rockwell, “Music: George Harrison,” *New York Times*, December 21, 1974, 19. See also Larry Rohter, “For Harrison, Some Things Must Pass,” *Washington Post*, December 14, 1974, C1, which notes the Washington DC audience’s bewilderment at Harrison’s musical arrangements and the paucity of Beatles tunes. The *New Yorker* was similarly unimpressed (“At the Garden,” January 13, 1975, 30).

29 See Dave Marsh, “Extra Texture,” review of *Extra Texture (Read All About It)*, by George Harrison, *Rolling Stone*, November 20, 1975, 75.

30 For positive comment, see Richard Meltzer, “George Harrison Surrenders the Goodies,” *Village Voice*, December 20, 1976, 89; see also “Harrison regains his Rubber Soul,” *Melody Maker*, November 27, 1976, 23. The *New York Times’s* influential critic John Rockwell, however, found that the album, exhibiting “a certain plodding monotony,” “just isn’t very interesting” (“Pop Life,” *New York Times*, December 24, 1976, 44). *High Fidelity* painted much of the album as “semi-listenable dreck – some of it pallid, some of it self-righteous and stupid” (“George Harrison: Thirty-Three & 1/3,” March 1977, 140).

31 The *New York Times’s* John Rockwell found the Beatle era music “delightful,” while finding that the solo material retained a “flowing appeal” (“Pop Life,” *New York Times*, December

24, 1976, 44). The *Washington Post's* Larry Rohter called the album “an absolute delight” (“Dear Santa: All I Want for Christmas Is No. 11578,” *Washington Post*, December 19, 1976, 147).

32 Though not ending until 1977, the marriage had been rife with turmoil for years. Boyd, who had long been the object of Eric Clapton’s desire (voiced in his recording “Layla”), married the guitarist in 1979 (divorced 1988).

33 Films include *Time Bandits* (1981), Neil Jordan’s *Mona Lisa* (1986), the disastrous *Shanghai Surprise* (1986, starring newlyweds Madonna and Sean Penn), and director Bruce Robinson’s critically acclaimed *Withnail and I* (1987) and *How to Get Ahead in Advertising* (1989).

34 See Robert S. Spitz, “George Harrison on the Move,” *Washington Post*, March 4, 1979, A1. Later the writer of the respected and mammoth *The Beatles: A Biography* (2005), Spitz praised the album’s “sense of structure,” which had been absent from the previous four “dreadful mistakes.” Here, Harrison “once again proves a first-rate composer.” The *Christian Science Monitor* reviewer found the album “not so cloying,” but judged that it “suffer[ed] from a blissfully droning and boring sameness” (Sara Terry, *George Harrison*, *Christian Science Monitor*, March 22, 1979, 22). *Rolling Stone's* Stephen Holden noted that co-producer Russ Titleman and Harrison had presented arrangements that were “the most concise and springy to be found on any Harrison record” (“George Harrison,” *Rolling Stone*, April 19, 1979, 90). *High Fidelity* opined that the album seemed to demonstrate that Harrison was “ageing more gracefully than expected” (“George Harrison,” May 1979, 125).

35 See Nicholas Schaffner, *The Beatles Forever* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), 135; John Blaney, *Lennon and McCartney: Together Alone* (London: Jawbone Press, 2007), 31–2.

36 See Langdon Winner, “Records: McCartney” (*Rolling Stone*, May 14, 1970, 50). Regarding Wenner’s alteration of Winner’s review, see Robert Draper, *Rolling Stone Magazine: The Uncensored History* (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 99. The mainstream press was less bothered by the album’s promotion. The *Christian Science Monitor's* David Sterritt applauded McCartney’s effort: “Here one realizes again what a crucial factor to the Beatles’ success was his talent as both songwriter and singer . . . It’s [McCartney’s] simple and slight, and it’s all deliberately delightful,” and judged: “With Paul, unquestionably, lies the future path for Beatle fans” (“Discs: Hello, Paul – Bye-bye

Beatles,” June 29, 1970, 8). Similarly, *Time's* review, though judging it inferior to his Beatles classics, called the album a “tour de force” that “in mood and style . . . marks the same kind of return to simple pleasures . . . that characterizes Bob Dylan’s recent work . . . Overall, the new album is good McCartney – clever, varied, full of humor” (“Music: Hello, Goodbye, Hello,” April 20, 1970, 57). *Newsweek's* Hubert Saal opined: “What’s extra special about the record is the incredible richness of melody, the tastefulness and wit of the lyrics and the expressive range of McCartney’s voice,” and, of the album’s fourteen songs, “There’s not a loser in the bunch” (“The Beatles Minus One,” April 20, 1970, 95).

37 Lennon took the photo to be a dig at his and Ono’s “bagism” of the 1969 peace campaign, during which he and Ono appeared at press conferences and other public events completely covered by a bag, hence, they maintained, freeing their message of peace of the stereotypes and bigotry that would otherwise attend their appearances.

38 See Jon Landau, “Ram,” *Rolling Stone*, July 8, 1971, 42. *Melody Maker* called the album, which failed to “match up” to Harrison’s and Lennon’s albums (*All Things Must Pass* and *Plastic Ono Band*, respectively), a “good album, by anybody’s standards,” but, “you expect too much from a man like Paul McCartney. It must be hell living up to a name” (Chris Charlesworth, “Mutton dressed as Ram?,” *Melody Maker*, May 27, 1971, 11). The *Christian Science Monitor's* David Sterritt criticized McCartney’s use of “second-hand Beatisms . . . But this is an eclectic package . . . All in all, it looks like another Beatle has done it again” (“On the Disc Scene: ‘Ram,’” *Christian Science Monitor*, July 7, 1971, 4).

39 Robert Palmer, reviewing *Tug of War* (1981), grasped an essential fact about McCartney’s compositions: “One can’t lambaste Mr. McCartney too strenuously for writing sentimental, home-and-hearth lyrics; that’s the kind of person he is. And one of the big changes the Beatles made . . . was their insistence that artists write their own kind of songs, about their own realities” (“Paul McCartney’s Latest is Exquisite but Flawed,” *New York Times*, April 25, 1982, Section 2, pp. 1, 19).

40 See John Mendelsohn, “Wild Life,” review of *Wild Life* (Apple LP), by Wings, *Rolling Stone*, January 20, 1972, 48; and David Sterritt, “Discs: Hello, Paul – Bye-bye Beatles,” review of *McCartney* (Apple LP), by Paul McCartney, *Christian Science Monitor*, June 29, 1970, 8.

41 See, for example, Craig McGregor's "Rock's 'We Are One' Myth" (*New York Times*, May 9, 1971, D15). In the aftermath of Altamont, which blighted the countercultural ideal of community under an alcohol and drug-fueled explosion of thuggery and violence, McGregor questioned the most idyllic and cherished claim of the counterculture, "We are all one."

42 British troops fired on civil rights protesters in Derry, Northern Ireland, killing fourteen, including six minors.

43 McCartney's interaction with the law included a 1980 arrest for cannabis possession while entering Japan for a Wings tour.

44 Sir Lew Grade convinced McCartney to make the special, produced by the same team responsible for Elvis Presley's "comeback special" on NBC, in 1968. Grade, who controlled half the publishing royalties for McCartney's songs, questioned the co-writing credits that Linda McCartney was getting on a number of songs on *Ram*. He agreed to stop pressing the issue if McCartney would do the special.

