

TIME (AND NEWSWEEK) IS ON MY SIDE:
POP/ROCK COVERAGE IN *TIME* AND *NEWSWEEK* DURING THE 1960S

by

STEPHEN LEVERING

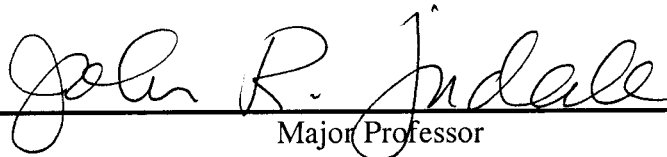
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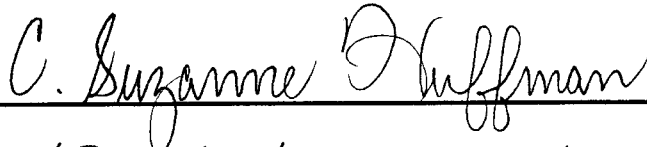
MASTER OF SCIENCE

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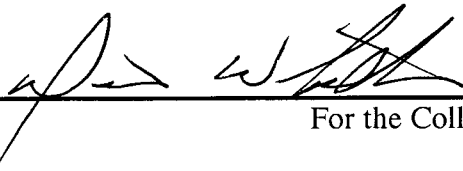

Major Professor







Graduate Studies Representative



For the College of Communication

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study examines pop and classical music coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek* through the 1960s, and whether there were significant changes in the amount of pop coverage over the course of the decade.

At the beginning of the 1960s, rock 'n' roll music seemed a passing kid's fad. By the end of the 1960s, it was a cultural force and accounted for a big slice of the music business. What part, if any, did *Time* and *Newsweek* play in this transition? Did pop music coverage in these highly regarded newsweeklies increase as rock 'n' roll became more widely accepted by the baby-boomers?

Obviously, both *Time* and *Newsweek* increased the amount of pop music coverage at some point between the 1960s and the present. A quick comparison between a 1960s issue of one of these magazines and a modern issue shows that the culturally-minded classical coverage of the early 1960s has vanished for the most part, replaced by coverage of rock, rap, or country coverage in the modern magazines. When did this change occur?

The mid-1960s saw the growth of rock 'n' roll as an art form, and the corresponding growth of the adult marketplace for rock 'n' roll as baby boomers, who listened to rock 'n' roll during their childhoods, grew into adults and brought their music with them. Musicians influenced each other and pushed the boundaries of what rock 'n' roll could be. The Beatles were influenced by Bob Dylan, who was influenced by the Beatles, who were influenced by the Beach Boys, and so on... This circle of influence and the idea of musical one-upsmanship helped push rock 'n' roll into new musical

territories, where the Beatles incorporated classical music sensibilities, and Dylan brought poetic writing to the rock 'n' roll mix.

A number of studies have been conducted on newsweeklies, due in large part to their broad readership and influence (Riffe, Lacy, Drager, 1996). *Time* and *Newsweek* served as cultural barometers for many readers, including many in leadership positions in the United States (Weiss, 1974). An increase in rock 'n' roll coverage would point to the music becoming more mainstream, rather than "fringe" music. There has also been a multitude of studies about rock 'n' roll, from historical, cultural and sociological perspectives, but there do not seem to be any studies examining the amount of rock 'n' roll coverage in newsweeklies.

This study will examine four research questions:

RQ1: Did rock/pop coverage surpass classical music coverage in *Time* or *Newsweek* during the 1960s?

RQ2: Did overall music coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek* increase or decrease during the 1960s?

RQ3: Did *Time* or *Newsweek* use more photographs for rock/pop or classical coverage in the 1960s?

RQ4a: Was there an increase in rock/pop coverage around the time of the *Sgt. Pepper* release in 1967? **RQ4b:** If so, was the increase sustained?

Chapter 2

Literature Review

To many of the adults of the 1950s and the early 1960s, rock 'n' roll was the music of juvenile delinquents and sexual deviants. Rock 'n' roll was “teenagers singing for teenagers about being teenagers,” and it meant little to the adults (Curtis, 46). It was a passing fad with no artistic value. The rhythm and dancing was primitive, often derisively compared to the primal rhythms and dancing of African tribes or Native Americans. In Birmingham, Alabama, in 1956, a spokesman for the White Citizens Council stated, “[R]ock 'n' roll is the basic, heavy-beat music of the Negroes. It appeals to the base in man, brings out animalism and vulgarity” (Larner, 1964, p. 44). Elvis “the pelvis” Presley could only be shown from the waist up on national TV.¹ An American psychiatrist declared rock 'n' roll “a communicable disease with music appealing to adolescent insecurity” (Owram, 1996, p. 156). Rock 'n' roll was the music of the devil, and had no redeeming social value, and many thought it was just a fad that would soon be replaced by another fad.

Fast forward to the late 1960s and early 1970s, when rock 'n' roll had become mainstream. There were movies and television programs about rock 'n' roll, massive music festivals such as Monterey Pop Festival, Woodstock, and the Isle of Wight festival, not to mention big sales² in the record industry.

¹ Ed Sullivan had declared that Presley's gyrations were too suggestive, and that Presley would never appear on the Ed Sullivan Show. Presley appeared on the Steve Allen Show (Sullivan's competition), and for the first time, Allen's show got higher ratings than Sullivan's. Sullivan relented, and Presley appeared on three Sullivan shows for \$50,000. After the third show, Sullivan declared Presley “a real decent, fine boy.” (Halberstam, 1993, pp. 478-479).

² The record industry had gross revenue of over \$600 million for 1960, which grew to \$1.5 billion by 1969 (Ruhlmann, 2004, pp. 127-147).

As with any sociological trend or shift, there may be many explanations or theories behind the change. This research will focus on three possible factors:

1. Media coverage of rock 'n' roll, specifically news magazines
2. The rise of the baby boom generation
3. The development of rock music as art

News Magazine Coverage of Rock 'n' Roll

Leaf through any modern issue of *Time* or *Newsweek*, and it is clear that pop music, in its many subsets, is still the dominant music of today. *Time* and *Newsweek* cover rock, rap, and country almost exclusively, with the occasional foray into symphonic music or even opera. But leafing through an issue of *Time* or *Newsweek* from 40 to 50 years ago gives the reader an extremely different view of music. The major symphonies and opera companies from around the world were covered, along with the important performers of the day. When and why did this change begin?

When flipping through the pages of *Time* and *Newsweek* back issues, the gradual change in music coverage seems to happen most dramatically during the 1960s. The time period is significant, as it corresponds with a period of intense musical and artistic innovation in the world of popular music, and a major shift in attitude toward rock 'n' roll music as an art form. The time period also plays a role in that, by the mid-sixties, rock 'n' roll had been around for 10 years and more adults were listening and dancing along. Rock 'n' roll was no longer just for teenyboppers, and many of the former teenyboppers were now adults.

Time and *Newsweek* have been an important part of American life through the 20th Century. Before the rise of television as a news source, the newsweeklies gave readers a more in-depth view of current events. While other magazines courted the more intellectual population of the U.S., both *Time*, and by extension, *Newsweek*, targeted the middle and upper class. *Time* did not just focus on the news; it also tried to educate the middle-class audience about culture (Baughman, 2001). Every issue had “back of the book” departments covering cultural issues. The pair strove to give their middle-class audiences a broad education in the arts and current events (Ibid.).

Time was founded by Henry Luce and Briton Hadden in 1923 (Tebbel, 1969). *Newsweek* was founded in 1933 by a group of former *Time* writers. By the 1950s and 60s, both were considered influential, but *Newsweek* lagged behind *Time* in circulation. According to *The Powers That Be* by Halberstam, *Newsweek* had a circulation of 1.3 million in the 1950s, placing it “far behind *Time*” (Ibid.). By 1960, *Time* had reached a circulation of more than 3 million (“Circulation Now Over 3,000,000,” 1960). However, leading media rate and data company SRDS lists circulation numbers for June 30, 1960 at 1,212,577 for *Time* magazine, and 1,411,552 for *Newsweek* (R. Harman, personal communication, July 6, 2006). SRDS numbers for June 30, 1971 show a decisive circulation lead for *Time* with 4,373,796, compared with 2,698,856 for *Newsweek* (Ibid.).

In a 1961 survey, Washington correspondents were asked which newsmagazines they read; *Time* was found to be the most read newsmagazine (Baughman, 2001). An early 1970s survey of the top leaders of American institutions ranked *Time* first and *Newsweek* second in regular magazine readership (Weiss, 1974). Later in the same study,

Weiss notes that *Time* and *Newsweek* were also ranked first and second respectively as valuable magazine sources (Ibid.).

While there have been many academic studies regarding newsweeklies, including *Time* and *Newsweek*, most notably “What America’s Leaders Read” (Ibid.), there have not been many studies of music coverage in these magazines (Jones, 2002, p. 1). *Hall’s Magazine Editorial Reports* (known during the 1960s as *Magazine Editorial Reports*) analyzed the content of popular magazines, and reported on the percentages of coverage, but their analysis examined the number of lines per topic, and did not break the music category into genres. There have been studies on the presuppositions of the music press (Stratton, 1982) and historical studies on the music press of both the U.S. (Draper, 1990, and Peck, 1985) and Britain (Toynbee, 1993).

Time and *Newsweek’s* adult editors, along with most other newspapers and magazines, considered rock ‘n’ roll to be a juvenile fad in the 1950s. Prior to examining their music coverage, it is necessary to define some of the musical terminology used in this research. The term “rock ‘n’ roll” will be most commonly used, but the terms “rock” and “pop” will occasionally be used. Technically, rock became a subset of pop in the mid 1960s as the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Jefferson Airplane and others became the norm for North American music listeners. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music* points out that the 1960s were not just dominated by the Beatles and other rock acts, but that “Connie Francis, Brenda Lee and Percy Faith” all had hits during the decade as well. The latter three would certainly not be considered “rock,” but share the “pop” category with the Beatles (Walser).

Rock 'n' roll was viewed by many, both inside and outside the recording industry, as a fad that would soon be usurped by a newer fad. John Peel, the influential BBC disk jockey, recalled headlines such as, "Is Calypso the New Rock 'N' Roll?" (Gorman, 2001, p. 23). In the 1950s, many of the major labels would not even touch rock and roll, due in large part to obscenity concerns and the belief that rock and roll was a fad that would soon be replaced by something else (Gillett, 1996). By the early 1960s, it appeared that the predictions of rock 'n' roll as fad were coming true, as the major rock 'n' roll stars of the 1950s had either gone in other directions or hit major career blockades. Elvis Presley was concentrating on his film career. Buddy Holly was dead. Little Richard had exchanged rock 'n' roll for the ministry, and Chuck Berry and Jerry Lee Lewis had both experienced career-damaging moral or legal lapses.³ This rock 'n' roll vacuum left room for the record industry to create their own stars – mostly attractive, safe (read white-bread) teens and 20-somethings, such as Frankie Ford, Bobby Rydell, and Bobby Vee, who sang music provided by the industry (Friedlander, 1996). Because of this fad status, record companies were uninterested in the career longevity of their teen idols. When a teen idol had a hit, the record company would release single after single, working to keep a steady stream of music by the teen idol on the charts. When a single didn't perform as expected, the artist would be dropped from the record label. The label would then promote the next teen sensation in the hopes of having a new hit.

By contrast, rock musicians of the mid to late 1960s were thought to take their music more seriously. In the mid 1960s, The Beatles' *Revolver* and *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely*

³ Chuck Berry was charged with transporting a sixteen-year-old female across state lines for immoral purposes, a violation of the Mann Act. Berry was found guilty and served two years in federal prison for the offense (Christgau, 1992). Jerry Lee Lewis married his 13-year-old cousin, Myra Gale Brown, and the press and public opinion soured on Lewis (Dellar, 2002).

Hearts Club Band, along with Bob Dylan's *Highway 61 Revisited* and the Beach Boys' *Pet Sounds* helped propel the notion that rock could be an art form. These works had a cohesiveness and continuity that made them more than just a collection of singles with "filler" tracks⁴. A 1967 *Time* review began by stating, "What was once loosely labeled rock 'n' roll has gone far beyond the original formula" ("*Time* Listings," September 15, 1967). A *Time* cover story on *Sgt. Pepper* summed the progression by stating, "It's a long way from 'I want to hold your hand' to 'I'd love to turn you on'" ("The Messengers," 1967).

The Grove Dictionary of Music contrasts pop and rock stylistically by the following:

[R]ock' is generally thought of as 'harder', more aggressive, more improvisatory and more closely related to black American sources, while 'pop' is 'softer', more 'arranged' and draws more on older popular music patterns (Middleton, 2005).

In *Sound of the City*, Charlie Gillett defines rock as starting in 1964.⁵ According to Gillett, rock 'n' roll lasted from 1953-1958, and then subsided in the early sixties (1996).

In *Rock Eras*, Curtis agrees that 1964 saw the beginning of a new era in rock music (1987).

To add to the confusion of trying to label music genres, in the ears of many listeners, anything not considered high art or classical in nature is automatically classified as rock 'n' roll (Bordowitz, 2004). An early example of this genre confusion can be found in the March 20, 1961 *Newsweek* coverage of a Russian dance program called "Back to the Monkeys." The uncredited author wrote:

⁴ A filler track is a lesser quality song with absolutely no chance of becoming a hit single. They were often inserted on LPs to fill out the remaining tracks (Patterson, 1998).

