

THE BEATLES IMAGE: MASS MARKETING 1960s BRITISH AND AMERICAN
MUSIC AND CULTURE, OR BEING A SHORT THESIS ON THE DUBIOUS
PACKAGE OF THE BEATLES

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Richard D Driver, Bachelor of Arts

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Aliza S Wong

Randy McBee

John Borrelli
Dean of the Graduate School

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ABSTRACT

The Beatles Image: Mass Marketing 1960s British and American Music and Culture is a thesis that discusses the creation of The Beatles, their image and how we as a culture remember their career and the 1960s. It utilizes serious historical work on various aspects of music and youth culture from the 1950s and 1960s, in addition to theoretical frameworks about memory. The thesis illustrates how a specific image and marketing campaign can create a package around a product, or musical act in this case. The Beatles “package” as it is referred to, engulfed an entire generation and redefined certain aspects of how we perceive and listen to music and the musicians producing it.

The thesis begins with a discussion of nostalgia, defining and separating it from conceptions and ideas of “retro,” or retrospective. This discussion morphs into various aspects of The Beatles career as well as other musical acts outside the 1960s to demonstrate how a singular act or time period can be emulated and re-envisioned later. The story of The Beatles and the men responsible for their image and package creation is then told, reflecting on both the individual aspects in the lives of Brian Epstein and George Martin, but also how The Beatles as a group were responsible for their cohesiveness and “group-ness” before either of those individuals entered the picture.

Finally, the discussion addresses the package specifically and how it was successful: from the utilization of technology to the psychological effects of fame and popularity. In the end, memory addressed how our culture chooses to remember The Beatles and the 1960s, from nostalgic and “retro” thoughts to musical success and levels of popularity in comparison to more recent musical acts and phenomena.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION – THE BEATLES IMAGE: MASS MARKETING 1960S BRITISH AND AMERICAN MUSIC AND CULTURE

A study of The Beatles should not immediately start by referring to the amount of time that has passed since the band stopped recording in 1970. The very fact that after thirty-seven years we are still discussing the importance of the end of The Beatles recording is monumental. The flip-side is that by remarking about the amount of time that has passed acts as though The Beatles are not supposed to matter any more. What it really does and this is quite significant, is point out just how much they still matter as an entity and how fresh they remain despite the aging of time. In the twenty-first century, it is easy to make The Beatles story into one of the great stories of the past century. However, that story is only great because we remember it because we are not so far removed from it and the generation that grew up with The Beatles is still with us. That generation and other individuals from the 1960s provide the material that tells the story. From that story, we know that The Beatles changed everything from the levels of success a pop act could attain to the innovations in technology they spearheaded with their music, and all in one monumental decade.¹ While that is certainly placing too much credit on four young men from a seaport in northern England, they did play a pivotal role in a revolutionary decade.

This is not another biography of The Beatles, but their career is pivotal to the discussion that will unfold in the following pages. And the truth behind the question “Why on earth would anyone need another book about the Beatles?,” will reveal that The

¹ Technically, The Beatles only recorded for eight years at Abbey Road Studios: June 1962 to January 1970.

Beatles are a story for all to remember and a never-ending source for continued thought and discussion.² Remembering and the collective memory that exists for The Beatles is a key facet of the study presented here, because the generation that experienced The Beatles and the 1960s will not be able to share that experience with successive generations that learn about and incorporate those ideas into their own lives. The collective memory of The Beatles is not rooted in the people of the 1960s, but in the people of the 1960s and beyond. The key texts to understanding how The Beatles have been seen for the last thirty-seven years, are the literature written about The Beatles since their break-up in 1970. Out of these texts and the discussion derived from their content, this study will illuminate how The Beatles image became a package marketed over and over again, first by their managers, producers and the record industry, and later by the separate members of the band following their 1970 break-up.

The background to this discussion begins with one of those instances where The Beatles package was used to reintroduce the band to the world and where I first met the band. Over the course of the Thanksgiving holiday in November 1995, The Beatles Anthology documentary was broadcast on ABC network television in the United States and in my parent's living room. At the tender age of twelve I was not, for some reason, as interested in music as I should have been, but following that program and the accompanying albums produced and marketed in promotion I became a not just a fan of music, but a fan of The Beatles and in my own limited manner a Beatlemaniac.³

² Steven D. Stark, *Meet The Beatles: A Cultural History of the Band That Shook Youth, Gender, and the World* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 1. Unlike the opening assertion, Stark begins *Meet The Beatles* with this question, pondering the relevance of so many books written about the band.

³ The interest in music that I should have held is not a remark on culture or music of the 1990s, but of the household I was brought up in. With the amount of music my father played in the house and the car, it is

Although the scale and scope of The Beatles Anthology in terms of re-marketing the band has not been seen again, and likely will not, The Beatles have remained a presence in popular music since then due to the *Anthology* albums and other compilations that have been released.⁴

The presentation and discussion of the Anthology project will illuminate how a quarter century after their break-up, the surviving Beatles, could sell The Beatles to a new audience including the generation that first experienced their career.⁵ It was the Anthology that attempted to re-sell The Beatles to a new audience, an audience accustomed to the continued technological advances that had occurred since The Beatles broke-up. The success of that project meant that The Beatles would gain a new place in the market, largely unseen since the 1960s. Though nowhere near the size or scale of Beatlemania in the 1960s, the Anthology project created an interest in The Beatles and their solo careers that have continued over twelve years after the release of the documentary and the albums. The Beatles have continued to remain visible in popular press and the mass media and culture even though they are no longer a creative unit. Nearly four decades after their break-up, the story of their rise and fall, their failures and triumphs still sells. It does not matter that their story has been retold numerous times by a

surprising in reflection that music seems so absent prior to this. It could very well be that like many Beatles fan stories, music before that did not matter, regardless if it was produced before or after their career (as it would have been with the amount of Tom Petty, Led Zeppelin, ELO, and other bands that were played in my childhood home). Beatlemania refers to the fans of The Beatles in the 1960s and is stemmed from the phenomenon that accompanied the band, Beatlemania.

⁴ Greg Kot, "Toppermost of the Poppermost," in *Read The Beatles: Classic and New Writings on The Beatles, Their Legacy, and Why They Still Matter*, ed. by June Skinner Sawyers (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 324-5. Kot cites figures for the number of copies sold for the three *Anthology* albums in 1995-1996, as well as the spike in number of sales for The Beatles catalog albums.

⁵ Kot, 324-5. The larger share of sales of the *Anthology* albums was not the "baby boomer" generation, but the teenagers and "twenty-something's" of the mid 1990s. For the basis of the term "surviving," see note 14.

variety of individuals who knew the band (called insiders), in addition to cultural observers, journalists, and The Beatles as a unit, who released their own version of The Beatles in 2000.⁶ The amount of material created about The Beatles (books, musical pieces, television documentaries, films, etc) reminds us about The Beatles and the fact that they were at the forefront of the 1960s, a decade under attack in that same thirty-seven year period. The Beatles remain important in our own lives because they were a part of that decade, but we do not challenge their story or our vision of it, all we do is simply make additions or small alterations of minor details. The turbulence of the 1960s can be attacked and re-considered, but an attack on The Beatles would amount to blasphemy.

The Beatles performing as The Beatles was an experience that only one generation in history witnessed. Fortunately, following the break-up of the band, that generation and the legacy of The Beatles carried on. That generation, the 1960s teenagers and adolescents experienced life-altering events such as The Beatles landing at John F. Kennedy International Airport and their first performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. These events were personal, life-changing and culture-shifting moments because they were one of a kind. In the nearly half-century since the mid-1960s, those types of moments are rare because everything that came after The Beatles and the 1960s played to the success they enjoyed and the amount of prosperity the decade enjoyed in areas such as music and entertainment. The size and scope of everything associated with the 1960s helps to solidify The Beatles as an idea and an image that had the ability to create a

⁶ This version, a book called *The Beatles Anthology by The Beatles*, essentially works as a transcript of the documentary from 1995, albeit far more in depth and more detail not included in the documentary. It also reflects changes made to the story in the time between their broadcast and publication.

definite and collective memory for one generation that was passed on years after their break-up. That transmission of memory is important and immense.⁷

The legacy of The Beatles is sheltered in a mythology that allows every fan the chance to experience, and re-experience the band in a personal and historical way that is connected and disconnected to other fans. Our view of The Beatles is built around a collective memory of the band and the time period they have come to define: the 1960s. Because of the relation of The Beatles to the 1960s, two concepts divide and separate how the memory of the band is managed: “retro” and nostalgia. This division is due to the firsthand memory of The Beatles enjoyed by the generation of the 1960s, and in particular the ways that generation is disconnected from successive generations.

Complicating the legacy and division of The Beatles memory is the role that mass commercialization had in their creation and execution, but also in the management of the band’s place in a post-break-up world. Under Brian Epstein and his associates at NEMS⁸, The Beatles literally took off in popularity in 1963 London and the majority of the United Kingdom and parts of Europe.⁹ The levels of popularity that they enjoyed were unheard of at the time, and when they traveled to America in 1964, they became even bigger and more popular. It was Epstein and their stage act that provided this popularity. The Beatles were one of the first to engage on wide scale and world scale tours, tackling numerous

⁷ Kot, 324-5. The author remarks that the generation that bought into The Beatles “second coming” did not react in the same way that the 1960s generation did, simply because of the developments in the music industry after The Beatles break-up., citing The Velvet Underground and 1970s post-punk groups having more “impact” on contemporary music and bands of the 1990s and 2000s. The usage of the term “image” in this author’s vocabulary is traceable to Michael Bryan Kelly’s usage of it in *The Beatle Myth* (pages 108-109, 125-126, and 179), see note 12.

⁸ Short for North End Music Stores, the Epstein family owned stores based in Liverpool where Brian Epstein first heard of and later conducted business with The Beatles in 1961. NEMS became the acronym for a larger company of talent scouts and Epstein’s own managed acts, including The Beatles.

⁹ The Beatles were already widely known and popular in their hometown of Liverpool and parts of northern England, as well as in Hamburg, Germany, the port where “they grew up as a band” in 1960 and 1961.

and dangerous locations to spread their message and popularity. Central to the argument presented in this study is the creation of The Beatles not as a musical entity, but as a “packaged” and marketed product of the recording industry. Their package was sold through various mediums, primarily television. The result of the broadcast of 1960s culture was the growth of mass culture, and the unique result of the “Beatles package” was Beatlemania, the experience of The Beatles and the 1960s, unique in history and entrenched in our memory of The Beatles.

The management of their career in the years after they stopped touring and following their break-up was not handled by Brian Epstein, due in part to his death and the band taking control of their image and career in 1966-1967. However, the collective memory of The Beatles is found in the images of The Beatles in their early years, even while it takes into account their music as a whole. Again, we must consider the importance of The Beatles visit to the United States in February 1964 and the amount of people who “remember” where they were when The Beatles appeared on Ed Sullivan, not dissimilar to the question “where were you when Kennedy was assassinated” and the more recent “where were you when 9/11 occurred?”

My own collective memory of The Beatles affords me a relationship with The Beatles that may seem out of place for someone who did not experience the band growing up, especially having been born nearly twenty years after they began recording. In the truest sense, I have only experienced The Beatles through the creation of the *Anthology* project and subsequent reissues and compilation releases. The scope of the time period in which I have enjoyed The Beatles is miniscule in comparison to that of the 1960s and the collective memory that exists about that decade. It is that lacking on my

part that has enamored my thoughts and driven me to study the effects of the band not simply on the 1960s but also in the decades since. There are connections that exist between the collective memory of the 1960s by those who experienced it, and those who experience it through a clouded veil written in biographies, produced in documentaries and recreated via compilation albums.

The Beatles in Memory

The importance of the collective memory of The Beatles is simply that since the band no longer resides in physical form for all to enjoy (a rudimentary description for their 1960s career), the band can exist as an idea that over time as taken on similar forms among all who enjoy The Beatles. This idea detracts from the assessment that The Beatles remain popular due to certain attributes of their music and albums, because while every person experiences the music in a single, individual way, the experience of witnessing The Beatles during their career created a memory of the band in their place in the 1960s. Discussion of this memory is pivotal to understanding how the image and resulting package of The Beatles worked initially in the early 1960s and how it has continued to be revived in the following decades to bring The Beatles back. As mass culture continued to grow and chart new trajectories after The Beatles as an entity were finished makes this success even more important, because they were at the forefront of technology in their time, and when their popularity began to rise again in the 1990s, The Beatles as an idea and a product was forced to play catch-up to appeal to their new fans.¹⁰

¹⁰ The most obvious evidence for this “catch-up” is the 2006 *Love* album, which was billed as a remix or “mash-up” album over two years after the most famous unofficial Beatles “mash-up,” *The Grey Album*, was distributed over the internet. The fact that *Love* was not sold or available for distribution over the internet at the time of its release is even more significant in arguing that The Beatles have much “catching-up” to do.

Memory as an idea works in tandem with the idea of a Beatles package or The Beatles image. In terms of method, memory is used for vastly alternate means, all of which seek to construct “some sense of the past.”¹¹ The writer of that assessment, Alon Confino, argues that memory is a “leading term” for cultural history. Most importantly his assessment that memory “has come to denote the representation of the past and the making of it into a shared cultural knowledge by successive generations in ‘vehicles of memory’ such as books, films, museums, commemorations, and others” allows for the continued discussion of the importance of The Beatles not simply with what they did, but how people perceive and remember those events.¹²

Of course, it is those events that are at the crux of the discussion presented here. Despite the success of rock and roll in the 1950s, by the 1960s it had become something as a relic, rendered obsolete by the very innovators that had pioneered it. Elvis had served in the Army, Chuck Berry was arrested, and most horrifically Buddy Holly, Richie Valens, and the Big Bopper had all died just as their careers were at a peak and especially in the case of Holly, on the verge of achieving so much more.¹³ The experimental and abrasive rock and roll that had furthered the “fear” of the 1950s in Americans was gone, and in its place was a new “pop sound.”¹⁴ In what would become a mainstay for the

¹¹ Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (1997): 1386.

¹² Confino, 1386. The assessment by Confino about “vehicles of memory” follows his description of how memory is used to connect people who experienced a given event. For our purposes, that event will be Beatlemania in the 1960s, Lennon’s death in 1980, and the success of the Anthology project in the 1990s. It should be obvious that the continuity of The Beatles leaves a certain “open-endedness” or as Confino states: “Perhaps collective memory has been so useful to think about how people construct pasts because of its open-endedness, because it is applicable to historical situations and human conditions in diverse societies and periods.”

¹³ Devin McKinney, *Magic Circles: The Beatles in Dream and History*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 10. McKinney makes the assertion that the rough demos recorded by Holly in January 1959 have the same quality and sound as The Beatles records circa 1963.

¹⁴ McKinney, 10-11.

market in the years to come, music had started down the path of consumerism, and it is this path that the discussion that follows will demonstrate how The Beatles became not simply another tool for the market, but something far grander and in essence untamable and unable to be copied or repeated. Consumerism brought to music the need for mass appeal and mass marketing, and it is this reason that the idea of “image” is important. Rock and roll was no longer to be defined by jungle beats or hip gyrations. Rock and roll by the early 1960s was simply pop music, and was defined by performers that were easy to sell to large groups, such as the Beach Boys who frolicked on the beach, surfed and sang “wholesome” songs about girls. In that framework of the “easy sell,” The Beatles entered the music industry under the watchful eyes of Brian Epstein and other individuals.

By 1965, Beatlemania, the result of The Beatles uniqueness and proto-typicality had conquered the world and in its wake left the public with a career to remember and The Beatles with newer heights to ascribe, attain, and achieve. It is in the phenomenon of Beatlemania, that the memory of The Beatles took shape. That memory resides in images of the band disembarking a transatlantic jet onto the tarmac at John F. Kennedy International Airport in February 1964 or their very first American performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* days later. The importance of American television will be useful in discussion later, as the mass-marketability of television allows the Ed Sullivan program to profit heavily on a subject that was first introduced by Jack Paar in 1963.¹⁵ Mass-marketing The Beatles was not accomplished simply by the record or television industry, as the band had a prominent role in their marketability. Brian Epstein, who more than

¹⁵ Michael Bryan Kelly, *The Beatle Myth: The British Invasion of American Popular Music, 1956-1969*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1991), 2 and 9.

anyone pushed The Beatles into the market, saw in their characters something unique while seeing something he felt would be easy to reproduce. With bands like Billy J. Kramer and the Dakotas and female vocalist Cilla Black as privileged members of his NEMS stable, Epstein was able to give them Lennon/McCartney originals better recording contracts with larger labels.¹⁶

At the same time, The Beatles career was skyrocketing, and during their early years the first “vehicles of memory” connected to the band took shape. The American album *Meet The Beatles!* was rush-released by Capitol Records in late 1963 for a January 1964 release before The Beatles arrived in America. Though virtually identical to its British counterpart *With The Beatles*, *Meet The Beatles!* would not be able to retain its importance in the history of The Beatles arrival in America, for when the catalog was remastered for the new format of compact disc in the mid-1980s, it was effectively deleted from existence in order for the preferred British album (*With The Beatles*) to be released worldwide. While an album that ceased to exist is hardly a concrete or definite tool to judge the memory of The Beatles on, that album is present in various places of the band’s visual history. It is that album that fans waiting for The Beatles at Kennedy airport are holding and it is that album that fans outside of the Ed Sullivan performance hoped to have autographed. It also acts as an early metaphor for The Beatles, because like the band, it went out of existence.¹⁷ More than anything, that album and others like it are early artifacts for the memory of The Beatles. The artifacts that have been created from

¹⁶ Kelly, 29 and 34. Billy J. Kramer and the Dakotas were signed with Columbia Records, who in 1963 was a sister label to Parlophone and one of EMI’s premiere houses.

¹⁷ A remastered version of *Meet The Beatles!* was repackaged in a box set comprising the first albums released by Capitol Records in promotion of the Beatles in 2004 and featured the first CD stereo versions of various songs. Thus, the album came back into existence, unlike the band, although this occurrence will be pivotal later.

their short career “mark the existence” of the collective memory and make that memory “user friendly” to the generation who witnessed the band and successive generations. These user-friendly artifacts and the growth of technology they represent are highly valuable because of their ability to connect later generations with The Beatles.¹⁸ The memory of The Beatles allows the band to live on as more than a musical legacy, but as a legendary story that becomes shrouded in mythology as time slowly leaves their career further in the past.

The career of The Beatles took a gigantic leap into history with the murder of John Lennon in December 1980. Before that tragic event, rumors and dreams routinely hoped for a reunion of the four members and some form of recreation of the magic of The Beatles that had existed for the public in the 1960s. After Lennon’s murder, The Beatles became nothing more than the memory described previously. At that time, the surviving Beatles created nostalgic songs about their former collaborator, as well as about their career in the 1960s as Beatles.¹⁹ George Harrison wrote and produced “All Those Years Ago” with Ringo Starr providing drums and “When We Was Fab”, and Paul McCartney wrote and produced “Here Today” with Beatles producer George Martin.²⁰ Another phenomenon occurred after Lennon’s murder, the proliferation of biographies of the band

¹⁸ Barbie Zelizer, “Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12, no. 2 (1995): 214-217, 232. Zelizer refers to artifacts of “objects” in general and does not deal specifically with any one subject. User-friendly artifacts “connect [the user] with the larger world on many levels.” The “personal lives of individuals” become linked with “the shared experience of the collective” because memory “links the lived with the folkloric” and “the children of tomorrow with the ancestors of yesteryear.” Vehicles of memory and artifacts “distance” objects “from personal recall” and help those that produce the artifacts “fabricate, rearrange, or omit details from the past as we thought we knew it.”

¹⁹ It was after Lennon’s murder that the term “surviving” was applied to the other Beatles, though at the time no deliberate or significant attack had been made on Paul McCartney, George Harrison, or Ringo Starr.

²⁰ Ringo Starr had originally intended to produce two tracks given to him by Lennon, “Nobody Told Me” and “Life Begins at 40”, but the recording sessions with Lennon were planned after December 8, the day that Lennon was murdered.

and autobiographies of those involved with the band. In 1980, the only significant biography that existed was Hunter Davies' official *The Beatles*, originally published in 1968.²¹

The vast literary field that has been created around The Beatles and persons associated with them, closely and not so close, is the prime basis for the discussion of the importance of memory in discussing the image and package of The Beatles. Memory exists in various forms for the band, but these texts offer the most deliberate and abundant source for applying the term "vehicles of memory" alongside existing artifacts by the band and its members. As the discussion of memory and the literary field will show, The Beatles collective memory is divisible by ways of remembering the band. What becomes nostalgia for The Beatles acts in opposition to attempts to recreate the sounds of the band and other groups from their time period. It is here that the artifacts the band left become important to the discussion of memory as it relates and builds the image and package under scrutiny.

The Beatles and Nostalgia

Central to understanding how the image of The Beatles and the "Beatles package" have played a part in the collective memory is nostalgia. Because memory is often characterized as a "return of the repressed" and structured by trauma it is "likely to slide into nostalgia."²² With The Beatles (pun intended), nostalgia represents the memory of the experience of The Beatles in the 1960s. The alternate to nostalgia is "retro," where an

²¹ By 1980, numerous books had been published about The Beatles. It is out of sheer minimalism that only a few will be considered for this discussion, and is not a deliberate omission on the part of the author, but a logistical one.

²² Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Ground for Remembering*, spec. issue of *Representations*, no. 69 (2000): 138-139.

attempt to recreate or duplicate a style or output of something from the past acts as a motivator for reproducing objects such as The Beatles.²³ While a marked difference between nostalgia and “retro” has been illustrated here, the two ideas work together and help us discuss how movements in the United Kingdom and the United States represent attempts to recreate a historical moment or experience. “Retro” is reliant on nostalgia because it is driven by the hope of an experience similar or identical to the past.

Our collective memory of The Beatles is linked to our nostalgia for past experiences. The excitement of the time period, of Beatlemania, was unique and nothing has reached the heights that it holds in the time since. As fans and historians, we are not the only individuals who experienced The Beatles package. The Beatles as a group and their associates were central players as well as witnesses to the time period and Beatlemania. In that framework, The Beatles and their associates had the luxury of immediate response to and reflection on the package and Beatlemania. These reflections are evident from the music they produced and are useful to examine how yearning for The Beatles becomes a part of the myth and legacy of the band, fueling the nostalgia trap of the 1960s.²⁴ The easiest example is “Yesterday” and the song’s primary writer, Paul McCartney. Considering that the song was written and recorded at the height of Beatlemania, its lyrics mark a distinct departure from the lyrical canon of the band as they long for a past without a “shadow hanging over me.” Though McCartney speaks of a lost love, his words speak of a past that can only be experienced again through nostalgia. The symbolism of the song and its lyrics are not incompatible to the memory of The

²³ Klein, 132-3. From Patrick H. Hutton’s *History as an Art of Memory*: “Memory ... consists of two moments, repetition and recollection. Repetition involves the “pretense of the past,” while recollection involves present representations of the past.”

²⁴ Zelizer, 227.

Beatles. Have not fans of The Beatles longed for and believed in the yesterday of the band for four decades?

The “retro” side of remembering The Beatles is quite the opposite of that situation. With the 2006 release of the second boxed set of The Beatles American albums, *The Capitol Albums, Volume 2*, a deliberate effort on the part of Capitol Records was taken to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of The Beatles arriving in America. It was not the first time the label had done so, in 2004 when the first volume was released, the anniversary was explicit. For 2006, a release date was chosen in April so that it marked the exact day where forty-two years earlier The Beatles held the top five positions on the Billboard pop singles chart.²⁵ The connection to The Beatles arrival in America in 1964 is a point of interest for both releases. There was no attempt to recreate the time period or events leading to The Beatles arrival in America in 1964, leaving these releases clearly in the category of “retro.” The only problem with that assessment is the appearance and format of the boxed set, where feelings of nostalgia would certainly come forward from 1964 record buyers (the boxed sets feature CDs cased in cardboard sleeves with original artwork and labels reproduced to mimic the look of the 1964 LPs). New generations, on the other hand would see this as “retro” and nostalgic because it duplicates the sleeve layout of LPs by leaving the traditional jewel case behind and housing the CDs in cardboard sleeves, a distinct style highly disconnected from the release of the original catalog on CD in the 1980s.

²⁵ Jonathan Cohen, “Capitol Boxes Up More Beatles Albums,” *Billboard* News and Reviews, 20 March 2006, <http://www.billboard.com/bbcom/news/article_display.jsp?vnu_content_id=1002199067>. The day was April 11.

Conflating the popular memory of The Beatles is the story that The Beatles presented as their *Anthology* in the mid 1990s. The *Anthology* project offered the public and fans of The Beatles a number of things that had been hoped to occur for twenty five years at that point. First, and most obvious, the *Anthology* project included interviews with the three surviving Beatles about what they remembered about the story, and included archival footage of John Lennon from his entire career. Second, the *Anthology* provided the public with the long hoped for reunion when Paul McCartney was presented with a demo tape of John Lennon's featuring three tracks he had recorded in the late 1970s by his widow Yoko Ono. Working with the other two surviving Beatles, George Harrison and Ringo Starr, the three former members recorded new backing vocals and instrumentation and improved on the quality of the Lennon recordings of the late 1970s, eventually releasing two new "Beatles" songs with "Free as a Bird" and "Real Love."²⁶ These songs represent the most significant effort to re-enact the "Beatles package" for a new era, but unlike their older siblings, the hundreds of songs from the 1960s, "Free as a Bird" and "Real Love" are trapped in the 1990s aesthetics.²⁷ Finally, the *Anthology* project brought renewed publicity to The Beatles and introduced a whole new generation to the story via television's initial broadcast of the documentary and the accompanying albums that followed its broadcast.²⁸

²⁶ Devin McKinney, *Magic Circles: The Beatles in Dream and History*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 357-360.

²⁷ Without Lennon to direct McCartney, Harrison, and Starr, the songs lack even the immortal nature of some of Lennon's solo songs ("Imagine," "Happy Xmas"), not to mention The Beatles catalog of the 1960s. George Martin's reluctance to work with the two tracks is even more poignant considering he helmed the *Love* project between 2004 and 2006, a full decade after he claimed his hearing was not up to producing new "Beatles tracks."

²⁸ Martin Cloonan, "You Can't Do That: The Beatles, Artistic Freedom, and Censorship," in *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society: A Thousand Voices*, ed. Ian Inglis, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 126.

And in the end...

The goal of this thesis is a discussion in further detail how these kinds of ideas translate with our understanding of the 1960s. In the first chapter, a further separation of “retro” from nostalgia will follow a detailed discussion of the definitions of both terms. Additionally, a discussion of the popular culture of the late 1950s and early 1960s will attempt to briefly consider how mass consumption factored into the popularity and growth of music in the time period. Finally, these discussions will bring together the effects of mass media on the 1960s and how Beatlemania became a force of consumption and eventually memory. The second chapter will explicitly define and discuss the “package” repeatedly mentioned previously. It will trace the creation of The Beatles in Liverpool, their growth as “showmen” in Germany, and finally the influence of manager Brian Epstein and producer George Martin. This initial discussion will continue in the third chapter as we consider the mass appeal of The Beatles and their popularity in Britain and Europe and how that relates to their later American popularity and the importance of television and technology to their popularity in both. Finally, an attempt will be made to consider how the commercialization of The Beatles is gendered. In particular, what does the difference between the pop-oriented rock of The Beatles from the blues-oriented rock of their contemporaries, the Rolling Stones, mean in the mid-1960s. Additionally, certain themes of “running” present in their first two films, *A Hard Day's Night* and *Help!*, will be considered to determine how or if a masculine undertone is present or absent. Finally, this chapter will close with the effects of commercialization, how the “package” breaks down, and what the end of touring means when The Beatles take control of their image and career.

In the final chapter, a very intricate and detailed discussion of the importance of memory in considering The Beatles will occur. This chapter will discuss the importance of the growing literary field in the history of The Beatles, and will consider how the murder of John Lennon factors into the construction of Beatles memory artifacts. Any important part of this discussion will be the resurgence in popularity of The Beatles following *The Beatles Anthology* project. The goal will be to ascertain whether that project was the ultimate autobiography or a simple marketing product that recreated the Beatles “package” thirty years after it was initially successful. The final portion of this chapter will consider the *LOVE* show by Cirque de Soleil and how The Beatles are once again being marketed in a new method to create a new product for another generation. In the conclusion, a brief consideration of the Britpop fad in the mid-1990s and the memory of The Beatles and the 1960s will re-consider “retro” and nostalgia” with the “Battle of Britpop” and how stylistic influences are a problem for calls of nostalgia.

CHAPTER II

NOSTALGIA AND THE MASS CONSUMPTION OF MUSIC

The central framework for the discussion in the following pages deals largely with the questions revolving around the memory of The Beatles. The nature of that memory is discussed in the fourth chapter, but an initial starting point is the division and distinction between nostalgia and “retro” in thinking about The Beatles and the 1960s. Both terms deal with human emotions and inevitably consider the importance that is placed upon events, people, places, and items from the past. Of the two, nostalgia is far more prevalent in the discussion because, in a simplified manner, the term implies a yearning to return to a past time period or past feelings. This encompasses our view of said feelings or time periods, as well as the importance of physical objects that relate to those ideas. “Retro” is the exploitation of those feelings by recreating the appearance (sight, sound, smell, and or touch) of a past object or time period. To consider The Beatles and the 1960s as we view both in the twenty-first century we must acknowledge the importance of memory in this study as well as accepting that nostalgia and “retro” are separate and connected, overlapping to create new objects that may have nostalgic qualities while acting as “retro” devices.

When the discussion dives fully into considering The Beatles in popular memory, the major problem of that discussion will be clear, in large part due to this discussion of nostalgia. That problem is that memory of a time period, an event, or in this case a prominent cultural phenomenon, is often shaped by feelings of nostalgia. Kerwin Lee Klein describes memory as a “return of the repressed” with trauma providing the major

structural element and any memory not defined or shaped by trauma is “likely to slide into nostalgia.”¹ Nostalgia should not be considered as the opposite or antithesis to trauma in this discussion, however. The 1960s and the decade that preceded it were not devoid of trauma, nostalgia for the time period simply blots out the acknowledgement of the definition of “trauma” in this sense during the time period.