45 Among the "routines" were McCartney giving an acoustic performance of a medley including "Blackbird," "Bluebird," "Michelle," and "Heart of the Country," while his wife snapped photographs; Wings performing "Mary Had a Little Lamb" in a pastoral setting; and a Busby Berkeley-inspired dance number featuring McCartney singing "Gotta Sing, Gotta Dance" and hoofing it with dancers attired in half woman / half man regalia. See John J. O'Connor's "TV: McCartney and His Group on ABC Tonight" (*New York Times*, April 16, 1973, 75), in which he judged that the performances by McCartney and Wings made the special "definitely worth watching." Yet the *Washington Post's* Tom Zito, ("Hamming and Homage," April 17, 1973, B6) bemoaned the emphasis placed on Linda McCartney, leading him to "speculate what heights McCartney, and also John Lennon, might be able to reach were they not respectively Paul and Linda and John and Yoko . . . Mrs. McCartney's previous careers . . . certainly don't qualify her to perform in public." *The Times's* reviewer Alan Coren jibed that it "was not the sort of programme you make a come-back with. It was the sort of programme you make a come-back after" ("James Paul McCartney," May 11, 1973, 11).

46 See Lenny Kaye, "Red Rose Speedway," *Rolling Stone*, July 5, 1973, 68.

47 The *Christian Science Monitor* noted a "sometimes facile, sometimes vulgar hipness . . . but nothing quite disturbs the quiet listenability of Paul's cheery work" (Sterritt, "Latest From ex-Beatles McCartney, Harrison,"

12). The *New York Times's* Ian Dove noted that McCartney, "the romantic, the seeker after melody," had fared less well with the critics than Lennon's introspection and Harrison's blossoming talent – approaches "more fashionable to trendy critical ears" – but judged the new LP McCartney's best to date ("Records by McCartney," May 2, 1973, 37).

48 See Loraine Alterman, "Pop: Paul's Grooves Will Grab You," *New York Times*, December 2, 1973, 208. See also Jon Landau, "Band on the Run" (Apple LP), *Rolling Stone*, January 31, 1974, 48, 50. The *Washington Post's* Tom Zito called it "largely enjoyable, insubstantial fluff ensconced in some of the best rock melodies currently being written" ("The Beatles: Looking Back," P8). *High Fidelity* called *Band on the Run* McCartney's "best since *Ram*," and noted: "Not everyone need be a poet. . . and the music's lack of lyrical import diminishes the product not at all" ("Paul McCartney: Band on the Run," April 1974, 124).

49 The *Washington Post's* Tom Zito called *Venus and Mars* the "first true post-Beatles Beatles album," mixing "clever, provocative lyrics, hummable melodies, unusual tonalities, classical timbres and a refined audio approach . . . in brief, just the sort of things we'd expect of a new Beatles record" ("Hey, Venus, Could That Be a New Beatles Album?," July 6, 1975: 71). *Melody Maker* concluded that "this new collection of songs will eventually sink into the collective rock consciousness and become widely appreciated as another triumph for Wings and their song writing bass player" ("Wings: Shooting Stars!," May 31, 1975, 22).

50 *Rolling Stone's* Stephen Holden found *At the Speed of Sound* to lack the "effervescence" of its predecessor, but nevertheless applauded McCartney's ability to "play the studio like an instrument," so evident on this "spectacularly well arranged and recorded" effort. More proof that McCartney had gained some level of acceptance with the once hostile *Rolling Stone* critics, the review of "Silly Love Songs" found it an "acceptably didactic" and "clever retort" to his critics. Nevertheless, Holden registered concern over McCartney's studio dexterity hampering his songwriting, for "the best McCartney songs will most certainly outlast all the studios in which they were recorded" ("On the Wings of Silly Love Songs," May 20, 1976, 67, 69).

51 See Mark Kernis, "McCartney and Wings Just Won't Fly," *Washington Post*, April 16, 1978, A1. Kernis griped about "music so light that it may disappear altogether." *Rolling Stone's* Janet Maslin found the album "so lighthearted" that

the “feeling of familial strength and affection is virtually the only thing that binds it to earth” (June 15, 1978, 89, 91–2). *High Fidelity*, however, applauded the album as a distinct improvement over the “melodic milk” of *At the Speed of Sound*, and welcomed the deeper complexity of the lyrics which indicated a “more complete artist” (Toby Goldstein, “London Town: So What’s Wrong with Silly Love Songs?,” July 1978, 120).

52 *Rolling Stone* quipped that “McCartney’s gross indulgence is matched only by his shameless indolence, and *Back to the Egg* represents the public disintegration of a consistently disappointing talent” (Timothy White, “Back to the Egg,” August 23, 1979, 56). The *Washington Post* was somewhat more charitable, finding that, from “a purely pop standpoint,” the album was “difficult to fault,” but that McCartney was sounding “more like a McCartney imitator” (Harry Sumrall, “Paul McCartney’s Scrambled ‘Egg,’” July 22, 1979, A1). The *New York Times*’s John Rockwell found the album “curiously indifferent and casual” (“The Pop Life,” June 29, 1979, C24).

53 See Stephen Holden, “McCartney II,” *Rolling Stone*, July 24, 1980, 54. See also Rockwell, “The Pop Life,” C14. The *Washington Post*’s Richard Harrington (“McCartney and Sinatra: The Past Is Still Best,” June 15, 1980, A1) found the album a “miserable mistake.”

54 See Jann Wenner, “Man of the Year: John Lennon,” *Rolling Stone*, February 7, 1970, 24–5.

55 See Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*, 41.

56 *Ibid.*, 75.

57 The proceeds financed a black-culture center in London.

58 The Plastic Ono Band was Lennon and Ono’s ever-changing band – in effect, whoever they were playing with at the time. Among those playing in the band were Eric Clapton, Yes drummer Alan White, bassist Klaus Voormann, Harrison, and Starr. In September 1969, Lennon, Ono, Clapton, Voorman, and White played the Toronto Rock and Roll Revival. Their performance was released as *Live Peace in Toronto, 1969*, in December of that year, and rose to number ten in the US album charts.

59 Lennon described the role of the artist in the 1971 *Rolling Stone* interview: “If I could be a fuckin’ fisherman, I would! . . . It’s no fun being an artist . . . I resent performing for fuckin’ idiots who won’t know – who don’t know – anything. ‘Cause they can’t feel – I’m the one that’s feeling, ‘cause I’m the one expressing what they are trying to. They live vicariously through me and other artists . . . But the pain . . .

ignorance is bliss or something” (Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*, 106).

60 The *Christian Science Monitor*’s David Sterritt commented on the “excruciatingly powerful” solo effort: “The overall tone of the record is so open and self-revelatory that it seems as impolite for the listener to quarrel with them as it is for Lennon to inflict them on his audience” (“Plastic Ono Band,” 4). The *New York Times*’s Don Heckman, however, was less impressed, calling the album a “group of empty selections,” and continuing: “Curiously, the album resembles Paul McCartney’s recent solo outing [i.e. *McCartney*] in its dogged emphasis upon musical self-centeredness. Clearly, these are two artists who lost something important when their intimate working partnership deteriorated” (“Pop: Two and a Half Beatles,” 104). The *Times Saturday Review*’s Richard Williams called the album “almost unbearably stark. It is not an album I can put on for pleasure” (“Solo Beatles,” January 23, 1971, 17). The *New Yorker*’s Ellen Willis, in her generally positive review of the album, called the music “artfully simple,” with lyrics that are “mostly spare, sometimes biting, sometimes self-indulgent” (“George and John,” February 27, 1971, 97).

61 New Left radical and one-time president of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Todd Gitlin, in reacting to Lennon’s first two solo albums and the publication of *Lennon Remembers*, applauded Lennon for shedding the myths of the Beatles and the counterculture, and for providing a path for a badly fragmented and rudderless movement: “Lennon revives the idea of leader as exemplar.” He expressed a desire that Lennon’s authenticity and “public struggle to be free” might spark a new “commonality” that could resuscitate political and social activism (“John Lennon Speaking . . .,” *Commonweal*, September 22, 1972, 500–3).