⁵ Technically rock is a variation of rock 'n' roll.

Onstage, six musicians belted out a Soviet version of American jazz while seven couples whirled, quivered, and leaped in a hilarious spoof of rock 'n' roll (p. 64).

The rest of the coverage refers only to jazz. It is unclear whether the genre confusion was happening in the mind and ears of the author or the performers in the Soviet Union.

Either way, this is an example of the confusion that can occur, especially when listeners are unfamiliar with the genre.

When the music was just considered pop, many news organizations thought it unworthy of coverage. Classical music, such as symphonic or operatic music, was considered a true art form, and thus worthy of coverage. Jazz, country, and folk, while borderline art forms in many music-listeners' minds at the time, had their roots in other musical forms and were also covered in the media. But pop wasn't about pushing musical boundaries or carrying on musical traditions. Pop was about having fun and making people dance. As such, many music critics often dismissed it as "lightweight." William Mann, music critic of *The Times* of London, recalls:

Of course you don't expect to be appreciated if you write about something that's unconventional, and it was in those days fairly unconventional for a serious music critic to write about popular music. (They do it all the time now.) I had one colleague who refused to believe that there was any musical value whatsoever in any piece of popular music – and this is a person who idolizes Mozart, who wrote plenty of popular music (Taylor, 1987, p. 43).

When pop was covered in *Time* or *Newsweek*, it was often derisive in nature. A 1961 *Time* review of an LP of Thomas Alva Edison's earliest recordings began by noting how much horrible music was available on records and then took a potshot at Elvis Presley. It then continued by stating that listening to Edison's early recordings will justify "the cost of rock 'n' roll" ("Terrifying Invention," 1961). Another *Time* article from

March 1963, on young girls listening to “teen feel” records, identified a “teen feel” song thusly:

...has a melody simple enough for a devotee to learn in one hearing and, hopefully, it is also reminiscent of some other song that was a hit a year or so ago. It has all the intellectual content of a scream, and its lyrics are direct and ungrammatical (“St. Joan of the Jukebox”).

A November 1963 *Time* article on the Beatlemania sweeping Britain featured this

America-boosting quote:

Though Americans might find the Beatles achingly familiar (their songs consist mainly of “Yeh!” screamed to the accompaniment of three guitars and a thunderous drum), they are apparently irresistible to the English (“The New Madness,” 1963).

Of course, *Time* and *Newsweek* covered other musical genres as well, but they seemed to treat them with greater credibility. *Newsweek* featured Eileen Farrell of the Metropolitan Opera on the cover of the February 13, 1961 issue, and Igor Stravinsky on the May 21, 1962 cover. Folk singer Joan Baez was the cover story for the November 23, 1962 issue of *Time*, and jazzman Thelonious Monk got the *Time* cover treatment for the February 28, 1964 issue. The Beatles made the *Newsweek* cover for the January 24, 1964 issue – fairly early in the beginning of the U.S. portion of their career. *Time* ran a rock-specific cover for the May 21, 1965 issue. The cover headline read, “Rock ‘n’ Roll: Everybody’s Turned On.” But *Time* didn’t put the Beatles on the cover until the September 22, 1967 issue – after *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band* had been released. But it wasn’t for lack of trying.

Otto Fuerbringer, the managing editor of *Time*, lobbied intensely to name the Beatles as *Time*'s Men of the Year for 1965,⁶ but Fuerbringer met nothing but resistance among the other editors at *Time*. Jim Keogh argued against the idea, saying, "Suppose there's a big battle in Vietnam that week with a lot of Americans killed and we come out with a cover on the Beatles?" The editors shelved the idea immediately (Halberstam, 1979, p. 457).

By 1964, there were more than 20 million 18- to 24-year-olds (Kolloge, 1999), and youth culture and the generation gap were becoming hot topics in the media. *Time* and *Newsweek* had to cover "youth issues" to help keep the public informed about the Baby Boom generation.

The Rise of the Baby Boom Generation

Prior to the advent of rock 'n' roll, music was a family experience. Families typically had one radio and/or phonograph in the house, and the whole family listened to the same music. Frank Sinatra, Guy Lombardo and Patti Page were some of the major artists of 1950, and they had cross-generational appeal (Owram, 1996).

Between 1946 and 1964, around 76 million babies were born, creating the largest generation in history, known collectively as the Baby Boom (Gillon, 2004). These birth years meant that the earliest boomers began turning 13 in 1959, triggering the largest group of teenagers ever in the U.S., and one that would continue to grow in size and influence through the 1960s (Curtis, 1987).

⁶ The *Time* editors selected General William C. Westmoreland as Man of the Year for 1965 (Halberstam, 1979).

In the late 1950s, young people started to have money of their own, through jobs or allowances from parents. According to a 1956 *Scholastic* survey, teen income increased 26 percent between 1953 and 1956, to \$7 billion a year (Halberstam, 1993). The average teenager had an income of \$10.55 a week (Ibid.). But even with this new source of income, many of the established major record labels of the time were slow to market rock 'n' roll. At a March 1958 convention for record and radio people, Mitch Miller, then of Columbia Records, told the radio people they were marketing to the wrong demographic, describing the rock 'n' roll market as “the eight to fourteen year olds, the pre-shave crowd that makes up 12% of the population and zero percent of its buying power, once you eliminate the ponytail ribbons, Popsicles and peanut brittle⁷” (Coleman, 2003, p. 75). By 1963, “young girls” making up just 6 percent of the population would be responsible for spending 56.3 percent of the \$650 million in sales of recorded music⁸ (Sanjek, 1996).

The majority of record label executives shared Miller's attitudes about rock 'n' roll. Most believed rock 'n' roll to be a fad, and thought it was not worthy of investment. The ignoring of rock 'n' roll by the majors gave room to some of the independent labels. In 1950, nearly 75 percent of the records on the *Billboard* pop singles chart were released by one of the “big four” – Capitol, RCA Victor, Decca, and Columbia. By 1955, that number had decreased to less than 49 percent (Ruhmann, 2004). Of the big four, RCA Victor, the label that signed Elvis Presley for \$25,000, was the only one to venture a

⁷ The Grove Dictionary of Music notes, “the antipathy of their musical director Mitch Miller to rock and roll proved costly for Columbia” (Burford).

⁸ Sanjek continues by noting that the girls purchased an average of 55 singles (around \$1 each) and 22 LPs (around \$4 each) (1996).

chance on a rock 'n' roll singer. Many of the other major labels would not sign a rock act until the Haight-Ashbury scene in San Francisco came to prominence during 1966-67.

As the price and size of radios and phonographs began to decrease, more were added to households. Radios and phonographs became more portable as manufacturers used transistors to build their products, instead of the bulkier, more fragile vacuum tubes (Coleman, 2003). Additionally, transistor radios gave listeners the ability to use an earpiece for private listening. Transistors also made it possible for auto manufacturers to install radios in their cars, as transistors required less power than vacuum tubes (Ibid.). Phonographs became lighter and more portable, instead of being integrated into big wooden cabinets (Owram, 1996). It was a simple matter to carry a small phonograph and some 45-rpm singles to another room, or even to a friend's house. These technological advances meant young people had more autonomy in what they listened to, and that music listening was no longer restricted to one room of the house.⁹ By the end of 1959, there were more than 12 million transistor radios in use (Coleman, 2003).

In the 1950s, the 45-rpm singles market and the LP market were considered separate from one another. The singles market, which had been a prime outlet for novelty songs in the 1950s, grew to include pop and later rock 'n' roll songs. Singles retailed for around one dollar apiece, and were generally purchased by young people. Full-length albums, or LPs, had a suggested retail price of four dollars each, and were more likely purchased by adults. The LPs often contained movie soundtracks or Broadway recordings. By the end of the 1950s, because of declining singles sales and larger profit margins on LPs, the record industry began to view singles as promotional tools for LP

⁹ The Beach Boys' biography *The Nearest Faraway Place* mentions that whenever Brian Wilson spent the night at Mike Love's house, the boys would sneak a transistor radio under the covers to listen to late night broadcasts of rhythm & blues (White, 1994).

sales (Ruhlmann, 2004). The record companies did not issue as many songs exclusively as singles, instead selecting a song from the LP that had the possibility of becoming a hit (the A side of the single) backed with a song of lesser hit potential (the B side). A 1964 *Atlantic Monthly* article on rock 'n' roll reported, "It seems... that every American [between the ages of thirteen and fifteen] collects 45 rpm singles" (Larner, 1964, p. 47). The LP was viewed as a collection of several hits with the rest of the songs as filler (Coleman, 2003).

Television was replacing the radio as family entertainment in the 1950s. By 1960, there were televisions in nine out of ten American homes (Gillon, 2004). When the radio was the principle form of family entertainment, the programming was broad. But as more teens listened without their families, radio stations began to focus first on rhythm & blues,¹⁰ and later on rock 'n' roll (Coleman, 2003; Dramarama Productions, 1998). In 1955, Kansas City's WHB became the first all rock 'n' roll radio station, and other stations began to follow, moving away from the radio network format to more independent programming¹¹ (Coleman). Television played some rock 'n' roll as well, with Elvis Presley appearances on the Milton Berle, Steve Allen, and Ed Sullivan shows, and *American Bandstand* premiering in 1957 from Philadelphia (Owram, 1996). But *American Bandstand* was on the safer side of rock 'n' roll, often promoting the teen idols, such as Connie Francis, Paul Anka, and Bobby Vee. Dick Clark featured many performers on *Bandstand* while having considerable ties to the Philadelphia music business. Clark had interests in record companies, music publishing, management, a

¹⁰ Rhythm & blues records were also commonly referred to as "race records" or "sepia music" (Dramarama Productions, 1998). The term "rhythm & blues" is still in use today.

¹¹ It should be noted that AM rock 'n' roll radio was purely a North American phenomenon. Britain had tight control over the national airwaves, so British music fans learned about rock 'n' roll through the "inkies" such as *New Musical Express*, *Record Mirror*, and *Disc* (Toynbee, 1993).

record-pressing plant, and partial copyright to more than 150 songs. Clark went through the 1959 Payola¹² scandals relatively unscathed, though he was forced to divest some of his interests (Friedlander, 1996. Coleman). As a result of the Payola investigations, AM radio stations tightened their playlists, allowing their DJs to play only the current top 40 *Billboard* hits. This forced DJs to focus more on developing an on-air persona, rather than focusing on the music as they had in the past (Dramarama Productions).

By 1964, television would continue to develop in the promotion of rock 'n' roll, with the Beatles' first Ed Sullivan performance netting over 73 million American viewers (Owram, 1996). While television was continuing to develop, so too did rock 'n' roll.

The Development of Rock Music as Art

Rock 'n' roll has always been about evolution, and rock 'n' roll began by integrating a *mélange* of different styles, such as blues, gospel and country music. Most musicians, including the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Beach Boys and even Bob Dylan, started out playing the music of others. The Beatles and the Rolling Stones were both excited by the recordings of American rhythm and blues musicians that were being imported into England. They tried to learn how to play the songs, and in doing so, learned the basic language and patterns of rock 'n' roll. As Ed Ward wrote of the Beatles, “everything new comes from someone trying to imitate something and getting it wrong.” (“When Wrong is Right”). As these musicians wrote their own songs, little pieces of the originals were incorporated into their music. For example, the Beatles were big fans of Little Richard, and one of his musical trademarks is the falsetto “Woooo!” used by

¹² Rock 'n' Roll DJ Alan Freed did not fare as well as Clark in the Payola hearings. In 1960, Freed was charged with commercial bribery, and eventually pleaded guilty (Friedlander, 1996).

Richard in “Good Golly Miss Molly” and other songs. And it appeared, to great effect, in the Beatles’ “She Loves You.” John Lennon of the Beatles later said, “I studied the records. What are they saying? How are they doing it? How do they make this music? What are they doing that excites me?”

(<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/gperf/shows/lennon/multimedia/index.html>)

The cause and effect of influence and evolution is not specific only to the Beatles, of course. The Rolling Stones played covers of, and were heavily influenced by, the blues of Muddy Waters and Howling Wolf (Grossman, 1976), while the Beach Boys spent time performing doo-wop songs and more specifically the music of the Four Freshmen. In addition, the Beach Boys’ “Surfin’ U.S.A.” is a note-for-note tribute (or theft, depending on your view) to Chuck Berry’s “Sweet Little Sixteen.”¹³ Famously, Bob Dylan was enamored with the life and work of Woody Guthrie and was later influenced by the Beatles for the rock portion of his career. And, as examined later, the circle of influence continued as the Beatles, specifically John Lennon, were influenced by the lyrics of Bob Dylan.

Rock ‘n’ roll evolved by continuing this “melting pot” approach. In the sixties, rock absorbed folk, surf and other musical styles, while rock musicians began to apply classical music techniques to rock music composition.¹⁴

¹³ Chuck Berry’s music publisher, Arc Music, sued Capitol Records and the Beach Boys. The case was settled out of court, giving Berry an undisclosed sum and a writer’s credit for “Surfin’ U.S.A.” (Gaines, 1986).