In that same discussion, “retro” will also play a vital role and a continuing factor that accompanies the legend of The Beatles beyond the 1970s and until the present. Unlike nostalgia, “retro” is easier to determine because it is in essence the exploitation of feelings of nostalgia, as well as trauma. The way the 1950s and 1960s are re-imagined and resold encompasses how this discussion will define and discuss “retro.” Emulations of events, items, and cultural phenomena from that time period in the late 1980s and 1990s exemplify how successive generations both admire and understand preceding ones. The 1960s complicate these separations due to the identity politics that so shaped the time period. Klein remarked that those politics allow “memory [to appeal] to us because it lends itself to the articulation of ethnoracial nationalisms that turn away from the cosmopolitan discourses of history.”² The history of the 1960s and the way it is viewed act accordingly and traverse what Pierre Nora termed the “passage from memory to history ... [requiring] every social group to redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history.”³ The Beatles thus become a representative of the 1960s because the changing atmosphere of the time period allows every person to look back differently at

¹ Kerwin Lee Klein, “On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse,” *Ground for Remembering*, spec. issue of *Representations*, no. 69 (2000): 138-139.

² Klein, 143.

³ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,” *Memory and Counter-Memory*, spec. issue of *Representations*, no. 26 (1989), 15.

the 1960s and recall different aspects of change that occurred. Nostalgia and “retro” are thus intertwined in this process because different generations, in addition to the people within those generations become their own historian due to the “task of remembering.”⁴

Post-war Youth Cultures

The late 1950s and early 1960s make it too easy to become nostalgic for groups like The Beatles or for stars like Elvis Presley. The primary reason for this is the amount of new material those examples created using revolutionary sounds to define popular music. The time period is even more important because the youth that experienced the time periods had vastly different experiences in the United States and Great Britain.⁵ For American teenagers, it was a time of consumption, stereotypes, and exploration. The youth culture in the United States that grew out of consumption could trace its roots to the prosperity of the 1950s, when “domestic containment” argued for new appliances and new affluence that made it easier to enjoy amenities in the home.⁶

The “containment” in the United States made such issues even more backward than their British counterparts.⁷ But the decade was still seen as the “Happy Days” that it reflected on society and in the moral and ethical standards seen as mainstream. Family life grew and reiterated traditional roles for men and women, all the while the home became increasingly technology laden, to the extent that a man’s economic success was showcased by his “accumulation of consumer goods” and his showcase for those items in

⁴ Nora, 15.

⁵ The discussion here omits the harrowing nature and truth of much of U.S. history during that decade, mostly as a result of indicating the ability for music to grow as a product in a profitable market.

⁶ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era – Revised and Updated Edition*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999), xxv.

⁷ Terry H. Anderson, *The Sixties, Third Edition*, (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007), 12.

his family's home.⁸ The success of the economic sphere and consumer goods created the massive growth and distribution of the television, the television market, and the growth of "fads."⁹ Of those "fads," the 45-rpm record became something easily produced and massively consumed.¹⁰ Despite the growth, the amenities of the economic sphere and the new youth culture created by it did not create consumption that would traditionally benefit life. Consumption that traditionally benefited life would not come housed in a paper sleeve, or via a jukebox in a stereotypical diner. Instead, that consumption would include amenities such as appliances and equipment designed to make home life simpler, even when those products resulted in the opposite. The new youth culture was created by the new popular fads and the consumption of those fads was responsible for the growth of music outside its conventional bounds. Ian Inglis argued that during The Beatles early years (1963-mid-1966), their "achievements ... departed relatively little in substance from the experiences of other leading performers in popular music," but "the difference lay in the size and scale of their success, framed within the phenomenon which became known as Beatlemania."¹¹ The 1950s created a market where this kind of success could flourish, in part because the decade "introduced new levels of hedonism and materialism

⁸ May, 146. "In appliance-laden houses across the country, working-class as well as business-class breadwinners could fulfill the new American work-to-consume ethic. Home-ownership would lessen class consciousness among workers, who would set their sights toward the middle-class ideal. The family home would be the place where a man could display his success through the accumulation of consumer goods."

⁹ Anderson, 9.

¹⁰ Anderson, 10.

¹¹ Ian Inglis, "Ideology, Trajectory & Stardom: Elvis Presley and The Beatles," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 27, no. 1 (1996): 68. See the more in-depth discussion about "Beatlemania" found in the second and third chapters.

into American culture” despite containment where “the radical implications of these values” were “[attached to] family togetherness.”¹²

In Great Britain, on the other hand, the postwar boom was not as effective at creating a successful market or rebuilding the infrastructure of much of England. For example, working class children in Liverpool, of which The Beatles were a part, often used the rubble from World War II bomb sites as playgrounds, and in the early 1950s, it would not be unsurprising to see a horse and carriage in the same street as more modern automobiles and other methods of mass and public transportation.¹³ For The Beatles, and especially John Lennon, the 1950s were a decade of continual despair, in part due to the disarray the youth felt in a society that failed to motivate them, but also from the loss of parents and parental figures.¹⁴ The wealthy of Liverpool, such as the Epstein family, enjoyed the same success they had before the war, and young Brian was able to attend a number of prestigious schools (he was a discipline issue), and had a guaranteed position in the family furniture store business. Even their children were unsure of themselves, and this was only complicated by the young Epstein’s homosexuality in a time where practicing as such was illegal.¹⁵ The British and American youths had music (among

¹² Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap*, (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 171.

¹³ Steven D. Stark, *Meet The Beatles: A Cultural History of the Band That Shook Youth, Gender, and the World*, (New York: Harper Entertainment / HarperCollins Publishers, 2005), 41-43.

¹⁴ Of the four Beatles, only George Harrison was raised in a home with his two biological parents. John was raised by his mother’s older sister and husband, but his uncle died in the early 1950s, and his mother was run over in 1957. Paul McCartney was raised by both parents until 1956 when his mother died of breast cancer. Richard Starkey, Sr., left young “Ritchie” and his wife not long after the birth of the boy. “Ritchie” grew up as a sick child and doctors repeatedly told his mother that he would be dead in a matter of days every time he was sick.

¹⁵ Peter Brown and Steven Gaines, *The Love You Make: An Insider’s Story of The Beatles*, (New York: New American Library, 2002), 50-52 and 53-55. Although most Beatles-related books deal with and discuss the issue of Epstein’s homosexuality, Brown’s book is the most useful as he was a fellow gay man in 1950s and 1960s England (and to this day obviously). It should be noted that Brown’s account of Epstein’s homosexuality was called “crap” and “bullshit” by Alistair Taylor, but no precise explanation of

other cultural facets) in common, and it was in the introduction of rock and roll in the 1950s, that everything that would connect the two later occurred.

That '50s "Craze"

Psychological disturbances in the time period were just one indication that the 1950s and the 1960s would be one embroiled with nostalgia. The study of "Beatlemania" and its effects on the youth of the mid-1960s is rooted in the 1950s study of several out of control situations relating to rock and roll. To say that "Beatlemania" was singular and unlike anything before and after it is fair, but does not demonstrate the effect that rock and roll had on the youth in the 1950s. It was the growth of popular music in that decade that paved the road for a phenomenon like "Beatlemania." Only that phenomenon and the "disturbances" it would instigate could pale the initial influence rock and roll had on the youth of the 1950s. The youth of the 1950s were clearly looking for something to allow them an escape from the tedious and sterilized nature of home life. More importantly, youth culture in general was beginning to take on the aspects that would morph into the hysteria and the counter culture movements of the 1960s. Everything about the perceived rebels in the 1950s indicated that the psychological aspects of the new music, how rock and roll was interpreted and enjoyed by the new youth culture, would grow into more rebellious exhibits in the following decade.

An interesting case for the exhibition of crazed feelings toward rock and roll took place near Times Square in New York City in late February 1957. The playing of a motion picture about rock and roll alongside stage shows of rock and roll resulted in a congestion of the Square as well as the theater where the shows took place. Reporting for

why he chose to use those terms is given in his account, *A Secret History* (or *With The Beatles*, in its republished form). See also Spitz, 257-8 and 260-3.

the Times, Edith Evans Asbury wrote that “teen-age rock ‘n’ roll enthusiasts stormed into the Times Square area before dawn yesterday and all day long they filled sidewalks, tied up traffic and eventually required the attention of 175 policemen” in a front page article titled “Rock ‘n’ Roll Teen-Agers Tie Up the Times Square Area.”¹⁶ If the title were any judge about the psychological effects of the event, then it would not be important, but the “enthusiasm” the writer describes makes the case most important, although this was certainly not the first time such excitement had taken place.¹⁷

The “craze” that took place within the theater was aimed at Alan Freed, who starred in *Don’t Knock the Rock*, the motion picture that was showcased, but more importantly he was the man who essentially created the term “rock and roll” for the rhythm and blues that he had played as a disk jockey in the early 1950s.¹⁸ *Don’t Knock the Rock*, features Freed playing himself, and “tells the story of a famous rock ‘n’ roll singer who is rebuffed when he returns to his hometown.”¹⁹ According to Asbury, when the rebuff was delivered by the mayor of the town, “screams of derision and boos from [the] audience drowned out the mayor’s speech,” which “[denounced] rock ‘n’ roll as a menace to the morals of youth.”²⁰ Of course, the nature of these sentiments reveal that rock and roll as a tool for rebellion was spreading to the point where fictional “rebuffs” against the fad incited protest from the audience outside the frame of the film. Considering *A Hard Day’s Night* seven years later, no protests from the audience could

¹⁶ Edith Evans Asbury, “Rock ‘n’ Roll Teen-Agers Tie Up the Times Square Area,” *New York Times*, 23 February 1957, 1.

¹⁷ Asbury, 12. “In the streets and in the theatre the youngsters gave a lot of evidence of fierce enthusiasm for the [stage and movie shows].”

¹⁸ Freed was not the first DJ to play “rock and roll,” but he considered himself the “father of rock and roll” after coining and popularizing the term. In 1957, he was the DJ at New York’s WINS radio station.

¹⁹ Asbury, 12.

²⁰ Asbury, 12.

overcome the extreme screaming and cries at seeing The Beatles on screen. Booing the screen was not the only aspect of the craze that worried Asbury, as she remarks that “inside the theatre, boys and girls danced in the aisles, the foyer and the lobby, stood in their seats and jumped up and down, screamed with delight as performers were announced, stamped their feet in time with the music, and sang with the singers.”²¹ The stamping of the feet caused the most concern for the writer, as well as the theater management, as building inspectors had to be called out when firemen became alarmed at how “vigorously” the teens stamped their feet.”²²

As a positive note to the feelings of absurdity that account for the “craze” that took place, Asbury cites a spokesperson stating that the shows were a successful venture for the theater, grossing roughly \$29,000 to set opening day records for the theater.²³ Accounting for the “craze” in profits certainly sets the tone for dealing with the growing youth cultures reaction to popular music, but it only answers why such events would be planned, for sheer profit. The “craze” and the feelings inherent to it were the subject for most debate, and in this case the *New York Times* provides psychological anecdotes for what had occurred in Times Square. Milton Bracker, a reporter for the *Times*, interviewed a psychologist visiting the area for a conference and surmised that the “craze” seemed “very much like the medieval type of spontaneous lunacy where one person goes off and lots of other persons go off with him.”²⁴

Bracker also extensively quotes one Dr. Joost A.M. Meerlo, an associate professor in psychiatry at Columbia University and his first views of rock and roll. Dr.

²¹ Asbury, 12.

²² Asbury, 1.

²³ Asbury, 1.

²⁴ Milton Bracker, “Experts Propose Study of ‘Craze’,” *New York Times*, 23 February 1957, 12.

Meerlo ascertained that “young people were moved by a juke box to dance themselves ‘more and more into a prehistoric rhythmic trance until it had gone far beyond all the accepted versions of human dancing’” and that the “craze” “demonstrated the violent mayhem long repressed everywhere on earth.”²⁵ The change in youth repression is a documented occurrence for the time period, but this psychologist feared political ramifications, where a “rhythmic trance” could easily transform into calls for political revolution and reform. The enchanting allure of rock and roll was not so far removed from political calls like “Duce! Duce! Duce!” that harkened back to fears of political instability, revolution and reform stemming from the 1920s. Meerlo also confirms fears that rock and roll would result in the downfall of modern civilization due to “pandemic funeral dances” as the “infantile rage and outlet” that was “advertised day by day” where people needed more, but received less. He called for a “new assessment of what value and responsibility are” as a means to keep the masses aware of the movement and stem its further growth.²⁶

Forty years later, we know that rock and roll was destined to grow exponentially within the ten years following that event. Rock and roll had displayed the signs of “cataclysm” to the authoritative onlookers, but there was nothing they could do to stop it from being exported to multiple places in the world many times over. The same day the *New York Times* reported about the “craze” in Times Square, it also reported about the growth of the popular music to the rest of the world. In London, “youngsters [had] torn up theatre seats” while in places like Sydney, Australia, youngsters “danced in the streets.” Even more related to the “stamping feet” of Times Square was a “balcony of a

²⁵ Bracker, 12.

²⁶ Bracker, 12.

local theatre in Jakarta, Indonesia” that “swayed precariously to the stamping feet of youths in the grip of rocking rhythms.”²⁷ The same piece blames the film that had premiered in New York and another film with a similar cast as the cause for all the trouble, from New York to Tokyo, where a riot occurred.

It is almost too comical to note that it was not the actual rock and roll stars that had touched off so many “problems” in the world, but images of their personality and music. Rock and roll was not and should not be limited to mere theaters, because by 1957 it had become a hugely profitable industry. Michael Bertrand notes that “by the late 1950s, the popularity of rock ‘n’ roll with young people would ensure that the music industry would sell more than \$75 million worth of recordings each year.”²⁸ The films in essence were a result as well as a genuine product designed to promote this industry. The record industry had been slow to catch up with the growth of rock and roll according to Bertrand. Independent labels accounted for most of the sales of rock and roll, which is why you have Elvis Presley recording on Memphis based label Sun Records until 1956 when he signs with the New York based RCA. Elvis’ own switch is indicative of what Bertrand calls “the threat of anarchy and loss of control” that the major record labels faced by the mid-1950s.²⁹ It is then only natural that in the United States at least, the major record labels would want to gobble up the rock and roll stars and make them part of their shares of the music industry. In the United Kingdom the situation was not very different however the number of independent labels was sharply decreased. The two big

²⁷ “Rock ‘n’ Roll Exported To 4 Corners of Globe,” *New York Times*, 23 February 1957, 12.

²⁸ Michael T. Bertrand, *Race, Rock, and Elvis*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 20.

²⁹ Bertrand, 75.

companies, EMI and Decca, controlled most product output which is clearly an indication why it was so surprising when in 1962, Decca rejected and EMI accepted The Beatles.

In any case, the growth of the rock and roll industry within the music industry was quick and significant. For the “big-wigs” and the consumers, the change was not gradual, but quite quick and directed at selling a product that was deemed to have a short lifespan. A film selling rock and roll and the persons responsible for its success is not shocking to hear about from 1957 because the consumers wanted the product and were willing to react accordingly based solely on the image of the star, in addition to the stars themselves. The idea of the rock and roll star became as important as the rock and roll star due to this, and allowed for the creation of the image of bands as well as maintaining what would remain popular and why. This is especially poignant when we look at The Beatles and what came to be known as Beatlemania. If a film displaying different artists could set youngsters off so crazily and stir a strong remark by the authorities, what had changed in the seven years before Beatlemania took off that allowed authorities to more easily accept the crazy reaction of the youth culture to a band judged solely on the length of their hair?

Beatlemania: That ‘60s Craze

The global campaign of American popular culture is what made The Beatles and Beatlemania occur. In fact, Beatlemania more resembles an American export, despite its beginnings in Liverpool during 1961 and 1962, because of the number of American influences in the music and the size and scope of the phenomenon before it even arrived in the United States. After the initial explosion out to all of Britain and Europe in 1963, only The Beatles arrival in the United States in 1964 allowed the group and its

phenomenon to “conquer the world.” Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May argue in their introduction to *“Here, There and Everywhere”* that the

fact that Liverpool was to become the capital of the pop universe in the early 1960s is quite revealing in itself. The Liverpoolians were exposed to such a large number of American sailors and soldiers—many of them African American—and their music precisely because of the global extension of the American empire as a result of the Second World War.³⁰

Although the psychology of Beatlemania is complex, the scale and size of the movement is vital to the lasting popularity of The Beatles. It should be no surprise that those that lived during the mid-sixties and experienced this “phenomenon” should continue to remember The Beatles as a massive force in the new cultures that came about and took off. That nothing similar to Beatlemania has been witnessed since is a strong indicator of the importance of the memory of The Beatles.

Stephen Daniels stated that “everyone can remember the sixties” because their memory is “layered by overlapping modes of recollection, including reminiscence, revival, conservation and commemoration, with pop music in general, and that of the Beatles in particular, shaping the period’s reproduction and the places associated with it.”³¹ It’s almost a common quote to hear that if you remember the sixties, you were not there, but Daniels clearly disagrees. The generation that remembers The Beatles as key to

³⁰ Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May, “Here, There and Everywhere: Introduction,” from *“Here, There and Everywhere”*: *The Foreign Politics of American Popular Culture*, ed. Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May, (Hanover, New Hampshire: The University Press of New England, 2000), 1. Begins “Influenced by American rhythm & blues and rock ‘n’ roll, four guys from Liverpool put together one of the most popular music groups of all time” and continues as “And that cultural encounter also represented an ironic (and historically rather sad) form of poetic justice: after all, the port on the river Mersey had been one of the major centers of the slave trade. One could argue, therefore, that the blues only returned back home to one of its *original* sites.”

³¹ Stephen Daniels, “Suburban Pastoral: Strawberry Fields Forever and Sixties Memory,” *Cultural Geographies* 13, no. 1 (2006): 28-29. “Everyone can remember the Sixties. In the prevailing culture of memory, in which ... personal memories grounded in lived experience are conflated with collective memories retrieved from public media, the Sixties are layered ...y overlapping modes of recollection, including reminiscence, revival, conservation and commemoration, with pop music in general, and that of the Beatles in particular, shaping the period’s reproduction and the places associated with it.”

the 1960s was vital to the new youth and counterculture movements that arrived in the 1960s as they moved from the 1950s. Pop music and culture served as many things to that group, made events, and became synonymous with progress, with The Beatles' career "from homespun rock'n'rollers and hit ditty makers to subtle melodists, acute lyricists ... was the model of that progress."³² Their 1967 album was the apex of that progress because that album was the first to "address issues other than teenage fun" while it made a "move from pop to rock ... describing a more ambitious music than pop" because it helped young people "realize complex private dreams and feelings."³³ Forty years later, the album remains "one of the 60s' key symbols" marketing pop to the masses as a cultural and mass event. The album "represented a new movement of youth—classless and ageless" giving them "a new purpose: to make out of pleasure a politics of optimism, to turn passive consumption into an active culture."³⁴ The album also ended the initial furor and excitement surrounding The Beatles. Their fame would continue, but the hysteria and the "craze" surrounding them, Beatlemania, would drop off at that point. In turn, mass hysteria and "craze" would take on new forms as well with the growth of a number of movements and liberations that coalesced not because The Beatles stopped touring, but merely in the same time period.

Beatlemania in simplest terms was the phenomena surrounding The Beatles and was defined by the hysteria that fans of The Beatles seemed to be incapacitated against. In the United States, *Time* magazine called it "The New Madness" three months before The Beatles played on *The Ed Sullivan Show* and *Newsweek* called it Beatlemania but

³² Simon Frith, "Rock and the Politics of Memory," *The 60's without Apology*, spec. issue of *Social Text*, no. 9/10 (1984): 60.

³³ Frith, 60.

³⁴ Frith, 60.

focused on the “sheep-dog bangs, collarless jackets, and drainpipe trousers.”³⁵ But any initial follow-up to this range of sentiments about the band were either pushed back or abandoned on and after November 22, 1963, when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas.³⁶ When the media began to pick back up on the story and frenzy of The Beatles, their success in the United States had been secured. By February 1964, New York and all of the country were preparing to witness The Beatles and their Beatlemania firsthand in what would be what the *New York Times* described as “a satisfying reversal of the postwar trans-Atlantic traffic in popular singers.”³⁷

The Beatles success in the United States may have been secured simply due to the success of their first “official” single “I Want to Hold Your Hand” and album *Meet The Beatles!*, but their success truly hinged on their appearance and repertoire with American audiences, both fans and critics.³⁸ Paul Gardner, the reporter for the *New York Times* that covered The Beatles arrival at John F. Kennedy International Airport and their trip to the Plaza Hotel, inherently referred to the massive crowds as nothing short of some kind of youth protest instigated by the DJs and radiomen interested and intent on their success. The same author also laments the arrival by repeatedly remarking about their long hair and filling out his article with lyrics from “She Loves You” – “Yeah! Yeah! Yeah!”³⁹

³⁵ “Beatlemania,” *Newsweek* 62, 18 November 1963, 104. See also “The New Madness,” *Time* 82, 15 November 1963, 64.

³⁶ The Beatles second album *With The Beatles* was released in the United Kingdom and Canada on that date as well – an interesting parallel. See Ian Inglis, “‘The Beatles Are Coming!’ Conjecture and Conviction in the Myth of Kennedy, America and the Beatles,” *Popular Music and Society* 24, no. 2 (2000): 93-108.

³⁷ James Fehon, “Singing Beatles Prepare for U.S.,” *New York Times*, 6 February 1964, 36(L+).

³⁸ “Official” in this capacity refers to the first single and album that Capitol Records, the EMI subsidiary in the United States released for the band. Prior to those two in late 1963 and early 1964, Beatles singles had been released by a variety of independent and smaller labels.

³⁹ This could technically be any form of the writer’s writing, but given the subject matter and the precise number of times the word “yeah” is used, the reference is clearly intended. See Paul Gardner, “The Beatles Invade, Complete With Long Hair and Screaming Fans: 3,000 Fans Greet British Beatles,” *New York Times*, 8 February 1964, 25(L++) and 49(L).

Beatlemania in the United States and New York in particular is not surprising considering the reactions the city and the *Times* had seen to other rock and roll or popular acts in the preceding ten years, the 1957 Times Square “craze” as a case in point.

The quick and unbridled success of The Beatles in the United States is nothing short of *extraordinary*, but it was the result of a tried and true repertoire and image that the band and their personnel pushed forward during their British and European successes of the previous year. Still, the success has certainly qualities that seem unmistakably American in nature, a point that Paul Gardner again noted in another column piece about the band in the morning edition of the *Times* before the band was due to appear and perform on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. He called it “the dreamy American success story with a British accent” where even “France [was] proud of their entry into the common entertainment market.”⁴⁰ Again the writer comments on the length of their hair and the effect it was having on the youth of the United States as “Beatlemania [crept] in slowly” and “collarless jackets ... [turned] up in the strangest places, like the safe suburbs.”⁴¹ The Beatles British and French connections were highly prized facets of their career upon their initial arrival in America, with an advert promoting “Authentic Beatle Wear” called consumers in with the catch-phrase “England Fell! France Surrendered! NOW... THE BEATLES ARE HERE!”⁴² The symbolism with American superiority in the world marketplace and elements of actual events that occurred during the Second World War, made The Beatles as an American dream-type story even more acute.

⁴⁰ Paul Gardner, “The British Boys: High-Brows and No-Brows,” *New York Times*, 9 February 1964, sec. X, p. 19.

⁴¹ Gardner, “The British Boys: High-Brows and No-Brows.”

⁴² See *New York Times*, 9 February 1964, 13(F).

The side effects of this kind of connection go beyond the obvious Englishness of The Beatles and their inheritance and interpretation of American rock and roll. The primary effect is that Beatlemania is more closely connected with America, while their music remains somewhere stranded in the middle. It would be far too easy to say that their music remained aligned with England, but that it too highly debatable. In America, Beatlemania was something akin to the initial reactions to rock and roll in the previous decade, but aside from commentary about the length of their hair, the only other similarities that the two fads share is calls against the banality of their music and comparisons in the size of the crowds that cheered. By August 1965, eighteen months after The Beatles had first arrived in the United States, critics were aware of the change in rock and roll that had occurred simultaneously with The Beatles arrival and popularity. Robert Shelton commented in the *New York Times* that “The Beatles have brought rock ‘n’ roll ... to its third and greatest fever pitch of popularity” while rising rock and roll promoters like Murray the K and the producer Phil Spector up alongside The Beatles in the ranks of popularity.⁴³ Shelton also comments that the quick growth of rock and roll in that eighteen months made the change “most encouraging” because of “the emergence of more meaningful lyrics.” The writer also attributed the British Invasion to the “[reinvigoration] of American musical thinking and activity.”⁴⁴ But The Beatles could not be duplicated again, and especially not by an American band, though the monkeys at the labels would certainly try. The Beatles and their popularity remained fixated in the images of Beatlemania and especially in their first appearances of February 1964.

⁴³ Robert Shelton, “The Beatles Will Make the Scene Here Again, but the Scene Has Changed,” *New York Times*, 11 August 1965, 40(L++).

⁴⁴ Shelton, “The Beatles Will Make the Scene Here Again, but the Scene Has Changed.”

Three days after The Beatles played Carnegie Hall in New York, Leopold Stokowski entertained youths in educational performances of the “majestic rock of Beethoven’s Fifth and the melodic roll of Stravinsky’s “Firebird”” while he conducted a conversation with that youth about The Beatles.⁴⁵ The conductor was surprised at the level of support bestowed upon a band that the fans could not hear due to the amount of screaming directed toward their performances. In reaction, the students replied that they were supportive because The Beatles were “cuties.” Forty years later, it is all the more important to remember that The Beatles could not be heard, because the fans were screaming for their good looks and the critics were screaming about their long hair.

Beatlemania: Take Two (or Three, or Four)

Conceptions of Beatlemania in early 1964 always seem to include some reference to the deep depression that followed the death of President Kennedy in the United States. Ian Inglis explicitly considered this conception, or as he calls it “conviction,” in his article for *Popular Music and Society* in the summer of 2000. Among the number of theories and suggestions made about a number of The Beatles milestones and significant points in history, he seeks to distinguish where this conception comes from. He does not say it is entirely wrong, but attributing all of The Beatles success to such a political event would be incorrect. It is this summation that makes Beatlemania even more historical, not because it happened around the world in the 1960s and could reinvigorate a nation and its

⁴⁵ Richard F. Shepard, “Stokowski Talks of Something Called Beatles,” *New York Times*, 15 February 1964, 13(L+).

music, but because it could be repeated again and again to market The Beatles and Beatle-products for decades after the band had broken up in 1970.⁴⁶

The most significant occurrence of a rebirth or re-establishment of Beatlemania was in the mid-1990s. It was in this time period that short lived musical fads like Britpop would celebrate the popularity and the memory of The Beatles, but it was also the same time period when *The Beatles Anthology* first aired and the accompanying albums were released with “new” music. It was The Beatles reemergence financially into the hands of a new generation. While the Britpop stars performed “retro” songs sounding like the music of The Beatles and other 1960s bands, the three surviving Beatles brought back the career of The Beatles through the *Anthology* in a stylized nostalgic move.⁴⁷ Due to this, the *Anthology* compilation albums and the book released later were relegated to “succeed only as nostalgia and as marketing devices.”⁴⁸ According to Gary Burns, this occurrence was “dismaying in the light of the group’s earlier achievements as politically engaged, avant-garde pop-stars.”⁴⁹ But the market of the 1990s made it clear that for a society where the baby boomers were no longer babies, and new generations were looking back to the 1960s with nostalgia, any presence of The Beatles was accepted and longed for.

This is only proven when considering the amount of copies sold and how the albums fared in the albums charts. In the United States, the first volume *Anthology I* debuted at the top of *Billboard* during the week of December 9, 1995, eventually selling

⁴⁶ See Ian Inglis, “‘The Beatles Are Coming!’ Conjecture and Conviction in the Myth of Kennedy, America and the Beatles,” *Popular Music and Society* 24, no. 2, (2000): 93-108.

⁴⁷ Gary Burns, “Refab Four: Beatles for Sale in the Age of Music Video,” in *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society: A Thousand Voices*, ed. Ian Inglis, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 186.

⁴⁸ Burns, 186.

⁴⁹ Burns, 186.

four million copies by that time a year later, while it went to number two in England.⁵⁰

The second volume, *Anthology 2*, also debuted at number one in the American charts before eventually selling two millions copies.⁵¹ In November 1996, *Anthology 3* followed suit and debuted at number one as well in the United States, while coming in at number four in England with sales of 1.5 million and two million in the two countries respectively.⁵² The success of the *Anthology* albums created a new market for Beatles products that has continued to this day, despite every new release not containing unreleased, alternate, live, or “new” Beatles tracks.

The Beatles’ *1*, released in 2000, was the first such compilation that saw an increase in the interest of Beatles products, and this was a direct result of marketing. In November and December 2000, in the weeks following the compilations release, it captured the number one spot in American and British album charts, surpassing then popular groups. Clearly the interest that had been generated by the *Anthology* project five years prior still existed. The fact that the compilation comprised all of the number one hits by the band in those two nations indicates the lasting connection to the 1960s as well. If songs popular over thirty years ago could fuel and drive the success of a new release then surely there was some nostalgic feeling for the band that existed at the time.

The success of the *1* album surpassed any expectations and was a complete surprise to many industry and Beatles onlookers. Bruce Spizer, an expert on The Beatles discography state that “the answer to the album’s success was [simple] – price, and, most importantly of all, the quality of music” contributed to how quickly and how many copies

⁵⁰ Bruce Spizer, *The Beatles on Apple Records*, (New Orleans: 498 Productions, L.L.C., 2003), 262.

⁵¹ Spizer, *The Beatles on Apple Records*, 268.

⁵² Spizer, *The Beatles on Apple Records*, 274.

the album sold in late 2000. The album debuted at number one the week of its release and within a month had sold over five million copies, with two million more selling before the end of February 2001 to bring the total to eight million by December 2001. According to Spizer, Capitol Records announced that the album had sold twenty-three million copies worldwide after going to number one in thirty-seven countries during its first two months of release. Spizer attributes the success mostly to price because before the compilation and its basic “greatest hits” track listing, new fans or fans hoping to get a short outline of the band’s success had to purchase two double disc sets amounting to a rough total of \$65, whereas the *I* album regularly sells for anywhere from \$9.99 to \$18.⁵³ The nostalgic qualities of this release are lost when these kinds of figures are attached, but this would not be the last release by the band that called back nostalgic feelings.