62 Among causes picked up by Lennon and Ono was the plight of members of a Scottish shipbuilders union threatened with losing their jobs due to the withdrawal of subsidies from the British government. They also protested against the presence of British troops in Northern Ireland, backed efforts to have the case of convicted A6 murderer James Hanratty reexamined (Hanratty was the last man executed in Great Britain, in 1965), and supported the editors of *Oz*, an underground paper that was on trial for obscenity.

63 See Tom Zito, “Peace, Love, Art, and Yoko,” *Washington Post*, October 9, 1971, C1.

64 *Melody Maker*’s Roy Hollingsworth gushed: “It’s the best album of the year and for me it’s



the best album he's done, with anything or with anyone at any time" ("Pop Albums: Imagine," October 9, 1971, 21). The *Christian Science Monitor's* David Sterritt called the album "solid and likeable" ("Will the Real Beatle Please Sing Out?," January 28, 1972, 13). The *Washington Post's* Tom Zito called it an "ambitious and almost fully realized effort. Far and away better than his first solo album" ("Christmas Records," November 28, 1971, 128).

65 See "Records: 'Imagine,'" review of the sound recording *Imagine* (Apple LP), by John Lennon, *Rolling Stone*, October 28, 1971, 48.

66 Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*.

67 See Gitlin, "John Lennon Speaking . . ."

68 Inmates had seized prison guards, leading to a four-day standoff that culminated with New York governor Nelson Rockefeller ordering an assault by New York state troopers, leaving twenty-eight prisoners and nine hostages dead.

69 See Jon Wiener, *Come Together: John Lennon in His Time* (1984; Chicago: Illinois University Press, 1991). Wiener's brilliant study of Lennon's political evolution, with his *Gimme Some Truth: The John Lennon FBI Files* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), paints a harrowing picture of a paranoid Nixon administration run amok in the maintenance of its power.

70 A contentious custody battle with Ono's former husband, Tony Cox, continued for years and ended with Cox defying the court's granting of custody to the Lennons and disappearing with Kyoko in 1977. Kyoko reestablished contact with her mother in the early 1990s.

71 According to the *New York Times*, the single "Woman is the Nigger of the World"/"Sisters, O Sisters") received a citation from the New York chapter of the National Organization of Women (NOW), for its "strong profeminist statement" (Laurie Johnston, "Women's Group to Observe," August 25, 1972, 40).

72 "What can one say when confronted with incipient artistic suicide?" wondered *Rolling Stone's* Stephen Holden, over this "shallow and derivative" and condescending album: "Their [Lennon and Ono's] strategy seems to be to try to radicalize what they must envisage as an ignorant stupid mass of working-class teenagers and ghetto dwellers by 'getting down to their level'" ("Records: *Some Time in New York City*," July 20, 1972, 48). Even Britain's *Melody Maker*, loath to criticize the work of the solo Beatles, commented, "I'm afraid people are right when they criticize him for sitting comfortably at home in New York and writing about something on which he's in no way qualified to pontificate." Particularly troubling were Lennon's – and

McCartney's – "Irish" songs: "How sad that the only thing in years on which he and Paul have agreed should have drawn from both their very worst work. Neither "The Luck of the Irish" nor [McCartney's] "Give Ireland Back to the Irish" can do anything but increase the bigotry of the already ignorant" ("Albums: *Some Time in New York City*," 25). Yet, in an earlier review appearing in the magazine, Roy Hollingsworth called it "the full fist of revolt . . . It is certainly the most valid, most relevant snarl at The Powers That Be that there ever has been" ("The People's Album," Roy Hollingsworth, "Albums: *Some Time in New York City*," review of *Some Time in New York City* [Apple LP], by John Lennon and Yoko Ono, with the Plastic Ono Band, *Melody Maker*, June 10, 1972, 9).

73 Reviewing Lennon's previous album, *Imagine*, *High Fidelity's* critic identified Lennon's unique perspective and appeal: "Lennon . . . demands that his audience not only judge his music but judge him as well. Pop albums rarely make such intriguing demands on the listener; for that alone John Lennon passes muster with me" (Henry Edwards, "The Provocative Lennon-Ono Marriage," January 1972, 77).

74 The *New York Times's* Loraine Alterman judged the album "a fascinating piece of work" ("Ringo Dishes Up," November 25, 1973, 188). The *Washington Post's* Tom Zito noted that the album was full of "raunchy rock 'n' roll as well as bouncy, soaring, string-infused songs, but it's Lennon's heavy lyrics about politics and life that really matter." The review was mildly critical of Lennon's paeans to Ono: "Lennon's lyrics . . . sometimes get so personal that they bore the listener" ("The Beatles: Looking Back Ten Years," February 17, 1974, P8). Calling the album "an attractive rock-oriented collection," *High Fidelity's* Henry Edwards wrote: "I think John Lennon best serves his talents when he dispenses with the heavy-handed propaganda that has marred his recent recorded excursions. *Mind Games* offers promise for the future" ("Mind Games," March 1974, 109). *Rolling Stone's* Jon Landau, while critical of Lennon's "worst writing yet," nevertheless marked the album as an improvement over *Some Time in New York City*. *Mind Games* revealed "another major artist of the Sixties [i.e. Dylan is also singled out] lost in the changing musical environment of the Seventies, helplessly trying to impose his own gargantuan ego upon an audience that has already absorbed his insights and is now waiting hopefully for him to chart a new course" ("Mind Games," January 3, 1974, 61).

75 *Rolling Stone's* Ben Gerson applauded the album's "relative clear-headedness" ("Walls and Bridges," November 21, 1974, 76).

76 Lennon and his band played "Imagine," "Slippin' and Slidin'," and "Stand By Me." Lennon, whose relationship with Sir Lew Grade had suffered since Grade's purchase of Lennon and McCartney's publishing rights from Dick James in 1969, had decided to follow McCartney's lead and make peace with Grade. Grade's ATV had distributed McCartney's *James Paul McCartney* special.

77 In October 1975, the New York State Supreme Court reversed the deportation order, chastised the INS for its "selective prosecution" of the Lennons, and ordered that his application for residency be reconsidered.

78 See Laurence Shames's lengthy account of trying to track down the reclusive Lennon, "John Lennon, Where Are You?," *Esquire*, November 1980, 32.

79 See Dave Marsh's "An Open Letter to John Lennon" (*Rolling Stone*, November 3, 1977, 50). Marsh's piece perfectly captures the unique leadership role filled by rock stars in the 1960s, and retained by some part of the audience in the 1970s: "Always before, you've been there, if not defining the issues and causes for us, at least putting them in some kind of context or blowing any smug and silly convictions apart. I am not of the opinion that you are the only person in the world who can do that – for me, doing it is the essence of what being a rock star (rather than an entertainer or whatever) is all about. But you always did it best."

80 See John Lennon and Yoko Ono, "A Love Letter from John and Yoko, To People Who Ask Us What, When and Why," *New York Times*, May 27, 1979, E20.