¹⁴ It should be noted that this timeline is one of the simpler chronological timelines, and addresses artist’s musical influence on one another. For a good discussion of sociological impacts on rock music, see Curtis’ *Rock Eras 1954-1984*. Curtis uses McLuhan’s Laws of Media to organize the first 30 years of rock ‘n’ roll into three distinct 10-year periods. According to Curtis, each of the three periods began following a “major crisis in American political life.” The 1954-64 period followed the McCarthy hearings, the 1964-74 period followed Kennedy’s assassination, and the 1974-84 period followed the Watergate hearings. Each period saw the first five years filled with musical innovation, followed by five years of assimilation. Furthermore, all three periods, according to Curtis, ended in death (1987).

In the late 50s and early 60s, many of the hip, older teens expressed disdain for pop and rock as teeny-bopper music. Fabian, Bobby Rydell, and Frankie Avalon were the singers that your little sister liked because they were cute (and safe), but they were considered musically vapid. This “teen idol” scene had muted the beat of early rock ‘n’ roll, and replaced the urgent sexuality with teen romance (Friedlander, 1996). Noted rock critic Greil Marcus remembers that prior to the Beatles’ first Ed Sullivan appearance, rock ‘n’ roll, and by extension, radio, “felt dull and stupid, a dead end” (Marcus, 1992, pp. 212-213). Much of the hip, older teen crowd gave credence to folk and jazz as “real” music. Bob Dylan, Joan Baez and Donovan were “poets,” in the same class as the Beats, such as Kerouac and Ginsberg. Barry Melton, guitarist for the 1960s rock band Country Joe & the Fish, said, “Folk music was legitimate, it was something you could discuss, it was music of real working people.” (Unterberger, 2002, p. 32). Other folk musicians thought that rock ‘n’ roll lyrics were “stupid” (Ibid.). Folk music was identified with sincerity, integrity and social consciousness, and in the early sixties, folk was closely identified with the civil rights movement.¹⁵ For example, on May 12, 1963, Dylan had been booked to play The Ed Sullivan Show, where he intended to sing “Talkin’ John Birch Paranoid Blues.”¹⁶ The producers refused to let Dylan perform that song on the

¹⁵ In the 1930s and 40s, folk music was often aligned with the American Communist Party, and was deemed un-American by McCarthy during the 1950s. The release of the six-record *Anthology of American Folk Music* in 1952 helped set the stage for the folk revival of the early 1960s (Lornell, 2004).

¹⁶ Lyric excerpts:

So I run down most hurriedly
 And joined up with the John Birch Society,
 I got me a secret membership card
 And started off a-walkin' down the road.
 Yee-hoo, I'm a real John Bircher now!
 Look out you Commies!
 ...
 Well, I investigated all the books in the library,
 Ninety percent of 'em gotta be burned away.
 I investigated all the people that I knowed,
 Ninety-eight percent of them gotta go.
 The other two percent are fellow Birchers . . . just like me.

grounds that it might be libelous (Inglis, 2006), and Dylan walked out (Light, 1992). Dylan's refusal to sing a different song helped enhance his image as a rebel (Inglis, 2006). In the *New York Sunday News*, Dylan asked, "Why are we in the midst of a folk boom? Because the times cry for truth and that's what they're hearin' in good folk music today." (Unterberger, p. 51). George Wein, the producer for the Newport Jazz Festival commented, "This was the era when kids held hands and sang 'We Shall Overcome' and they hated rock 'n' roll." (Steinberg, 1995). It was folk music that tied together the "Old Left" of the 1930s with the "New Left" of the 1960s (Dickstein, 1977). In his book, *Rolling With the Stones*, Rolling Stones' bassist Bill Wyman recalls singer Mick Jagger saying, "I hope they don't think we're a rock 'n' roll outfit" (2002, p. 37).

By late 1963 and early 1964, attitudes toward pop music began to shift, thanks in large part to the Beatles rise in fame, first in Great Britain, and then during the "British invasion" of America. A May 1965 *Time* cover story on rock 'n' roll stated, "On campus, where it once was squaresville to flip for the rock scene, it now is the wiggliest of kicks" ("Rock 'n' Roll," 1965, p. 84).¹⁷ While the critics were often elitist and derisive toward pop musicians, fellow musicians were becoming fans of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. Bob Weir of the Grateful Dead recalls that the Dead began as a traditionally focused jug band called Mother McCree's Uptown Jug Champions. When Weir and his bandmates first noticed the Beatles, they seemed "...less like prepackaged, marketed pap" and made rock and roll seem like a worthwhile endeavor. After hearing the Beatles,

¹⁷ The letters section of the following week showed that not all of *Time's* readers were ready to declare rock 'n' roll as acceptable. Out of seven letters printed on the previous week's cover story, two were positive. One of the positive letter-writers wrote, "Your article finally acknowledges the fact that rock 'n' roll today is not reserved for the totally ignorant." One negative letter writer referred to the "whoopings and gurglings of dim-witted adolescents more akin to 17th century Algonquin Indians," and continued, "devotees of rock 'n' roll music prove conclusively that Homo neanderthalensis is still with us." Another, more succinct writer stated, "News, it may be. Timely, it is. But music, it is not." (Letters, 1965).

they formed the Grateful Dead and began playing rock & roll (Hajdu, 2005, p. 88). Roger McGuinn of the Byrds heard folk-influenced chord changes in the music of the Beatles. McGuinn explained, “I loved their modal fourth and fifth harmonies. I thought they were really wonderful.” (Unterberger, 2002, p. 63). Even the band branded as the antithesis of the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, found some influence in the Beatles’ music. Mick Jagger said, “I think everyone got turned onto the idea of writing songs by the Beatles. It was like, if the Beatles can write, we can write” (Wyman, 2002, p. 98). As Richie Unterberger wrote in “Turn! Turn! Turn!,” many folk musicians seemed to sense that the music of the Beatles “could continue to evolve and renew itself into more sophisticated and unpredictable forms.” (p. 68). Jerry Yester, who in 1964 was a member of the Modern Folk Quartet, said, “Folk music died, I think, a month after [the Beatles appeared on] *The Ed Sullivan Show*” (Ibid., 64).

Bob Dylan was also a fan of the Beatles, and felt their influence on his music. Dylan later said, “Everybody else thought [the Beatles] were for the teenyboppers, that they were going to pass right away. But it was obvious to me that they had staying power.” (Lowe, 2005, p. 46). In a 1971 interview, Dylan recalled “[The Beatles] were doing things nobody was doing. Their chords were outrageous... and their harmonies made it all valid.” (Unterberger, 2002, p. 66). On August 28, 1964, New York *Post* journalist Al Aronowitz introduced Bob Dylan to the Beatles (Aronowitz, 1994). It was during this meeting that Dylan famously introduced the Beatles to marijuana.¹⁸ It was also the occasion at which Dylan reportedly told John Lennon, “You guys don’t say anything, you have nothing to say” (Steinberg, 1995). This would have a huge impact on

¹⁸ Aronowitz notes that John Lennon forced Ringo Starr to try it first, making a joke about Starr being his “royal taster.” (Aronowitz, 1994).

Lennon, as he was a big fan of Dylan (Roycastle et al., 2000). As music historian James Miller noted in *Flowers in the Dustbin*:

A rival and a natural model in the eyes of Lennon, Dylan was a paragon of bohemian chic, someone who represented everything that Lennon still silently aspired to: artistic integrity, musical honesty, the priceless cachet of being hip, not with screaming teenagers, but with serious adults – people like Allen Ginsberg, artists like Andy Warhol, political leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr. (1999, p. 226).

Lennon credits the change in his songwriting to listening to Dylan's music:

Instead of projecting myself into a situation, I would try to express what I felt about myself... I think it was Dylan who helped me realize that – not by any discussion or anything, but by hearing his work (Spitz, 2005, p. 534).

After Dylan attended a Beatles performance at the Paramount Theater in New York City on September 20, 1964, he rented an electric guitar and began working with it (Steinberg, 1995). Dylan continued to move further away from his folk-influenced music, releasing *Bringing It All Back Home*,¹⁹ which has been described as “a bid for Beatle territory” (Marcus, 2005). Side one of *Bringing It All Back Home* was considered the “electric” side – Dylan had a full band behind him. Side two consisted of acoustic folk-influenced songs, but they were not traditional folk, as they were written by Dylan (instead of being passed along through oral tradition²⁰), and the lyrics are much more personal and poetic than traditional folk music (Unterberger, 2002).

While many folk artists in the early sixties had hits covering Dylan's songs, most rock musicians did not work with Dylan's music until the middle of the decade. By 1965, rock and pop musicians began to have hits with Dylan's songs. The Byrds, labeled as

¹⁹ Released in 1965. Highest chart position: #6

²⁰ Dylan had written many of his earlier songs as well, though the earlier songs were more in the tradition of Woody Guthrie and other folk musicians. Unterberger defines a folk song as “a song of no known certain author or origin, having been shaped by collective forces and passed down through the generations.” (2002, p. 42).

America's Beatles, had a hit with "Mr. Tambourine Man"²¹ and "All I Want To Do,"²² which was also on the pop charts for Cher. While many rock critics and fans give Dylan sole credit for delving into rock 'n' roll, several, including Richie Unterberger, believe that Roger McGuinn of the Byrds was a crucial part of the melding of folk and rock music. In "Turn! Turn! Turn!", Unterberger credits McGuinn with combining a "Beatle beat" with folk songs while playing Greenwich Village folk clubs in 1964 (2002).

Dylan continued pushing boundaries with his music by hiring a full rock & roll band to play on *Highway 61 Revisited*,²³ his second long-playing release of 1965. The first track on the album, "Like a Rolling Stone"²⁴ originally had 50 verses, but was chopped down to a manageable 6 minutes and 13 seconds in 12 verses. When it was released as a single, it was chopped even further, with the first half of the song on side one, and the second on side two. Nevertheless, it turned out to be a hit for Dylan, and still stands as his highest charting song on the pop charts. The Grove Dictionary of Music describes the popular acceptance of "Like a Rolling Stone" as "a liberating moment for rock." (Griffiths). In the "Time Listings" section of *Time*, the lyrics for "Like a Rolling Stone" were declared "powerful and literate." The capsule review concluded by saying that the single "is climbing the charts and probably dusting off a lot of dictionaries" ("Time Listings", September 17, 1965). In the music section of the same issue, *Time* states, "Folk rock owes its origins to Bob Dylan" ("Message Time", 1965). A "Time Listings" review of *Highway 61 Revisited* a couple months later had a slightly different

²¹ Released in 1965. Highest chart position: #1

²² Released in 1965. Highest chart position: #40

²³ Highest chart position: #3

²⁴ Released in 1965. Highest chart position: #2

tone, describing Dylan's music as "winded," and continued, "...some of his new delirious diatribes have a wheezy, hollow sound" ("Time Listings", November 19, 1965).

Neither *Highway 61 Revisited* nor "Like a Rolling Stone" had been released when Dylan made his infamous 1965 Newport Folk Festival appearance. In front of 15,000 folk fans, Dylan plugged in and played electric guitar publicly for the first time to a chorus of boos from the audience.²⁵ While this performance was controversial for some time, it also showed music fans and critics that rock could have artistic credibility. If someone like Dylan was playing rock 'n' roll, that indicated to many that it may have some artistic merit. The famous folk singer Arlo Guthrie later said:

It wasn't a controversy about acoustic versus electric. It was a controversy about making music that had the integrity. It would seem inconceivable that someone could also have as much integrity and be playing rock 'n' roll. It didn't make sense to them. And so they got furious (Steinberg, 1995).

In *Gates of Eden*, Dickstein labels the general movement from folk to rock as a transition from the sincerity of folk to the authenticity of rock (1977).

Just as the Beatles had influenced Dylan, the influence also worked the other way. Dylan's criticism that the Beatles had no message stung Lennon, and he began to write more intellectually based lyrics (Steinberg, 1995). The songs "Nowhere Man" and "In My Life" both illustrate Dylan's lyrical influence on the Beatles, showing a more intellectual and personal approach lacking in previous Beatles' songs ("5: Rubber Soul,"

²⁵ It should be noted that, to this day, there is debate over whether the fans were booing the music or the poor sound system. The sound system was put together with acoustic folk music in mind, and did not have capabilities for electric, amplified instrumentation. There is also debate about whether the audience was booing at all, with some saying the crowd was excited. In December 1965, Dylan told a press conference, "...[T]hey certainly booed, I'll tell you that. You could hear it all over the place. I don't know who they were though, and I'm certain whoever it was did it twice as loud as they normally would." (Unterberger, 2002, p. 11).

2003). Dylan's influence can also be heard in the music of *Rubber Soul*,²⁶ with the incorporation of folk and country-western styles and the move away from the dance orientation of previous Beatles albums (O'Grady, 1991). *Rubber Soul* also helped spur the beginning of additional instrumentation in pop music with George Harrison's use of a sitar in "Norwegian Wood" ("5: Rubber Soul"). The "Time Listings" section of *Time* featured a favorable review of *Rubber Soul*:

Ringo playing an organ? George plunking a sitar? Paul crooning in French? George Martin rattling off baroque piano riffs? The Beatles are becoming more sophisticated as they concentrate on soul music, and their eleventh album is selling even better than the other ten ("Time Listings," March 18, 1966).