The recent release, *The Capitol Albums, Volume 2*, directly makes nostalgic cries for 1960s products and marketing. Following the release of the first volume in 2004 which was marketed as celebrating the fortieth anniversary of The Beatles arriving in America. The 2006 release features all of the original American releases by Capitol Records in 1965 and was released on 11 April, a date that coincidentally marks the forty-second anniversary of the Beatles holding the top five positions on the Billboard pop singles chart in 1964 with the songs “Can’t Buy Me Love,” “Twist and Shout,” “She Loves You,” “I Want To Hold Your Hand” and “Please Please Me.”⁵⁴ The problem with this connection to a specific date is that it remarks less about nostalgia and more about “retro” feelings. Baby Boomers would obviously feel a nostalgic feeling to the

⁵³ Spizer, *The Beatles on Apple Records*, 292.

⁵⁴ Jonathan Cohen, “Capitol Boxes Up More Beatles Albums,” *Billboard News and Reviews*, 20 March 2006, <http://www.billboard.com/bbcom/news/article_display.jsp?vnu_content_id=1002199067>.

appearance and format of this release, especially in its mirroring of the way the albums were released in 1964-1965. On the other side, new generations are more likely to view that appearance as “retro,” particularly the sleeve casing that does not contain any plastic cases that are so connected to compact disc releases.

In a decade that has witnessed a rebound of interest in The Beatles music and career, it should be no surprise that at the same time, the largest biographical volume to date written on the band has also been released. Bob Spitz’ *The Beatles: The Biography*, published in late 2005, attempts to bring forward yet more supposedly new information about the band. The interesting approach to his work is the focus in the first third of the book on the history of Liverpool and The Beatles families’ prior to their births and coming together as a band. Still, his conclusions remain the same as those that came before and fans looking for the traditional story of the band have to wade through that first third. Fortunately, Spitz does try to incorporate some of the rumors and legends that had been present in previous works on The Beatles, namely those by Philip Norman and Peter Brown, but this only helps to further “mythologize” The Beatles because he claims that his book is the “definitive biography” on The Beatles. At a time where authors are asking “Why on earth would anyone need another book about The Beatles?” Bob Spitz’ work overshadows and pales those that have come before.⁵⁵ This is a phenomenon that will be more closely addressed in the fourth chapter, when the discussion of memory takes off and is not reliant on nostalgia and “retro.” While Spitz’ work does overshadows

⁵⁵ Stark, 1.

other works, the public still has a desire for new books about The Beatles, because “unlike other pop phenomena, they seem, amazingly, to grow bigger by the year.”⁵⁶

Nostalgia in Retrospect

As a member of the 1990s generations, the *Anthology* truly introduced me to The Beatles. I was mildly aware of the group’s existence before the airing of that program, primarily because my father was a huge rock music fan and had shared his musical tastes with my sister and me. That Thanksgiving still reverberates in my own memory, the question is does it do the same in many of the other individuals of my generation? I was genuinely hooked on The Beatles at the conclusion of the final night of the program, thumbing through the Beatles LP records that were in my father’s collection. What is it about *The Beatles Anthology* that hooked my imagination? It is fairly obvious that my imagination is not the only one newly hooked on The Beatles in the last ten or so years. As a generation, we have multitudes of new music to enjoy and embrace. The record industry continuously throws new artists and new sounds at us. Geoff Emerick questioned the validity of many of the new artists and new sounds in his biography:

Will there ever be another Beatles? I doubt it. It’s not down to talent; there have always been gifted young artists, and there always will be. But there aren’t breeding grounds like Hamburg anymore, places where bands can develop in anonymity and hone their craft. Every musician is isolated in his or her bedroom now; there’s little collaboration, little opportunity for ideas to be nurtured and developed. In addition, today’s digital tools—things like Autotuning, which corrects out-of-tune singing and playing—allow even untalented people to make records, too. As a result, the market is glutted with mediocre product, making it harder for the cream to rise to the top.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Stark, 1.

⁵⁷ Emerick, 369.

If The Beatles were the cream of the 1960s, and society still holds them in such high popular esteem and memory, then Emerick is absolutely right, no other band can hope to come near their popularity or significance. Sure, bands have and will outsell The Beatles, especially as music becomes more available via the internet, but they will never capture the output of The Beatles.

In less than eight years, The Beatles released thirteen albums and numerous singles. For a band today, that kind of output is near impossible, even a year gap in between albums is considered fast paced. The Beatles and indeed the 1960s became legendary, mythical, and hold a special place in many people's memory and hearts. While The Beatles "were neither the first nor the last pop culture celebrities to undergo this process" and become somewhat "divine" no one else can compare with them, they held their own "Trinity" and fanatic followers.⁵⁸ To understand how they could achieve so much, we must first consider how they got to the "toppermost of the poppermost" in their own time period before we continue to jump forward and consider their memory in accordance with the ideas of nostalgia and retrospect.

⁵⁸ Stark, 272.

CHAPTER III

THE CREATION OF THE BEATLES IMAGE, 1960-1963

The image of The Beatles could be defined simply by their hair. It was longer than was the normal style for 1963 and 1964, especially in the United States. The months preceding their arrival in the United States featured numerous news magazine and television briefs, all expounding on the length of the four “boys” hair. In mid-November, before the life-changing events of the twenty-second, *Time* magazine ran a minor story detailing their appearance as such: “they look like shaggy Peter Pans, with their mushroom haircuts and high white shirt collars, and onstage they could around endlessly—twisting, cracking jokes, gently laughing at the riotous response they get from the audience.”¹ *Newsweek* reported a similar and less detailed appearance the same week: “they wear sheep-dog bangs, collarless jackets, and drainpipe trousers.”²

Considering both of these documents is important to understanding the initial perceptions of The Beatles in the United States. Simply put, the band was not taken seriously, first because of their appearance, then because of the reactions they generated with their audience, and finally because the men writing about music, and culture at that time in the United States were unaccustomed to the stylistic influences or popularity that The Beatles had enjoyed in England. These writers showed stereotypical ignorance about phenomena clearly non-American. But, The Beatles haircuts were not long for other regions in the world. Groomed in Germany and France, their style was evocative of youth

¹ “The New Madness,” *Time* 82, 15 November 1963, 64.

² “Beatlemania,” *Newsweek* 62, 18 November 1963, 104.

and student culture in those areas. The “mop-top” as it came to be known was first introduced to the band while they were performers in Hamburg, Germany, by a young and attractive student and photographer, Astrid Kirchherr.

When Capitol Records began promotion for the release of the first “official” Beatles single and album in the United States in December 1963, the haircut became a symbol to associate fans, DJs, and other promoters with The Beatles. Brochures with only hair pictured were circulated and Beatles wigs became popular items for sale; the Capitol executives even posed for a photograph wearing wigs.³ At John F. Kennedy Airport during the press conference with the band, one of the first questions asked was if The Beatles would get a haircut. Later, similar announcements about the shape and length of the band’s hair were made by NBC in announcing their arrival in America.⁴ After their performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, the New York Times review of the show ridiculed the supposed rebellious nature the band incited, using their hair as a means for comment: “The Liverpool quartet, borrowing the square hairdo used every morning on television by Captain Kangaroo was composed of conservative conformists.” Jack Gould, the author of that review also remarked that The Beatles enjoyed some intelligence “beneath their bangs” because “there appeared to be a bemused awareness that they might qualify as the world’s highest paid recreation directors.”⁵

To understand how The Beatles could be deemed square conformists, we must first go back to their formation and trials as a live band before the beginnings of their

³ Bruce Spizer, *The Beatles Are Coming! The Birth of Beatlemania in America*, (New Orleans: 498 Productions, 2003), 77. The pose the four executives are in mimics a promotional shot The Beatles took in mid-1963.

⁴ Spizer, 140.

⁵ Jack Gould, “The Beatles and Their Audience,” *New York Times*, 10 February 1964, 53.

recording lives in mid-1962. It is there that the “package” of The Beatles was crafted alongside a new image sustained by similarity and “presentability.” While they would be responsible for the music, and with the help of George Martin and other EMI production staff it would grow, their image, the way the world remembers them was almost a total construction by Brian Epstein, their manager.⁶ His entrance into their lives is immensely important because he was instrumental in crafting their image as well as promoting their music to the appropriate channels, gaining them a larger and larger fanbase alongside the eventual success of their recording career. As the son of wealthy Jewish businessmen in Liverpool, he had been unsuccessful at many professional and personal ventures up to that point in late 1961. His tenure with and management of The Beatles would erase much of the failings he had suffered in his life, though not right away.

The Beatles as a packaged product was not a conscious effort by anyone in or related and associated with the band. Indeed, if John Lennon had had his way, The Beatles would have stayed an “unpolished” act, continuing to perform and grow in the rough and unbridled manner that so defines their tenures in Hamburg and the days at the Cavern Club before Brian Epstein became associated with them. To say that The Beatles as we view them were the sole creation of Brian Epstein would be too much. The music was purely the genius of the band and its two primary songwriters.⁷ Every member of the

⁶ The Beatles were quite willing and happy to allow the local promoters to continue and manage their bookings and performances before they met Brian Epstein. For a man like Epstein to enter the picture is both extraordinary and peculiar and his motives for approaching the band have been repeatedly questioned in numerous biographies and histories of the band and their time period. Either Epstein was a true promotional and commercial visionary or a love-sick homosexual man attracted to four young boys wearing leather and dancing on stage.

⁷ George Harrison was a songwriter in his own right, and eventually challenged the work of John Lennon and Paul McCartney by the end of The Beatles, but for the sake of clarity and continuity Lennon and McCartney will represent the nexus of songwriting for the purposes of discussion.

band was skilled and adept at playing the instruments, but the performance was where The Beatles as a unit truly shined.

It is also in the performance of their music that the image and package of The Beatles was significantly important. The uproar and excitement created by their on-stage personalities and their abilities as musicians in performance was both a positive and negative in terms of commercial success. With a large fanbase in two distinct regions – Northwestern England and Hamburg, Germany – The Beatles enjoyed a successful run in many local clubs in both places. But to broaden their appeal and become successful as artists,⁸ they would have to move away from these places, especially Liverpool.

The First Names

We were four guys. I met Paul and said, “You want to join me band?” then George joined and then Ringo joined. We were just a band who made it very, very big, that’s all.⁹

The quote above does no justice to the story of the “coming together” of The Beatles as a band and the story of their career as a simple live band before their first studio recordings in 1962. However, it is far too time-consuming and unoriginal to include a biography of the band and their early lives, especially since so much of it is shrouded in both mystery and legacy. Suffice to say that by the summer of 1961 they had endured hardships and were beginning to enjoy success. Upon their return from a second residency in Hamburg, Germany, that summer, they were very tight knit band, but far from the band that would endure and enjoy the fame that entailed Beatlemania.

⁸ In terms of musicians in early 1960s England, the bands were typically referred to as “the talent.” The application of the term “artist” became one that The Beatles and other contemporary band’s allowed into the industry.

⁹ Jann S. Wenner and John Lennon, “Lennon Remembers,” *Rolling Stone*, 7 January and 4 February 1971, 82-3.

The creation of image-making for The Beatles does not begin there however. The first potentially serious audition for the band that became The Beatles occurred in 1959 with a small-time talent agent from London, Larry Parnes. His claim to fame was a singer he had managed, renamed, and presented as Tommy Steele in the late 1950s.¹⁰ Though the singer was never as famous as The Beatles would become, and this is a piece of our historical hindsight, this early encounter with the band and a person with a stage personality would set the tone for much of their career. Parnes was in Liverpool to promote a concert to be headlined by Eddie Cochran and Gene Vincent, with local bands filling out the rest of the program. The Beatles however were not included on the bill, and tragedy nearly ruined the success of the show.¹¹

Larry Parnes returned to Liverpool in May 1960 to audition backing bands for his notoriously renamed acts that were going on a tour of Scotland. As he felt that managing a stable of singers was enough work, he was not looking to sign any groups to his management, just use them to promote his own singers. Knowing full well that this type of job would surely get his group to better things, John Lennon personally asked Allan Williams to audition his band. The audition is the first documented appearance that the Beatles looked somewhat alike, even if it only amounted to the exact same shoes coupled with black shirts.¹²

¹⁰ Philip Norman, *Shout!: The Beatles in Their Generation, Revised and Updated*, (New York: Fireside / Simon and Schuster, 2005), 67.

¹¹ Norman, 67-8. The tragedy came from the death of Eddie Cochran and serious injury of Gene Vincent following an automobile accident. The Beatles own quasi manager at the time, Allan Williams, had arranged an agreement with Parnes that if he would bring the two big stars back through Liverpool for another show, he would supply the second half of the program with local artists. Not willing to face the riotous crowds of the Liverpool fans, Williams decided to go on with the show, with the possibility that Vincent might be well enough to play. The show was a success when Parnes was impressed by the Liverpool music, but unfortunately the Beatles did not play that night.

¹² George Harrison, interview for *The Beatles Anthology*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), 44.

In the deal with Parnes and his acts, The Beatles were forced to come up with a new name for the band and stage names for the tour. Although the Beatles has been toying with the idea of stage names for some time, it was the tour with Parnes' acts that initiated the name change in the band. The fact that they did it was perhaps only to please his management and hope to secure more work at a future date. A conversation with Parnes even revealed the importance placed upon "rechristening" all his "boys" because "otherwise they would go on stage with peculiar names that wouldn't be part of their make-up."¹³ Paul McCartney added in one of his interviews for the *Anthology* documentary that

[the promoters] didn't really like the name, The Beatles, so they wanted to come up with something more imaginative. So they came up with Long John Silver and the Beetles, and we thought nah, so it ended up Long John and the Silver Beetles. We became the Silver Beetles for a while for this tour of Scotland.¹⁴

Their own hopes for stage names meant that to back Long John, Paul, George, and Stuart, became Paul Ramon, Carl Harrison, and Stu de Stael, respectively.¹⁵ The Silver Beetles were given a job touring Scotland with one of Parnes' "boys," Johnny Gentle, in May 1961.¹⁶ Performing in newly adopted outfits that were nearly identical and a new name meant that for a short time The Beatles became more marketable by an agent and promoter from London, the cultural capitol of England. While the tour was nothing to be impressed of and The Beatles ended up back in Liverpool bankrupt, they had achieved some semblance of popularity with the Scottish crowds, creating a name for themselves

¹³ Interviewer, Larry Parnes, and Paul McCartney, *The Beatles Anthology 1*, dir. Geoff Wonfor, Hollywood: Capitol Records, 2003. DVD.

¹⁴ Paul McCartney, *The Beatles Anthology 1*. See also Norman, 71.

¹⁵ Norman, 74. Long John referred to John Lennon, who was seen at the time and still is seen as the leader of the band, despite the success the band enjoyed from the input and leadership of all members. In November 1963, *Time* and *Newsweek* both ran pieces describing Lennon as "spokesman" and "leader."

¹⁶ Norman, 75.

outside their homes of Liverpool and Hamburg. Larry Parnes later admitted that “the Silver Beetles went down better than any other backing group he had sent to Scotland” and “that Johnny Gentle admitted they were getting more applause than he was.”¹⁷

This early incarnation of the Beatles would help guide them over the course of the next couple of years, as the adoption of new names by management at this time proved to be more successful for them than their own image of separate personalities had proven. In August 1960, the Beatles would take on the next step in their now legendary history and the development of their image when they traveled to Hamburg for their first residency in the German port.

The Beatles in Hamburg

In the spring of 1960, no one in England or Europe, for that matter, had any inkling of the magnitude of the popularity one musical group would grow to within in the next three and a half years. What would evolve into Beatlemania provided the Beatles with a strong fan-base that eventually turned into something even the Beatles would truly be unprepared for. Beatlemania would revolve not only around the way the band appeared, sounded and were presented by their manager and the record label, but also around the endless touring the Beatles would undertake starting in 1960.

Although the Beatles touring period is traditionally considered from 1963 to 1966, it truly began in the spring of 1960 with their small tour of Scotland backing a Larry Parnes “singer.” Though the tour ended in failure, it provided the foursome the opportunity to impress local promoters as well as promoters abroad, namely the owner of

¹⁷ Norman, 75. The success of The Beatles on the tour forced Allan Williams to realize that they were more than the boys he saw messing around on a daily basis. By the next August, Williams would be responsible for giving The Beatles jobs to grow in.

a number of clubs in Hamburg, Germany. Bruno Koschmider owned the Kaiserkeller and the Indra, the two clubs where the Beatles would play during their first residency of Hamburg.¹⁸ Koschmider might never have known of the Beatles had it not been for Allan Williams and another band he promoted, Derry and the Seniors. Before either band was offered the work, Williams had actually traveled to Hamburg and had impromptu meetings with Koschmider about how he “managed the world’s best rock and roll groups.”¹⁹ Although the tape he had brought with him of the Silver Beatles playing failed to produce anything more than static, Koschmider was apparently taken with his energy. For Williams though, he felt his meeting was a failure and prepared himself to return to Liverpool to work still as nothing more than a “functionary” of Larry Parnes. The Beatles disappeared in Williams mind for a time as his main group became Derry and the Seniors.²⁰

Luck was on Williams, the Seniors, and eventually the Beatles side. Due to the energy of Williams’ presentation Koschmider traveled to London and wound up in Larry Parnes famous coffeehouse. Koschmider had decided to hire English rock and roll groups for his clubs, and after having hired Tony Sheridan before, he was back to find a second act.²¹ At the same time Williams traveled to London with the Seniors and in no time, Koschmider had signed the Seniors to play in his Kaiserkeller club. Derry and the Seniors proved to be such a success in Hamburg that he sent a letter to Williams asking for a band

¹⁸ Norman, 81-2.

¹⁹ Norman, 80-1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Norman, 82. Tony Sheridan would eventually use the Beatles, much to their own chagrin, as a backing band in a recording studio in Hamburg for the single “My Bonnie,” which would eventually be released a number of times with various name changes. Most significantly going from Tony Sheridan and the Beat Brothers to The Beatles with Tony Sheridan.

to work at his other club, the Indra. The Beatles residency of Hamburg began on 12 August 1960 when they hired Pete Best as their drummer.²²

In Hamburg, they went to work at the Indra club immediately, living in the back room of a cinema, but improving on stage, despite these seemingly repulsive aspects of their performance antics.²³ Lennon would remark later that “In Liverpool we just used to do our best numbers, the same ones at every gig ... In Hamburg we would play for eight hours, so we really had to find new ways of playing.”²⁴ To complicate things, the group was used to playing dance halls where they would only need to play to people dancing, in Hamburg they would play to a club where there was no dance floor, but Koschmider taught The Beatles “mach shau.”²⁵

Beginning in Hamburg, The Beatles began to invite the audience into their performance, making the crowds an equal participant as well as a worthy adversary.²⁶ From what the Beatles themselves have said in the years since, this idea of bringing them in appears to have been the meager beginnings of what would become Beatlemania, although this was by no means a new phenomenon. Clearly, mass hysteria and jousting between the audience and the performers had existed before, as was obvious even when the actual performers were not present. In Hamburg, this meant playing to a small group of people that might come into the club hoping to find cheap beer, or to only two people

²² Walter Everett, *The Beatles as Musicians: The Quarry Men through Rubber Soul*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 82. His section on the Beatles in Hamburg is titled: *Apprenticeship in Hamburg*, and describes the meeting with Pete Best as a prerequisite for them going to Hamburg as they needed a drummer, and he owned a “fine drum set.”

²³ Chris Ingham, *The Rough Guide to the Beatles*, (New York: Rough Guides, 2003) 8-9. Ingham reiterates what many authors before him called The Beatles “growing up” due to their discovery of “alcohol, drugs and sex.”

²⁴ John Lennon, interview in 1967, presented in *The Beatles Anthology*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), 47.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Translated “to make a show.”

²⁶ Paul McCartney, interview for *The Beatles Anthology*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), 47.

at a table, playing their entire repertoire and telling jokes, enticing them to return the next night, and building the fan base that way, one or two people at a time. While playing to a small group is noticeably different than playing to large crowds in excess of thousands, the notion of emphasizing the audience is important because Beatlemania was created by the audience's reaction to The Beatles. In the end, The Beatles brought their knowledge of what the crowd wanted with jokes, subtle sight gags, and facial gestures to the image that would be crafted around them by Brian Epstein, George Martin, and the EMI production and promotion staff.

Enter Brian Epstein, or Mr. X

Hardly bowl-shaped, it was sleek and soft-looking, swept to one side, with the hint of a tail that bounced delicately on their shoulders. The Beatles had always possessed half of the equation. Now the whole package was in place.²⁷

The Beatles enjoyed massive success in Hamburg, and after two residencies in the port during 1960 and 1961, they returned home to Liverpool a changed and much improved band. It was during this time that they became acquainted with the German youth and student culture, specifically, the "Exis."²⁸ According to Philip Norman, they knew the most beautiful people of this movement, Astrid Kirchherr and her boyfriend Klaus Voorman. Astrid was a photographer in Hamburg when Voorman had stumbled into the club that The Beatles were playing one summer night in 1960. Introducing her to the band some time later, she immediately had a profound effect on many aspects of their career.

²⁷ Bob Spitz, *The Beatles: The Biography*, (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2005), 267. See also Norman, 123, and Brown, 42.

²⁸ Norman, 96-97. A derivative of "existentialist."

The first change was her break-up with Voorman to begin a serious relationship with The Beatles then bass player, Stuart Sutcliffe. She rearranged his entire appearance by styling his hair into a prototype for what became The Beatles “mop top” and designing the clothes he wore.²⁹ Astrid’s staying influence over at least one Beatles, as she became his girlfriend and eventual fiancée is powerful, because although the other Beatles mocked his hairstyle at first, in the end they too adopted it and the new style of dress for a time. Astrid’s influence in directing the appearance of the Beatles was more connected to the new “mod” styles coming out of the German art scene at that time. In addition to altering their clothing and hairstyles, Astrid is also most remembered for taking some of the most legendary images of the Beatles set against the decay of certain parts of Hamburg. In spring of 1961, the influences of Astrid over the Beatles truly took hold and stayed. On their return for a second stay in Hamburg, Astrid took them to a local tailor and had them fitted for leather trousers and jackets.³⁰ By this time, Stuart had left the band and Paul had taken over his bass duties, cementing the image of the Beatles as a quartet with two guitars, a bass, and drums.

When The Beatles met Brian Epstein, he was holding a job in his families company as the head of their local music store, NEMS. Epstein knew of The Beatles, and upon learning that they played very near the store he managed, he went during one of

²⁹ Norman, 99. “With the skills of the artist and the practicality of the *Hausfrau*, she began to model him into an appearance echoing and complementing her own. She did away first with his Teddy Boy hairstyle, cutting it short like hers, then shaping it to lie across the forehead in what was called the French cut... Astrid also began to design and make clothes for Stu. She made him first a suit of shiny black leather jerkin and sheath-tight trousers like the one she herself wore. The other four Beatles so admired it that they at once orders copies from a tailor in St. Pauli.” Harrison also compliments her for creating the Beatle-cut in an interview for *The Beatles Anthology*, 52.

³⁰ Martin Goldsmith, *The Beatles Come to America*, (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2004), 66.

their lunch performances at the Cavern Club to see their show.³¹ However, as history now records, that particular lunchtime performance by the band on 9 November 1961 immediately “transfixed” Brian Epstein to them.³² After attending several more lunchtime performances, he began to toy with the idea of managing The Beatles. His first meeting with the “boys” about the prospect met with a bleak response, the only response he could garner was “we’ll see what happens.”³³ The Beatles unwillingness to commit was something they were known for, and Allan Williams told Brian not to touch them “with a [fucking] bargepole.”³⁴ After Brian had consulted with a family solicitor, he finally came to the point one night with The Beatles about the prospect of his managing them. Following a nervous silence, John said “yes,” but Paul asked if it would alter their music, which Brian said it would not.³⁵ In retrospective, Paul would state that his father had said to “get a Jewish manager” and with Brian “it all fitted.”³⁶

One of the first goals Epstein set out to accomplish after their tentatively agreement was to use his contacts in the record business to arrange auditions with major labels in London. Epstein had managed the Beatles for barely a few weeks when he was

³¹ Norman, 142. The Cavern Club was less than two hundred yards from his store, and Brian originally entered the club hoping to learn what label a single they had made in Germany was on due to the high number of requests the store had had for it.

³² Norman, 142-3. “On Brian Epstein, their effect was transfixing, but for quite another reason. It is doubtful whether, in those surroundings and with his conservative taste, he could even have begun to appreciate the freshness of the Beatles’ music. Rather, it was the sight of four slim boys in form-fitting leather, sweat-drenched and prancing, which held him fascinated.” This statement seems to place too much emphasis on Brian’s homosexuality as the sole reason for his seeking to manage the Beatles. This may partly be true, but with the success of the Beatles on so many others, Brian Epstein just had the motivation to approach them about management. See also Goldsmith, 70. Goldsmith does not cite Norman but arrives at the same conclusion: “There was probably a certain amount of extramusical attraction going on as well, with the boys’ leather outfits playing no small part.”

³³ Norman, 147.

³⁴ Norman, 148. See also Goldsmith, 70.

³⁵ Norman, 140.

³⁶ McCartney, interview for *The Beatles Anthology*, 65. See also Goldsmith, 71. See also Norman, 140. This statement is rebuked in Philip Norman’s book, because he states that Paul’s father negatively remarked to a family friend that a “Jew boy” was now managing Paul’s group. Whatever the case, Paul’s side of things is more optimistic about the situation; regardless of the level of anti-Semitism it displays.

successful at persuading a scout for Decca to travel to Liverpool and see the Beatles perform at the Cavern. However, it was in the intervening time that Epstein made significant changes in the manner in which The Beatles appeared and presented their act. He took a calculated risk by attempting to erase the onstage image they had acquired while in Hamburg.

Bob Spitz remarks that Epstein's training in drama school and the brief acting jobs he held in London during the late 1950s, allowed him to appreciate "the beauty of building an act, controlling the ebb and flow of material, working the crowd toward a rousing climax."³⁷ Though The Beatles had their own act and instigated peculiar reactions from their audience, Brian saw them as something other than a "rock and roll band." In his opinion, rock and rollers were not "the real stars;" the only stars were pop stars because they were "performers who understood the conventions of show business and were willing to adapt their images – and music – accordingly."³⁸

Thus, Epstein set to adapt their image to his view of the industry and what would make them long-term successful performers (not artists). His list amounted to nothing less than "ground rules" for the band:

From now on, eating onstage was out; so was smoking and punching one another, cursing, chatting up girls, taking requests, and sleeping. Lateness would no longer be tolerated. Brian expected everyone to show up on time and be ready to play, and he promised to print up a weekly list of gigs, along with addresses and fees, and provide copies for each of the Beatles in advance. To ensure there would be no slipups, he liaised with Pete's mate Neil Aspinall, who was acting as driver and roadie for the band. In addition to the above, the Beatles were required to post their set lists beforehand and – this provoked heated debate – bow after each number.

³⁷ Spitz, 280.

³⁸ Spitz, 279. Epstein thought only these acts would "wind up with longevity."

And not just a casual nod – a big, choreographed bow, which, by a silent count, was delivered smartly and on cue.”³⁹

This included the revamping of their set list and the performances in general, because in addition to their punctuality, Epstein told them to play a “program” rather than “what they liked.” He also stressed that on stage they were not to “shout to friends or foes in the audience,” do anything obscene, or anything that reflected bad taste, such as eating or drinking as well as “belching” into the microphone. Finally, Brian made the group stop smoking “working man’s cigarettes” and instead a more “sophisticated brand.”⁴⁰

Epstein’s next change was even more dramatic, as it significantly altered the appearance of the band. He insisted that “they forsake their leather and cowboy boots in order to wear identical suits.”⁴¹ Getting the “boys” out of their black suits in 1962 was significant because the English still associated that image with Nazi’s.⁴² Had Americans viewed The Beatles in this style of garb, the connections to Nazi’s would not have been as strong. Instead an association with biker gangs may have occurred, a group who incidentally appeared in such attire because of Nazi connections. The new clothes Brian had in mind were the lounge suits with “proper trousers,” i.e. not leather or jeans.⁴³

Less than a month into their agreement, the new arrangements by Epstein had started to create inroads for the band. Their image was becoming less “negative” in

³⁹ Spitz, 280. See also Norman, 156-157, and Brown, 64. From Ray Coleman’s *Lennon*, p. 157.

⁴⁰ Norman, 157. The more sophisticated brand he had in mind was Senior Service, as opposed to Woodbine.

⁴¹ Peter Brown and Steven Gaines, *The Love You Make: An Insider’s Story of The Beatles*, (New York: New American Library, 2002), 64.

⁴² Norman, 157.

⁴³ Brian Epstein, *The Beatles Anthology*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), 73. Quotes from Brian Epstein in the Anthology book are excerpts from his autobiography, *A Cellarful of Noise*. “I first encouraged them to get out of leather jackets and I wouldn’t allow them to appear in jeans after a short time. After that I got them to wear sweaters on stage and eventually, very reluctantly, suits.”

Epstein's mind, but still more effects would have to be undertaken.⁴⁴ At this point, the only remaining significant feature of the band was the fact that they existed as a group, with no singular leader or "soloist."⁴⁵ Ian MacDonald noted that later press conferences would stress this fact, but with The Beatles "uncanny clone-like similarity and by all talking chattily at once, The Beatles introduced to the cultural lexicon several key Sixties motifs in one go: 'mass'-ness, 'working-class' informality, cheery street skepticism, and – most challenging to the status quo – a *simultaneity* which subverted conventions of precedence in every way." For fans of The Beatles, the group-ness became even more pronounced when The Beatles began to appear for performances at the Cavern in their new attire. It became a "very big deal" because "leather jackets, black t-shirts, and dark jeans had been their trademark."⁴⁶ The Beatles had taken on aspects similar to former British acts that they had looked up to, such as Cliff Richard and the Shadows, who had all worn similar attire and even moved in synchronization while performing on stage.

At that same time, The Beatles had their first official studio recording audition with Decca, on New Years Day 1962. A few weeks prior, Epstein had arranged for a representative of Decca, Mike Smith, to travel to Liverpool and witness a Cavern performance. To Mike Smith, the Decca representative, Brian "showed off the group – now freshly scrubbed and outfitted in clean clothes, per Brian's orders."⁴⁷ Unfortunately, Smith was not going to sign a live band without a studio audition, and The Beatles were asked to travel to London. The new influence of style by Epstein must have held some

⁴⁴ Spitz, 288.