81 *Melody Maker's* Ian Pye blasted the album as a "godawful yawn [that] reeks of an indulgent sterility" ("Double Fantasy," November 22, 1980, 26). The *Washington Post's* Richard Harrington labeled it "commercial, easy-listening pablum . . . What's obvious from "Double Fantasy" is that Lennon and Ono are no longer avant-gardists, but derriere guards" ("Pap From John and Yoko," November 26, 1980, A1). But Lennon and Ono had defenders, including the influential Robert Palmer and Robert Christgau. Palmer, reviewing the single "(Just Like) Starting Over," backed with Ono's "Kiss Kiss Kiss," in the *New York Times*, noted that Lennon's track, though "sentimental and somewhat obvious," confirmed his stature as a consummate pop tunesmith ("The Pop Life: '[Just Like] Starting Over,'" October 24, 1980, C15). Christgau, in a review appearing in the

*Village Voice* a month after Lennon's murder, called *Double Fantasy*, with "its rich, precise sound, command of readymades from New Orleans r&b to James Brown funk, from magical mystery dynamics to detonating synthesizers," one of "the two albums released in 1980 (Poly Styrene's dreamlike *Translucence* is the other) to put the anonymous usages of studio rock to striking artistic purpose" ("Symbolic Comrades," January 14, 1981, 32). *High Fidelity's* Mitchell Cohen grieved the loss of Lennon and the transformation of the album by his murder from a welcome "step" to "a stop" ("John Lennon's Last," February 1981, 92). And *Rolling Stone's* Stephen Holden, in a review perhaps softened in the wake of his slaying, noted of Lennon that he seemed "calm, confident, and content . . . He doesn't appear driven to deliver a major statement – so naturally he does" ("Lennon's Music: A Range of Genius," January 22, 1981, 70).

82 In the wake of Lennon's death, *Double Fantasy* was awarded the 1981 Grammy for Album of the Year.

83 "Lennon Has a Legacy," *Nation*, December 20, 1980, 657.

84 Todd Gitlin, "The Lennon Legacy," *The Center Magazine*, May/June 1981, 4.

85 See Terry Eastland, "In Defense of Religious America," *Commentary*, June 1981, 45; also Dorothy Rabinowitz, "John Lennon's Mourners," *Commentary*, February 1981, 58–61.

86 See Richard Brookhiser, "John Lennon, RIP," *National Review*, December 31, 1980, 1555. He continued: "It is hard to think of a zany idea zipping through the ether which the Beatles, as cultural lightning rods, did not conduct – psychedelia, Maharishi Mahesh Fakir, all we are saying is give peace a chance."

87 See Chet Flippo, *Yesterday: The Unauthorized Autobiography of Paul McCartney* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 373–4.

88 See David Wild, "The Lives of John Lennon," *Rolling Stone*, October 6, 1988, 21. Irish rock band U2's lead singer, Bono, went after the author on 1988's *Rattle and Hum* album, where, on the obviously Lennon-inspired "God Part II," he sings of Goldman: "Instant karma's gonna get him, if I don't get him first."

89 The *Village Voice's* Davitt Sigerson commented: "After a decade of drivel, it has taken McCartney only six tunes' worth of *Tug of War's* meaty entertainment to get us ready for some more of the old charm. Readier, indeed, than at any time since *Abbey Road*" ("Paul Carries That Weight," May 11, 1982, 64). The *New York Times's* Robert Palmer called the

album an “exquisitely crafted though lyrically flawed new album . . . his most ambitious piece of work in a number of years . . . as finely crafted as his work with the Beatles. It’s too bad Mr. Lennon isn’t around to goad him into making a masterpiece” (“Paul McCartney’s Latest is Exquisite but Flawed,” *New York Times*, April 25, 1982, Section 2, pp. 1, 19). *Stereo Review*’s Mark Peel was less convinced, stating: “McCartney has been coasting on inoffensive product for so long that when he tries to turn up the energy this time out, not a lot happens” (“McCartney and Friends,” June 1982, 76).

90 Critics, both those applauding and those criticizing the album, agreed that Harrison largely ignored contemporary music currents. *Melody Maker*’s Ray Coleman said of Harrison: “Remaining true to himself and his convictions, he’s produced an album redolent of a more optimistic, positive period in our history, musical and otherwise” (“George Harrison: Somewhere in England,” June 6, 1981, 27). The *New York Times*’s Robert Palmer applauded “All Those Years Ago” for being “plainspoken and musically effective.” Yet he also criticized Harrison, who “has said most of what he says here before, and in more effective songs.” Further, the “studio players and rock veterans who back him sound utterly anonymous and interchangeable; Mr. Harrison’s crying guitar is the album’s only distinctive instrumental voice, and there isn’t nearly enough of it” (“Two Icons of Rock Music,” May 31, 1981, D23). *Rolling Stone*’s critic concluded a generally negative review of the album with this characterization of Harrison: “The most paradoxical of the ex-Beatles, George Harrison is an enigmatic mixture of exquisite craftsmanship and heavy-handed hack work, touching sincerity and plain disingenuousness. As it stands, *Somewhere in England* is neither here nor there” (August 6, 1981, 44).

91 See Robert Palmer, “The Pop Life: Did Ringo Starr Alone Escape Trap of Beatles?,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1981, C26. See also Nicholas Schaffner, “Stop and Smell the Roses,” *Rolling Stone*, February 4, 1982, 55, in which the album is judged “altogether innocuous and intermittently engaging.”

92 In addition to a documentary he made about British glam rocker T Rex, *Born to Boogie* (1972), he appeared in a number of films of variable quality, including Frank Zappa’s surrealist depiction of life on the road with the Mothers of Invention, *200 Motels* (1971), Ferdinando Baldi’s spaghetti western, *Blindman* (1971), the critical and commercial failure *Son of Dracula* (1974), and Ken Russell’s *Lisztomania*

(1975). Noteworthy more for their directorial excess than for the contributions of their actors, these films did little to further Starr’s acting career.

93 Starr also played “Mr. Conductor” on the American spinoff *Shining Time Station*, which debuted at the end of the decade.

94 See Stephen Holden, “Pop View: Rock Grows Up, Gracefully and Otherwise,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1987, H29. Holden found *Cloud Nine* to be a “pleasingly tuneful album” which “explicitly evokes the Beatles’ more romantic psychedelic music of the late 1960s.” Holden found that the arrangements “may even be an improvement over those on Mr. Harrison’s 1970 post-Beatle blockbuster, *All Things Must Pass*.” The *Christian Science Monitor* was similarly impressed by “an amiable collection of songs . . . [several of which] happily recall the Beatles” (Amy Duncan, “Soundtakes: George Harrison, *Cloud Nine*,” November 18, 1987, 21). *Rolling Stone*’s David Wild called the album an “expertly crafted, endlessly infectious record” – Harrison’s best since *All Things Must Pass*. The album was “an especially heartwarming return to form because it suggests Harrison has come to terms with his own Beatledom . . . *Cloud Nine* is a totally fab record that lives up to the legacy of all those years ago” (“Cloud Nine,” December 3, 1987, 80).

95 The *New York Times*’s John Rockwell judged that *Traveling Wilburys: Volume One*, “in its buoyant good spirits, clever songwriting and impassioned singing and playing,” is “as good-spirited an album as you’re likely to hear this year” (“Old Timers Out for a Spin Cut a Couple of Disks,” November 13, 1988, H27). The *Washington Post*’s Mike Joyce called the album “hard to resist” (“Records: Traveling Wilburys Vol. 1,” November 16, 1988, D7).

96 After three years of negotiations between the surviving Beatles, the Beatle widows, Apple Corps Ltd., Cirque du Soleil, and the MGM Mirage, and after two years of production, *The Beatles: Love* premiered in June 2006, and continues to play in the theater constructed for it.

97 Harrison’s guest appearances included work on Jeff Lynne’s 2001 Electric Light Orchestra album *Zoom*, as well as a new composition, “Horse to the Water,” which appeared on Jools Holland’s *Small World, Big Band* (2001), and had been the focus of Harrison’s last recording session, barely two months before his death.

98 See Adam Bernstein, “George Harrison Dies, 58, Pushed Fab Four in New Directions,” *Washington Post*, December 1, 2001, A01.