In *The Beatles Anthology*, the Beatles credit drugs for the musical leap forward on *Rubber Soul*. Ringo Starr said of *Rubber Soul*, "Grass was really influential in a lot of our changes, especially with the writers." He continued, "This was the departure record." (Roylance et al., 2000, p. 194). In a 1972 interview, Lennon said, "*Rubber Soul* was the pot album, and *Revolver* was the acid." (Ibid.). George Harrison commented, "We lost the 'little innocents' tag, the naivety, and *Rubber Soul* was the first one where we were fully-fledged potheads." (Ibid., p. 197). The more intellectual lyrics helped change the perception of the LP as just a collection of singles mixed in with some filler songs. With the release of *Rubber Soul*, the Beatles showed that a pop/rock album could stand as a cohesive musical statement. George Martin, the Beatles' producer, noted that *Rubber Soul* changed the perception of the rock album. "For the first time we began to think of albums as art on their own, as complete entities" (Miller, 1999, p. 230).

Back in the U.S., Brian Wilson of the Beach Boys was inspired by *Rubber Soul* and decided that he wanted to top it ("2: Pet Sounds," 2003). While the rest of the Beach

²⁶ Released 1965. Highest chart position: #1

Boys toured, Wilson began work on his “teenage symphony to God” called *Pet Sounds*. For the Beach Boys, a singles-based band that had sung primarily about cars, girls, and surfing, *Pet Sounds* was a drastic departure. *Pet Sounds* had songs about God, heartbreak, growing up, and the drastic shift in thematic content made many of the record executives at Capitol Records nervous. The *Pet Sounds* recording sessions also saw Wilson moving away from the standard rock setup of guitar, bass guitar, drums, vocals, and occasional keyboard into more experimental territory. Among the unusual instrumentation, Wilson incorporated a harpsichord, accordion, bass harmonica, tack piano, banjo, tympani, bicycle horns and bells and even a Sparklett’s water jug. Many people believe the theremin²⁷ on “I Just Wasn’t Made For These Times” was the first use of the instrument on a pop record (Morris, 1996). The staff at Capitol Records listened to Wilson’s initial lineup for *Pet Sounds* and didn’t hear a promising single, so they forced Wilson to add “Sloop John B,” a remake of a folk song (Williams, 2002). “Caroline, No,” one of the album’s ballads, was released as the first single. It was so different from previous Beach Boys releases that Capitol labeled it as a Brian Wilson solo release.

Pet Sounds was released in 1966 to lackluster sales.²⁸ *Pet Sounds* charted at number 10 in the U.S., while “Caroline, No” peaked at number 32 on the Billboard Singles chart. Two weeks later, Capitol released “Sloop John B” as a single, and it peaked at number 3. In an effort to keep the Beach Boys on the charts, Capitol rushed *Best of the Beach Boys* into stores in July 1966, effectively flooding the marketplace with

²⁷ The theremin is an electronic instrument invented by Lev Sergeyevich Termen in the 1920s. Right hand movement between the antenna and the base controls the pitch, while left hand movement along the antenna controls the volume. Because of the imprecise nature of this instrument, it is notoriously difficult to perform on pitch (Orton).

²⁸ Despite all the belated critical acclaim and influence of *Pet Sounds*, it was not certified gold (sales of 500,000 units) until 30 years after the initial release. This broke a successful string of hit LPs for the Beach Boys, as only the first Beach Boys LP had failed to go gold.

a new Beach Boys product and further stalling *Pet Sounds*. While the public didn't appreciate *Pet Sounds*, Wilson's musical peers began to take notice.

Paul McCartney of the Beatles heard *Pet Sounds* through the former Beatles press officer Derek Taylor, and was astounded by the musicality and the lyrical content. Taylor was acting as publicist for the Beach Boys, and he hosted *Pet Sounds* listening parties for British music journalists. Taylor also used his connections to include many of the influential tastemakers from the British music scene at the listening parties (Hoskyns, 1995). The listening parties were held at Waldorf Hotel in London, and the attendees included Keith Moon (drummer for the Who), Andrew Loog Oldham (manager of the Rolling Stones), and the Beatles' Paul McCartney and John Lennon (Abbott, 2001). Many reports of the listening parties add that Lennon and McCartney requested that a piano be brought to the area, and that the two immediately began playing chords on the piano after listening to *Pet Sounds* (Ibid.). McCartney and Lennon set out to make an album that would top *Pet Sounds*.²⁹ They began work on *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*.³⁰

One of the major musical differences between *Pet Sounds* and *Sgt. Pepper* and the pop/rock music that preceded them was that the earlier music was created with dancing in mind (Miller, 1999). These two albums were created for listening rather than dancing. For the 1972 re-release of *Pet Sounds*, Stephen Davis wrote in *Rolling Stone* magazine, “[N]obody was prepared for anything so soulful, so lovely, something one had to think about so much” (1972). James Miller wrote that with the release of *Sgt. Pepper*, the

²⁹ *Pet Sounds* included several examples of “found sound” – ambient sounds that can be found in daily life, such as train sounds and dogs barking. On *Sgt. Pepper*, the Beatles included dogs barking as a form of acknowledgment to *Pet Sounds* (2: *Pet Sounds*, 2003).

³⁰ Released in 1967. Highest chart position: #1

Beatles created “a music of introspective self-absorption, a medium fit for communicating autobiographical intimacies, political discontents, spiritual elation, inviting an audience, not to dance, but to listen – quietly, attentively, thoughtfully” (pp. 227-228). Neil Aspinall, road manager for the Beatles, commented, “The band at this time started to appeal to a more turned-on audience, because they themselves were turned on.” (Roylance et al., 2000, p. 236). In a 1968 interview, Lennon said of *Sgt. Pepper*, “We didn’t really shove the LP full of pot and drugs but, I mean, there was an effect.” (Roylance et al., p. 242).

While the popular impact of *Pet Sounds* was limited due in large part to poor sales, the impact of *Sgt. Pepper*³¹ was major. Viewed historically, the failure of the Beach Boys could be blamed on the drastic shift into new territory, while the Beatles’ transition was more gradual, with *Rubber Soul* and *Revolver*³² serving as transitional pieces into the full-blown psychedelia of *Sgt. Pepper*. George Martin pointed out that “Eleanor Rigby” and “Tomorrow Never Knows,” both from *Revolver*, were hints of how *Sgt. Pepper* would sound (Taylor, 1987). In a 1974 interview, Lennon remembers the move toward *Sgt. Pepper* as gradual (Roylance et al, 2000). Whatever the reason, the release of *Sgt. Pepper* indicated a major shift in the musical world. Despite the seeming confidence inherent in *Sgt. Pepper*, Lennon was concerned. At the official playback at manager Brian Epstein’s house, Lennon asked of the public, “Will they like it? Will they buy it? I like it, we all feel it’s another step up, but will it sell?” (Ibid, p. 39). There were some pre-release doubts in the press as well, as *News of the World* published:

³¹ After hearing the psychedelic *Sgt. Pepper* for the first time, LSD guru Timothy Leary allegedly said, “My work is finished.” (Menand, 2006). Leary is quoted elsewhere as saying, “I declare that [the Beatles] are mutants. Evolutionary agents sent by God, endowed with mysterious powers to create a new human species.” (Miles, 1997, p. 338).

³² Released in 1966. Highest chart position: #1

[The Beatles] are stepping far ahead of their audience, recording music so complex and so unlike the music that made them successful that they could very likely lose the foundation of their support (Ibid.).

Sgt. Pepper was released on June 1, 1967 in Britain, and June 2 in the United States to an immediate and enthusiastic public reception (1: Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, 2003). Many record stores had lines of fans waiting to purchase *Sgt. Pepper* (Miller, 1999). Radio stations were playing *Sgt. Pepper* in its entirety, with some stations playing it several times a day (Riley, 2002). In *Revolution in the Head*, Ian MacDonald relates a story about EMI head Sir Joseph Lockwood attending a party with a group of "rich older women." After dinner, the women sat on the floor and sang music from *Sgt. Pepper* (1994, 198). Allen Ginsberg, the beat poet, had this to say about *Sgt. Pepper*:

After the apocalypse of Hitler and the apocalypse of the Bomb, there was here [in *Sgt. Pepper*] an exclamation of joy, the rediscovery of joy and what it is to be alive... It was actually a cheerful look round the world ... for the first time, I would say, on a mass scale. (Taylor, 1987, pp. 41-42).

Remembering the mood surrounding the release of *Sgt. Pepper*, Paul McCartney said, "...The Beatles weren't the leaders of the generation, but the spokesmen." (Roynance et al., 2000, 253). Sir William Rees-Mogg was the editor of *The Times* of London when *Sgt. Pepper* was released. Twenty years after the release, in 1987, Rees-Mogg said, "[*Sgt. Pepper*] went right across the age groups, right across society, and it was perfectly apparent that this was music of real quality." He continued, "It summed up the Beatles' coming into the consciousness of non-pop-music people." (Taylor, 1987, p. 42).

In *The Beatles Anthology*, Paul McCartney recalled playing *Sgt. Pepper* for Bob Dylan:

I remember taking it round to Dylan at the Mayfair Hotel in London... I remember playing him some of *Sgt. Pepper* and he said, ‘Oh, I get it – you don’t want to be cute any more.’ (Roylance et al., 2000, p. 197).

Decades later, McCartney would echo that sentiment, saying, “We were fed up with being Beatles... We were not boys, we were men... artists rather than performers.” (1: *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band*, 2003).

The press, for the most part, agreed with the public, giving enthusiastically positive (and often hyperbolic) reviews for *Sgt. Pepper*. In *The Times* of London, Kenneth Tynan stated that *Sgt. Pepper* was “a decisive moment in the history of Western civilization.” (Miller, 1999, p. 260). In the arts magazine *Horizon*, Grunfeld compared the Beatles to Beethoven, noting that the Beatles had brought pop and serious music together and stated that this “epoch” would be “known to posterity as The Age of Beatles” (Roka, 2004).

With the release of *Sgt. Pepper* being such a highly anticipated occasion, newspapers and magazines needed writers to cover it. Many of the writers and reviewers were classical music or arts critics, and had never before reviewed a rock 'n' roll album (Gabree, 1967). Others, such as Richard Goldstein, reviewing for *The New York Times*, had been reviewing rock 'n' roll for several years. This cross-reviewing had the curious effect of having *Sgt. Pepper* reviewed in similar fashion to a classical work, with many of the reviews focusing on modes and techniques. Journalism historian Les Roka states that this and other articles and reviews by noted classical critics helped establish rock ‘n’ roll as a legitimate art form, and solidified the legacy of the Beatles’ music (Roka, 2004).

In *The New York Review of Books*, composer Ned Rorem published a piece on the Beatles from a classical perspective. In the piece, Rorem stated that “serious” music had

been on the wane since 1950, and that the Beatles' "musically contagious expression" was having an effect on the rest of the musical world. Rorem noted that part of the "magic" of the Beatles' music was that it could "legitimately be absorbed by all ages at all levels" (1968, p. 26). Rorem wrote that the Beatles had not contributed anything substantially new to musical forms, but that the Beatles had taken different musical elements, and combined them in new and exciting ways. As Rorem wrote in a section analyzing the song "Michelle," "Genius doesn't lie in not being derivative, but in making right choices instead of wrong ones." (Ibid.).

Newsweek also compared *Sgt. Pepper* to more highbrow works, stating that *Sgt. Pepper* "is like a pop 'Façade,' the suite of poems by Edith Sitwell musicalized by William Walton." The review continued by noting that *Sgt. Pepper* "is a rollicking, probing language-and-sound vaudeville, which grafts skin from all three brows – high, middle and low" (Kroll, 1967). The review also stated that the Beatles were now the "obvious choice" as Britain's new Poet Laureate. The *Newsweek* review concluded that "A Day in the Life" was "a superb achievement of their brilliant and startlingly effective popular art" (Ibid.).

Time's coverage of *Sgt. Pepper* came nearly three months after the *Newsweek* review, in the form of a cover story. The *Time* article began by describing the cover of *Sgt. Pepper*, filled with images of celebrities attending a mock funeral for the "old" Beatles (represented by the Beatles' wax figures borrowed from Madame Tussauds), with the "new" Beatles in attendance. The *Time* article paid special attention to the grave, noting, "[I]t has THE BEATLES spelled out in flowers trimmed with marijuana plants."

(“The Messengers,” 1967, p. 60). In reality, there were no marijuana plants used on the *Sgt. Pepper* cover (Gold, 1974).

Time noted that while the Beatles were wealthy and successful enough to do whatever they wished, they continued to push the boundaries of rock ‘n’ roll to “something that pop music has never been before: an art form.” The aforementioned composer Ned Rorem is quoted comparing the song “She’s Leaving Home” to Schubert, and Leonard Bernstein is mentioned as comparing the Beatles to Schumann. This high praise for the *Sgt. Pepper* material is immediately followed by criticizing the Beatles’ earlier work, saying that it “blended monotonously” with other rock ‘n’ roll. Dylan is then given due credit as Lennon’s lyrical inspiration (“The Messengers,” 1967).

Later in the story, *Time* mentions the changing audience for the music of the Beatles, noting that younger fans were finding other groups, such as the Monkees, while the Beatles cultivated an older audience. George Harrison is quoted, saying, “Suddenly, we find that all the people who thought they were beyond the Beatles are fans.” *Time* states that the older fan base includes “not only college students but parents, professors, even business executives.” (Ibid., p. 61).