⁴⁵ Ian MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head: The Beatles' Records and the Sixties, Second Revised Edition*, (London: Pimlico, 2005), 22.

⁴⁶ Spitz, 354. "a touch of the Barnum and Bailey in this"

⁴⁷ William McKeen, *The Beatles: A Bio-Bibliography*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1989), 14.

appeal for Smith, even if he showed little confidence in The Beatles. Epstein, at least, had achieved one of his earliest goals for The Beatles: a studio audition with a label, something the band had been unsuccessful in acquiring on their own.

Decca famously passed on The Beatles, with Head A&R man Dick Rowe telling Tony Barrow, later The Beatles press officer, to inform Epstein that “groups with guitars were on the way out.”⁴⁸ Unwilling to accept that baseless assertion, Epstein acquired the demo tapes from the audition and set about scouting them to other label’s over the course of the next six months. Following his success at grooming The Beatles, Epstein would start taking more acts under the banner of NEMS. The second was Gerry and the Pacemakers, and following them was a young vocalist named Cilla White (who Epstein re-named Cilla Black), but the act that symbolized his pretenses as a manager and image-maker would be a young man named Billy Ashton, who Epstein decided to develop into an artist from scratch. Working with the same working-class idealizations that grew into success for The Beatles, Epstein renamed Ashton into Billy J. Kramer because he thought Ashton was far too “posh” or upper-class.⁴⁹ Alistair Taylor, Epstein’s personal assistant informed Bob Spitz that

“Brain knew Billy [Ashton] couldn’t sing” ... but he wouldn’t allow a little thing like that to get in the way, “because [Billy] had the right image, he was a good-looking, clean-cut, impressionable young lad who could *approximately* sing, which would more than do.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Norman, 153. Also see Harrison’s and McCartney’s interviews for, and a Lennon interview from 1963 in *The Beatles Anthology*, 67. Paul: “HE MUST BE KICKING HIMSELF NOW.” John: “I HOPE HE KICKS HIMSELF TO DEATH!”

⁴⁹ Spitz, 368.

⁵⁰ Spitz, 368. Spitz also interviewed Kramer: “Decades later, Billy Kramer (Brian changed his name, thinking Ashton “too posh”) would be asked to account for Brian Epstein’s interest in his career. Shrugging, he says, “I was just a wild card,” meaning an inconsequential component. “It could have been anybody, when you think about it.”

Billy J. Kramer would not be the last artist managed by Brian Epstein or NEMS, but he provides the single best argument that Epstein's "magic touch," which had started with The Beatles, was unfounded and was only a fad at best. The Beatles success would lay in part to his skills as a manager, but their future was also in the hands of a man The Beatles would come to ridicule for his supposed high-class Englishness.

The Duke of Edinburgh

The first prerequisite for an early Sixties recording contract was presentability: potential 'artistes' had to be 'professional', i.e., musically competent, groomable, and acquiescent to the demands of their producers who, it was assumed, would select their songs for them from batches circulated by writing teams through the normal channels. Loud, long-haired and seemingly incapable of desisting from laughter, The Beatles did not meet these requirements.⁵¹

In April 1962, Brian Epstein entered an HMV shop to have the demo tape he had been shopping around mastered onto an acetate disc, or a "proper demonstration disc" for play.⁵² At the time, The Beatles were holding another residency in Hamburg. From this simple endeavor by Epstein, The Beatles recording career would take off. The engineer in charge of the shop encouraged the manager to take the newly processed disc to Ardmore and Beechwood, EMI's publishing company, and play it for the head, Syd Coleman, who in turn arranged for Brian to see George Martin, the head of Parlophone, an EMI record label. Upon hearing the disc during an appointment later, Martin found elements to praise that his contemporaries and fellow producers at sister EMI labels had not found.⁵³

⁵¹ MacDonald, 53. Mike Smith of Decca still found enough charm and allure in The Beatles to audition them for Decca shortly after making this assessment of the band in December 1961.

⁵² Norman, 164.

⁵³ Sister labels Columbia and HMV had turned The Beatles down some months before.

Martin, who was known for his production of comedy records, found something in The Beatles Decca audition and hoped to secure a successful pop group for Parlophone.⁵⁴

George Martin first met The Beatles on 6 June 1962, and from there the connections that would exist between the producer and the “talent” would grow into a legacy as one of the greatest producer-artist collaborations of music history. Martin was not interested in the appearance of the band or in their live performances, but after that first audition he informed Epstein that if The Beatles were to record for him and Parlophone, he would supply the drummer.⁵⁵ Accordingly, in August The Beatles had Brian Epstein relieve Pete Best from his drumming duties, and proceeded to hire “the greatest drummer in Liverpool,” Ringo Starr.⁵⁶ With a beard and longer hair even than John, Paul, or George, Ringo was forced to get a similar style haircut.⁵⁷ With the addition of Ringo Starr and his remodeled image, The Beatles could begin their ascension to the “toppermost of the poppermost” due to the changes made first by Epstein in their appearance and by Martin in their personnel and abilities. Greg Kot maintained in an article about why The Beatles still matter that the changes never altered their personalities:

⁵⁴ Norman, 164-5. It has been repeatedly suggested that Martin intended to use The Beatles to further the name and status of Parlophone as a label, something which may not be entirely incorrect.

⁵⁵ Norman, 170. See also Brown, 71-72, Goldsmith, 77, and McCartney’s interview for *The Beatles Anthology*, 70. “George Martin was used to drummers being very ‘in time’, because all the big-band session drummers he used had a great sense of time. Now, our Liverpool drummers had a sense of spirit, emotion, economy even, but not a deadly sense of time. This would bother producers making a record. George took us to one side and said, ‘I’m really unhappy with the drummer. Would you consider changing him?’ We said, ‘No, we can’t!’ It was one of those terrible things you go through as kids. Can we betray him? No. But our career was on the line. Maybe they were going to cancel our contract.”

⁵⁶ McCartney, interview for *The Beatles Anthology*, 71. Richard “Ritchie” Starkey had been performing with Rory Storm and the Hurricanes, a band that all members of which performed under stage names.

⁵⁷ Ringo Starr, interview for *The Beatles Anthology*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), 73. “He changed our image on in making us a bit smarter. They all changed my image. I used to have my hair right back, like a teddy boy, with a Tony Curtis cut and sideboards and suddenly it was, ‘Shave them off and put your hair down,’ which I did.”

What put the Beatles a cut above everyone was their humor, their self-confident ease as performers and human-beings. They projected a clean-cut boyish magnetism that charmed their elders while maintaining a dry, subversive humor that spoke to their peers. They managed the nearly impossible feat of winning acceptance within the mainstream while continuing to function as independent spokesmen for a generation determined to forge a new path.⁵⁸

However, John Muncie argued that had the band never accepted the “trappings of respectability” their commercial success may not have been so widespread.⁵⁹ In any case, by September 1962, The Beatles began recording their first single for Parlophone and George Martin.

There would still be problems to face though, as the record industry in 1962 was one that severely limited artistic control. At the time “singers typically sang songs written for them by others, and groups normally consisted of a leader and his backing group.”⁶⁰ George Martin initially overlooked The Beatles own choice of first single, “Love Me Do,” and insisted that they record a song written by a industry writer Mitch Murray, “How Do You Do It,” predicting it could give them a number one for their debut.⁶¹ In the initial sessions, Martin was also looking for a leader, and sensed he may have found one in Paul McCartney. Reportedly he put “each of them on test individually, to try and realize which might be the Cliff Richard” Martin decided that he would not alter that

⁵⁸ Greg Kot, “Toppermost of the Poppermost” in *Read The Beatles* edited by June Skinner Sawyers, (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 326.

⁵⁹ John Muncie, “The Beatles and the Spectacle of Youth,” in *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society: A Thousand Voices*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 40.

⁶⁰ Martin Cloonan, “You Can’t Do That: The Beatles, Artistic Freedom and Censorship,” in *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society: A Thousand Voices*, ed. Ian Inglis, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 127. “When the Beatles signed to EMI in 1962, it is fair to say that the industry was one in which artistic freedom was severely stifled.”

⁶¹ See Spitz, 367. In January 1963, “Plans were now under way for the release of Gerry and the Pacemakers’ first record – the resurrected “How Do You Do It,” produced by George Martin” on the Columbia label. The song went to number one the following March, only to be dethroned by “From Me To You,” The Beatles’ third single.

aspect of the band because it would amount to “changing the whole nature of the group.”⁶² Although the era in which the Beatles started recording limited artistic control, the mere act of money-making did not “in itself did not conflict with their pursuit of artistic freedom” because the lack of control could be subverted as they continued to be successful, enabling their “commercial success” to earn “them unprecedented artistic freedom.”⁶³

The commercial success of The Beatles severely limited the control George Martin and other EMI officials could have enjoyed over the band. Once signed and with continued promotion by EMI and Brian Epstein and NEMS, The Beatles as a creative unit blossomed:

The Beatles’ music was created under conditions that gave them a degree of artistic autonomy rare in the world of pop music. Because they wrote their own songs, they were free from the grip of hack songwriters and A&R men of the publishing industry. Because they accompanied themselves, producers had less power over how they sounded. Because they had served a long apprenticeship, and because they had tried out songs in front of the audiences before recording them, they knew what made their music work better than producers and executives did.⁶⁴

On the label, The Beatles only “played the game to a certain point,” and that was only in the initial phases of their recording career. When George Martin went with The Beatles own “Love Me Do” over his own choice of “How Do You Do It” The Beatles both won him over and insured their place as the determiners of their creative recording output.⁶⁵

By mid-1964 though, The Beatles were on the verge of being burned out with constant

⁶² Norman, 169. Cliff Richard was the leader of a band called the Drifters in the late 1950s, who eventually held a fairly stable career in “showbiz” in Britain into the 1960s. It should be noted that in their early days, the Beatles detested Richard’ image, regardless if Epstein would later model their image to his in some form.

⁶³ Cloonan, 130.

⁶⁴ Cloonan, 128.

⁶⁵ “I Want To Hold Your Hand” and “All You Need Is Love,” among other songs could and are argued as songs recorded for singular marketing purposes.

touring and recording, so that by the time they began sessions for their fourth album, *Beatles For Sale*, they “often found themselves in the studio recording cover versions of U.S. rock and roll songs as EMI was worried that they would either split or find their creativity drying up.”⁶⁶ Their control over their own output went as far and as long as EMI continued to enjoy heavy profits.⁶⁷

When The Beatles returned home after their first sessions at Abbey Road Studios in early September 1962, their “homecoming show” allowed Brian Epstein to showcase his re-imagined Beatles with a recording contract and a debut single on the horizon.⁶⁸ Epstein’s Beatles were “no longer the loutish, chain-smoking, largely unprofessional – shameless – band that had haunted local jive hives months before ... They took the stage like stars and launched into a set that had been shaped and refined to make the most of their new success.”⁶⁹ Like so many shows before this homecoming appearance, the crowds were affected by The Beatles on stage performance. What would become Beatlemania was growing show after show. Brian Epstein and George Martin gave The

⁶⁶ Cloonan, 128.

⁶⁷ It should be noted that 1964 was a particularly busy year for the band, with the beginning of marketing and touring of the United States on top of the usual British and European schedules they had kept up during 1963. Additionally, while it is arguable that EMI and Parlophone in England said little about their output, Capitol Records in the U.S. re-titled, butchered and rearranged their albums so that they did not resemble The Beatles original intentions.

⁶⁸ Cloonan, 127. “Singles were regarded as the key to the market; albums contained merely the relevant singles and ‘filler’ material, and were made approximately every six months. Tours were a necessary duty, and a career as a pop star was almost unthinkable as there was such a rapid turnover of stars. Generally, pop stardom was seen as a temporary phase, after which came either a return to obscurity (as in the case of Terry Dene) or a step on the road to a career in showbiz (as exemplified by Cliff Richard).”

⁶⁹ Spitz, 377. “The Beatles were no longer the loutish, chain-smoking, largely unprofessional – shameless – band that had haunted local jive hives months before. They too the stage like stars and launched into a set that had been shaped and refined to make the most of their new success. Kinder, gentler, even their look had improved; it was more tailored, their Beatles haircuts stylishly groomed, and at key points during songs, when they sensed the audience was in their thrall, George, Paul, and John, on cue, would hit a falsetto *oooo-o-o* and shake their heads in unison, inciting an ecstatic response. This was a trick they had practiced on tour, and when it worked onstage they grinned broadly, beaming, as though delighted by the adulation. Screams ripped through the seams of each song: rapturous approval and vows of love mixed with general hysteria, amplified tenfold since their last appearance.”

Beatles their image and their contract, but The Beatles still commanded the audience, and this remains one of the most important aspects of their image. The first single cemented a larger part of their career as it initiated the “package” that would sell The Beatles to the world. The “Beatles package” became something that included the band, their tours, their records, and ultimately their lives. Everything associated with The Beatles became marketable and profitable.⁷⁰ It is no surprise that in the wake of The Beatles success at Parlophone, other NEMS acts like Gerry and the Pacemakers would obtain better record deals with labels that had turned down The Beatles. Their deal was by no means a poor situation, but our modern conceptions of exactly how much control musicians have over their music would be impossible without considering where The Beatles started with EMI in 1962, and how much they should have earned. In their home country, The Beatles contract did allow for a substantial amount of input into what they recorded and what was released under their name, or as part of their package. During the first few years of their contract with Capitol Records in the United States, that level of authorization would not exist, but the music released was identical to the music released in England, it simply differed occasionally in format and presentation. Nevertheless, by the end of 1962, The Beatles had evolved into something they were not: the ultimate popular group, a notion

⁷⁰ Muncie, 41. “The Beatles may have provided fresh meanings to existing styles, or even created new styles themselves, but their diffusion was ultimately dependent on marketing and commercial enterprises over which they had little control. ... Either way, looking for moments of ‘uncontaminated originality’ in any subcultural or musical style may be a fruitless exercise. ... it is impossible to isolate moments of ‘authenticity’ which are subsequently subverted. ... ‘media and businesses are integral to the authentication of cultural practices ... commercial culture and popular culture are not only inextricable in practice but also in theory’.”

that transcends the musical element of their career and gives them more of a commercially derivative appeal and nature.⁷¹

Despite The Beatles success with George Martin choosing “Love Me Do” over “How Do You Do It” as their debut single, the second single would prove to be another showdown on the same front. Again though, The Beatles would succeed at charming the producer with a reworked version of a song he had previously been cool to. “Please Please Me” was originally written in an emulative style of Roy Orbison, but when The Beatles played Martin their new version in November 1962, it took on a new life. After the song had been successfully recorded, George Martin informed the band that they had just recorded their first number one song, and by the next February he would be proved right yet again.⁷² With their continual growth and success, the song’s popularity proved to be “the world’s real introduction to The Beatles. It was a stark concentration of the band’s emerging sound – catchy melodies, clever lyrics, seamless three-part harmonies, nimble instrumentation, and dynamic chords dropped into patterns that transformed a tired form.”⁷³

⁷¹ Ian Inglis, “Men of Ideas? Popular Music, Anti-Intellectualism and the Beatles,” in *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society: A Thousand Voices*, ed. Ian Inglis, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 6. “There still persists in popular music today a reticence to engage in comparative evaluations of individual songs, performers or genres. Other than to employ a broad, ill defined distinction between ‘rock’ and ‘pop’ which promotes the former as possessing qualities of ‘creativity’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘distinctiveness’, and the latter as ‘commercial’, ‘contrived’ and ‘predictable’, there is no consensually agreed set of criteria which usefully and consistently allows for objective judgements of quality.”

⁷² The first prediction was “How Do You Do It.”

⁷³ Spitz, 359.

CHAPTER IV

MASS MARKETING THE PACKAGE, 1963-1967

Though The Beatles were a successful live act, and the levels of their success attributed to the constant touring confirm this, their success on such a national and then global scale would have been impossible without the place of television and radio in the mid-1960s. Of those two mediums, television was the newer and had come into massive popularity in the two decades prior to The Beatles career. In the United States, television was the primary method where many fans were able to view the band. The American television show *The Ed Sullivan Show* illustrates just how important this technological facet was to their career.¹

The Beatles performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* was not the first time the band had performed on America television, merely the first time they performed live, not via taped broadcast. Michael Bryan Kelly commented that he “fell in love with the Beatles’ music” the night a taped performance was shown on *The Jack Paar Show*, “months before Ed Sullivan mass-marketed it.”² This assessment is precisely on target with the impact television was able to have with The Beatles career. The taped performance shown on *The Jack Paar Show*, is also an indicator of this phenomenon, simply because it was a tape that first distributed their product. *The Ed Sullivan Show* only distributed the show farther because it was a live performance and therefore the band was more closely connected to their own distribution, taking responsibility for their live performance in

¹ More than 73 million viewers tuned in to that broadcast, according to the 40th anniversary retrospective by David Fricke in *Rolling Stone* magazine of February 19, 2004, page 41.

² Michael Bryan Kelly, *The Beatle Myth: The British Invasion of American Popular Music, 1956-1969*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1991), 2.

front a new crowd of fans.³ The mass-marketing nature of their performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* is further enhanced because it was the performance responsible for bringing The Beatles to the United States.⁴ Despite the myths that surround their legend, The Beatles were booked to perform on the show four months prior. At the time, they had not enjoyed any American success. American success arrived barely a month and a half before they were due to perform on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Therefore, *The Jack Paar Show* was simply attempting to cash in on the phenomenon, rather than being responsible in part for its growth.⁵

Beatlemania and Television in Britain

The phenomenon was “Beatlemania,” and its roots are found with The Beatles success in Hamburg and their return to Liverpool in 1961. The word, however, was used for the first time at some point following The Beatles performance on the British television variety program *Sunday Night at the London Palladium* on 13 October 1963.⁶ At the same time as that television performance, The Beatles and “Beatlemania” were not holding steady with their “conquering” of Britain and Germany, with massive

³ There is no doubt that The Beatles could perform (in any venue: concert, television, radio, etc.), however *The Ed Sullivan Show* was their first performance in front of an American audience, and as figures tell us it was the largest audience at the time for a single program broadcast.

⁴ Thomas Buckley, “Beatles Prepare for Their Debut,” *New York Times*, Sunday, February 9, 1964, 70. In this article before their appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, the writer called Sullivan their “importer” and quoted the program’s musical director saying “The only thing that’s different is the hair, as far as I can see. I give them a year.”

⁵ *The Ed Sullivan Show*, it should be noted, was able to “cash in” on their performance as well, especially because The Beatles were paid only standard fees at the time, amounting to roughly \$7,500 at a time when they were enjoying higher rates of pay in other markets. The American venues for their later shows and concerts would not enjoy such a low figure for their performance, however.

⁶ Bruce Spizer, *The Beatles Are Coming: The Birth of Beatlemania in America*, (New Orleans, Louisiana: 498 Productions, 2003), 53. The London *Daily Herald* ran a story commenting on “the coming of Beatle Fever” while the *Daily Mirror* “[mirrored] those sentiments describing the mass hysteria as Beatlemania!”

promotional appearances due in Sweden for the following week.⁷ “Beatlemania” though, was nothing more than endless screaming and cries of jubilation at the mere sight or even notion that The Beatles were nearby or closely adjacent, but it came to represent the levels of success that The Beatles enjoyed. It was like nothing the popular culture at the time had seen and in reality nothing like it has been seen ever again since. The London *Sunday Times* described the phenomenon as “the parallels between sexual excitement and the mounting crescendo of delighted screams ... but ... the bubbling uninhibited gaiety of the group that generates enthusiasm.”⁸ Philip Norman quotes a psychologist who stated that Beatlemania for the crowds, fans, and masses was the “flinging off childhood restraint and letting themselves go” allowing a typical girl to “feel [that] she is living life to the full with people of her own age,” all the while “subconsciously preparing for motherhood” and the “frenzied screams” represent a “rehearsal for that moment.”⁹ Beatlemania was more than a psychological development that gave the impression of transforming girls into women through the simulated screams of childbirth. It was also “a phenomenon transcending social classes, age groups, intellectual levels and geographic areas.”¹⁰ In the *Anthology* project, Neil Aspinall, the Beatles road manager in 1963, said that “Please Please Me” going to number one signaled the beginning of Beatlemania.¹¹

⁷ Goldsmith, 95. “Within days came evidence that Beatlemania wasn’t confined to England. On October 23, the Beatles flew to Sweden for a week of concerts, television performances, and personal appearances. Their arrival at Stockholm International Airport was greeted with anything but traditional Swedish reserve, as hundreds of girls who had taken off from school screamed and panted and threw flowers at the boys. The next day, newspapers described what had happened as ‘The Battle of Stockholm Airport.’”

⁸ Norman, 223.

⁹ Norman, 223.

¹⁰ McKeen, 71. From an interview with John Lennon by Pete Hamill for *Rolling Stone* entitled “A Long Day’s Journey into Day: A Conversation with John Lennon,” 5 June 1975, 46.

¹¹ Aspinall, interview for *The Beatles Anthology*, 92.

Whichever the case is, February or September 1963, it was evident that in London and all of England, the Beatles had become kings, and in less than a year.¹²

The fall date for the “birth” or continued growth of The Beatles heightened fame is the more useful because it was during this time period that many of their most famous performances either took place or the planning for their occurrence happened. In that time period, Ed Sullivan witnessed the mass frenzy for the band at Heathrow Airport and Walter Shenson met with Brian Epstein to make arrangements to produce a film starring The Beatles.¹³ With arrangements made for their first American performances in place and pre-production work on their first film beginning, The Beatles would begin a three-month stay of activity where their popularity would grow even larger. In November, they played on the bill at the Royal Command Performance in front of the Queen Mother. This performance was unlike any show they had given or been involved with prior. Gone was the hysteria and screaming fans and in their place was the famous Beatle humor that would enthrall the American press the next February, in large part because the audience could actually hear the music and what The Beatles were saying.¹⁴ One of the most famous lines by John Lennon was remarked during this performance before “Twist and Shout.” Asking the audience to accompany the band on their “last number,” Lennon spoke to the vast difference from their working-class origins and the royalty in the audience when he asked

¹² McCartney, interview for *The Beatles Anthology*, 105. “The fame really started from when we played the Palladium.” See also Tony Barrow, interview “Supplemental Footage: Dealing With ‘The Men from the Press’,” *A Hard Day’s Night* DVD Disc 2, (Burbank: Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2002).

“Beatlemania does have a birthday, it was in the autumn of 1963 that things really began to happen.”

¹³ Bob Neaverson, *The Beatles Movies*, (London and Washington: Cassell, 1997), 12. See Spizer, 54, for dates regarding Ed Sullivan’s encounter with British Beatlemania mobs.

¹⁴ Lennon, interview in 1964, presented in *The Beatles Anthology* 105.

Would the people in the cheaper seats clap your hands? And the rest of you, if you'll just rattle your jewelry.¹⁵

The Beatles use of television in Britain did little other than propel their music and their faces around the country, but this is as pivotal to their image as anything else. The television performances may not have occurred purely for the television audience, but using such a wide medium to reach larger crowds and fans acts directly to create their mass marketing appeal. Within three months, the same kind of fervor and excitement about The Beatles that had taken nearly four years to accumulate, would “spread to the United States.”¹⁶ The primary method of their image dispersal in the United States was television and their trip in February 1964 was founded by three performances on American prime-time television, where according to one American reviewer The Beatles had a “sophisticated understanding that a fad depends on the performance of the audience and not on the stage.”¹⁷

Beatlemania Conquers America via Television

Leisure pursuits encouraged a further infatuation with commodities. One of the most powerful of all postwar entertainments—the television—sat squarely in people’s living rooms. By the 1950s, televisions were selling at a rate of over five million a year. Television also fostered the classless ideal. Commercials extended the reach of advertising into people’s homes, as did the abundant life-styles portrayed on the screen.¹⁸

¹⁵ Derek Taylor, *The Beatles Anthology 1* booklet insert, (London and Hollywood: Apple Records and Capitol Records, 1995), 29. Also Harrison, 105. See also Bob Spitz, *The Beatles: The Biography*, (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2005), 434, for a discussion about Lennon’s original comment and his discretion in using the expletive “fucking” toward the royals present: “For our last number, I’d like to ask your help. The people in the cheaper seats, clap your hand, and the rest of you, if you’d just rattle your fucking jewelry.” Spitz comments that Brian Epstein nearly lost himself, and “ordered – John to behave himself, to think of how much this meant to the Beatles.” The last bit referring to the prestige the show afforded their careers at the time.

¹⁶ Spizer, 71. “Beatlemania, the totally unprecedented musical phenomenon that has turned England topsy-turvy this past year will spread to the United States in 1964.” From a recreation of a press memo sent out by Alan Livingston on 4 December 1963.

¹⁷ Jack Gould, “The Beatles and Their Audience: Quartet Continues to Agitate the Faithful,” *New York Times*, Monday, 10 February 1964, 53.

¹⁸ May, 153.

The Beatles television performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* was preceded by months of negotiations, planning, and of course endless touring and promotion. The Beatles played their part of course, touring France for the first time in January 1964 where they welcomed a more friendly male audience than female. There was also the release of their fifth and most pivotal single “I Want To Hold Your Hand”. The single was released in Britain in late November 1963, with a planned American release by Capitol Records for early January. Due to the actions of a teenage fan and radio disk jockey in Washington, D.C., the latter obtaining a copy of the British version, Capitol was forced to rush release the single the day after Christmas. By the time of the original release date, the song had gone to number one while The Beatles continued their stay in Paris.¹⁹

The success of the single also led Capitol Records to move forward the release of their first Beatles album, *Meet the Beatles!*, which was more or less a shortened version of *With the Beatles*, the groups second album in Britain. The Capitol album, which featured a re-arranging track listing with several tracks omitted, signaled the course of The Beatles album releases in the United States until 1967. Capitol had hit upon the more exploitative side of the band’s music by chopping apart the British versions and adding the singles, forcing fans who had bought the single to pay for the same song twice. The release of the album being moved forward is more evidence of this side of the business, because Capitol Records hoped the popularity of the single would influence listeners to

¹⁹ Spizer, 113. “While in Paris for a three-week engagement at the Olympia Theatre, the Beatles learned on the evening of January 16, 1964, that the upcoming issue of *Cash Box* would list *I Want To Hold Your Hand* at number one. The *Cash Box Top 100* for January 25, 1964, also charted *She Loves You* at 51.”

buy the album as well.²⁰ The Beatles, meanwhile in France, were complete taken by surprise with “the idea of having a hit record [in the United States]” because that “was just something you could never do.”²¹

The Beatles arrival in the United States and their performances during their short tour were the epitome of what The Beatles image was by early 1964 and what it would be seen as for the remainder of their career and afterwards. For the new fans, the image was new, but the music was not, creating a frustrating view of the country for John Lennon, who remarked to *Rolling Stone* magazine founder and editor Jann Wenner in 1971 that he figured Americans thought The Beatles were presenting something new, something foreign, but in reality

When we got here you were all walkin’ around in fuckin’ Bermuda shorts with Boston crew cuts and stuff on your teeth ... There was no conception of dress. ... We came over here and it was the same: nobody was listening to rock and roll or to black music in America. We were coming to the land of its origin but nobody wanted to know about it.²²

The country that had created the music that The Beatles were now selling, were not aware of the irony of the situation. Americans bought The Beatles neither acknowledging nor willing to accept that they were heavily influenced by African American artists and the music they created. The scene in the Maysles’ brothers documentary *The First U.S. Visit*, where The Beatles request a song by Smokey Robinson and the directors focus on the movements of a young African American secretary only cement this point. The Beatles music was inherently American, but there was no attempt to connect the music with its

²⁰ Spizer, 118.

²¹ Lennon, interview in 1964, presented in *The Beatles Anthology*, 115.

²² Wenner and Lennon, 82-3.

influences. The image was all that mattered at the time; it was only afterward that any attempt to negotiate the musical background was considered.

By the time of their Sullivan performance the Beatles had been in America barely two days, but had “achieved an intimacy and ease with their audience unlike anything that existed before them, unlike anything that exists today.”²³ Their performances in other arenas other than music had influenced this situation. Their quick and sardonic humor had counteracted inane questions about their hair and photo shoots had only built their image as good natured young musicians. The image that accompanied them quickly created a hype surrounding the image, which was impossible to ignore by all parties, including The Beatles, Brian Epstein and George Martin. The Beatles, according to John Lennon “didn’t make any images for ourselves ... You did the image-making – the papers, TV, and all that.”²⁴ Their success hinged on the fact that they became a tool for the media, their manager, and the record labels that sold their music. The Beatles realized this of course, as is evident by Lennon’s remark, but when along with it because they were in charge of their musical output as their career went forward. They worked so hard under the image, just so the label and their manager, Brian Epstein, would ease the control over them a little as the money rolled in:

The struggle between label and artist for control of what is recorded and released is as old as the industry itself. Control is censorship’s alter-ego, and the battle for control over the destiny of their work certainly played an important role in the Beatles’ story. In many ways their career trajectory – from a position to acting under orders (such as being told what clothes to wear by their manager) to one of near-total artistic control (such as spending hours in the studio at their employers’ expense) is a considerable journey.²⁵

²³ McKinney, 56.

²⁴ Lennon, interview in 1967, presented in *The Beatles Anthology*, 241.

²⁵ Cloonan, 127.

The importance of the performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* cannot be overstated though. Paul McCartney still says that he gets people that talk to him about it now as if it is like “where were you when Kennedy was shot?”²⁶ Such importance on a single television presentation is impressive, when you consider the complete pandemonium and mass hysteria that accompanied the day of the broadcast, when no one including The Beatles “believed what was happening.”²⁷ Ed Sullivan summed up the sentiments about that day including the uniqueness of the event and the consequences of it:

The Beatles first appeared on our show on February 9, 1964, and I have never seen any scenes to compare with the bedlam that was occasioned by their debut. Broadway was jammed with people for almost eight blocks. They screamed, yelled and stopped traffic. It was indescribable. There has never been anything like it in show business, and the New York police were very happy it didn't and wouldn't happen again²⁸

Even with Sullivan's approval of the event, the dissenting voices heralded the “nation's post-assassination anxiety/depression/confusion/frivolity” as the reason for the success, but it was out of their control.²⁹ They could not shape or alter the landmark event that would transform America, because it was the “fifteen-year-old girl, along with The Beatles, that did the shaping.”³⁰ Of course the hysteria surrounding The Beatles should have been recognized as nothing more than the “mania” that accompanied them. But in America, it had suddenly taken on a new direction, one that would eventually become dangerous for The Beatles and their fans.