99 See Allan Kozinn, “Music of a Beatle Who Never Stopped,” *New York Times*, November 17, 2002, A27. Kozinn called the music “vintage Harrison” – “Harrison’s trademark slide guitar shines through everywhere . . . This is not a guitarist who retired to the garden.”

100 Live collections include *Unplugged* (1991), *Paul Is Live* (1993), and *Tripping the Live Fantastic*.

101 See Stephen Holden, “Songs of Innocence and Experience for the Pop Fan of a Certain Age,” *New York Times*, November 28, 1997, E1, 33.

102 The divorce was settled in July 2007, with Mills reportedly receiving a settlement of £70 million.

103 Reviewing Starr’s follow-up, *Vertical Man*, the *New York Times*’s Alann Kozinn, in discussing Starr’s decade-long effort at “rekindling a career,” noted that *Time Takes Time* “should have done the trick: it was bright, energetic and pleasantly Beatlesque, but it disappeared without hitting the charts” (“Ringo Outdistances His Past, Finally,” June 21, 1998, AR28).

104 Starr recognized that his recording career had hit hard times, telling the *New York Times*: “From *Goodnight Vienna* on, the records were going downhill . . . It wasn’t the producers’ or the musicians’ fault, but mine. I was just turning up, really. I wasn’t involved” (Alann Kozinn, “Ringo Starr, a 60’s [*sic*] Relic? Not if He Can Help It,” May 31, 1992, H24).

105 The *New York Times*’s Alan Kozinn called *Vertical Man*, with its roster of guests (including Harrison and McCartney, Joe Walsh, Tom Petty, Steve Cropper, Brian Wilson, Steven Tyler, Ozzy Osbourne, and Alanis Morissette), “a tightly crafted, appealingly upbeat album . . . clearly meant as entertainment rather than innovation” (“Ringo Outdistances His Past, Finally,” June 21, 1998, AR28).

#### 10 Any time at all: the Beatles’ free phrase rhythms

1 This essay is based on presentations made in 1996 to Music Theory Midwest in Kalamazoo and to the Society of Music Theory in Baton Rouge. Each song title mentioned in the text is followed by an abbreviation in parentheses indicating the compact disc on which the reader may locate the song. Table 10.1 provides identifying features of these albums.

2 These concepts have been well rehearsed, but, with regard to related topics, I wonder why interest has not been recorded in the freely ametrical introductions to “Drive My Car” and “Here, There and Everywhere,” or in the

similarly ametrical speech-based rhythms in “Happiness is a Warm Gun,” done in a manner similar to those in “Across the Universe,” of which Lennon himself has said, “Such an extraordinary meter and I can never repeat it!” G. Barry Golson (ed.), *John Lennon and Yoko Ono: The Final Testament* (New York: Berkley Books, 1981), 202.

3 Hypermeter, a term coined by Edward T. Cone in *Musical Form and Musical Performance* (New York: Norton, 1968), in which book it is a central issue, refers to the combinations of measures, the downbeats of which have alternately strong and weak accents, so that a metric pattern, often repeated in a regular way such as four bars plus four bars, exists at levels greater than that within the bar. Cone’s hypermeter is a refinement of a method of rhythmic analysis, relating patterns of rhythmic modes to the accents of prosody, developed by Grosvenor W. Cooper and Leonard B. Meyer in *The Rhythmic Structure of Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

4 Numbers in parentheses refer to the corresponding timings programmed into the compact discs.

5 It should be made clear that because the Beatles did not notate their music in any way, all determinations as to time signatures in any discussion or transcription of the Beatles’ music are based solely upon a listener’s interpretation of accent and tempo. So whereas the Beatles often played “shuffle” rhythms that divided beats into three parts, they would have been unaware that they were playing in 6/8, 9/8, or 12/8 meters. And any discussion below as to meters such as 18/8 or 24/8 simply reflects compound measures that are extended by one or more (two, or four, in these two examples) dotted quarter-beats. Not only did the Beatles not read music, but they only rarely resorted to the notation of even the chord changes; they normally played and sang all of their own parts “by memory,” teaching parts to each other via “head arrangements.” They often had trouble recalling the correct lyrics, and so sometimes recorded their vocals while reading from their lyrics.

6 In many 1969 recordings with the Beatles, Harrison routes his amplified guitar signal through a Leslie cabinet, characterized by its rotating horns, originally intended for a Hammond organ. The rotating speaker produces a Doppler-shifted vibrato along with a strong tremolo in dynamics, giving the sustaining guitar tones an atmospheric, whirring quality. The Telecaster is a solid-body Fender guitar known for its metallic tone,

chiefly through its wide use through the 1960s in country music. A guitar's lead pickup is closest to the bridge, thus having the best location to amplify the string's upper partials, for a biting tone that cuts through the texture better than the "rhythm pickup," closer to the middle of the string for more emphasis on the fundamental and warmer lower partials.

7 While other arrangements are common, phrases usually group themselves into pairs, so that an initial phrase, the antecedent, poses a problem (as by ending with a half cadence) that is solved by an "answering" phrase, the consequent (which always closes with a more conclusive authentic cadence). Such an arrangement, even if the group contains more than a single antecedent or consequent phrase, is referred to as a period, a standard tonal form for hundreds of years before it was adopted by the Beatles.

8 In usage (chiefly British) pertaining to classical music, the term "bridge" usually refers to a transition. In popular music, it connotes instead a section that contrasts with the verses and chorus. It frequently begins with a tonicized subdominant and often leads to a tonicized dominant, ending with a dissonant, retransitional dominant seventh to prepare the return of the following verse. And the term "verse" is not synonymous with its use in relation to the introductory section of a Tin Pan Alley number. Instead, the verse of a rock song is the passage that is repeated numerous times in between choruses, with different stanzas of lyrics for at least its first two appearances.

9 William Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1989), 80–1.

10 Mozart's frequent dependence upon such a conclusory extension is the topic of Janet Schmalfeldt, "Cadential Processes: The Evaded Cadence and the 'One More Time' Technique," *Journal of Musicological Research* 12 (1992), 1–52.

11 The term "elision" is often used either to indicate (1) the simultaneous ending of one phrase with the beginning of another, or (2) the absence of some material that is either present only hypothetically, or was present in a previously heard version and is later abbreviated. For the sake of clarity, the term "enjambment" will be taken from the study of prosody to indicate here only the first of these two meanings, and "elision" will refer only to the second.

12 Oswald Jonas, *Introduction to the Theory of Heinrich Schenker*, trans. and ed. John Rothgeb (1934; New York: Longman, 1982), 7–9. Jonas's German term is "*Knupftechnik*."

13 This and following sentences are based upon the Schenkerian method, which clarifies the relationship between surface and structural levels of harmony and counterpoint. According to this theory, a single melody (in our case the lead vocal line sung by John Lennon) is a composite of several structural voices governed by stepwise motion: (1) a controlling upper voice, which at its deepest level represents a stepwise descent from the primary tone (the initiating fifth scale degree, Sol) to the first scale degree (Do), a descent that is ornamented by neighbors and other material of lesser structural value, and (2) inner voices that may be initiated by members of the upper voice but then descend below it, and may even, through registral transfer, place "inner-voice" material up above the lay of the "upper" voice. Thus, a single melodic part is a polyphonic web, arpeggiating among several underlying voices. The upper and inner voices are all supported by the bass voice, which carries most of a passage's harmonic information. I have written elsewhere about the expressive relationships between upper and inner voices in the vocal music of Mozart, Schubert, the Beatles, Billy Joel, and Paul Simon. While developed for music from the common practice period, Schenkerian analysis is quite applicable to a great deal of rock and other popular musics, particularly examples, such as "I Should Have Known Better," that reside completely or mostly within the major-minor system. The system is chosen here, at the risk of its being new to many readers, because of the great musicality it reveals in terms of metric, phrasal, registral, and expressive relationships.