The *Time* story concludes on a very positive quote from Harrison: “We’ve only just discovered what we can do as musicians, what thresholds we can cross. The future stretches out beyond our imagination.” (Ibid., p. 68).

The June 16, 1967 issue of *Life* magazine featured a first-hand account of being in the studio one night during the recording of *Sgt. Pepper*. The author, Thomas Thompson, mentions several times that the Beatles are broadening their music, and that they may possibly lose some fans as a result. While there, Thompson hears Lennon and McCartney

working on an early version of “Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds” and comments, “At this embryonic stage the song sounds like the early Beatle works which dealt in jackhammer 4-4 arrangements and lyrics which were seldom more eloquent than ‘Yeh, yeh, yeh.’” (Thompson, 1967, p. 102).

Sgt. Pepper was also creating excitement in the burgeoning musical press of the late 1960s. Chris Welch wrote in *Melody Maker*, “[*Sgt. Pepper*] is a remarkable and worthwhile contribution to music.” (Taylor, 1987, p. 40). Allen Evans reviewed *Sgt. Pepper* for *New Musical Express*, stating, “No one can deny that the Beatles have provided us with more musical entertainment which will both please the ear and get the brain working a bit too!” (Ibid.). Paul Williams of the influential music magazine *Crawdaddy!* found excitement in the mainstream coverage of *Sgt. Pepper*, mentioning reviews in *Life*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *The New Yorker*, and *The New York Times*. Williams wrote in the tenth issue of *Crawdaddy!* that these publications “at least recognized that the Beatles are true artists rather than a mere pop fad.” (Williams, 2002, p. 193). The eleventh issue of *Crawdaddy!*, dated September/October 1967, featured ten pages of *Sgt. Pepper* coverage: “Report on the State of the Beatles” by *Village Voice* reporter Don McNeill, and “My Sergeant Pepper Trip” by rock critic Richard Meltzer. McNeill’s piece labels *Sgt. Pepper* a metamorphosis for the Beatles, and compares the extreme musical change to the Beach Boys’ *Pet Sounds* (Ibid., 219). As usual, Meltzer’s review was disorganized and chaotic,³³ and was even referred to by Paul McCartney in a biography.³⁴

³³ Meltzer and his disciples, among them Lester Bangs, attempted to review rock with the same passion inherent in the music. As Meltzer wrote in the forward to *Aesthetics of Rock*, his writing is “an unguided, utterly ingenuous, unrestrainedly passionate attempt to make even provisional mega-sense out of something, far as I can tell even today, no one previous had particularly cared to “explore,” verbally, much more than the frigging surface of: rock rock rock (and ROLL). Of which I was — gosh — a frigging, unwashed ‘disciple.’”(Meltzer, 2000, p. 15).

Meltzer wrote that *Sgt. Pepper* was a “decisive end-of-culture/end-of-the-world thing” and that it brought “the consequent death of art forever (until someone forgets)...” (Bemis, 2002).

The most notable dissent on *Sgt. Pepper* came from rock critic Richard Goldstein and was published in *The New York Times*, though Goldstein usually wrote for *The Village Voice*. Goldstein noted that the pressure on the Beatles to create a masterpiece had been enormous, as they had been labeled as “progenitors of a Pop avant-garde” (Goldstein, 1967). Goldstein then compared the music of *Sgt. Pepper* to the album cover, writing, “[T]he over-all effect is busy, hip and cluttered.” (Ibid.). To Goldstein’s ears, *Sgt. Pepper* was less about music and melody, and more about dazzling production. But Goldstein gave exception to “A Day in the Life,” writing, “it stands as one of the most important Lennon-McCartney compositions, and it is a historic Pop event.” (Ibid.). Goldstein concluded the review by theorizing that when the Beatles secluded themselves in the sterile environment of the recording studio, they lost touch with their audience. He then labeled *Sgt. Pepper* a “monologue.” (Ibid.).

The controversy developed quickly. *The Village Voice*, Goldstein’s usual publisher, printed a rebuttal to his *New York Times* review. The rebuttal was written by Tom Phillips, a *New York Times* writer (Christgau, 1967). Goldstein responded with a defense, titled “I Blew My Cool Through the New York Times,” which was published in *The Village Voice*. In the defense, Goldstein wrote that if he were just a casual listener, he would have enjoyed *Sgt. Pepper*, but that as a critic, he believed *Rubber Soul* and

³⁴ McCartney said of Meltzer’s *Sgt. Pepper*’s review, “It seems that he liked it.” (Miles, 1997, p. 338).

Revolver would stand up historically (Goldstein, 1970, p. 148). Later in the defense, Goldstein wrote:

“*Rubber Soul* strove for tonal beauty, and it is lushly melodic. *Revolver* attempted to be eclectic; its compositions stand as utterly distinct and self-contained. *Sergeant Pepper* is a circus of sour.” (Ibid., 150).

Goldstein concluded his defense by alleging that *Sgt. Pepper* was not authentic, and stated that it was the Beatles’ authenticity that made him a fan in the first place (Ibid., p. 152).

According to Robert Christgau’s *Esquire* column, the *New York Times* received many letters about the original review, all in disagreement with Goldstein (Christgau, 1967). Paul Williams of *Crawdaddy!* charged that Goldstein didn’t truly understand *Sgt. Pepper* (Williams, 2002). One of Goldstein’s few defenders was Christgau, then a rock critic for *Esquire*, though the defense was qualified. In his *Esquire* column “Secular Music,” Christgau wrote that Goldstein had been unfairly attacked, but still felt that *Sgt. Pepper* was a stronger release than described by Goldstein. Christgau noted in his December 1967 column that Goldstein was “almost lynched” for his *Sgt. Pepper* review, and stated that few pop critics “can match [Goldstein] even occasionally for incisiveness, perspective, and wit.” Christgau wrote that his initial enthrallment with *Sgt. Pepper* was beginning to fade, and that perhaps Goldstein “wasn’t that wrong.” Christgau argued that *Sgt. Pepper* dispensed with any trace of the folk music influence found in *Rubber Soul* or *Revolver*, calling *Sgt. Pepper* “the epitome of studio rock.” Christgau also stated his belief that Goldstein was so focused on the sound effects and production, that he missed the actual music of *Sgt. Pepper* (Christgau).

The jazz-oriented magazine *Down Beat* also featured a less flattering look at *Sgt. Pepper*. Rock critic John Gabree attributed the positive reviews of *Sgt. Pepper* to the fact that many of the critics had only just begun listening to rock music, and that they had preconceived notions that the Beatles were the “vanguard of popular music.” (Gabree, 1967, p. 20). Gabree maintained that there were many other musicians creating music that was more adventurous than *Sgt. Pepper*, such as the Who experimenting with rock operas or the Mothers of Invention recording “rock oratorios.” Gabree continued by stating that with experimentation in rock music, “the Beatles are merely the populizers, not the creators.” (Ibid.). Gabree also defended Goldstein, writing that he is the “only critic with any perspective on the Beatles.” (Ibid.).

Interestingly, many critics today agree with Goldstein’s assessment of *Sgt. Pepper*. Looking back at the Beatles' catalog, *Rubber Soul* and *Revolver* have held up very well, while *Sgt. Pepper*, while still thrilling, often seems coy or forced.

Thanks to their tremendous explosion of popularity and influence in the 1960s, the Beatles have been a prime subject for academic research. Much of the research has been cataloged on the “Beabliography,” an online bibliography of Beatles research with an emphasis on academic works (Heuger, 1997). One fascinating application of content analysis with the music of the Beatles can be found in the journal article “Creative Trends in the Content of Beatles Lyrics.” In this study, the lyrics of 183 Beatles songs were analyzed in an effort to note specific creative trends (West, 1996). Another study, more applicable to music and journalism, examined the critical responses to the release of *Sgt. Pepper* (Roka, 2004).

Chapter 3

Procedures and Methodology

The author (coder 1) reviewed issues of *Time* and *Newsweek* dated between January 1, 1960 and December 31, 1969. Prior to the coding, four slips of paper were numbered one through four, representing at least four weeks in every month. The number three was selected at random, so the coder scanned and coded the third issue of every month for music coverage. If the music coverage pages were missing or could not be coded, the coder moved on to the fourth issue of the month. If the music coverage in the fourth issue was also unavailable, the coder scanned the first issue, continuing the process until an issue was found with no music coverage, an issue was found with intact music coverage, or all weeks in a given month had been scanned and found unacceptable. In the case of an entire month of unacceptable issues, the month was skipped for that particular newsweekly.

By using the third issue of every month for sampling, a “constructed year” was assembled. The stratified monthly sample method has been demonstrated as a reliable and efficient approach for newsweeklies, especially when compared to random samples from within a year of issues (Riffe, Lacy, and Drager, 1996).

Two reliability coders were assigned to recode 10% of the original data set at random. The coders used the codebook (Appendix A) and the primary and secondary coding sheets (Appendices B and C, respectively) for the coding. All instructions were given prior to the beginning of coding. The coders selected available coding groups from the coding log sheet (Appendix D) but were not allowed to code for the same date range and newsweekly in both data sets.

Each coder began by pulling the appropriate volume for the date range and newsweekly indicated on the log sheet. The coder then turned to the third issue of the month and completed boxes A through F on the primary coding sheet, entering the following information:

Box A – Coder ID Number: Individual number given to each coder

Box B – Magazine: The coder selected either *Newsweek* or *Time*.

Box C – Issue Date: The coder recorded the issue date for the magazine, as shown on either the front cover or the table of contents.

Box D – Total Pages: The total number of pages in each issue, as numbered in the magazine. It should be noted that in the early 1960s, *Newsweek* and *Time* both used the back cover for stories, and it was considered a numbered page.

Box E – Page Numbers: The coder recorded the page numbers of the articles covering music. Multiple articles on separate pages were recorded with a comma between them, while single articles spanning multiple pages were recorded with a dash between the page numbers.

Box F – Number of Stories: The coder recorded the number of articles covering music. If the issue contained no music coverage, the coder wrote “None”.

The coders began the scan for music coverage on the Contents page of the issue. If the Contents page was unclear, or the issue did not have a table of contents, the coder scanned the magazine looking for music coverage.

The coder recorded the first music-related article on the primary coding sheet, using boxes 1-12. If there was no music coverage in the issue, the coder left this section

blank and proceeded to the following month. Information on the first article was coded as follows:

Box 1 – Artist Name(s): The coder recorded the name(s) of the artists covered in the article. In the case of a band or group, the coder recorded the group name only. In the case of a symphony, the coder recorded the name of the symphony, the conductor, and the composer. For opera coverage, the coder recorded the name of the opera company, the principal vocalists, and the composer. If another artist was mentioned briefly as a point of comparison, the coder did not record that artist's name.

Box 2 – Page Numbers: The coder recorded the page number(s) for the story being coded. These page numbers were only for this particular story and not all the music coverage in the issue.

Box 3 – Cover Story: The coder recorded this as “Yes” if the cover story was about a musical artist, group, or musical trend.

Box 4 – Artist Sex: If the coverage was devoted to a single person, the coder identified the sex of the person. If the coverage was devoted to a group and the group was made up entirely of people of one sex, the coder identified the sex. If the group was comprised of males and females, it was coded as “Mixed Group.” If the sex was unclear or if the coder was unsure after reading the article, the sex was coded as “Unknown.”

Box 5 – Allmusic.com Genre: The coder opened the website for <http://allmusic.com> and entered the artist name in the search box. The coder then recorded the genre for the artist as listed on the site.

Box 6 – Column Inches: The coder used a ruler to measure the width and length of the columns for the story, not including photographs. If there were more than six columns in

the story, the coder continued recording column measurements on the back of the primary coding form, and made a note in Box 12 (Comments).

Box 7 – Photograph: The coder recorded whether there was an accompanying photograph to the article.

Box 8 – Number of Photographs: The coder recorded the number of photographs that accompanied this particular article. If there were no photographs, the coder recorded “None.”

Box 9 – Type of Photograph: The coder recorded the type of photograph, selecting from the following: album cover, posed picture, or performance picture. If unsure, the coder recorded “Other/Unknown.” If there were multiple photos, the coder recorded all appropriate selections.

Box 10 – Size of Photo(s): Using a ruler, the coder measured and recorded the size of the photo(s). If there were multiple photos, the coder recorded them in the spaces provided. The coder also recorded whether the photos were in color or black & white. If there were more than three photos, the coder continued on the back of the primary coding form, and made a note in Box 12 (Comments).

Box 11 – Subject of Photograph(s): The coder recorded the subject of the photograph(s) according to the captions or the article. If there were more than three photographs, the coder continued on the back of the primary coding form, and made a note in Box 12 (Comments).

Box 12 – Comments: If the coder had any general comments about this particular issue or article, they recorded them here. The coder also used this space to record which section contained the music coverage, i.e. “Music,” “Time Listings,” “People,” etc...

If there was additional music coverage, the coder completed a *Secondary Coding Form* for each article. The coder assigned a number to the story according to story order in the issue. The coder then completed boxes 1-12 as listed above. After coding was complete on an issue, all coding forms for that issue were stapled together.