²⁶ Spizer, 222. Quote from Paul McCartney.

²⁷ Spizer, 222. Quote from Vince Calandra, *Sullivan* Production Assistant.

²⁸ Spizer, 222. Quote from Ed Sullivan.

²⁹ McKinney, 53.

³⁰ McKinney, 53.

One of the major side-effects of the Beatles success in America is the often remarked connection of their appeal and the assassination of President Kennedy. The prime reason for this is the assumption that “America, in her post-Kennedy assassination gloom, needed The Beatles quite desperately.”³¹ Another argument asserts that Capitol Records took advantage of the situation by releasing “I Want To Hold Your Hand” during the normally festive season and that “the record’s joyous energy and invention lifted America out of its gloom.”³² These assumptions seem to discredit the critical point that The Beatles were popular initially only because of their music. The remarks ignore the fact that The Beatles were playing music inspired by Americans on American radio. They also discredit the fact that The Beatles music became popular at a time when the “baby boomers” were coming of age and could purchase music.³³ The emergence of the teen idol also created a “style defined above all by its complacency and predictability” and by early 1964 had “created a popular music terrain in the United States that was bereft of innovation or ambition.”³⁴ Therefore it seems hardly acceptable that the connection to the Kennedy assassination can hold any real water. It appears more plausible that the Beatles American label, Capitol, took advantage of the holiday season, and that the Beatles were a fresh act for Americans. In addition, it is very important that for the market they participated in this style that had come to dominate where innovation and predictability would not only allow The Beatles to appear similar to American artists,

³¹ Ian Inglis, “‘The Beatles Are Coming!’ Conjecture and Conviction in the Myth of Kennedy, America and the Beatles,” *Popular Music and Society* 24, no. 2 (2000): 94. Quote from *The Beatles Live!* by Mark Lewisohn, published in London by Pavilion, 1986, 163.

³² MacDonald, 100-101.

³³ Inglis, 97.

³⁴ Inglis, 96.

but also one where they would inevitably become unpredictable as their power and influence grew.

Beatlemania and Gender

Symbolised by Bob Dylan and The Rolling Stones, the revolt of youth against institutional authority was at first less obvious in The Beatles because suppressed by Brian Epstein in the interests of popular appeal. Packaged for family consumption, The Beatles nonetheless felt as nonconformist as their colleagues, and after breaking Epstein's hold over them in 1966 they began, in uncertain terms, to speak their minds.³⁵

The Beatles and the package they were presented to the world in was a consumer product that cleaned up and toned out the rougher qualities that embodied the stage personas of four working-class Liverpool men. In doing that, the package stripped them of their manhood, reverting their status to "boys" in the eyes of their manager. To their fans, and the public at large, The Beatles were simply a product, overused and undersexed.³⁶ In a world where female sexuality was both feared and coming into its own, the place of a male rock and roll band should seem quite obvious, but The Beatles were something else. The Beatles image and the package that sold their product distorted the way they appeared to replace overt masculine qualities with an approximate and equal appearance within the group and distance their popularity from the seedy and questionable activities that had occurred as the band worked its way from Hamburg sex bars to the Liverpool underground to the world of London and the royal family.

The music was the biggest denominator in how their image was packaged and distorted their own history. Singing about love and yearning for acceptance, The Beatles early songs hoped for a utopian and pleasant existence with the opposite sex. They sang

³⁵ MacDonald, 28.

³⁶ The Beatles had their fair share of sexual escapades. This is a reference to the androgyny of their appearance and the package.

about love with ideals, where a boy could love a girl and she could love him back, speaking from both male and a female points of view.³⁷ It did not hurt either, as Steven Stark and Tim Riley have pointed out that The Beatles covered a large number of “girl groups” songs connecting in a larger way to their female audience, but more specifically with “the teenage girls listening at home.”³⁸ Steven Stark provides an excellent argument for the “androgyny” that The Beatles so superbly exemplified. He states that “The Beatles ... challenged the definition that existed during their time of what it meant to be a man. This ultimately allowed them to help change the way men feel, the way men look, and the way men think about the way they look.” Stark asserts that Epstein made his “most lasting contribution” by “[designing] an image for the group that explored the fluidity of gender.”³⁹ Additionally, English tradition held that “appearing feminine” was popular in the culture and had been since the times of Elizabeth I.⁴⁰

The Beatles very appearance spoke to that tradition. Their long hair and uniform dress “glossed over, rather than emphasized, any traditionally masculine elements of male appearance such as broad shoulders.”⁴¹ Even their shows, as Stark notes, were more spectacle than performance, with the girls coming to the shows to watch them perform rather than listen to the music they were performing. In that way, The Beatles and Beatlemania take on some kind of large worldly burlesque show that traveled and entertained the masses. It was not the four individual Beatles that were the show of course, but the package of The Beatles and how Beatlemania responded to that package.

³⁷ Steven D. Stark, *Meet The Beatles: A Cultural History of the Band That Shook Youth, Gender, and the World*, (New York: Harper Entertainment / Harper Collins Publishers, 2005), 130.

³⁸ Stark, 130.

³⁹ Stark, 4-5.

⁴⁰ Stark, 134.

⁴¹ Stark, 133.

The girls could buy and watch the package perform, all while parents and critics of the older generation were bewildered and unsure how to react to these four identical men playing music on a stage, because they did understand it was the music.⁴²

Understating the music in the package is unnecessary, because it was the music that ultimately unraveled the package in the 1960s. At the same time, The Beatles and their popularity coincided with a number of movements that would take off in the 1960s and challenge traditional roles and mores. The Beatles as individuals and as a unified group would become part of the counterculture, especially in 1967. At the same time, their presentation and understanding of their own masculinity occurred alongside the growth of feminist movements. According to historian Elaine Tyler May, “The Beatles set the tone for feminism ... they recognized in their own way that men have to change too in order to permit that revolution to happen.”⁴³ When The Beatles were repackaged in the mid-1990s, the political aspects of their career were all but glossed over. This was presumably a part of a campaign to emphasize The Beatles as one entity, steering away from the various political and social causes the individual members championed as they drifted from one another during the last years that The Beatles originally existed.

The Beatles ability to recognize that men have to change was a manufactured ideal by Brian Epstein in creating the package and marketing their image. The Beatles wild nights in Hamburg and on-stage antics before Epstein “cleaned them up,” in more ways than the obvious, do not illustrate how “progressive” or “feminist-leaning” they

⁴² I realize the double entendre of using the word “package” while I talk about The Beatles and their stage presence and performance. The double entendre is both meant and not meant in the sense that no overt sexual innuendo is intended, but the very fact that if The Beatles were a sexual show, their “package” would be on display only helps to further the sentiment in discussion.

⁴³ Stark, 4-5.

may have been perceived as. In fact, theories exist about supposed sexual undertones of much of their music, and while some are based in fact, others remain mere rumors that are not discussed in mainstream biographies and musical theory works about the band. For instance, their first hit “Please Please Me” is supposed to be about a man yearning for oral sex, and while it is noted by at least one prominent Beatles and 1960s-era writer, it is not mentioned in larger, more groundbreaking studies.⁴⁴

Finally, while The Beatles were able to entertain masses with toned down “family pop,” their contemporaries were not emphasizing the same tendencies. The Rolling Stones for example, were touted as the antithesis of The Beatles and indeed a rivalry was supposed to exist between the two groups. The Rolling Stones made less subtle sexual references in their songs compared to The Beatles. Songs like “(I Can’t Get No) Satisfaction” make this point explicit for obvious reasons, but even more related to The Beatles career when The Rolling Stones performed the song on *The Ed Sullivan Show* in 1966 portions of the lyrics were censored. Even after the end of the 1960s and the counterculture and feminist movements, bands as androgynous as The Beatles would never been seen in the same light as The Beatles. Throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, mainstream rock music was more defined along the gender lines. Bands like The Rolling Stones, Led Zeppelin, and Queen, still wore long hair but on stage antics were never as “clean” or shapely as The Beatles had been in the 1960s. Even the clothes of 1970s rock bands such as those mentioned accentuated certain male parts and emphasized a different “package,” not necessarily intended for family consumption.

⁴⁴ In Tim Riley’s book *Tell Me Why: The Beatles: Album by Album, Song by Song, the Sixties and After* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1989), the author calls the song the “first oral sex pop song” (20) referring to the alleged fellatio nature of the lyrics in the song. This same theory was not cited or acknowledged by Ian MacDonald, or any other serious Beatles writer/scholar of their songs or otherwise.

Even the music of those types of bands was not the ballad and love songs that The Beatles had been so famous for a decade earlier. The Rolling Stones and Led Zeppelin especially were successful bands with more blues-oriented rock backgrounds. Considering the 1960s, the gender distinctions that Brian Epstein and The Beatles had tried to hard to avoid were not as important. The aftermath of so many “movements” led to newer trends in rock music where the performer or entertainer actually became the burlesque act that The Beatles seemed to embody during Beatlemania and their popularity with female fans. The 1960s were clearly a time of changing perceptions, but The Beatles in their package were not one of overtly masculine or feminine prowess. They embodied an androgynous appeal that was popular music for a mass public, enabling The Beatles to become successful, while the public was given an easily consumable product that was considered safe for children, even if parents and the older generations did not understand why it was so popular.

Beatlemania in Film

If The Beatles masculinity was not promoted during their success and popularity, then it was certainly not present in *A Hard Day's Night*, their first film which showcased “a day in the life” of The Beatles and was titled *Beatlemania!* during production. The group filmed *A Hard Day's Night* shortly after they returned from their trip to the United States in February 1964. The reasoning behind the film's production is no secret, United Artists simply hoped to profit greatly from a soundtrack album.⁴⁵ The film itself was never intended to be a very profitable matter, with much of the distributor's hopes being put into the soundtrack, obviously making the film in its initial planning nothing more

⁴⁵ Bob Neaverson, *The Beatles Movies*, (London: Cassell, 1997), 12.

than a part of the packaging to promote The Beatles. Nevertheless, though the film was never intended to go beyond that of an exploitation feature, the producer United Artists hired to work on the project gave serious thought to the director and screenwriter, who ended up being Richard Lester and Alun Owen, respectively.⁴⁶ Lester was primarily known for filming a short film for the Goons titled *The Running, Jumping, and Standing Still Film*, and Owen was his suggestion, after the two had worked together on a failed television pilot.⁴⁷ These aspects allowed the film to act as a part of the packaging, but also as an artistic endeavor by the filmmakers and The Beatles because it commented so directly on the package and how The Beatles career had fared up to that point.

The Beatles package meant that the individual members of the group were literally trapped and imprisoned inside the fame that was created around them. This is particularly obvious in *A Hard Day's Night*, but also in *The First U.S. Visit*, a documentary shot by the Maysles brothers during February 1964. Critic Rowana Agajanian noted that throughout the documentary “there is a real sense of claustrophobia, imprisonment, boredom, frayed tempers and awkwardness in front of the camera, even the sleaziness of the hard sell.”⁴⁸ Agajanian comments further that the majority of the film seems to be based around the idea of The Beatles selling the products of their fame within the documentary, including the documentary. Although the stereotypical course of action would involve the band attempting to escape their imprisonment, that notion is perhaps based on the premise set forth in *A Hard Day's Night*, a later “event” in the

⁴⁶ Neaverson, 12-13.

⁴⁷ Neaverson, 13. Richard Lester’s connection with the Goons is interesting, considering George Martin was also connected with the Goons and The Beatles, as well.

⁴⁸ Rowana Agajanian, “‘Nothing Like Any Previous Musical, British or American’: The Beatles’ Film, *A Hard Day’s Night*,” in *Windows on the Sixties: Exploring Key Texts of Media and Culture*, ed. Aldgate, Anthony, James Chapman, and Arthur Marwick, (New York: I. B. Tauris and Co. Ltd. and St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 100.

course of The Beatles career. This is an important distinction to mark about *The First U.S. Visit*, because where *A Hard Day's Night* acts in many forms about commenting on their celebrity status, much of the Maysles' film shows the band dealing directly with the numerous facets of their "real" lives as celebrities. The depiction of The Beatles by the Maysles' is comparable to our understanding of life as a celebrity in the 21st century, where everything private is public and marketable or moldable by the industry in charge of promoting or dismissing the group or individual.

In 1964, The Beatles had been popular for little over a year and a half in the United Kingdom and Europe. For American audiences, The Beatles came as a polished act, even while they dealt with their fame and celebrity lives. American fans or those who would become fans, were not present or afforded the "luxury" of witnessing The Beatles "grow" into the rigors of television and concert performances. By the time The Beatles reached the United States, they were already deeply involved in the "mythmaking" that continues to surround their history. Kenneth Womack and Todd Davis remarked that The Beatles presented a fictionalized vision of themselves through their existing stature as "pop-cultural personae" and used their "mythical identities" forged in television performances and news conferences.⁴⁹ Because the audience expected The Beatles "to fulfill preconceived roles as the Fab Four," it had more direction in their fame.⁵⁰ These ideas are truly apparent in *The First U.S. Visit* and later *A Hard Day's Night* because The Beatles outside of their imprisonment are "un-representative" of the personae's the public witnessed and grew to immortalize.

⁴⁹ Kenneth Womack and Todd F. Davis, "Mythology, Remythology, and Demythology: The Beatles on Film," in *Reading The Beatles: Cultural Studies, Literary Criticism, and the Fab Four*, ed. Kenneth Womack and Todd F. Davis, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 100.

⁵⁰ Womack and Davis, 101

The package was what sold *A Hard Day's Night*, and the public went to see the film because of their popularity. But it is *A Hard Day's Night* that comments so much on what The Beatles experienced as The Beatles. That the Beatles life and schedule were so demanding during the production of the film can again be attributed to the package Brian Epstein was selling. That lifestyle is imagined early in the film on the train. During a song sequence, The Beatles play cards and their instruments inside a caged train compartment while girls swoon and look on from the "free" side. Even the opening sequence of the entire film where The Beatles (or three of them, excluding Paul) run from their fans and their imprisoning fame exemplifies how hectic and rapid their lives were at the time. Enclosed by their monumental fame, the Beatles are forced to play from within that stage, but at the same time they are playing and gambling at cards, emphasizing that the enclosure can not be all that bad as their fame had provided a certain amount of extravagance that allows them to wastefully spend money.

A year later, when The Beatles and Richard Lester produced and filmed the sequel *Help!* the commentary on their own lives was even more obvious. The title spells it all out, because The Beatles run from religious fanatics within the film who want nothing more than to kill Ringo because he is wearing a sacrificial ring.⁵¹ The more telling feature of this idea is that Ringo is the Beatle chosen to be sacrificed. A replacement himself, Ringo had cemented the package due to his musical inclination on the drums. Deleting Ringo from the package and The Beatles would have been disastrous

⁵¹ This is a play on the fact that Ringo was named after his notorious obsession with wearing a multitude of rings on his fingers.

for the package because he was the most popular Beatle in the United States.⁵² At the same time, the unnamed religious fanaticism is an obvious remark about Beatlemania and The Beatles fanbase, more so than *A Hard Day's Night* had been able to capture by showing The Beatles repeatedly imprisoned in their own fame and the devices of it.

While *A Hard Day's Night* displays the “prisoner” status, it also personified The Beatles as the youth generation with their working-class roots, allowing them to appear unhampered by their fame and fortune.⁵³ When The Beatles finally break out of their prisons in *A Hard Days' Night* they are again reminded about their place in the world because of the youth status. During the “Can't Buy Me Love” sequence after they are “locked up” in the dressing room because the television director does not need them, they are reminded that their escape has infringed on someone else's “private property,” that being the empty lot beside the television studio. In the meantime, the fictitious manager has a panic attack at their disappearance especially John because he suspects Lennon has gone just to spite him. The actions by this fictional manager comment nicely on the supposed infatuations of Brian Epstein toward John Lennon. Overall, the rebellious nature of The Beatles in the film provide a simple foreshadowing for their own career and the package, because it makes it clear that no matter how well the package and their career went, they would not be willing to remain trapped within it for very long. The short amount of time in the film (despite their returning to the rigors of their career in the plot of the film) before they break out fits nicely with the short amount of time that The Beatles actually put up with being The Beatles.

⁵² It certainly would not have meant the end of The Beatles, because when Ringo was sick in the summer of 1964, a replacement drummer was found to accompany the band for a few shows in Southeast Asia.

⁵³ Neaverson, 23. “Although the film presents them as ‘prisoners’ of their own extraordinary celebrity, their generally affable attitude towards others is constantly shown to be unchanged by fame and wealth.”

The publicity surrounding the films only made the Beatles popularity rise, and the effect of the films on the fans only furthered their popularity.⁵⁴ While the press had been cool to the prospect of a film starring The Beatles prior, upon the release of *A Hard Day's Night*, the press gave it almost “unanimously favorable reviews.”⁵⁵ The highest praise came from the *Daily Mirror*, who had coined the term “Beatlemania” when the reviewer remarked that “What could have been simply a money-making gimmick turns out as nimble entertainment in its own right. It’s offbeat – and it’s on the beat. It’s a winner.”⁵⁶ *A Hard Day's Night* is important because it successfully bridges the gap between “teeny bopper” sensation and popular culture icon. The film allowed The Beatles career to surpass the “teeny bopper” sensations of the early 1960s and achieve more through growth and experimentation. Without *A Hard Day's Night*, the critical approach to The Beatles package and Beatlemania would be impossible, because the critique of the phenomenon by the participants would be absent from the time period.

The Honeymoon is Over

Devin McKinney called the film “the honeymoon” of Beatlemania because “the film perceives the sexual component in Beatlemania” but does not face that notion directly.⁵⁷ This conception of the effect within the film refers to the film’s “Fifth Beatle,” Paul’s grandfather. Simply put, throughout the film, this “older” man is referred to as “very clean,” when in fact he is more sex obsessed than the Beatles themselves would seem. McKinney even noted that the placement of the grandfather within the film as a major character beside The Beatles points to the “Beatle id”

⁵⁴ Neaverson, 26.

⁵⁵ Neaverson, 26.

⁵⁶ Neaverson, 26. From Dick Richards review ‘It’s a right royal riot of a film’, *Daily Mirror*, 7 July 1964.

⁵⁷ McKinney, 66.

embodying all that they wish at this point in their public lives, and everything they fear privately: old and crusty ineffectual rebel, representing the specter of age and withering of beauty, but also the anarchic and confrontational, acting out the Beatles' own fantasy of an open defiance they don't quite dare.⁵⁸

The grandfather plays the role that The Beatles hope to evade (and in fact two of them have, unfortunately) but he also speaks directly to the image that the Beatles presented due to their "unspoken" agreement to avoid anything "explicitly" sexual, remaining instead "clean" like the perception of the grandfather.⁵⁹

In the end, The Beatles and the filmmakers wished the audience to read more into what they presented by giving them the necessary references to themselves within the film that spoke to themes outside the film, things that were not fictionalized like their lives within the film. McKinney is correct to call *A Hard Day's Night* the honeymoon, because in effect it would be the beginning of a change in attitude by both the band and their audience. Beatlemania, although fun and enjoyable by the band at this stage would start to take dangerous turns, and with *Help!* The Beatles would be able to directly comment on how dangerous their lives were, talking to their audience about the non-fictional aspects of their lives with more overt and dangerous references built into bizarre and seemingly impossible situations.

If *Help!* signaled the end of Beatlemania, then Candlestick Park over a year later nailed shut the coffin. On August 29, 1966, The Beatles performed their last concert of their last major tour at Candlestick Park in San Francisco, California. Despite that venue's place in history in this aspect is definite, at the time it was not a feeling that The Beatles thought consciously or announced. By 1966, the package was destroying itself.

⁵⁸ McKinney, 66.

⁵⁹ McKinney, 66.

The promotion and product were still available, but the tenuous nature of constant performing had taken its toll on The Beatles. They were tired of being The Beatles that the world expected them to be. Following the end of that tour, The Beatles took holidays as individual men. They grew mustaches, they dabbled in solo projects and were ultimately unconnected from each other and The Beatles for almost three months. When they reconvened in November 1966, they would begin work on new music that was destined to become one of the most culturally influential albums of the mid-1960s. They would not produce it as “The Beatles” though and the package would be re-imagined to take advantage of itself in new ways. The idea was to record an album that could “go out on tour” for the band, although it would not be The Beatles. The album would be Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band performing as Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band promoting *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band*.⁶⁰ In June 1967, The Beatles were not The Beatles of the package any longer. The Beatles were part of the new cultures taking flight in England and in the United States.

The atmosphere that the album started with was nothing short of The Beatles at their most stressed. Everyone could feel it and see it. George Martin especially, could sense the frustration they felt with the state of their lives, and saw Brian Epstein worried about the possibility of the real end of The Beatles on the horizon, not simply the package. But while Epstein worried about his boys and his package, Martin noted the signals of a demise before The Beatles decided to take a break.⁶¹ The Beatles were

⁶⁰ Mark Hertsgaard, *A Day In the Life: The Music and Artistry of the Beatles*, (New York: Delta, 1995), 203.

⁶¹ Martin, 237. “They were generally fed up with their lives. They’d had a lot of aggro in the past year, coupled with Brian Epstein worrying that they were going down the pan. He thought that it was the end of

growing and had started to “appeal to a more turned-on audience, because they themselves were more turned on” and with Epstein behind them as an intrigued fan and as a manager consumed by fears of their demise.⁶² History has proven that The Beatles were not to end in late 1966, but about to embark on a very productive twelve months. Though Epstein still hoped to promote future touring, The Beatles were happy and ready to create something as “*artists*.” They had the free time to hang out and engage in activities that gave them “freedom to come in with crazy ideas.”⁶³ If the public wanted the old Beatles to go on tour again, they would be disappointed. The new material left little possibility for a tour and according to John Lennon, if anybody wanted a “moptop” performance, they could have The Monkees.⁶⁴

The Beatles, and there were all sorts of signs of that in 1966. There was the Philippines disaster, and the falling attendance in some of their shows, and they were fed up with being prisoners of their fame.”

⁶² Aspinall, 236. “The band at this time started to appeal to a more turned-on audience, because they themselves were more turned on. Brian loved it all. He had great faith in The Beatles and what they were doing, and loved them as a band, as musicians and as artists. Brian was a fan.”

⁶³ McCartney, 241. “We were not in another phase of our career, and we were happy. We’d been through all the touring, and that was marvelous; but now we were more into being *artists*. We didn’t have to be performing every night, so instead we could be writing or chatting with our mates or visiting an art exhibition. ... Having the time off gave us a lot of freedom to come in with crazy ideas.”

⁶⁴ Lennon, 241. “How can we tour when we’re making stuff like we’re doing on the new album? We can only do what we’re doing. We’ve toured – that was then. If we do another tour, we’ll probably hire London for one big happening, and we’d have us and the Stones and The Who, and everybody else on it. Unless that happens, forget it. I don’t want to be a moptop. For those who want moptops, The Monkees are right up there, man.”

CHAPTER V

THE BEATLES IN POPULAR MEMORY

Popular culture in the 1960s took off at an alarming rate, so much that it has become cliché to remark that if you remember the sixties you were not there.¹ Basing our view of the decade through the haze of drugs poses a very problematic dilemma, because though drugs were rampant in the 1960s, the statement is not accurate in the least. The pop-culture of the sixties made and broke many new fads like clockwork. Of the many that took off and enjoyed promise and easy popularity, not that many stayed around for very long. The Beatles obviously were not a “simple” fad that flared out so easily. There are various reasons for this, but most important is the place The Beatles hold in the memory of the generations that experienced their career and culture and the time period of the 1960s, as well as the generations that continually embrace the group decades after they broke-up as a creative unit in 1970. In many ways, the rise and fall of The Beatles is the story of the 1960s. For the generation that grew up in the decade, The Beatles still hold a place of memory that transcends the various new ways they are introduced. New books, remastered and re-promoted albums, and documentary films and television specials only add to the growing collective memory that exists around The Beatles. In addition, newer fans make use of their own interpretations of The Beatles and the 1960s, and this is only too obvious with music fads and groups from the late 1980s and 1990s in both the United Kingdom and the United States. The generation of the 1960s remembers

¹ Philip Norman, *Shout! The Beatles in Their Generation*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981; revised edition published in 2005), xxii.

The Beatles because they act as an “instantaneous passport” into that “realm of eternal teenagerdom” that was the sixties.² While this is important to the memory of The Beatles, how does that memory measure up to the various ways that the band can be enjoyed in the mainstream culture at present?

Memory above all else it what drives our fascination with The Beatles and their time period, the 1960s. Memory should not be confused with history and the discussion of memory should not be seen as a “proper” discussion of the history of The Beatles or the 1960s. Instead, memory is unique with regard to its own study, the connections with history it has, and how it shapes our perceptions of a certain event or time period. For this study, memory has a central place and pivotal role in considering how and why we continuously look back to The Beatles in various aspects of culture. The memory of The Beatles resides in Alon Confino’s “vehicles of memory” because the “representation of the past and the making of it into a shared cultural knowledge by successive generations” are rooted in “vehicles ... such as books, films, museums, commemorations, and others.”³ Since The Beatles as a group no longer exist in our understanding of how musical groups can exist and for what length of time (i.e. groups such as The Rolling Stones and The Who), they can only exist in said vehicles as a result. The benefit of this result is that The Beatles cultural vehicles are “user-friendly” in the sense that as “artifacts,” the objects hold what we think of as collective memory, at least in our view of

² Norman, xxi.

³ Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (1997): 1386. Confino uses the term “vehicles of memory” from Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi.

the representations of the past.⁴ These objects and their place as artifacts make it quite simple for successive generations to find interest in The Beatles and work to “connect [the current world and its generations] with the larger world on many levels, linking the lived with the folkloric, the children of tomorrow with the ancestors of yesteryear, and the personal lives of individuals with the shared experience of the collective.”⁵

But collective memory as an idea is important to understand first before simply attaching it to The Beatles and our view of them in history. Maurice Halbwachs, a sociologist writer on memory argued that as a society

We preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated. But precisely because these memories are repetitions, because they are successively engaged in very different systems of notions, at different periods of our lives, they have lost the form and the appearance they once had. They are not intact vertebrae of fossil animals which would in themselves permit reconstruction of the entities of which they were once a part. One should rather compare them to those stones one finds fitted in certain Roman houses, which have been used as materials in very ancient buildings: their antiquity cannot be established by their form or their appearance but only by the fact that they still show the effaced vestiges of old characters.⁶

Memory then holds within it a certain history that is not defined by our knowledge that an object or an event occurred in time, but because we recognize it as part of our own past and in our own minds recognize the importance it has in reconstructing our own history as a group. A stone may have once served as a part in a house, but if we do not associate

⁴ Barbie Zelizer, “Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12, no. 2 (1995): 232. “We find memory in objects, narratives about the past, even the routines by which we structure our day. . . . artifacts . . . not only presume that collective memory is unlike individual memory by virtue of the fact that it is external to the human body; they also suggest that it is through such forms that memory is collected, shared, contested, or neutralized. . . . This means that collective memory often resides in the artifacts that mark its existence.”

⁵ Zelizer, 214.

⁶ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 47.

that stone with the house we cannot understand it in our lives because it is not part of our memory of our society. It is this distinction that makes understanding nostalgia in relation to memory so vital, because “the most somber aspects of our existence ... are enveloped by clouds that half cover them” and

That faraway world where we remember that we suffered nevertheless exercises an incomprehensible attraction on the person who has survived it and who seems to think he has left there the best part of himself, which he tried to recapture.⁷

Suffering is an important part of collective memory because “trauma” has become a “key to authentic forms of memory, and memories shaped by trauma are the most likely to subvert totalizing varieties of historicism.”⁸ According to Kerwin Lee Klein, “the sudden appearance of memory in academic and popular discourse” is only a product of our attempts to bring into historical discussions those groups that are “repressed.”⁹ Klein argues that if we are to discuss memory effectively then we must consider only memories that are defined by trauma, because “memories not defined by trauma are likely to slide into nostalgia.”¹⁰

Consider the collective memory of The Beatles in terms of trauma is an almost impossible task as our perception of the group and the 1960s is not as easily clouded over, but also our perception of trauma differs too radically for the “repressed” to be represented adequately or even fundamentally. Indeed, those persons that were “repressed” in the 1960s and potentially hold the collective memory of The Beatles are the generation currently in command of culture and society. Where is could have been

⁷ Halbwachs, 49.

⁸ Kerwin Lee Klein, “On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse,” *Grounds for Remembering*, spec. issue of *Representations*, no. 69 (2000), 138.

⁹ Klein, 139.

¹⁰ Klein, 139.

argued that they were the repressed in the 1960s, it is hardly the case now.¹¹ The most significant problem hampering our consideration of the memory of the 1960s is that

Society from time to time obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events of their lives, but also to touch them up, to shorten them, or to complete them so that, however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them a prestige that reality did no possess.¹²

Our collective memory of the 1960s is so filled with views of a generation that changed everything that we begin to force this aspect onto all areas of history in the time period, not simply The Beatles, their career, or their music. Fortunately, as Halbwachs tells us memories do not “hang together” because “they are contiguous in time” but because “they are part of a totality of thoughts common to a group, the group of people with whom we have a relation at the moment, or with whom we have had a relation on the preceding day or days.”¹³

It is in this context that collective memory of The Beatles is important, and not simply for the obvious reasons that it holds things common to a group of people who experienced the group in the 1960s, but because it hold things common that have become within the grasp of generations of people who have lived within the last half-century. Klein is right when he says that “the new “materialization” of memory thus grounds the elevations of memory to the status of a historical agent, and we enter a new age in which archives remember and statues forget.”¹⁴ In the place of archives, we place the “user-friendly” artifacts and “vehicles” of The Beatles memory, which serve as the objects that

¹¹ Klein, 143. “Charles Maier has warned of the “surfeit of memory” and the politics of victimization. In his view, memory...” and “A different way of reckoning with the rise of memory discourse is to place it within the cultural context of the post-sixties United States and attribute it to identity politics. ... memory appeals to us because it lends itself to the articulation of ethnoracial nationalisms that turn away from the cosmopolitan discourses of history.”

¹² Halbwachs, 51.

¹³ Halbwachs, 52.