14 The Moog is a module-based analog electronic instrument controlled by a keyboard through which voltages are given particular waveshapes, and are filtered and amplified, according to "patches" that lead one circuit to control another at the performer's discretion. Most popular among the English progressive rock bands of the 1970s, the Beatles – at George Harrison's instigation – were among the pioneers of the Moog in *Abbey Road*.

15 For Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff, a melodic anacrusis, thus beginning a phrase before the (hypermetric) downbeat, has the grouping out of phase with the (hyper)metrical structure. (Such is the device discussed above in regard to the extended example in "There's a Place" but also evident on the surface of many other references, beginning with Example 1.) See their *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), 33–4. Rothstein discusses this phenomenon in *Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music*, 21–2.

16 In rock music, harmonic rhythm usually determines where the barlines fall, as metric patterns are always based on chords changing on downbeats (this pattern, once established, is often contradicted later), and because chords tend to change once per measure. For example, “I Want to Hold Your Hand” opens with a verse of two four-bar phrases, chords changing for each of the eight bars. This verse is followed by a four-bar phrase of eight chords, changing twice per measure, thus doubling the harmonic rhythm.

17 Metric modulation is a term coined by Elliott Carter for a type of transition perhaps invented by Alban Berg but favored in his own compositions. The effect is based on durations remaining constant while their context as beat divisions changes. For example, the eighth notes that in one passage may divide the beat into two parts may serve as the pivotal connecting tissue to another passage where the same eighths, moving at the same tempo, may be reinterpreted as triplet eighths because beats now contain three, not two, of these values. Thus, the beat-marked tempo is altered significantly (sometimes through a 2:3 or 3:2 ratio, but often through much more complex subdivisions) while submetrical units (such as beat-dividing eighths) remain constant.

### 11 The Beatles as zeitgeist

1 John Lennon’s original skiffle group, the Quarrymen, was joined by Paul McCartney in 1956 and George Harrison in 1958. The group’s name subsequently changed to Moondogs and eventually the Silver Beatles (in emulation of Buddy Holly and the Crickets). Ringo Starr finally joined the Beatles in 1962, replacing drummer Pete Best.

2 As Mark Abraham estimated in his early study, *The Teenage Consumer* (London: London Press Exchange, 1959) (since supported by further studies), there was a growth in the real earnings of unmarried teenagers of 50 percent as compared with 1938. This was double the rate for adult earnings in the same period. Most significant was the proportion of uncommitted or “discretionary” spending money available – calculated to be about £900 million.

3 UKTV History, *The 60s: The Beatles Decade*, program 1.

4 Russell Reising, “Every Sound There Is”: *The Beatles’ Revolver and the Transformation of Rock and Roll* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 6.

5 John Lennon’s band, the Quarrymen, being one such example.

6 UKTV History, *The 60s: The Beatles Decade*, program 1.

7 Donatella Maraschin, “The Swinging 60s,” in *London: Summer Living* (London: Morris Visitor Publications, June–July 2006), 29–32.

8 For culturalist Marxist historian Edward Thompson, class remained a product of nineteenth-century modernity. As Andy Wood observes: “One of the achievements of the middle-class student revolt of the era [the 1960s] was the establishment of social history as a key contender in academic historical writing” (Andy Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520–1770* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], 10). See, for example, Edward Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963; New York: Penguin, 1975).

9 William M. Northcutt, “The Spectacle of Alienation: Death, Loss, and the Crowd in Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band,” in Kenneth Womack and Todd F. Davis (eds.), *Reading the Beatles: Cultural Studies, Literary Criticism, and the Fab Four* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 130.

10 Problems surrounding racial discrimination continued throughout the 1960s. The passing of the Race Relations Act (1968) had been opposed by Enoch Powell, Conservative MP for Wolverhampton South West; and his “Rivers of Blood” speech (April 20, 1968) set out his premise that unless immigrants were repatriated, the streets of Britain would come to be “foaming with much blood,” like the River Tiber (an allusion to Virgil’s *Aeneid*).

11 In the minds of most social historians, the sexual revolution was primarily the product of the 1960s. While acknowledging the earlier rise of Alfred Kinsey, Hugh Hefner, and an increasingly defiant youth culture, most scholars portray these pre-sixties developments as precursors of the rapid liberalization of sexual behavior that was soon to follow. This is to say, while most scholars identify a general loosening of sexual attitudes during the forties and fifties, they do not detect a significant upswing in premarital sexual behavior until the 1960s. See Alan Petigny, “Illegitimacy, Postwar Psychology, and the Reperiodization of the Sexual Revolution,” *Journal of Social History* 38/1 (2004), p.1.

12 John Lennon married Cynthia Powell on August 23, 1962. He later said he married Cynthia because she was pregnant with his child (Julian) and he felt it was the right thing to do.

13 UKTV History, *The 60s: The Beatles Decade*, program 5.

14 Benjamin McLane Spock (1903–98), an American pediatrician, published *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* in 1946. His approach to childcare influenced several

generations of parents to be more flexible and affectionate toward their children, and to treat them as individuals, rather than focusing on discipline.

15 The Kinsey Reports are two books on human sexual behavior, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), by Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and others. Kinsey was a zoologist at Indiana University and the founder of the Institute for Sex Research. The findings challenged conventional beliefs about sexuality and discussed subjects that had previously been taboo, including masturbation, the female orgasm, homosexuality, and sadomasochism.

16 In 1965 the Labour MP Sydney Silverman, who had committed himself to the cause of abolition for more than twenty years, proposed a Private Member's Bill on abolition which was passed on a free vote in the House of Commons by 200 votes to 98. (A free vote, traditional for issues of conscience such as abortion and capital punishment, is one in which the party whips do not issue directions to MPs.) It was subsequently adopted by the House of Lords by 204 to 104 against.

17 The Abortion Act (1967) regulates abortion by registered practitioners and provides free medical aid through the National Health Service. It was introduced by David Steel as a Private Member's Bill backed by the government, and after a heated debate and a free vote passed on October 27, 1967. It came into effect on April 27, 1968.

18 A. S. Byatt, *Babel Tower* (London: Vintage, 1997), 168.

19 Angela McRobbie, "Jackie Magazine: Romantic Individualism and the Teenage Girl," in Angela McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1991), 135–88 (first published as "Jackie: An Ideology of Adolescent Femininity," Stencilled Occasional Paper 53, Women's Series [Birmingham: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1978]).

20 Betty Friedan's 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* challenged the view that women can find satisfaction in the exclusively traditional role of wife and mother; radical feminists identified patriarchy – as a system characterized by power, dominance, hierarchy, and competition – as both universal and oppressive, while the emerging women's movement of the late 1960s identified sisterhood as a cohesive revolutionary force for developing self-identity. *Spare Rib*, *Women's Voice*, *Women's Report*, and the *Red Flag* provided communication networks.

21 Theodor Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society*

and *its Youthful Opposition* (New York: Faber & Faber, 1971).

22 Roy Jenkins was also responsible for the abolition of theater censorship. As Home Secretary he had given government support to David Steel's Private Member's Bill for the legalization of abortion, and Leo Abse's Bill for the decriminalization of homosexuality.

23 Polly Toynbee in the *Guardian*, July 21, 2004, at [www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2004/jul/21/labour.politicalcolumnists](http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2004/jul/21/labour.politicalcolumnists) (accessed May 28, 2009).