Rather than having coders guess about the genre of a musician, the music database Allmusic.com was used to determine genre. This was done because the articles themselves were not always good indicators of genre, and because what defines a music genre can often shift over time. An example might be an early 1960s singer, originally identified by *Time* or *Newsweek* as a rock ‘n’ roll singer. But by the standards of today, or by later musical output of the singer, Allmusic.com and other sources might classify the singer a part of the “Vocal” genre, which, while still pop-oriented, is not rock ‘n’ roll.

Allmusic.com was also selected so the coders would have a reliable genre label for musicians who performed in a variety of styles. For example, when coding an article on Bob Dylan, it is difficult to know whether he would be classified as folk, rock, folk-rock, country, or several other possible genres. Allmusic.com has classified Dylan as being part of the rock genre, so that label is used, and alleviates some of the possible genre confusion.

Regarding pop-oriented music, Allmusic.com seems to restrict classifications to a single genre, for the most part. But in classical listings, many Allmusic.com biography pages have multiple genres listed for a single musician. For example, the Leonard Bernstein listing has five genres listed: Symphony, Orchestral Music, Musical Theater, Keyboard Music, and Vocal Music. Because it is often difficult to understand which

specific genre might be the focus of an article in *Time* or *Newsweek*, all genres would be recorded for an article on Leonard Bernstein.

Obviously this multi-genre categorization would cause problems in a content analysis where category systems must be mutually exclusive (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). Allmusic.com has the individual genres grouped by broad categories as “Popular Genre” and “Classical Genre.” In order to achieve more exclusive categories, these broad categories were used, with artists being placed in one or the other based on their specific genres, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1 Broad Genre Categories and Specific Genre Categories

Broad Genre Categories	Pop	Classical	Cross	Miscellaneous	Unknown
Specific Genre Categories (Allmusic.com)	Avant-Garde Bluegrass Blues Cajun Celtic Comedy Easy Listening Electronica Folk Gospel Jazz Latin New Age R&B Rap Reggae Rock Soundtrack Vocal World	Ballet Band Music Chamber Music Choral Music Concerto Electronic/Avant - Garde/Minimalist Film Music Keyboard Music Musical Theater Opera Orchestral Music Symphony Vocal Music	Any of the listed specific genres	Capsule Reviews/Misc.	Other/Not Identified

While the two broad categories eliminated the majority of the multi-genre problems, there was still the occasional article in *Time* or *Newsweek* that wasn't really

specific to any single music genre. A good example is an article about Benny Goodman. Goodman made his name in jazz, but also worked with symphonies. A biographically oriented article might refer to his activities in both musical realms. To accommodate this type of article, the “Cross” genre category was created.

Time and *Newsweek* also had occasional music oriented articles in which no genre or musician would be mentioned. There was an article on the rising popularity of organs in homes, and another about the use of the recorder in music classes. Although these articles are music oriented, neither contains mention of genres, composers, or works being performed. The “Unknown” category was created for this type of article.

Both magazines also contained occasional articles consisting of capsule reviews – small critical blurbs of recent LP and singles releases. While these capsule review articles often had a theme, as *Time* magazine’s “Time Listings” often did, the reviews often covered multiple genres in one article. For this type of article, a specific genre called “Capsule Reviews,” and a broad category called “Miscellaneous” was created. It should be noted that while “Capsule Reviews” is located on the Classical Genre side of the coding form, it is just placed there for space reasons, and is given a broad genre classification based on the specific genres covered in the reviews.

Coders were specifically instructed not to code Broadway or stage oriented articles, as the theater events have varying amounts of music. An article about Barbra Streisand or Judy Garland appearing in a Broadway show would not be coded, while an article about either of them performing a concert would be coded. Both *Time* and *Newsweek* made this distinction in the coverage, assigning articles on Broadway and

musical theater to the “Stage” or “Theater” section of the magazine, while keeping concert notices and reviews in the “Music” section.

The data was compiled using SPSS 11.0.4 for Mac OS X. Because the principal analysis was on total column inches and the number of stories or photos that were used, non-parametric tests were used in the analysis. The Krippendorff’s alpha reliability estimate was computed using an SPSS macro written by Andrew F. Hayes.

Chapter 4

Results

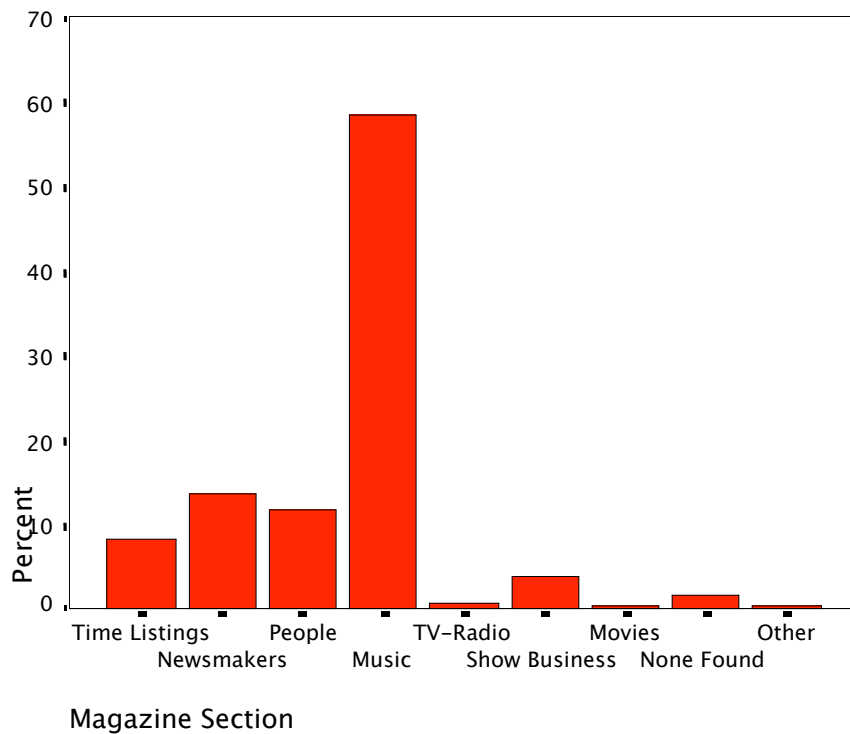
Time and *Newsweek* issues between January 1960 and December 1969 were coded for music coverage. As seen in Table 2, coders scanned 120 issues of *Newsweek*, and coded 308 music items, accounting for 44.9 percent of the total. Of the issues scanned, *Newsweek* had 10 issues with no music coverage found. The other 110 *Newsweek* issues had 1-5 music-oriented items per issue, with an average of 2.8. The coders scanned 119 issues of *Time*, and coded 378 music items, accounting for 55.1 percent of the total. Coders scanned 2 issues of *Time* with no music coverage found. The remaining 117 *Time* issues had 1-6 music-oriented items per issue, with an average of 3.2.

Table 2 Magazine Summary

Magazine	# Issues	Issues w/o Music	Music Items	Avg/Issue
<i>Newsweek</i>	120	10	308	2.8
<i>Time</i>	119	2	378	3.2

Most of the coded articles, 58.5 percent, came from the “Music” section of either *Time* or *Newsweek*. The next highest percentage was found in “Newsmakers,” a celebrity gossip-oriented section of *Newsweek*, with 13.8 percent of the music coverage. A similar celebrity gossip-oriented section in *Time* magazine, called “People,” had a slightly lower percentage of the coverage at 12 percent. “Time Listings,” another *Time* section focusing on capsule reviews of books, movies, and music, accounted for 8.5 percent of the coded music coverage. Other sections, such as “Show Business,” “TV-Radio” or others totaled 5.5 percent of the coverage, and can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Percent Music Coverage by Magazine Section



Of the articles coded, 48.8 percent covered classical music, while 43.1 percent covered pop music. Articles that covered classical and pop combined (as seen in the “Cross” category in Table 3) accounted for 3.6 percent.

Table 3 Coded Articles by Broad Genre

Genre Category

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
Cross	12	1.7	1.7	1.7
Pop	25	3.6	3.6	5.4
Classical	296	43.1	43.1	48.5
Misc	335	48.8	48.8	97.4
Misc	3	.4	.4	97.8
Unknown	15	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	686	100.0	100.0	

RQ1: Did rock/pop coverage surpass classical music coverage in *Time* or *Newsweek* during the 1960s? No.

The examination of total column inches shows that rock/pop coverage did not surpass classical coverage during the 1960s, and that classical coverage experienced a spike during 1965 and 1966.

The Mean, standard deviation, and ranges were computed for *Time* and *Newsweek* total column inches through the complete data set. Over the entire decade, in both magazines, the total column inches for pop coverage had a Mean of 18.93 inches, with a range from 3.18 to 203.34 inches, and a standard deviation of 17.48. Classical coverage had a Mean of 24.19 inches, with a range from 2.11 to 243.24 inches, and a standard deviation of 25.05. The Means for the other broad genres can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4 Total Column Inches

Genre Category	Mean	N	Range	Std. Deviation
cross	22.553288	25	42.0469	13.1367944
pop	18.927878	296	200.1641	17.4846250
classical	24.197481	335	241.1328	25.0480033
misc	29.622400	3	44.8672	22.6977650
unknown	24.300007	15	32.9063	10.6071313
Total	21.848676	674	241.1328	21.5016510

Total column inches in *Newsweek* for pop coverage had a Mean of 17.86 inches, and ranged from 3.18 to 64.55 inches, and a standard deviation of 14.20. Classical music total column inches in *Newsweek* had a Mean of 27.75 inches, with a range from 2.11 to 243.24 inches, and a standard deviation of 32.52.

The Mean differences in *Time* magazine's total column inches for pop and classical were closer than those of *Newsweek*. *Time* pop coverage had a Mean of 19.99

inches, with a range from 3.52 to 203.34 inches, and a standard deviation of 20.24. The classical coverage in *Time* had a Mean of 21.89 inches, and a range from 2.53 to 234.84 inches, and a standard deviation of 18.38. Further comparisons can be made in Table 5.

Table 5 Total Column Inches by Magazine and Broad Genre

Magazine Name	Genre Category	Mean	N	Range	Std. Deviation
<i>Newsweek</i>	cross	21.058210	10	33.6406	13.4395535
	pop	17.858539	148	61.3672	14.1979508
	classical	27.751104	132	241.1328	32.5195886
	misc	5.195300	1	.0000	.
	unknown	25.834829	7	31.7813	12.7076290
	Total	22.492720	298	241.1328	24.4803817
<i>Time</i>	cross	23.550007	15	42.0469	13.3067118
	pop	19.997218	148	199.8282	20.2390602
	classical	21.886751	203	232.3126	18.3834281
	misc	41.835950	2	16.4531	11.6340986
	unknown	22.957038	8	29.6719	9.0659173
	Total	21.338237	376	232.3126	18.8277522

There were some intriguing figures found in an oneway analysis of variance on pop and classical coverage in both *Time* and *Newsweek*. Individual ANOVA analyses on *Time* ($X^2 = 5287.51$, $df = 9$, $sig. = .070$) and *Newsweek* ($X^2 = 15769.387$, $df = 9$, $sig. = .087$) for classical total column inches showed no statistical significance, meaning that any changes were most likely coincidental, and that the amount of coverage was relatively stable. An oneway ANOVA on total column inches for pop coverage in *Time* ($X^2 = 3216.776$, $df = 9$, $sig. = .558$) and *Newsweek* ($X^2 = 2739.175$, $df = 9$, $sig. = .133$) combined also revealed no statistical significance. However, an oneway ANOVA on total column inches for classical coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek* combined was significant at the .02 level ($X^2 = 11945.524$, $df = 9$, $sig. = .023$).

While the Scheffe method of multiple comparisons did not reveal any statistical significance, the LSD method revealed statistically significant differences between several of the years. Total column inches for classical music in 1960 differed from 1965 at a significance of .017, and from 1966 at a significance at .034. Classical coverage in 1965 and 1966 differed significantly from other years as well, and the difference shows a spike in total column inches for classical music coverage in 1965-66, with more average numbers for the rest of the decade.

The spike in classical music total column inches is largely attributable to three major cover stories appearing in the sample of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines for 1965-66. The April 16, 1965 issue of *Time* featured ballet dancer Rudolf Nureyev on the cover, and the story was 234.84 column inches, making this story the largest *Time* article coded in this sample. The April 19, 1965 issue of *Newsweek* also featured Nureyev as a cover story, and measured 173.39 column inches. These two cover stories helped account for the 1965 side of the spike. While it may seem odd that two cover stories on Nureyev, a ballet dancer, appeared in the music sections of both *Time* and *Newsweek*, it was not uncommon. Through most of the 1960s, dance was covered in the music section. *Time* moved dance coverage to the Theater section in the March 15, 1968 issue. While describing recent advancements in dance, the author wrote, "In a reversal of precedence, music is now only one of many elements that contribute to the impact of dance." ("The Great Leap Forward," 1968). The paragraph concluded with an asterisked note about the move of dance coverage to the Theater section. It is not known when or if *Newsweek* did the same.

The 1966 sample included the largest *Newsweek* article coded for this study. The September 19, 1966 issue of *Newsweek* featured a cover story on Met manager Rudolf Bing and the rest of the New York Metropolitan Opera, and measured 243.24 total column inches. The music coverage in both *Time* and *Newsweek* seemed to include many New York-oriented music stories, and Bing and the Metropolitan Opera were frequent topics. Within the sample, Rudolf Bing was the topic of 9 items, while the Metropolitan Opera was the topic of 21 pieces of music coverage. As seen in Table 6, the Metropolitan Opera total was the second highest in the sample, with Frank Sinatra ranking first with 28 pieces.