¹⁴ Klein, 136.

hold and refurbish our memory of The Beatles and their place in the 1960s. For The Beatles, these vehicles or artifacts aide collect memory because they “give us a way of constituting the past within the present” allowing us to “distance the object from personal recall” and allowing the production of objects as artifacts to “fabricate, rearrange, or omit details from the past as we thought we knew it.”¹⁵ In this way, The Beatles become and continue to become The Beatles that are the legends that we already perceive them as. The Beatles traverse Pierre Nora’s “passage from memory to history” because that passage “requires every social group to redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history.”¹⁶ It is then that The Beatles represent the history of the 1960s, because the changing atmosphere in the time period allows everyone to recall different aspects and the “task of remembering making everyone his own historian.”¹⁷

The Beatles and the 1990s

Talking about the 1960s, Stephen Daniels stated that “everyone can remember the sixties,” because their memory is “layered by overlapping modes of recollection, including reminiscence, revival, conservation and commemoration, with pop music in general, and that of The Beatles in particular, shaping the period’s reproduction and the places associated with it.”¹⁸ This statement automatically rebuffs the sentiment that if you

¹⁵ Zelizer, 217. See also 227: “... remembering helps communities stick together in certain ways and break apart in others. Collective memory provides narratives about the past, artifacts that signal central events of the past, and ways of meaningfully signifying the past through fashion, architecture, holidays, and legal charters.”

¹⁶ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,” *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989), 15.

¹⁷ Nora, 15.

¹⁸ Stephen Daniels, “Suburban Pastoral: Strawberry Fields Forever and Sixties Memory,” *Cultural Geographies* 13, no. 1 (2006): 28-29. “Everyone can remember the Sixties. In the prevailing culture of memory, in which ... personal memories grounded in lived experience are conflated with collective memories retrieved from public media, the Sixties are layered ...y overlapping modes of recollection,

remember the sixties, you were not there. The older generation that remembers The Beatles as key to the 1960s was vital to the new youth and counterculture movements that arrived in the 1960s. Pop music and culture were many things to that group and became synonymous with progress. The Beatles' career "from homespun rock'n'rollers and hit ditty makers to subtle melodists, acute lyricists ... was the model of that progress."¹⁹ Simon Frith wrote that The Beatles *Sgt. Pepper* album was the album that began to "address issues other than teenage fun" at the same time marking a "move from pop to rock ... describing a more ambitious music than pop" that helped to "realize complex private dreams and feelings."²⁰ At the same time the album remains "one of the 60s' key symbols" and "at the time the record was an event" marketing pop to the masses, no matter that it still remains a symbol of the times.²¹ The album "represented a new movement of youth—classless and ageless" giving them "a new purpose: to make out of pleasure a politics of optimism, to turn passive consumption into an active culture."²²

The youth culture that grew out of consumption could trace its roots to the prosperity of the 1950s, when "domestic containment" argued for new appliances and new affluence that made it easier to enjoy amenities in the home.²³ But the amenities of the new youth culture that pop allowed for was not consumption that would traditionally benefit life. In fact, the pop consumption went hand in hand with the popularity and growth of music outside its conventional bounds. Ian Inglis argued that during The

including reminiscence, revival, conservation and commemoration, with pop music in general, and that of the Beatles in particular, shaping the period's reproduction and the places associated with it."

¹⁹ Simon Frith, "Rock and the Politics of Memory," *The 60's without Apology*, spec. issue of *Social Text*, no. 9/10 (1984): 60.

²⁰ Frith, 60.

²¹ Frith, 60.

²² Frith, 60.

²³ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era – Revised and Updated Edition*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999), xxv.

Beatles early years (1963-mid-1966), their “achievements ... departed relatively little in substance from the experiences of other leading performers in popular music” but “the difference lay in the size and scale of their success, framed within the phenomenon which became known as Beatlemania.”²⁴ Although the psychology of Beatlemania is complex, the scale and size of the movement is vital to the lasting popularity of The Beatles. It should be no surprise that those that lived during the mid-sixties and experienced this “phenomenon” should continue to remember The Beatles as a massive force in the new cultures that came about and took off. That nothing similar to Beatlemania has been witnessed since is a strong indicator of the importance of the memory of The Beatles.

Of course Beatlemania began in Britain, and although it took off with more momentum once The Beatles reached the United States, it was in Britain that bands in recent years have called upon their homespun memory of The Beatles to restore a music industry that was dominated by American bands and culture. It was the American grunge music of the late 1980s and early 1990s that saw a new trend in British music that called back to the popularity and memory of The Beatles. This new trend was built around new bands that “focused on their debt to The Beatles” working to “avenge the hegemony of grunge”²⁵ Bands such as Oasis that proclaimed their love and admiration for The Beatles, attempted to emulate The Beatles in musical output as well as popularity. John Harris, a freelance journalist that covered the movement for music magazines such as NME and Q, found that “Britpop denoted a moment,” a “short-lived era of ‘British indie-pop bands

²⁴ Ian Inglis, “Ideology, Trajectory & Stardom: Elvis Presley & The Beatles,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 27, no. 1 (1996): 68.

²⁵ John Harris, *Britpop! Cool Britannia and the Spectacular Demise of English Rock*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2004), 161.

magpieing the past and enjoying mainstream success.”²⁶ Continuing his argument, Harris surmised that “some of the UK’s most notable genres-cum-youthquakes had been founded on pop-culture’s in-built tendency for iconoclasm.”²⁷ Oasis’s Noel and Liam Gallagher were not the only new act on the British pop scene in the 1990s to “talk to admirably of a British music heritage” though.²⁸ Their Britpop rivals Blur, which also sparked comparisons with the rivalry shared between The Beatles and the Rolling Stones, also shared such sentiments about the past. Damon Albarn, the lead singer of Blur, showed “wide respect for The Kinks” in a similar fashion to Oasis’s “wide-eyed Beatles-worship” marking the “arrival of a generation steeped in a new classicism – what came to be maligned as “retro.””²⁹ Philip Norman interpreted this “retro” trend “nostalgia without memory.”³⁰

The bands that acted on this “retro” trend and helped to bring into focus a popularity that was built on the memory of The Beatles and other 1960s groups did not stop by simply admiring those historical “archetypes.” These groups even went so far as to associate with younger politicians, such as Oasis’ connections with Tony Blair during 1995 and 1996. The difference with Britpop groups connections to political ideas were that they championed no real changes, only providing “photo ops” for politicians hoping to sway the younger electorate. Preceding the Britpop movement in popularity during the late 1980s, the Stone Roses “took their lead from beat-group archetypes” making their appearance and actions as a band similar, they had “an apparent wish to look pretty much

²⁶ Harris, 202. Quoting from the magazine, *The Independent*.

²⁷ Harris, 202.

²⁸ Harris, 202.

²⁹ Harris, 202.

³⁰ Norman, xxii. “Never had there been so virulent an outbreak of what psychologists have come to define as “nostalgia without memory.””

identical” and “by 1988, they were playing chiming melodic guitar-pop that frequently brought to mind The Beatles and The Byrds.”³¹ In addition, John Harris noted that the bands of Britpop had “obvious ease with the idea of huge success” and he could see connections within the bands of the Britpop movement existing in “the same cultural moment” as the 1960s bands.³² But the calling back of The Beatles popularity that sparked memories of the 1960s was not without conflict in the Britpop bands.

In 1997, as the Britpop movement began to fall apart, Blur released a new album that reconnected with American music trends at that time, with the first song to be released as a single for the album titled “Beetlebum.” The song was easily connected to the latter work of The Beatles, especially when a rejected cover sleeve had spelled the song as “Beatlebum” according to John Harris.³³ Additionally, John Harris recounted an interview about the songs symbolism:

When Damon Albarn was quizzed ... however, John, Paul, George and Ringo were accorded noticeably less importance than Noel and Liam Gallagher; this song it seemed, aimed at striking back at Oasis by showing them how unlike their heroes they actually were. ‘I want Noel to listen to Beetlebum and realize this it is . . . *closer*,’ said Albarn.³⁴

While Albarn and Blur touted their own feigned closeness to the legacy of The Beatles, Oasis was preparing their own new album. *Be Here Now* would be released later that year and become the fastest selling British album of all time. During the recording of the album, Oasis’s work was being compared to The Beatles of 1966-1967. Noel Gallagher often remarked about the work on the album and the album as well in similar manners to

³¹ Harris, 17.

³² Harris, 161.

³³ Harris, 322-323.

³⁴ Harris, 322-323.

John Lennon's 1966 statement about "The Beatles being bigger than Jesus."³⁵ Calling Oasis bigger than God, Gallagher succeeded at touting the "idea that the group amounted to a limp post-modern pantomime loosely based on the career of The Beatles."³⁶ In conclusion, the Britpop bands may not have enjoyed as much success worldwide as The Beatles but they attempted to resume a "demonstration of the success that was possible for British groups."³⁷ This is an aspect of The Beatles that "returns to dominate every discussion of their musical importance and cultural effect."³⁸

In addition to the 1990s Britpop bands harkening back to the popularity and the memory of The Beatles, there are obvious representations and reflections on memory within The Beatles own music. Walter Everett noted that within the lyrics and music of The Beatles existed "various aspects of memory as reintegration (a process by which a reminder reestablishes past experiences), reminiscence, retrospection, and recollection."³⁹ Songs such as "Strawberry Fields Forever," "Penny Lane," "When I'm Sixty Four," "Your Mother Should Know," "In My Life," "Yesterday" and many others reflect some longing for a past experience. Coincidentally, the majority of these songs were mostly penned by Paul McCartney, who "preferred—and still prefers—the glossy showbiz version of myth."⁴⁰ "Yesterday" is the most obvious case of the longing for a past experience. Everett remarks that in this piece, McCartney "is very retrospective; he

³⁵ Harris, 339.

³⁶ Harris, 339.

³⁷ Iain Chambers, *Urban Rhythms: Pop Music and Popular Culture*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), 62-63.

³⁸ Chambers, 63.

³⁹ Walter Everett, "Fantastic Remembrance in John Lennon's 'Strawberry Fields Forever' and 'Julia,'" *The Music Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (1986): 360.

⁴⁰ Norman, xv.

retreats not to his rational mind, but to his sentimental view of the past.”⁴¹ This very thought transcends to our current interest in why people remember The Beatles as they do. Paul McCartney was not of course remembering The Beatles in an earlier incarnation of 1965 or even a specific time and place. His remembrance in “Yesterday” looked back upon a love that was lost to him. Is this not what fans of The Beatles have been doing for over three decades?

The Biographies of The Beatles

Loss of The Beatles as a love for fans goes back to the spring of 1970 when Paul McCartney gave an interview rationalizing his decision to leave the band, essentially marking officially the breakup. In his massive biography published in 2005, Bob Spitz remarked that in 1970 “Paul’s announcement brought everything to a standstill” for an instant bringing “a lucid stillness” as “the music fell silent” and the “demands of unimaginable superstardom ceased.”⁴² These feelings however were reserved for the four members themselves, Spitz remarked that “the world as they knew it stopped spinning” and “seemed perfectly as peace.”⁴³ But it was the memory and the dream of The Beatles that would go on:

As the Beatles, they had been to the toppermost of the poppermost. They had encountered the crowds, heard the screams, felt the love. *Saw the light*. In a brief and shining interval, they had lived a dream that no Liverpool lad could imagine—a magical, fabulous dream, like out of a fairy tale. An unforgettable dream. “It was wonderful and it’s over,” John affirmed to all those waiting for a sign. “And so, dear friends, you’ll just have to carry on. The Dream Is Over.

But the legend of the Beatles had only just begun.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Everett, 363.

⁴² Bob Spitz, *The Beatles: The Biography*, (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2005), 854.

⁴³ Spitz, 854.

⁴⁴ Spitz, 854.

The legend of The Beatles is what has haunted the band as well as fans ever since. It's almost impossible to ascertain now where the line can be drawn to determine what actually happened versus what officially happened according to their biographies or the band. The fact that the band continues to be successful is very "symbolic" and the "mythology ... absorbs every other part of their story" marked specifically by their initial "impact upon the public imagination."⁴⁵

The Beatles story is what we are interested in of course. The fact that four working class Liverpool lads could rise to the top of the world captures the heart of Americans especially because it is so reminiscent of the American dream. The Beatles became a new dream though. After their break-up the dream that was The Beatles prospered on in the minds of young Americans and young people around the world. Ever hoping for that fateful day when they would just reunite and do something as a group again. It was in this atmosphere of hoping and dreaming for a reconstituted Beatles, that the first biographies about the band were researched and published.

The first biography about The Beatles was actually authorized and overseen by the band themselves. Hunter Davies' *The Beatles* was published in 1968 after the author had spent time learning the history of the band with the band. Davies was so meticulous that in his discussions about the four members' childhoods he had asked the parents to review the sections in order to win their approval as well as to insure that the passages were as detailed and correct as they could be. Unfortunately, Davies book would be outdated within a year and a half as the world saw The Beatles fall apart and break up. In 1978, he would revise and republish his book that took into account all that had

⁴⁵ Chambers, 62.

transpired in the remaining years of The Beatles as a whole as well as some discussion about the first years of The Beatles as solo artists.

In the world of Beatles biographies, 1978-1981 would be a pivotal era of publication. Not that many important works were published, but rather the events that would transpire to influence the growth of publication. It was in 1978 that Philip Norman began his research that would ultimately coalesce in 1981 as *Shout! The Beatles in Their Generation*. Within the three years of research Norman committed his life to searching for every detail of their forgotten career, which meant that he followed every lead he got even when they turned up nothing.⁴⁶ Initially he hoped to gain access to the memories of the four ex-Beatles personally, but that would be an unattainable goal. Norman therefore relied on “gaining access to background players” that helped him frame his story of The Beatles with those that had made contributions to making the story happen.⁴⁷ These people were there as The Beatles rose to fame and Norman draws on their stories and connections to The Beatles to construct his own version of the story.

In 1980, Philip Norman recounts that the strongest chance for a Beatles reunion seemed possible but John Lennon would not play to the public’s wishes. In late 1980 Norman sent his manuscript out for publication at the same time that John Lennon began to speak more candidly and appear more talkative, with Norman hoping John would agree to let him interview him for his book.⁴⁸ Though that would not come to pass due to Lennon’s untimely death, Norman went forward in his project and with the books publication in 1981 he would finally gain access to the interviews to the Beatles he had so

⁴⁶ Norman, xiv-xv.

⁴⁷ Norman, xv-xvi.

⁴⁸ Norman, xviii.

longed to acquire for his research, even if it was with Yoko Ono alone, or a missed phone call from Paul McCartney.⁴⁹

To this day, Philip Norman's *Shout!* Remains one of the most read and most quoted Beatles biography, and with a revised edition reappearing in 2005, the author put forth his own perspective on the continued staying power and dominance of his own book. Norman states that despite its faults, he does not "think any other Beatles book has overtaken it."⁵⁰ This includes Peter Brown's book *The Love You Make* and The Beatles own *Anthology* series and corresponding book, both of which are discussed below. Brown's book is what Norman refers to being "marketed as the sensational revelations of a Beatles 'insider'."⁵¹ It is important to remember when Norman's book was published in relation to the growth of Beatles biographical literature. Though it was started and presented for publication before John Lennon's death, it was not published until nearly six months following his untimely murder. This gap offers the first glimpse of why Beatles biographical literature took off in the early 1980s. The very book that he critiques, *The Love You Make* by Peter Brown, was not published until 1983. Both of these books have the unfortunate connection of possibly preying on an unsuspecting public eager for new information and new insights into The Beatles. At this point, it is probably that we begin to see the legacy of The Beatles take hold and the blurring of truth and myth begins.

In the foreword to the newest edition of Peter Brown's *The Love You Make*, Anthony DeCurtis – a writer for Rolling Stone – says that the murder of John Lennon

⁴⁹ Norman, xix.

⁵⁰ Norman, xxviii.

⁵¹ Norman, xxviii.

“made Brown feel he was free to write this book.”⁵² This sentiment makes the book suspect, even if Brown was a close friend and business partner with The Beatles, managing Apple Corps, Ltd. in the late 1960s. The book is generally like all the following books written about “insiders” lives and connections with The Beatles: someone who was close to the Beatles recounting their own life but emphasizing the encounters they had with The Beatles. What these “insiders” stories, and in fact most biographies about The Beatles lack, is the discussion of how the public witnessed and experienced the band. Sure, it is nice to read an account of The Beatles withdrawn from the public image they put forth, but what does it add to the popular memory of The Beatles. This is the sharpest distinction between the two books published initially released in the wake of Lennon’s death. Where *The Love You Make* is one “insiders” story, *Shout!* draws on the memory of a multitude of individuals closely connected to The Beatles to flesh out the background stories that made the story of The Beatles occur as it appears in popular memory.

“Insiders” stories about individuals closely connected to The Beatles in some form or another should be considered with suspect to begin with. Take the case of Tony Bramwell, who was closely connected to The Beatles and published his memoirs in early 2005. Using the theme of McCartney’s “Yesterday” Bramwell closes his book considering the implications of his own “Yesterday’s” stating he misses many of the people in their circle are gone, including two Beatles, but he has “fond, funny, and Fab

⁵² Anthony DeCurtis, “Foreword: Once There Was a Way to Get Back Homeward,” in Peter Brown and Steven Gaines, *The Love You Make: An Insider’s Story of The Beatles*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983; revised and republished edition, 2002), xv.

Four memories” making him a “lucky man.”⁵³ All of this sentiment seems more self-indulgent than reminiscent. This seems to be the biggest problem of the publications of “insiders” stories of The Beatles, too often they can be more self-indulgent than descriptive about the story these individuals experienced during their lives working with The Beatles.

Considering the continued publications of “insiders” stories of The Beatles, a particularly recent release was the memoirs of The Beatles sound engineer, Geoff Emerick. Emerick worked closely with producer George Martin during The Beatles latter albums, and offers interesting insight in *Here, There and Everywhere*. Within, Geoff Emerick recounts his career as an engineer for the Beatles from their earliest sessions at EMI Studios through working with Paul McCartney in the 1970s. Aside from his own autobiographical account, it also contains important discussion of the “inner workings” of the sound techniques Emerick worked out to make many of the band’s distinct sounds. As stated, the book does contain some references to The Beatles fame, but that is limited in comparison to the personal relationships that Emerick develops with the four as a result of his engineering work.

As should be expected, considering the amount of work Emerick recounts conducting with Paul McCartney, at least well into the 1990s, he speaks very highly of McCartney in many respects. Of the remaining Beatles, he reiterates often that he was scared of John Lennon and George Harrison, and considered Ringo Starr just another one of the “lads.” In some respects the emphasis placed on McCartney does shadow the emphasis he places on the other three, but this is something we can forgive Emerick for

⁵³ Tony Bramwell with Rosemary Kingsland, *Magical Mystery Tours: My Life With The Beatles*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2005), 419.

because his book focuses more appropriately on his own life and the engineering techniques he and other engineers devised to satisfy The Beatles.

But Emerick does consider a lot about McCartney and we must consider why he remembers McCartney in the manner that he does. When Emerick was appointed to the post of sound engineer of The Beatles he admits that “looking back ... it seems ... that the change in engineering seats was probably done with Paul’s advance knowledge and tacit approval.”⁵⁴ Additionally Emerick also considers that “it was even done at his instigation” making “it hard” to “imagine that George Martin would have made that kind of momentous decision without discussing it with any of the group, and he seemed to have the closest relationship with Paul, who was always the most concerned about getting the sound right in the studio.”⁵⁵ This discussion of the command McCartney pulled in the studio, as well as within the band is a common theme that has popped up in many of the biographies about The Beatles, and McCartney himself references this idea in the *Anthology* project. Emerick has a motive for presenting this memory of Paul McCartney though, at least one that is distinguishable from other sources. It is his own personal relationship he enjoyed with McCartney over a long period of working with him after the band’s break-up that allows him this kind of consideration, even though it stems less from a memory distinctive about the four as a group.

Of the memory he has about The Beatles, Emerick delivers the same image we have come to expect of The Beatles. Arriving at EMI Studios during the same time as The Beatles, Emerick witnesses a session with the band his second day of work. Speaking

⁵⁴ Geoff Emerick and Howard Massey, *Here, There and Everywhere: My Life Recording the Music of The Beatles*, (New York: Gotham Books, 2006), 7.

⁵⁵ Emerick, 7.

to another engineer he quickly learns that “they’re scruffy and they wear leather jackets and they comb their hair forward ... But they sing brilliant harmonies, just like the Everly Brothers, and they’ve got a true rock ‘n’ roll attitude.”⁵⁶ Although The Beatles that arrived in America would never wear the leather jackets, this image is familiar to many Beatles fans, especially those that became fans so closely following the release of the *Anthology* project. Yet this image is still not one that Emerick witnessed himself, he actually admits that his “first glimpse of the Beatles was not all that memorable,”⁵⁷ he simply looked down into the studio and saw The Beatles conversing with George Martin and other engineers. By that time, the leather jackets had disappeared, replaced with the familiar image of tie and jacket that dominates the popular memory of The Beatles.

Conflating the popular memory of The Beatles is the story that The Beatles presented as their *Anthology* in the mid 1990s. The *Anthology* project offered the public and fans of The Beatles a number of things that had been hoped to occur for twenty five years at that point. First, and most obvious, the *Anthology* project included interviews with the three surviving Beatles about what they remembered about the story, and included archival footage of John Lennon from his entire career. Second, the *Anthology* provided the public with the long hoped for reunion when Paul McCartney was presented with a demo tape of John Lennon’s featuring three tracks he had recorded in the late 1970s by his widow Yoko Ono. Working with the other two surviving Beatles, George Harrison and Ringo Starr, the three former members recorded new backing vocals and instrumentation and improved on the quality of the Lennon recordings of the late 1970s,

⁵⁶ Emerick, 39. Recounted by the author from a conversation held with Chris Neal.

⁵⁷ Emerick, 41.

eventually releasing two new “Beatles” song with “Free As a Bird” and “Real Love.”⁵⁸

Finally, the *Anthology* project brought renewed publicity to The Beatles and introduced a whole new generation to the story via television's initial broadcast of the documentary and the accompanying albums that followed its broadcast.⁵⁹

Late November 1995 saw the renewed interest in The Beatles through the presentation of *The Beatles Anthology* on network television. Over the course of three nights during the Thanksgiving holidays, the program brought The Beatles story presented by The Beatles into the home of viewers, including fans, as well as those who would become new fans. Of course, the difference between the thirty years in the fanbase was that there would be no resurgence of Beatlemania. The screams would not return, except in the broadcast of the *Anthology* episodes, where the screams of Beatlemania opened each new episode, expertly utilizing a trademark of the memory of The Beatles that everyone would know “exactly who they were, what they were for, and what they referenced.”⁶⁰

Though the *Anthology* program, and later book, claims to be the true story it is obvious enough that it is not an accurate presentation, simply another version being retold, this time by the actual members. We must question their motives. In the years since it has come out that not all four members were involved genuinely, but of course how could they be? George Harrison was reportedly only involved for economical matters, Paul McCartney seems to only care about promoting his own image, and Ringo

⁵⁸ Devin McKinney, *Magic Circles: The Beatles in Dream and History*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 357-360.

⁵⁹ Martin Cloonan, “You Can’t Do That: The Beatles, Artistic Freedom, and Censorship,” in *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society: A Thousand Voices*, ed. Ian Inglis, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 126.

⁶⁰ Steven D. Stark, *Meet The Beatles: A Cultural History of the Band That Shook Youth, Gender, and the World*, (New York: Harper Entertainment, 2005), 10.

remains the Ringo that fans had known, genuine as always, remaining everyone's best friend.⁶¹ Of course, despite these massive shortcomings that the *Anthology* project has, for fans it was the memory they had held for all those years, especially with the inclusion of a quasi reunion. However, with all biographies of The Beatles, the *Anthology* was "grossly slanted and selective" particularly in its removal of the various negative aspects of The Beatles personalities that came out of a working class north England upbringing.⁶²

The Package Returns

In a decade that was already enjoying a quasi Beatles resurgence due to the Britpop movement, the *Anthology* project allowed The Beatles to reemerge financially. While the Britpop artists were performing "retro" songs that sounded like The Beatles and other bands of the 1960s, the "*Anthology* as a whole [was] nostalgic."⁶³ Unfortunately, this limited the *Anthology* compilation albums and subsequent book as well as other compilation albums to "succeed only as nostalgia and as marketing devices."⁶⁴ Gary Burns argued that this occurrence was "understandable as the 'greying' of the surviving Beatles and their longtime fans apace" making it "nonetheless dismaying in the light of the group's earlier achievements as politically engaged, avant-garde pop-stars."⁶⁵ Burns could be right, but in a society of aging baby boomers and new generations that looked back to the 1960s with nostalgia, any presence of The Beatles was accepted and longed for. If this was not the case, then the continued resurrection of

⁶¹ Norman, 516 and 525.

⁶² Norman, xxviii.

⁶³ Gary Burns, "Refab Four: Beatles for Sale in the Age of Music Video," in *The Beatles, Popular Music and Society: A Thousand Voices*, ed. Ian Inglis, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 186.

⁶⁴ Burns, 186.

⁶⁵ Burns, 186.

Beatles songs and albums would not have continued in the years after the *Anthology* aired.

The Beatles' *1* released in 2000, was the first such compilation that saw an increase in the interest of Beatles products, and this was a direct result of marketing. In November and December 2000, in the weeks following the compilations release, it captured the number one spot in American and British album charts, surpassing then popular groups. Clearly there existed and still does exist an interest in The Beatles. The fact that the compilation comprised all of the number one hits by the band in those two nations indicates the lasting connection to the 1960s as well. If songs popular over thirty years ago could fuel and drive the success of a new release then surely there was some nostalgic feeling for the band that existed at the time.

The same could be said of the most recent release of The Beatles, *The Capitol Albums, Volume 2*. This set followed the release of the first volume in 2004, which was marketed as a celebration of the fortieth anniversary of The Beatles arriving in America. The 2006 release features all of the original American releases by Capitol Records in 1965 and was released on 11 April, a date that coincidentally marks the forty-second anniversary of the Beatles holding the top five positions on the Billboard pop singles chart in 1964 with the songs "Can't Buy Me Love," "Twist and Shout," "She Loves You," "I Want To Hold Your Hand" and "Please Please Me."⁶⁶ The problem with this connection to a specific date is that it remarks less about nostalgia and more about "retro." Baby Boomers would obviously feel a nostalgic feeling to the appearance and format of the release, especially in its mirroring of the way the albums were released in

⁶⁶ Jonathan Cohen, "Capitol Boxes Up More Beatles Albums," *Billboard* News and Reviews, 20 March 2006, <http://www.billboard.com/bbcom/news/article_display.jsp?vnu_content_id=1002199067>.

1964-1965. On the other side, new generations are more likely to view that appearance as “retro,” particularly the sleeve casing that contains no plastic case that is so connected to compact disc releases.

In a decade that has witnessed a rebound of interest in The Beatles music and career, it should be no surprise that at the same time, the largest biographical volume written on the band has also been released. Bob Spitz’ *The Beatles: The Biography*, published in late 2005, attempts to bring forward yet more supposedly new information about the band. Unfortunately, his conclusions are not new, and he does not begin to focus on the band in the traditional sense until about a third of the way into the over eight hundred page work. At the same time, Spitz largely ignores the important works that have already been produced about The Beatles career, especially those by Philip Norman and Peter Brown. In a sense, Spitz’ book only helps to further “mythologize” The Beatles because he claims that his book is the “definitive biography” on The Beatles. This automatically makes the book open prey to comparisons with its predecessors, and makes the reader question its accuracy or originality. This is a problem that is likely to begin and hamper future publications of Beatles books. Like Steven Stark said “Why on earth would anyone need another book about The Beatles?”⁶⁷ But the public does need new books about The Beatles, because “unlike other pop phenomena, they seem, amazingly, to grow bigger by the year.”⁶⁸

As a member of that generation, the *Anthology* truly introduced me to The Beatles. I was mildly aware of the group’s existence before the airing of that program, primarily because my father was a huge rock music fan and had shared his musical tastes

⁶⁷ Stark, 1.

⁶⁸ Stark, 1.

with my sister and me. That Thanksgiving still reverberates in my own memory, the question is does it do the same in many of the other individuals of my generation? I was genuinely hooked on The Beatles at the conclusion of the final night of the program, thumbing through the Beatles LP records that were in my father's collection. What is it about *The Beatles Anthology* that hooked my imagination? It is fairly obvious that my imagination is not the only one newly hooked on The Beatles in the last ten or so years. As a generation, we have multitudes of new music to enjoy and embrace. The record industry continuously throws new artists and new sounds at us. Geoff Emerick questioned the validity of many of the new artists and new sounds in his biography:

Will there ever be another Beatles? I doubt it. It's not down to talent; there have always been gifted young artists, and there always will be. But there aren't breeding grounds like Hamburg anymore, places where bands can develop in anonymity and hone their craft. Every musician is isolated in his or her bedroom now; there's little collaboration, little opportunity for ideas to be nurtured and developed. In addition, today's digital tools—things like Autotuning, which corrects out-of-tune singing and playing—allow even untalented people to make records, too. As a result, the market is glutted with mediocre product, making it harder for the cream to rise to the top.⁶⁹

If The Beatles were the cream of the 1960s, and society still holds them in such high popular esteem and memory, then Emerick is absolutely right, no other band can hope to come near their popularity or significance. Sure, bands have and will outsell The Beatles, especially as music becomes more available via the internet, but they will never capture the output of The Beatles.

In less than eight years, The Beatles released thirteen albums and numerous singles. For a band today, that kind of output is near impossible, even a year gap in between albums is considered fast paced. The Beatles and indeed the 1960s became

⁶⁹ Emerick, 369.

legendary, mythical, and hold a special place in many people's memory and hearts. While The Beatles "were neither the first nor the last pop culture celebrities to undergo this process" and become somewhat "divine" no one else can compare with them, they held their own "Trinity" and fanatic followers.⁷⁰ What should be obvious is that through continued publication of new books and releases of compilations, The Beatles will remain in the popular memory for as long as possible. In time, the baby boom generation that lived through the band during their tenure at the "toppermost of the poppermost"⁷¹ will be gone, and all that will be left is the memory that is left behind due to biographies and compilations that re-hash their story over and over. We will not need new books about The Beatles to appear, but they will. The popular memory of The Beatles is alive and well, but resides only in living memory.

⁷⁰ Stark, 272.