24 The US involvement in Vietnam goes back to the 1950s, but President J. F. Kennedy's 1961 dispatch of 400 Special Operations Forces-trained (Green Beret) soldiers to teach the South Vietnamese how to fight what was called counter-insurgency war against Communist guerrillas in South Vietnam provides one starting date. When Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, there were more than 16,000 US military advisers in South Vietnam, and more than 100 Americans had been killed. Kennedy's successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, committed the United States most fully to the war. In August 1964, he secured from Congress a functional (not actual) declaration of war: the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. Then, in February and March 1965, Johnson authorized the sustained bombing, by US aircraft, of targets north of the 17th Parallel, and on March 8 he dispatched 3,500 Marines to South Vietnam. Legal declaration or no, the United States was now at war (John Whiteclay (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to American Military History* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999]).

25 These included Alice Herz, an eighty-two-year-old survivor of Nazi terror, who set herself on fire in London shortly after President Johnson announced major troop increases and the bombing of North Vietnam (March 15, 1965); Quaker Norman Morrison, setting himself on fire and dying outside Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's Pentagon office (November 2, 1965); and Catholic worker Roger Laporte, self-immolating opposite the United Nations Building.

26 Their 1966 album *Revolver* is now interpreted as transforming the vocabulary of popular music, with "Tomorrow Never Knows" topping the list of British psychedelia (Jon Savage, "100 Greatest Psychedelic Classics," *MOJO* 43 [June 1997], 61), attempting to "recreate what tripping actually sounds like" (Russell Reising, "Every Sound There Is": *The Beatles' Revolver and the Transformation of Rock and Roll* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002], 235).

27 In 1966–7 the Beatles retreated into Hinduism and Transcendental Meditation, adopting the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi as spiritual guide; and they all admitted that they had taken drugs – including LSD. George Harrison remained a Hindu throughout his life, donating a manor house in Watford, UK, to the Krishna movement.

28 Allen Ginsberg in *It Was Twenty Years Ago Today*, directed by John Sheppard for Granada Television, UK, 1987.

29 Steve Turner, *A Hard Day's Write: The Stories Behind Every Beatles Song* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999; London: Carlton, 2000), 144.

30 Peter McCabe and Robert D. Schonfeld, *Apple to the Core: The Unmaking of the Beatles* (New York: Pocket Books, 1972), 86–7.

31 By 1967, after 300 tours worldwide, the Beatles withdrew from public performances and engaged totally with studio production.

32 Timothy Leary, cited in Charlie Gillett, *The Sound of the City* (London: Souvenir Press, 1970), 353.

33 Their seven-bedroom house in Weybridge had cost John Lennon £20,000, but was on the market in 2006 for £5.95 million. John and Yoko recorded their album *Two Virgins* there in May 1968. It was released in November that year.

34 Apple Records was launched in 1968 with Ron Kass as Managing Director, Peter Asher as the company A&R (artists and repertoire) person, and Tony Bramwell in charge of promoting the products. Apple advertisements and posters announced the venture and asked for tapes to review, but very few artists were signed as a result. Most who were signed owed their success to personal preferences of the directors. The first artist signed to this label was James Taylor. Badfinger was a true success story for Apple Records. Mary Hopkin, James Taylor, and Billy Preston had their moments in the sun. Of course, the Beatles and their solo Apple Records fared well, but Apple Records received only two non-Beatles gold record awards (Mary Hopkin, “Those Were the Days,” and Badfinger, “Come and Get It”). Apple Records lasted from August 1968 through May 1976.

35 Carey Schofield, *Jagger* (London: Methuen, 1983), 130.

## 12 Beatles news: product line extensions and the rock canon

1 There are several books on this subject, including Gail Brewer-Giorgio, *Is Elvis Alive?* (New York: Tudor, 1988; Greil Marcus, *Dead Elvis: A Chronicle of a Cultural Obsession* (New York: Doubleday, 1991); George Plasketes,

*Images of Elvis Presley in American Culture, 1977–1997: The Mystery Terrain* (New York: Haworth Press, 1997); G. L. Reece, *Elvis Religion: The Cult of the King* (London and New York: Tauris, 2006); and G. B. Rodman, *Elvis After Elvis: The Posthumous Career of a Living Legend* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).

2 This proposal was mentioned by Paul McCartney on camera in *The Beatles Anthology* TV special in 1995.

3 See Gary Burns, “Refab Four: Beatles for Sale in the Age of Music Video,” in Ian Inglis (ed.), *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society: A Thousand Voices* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 176–88.

4 Jon Wiener, “The Last Lennon File,” *The Nation*, January 8–15, 2007, 4; see also his *Gimme Some Truth: The John Lennon FBI Files* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

5 Ian Inglis, *The Beatles, Popular Music, and Society*, “Introduction,” xv.

6 An amusing and very grumpy critique of Beatles reissues and pseudo-reunions appears in J. Lewis, ““Over My Dead Body!,”” *Uncut* (May 2007), 75.

7 See also Lennon’s posthumously published *Skywriting by Word of Mouth and Other Writings, Including The Ballad of John and Yoko* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986).

8 *Yellow Submarine* is an animated film in which the Beatles are represented visually as cartoon figures. On the soundtrack we hear actual Beatles records, but during dialog segments the Beatles’ lines are spoken by voice actors rather than by the Beatles themselves. This idiosyncratic approach was borrowed from the 1964–7 TV cartoon series *The Beatles*, which was innovative in its own right but not an artistic achievement in the same league as *Yellow Submarine*. See Mitchell Axelrod, *BeatleToons: The Real Story Behind the Cartoon Beatles* (Pickens, SC: Wynn Publishing, 1999); “*The Beatles*,” *Television Chronicles* 3 (1995), 8–15; P. Gorman, “Badly Drawn Boys,” *MOJO* (July 2000), 20–1; Robert R. Hieronimus, *Inside the Yellow Submarine: The Making of the Beatles’ Animated Classic*, editing and compilation assistance by Laura Cortner (Iola, WI: Krause Publications, 2002).

9 See Gary Burns, “The Myth of the Beatles,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 86 (1987), 169–80; T. Wolfe, “The ‘Me’ Decade and the Third Great Awakening,” *New York*, August 23, 1976, 26–40; Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York: Norton, 1978); R. D. Rosen, *Psychobabble: Fast Talk and Quick Cure in the Era of Feeling* (New York: Atheneum, 1977);