Table 6 Highest Frequency Topics

Artist	Sample Frequency
Frank Sinatra	28
Metropolitan Opera	21
Leonard Bernstein	15
Barbra Streisand	12
The Beatles	11
Igor Stravinski	10

It should be noted that of the 6 music-oriented cover stories coded, 4 fell within the 1965-66 period. Of the 6 cover stories in the sample, 5 consisted of classical music coverage.

Another method of examining whether pop coverage surpassed classical coverage is by looking at the overall number of stories in each genre category. Table 7 illustrates that across *Time* and *Newsweek* for the 1960s, there are Means of 14.8 pop and 16.75 classical articles. As seen in Table 8, examination of all music coverage for both

magazines by year shows the Mean number of articles at 15.78, with a range of 12.25 in 1969 to 18.25 in 1964.

Table 7 Mean Number of Stories by Broad Genre

genre	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
pop	14.80	20	3.651
classical	16.75	20	5.571
Total	15.78	40	4.753

Table 8 Mean Number of Stories by Year

year	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
1960	14.25	4	6.946
1961	15.50	4	4.796
1962	16.00	4	6.377
1963	16.25	4	4.717
1964	18.25	4	2.630
1965	17.50	4	2.646
1966	18.00	4	6.976
1967	16.75	4	4.113
1968	13.00	4	4.000
1969	12.25	4	3.686
Total	15.78	40	4.753

When *Time* and *Newsweek* article totals are run individually, a different picture begins to emerge. In the 1960s, *Newsweek* had a Mean of 14.8 pop articles through the 1960s, with a standard deviation of 3.2. *Newsweek*'s classical Mean was 13.2, with a standard deviation of 4.4. The frequencies support these Means, with 48.1 percent of the *Newsweek* sample as pop coverage and 42.9 percent as classical. In the same period, *Time* had a Mean of 14.8 pop articles, which equals the *Newsweek* figure, and a standard deviation of 4.2. But *Time*'s classical coverage differed dramatically, with a Mean of 20.3 classical articles for the decade, with a standard deviation of 4.2. The frequencies also support the *Time* Means, showing 39.2 percent pop coverage and 53.7 percent classical.

Figures 2 and 3 illustrate that *Newsweek* averaged a slightly higher number of pop articles through the 1960s, but that *Time* had a much higher average of classical articles than pop.

Figure 2

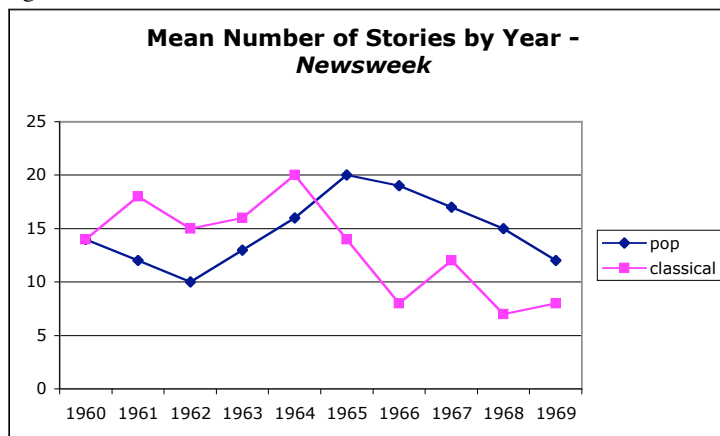
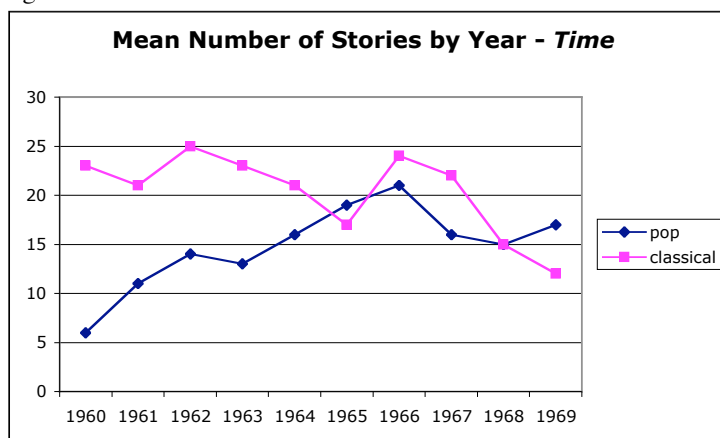


Figure 3



Examination of the number of pop and classical music stories takes on a slightly different twist when using an oneway ANOVA. Both ANOVA analyses were run across *Time* and *Newsweek* by year to examine whether there was a statistically significant change in the number of stories. The classical coverage ANOVA was not statistically significant ($X^2 = 247.25$, $df = 9$, $sig. = .625$). However the number of pop stories was found to be statistically significant in the ANOVA ($X^2 = 197.2$, $df = 9$, $sig. = .022$).

While the Scheffe method did not reveal any significance, the LSD method revealed significant differences between 1960-63 and 1964-67.

The question of whether pop coverage surpassed classical coverage during the 1960s depends on how the coverage is considered. While classical coverage received more column inches in *Time* and *Newsweek*, pop coverage did surpass classical coverage in number of stories. While the classical music column inches were most likely boosted by large cover stories, the number of pop stories probably received a boost from the gossip-oriented “Newsmakers” and “People” sections of *Newsweek* and *Time*, respectively.

RQ2: Did overall music coverage in Time and Newsweek increase or decrease during the 1960s? Inconclusive.

While overall music coverage did fluctuate through the 1960s, as any coverage might, there did not seem to be a definite trend up or down. An ANOVA on the story frequencies from the sample was not statistically significant ($X^2 = 151.225$, $df = 9$, $sig. = .712$). An ANOVA on total column inches was significant at .018 ($X^2 = 9200.804$, $df = 9$), but the LSD method revealed only significant differences for 1965 as compared to 1960.

In an effort to examine this question more closely, data from *Hall's Magazine Editorial Reports* was used. *Hall's* recorded the number of agate lines and total pages for many categories, including music, though the service did not attempt to separate the music into genres. An ANOVA on the year to date pages figures revealed no statistical

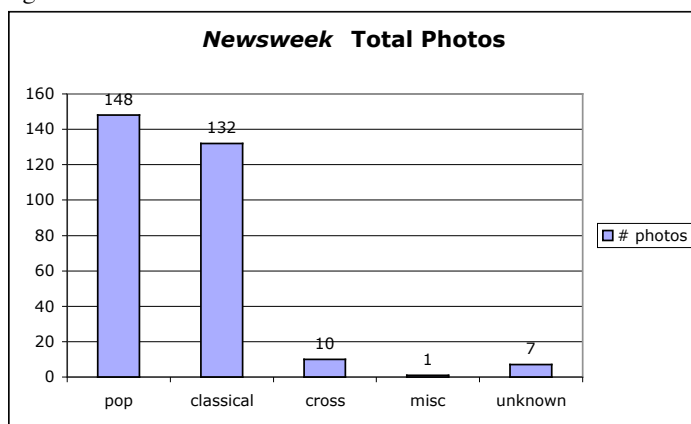
significance ($X^2 = 583.157$, $df = 7$, $sig. = .916$), as did an ANOVA on the year to date lines ($X^2 = 102936912$, $df = 7$, $sig. = .916$).

On this research question, the data does not conclusively support an increase or decrease in music coverage during the 1960s.

RQ3: Did *Time* or *Newsweek* use more photographs for rock/pop or classical coverage in the 1960s?

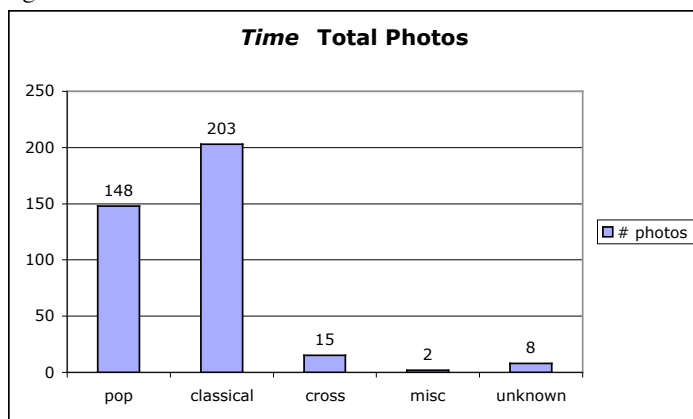
Newsweek used more photographs for pop than classical coverage, while *Time* used more photographs for classical coverage. *Newsweek* ran a total of 298 photos in music-related coverage during the 1960s. Figure 4 shows that 148 were used in pop coverage, while 132 were used in classical. Percentage-wise, 49.7 percent of the music-related photos were used in pop coverage, while 44.3 were used in classical coverage.

Figure 4



Time used a total of 376 photos in music coverage over the course of the decade. Figure 5 shows that in music related coverage, 148 photos, or 39.4 percent, were used for pop-oriented articles, while 203 photos, 54 percent, were used for classical coverage.

Figure 5



As shown in Table 9, the photo percentages seem to be in line with the article percentages discussed for the first research question. *Newsweek* ran 49.7 percent for pop photos, and 48.1 percent for pop articles. On the classical side, *Newsweek* ran 44.3 percent for classical photos, and 42.9 percent for classical articles. The *Time* percentages also follow closely, with *Time* running 39.4 percent on pop photos and 39.2 percent for pop articles. For classical coverage, *Time* ran 54 percent on classical photos, and 57.7 percent on classical articles. These percentages suggest that neither magazine seemed to run more photos with one type of coverage over another.

Table 9 Percentages of Total Articles and Photos by Broad Genre and Magazine

Magazine	% Pop Articles	% Pop Photos	% Classical Articles	% Classical Photos
<i>Newsweek</i>	48.1	49.7	42.9	44.3
<i>Time</i>	39.2	39.4	57.7	54

RQ4a: Was there an increase in rock/pop coverage around the time of the *Sgt.*

Pepper release in 1967? No. **RQ4b:** If so, was the increase sustained? Not applicable.

There was not a statistically significant increase in pop coverage when *Sgt. Pepper* was released in the summer of 1967. While *Time* and *Newsweek* both show slight increases in the Means of total column inches, those increases were not statistically

significant enough to support the hypothesis that interest in *Sgt. Pepper* helped increase pop coverage. It should also be noted that the number of pop music stories in the sample decreased from 1966 to 1967 in both *Newsweek* and *Time* as seen in Figures 6 and 7, respectively.

Figure 6 Total Number of Pop Stories in *Newsweek*

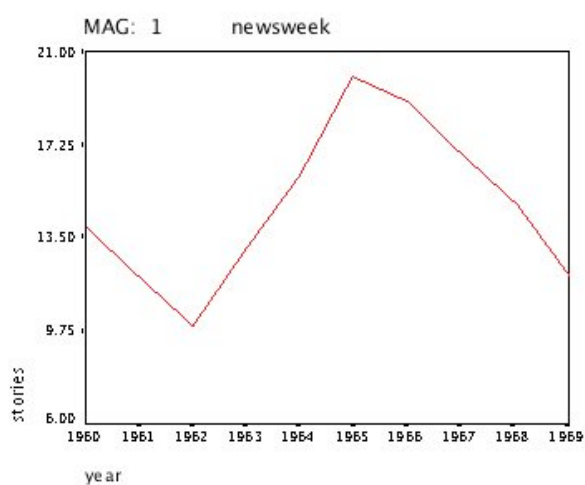
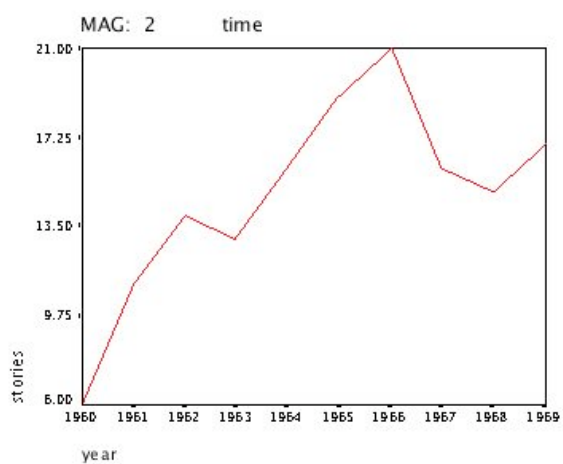


Figure 7 Total Number of Pop Stories in *Time*



Reliability

To ensure reliability, two additional coders were given the task of recoding 10% of the data set. Coder 2 was assigned to select 12 issues of *Time* magazine at random from the data set, making sure to code the third issue of the month, as in the original data set. Coder 3 was assigned to select 12 issues of *Newsweek* at random, also using the third issue of the month. Due to time constraints and coding speed, coder 2 was only able to code 10 issues of *Time*. Coder 3 completed coding 12 *Newsweek* issues, and coded 6 additional *Time* issues. In the reliability data set, 2 of the *Time* issues completed by coder 3 were added at random in order to complete the set.

Total column inches and total photo inches were entered from the original data set. The same figures were entered from the reliability set, divided by coder. The figures were then used to compute Krippendorff's alpha reliability estimate. Krippendorff's alpha was computed for coder 1 and coder 2, then for coder 1 and coder 3, and for all three coders.