⁷¹ This quote is utilized by many authors about The Beatles, and none of them quote where they read it first. I've seen it in both Philip Norman and Bob Spitz, the two authors who considered their own works the "definitive" account of The Beatles' career.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION – IN THE END... ALL A PACKAGE NEEDS IS *LOVE*

The Beatles package is not a product that has remained unique to the band or the 1960s. In all aspects of entertainment culture, the idea of a “package” used to sell a product perseveres in ways that Brian Epstein, George Martin, and The Beatles could not have imagined in the 1960s. That The Beatles and the package were remarketed and packaged again in the 1990s and on speaks to the universality of the idea. In 2007, entertainment packages are essentially the only method that is used to sell a product, even if it is not singularly a music or related product.

Clearly the most obvious case for examination of a product that revolves around presentation and a package prepared for an audience is the reality television show *American Idol*. Utilizing the various aspects that made The Beatles American career effective, this program only adds the level of interaction that the consumer has with the product and how well the product succeeds in the multitude of markets that exist for that product. A “contestant” on *American Idol* must not only surpass a panel of judges that are supposed to represent the current manifestations of A&R men, producers and talent scouts, but they must be so unoriginal and moldable that their uniqueness is lost behind an array of fashion designers, make-up artists, and “image” specialists, which adds the first two with vocal coaches and performance choreographers.

In a culture where synchronization is the key, The Beatles are obvious ancestors that paved the way for phenomena like *American Idol* to succeed. The most important aspects of *American Idol* though are not the music or “talent” that the show promotes, but

the use of technology to interact with consumers and actively sell the “talent” as a product, in addition to other products like the clothes the “talent” wears and the make-up used to create a specific appearance. This is precisely what The Beatles did over forty years ago when they appeared on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, only they were unique for wearing long hair and dressing in semi-casual dress suits. They sold a unique image for the time and not one changing over the course of one television season, in addition to their product, which for The Beatles, Brian Epstein, George Martin, and the labels was all that mattered. Their concern was not for the products Ed Sullivan promoted during the show or showcased during the commercials outside the program. Today though, everything must be sold by the “talent,” regardless if they are actively aware that they are selling whatever the product in question may be.

In this world, The Beatles are not absent either though. The saga of the package has continued in our overproduced and mass marketed culture. The package has grown significantly however, and no more are the solo careers of the former Beatles directly viewed as unrelated merchandise, while they are not marketed as Beatles products either. Out of the four Beatles, no one more than Paul McCartney has benefited from his history as a Beatle, and this is in no way a bad thing. As discussed in chapter five, McCartney more than any of The Beatles was aware of the importance of nostalgia in his writing. It is therefore no surprise that he should have the capacity and the privilege to call back to his days as a mop top. The other three though, are not as easy to connect with the story of The Beatles beyond their time as Beatle’s. Ringo Starr, whose career beyond that of a Beatle is often too easily dismissed because it is less remarkable than the other three, had

a successful film career in the 1970s unrelated to music.¹ In the 1980s he embarked on a series of tours that celebrated his status as a Beatle, but also that of the other high-profile stars that he recruited to join his All-Starr Band, including musicians that were not popular or active during the 1960s.

John Lennon and George Harrison's careers are even less connectable to their status as Beatles in the 1960s. John Lennon traveled a path that was diametrically opposite to that of his role as a Beatle during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Lennon became an ardent peace activist with his partner Yoko Ono, and apparently an enemy to the United States government under Richard M. Nixon.² Of course, Lennon's untimely 1980 murder only further separated him from his role as a Beatle. His solo career has received more attention as a result because of his role as a peace activist and murder, primarily due to Yoko Ono and her role as the executor and manager of his estate.³ George Harrison also has fewer connections to his role as a Beatle, primarily because his post-Beatles career was so varied and at times unrelated to his career as a musician. In the late 1970s, Harrison became a film producer due to his financing and role in film production company Handmade Films, which produced a number of films throughout the 1980s, such as *Time Bandits* starring Sean Connery. Additionally, he was the first Beatle to leave their 1968 agreement with EMI and Apple Records in 1976 when he released his fifth studio album *Thirty Three and 1/3* on his own label Dark Horse Records in

¹ Ringo even married a "Bond-girl" in 1981: Barbara Bach from 1977's *The Spy Who Loved Me*.

² For more details on Lennon's apparent "enemy" status, check out the 2006 documentary *The U.S. vs. John Lennon*, which describes Lennon's rise as a peace activist and the U.S. government's attempts to quiet the former Beatle during 1972-1973 because of his ties to "radical" activists.

³ It is often stated that Lennon was assassinated. I do not and will never use that term to describe how Lennon died. Assassination implies political leader, and in at the "end of the day" and at the time of his death, Lennon was simply a musician. His peace activism had been dormant since 1973 and his murderer was no less than a deranged fan who thought he could somehow acquire Lennon's fame and status.

association with A&M Records. But, he did not sever his ties with the 1960s in full. In 1987 he collaborated with Bob Dylan and Roy Orbison, in addition to renowned Beatle-fan Jeff Lynne, and Tom Petty, on “Handle With Care,” what was supposed to be simply a B-side for a single from his album *Cloud Nine*. When Warner Bros. Records, his distributing label at the time, heard the song they deemed it too good for relegation as only a B-side and commissioned an album from the five musicians, which resulted in the 1988 *Traveling Wilburys, Vol. 1* album.⁴

The post-Beatles careers illustrate the connections that were maintained and also shrugged off by the band members. Cleary, Paul McCartney has maintained the closest ties to his tenure as a Beatle, with rigorous touring and constant production of new material. The days of innovation that all four enjoyed in The Beatles were never truly repeated by any member, but that is in no way detrimental to their post-Beatles trajectories. In the end, no matter how far they strayed from their Beatles career, John, Paul, George, and Ringo, could still look back at The Beatles as the beginning and the defining aspect of their careers. It is no surprise then that each member produced something that was an attempt at recreating some aspect of The Beatles. Between the four separate careers of The Beatles, nostalgia for that past as a Beatle still lingered, even if it was not as strong in each of the members. That connection to their fans is the most important of course, because while fans hoped for a reunion, the solo Beatles hoped only to be successful, with or without the help of a Beatles past that defined high expectations.

⁴ A second album by the supergroup, *Traveling Wilburys, Vol. 3*, was released in 1990 without Roy Orbison, who had died in the intervening two years.

Nostalgic Love

Nostalgia has been addressed previously in detail, but we must understand just how far nostalgia can take us when we look back upon The Beatles and the 1960s. As stated, each member hoped for a connection with the success of their Beatles career, and that distinction fueled and continues to fuel exactly how we are directed to look at The Beatles, especially as we move farther and farther away from the 1960s. Our direction most recently has been guided by the release of the remix album *Love* in late 2006. This album acts as both a soundtrack to the Las Vegas-based Mirage Casino Cirque du Soleil show of the same name and a “new” album in its own right. More importantly this album presents the first remastered Beatles material in nearly twenty years and forces the fans to question the “holiness” of the original Beatles material from the 1960s.

The marketing and production of the *Love* album calls back to only one aspect of The Beatles career in the 1960s, the high production levels that the band adhered to in the studio with George Martin and his Parlophone staff. The problem with calling the album nostalgic is that the musical portion of the project was overseen by George Martin and Giles Martin, and acts as much a creative effort by the producers as it does as one by The Beatles. The visual portion, the show in Las Vegas, premiered in the summer of 2006 and was the end result of a friendship between George Harrison and Cirque du Soleil founder Guy Laliberté. Utilizing, a technologically innovative sound system, both the show and the music created for it continue the history of The Beatles, in this case a show in their name, making use of technology in the newest possible ways.⁵

⁵ According to the official website for the *Love* show, the sound system is a panoramic system set up for 360 degrees of space and utilizing almost 9,000 speakers. Cirque du Soleil, *LOVE*, [website on-line], accessed February 28, 2007); available from <http://www.cirquedusoleil.com/CirqueDuSoleil/en/showstickets/love/music/music.htm>; Internet.

The basic premise of the *Love* album is remixing, or taking the songs of The Beatles and changing the arrangement to create a new mix. The goal of George and Giles Martin was to create a musical experience unique for the Cirque du Soleil show. The result is an interesting and unique Beatles album, but more importantly the album brings The Beatles back into popular and musical discussion again. It is the ultimate fulfillment of The Beatles of the 1990s catching up to the technology that exists in the market at the time of its release. To create a musical soundtrack for the *Love* album, the Martins had to weigh the entire Beatles catalog including official master mixes as well as live, demo and alternate versions of tracks, and put that into less than a ninety minute program. Still though, the album is not entirely rooted in the production of the *Love* circus show.

Love, the album, more than anything else, is nothing less than the official version of *The Grey Album*, and underground mash-up album produced by Atlanta DJ Danger Mouse in early 2004. Combining the vocals from *The Black Album*, an album by rapper Jay-Z, with the music of *The Beatles* (or “The White Album”), Danger Mouse, also known as Brian Burton, created quite a stir when *The Grey Album* found its way onto the internet and file-sharing programs. Aside from the legal and professional issues that Burton was pressed with from EMI, The Beatles distributing parent, the album was a successful attempt to rearrange the songs of The Beatles in a style unique to the twenty-first century and the in-home recording and producing devices that exist on typical personal computers.

As far as marketing the album, the central question revolved around the new and revolutionary method of presenting The Beatles and how fans greeted the product. A wide division existed and some fans and reviewers revered the album as the next step in

The Beatles catalog, achieving something so far removed from the 1960s and The Beatles own time period that it even surpassed mainstream music for the twenty-first century. Others were less optimistic about the album (omitting the show and its place as a result), and referred to the project as massive tampering with a given and proven seller, calling it alternatively blasphemy and desecration. Coincidentally, and most accurately, these fans and reviewers termed the album as simply another device designed to widen the coffers of The Beatles and their estates.⁶

Aside from all of the hype and critical assessment of the show and album, the *Love* album represents much more than what it gives. In the decade that separates the release of *Love* from that of the Anthology project, The Beatles have stayed relatively on the horizon, releasing another compilation or box set every now and again to old and newer fans alike. The *Love* album is altogether linked to that chain, but it also has the distinction of bringing even more new fans into the fold as well as distancing older fans. While it can bring in new fans, it could not and did not achieve the success that the *I* singles compilation did in late 2000.

The *Love* album also represents how The Beatles and the marketing of their labels intend for the fans and consumers to think about and remember The Beatles. Our nostalgia for the group and the 1960s is driven by internal feelings and hopes to return to that time period, but it is also manipulated by the record industry. As a culture, we understand the *Love* album, as an example, as both a step into the modern world of music but also as tampering with the past. In its essence, *Love* does change how we listen to the

⁶ Conversely, the production costs of the show and the album offer a different perspective, one where The Beatles are simply being translated to another entertainment sphere, and one where they, and any product from the 1960s have not traveled before.

music of The Beatles because it was produced using 21st century technology and because it is simply a new way of hearing the music. The album is full of familiar songs, but they are not the songs the generation from the 1960s will remember. Nor are the songs representative of the outtakes and demos released on the *Anthology* albums, which are familiar to the generation that was introduced to the band in the 1990s.

While it is useful and timely to use the *Love* album as a marker for the manner in which we are expected to think about The Beatles and the 1960s, that album is certainly not the only case. As hinted at above, the *I* album from 2000 was an earlier release and marketing ploy to sell The Beatles again, both to the generations that had come before and to the generation that was so commented about buying the album. *I* was nostalgic in every sense of previous Beatles projects, notably the *Anthology*, because both were able to provide a glimpse of The Beatles entire career in an easy to manage bundle. The *I* album was more successful because of the format it was released on, a single disc versus six (over three sets), and because it was composed of only the number one songs. This formatting enabled the label and the marketing to revolve around what made The Beatles career to extraordinary: the sheer levels of success that they achieved in so short a time.

The Beatles are marketed in a way so that fans and consumers will think about the group and the 1960s and remember the two again and in new ways. Albums released in promotion of The Beatles in the new century make the band much more than representative of the 1960s. As stated in chapter two, the changing atmosphere of the time period allows every person to look back differently at the 1960s and recall different aspects of change that occurred. The Beatles package and the products that are released as a product of that direct mechanism ask our culture to rethink and at times forget certain

aspects of The Beatles career. Everyone remembers The Beatles and the 1960s, and that is why our nostalgia for the band and the time period has persevered and held firm for over four decades. We want to remember The Beatles because that memory gives a number of generations something that can be shared in ways that are unique, but familiar.

In conclusion, The Beatles package is more than a number of products and marketing schemes. The package is also the memory of The Beatles, because it is a collective memory that is shared with generations outside the 1960s generation. The package was never a new idea or something created by The Beatles and their manager and label executives, but it was a method of product promotion and marketing that enabled The Beatles to saturate markets around the world in the 1960s and to remain present and steady even after they ceased to exist as a creative unit in 1970. The package also provided the framework for groups that followed The Beatles to emulate and eventually reshape to their own success. It would be too much to say that without The Beatles or the package, bands like The Rolling Stones or Led Zeppelin, would have been unable to succeed in the 1960s and even the 1970s. At the same time, The Beatles and the package that surrounded them opened the door for these “guitar groups.” In the end, The Beatles outlived the prediction that their musical style was “on the way out,” and this was because the package saturated the market, allowing consumers over the course of forty years to enjoy The Beatles now timeless music.

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Help! CD. Produced by George Martin. London: Parlophone, 1987. Originally released on vinyl LP 6 August 1965.

“I Want To Hold Your Hand” / “I Saw Her Standing There.” CD-single. Produced by George Martin. Hollywood: Capitol Records, 1994. Originally released on vinyl “45” 26 December 1963.

Live at the BBC. CD. Executive produced by George Martin. London and Hollywood: Apple Records and Capitol Records, 1994.

Magical Mystery Tour. CD. Produced by George Martin. London: Parlophone, 1987. Originally released 27 November and 8 December 1967.

Meet the Beatles! CD. Produced by George Martin. Hollywood: Capitol Records, 2004. Originally released on vinyl LP 20 January 1964.

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Please Please Me. CD. Produced by George Martin. London: Parlophone, 1987. Originally released on vinyl LP 22 March 1963.

Real Love. CD-EP. Produced by George Martin. Hollywood: Apple Records and Capitol Records, 1996.

Revolver. CD. Produced by George Martin. London: Parlophone, 1987. Originally released on vinyl LP 5 August 1966.

Rubber Soul. CD. Produced by George Martin. London: Parlophone, 1987. Originally released on vinyl LP 3 December 1965.

Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band. Produced by George Martin. London: Parlophone, 1987. Originally released on vinyl LP 1 June 1967.

Something New. CD. Produced by George Martin. London and Hollywood: Apple Records and Capitol Records, 2004. Originally released on vinyl LP 20 July 1964.

With the Beatles. CD. Produced by George Martin. London: Parlophone, 1987. Originally released on vinyl LP 22 November 1963.

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A Hard Days Night. DVD. Directed by Richard Lester. Burbank: Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2002.

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APPENDIX

THE BEATLES DISCOGRAPHY

Official singles and albums released in the United Kingdom by Parlophone / EMI Records, Ltd.

1962

Love Me Do / P.S. I Love You, single released 5 October 1962 by Parlophone (R 4949).

1963

Please Please Me / Ask Me Why, single released 11 January 1963 by Parlophone (R 4983).

Please Please Me, album released 22 March 1963 by Parlophone (PMC 1202 – mono).

Side one: I Saw Her Standing There; Misery; Anna (Go To Him); Chains; Boys; Ask Me Why; Please Please Me.

Side two: Love Me Do; P.S. I Love You; Baby It's You; Do You Want To Know A Secret; A Taste Of Honey; There's A Place; Twist and Shout.

From Me To You / Thank You Girl, single released 12 April 1963 by Parlophone (R 5015).

Please Please Me, album released 26 April 1963 by Parlophone (PCS 3042 – stereo).

Track listing identical to mono version.

Twist and Shout, extended play released 12 July 1963 by Parlophone (GEP 8882).

Side one: Twist And Shout; A Taste Of Honey.

Side two: Do You Want To Know A Secret; There's A Place.

She Loves You / I'll Get You, single released 23 August 1963 by Parlophone (R 5055).

The Beatles' Hits, extended play, released 6 September 1963 by Parlophone (GEP 8880).

Side one: From Me To You; Thank You Girl.

Side two: Please Please Me; Love Me Do.

The Beatles No. 1, extended play released 1 November 1963 by Parlophone (GEP 8883).

Side one: I Saw Her Standing There; Misery.

Side two: Anna (Go To Him); Chains.

With The Beatles, album released 22 November 1963 by Parlophone (PMC 1206 – mono; PCS 3045 – stereo).

Side one: It Won't Be Long; All I've Got To Do; All My Loving; Don't Bother Me; Little Child; Till There Was You; Please Mr. Postman.

Side two: Roll Over Beethoven; Hold Me Tight; You Really Got A Hold On Me; I Wanna Be Your Man; Devil In Her Heart; Not A Second Time; Money.

I Want To Hold Your Hand / This Boy, single released 29 November 1963 by Parlophone (R 5084).

1964

All My Loving, extended play released 7 February 1964 by Parlophone (GEP 8891).

Side one: All My Loving; Ask Me Why.

Side two: Money; P.S. I Love You.

Can't Buy Me Love / You Can't Do That, single released 20 March 1964 by Parlophone (R5114).

Long Tall Sally, extended play released 19 June 1964 by Parlophone (GEP 8913).

Side one: Long Tall Sally; I Call Your Name.

Side two: Slow Down; Matchbox.

A Hard Day's Night, album released 10 July 1964 by Parlophone (PMC 1230 – mono; PCS 3058 – stereo).

Side one: A Hard Day's Night; I Should Have Known Better; If I Fell; I'm Happy Just To Dance With You; And I Love Her; Tell Me Why; Can't Buy Me Love.

Side two: Any Time At All; I'll Cry Instead; Things We Said Today; When I Get Home; You Can't Do That; I'll Be Back.

A Hard Day's Night / Things We Said Today, single released 10 July 1964 by Parlophone (R 5160).

A Hard Day's Night (Extracts from the film), extended play released 4 November 1964 by Parlophone (GEP 8920).

Side one: I Should Have Known Better; If I Fell.

Side two: Tell Me Why; And I Love Her.

A Hard Day's Night (Extracts from the album), extended play released 6 November 1964 by Parlophone (GEP 8924).

Side one: Anytime At All; I'll Cry Instead.

Side two: Things We Said Today; When I Get Home.

I Feel Fine / She's A Woman, single released 27 November 1964 by Parlophone (R 5200).

Beatles For Sale, album released 4 December 1964 by Parlophone (PMC 1240 – mono; PCS 3062 – stereo).

Side one: No Reply; I'm A Loser; Baby's In Black; Rock And Roll Music; I'll Follow The Sun; Mr. Moonlight; Kansas City/Hey Hey Hey Hey.

Side two: Eight Days A Week; Words Of Love; Honey Don't; Every Little Thing; I Don't Want To Spoil The Party; What You're Doing; Everybody's Trying To Be My Baby.

1965

Beatles For Sale, extended play released 6 April 1965 by Parlophone (GEP 8931).

Side one: No Reply; I'm A Loser.

Side two: Rock And Roll Music; Eight Days A Week.

Ticket To Ride / Yes It Is, single released 9 April 1965 by Parlophone (R 5265).

Beatles For Sale No. 2, extended play released 4 June 1965 by Parlophone (GEP 8938).

Side one: I'll Follow The Sun; Baby's In Black.

Side two: Words Of Love; I Don't Want To Spoil The Party.

Help! / I'm Down, single released 23 July 1965 by Parlophone (R 5305).

Help!, album released 6 August 1965 by Parlophone (PMC 1255 – mono; PCS 3071 – stereo).

Side one: Help!; The Night Before; You've Got To Hide Your Love Away; I Need You; Another Girl; You're Going To Lose That Girl; Ticket To Ride.

Side two: Act Naturally; It's Only Love; You Like Me Too Much; Tell Me What You See; I've Just Seen A Face; Yesterday; Dizzy Miss Lizzy.

We Can Work It Out / Day Tripper, single released 3 December 1965 by Parlophone (R 5389).

Rubber Soul, album released 3 December 1965 by Parlophone (PMC 1267 – mono; PCS 3075 – stereo).

Side one: Drive My Car; Norwegian Wood (This Bird Has Flown); You Won't See Me; Nowhere Man; Think For Yourself; The Word; Michelle.

Side two: What Goes On; Girl; I'm Looking Through You; In My Life; Wait; If I Needed Someone; Run For Your Life.

The Beatles Million Sellers, extended play released 6 December 1965 by Parlophone (GEP 8946).

Side one: She Loves You; I Want To Hold Your Hand.

Side two: Can't Buy Me Love; I Feel Fine.

1966

Yesterday, extended play released 4 March 1966 by Parlophone (GEP 8948).

Side one: Yesterday; Act Naturally.

Side two: You Like Me Too Much; It's Only Love.

Paperback Writer / Rain, single released 10 June 1966 by Parlophone (R 5452).

Nowhere Man, extended play released 8 July 1966 by Parlophone (GEP 8952).

Side one: Nowhere Man; Drive My Car.

Side two: Michelle; You Won't See Me.

Yellow Submarine / Eleanor Rigby, single released 5 August 1966 by Parlophone (R 5493).

Revolver, album released 5 August 1966 by Parlophone (PMC 7009 – mono; PCS 7009 – stereo).

Side one: Taxman; Eleanor Rigby; I'm Only Sleeping; Love You To; Here, There and Everywhere; Yellow Submarine; She Said, She Said.

Side two: Good Day Sunshine; And Your Bird Can Sing; For No One; Dr. Robert; I Want To Tell You; Got To Get You Into My Life; Tomorrow Never Knows.

A Collection of Beatles Oldies, compilation album released 10 December 1966 by Parlophone (PMC 7016 – mono; PCS 7016 – stereo).

Side one: She Loves You; From Me To You; We Can Work It Out; Help!; Michelle; Yesterday; I Feel Fine; Yellow Submarine.

Side two: Can't Buy Me Love; Bad Boy; Day Tripper; A Hard Day's Night; Ticket To Ride; Paperback Writer; Eleanor Rigby; I Want To Hold Your Hand.

1967

Penny Lane / Strawberry Fields Forever, single released 17 February 1967 by Parlophone (R 5570).

Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, album released 1 June 1967 by Parlophone (PMC 7027 – mono; PCS 7027 – stereo).

Side one: Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band; With A Little Help From My Friends; Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds; Getting Better; Fixing A Hole; She's Leaving Home; Being For The Benefit Of Mr. Kite.

Side two: Within You, Without You; When I'm Sixty Four; Lovely Rita; Good Morning, Good Morning; Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (Reprise); A Day In The Life.

All You Need Is Love / Baby You're A Rich Man, single released 7 July 1967 by Parlophone (R 5620).

Hello Goodbye / I Am The Walrus, single released 24 November 1967 by Parlophone (R 5655).

Magical Mystery Tour, extended play released 8 December 1967 by Parlophone (MMT 1-2 – mono; SMMT 1-2 – stereo).

Side one: Magical Mystery Tour; Your Mother Should Know.

Side two: I Am The Walrus.

Side three: The Fool On The Hill; Flying.

Side four: Blue Jay Way.

1968

Lady Madonna / The Inner Light, single released 15 March 1968 by Parlophone (R 5675).

Hey Jude / Revolution, single released 30 August 1968 by Apple Records (R 5722).

The Beatles, double album released 22 November 1968 by Apple Records (PMC 7067-8 – mono; PCS 7067-8 – stereo).

Side one: Back In The U.S.S.R.; Dear Prudence; Glass Onion; Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da; Wild Honey Pie; The Continuing Story of Bungalow Bill; While My Guitar Gently Weeps; Happiness Is A Warm Gun.

Side two: Martha My Dear; I'm So Tired; Blackbird; Piggies; Rocky Raccoon; Don't Pass Me By; Why Don't We Do It In The Road?; I Will; Julia.

Side three: Birthday; Yer Blues; Mother Nature's Son; Everybody's Got Something To Hide Except Me and My Monkey; Sexy Sadie; Helter Skelter; Long, Long, Long.

Side four: Revolution 1; Honey Pie; Savoy Truffle; Cry Baby Cry; Can You Take Me Back; Revolution 9; Good Night.

1969

Yellow Submarine, soundtrack album released 17 January 1969 by Apple Records (PMC 7070 – mono; PCS 7070 – stereo).

Side one: Yellow Submarine; Only A Northern Song; All Together Now; Hey Bulldog; It's All Too Much; All You Need Is Love.

Side two (Original film music composed by George Martin): Pepperland; Sea of Time & Sea of Holes; Sea of Monsters; March of the Meanies; Pepperland Laid Waste; Yellow Submarine in Pepperland.

Get Back / Don't Let Me Down, single released 11 April 1969 by Apple Records (R 5777).

The Ballad Of John And Yoko / Old Brown Shoe, single released 30 April 1969 by Apple Records (R 5786).

Abbey Road, album released 26 September 1969 by Apple Records (PCS 7088 – stereo)
Side one: Come Together; Something; Maxwell's Silver Hammer; Oh! Darling;
Octopus's Garden; I Want You (She's So Heavy).

Side two: Here Comes The Sun; Because; You Never Give Me Your Money; Sun
King; Mean Mr. Mustard; Polythene Pam; She Came In Through The Bathroom
Window; Golden Slumbers; Carry That Weight; The End; Her Majesty.

Something / Come Together, single released 31 October 1969 by Apple Records (R
5814).

1970

Let It Be / You Know My Name (Look Up The Number), single released 6 March 1970
by Apple Records (R 5833).

Let It Be, album released 8 May 1970 by Apple Records (PXS 1 – stereo, with book);
album released 6 November 1970 by Apple Records (PCS 7096 – stereo, without
book).

Side one: Two Of Us; Dig A Pony; Across The Universe; I Me Mine; Dig It; Let It
Be; Maggie Mae.

Side two: I've Got A Feeling; One After 909; The Long And Winding Road; For You
Blue; Get Back.

1973

The Beatles 1962-1966, compilation album released 19 April 1973 by Parlophone and
Apple Records (PCSP 717).

Side one: Love Me Do; Please Please Me; From Me To You; She Loves You; I Want
To Hold Your Hand; All My Loving; Can't Buy Me Love.

Side two: A Hard Day's Night; And I Love Her; Eight Days A Week; I Feel Fine;
Ticket To Ride; Yesterday.

Side three: James Bond Theme (US LP Only); Help!; You've Got To Hide Your Love
Away; We Can Work It Out; Day Tripper; Drive My Car; Norwegian Wood (This
Bird Has Flown).

Side four: Nowhere Man; Michelle; In My Life; Girl; Paperback Writer; Eleanor
Rigby; Yellow Submarine.

The Beatles 1967-1970, compilation album released 19 April 1973 by Parlophone and
Apple Records (PCSP 718).

Side one: Strawberry Fields Forever; Penny Lane; Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts
Club Band; With A Little Help From My Friends; Lucy In The Sky With
Diamonds; A Day In The Life; All You Need Is Love.

Side two: I Am The Walrus; Hello Goodbye; The Fool On The Hill; Magical Mystery
Tour; Lady Madonna; Hey Jude; Revolution.

Side three: Back In The U.S.S.R.; While My Guitar Gently Weeps; Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da; Get Back; Don't Let Me Down; The Ballad Of John and Yoko; Old Brown Shoe.

Side four: Here Comes The Sun; Come Together; Something; Octopus's Garden; Let It Be; Across The Universe; The Long And Winding Road.

1976

Yesterday / I Should Have Known Better, single released 8 March 1976 by Parlophone (R 6013).

Rock 'n' Roll Music, compilation album released 10 June 1976 by Parlophone (PCSP 719).

Side one: Twist and Shout; I Saw Her Standing There; You Can't Do That; I Wanna Be Your Man; I Call Your Name; Boys; Long Tall Sally.

Side two: Rock and Roll Music; Slow Down; Kansas City/Hey, Hey, Hey, Hey!; Money (That's What I Want); Bad Boy; Matchbox; Roll Over Beethoven.

Side three: Dizzy Miss Lizzy; Any Time At All; Drive My Car; Everybody's Trying To Be My Baby; The Night Before; I'm Down; Revolution.

Side four: Back In the U.S.S.R.; Helter Skelter; Taxman; Got To Get You Into My Life; Hey Bulldog; Birthday; Get Back.

Back In the U.S.S.R. / Twist and Shout, single released 25 June 1976 by Parlophone (R 6016).

Magical Mystery Tour, compilation album released 19 November 1976 by Parlophone (PCTC 255).

Track listing identical to 1967 United States version.

1977

The Beatles at the Hollywood Bowl, live album released 6 May 1977 by Parlophone (EMTV 4).

Side one: Twist and Shout; She's A Woman; Dizzy Miss Lizzy; Ticket To Ride; Can't Buy Me Love; Things We Said Today.

Side two: Roll Over Beethoven; Boys; A Hard Day's Night; Help!; All My Loving; She Loves You; Long Tall Sally.

Love Songs, compilation album released 19 November 1977 by Parlophone (PCSP 721).

Side one: Yesterday; I'll Follow the Sun; I Need You; Girl; In My Life; Words of Love; Here, There and Everywhere.

Side two: Something; And I Love Her; If I Fell; I'll Be Back; Tell Me What You See; Yes It Is.

Side three: Michelle; It's Only Love; You're Going To Lose That Girl; Every Little Thing; For No One; She's Leaving Home.

Side four: The Long and Winding Road; This Boy; Norwegian Wood (This Bird Has Flown); You've Got To Hide Your Love Away; I Will; P.S. I Love You.

1978

Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band / With A Little Help From My Friends / A Day In The Life, single released 30 September 1978 by Parlophone (R 6022).

Rarities (as part of *The Beatles Collection*, Parlophone BC 13), compilation album released 2 December 1978 by Parlophone (PSLP 261).

Side one: Across the Universe; Yes It Is; This Boy; The Inner Light; I'll Get You; Thank You Girl; Komm, Gib Mir Deine Hand; You Know My Name (Look Up the Number); Sie Liebt Dich.

Side two: Rain; She's A Woman; Matchbox; I Call Your Name; Bad Boy; Slow Down; I'm Down; Long Tall Sally.

1979

Hey Jude, compilation album released 11 May 1979 by Parlophone (PCS 7184).

Side one: Can't Buy Me Love; I Should Have Known Better; Paperback Writer; Rain; Lady Madonna; Revolution.

Side two: Hey Jude; Old Brown Shoe; Don't Let Me Down; The Ballad Of John and Yoko.