- and Theodor Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969).
- 10 See Stefan Granados, *Those Were the Days: An Unofficial History of the Beatles Apple Organization 1967–2002* (London: Cherry Red Books, 2002).
- 11 “Method in Their Fabness,” *MOJO*, May 2007, 14.
- 12 See Inglis, *The Beatles, Popular Music, and Society*.
- 13 See Jon Wiener, *Come Together: John Lennon in His Time* (New York: Random House, 1984).
- 14 See Donald Alport Bird, Stephen C. Holder, and Diane Sears, “Walrus Is Greek for Corpse: Rumor and the Death of Paul McCartney,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 10 (1976), 110–21; Burns, “The Myth of the Beatles”; R. Gary Patterson, “The Walrus Was Paul”: *The Great Beatle Death Clues of 1969* (Oak Ridge, TN: Excursion Productions and Publications, 1994); A. J. Reeve, *Turn Me On, Dead Man: The Complete Story of the Paul McCartney Death Hoax* (Ann Arbor, MI: Popular Culture Ink, 1994); and Barbara Suczek, “The Curious Case of the ‘Death’ of Paul McCartney,” *Urban Life and Culture* 1 (1972), 61–76.
- 15 See Vic Garbarini, Brian Cullman, and Barbara Graustark, *Strawberry Fields Forever: John Lennon Remembered* (New York: Bantam Books, 1980); Fenton Bresler, *The Murder of John Lennon* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1989); Fred Fogo, “I Read the News Today”: *The Social Drama of John Lennon’s Death* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994); and Anthony Elliott, *The Mourning of John Lennon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); see also Jack Jones, *Let Me Take You Down: Inside the Mind of Mark David Chapman, the Man Who Killed John Lennon* (New York: Villard Books, 1992).
- 16 James Saucedo, *The Literary Lennon: A Comedy of Letters – The First Study of All the Major and Minor Writings of John Lennon* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pierian Press, 1983). See also M. E. Roos, “The Walrus and the Deacon: John Lennon’s Debt to Lewis Carroll,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 18.1 (1984), 19–29, for a primarily literary analysis.
- 17 David R. Pichaske (ed.), *Beowulf to Beatles: Approaches to Poetry* (New York: Free Press, 1972).
- 18 David R. Pichaske, *The Poetry of Rock: The Golden Years* (Peoria, IL: Ellis Press, 1981).
- 19 An example is Alan Aldridge (ed.), *The Beatles Illustrated Lyrics* (London: Macdonald, 1969).
- 20 Paul McCartney, *Blackbird Singing: Poems and Lyrics 1965–1999*, ed. A. Mitchell (New York: Norton, 2001).
- 21 Paul McCartney, Geoff Dunbar, and Philip Ardagh, *High in the Clouds* (New York: Dutton Children’s Books, 2005). McCartney has also published a book (*Paintings* [Boston: Little, Brown, 2000]) that consists mainly of photographic reproductions of his paintings. This is not, strictly speaking, a literary venture, but is perhaps relevant because it is a book.
- 22 Alan West and Colin Martindale, “Creative Trends in the Content of Beatles Lyrics,” *Popular Music and Society* 20/4 (1996), 103–25.
- 23 Simon Frith and Howard Horne, *Art Into Pop* (London and New York: Methuen, 1987).
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- 38 Evan Davis, "Psychological Characteristics of Beatle Mania," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 30 (1969), 273–80.
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- 44 *Ibid.*, 371.
- 13 "An abstraction, like Christmas": the Beatles for sale and for keeps**
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15 An exception was made in the case of *Magical Mystery Tour*, a record that originally appeared as a six-song EP on Parlophone in the UK. The CD version of *Magical Mystery Tour* mirrored the 1967 Capitol/US release, which added singles such as “Penny Lane” and “Strawberry Fields Forever” to the Parlophone EP lineup to form an eleven-song LP. Also, it should be noted that, during the same mid-eighties period, the soundtrack of *Yellow Submarine* was remastered and released on CD along with the twelve “official” albums.

16 During the period 1973–82, several LP compilations of Beatles music were released: the double albums *The Beatles 1962–1966* and *The Beatles 1967–1970* (a.k.a. the “red” and “blue” albums) both appeared on Apple in 1973, while in ensuing years Capitol released *Rock and Roll Music* (1976), *Love Songs* (1977), *Rarities* (1980), *Reel Music* (1982), and *20 Greatest Hits* (1982). In addition, Capitol released a live album, *The Beatles at the Hollywood Bowl*, in 1977. Of all these, only *The Beatles 1962–1966* and *The Beatles 1967–1970* have been officially released on CD, and they appeared in 1993.

17 MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 201. According to this UK custom, “anything issued as a single could not be included in an LP released in the same year” (201). The Beatles observed this rule strictly except in the case of their first Parlophone LP, *Please Please Me*, which included four songs previously released as singles.

18 The Capitol version of *Revolver* provides a striking illustration. It contains three fewer tracks than its Parlophone counterpart, all of them Lennon songs, a serious misrepresentation of Lennon’s contribution to the album many consider the Beatles’ finest.

19 Mark Brown, “Beatles fans kept waiting on remasters,” March 18, 2006, *Rocky Mountain News*, at [www.rockymountainnews.com/drmn/spotlight.columnists/article/0,2777,DRMN\\_23962.4475849,00.html](http://www.rockymountainnews.com/drmn/spotlight.columnists/article/0,2777,DRMN_23962.4475849,00.html) (accessed March 20, 2006).

20 The mono mix of *Sgt. Pepper* has never been officially released in CD form even though

Martin, Emerick, and the Beatles all agree that the mono (as opposed to stereo) mix is the one into which the team put its greatest effort.

21 These audiophile vinyl editions of the Beatles’ LPs, made by Mobile Fidelity Sound Lab from original masters, have been out of print for many years.

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29 MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 330.

30 The CD single releases were called maxi-singles and configured like EPs of old: the first led off with “Free as a Bird” and followed it with three tracks of outtakes from the period covered by *Anthology 1*. The second led with “Real Love” and followed it with three tracks of outtakes from the period covered by *Anthology 2*.

31 This third song is sometimes referred to by the title “Now and Then.” Scattered news items during 2006–7 reported that McCartney and Starr had returned to working on “Now and Then” with a plan to incorporate “archive tracks” featuring Harrison. See, for example, “Unheard Beatles ‘last great song’ set for release,” *Webindia.com*, April 30, 2007, at <http://news.webindia123.com> (accessed May 1, 2007).

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34 MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 170.

- 35 Mark Lewisohn, liner notes, *The Beatles Anthology Volume 2*, CD (Apple Corps Ltd. / EMI Ltd., 1996), 19.
- 36 Barry Miles, *Paul McCartney: Many Years From Now* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), 291–2; Geoff Emerick and Howard Massey, *Here, There, and Everywhere: My Life Recording the Beatles* (New York: Gotham Books, 2006), 111–12. McCartney oversaw the selection of music for the *Anthology*.
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- 50 Anthony Elliott, *The Mourning of John Lennon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 1, 4.
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- 60 *Ibid.*, 98.
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- 134 *Ibid.*, 109.
- 135 *Ibid.*, 109.
- 136 Storey, "The Politics of the Popular," 197.
- 137 Keightley, "Reconsidering Rock," 109, 133.
- 138 *Ibid.*, 134.
- 139 Greg Kot, "Toppermost of the Poppermost," in June Skinner Sawyers (ed.), *Read the Beatles* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 324. See also John Robinson, "Chewing on the Apple Corps," *Guardian Unlimited*, September 16, 2006, <http://arts.guardian.co.uk/features/story/0,1873555,0.html> (accessed September 22, 2006).
- 140 John Dower, writer/director, *Live Forever*, film (Passion Pictures, 2003).

141 “If you think of culture as a great big garden, it has to have its compost as well”: Brian Eno, quoted in Michael Jarrett, “Authenticity,” in his *Sound Tracks: A Musical ABC*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), I, 193.

142 Ed Smith, “Following the Genius with Four Heads; or, Why I Became a Composer,” in Cording, Jankowski-Smith, and Miller Laino (eds.), *In My Life*, 239.

143 *Ibid.*, 243.

144 MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 335.

145 Thanks to Ellis Clark for this comparison.

146 Quoted in *Inkwell: Artists and Authors*  
Topic 285: Ritchie Unterberger, “The unreleased

Beatles: music and film,” October 29, 2006, [www.well.com/conf/inkwell.vue/topics/285/Ritchie-Unterberger-The-Unrelease-.html](http://www.well.com/conf/inkwell.vue/topics/285/Ritchie-Unterberger-The-Unrelease-.html) (accessed November 1, 2006).

147 *Sliding Doors*, film, directed by Peter Howitt (Intermedia Films, 1998).

148 Quoted in *Inkwell*.

149 See Frith, “Everything Counts,” 2: “Far from being counter-cultural, rock articulated the reconciliation of rebelliousness and capital.”

150 Quoted in Hertsgaard, *A Day in the Life*, 191.

151 *Ibid.*