Krippendorff's alpha was computed for coders 1 and 2 across 50 pairs of data. Krippendorff's alpha for coders 1 and 2 was .9783. The second Krippendorff's alpha for coders 1 and 3 was computed across 46 pairs of data, and was .9470. The final Krippendorff's alpha for all three coders was computed across 96 pairs of data, and was .9666. These alphas show a high level of reliability in the data.

Chapter 5

Summary/Discussion

While coverage of classical music was still dominant in the late 1960s newsweekly, especially *Time* magazine, the research does indicate that the beginnings of a shift were underway. A look at pop coverage in the early 1960s often revealed a derisive approach, while the late 1960s had coverage comparing Alice Cooper and Captain Beefheart to the Dadaist art movement.

Overall, *Newsweek* seemed to be much more receptive to coverage of pop music, featuring the Beatles on the cover in 1964. By comparison, *Time* did not feature a Beatles cover until 1967, though *Time* did have a general rock 'n' roll cover story in 1965.

Looking at an issue of *Time* or *Newsweek* in the 1970s or 80s, it is still obvious that a major shift in coverage took place. But as this research shows, it did not happen in the 1960s. It would be interesting to do some follow up research in the 1970s to see if the shift occurs within that decade.

One of the problems with this research area is in identifying musical genres, and limiting artists to mutually exclusive categories. While this problem was addressed by using broad categorizations, a method of examining specific genres would better reveal musical trends as covered by *Time* and *Newsweek*.

The study of music coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek* leads to several possible research avenues. The most obvious, as mentioned earlier, would be to extend this study into the 1970s issues to see if and when a change in coverage occurred. But there were other issues brought up in the 1960s music articles that might prompt interesting research, both qualitative and quantitative. There were a number of articles on race and music

found in the sample, and two that stand out in the author's mind: one on the lack of African-American musicians in U.S. symphonies and orchestras (a condition that many would argue still exists today), and the second on the jazz diaspora of the 1960s, when many of the jazz greats had problems making a living in the U.S., but were able to find steady employment and acclaim in Europe. There could also be a fascinating quantitative study on race and music coverage in the newsweeklies.

Most music history books agree that the U.S. was in the midst of a folk music revival in the late 1950s and 60s, but music coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek* in the 1960s does not reflect that trend, at least in the quantity or frequency of folk music articles. It might be interesting to examine folk music coverage before and after the HUAC hearings of the 1950s.

While this research did not show a definitive rise in pop coverage, it did illustrate a shift in attitudes toward pop music. Hopefully a future study can show when the major changes occurred in *Time* and *Newsweek* in their approaches to pop coverage.

Appendix A

Codebook

Newsweek and *Time* are both weekly newsmagazines. The third issue of every month will be coded for music coverage, starting with January 1960 and ending with December 1969. If the third issue of the month is missing, or the pages to be coded are missing, the coder will move to the following week's issue. The coder will then write, "Fourth issue" across the top of the coding form, followed with a reason, such as, "Missing issue" or "Pages missing." Should the fourth issue have similar problems, the coder will use the next issue of the month, reverting to the first issue of the month if needed.

The coder will scan the table of contents for music coverage. If no music coverage is found, the coder will complete boxes A-D on the coding form, and write, "None found" in the Artist Name(s) box. If music coverage is found, the coder will complete the coding form using the following guidelines:

1. **Coder ID Number:** Individual number given to each coder.
2. **Magazine:** Circle the name of the magazine.
3. **Issue Date:** Record the issue date of the magazine, as shown on either the front cover or the table of contents.
4. **Artist Name(s):** Record the name(s) of the artists covered in the article(s). In the case of a band or group, record the group name only. In the case of a symphony, record the name of the symphony and the conductor. If another artist is mentioned briefly as a point of comparison or otherwise, it is not necessary to code that artist's name. If there is no music coverage in the issue, the coder will record, "None found."
5. **Page Numbers:** Record the page numbers of articles covering music. If there is more than one article on a single page, record the page number followed by the number of articles in parentheses. For example, two articles on page 54 would be coded as 54 (2). Multiple articles on separate pages should be recorded with a comma between them. For example, an article on page 60 followed by another article on 61 would be coded as 60, 61. A single article spanning multiple pages should be recorded with a dash between the page numbers, such as 53-54.
6. **Total Pages:** Record the total number of pages in the issue, not including front and back covers.
7. **Number of Stories:** Record the number of articles covering music.

Appendix A

Codebook

8. **Cover Story:** Record if the cover story is about a musical artist, group, or musical trend.
9. **Column Inches:** Using a ruler, measure the width and length of the columns, not including any photographs.
10. **Artist Sex:** If the coverage is devoted to a single person, identify the sex of the person. If the coverage is devoted to a group and the group is made up entirely of people of one sex, identify the sex. If the group is comprised of males and females, code as "Mixed Group." If the sex is unclear or if the coder is unsure, the sex will be coded as "Unknown."
11. **Allmusic.com Genre:** The coder will open the website for <http://allmusic.com> and enter the artist name in the search box. The coder will then record the genre for the artist as listed on the site.
12. **Photograph:** Record if there is a photograph with the article.
13. **Size of Photo(s):** Measure and record the size of the photo(s). If there are multiple photos, separate the dimensions by a comma.
14. **B&W/Color:** Record if the photograph(s) accompanying the article are in black & white or color. If both black & white and color photographs are present, circle "Mixed."
15. **Subject of Photograph(s):** Record the subject of the photograph(s) according to the captions or the article. If there is no photograph, write, "None."
16. **Type of Photograph:** Record the type of photograph. If there is more than one photograph, circle the appropriate types on the coding form. If the coder is unsure of the type, circle "Other/Unknown."
17. **Number of Photographs:** Record the number of photographs in the article. If there are no photographs, write, "None."
18. **Comments:** The magazine section name will be recorded here. If the coder has any general comments about this particular issue or article, record them here.

Appendix B

Primary Coding Sheet

Primary Coding Form: Levering

A Coder ID Number	B Magazine 1 Newsweek 2 Time	C Issue Date	D Total Pages
<input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>		<input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>	<input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>
E Music- Related Page #s		F Number of Stories	
<input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>		<input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>	

Story #1

1 Artist Name(s)																																														
<input style="width: 100%; height: 100%;" type="text"/>																																														
2 Page Numbers	3 Cover Story 1 Yes 2 No	4 Artist Sex 1 Male 2 Female 3 Mixed Group 99 Unknown	5 Allmusic.com Genre																																											
<input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>																																														
6 Column Inches		7 Photograph 1 Yes 2 No	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>1 Avant-Garde</td><td>22 Ballet</td></tr> <tr><td>2 Bluegrass</td><td>23 Band Music</td></tr> <tr><td>3 Blues</td><td>24 Chamber Music</td></tr> <tr><td>4 Cajun</td><td>25 Choral Music</td></tr> <tr><td>5 Celtic</td><td>26 Concerto</td></tr> <tr><td>6 Comedy</td><td>27 Electronic/Avant-Garde/Minimalist</td></tr> <tr><td>7 Country</td><td>28 Film Music</td></tr> <tr><td>8 Easy Listening</td><td>29 Keyboard Music</td></tr> <tr><td>9 Electronica</td><td>30 Musical Theater</td></tr> <tr><td>10 Folk</td><td>31 Opera</td></tr> <tr><td>11 Gospel</td><td>32 Orchestral Music</td></tr> <tr><td>12 Jazz</td><td>33 Symphony</td></tr> <tr><td>13 Latin</td><td>34 Vocal Music</td></tr> <tr><td>14 New Age</td><td>98 Capsule Reviews/Misc</td></tr> <tr><td>15 R&B</td><td>99 Other/Not Identified</td></tr> <tr><td>16 Rap</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>17 Reggae</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>18 Rock</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>19 Soundtrack</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>20 Vocal</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>21 World</td><td></td></tr> </table>		1 Avant-Garde	22 Ballet	2 Bluegrass	23 Band Music	3 Blues	24 Chamber Music	4 Cajun	25 Choral Music	5 Celtic	26 Concerto	6 Comedy	27 Electronic/Avant-Garde/Minimalist	7 Country	28 Film Music	8 Easy Listening	29 Keyboard Music	9 Electronica	30 Musical Theater	10 Folk	31 Opera	11 Gospel	32 Orchestral Music	12 Jazz	33 Symphony	13 Latin	34 Vocal Music	14 New Age	98 Capsule Reviews/Misc	15 R&B	99 Other/Not Identified	16 Rap		17 Reggae		18 Rock		19 Soundtrack		20 Vocal		21 World	
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2 Bluegrass	23 Band Music																																													
3 Blues	24 Chamber Music																																													
4 Cajun	25 Choral Music																																													
5 Celtic	26 Concerto																																													
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7 Country	28 Film Music																																													
8 Easy Listening	29 Keyboard Music																																													
9 Electronica	30 Musical Theater																																													
10 Folk	31 Opera																																													
11 Gospel	32 Orchestral Music																																													
12 Jazz	33 Symphony																																													
13 Latin	34 Vocal Music																																													
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8 # of Photographs		9 Photograph Type(s) 1 Album Cover 2 Posed Picture 3 Performance Picture 4 Other																																												
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10 Size of Photo(s)		11 Subject of Photograph(s)																																												
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		<i>Photo 3</i>																																												
12 Comments																																														
<input style="width: 100%; height: 100%;" type="text"/>																																														

Appendix C

Secondary Coding Sheet

Secondary Coding Form: Levering

Continued from: (Magazine, Issue Date)

Story #

1 Artist Name(s)

2 Page Numbers

3 Cover Story

1 Yes 2 No

4 Artist Sex

 1 Male
 2 Female
 3 Mixed Group
 99 Unknown

5 Allmusic.com Genre

1 Avant-Garde	22 Ballet
2 Bluegrass	23 Band Music
3 Blues	24 Chamber Music
4 Cajun	25 Choral Music
5 Celtic	26 Concerto
6 Comedy	27 Electronic/Avant-Garde/Minimalist
7 Country	28 Film Music
8 Easy Listening	29 Keyboard Music
9 Electronica	30 Musical Theater
10 Folk	31 Opera
11 Gospel	32 Orchestral Music
12 Jazz	33 Symphony
13 Latin	34 Vocal Music
14 New Age	98 Capsule Reviews/Misc
15 R&B	99 Other/Not Identified
16 Rap	
17 Reggae	
18 Rock	
19 Soundtrack	
20 Vocal	
21 World	

6 Column Inches

	Height	Width
<i>Column 1</i>		
<i>Column 2</i>		
<i>Column 3</i>		
<i>Column 4</i>		
<i>Column 5</i>		
<i>Column 6</i>		

7 Photograph

1 Yes 2 No

8 # of Photographs

9 Photograph Type(s)

 1 Album Cover
 2 Posed Picture
 3 Performance Picture
 4 Other

10 Size of Photo(s)

	Height	Width	B&W	Color
<i>Photo 1</i>				
<i>Photo 2</i>				
<i>Photo 3</i>				

11 Subject of Photograph(s)

<i>Photo 1</i>
<i>Photo 2</i>
<i>Photo 3</i>

12 Comments

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Vita

Stephen Mark Levering was born August 21, 1967, in Siloam Springs, Arkansas. He is the son of Paul and Kay Levering. A 1985 graduate of Cullman High School, in Cullman, Alabama, he received a Bachelor of Science degree with a major in business from Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1990. He attended Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth from 1991-2 as a religious education major.

In 1994, he was employed as an Information Services Specialist by Texas Christian University. At TCU, he specialized in computer lab support, at first supporting all of the computer labs on campus. As the number of computer labs on campus increased, he specialized in computer labs equipped with Apple Macintosh computers. It was in this capacity that he began to work with Dr. Jerry Grotta, a journalism professor at TCU, as they began to plan and set up two new computer labs for the Journalism Department.

When the World Wide Web began in 1994, Steve was one of the early proponents in Information Services. He installed web browsers in the computer labs and taught introductory WWW courses across campus, including Dr. Grotta's classes. Steve learned HTML and developed the first web sites for Information Services, TCU Air Force ROTC and Journalism. He developed several iterations of both the Information Services and Journalism websites. Dr. Grotta provided design-oriented resources and introduced Steve to the basics of print design, and soon Steve was doing freelance web and print design.

In 2000, Steve joined the Journalism Department as an adjunct professor to teach Information Graphics. In 2002, the Journalism Department hired Steve as a full-time instructor. He is a member of Kappa Tau Alpha.

Abstract

Time (and *Newsweek*) is on my side:

Pop/Rock coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek* during the 1960s

This study examines music coverage in 1960s *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, to determine whether pop/rock coverage surpassed classical coverage during the decade, and if so, when the shift in coverage occurred and whether it was sustained.

No prior studies on music coverage in 1960s *Time* and/or *Newsweek* magazines have been found. A content analysis was conducted using a stratified sample of one issue per month for each magazine from January 1960 to December 1969. The column inches were measured for each piece of music coverage, and the number of photos in each music-oriented article was counted.

The results showed that there were no statistically significant changes in the amount of rock/pop coverage compared to classical coverage, though there was an increase in the number of rock and pop stories near the end of the decade. Classical coverage remained the dominant music coverage through the 1960s.