Rarities, compilation album released 12 October 1979 by Parlophone (PCM 1001).

Track listing identical to *The Beatles Collection* version.

1980

The Beatles' Ballads - 20 Original Tracks, compilation album released 13 October 1980 by Parlophone (PCS 7214).

Side one: Yesterday; Norwegian Wood (This Bird Has Flown); Do You Want To Know A Secret?; For No One; Michelle; Nowhere Man; You've Got To Hide Your Love Away; Across the Universe; All My Loving; Hey Jude.

Side two: Something; The Fool On the Hill; Till There Was You; The Long and Winding Road; Here Comes The Sun; Blackbird; And I Love Her; She's Leaving Home; Here, There and Everywhere; Let It Be.

1982

Reel Music, compilation album released 29 March 1982 by Parlophone (PCS 7218).

Side one: A Hard Day's Night; I Should Have Known Better; Can't Buy Me Love; And I Love Her; Help!; You've Got to Hide Your Love Away; Ticket To Ride.

Side two: Magical Mystery Tour; I Am The Walrus; Yellow Submarine; All You Need Is Love; Let It Be; Get Back; The Long and Winding Road.

20 Greatest Hits, compilation album released 18 October 1982 by Parlophone (PCTC 260).

Side one: Love Me Do; From Me To You; She Loves You; I Want To Hold Your Hand; Can't Buy Me Love; A Hard Day's Night; I Feel Fine; Ticket to Ride; Help!; Day Tripper.

Side two: We Can Work It Out; Paperback Writer; Yellow Submarine; Eleanor Rigby; All You Need Is Love; Hello, Goodbye; Lady Madonna; Hey Jude; Get Back; The Ballad of John and Yoko.

1987

Beginning in 1987, all releases were on compact disc, except where noted otherwise.

Please Please Me, album re-released 23 February 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46435 2 – mono).

With the Beatles, album re-released 23 February 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46436 2 – mono).

A Hard Day's Night, album re-released 23 February 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46437 2 – mono).

Beatles For Sale, album re-released 23 February 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46438 2 – mono).

Help!, album re-released 27 April 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46439 2).

Rubber Soul, album re-released 27 April 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46440 2).

Revolver, album re-released 27 April 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46441 2).

Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, album re-released 1 June 1967 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46442 2).

Yellow Submarine, soundtrack album re-released 24 August 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 46445 2).

Magical Mystery Tour, compilation album re-released 21 September 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 48062 2).

Abbey Road, album re-released 19 October 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46446 2).

Let It Be, album re-released 19 October 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46447 2).

The Beatles, album re-released 23 November 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46443-4 2).

1988

Past Masters Volume One, compilation album released 7 March 1988 by Parlophone (CDP 7 90043 2).

Track listing: Love Me Do; From Me To You; Thank You Girl; She Loves You; I'll Get You; I Want To Hold Your Hand; This Boy; Komm, Gib Mir Deine Hand; Sie Liebt Dich; Long Tall Sally; I Call Your Name; Slow Down; Matchbox; I Feel Fine; She's A Woman; Bad Boy; Yes It Is; I'm Down.

Past Masters Volume Two, compilation album released 7 March 1988 by Parlophone (CDP 7 90044 2).

Track listing: Day Tripper; We Can Work It Out; Paperback Writer; Rain; Lady Madonna; The Inner Light; Hey Jude; Revolution; Get Back; Don't Let Me Down; The Ballad Of John And Yoko; Old Brown Shoe; Across The Universe; Let It Be; You Know My Name (Look Up The Number).

1994

Live at the BBC, live compilation album released 30 November 1994 by Apple Records and Parlophone (CDSP 726).

Disc one: Beatle Greetings (Speech); From Us to You; Riding on a Bus (Speech); I Got a Woman; Too Much Monkey Business; Keep Your Hands off my Baby; I'll Be On My Way; Young Blood; A Shot of Rhythm and Blues; Sure to Fall (In Love with You); Some Other Guy; Thank You Girl; Sha la la la! (Speech); Baby It's You; That's all Right (Mama); Carol; Soldier of Love; A Little Rhyme; Clarabella; I'm Gonna Sit Right Down and Cry (Over You); Crying, Waiting, Hoping; Dear Wack!; You Really Got a Hold on Me; To Know Her is to Love Her; A Taste of Honey; Long Tall Sally; I Saw Her Standing There; The Honeymoon Song; Johnny B Goode; Memphis, Tennessee; Lucille; Can't Buy Me Love; From Fluff to You" (Speech); Till There was You.

Disc two: Crink Dee Night (Speech); A Hard Day's Night; Have a Banana! (Speech); I Wanna Be Your Man; Just a Rumour (Speech); Roll Over Beethoven; All My Loving; Things We Said Today; She's a Woman; Sweet Little Sixteen; 1822! (Speech); Lonesome Tears In my Eyes; Nothin' Shakin'; The Hippy Hippy Shake; Glad All Over; I Just Don't Understand; Top So How Come (No One Loves Me); I Feel Fine; I'm a Loser; Everybody's Trying to be my Baby; Rock and Roll Music; Ticket to Ride; Dizzy Miss Lizzy; Medley: Kansas City/Hey! Hey! Hey! Hey!; Set Fire to That Lot! (Speech); Matchbox; I Forgot to Remember to Forget; Love These Goon Shows! (Speech); I Got to Find my Baby; Ooh! My Soul; Ooh! My Arms (Speech); Don't Ever Change; Slow Down; Honey Don't; Love Me Do.

1995

Baby It's You, extended play released 20 March 1995 by Apple Records and Parlophone.
7" vinyl (R 6406 / 7243 8 82073 7 9): Baby It's You; I'll Follow The Sun / Devil In Her Heart; Boys.

CD (CDR 6406 / 7243 8 82073 2 4): Baby It's You; I'll Follow The Sun; Devil In Her Heart; Boys.

The Beatles Anthology 1, compilation album released 20 November 1995 by Apple Records and Parlophone.

Disc one: Free as a Bird; Speech: John Lennon; That'll Be the Day; In Spite of All the Danger; Speech: Paul McCartney; Hallelujah, I Love Her So; You'll Be Mine; Cayenne; Speech: Paul; My Bonnie; Ain't She Sweet; Cry for a Shadow; Speech: John; Speech: Brian Epstein; Searchin'; Three Cool Cats; The Sheik of Araby; Like Dreamers Do; Hello Little Girl; Speech: Brian Epstein; Besame Mucho; Love Me Do; How Do You Do It; Please Please Me; One After 909 (False Starts); One After 909; Lend Me Your Comb; I'll Get You; Speech: John; I Saw Her Standing There; From Me to You; Money (That's What I Want); You Really Got a Hold on Me; Roll over Beethoven.

Disc two: She Loves You; Till There Was You; Twist and Shout; This Boy; I Want to Hold Your Hand; Speech: Eric Morecambe and Ernie Wise; Moonlight Bay; Can't Buy Me Love; All My Loving; You Can't Do That; And I Love Her; A Hard Day's Night; I Wanna Be Your Man; Long Tall Sally; Boys; Shout; I'll Be Back (Demo); I'll Be Back (Complete); You Know What to Do; No Reply (Demo); Mr. Moonlight; Leave My Kitten Alone; No Reply; Eight Days a Week (False Starts); Eight Days a Week; Kansas City/Hey-Hey-Hey-Hey!.

Free As A Bird, single released 4 December 1995 by Apple Records and Parlophone.

7" vinyl (R 6422): Free As A Bird / Christmas Time (Is Here Again).

CD (CDR 6422 / 7243 8 82587 2): Free As A Bird; I Saw Her Standing There (take 9); This Boy (takes 12 and 13); Christmas Time (Is Here Again).

1996

Real Love, single released 4 March 1996 by Apple Records and Parlophone.

7" vinyl (R 6425): Real Love / Baby's In Black (live).

CD (CDR 6425): Real Love; Baby's In Black (live); Yellow Submarine; Here, There and Everywhere.

The Beatles Anthology 2, compilation album released 18 March 1996 by Apple Records and Parlophone.

Disc one: Real Love; Yes It Is; I'm Down; You've Got To Hide Your Love Away; If You've Got Trouble; That Means A Lot; Yesterday; It's Only Love; I Feel Fine; Ticket To Ride; Yesterday; Help!; Everybody's Trying To Be My Baby; Norwegian Wood (This Bird Has Flown); I'm Looking Through You; 12-Bar Original; Tomorrow Never Knows; Got To Get You Into My Life; And Your Bird

Can Sing; Taxman; Eleanor Rigby (Strings Only); I'm Only Sleeping (Rehearsal); I'm Only Sleeping (Take 1); Rock and Roll Music; She's A Woman.

Disc two: Strawberry Fields Forever (Demo Sequence); Strawberry Fields Forever (Take 1); Strawberry Fields Forever (Take 7 & Edit Piece); Penny Lane; A Day In the Life; Good Morning Good Morning; Only A Northern Song; Being For the Benefit of Mr. Kite! (Takes 1 And 2); Being For the Benefit of Mr. Kite! (Take 7); Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds; Within You Without You (Instrumental); Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (Reprise); You Know My Name (Look Up The Number); I Am The Walrus; The Fool On The Hill (Demo); Your Mother Should Know; The Fool On The Gill (Take 4); Hello, Goodbye; Lady Madonna; Across the Universe.

The Beatles Anthology 3, compilation album released 28 October 1996 by Apple Records and Parlophone.

Disc one: A Beginning; Happiness Is A Warm Gun; Helter Skelter; Mean Mr. Mustard; Polythene Pam; Glass Onion; Junk; Piggies; Honey Pie; Don't Pass Me By; Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da; Good Night; Cry Baby Cry; Blackbird; Sexy Sadie; While My Guitar Gently Weeps; Hey Jude; Not Guilty; Mother Nature's Son; Glass Onion; Rocky Raccoon; What's The New Mary Jane; Step Inside Love/Los Paranoias; I'm So Tired; I Will; Why Don't We Do It In The Road; Julia.

Disc two: I've Got A Feeling; She Came In Through The Bathroom Window; Dig A Pony; Two Of Us; For You Blue; Teddy Boy; Medley: Rip It Up/Shake, Rattle And Roll/Blue Suede Shoes; The Long And Winding Road; Oh! Darling; All Things Must Pass; Mailman, Bring Me No More Blues; Get Back; Old Brown Shoe; Octopus's Garden; Maxwell's Silver Hammer; Something; Come Together; Come And Get It; Ain't She Sweet; Because; Let It Be; I Me Mine; The End.

1999

Yellow Submarine Songtrack, soundtrack album released 13 September 1999 by Apple Records and Parlophone.

Track listing: Yellow Submarine; Hey Bulldog; Eleanor Rigby; Love You To; All Together Now; Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds; Think For Yourself; Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band; With A Little Help From My Friends; Baby You're A Rich Man; Only A Northern Song; All You Need Is Love; When I'm Sixty Four; Nowhere Man; It's All Too Much.

2000

The Beatles 1, singles compilation album released 13 November 2000 by Apple Records and Parlophone.

Track listing: Love Me Do; From Me To You; She Loves You; I Want To Hold Your Hand; Can't Buy Me Love; A Hard Day's Night; I Feel Fine; Eight Days A Week; Ticket To Ride; Help!; Yesterday; Day Tripper; We Can Work It Out; Paperback Writer; Yellow Submarine; Eleanor Rigby; Penny Lane; All You Need Is Love;

Hello, Goodbye; Lady Madonna; Hey Jude; Get Back; The Ballad of John and Yoko; Something; Come Together; Let It Be; The Long And Winding Road.

2003

Let It Be... Naked, album released 17 November 2003 by Apple Records and Parlophone.

Disc one – *Let It Be... Naked*: Get Back; Dig A Pony; For You Blue; The Long And Winding Road; Two Of Us; I've Got A Feeling; One After 909; Don't Let Me Down; I Me Mine; Across The Universe; Let It Be.

Disc two – *Fly On The Wall*: Fly On The Wall.

2006

Love, soundtrack album released 20 November 2006 by Apple Records and Parlophone.

Track listing: Because; Get Back; Glass Onion; Eleanor Rigby, Julia (transition); I Am The Walrus; I Want To Hold Your Hand; Drive My Car / The Word / What You're Doing; Gnik Nus; Something, Blue Jay Way (transition); Being For The Benefit Of Mr. Kite / I Want You (She's So Heavy) / Helter Skelter; Help!; Blackbird / Yesterday; Strawberry Fields Forever; Within You Without You / Tomorrow Never Knows; Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds; Octopus's Garden; Lady Madonna; Here Comes The Sun, The Inner Light (transition); Come Together / Dear Prudence, Cry Baby Cry (transition); Revolution; Back In The U.S.S.R.; While My Guitar Gently Weeps; A Day In The Life; Hey Jude; Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (reprise); All You Need Is Love.

Official singles and albums released in Canada by Capitol Records before synchronous releases with the United States.

1963

Love Me Do / P.S. I Love You, single released 18 February 1963 by Capitol Records (72076).

Please Please Me / Ask Me Why, single released 9 April 1963 by Capitol Records (72090).

From Me To You / Thank You Girl, single released 18 June 1963 by Capitol Records (72101).

She Loves You / I'll Get You, single released 16 September 1963 by Capitol Records (72125).

Beatlemania! With The Beatles, album released 25 November 1963 by Capitol Records (T 6051 – mono).

Side one: It Won't Be Long; All I've Got To Do; All My Loving; Don't Bother Me; Little Child; Till There Was You; Please Mr. Postman.

Side two: Roll Over Beethoven; Hold Me Tight; You Really Got A Hold On Me; I Wanna Be Your Man; Devil In Her Heart; Not A Second Time; Money.

Roll Over Beethoven / Please Mister Postman, single released 9 December 1963 by Capitol Records (72133).

1964

I Want To Hold Your Hand / I Saw Her Standing There, single released 13 January 1964 by Capitol Records (5112).

Twist and Shout, album released 3 February 1964 by Capitol Records (T 6054 – mono).

Side one: Anna (Go To Him); Chains; Boys; Ask Me Why; Please Please Me; Love Me Do; From Me To You.

Side two: P.S. I Love You; Baby It's You; Do You Want To Know A Secret; A Taste of Honey; There's A Place; Twist and Shout; She Loves You.

All My Loving / This Boy, single released 17 February 1964 by Capitol Records (72144).

Twist And Shout / There's A Place, single released 16 March 1964 by Capitol Records (72146).

Do You Want To Know A Secret / Thank You Girl, single released 20 April 1964 by Capitol Records (72159).

The Beatles' Long Tall Sally, album released 11 May 1964 by Capitol Records (T 6063 – mono).

Side one: I Want To Hold Your Hand; I Saw Her Standing There; You Really Got A Hold On Me; Devil In Her Heart; Roll Over Beethoven; Misery.

Side two: Long Tall Sally; I Call Your Name; Please Mister Postman; This Boy; I'll Get You; You Can't Do That

Sie Liebt Dich / I'll Get You, single released 15 June 1964 by Capitol Records (72162).

Official singles and albums released in the United States by Capitol Records.

1963

I Want To Hold Your Hand / I Saw Her Standing There, single released 26 December 1963 by Capitol Records (5112).

1964

Meet The Beatles, album released 20 January 1964 by Capitol Records (T 2047 – mono; ST 2047 – stereo).

Side one: I Want To Hold Your Hand; I Saw Her Standing There; This Boy; It Won't Be Long; All I've Got To Do; All My Loving.

Side two: Don't Bother Me; Little Child; Till There Was You; Hold Me Tight; I Wanna Be Your Man; Not A Second Time.

Can't Buy Me Love / You Can't Do That, single released 16 March 1964 by Capitol Records (5150).

The Beatles' Second Album, album released 10 April 1964 by Capitol Records (T 2080 – mono; ST 2080 – stereo).

Side one: Roll Over Beethoven; Thank You Girl; You Really Got A Hold On Me; Devil In Her Heart; Money; You Can't Do That.

Side two: Long Tall Sally; I Call Your Name; Please Mr. Postman; I'll Get You; She Loves You.

Four by the Beatles, extended play released 11 May 1964 by Capitol Records (EAP 1-2121).

Side one: Roll Over Beethoven; All My Loving.

Side two: This Boy; Please Mr. Postman.

A Hard Day's Night, soundtrack album released 26 June 1964 by United Artists (UAL 3366 – mono; UAS 6366 – stereo).

Side one: A Hard Day's Night; Tell Me Why; I'll Cry Instead; I Should Have Known Better (Instrumental); I'm Happy Just To Dance With You; And I Love Her (Instrumental).

Side two: I Should Have Known Better; If I Fell; And I Love Her; Ringo's Theme - This Boy (Instrumental); Can't Buy Me Love; A Hard Day's Night (Instrumental).

A Hard Day's Night / I Should Have Known Better, single released 13 July 1964 by Capitol Records (5222).

I'll Cry Instead / I'm Happy Just To Dance With You, single released 20 July 1964 by Capitol Records (5234).

And I Love Her / If I Fell, single released 20 July 1964 by Capitol Records (5235).

Something New, album released 20 July 1964 by Capitol Records (T 2108 – mono; ST 2108 – stereo).

Side one: I'll Cry Instead; Things We Said Today; Any Time At All; When I Get Home; Slow Down; Matchbox.

Side two: Tell Me Why; And I Love Her; I'm Happy Just To Dance With You; If I Fell; Komm, Gib Mir Deine Hand.

Matchbox / Slow Down, single released 24 August 1964 by Capitol Records (5255).

I Feel Fine / She's A Woman, single released 23 November 1964 by Capitol Records (5327).

The Beatles Story, interview album released 23 November 1964 by Capitol (TBO 2222 – mono; STBO 2222 – stereo).

Side one: I Want To Hold Your Hand (first two verses); Slow Down (first verse); This Boy (first opening notes).

Side two: You Can't Do That (first two verses); If I Fell (first verse); And I Love Her (a few notes of middle-eight).

Side three: A Hard Days Night (edited: opening, second verse, middle-eight, end); And I Love Her (first verse).

Side four: Twist And Shout - Live at the Hollywood Bowl (middle eight, one verse); Things We Said Today (first verse); I'm Happy Just To Dance With You (middle verse); Little Child (first two verses, middle-eight); Long Tall Sally (last verse); She Loves You (ending); Boys (first two verses).

Beatles '65, album released 15 December 1964 by Capitol Records (T 2228 – mono; ST 2228 – stereo).

Side one: No Reply; I'm A Loser; Baby's In Black; Rock And Roll Music; I'll Follow The Sun; Mr. Moonlight.

Side two: Honey Don't; I'll Be Back; She's A Woman; I Feel Fine; Everybody's Trying To Be My Baby.

1965

4 by The Beatles, extended play released 1 February 1965 by Capitol Records (R 5365)

Side one: Honey Don't; I'm A Loser.

Side two: Mr. Moonlight; Everybody's Trying To Be My Baby.

Eight Days A Week / I Don't Want To Spoil The Party, single released 15 February 1965 by Capitol Records (5371).

The Early Beatles, compilation album released 22 March 1965 by Capitol Records (T 2309 – mono; ST 2309 – stereo).

Side one: Love Me Do; Twist And Shout; Anna (Go To Him); Chains; Boys; Ask Me Why.

Side two: Please Please Me; P.S. I Love You; Baby, It's You; A Taste Of Honey; Do You Want To Know A Secret.

Ticket To Ride / Yes It Is, single released 19 April 1965 by Capitol Records (5407).

Beatles VI, album released 14 June 1965 by Capitol Records (T 2358 – mono; ST 2358 – stereo).

Side one: Kansas City/Hey Hey Hey Hey; Eight Days A Week; You Like Me Too Much; Bad Boy; I Don't Want To Spoil The Party; Words Of Love.

Side two: What You're Doing; Yes It Is; Dizzy Miss Lizzy; Tell Me What You See; Every Little Thing.

Help! / I'm Down, single released 19 July 1965 by Capitol Records (5476).

Help! Original Motion Picture Soundtrack, soundtrack album released 13 August 1965 by Capitol Records (MAS 2386 – mono; SMAS 2386 – stereo).

Side one: James Bond Theme (Instrumental); Help!; The Night Before; From Me To You Fantasy (Instrumental); You've Got To Hide Your Love Away; I Need You; In The Tyrol (Instrumental).

Side two: Another Girl; Another Hard Day's Night (Instrumental); Ticket To Ride; The Bitter End/You Can't Do That (Instrumental); You're Gonna Lose That Girl; The Chase (Instrumental).

Yesterday / Act Naturally, single released 13 September 1965 by Capitol Records (5498).

We Can Work It Out / Day Tripper, single released 6 December 1965 by Capitol Records (5555).

Rubber Soul, album released 6 December 1965 by Capitol (T 2442 – mono; ST 2442 – stereo).

Side one: I've Just Seen A Face; Norwegian Wood (This Bird Has Flown); You Won't See Me; Think For Yourself; The Word; Michelle.

Side two: It's Only Love; Girl; I'm Looking Through You; In My Life; Wait; Run For Your Life.

1966

Nowhere Man / What Goes On, single released 21 February 1966 by Capitol Records (5587).

Paperback Writer / Rain, single released 30 May 1966 by Capitol Records (5651).

Yesterday... And Today, compilation album released 15 June 1966 (butcher cover) by Capitol Records (T 2553 – mono; ST 2553 – stereo); compilation album released 20 June 1966 (steamer trunk cover) by Capitol Records.

Side one: Drive My Car; I'm Only Sleeping; Nowhere Man; Dr. Robert; Yesterday; Act Naturally.

Side two: And Your Bird Can Sing; If I Needed Someone; We Can Work It Out; What Goes On?; Day Tripper.

Yellow Submarine / Eleanor Rigby, single released 8 August 1966 by Capitol Records (5715).

Revolver, album released 8 August 1966 by Capitol Records (T 2576 – mono; ST 2576 – stereo).

Side one: Taxman; Eleanor Rigby; Love You To; Here, There and Everywhere; Yellow Submarine; She Said, She Said.

Side two: Good Day Sunshine; For No One; I Want To Tell You; Got To Get You Into My Life; Tomorrow Never Knows.

1967

Penny Lane / Strawberry Fields Forever, single released 13 February 1967 by Capitol Records (5810).

Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, album released 2 June 1967 by Capitol Records (MAS 2653 – mono; SMAS 2653 – stereo).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

All You Need Is Love / Baby You're A Rich Man, single released 17 July 1967 by Capitol Records (5964).

Hello Goodbye / I Am The Walrus, single released 27 November 1967 by Capitol Records (2056).

Magical Mystery Tour, compilation album released 27 November 1967 by Capitol Records (MAL 2835 – mono; SMAL 2835 – stereo).

Side one: Magical Mystery Tour; The Fool On The Hill; Flying; Blue Jay Way; Your Mother Should Know; I Am The Walrus.

Side two: Hello, Goodbye; Strawberry Fields Forever; Penny Lane; Baby, You're A Rich Man; All You Need Is Love.

1968

Lady Madonna / The Inner Light, single released 18 March 1968 by Capitol Records (2138).

Hey Jude / Revolution, single released 26 August 1968 by Apple and Capitol Records (2276).

The Beatles, double album released 25 November 1968 by Apple and Capitol Records (SWBO 101).
Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

1969

Yellow Submarine, soundtrack album released by Apple and Capitol Records (SW 153).
Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

Get Back / Don't Let Me Down, single released 5 May 1969 by Apple and Capitol Records (2490).

The Ballad Of John And Yoko / Old Brown Shoe, single released 4 June 1969 by Apple and Capitol Records (2531).

Abbey Road, album released 1 October 1969 by Apple and Capitol Records (SO 383).
Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

Something / Come Together, single released 6 October 1969 by Apple and Capitol Records (2654).

1970

The Beatles Again, compilation album released 23 February 1970 by Apple and Capitol Records (SO 385).
Side one: Can't Buy Me Love; I Should Have Known Better; Paperback Writer; Rain; Lady Madonna; Revolution.
Side two: Hey Jude; Old Brown Shoe; Don't Let Me Down; The Ballad Of John and Yoko.

Hey Jude, compilation album released 23 February 1970 by Apple and Capitol Records (SW 385).
Track listing identical to *The Beatles Again*.

Let It Be / You Know My Name (Look Up The Number), single released 11 March 1970 by Apple and Capitol Records (2764).

Let It Be, album released 18 May 1970 by Apple and Capitol Records (AR 34001).
Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

The Long and Winding Road / For You Blue, single released 11 May 1970 by Apple and Capitol Records (2832).

1973

The Beatles 1962-1966, compilation album released 2 April 1973 by Capitol and Apple Records (SKBO 3403).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

The Beatles 1967-1970, compilation album released 2 April 1970 by Capitol and Apple Records (SKBO 3404).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

1976

Rock 'n' Roll Music, compilation album released 7 June 1976 by Capitol Records (SKBO 11537).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

1977

The Beatles at the Hollywood Bowl, live album released 4 May 1977 by Capitol Records (SMAS 11638).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

Love Songs, compilation album released 21 October 1977 by Capitol Records (SKBL 11711).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

1980

Rarities, compilation album released 24 March 1980 by Capitol Records (HAL 12060 – mono; SHAL 12060 – stereo).

Side one: Love Me Do; Misery; There's A Place; Sie Liebt Dich; And I Love Her; Help!; I'm Only Sleeping; I Am the Walrus.

Side two: Penny Lane; Helter Skelter; Don't Pass Me By; The Inner Light; Across the Universe; You Know My Name (Look Up The Number).

1982

Reel Music, compilation album released 22 March 1982 by Capitol Records (SV 12199).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

20 Greatest Hits, compilation album released 11 October 1982 by Capitol Records (SV 12245).

Side one: She Loves You; Love Me Do; I Want To Hold Your Hand; Can't Buy Me Love; A Hard Day's Night; I Feel Fine; Eight Days a Week; Ticket to Ride; Help!; Yesterday; We Can Work It Out; Paperback Writer.
Side two: Penny Lane; All You Need Is Love; Hello, Goodbye; Hey Jude; Get Back; Come Together; Let It Be; The Long and Winding Road.

1987

Beginning in 1987, all releases were on compact disc, except where noted otherwise.

Please Please Me, album re-released 24 February 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46435 2 – mono).

With the Beatles, album re-released 24 February 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46436 2 – mono).

A Hard Day's Night, album re-released 24 February 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46437 2 – mono).

Beatles For Sale, album re-released 24 February 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46438 2 – mono).

Help!, album re-released 28 April 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46439 2).

Rubber Soul, album re-released 28 April 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46440 2).

Revolver, album re-released 28 April 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46441 2).

Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, album re-released 1 June 1967 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46442 2).

Yellow Submarine, soundtrack album re-released 25 August 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 46445 2).

Magical Mystery Tour, compilation album re-released 22 September 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 48062 2).

Abbey Road, album re-released 20 October 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46446 2).

Let It Be, album re-released 20 October 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46447 2).

The Beatles, album re-released 24 November 1987 by Parlophone (CDP 7 46443-4 2).

1988

Past Masters Volume One, compilation album released 8 March 1988 by Parlophone (CDP 7 90043 2).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

Past Masters Volume Two, compilation album released 8 March 1988 by Parlophone (CDP 7 90044 2).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

1994

Live at the BBC, live compilation album released 6 December 1994 by Apple and Capitol Records (CDP 7243 8 31796 2 6).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

1995

Baby It's You, extended play released 23 March 1995 by Apple and Capitol Records (C2 7243 8 58349 2 9).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

The Beatles Anthology 1, compilation album released 21 November 1995 by Apple and Capitol Records (CDP 7243 8 34445 2 6).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

Free As A Bird, single released 12 December 1995 by Apple and Capitol Records (C2 7243 8 58497 2 5).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom CD version.

1996

Real Love, single released 5 March 1995 by Apple and Capitol Records (C2 7243 8 58544 2 2).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom CD version.

The Beatles Anthology 2, compilation album released 19 March 1996 by Apple and Capitol Records (CDP 7243 8 34448 2 3).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

The Beatles Anthology 3, compilation album released 29 October 1996 by Apple and Capitol Records (CDP 7243 8 34451 2 7).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

1999

Yellow Submarine Songtrack, soundtrack album released 14 September 1999 by Apple and Capitol Records (CDP 7243 5 21481 2 7).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

2000

The Beatles 1, singles compilation album released 14 November 2000 by Apple and Capitol Records (CDP 7243 5 29325 2 8).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

2003

Let It Be... Naked, album released 18 November 2003 by Apple and Capitol Records (CDP 7243 5 95713 2 4).

Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

2004

The First U.S. Visit, documentary film released 3 February 2004 by Apple and Capitol Records (C9 7243 5 99349 9 0).

The Capitol Albums Volume 1, compilation box set released 16 November 2004 by Capitol Records (CDP 7243 8 66878 2 1).

Disc one – *Meet The Beatles!* (CDP 7243 8 66875 2 4)

Stereo: I Want To Hold Your Hand; I Saw Her Standing There; This Boy; It Won't Be Long; All I've Got To Do; All My Loving; Don't Bother Me; Little Child; Till There Was You; Hold Me Tight; I Wanna Be Your Man; Not A Second Time;

Mono: I Want To Hold Your Hand; I Saw Her Standing There; This Boy; It Won't Be Long; All I've Got To Do; All My Loving; Don't Bother Me; Little Child; Till There Was You; Hold Me Tight; I Wanna Be Your Man; Not A Second Time.

Disc two – *The Beatles' Second Album* (CDP 7243 8 66877 2 2)

Stereo: Roll Over Beethoven; Thank You Girl; You Really Got A Hold On Me; Devil In Her Heart; Money; You Can't Do That; Long Tall Sally; I Call Your Name; Please Mr. Postman; I'll Get You; She Loves You;

Mono: Roll Over Beethoven; Thank You Girl; You Really Got A Hold On Me; Devil In Her Heart; Money; You Can't Do That; Long Tall Sally; I Call Your Name; Please Mr. Postman; I'll Get You; She Loves You.

Disc three – *Something New* (CDP 7243 8 66876 2 3)

Stereo: I'll Cry Instead; Things We Said Today; Any Time At All; When I Get Home; Slow Down; Matchbox; Tell Me Why; And I Love Her; I'm Happy Just To Dance With You; If I Fell; Komm, Gib Mir Deine Hand;

Mono: I'll Cry Instead; Things We Said Today; Any Time At All; When I Get

Home; Slow Down; Matchbox; Tell Me Why; And I Love Her; I'm Happy Just To Dance With You; If I Fell; Komm, Gib Mir Deine Hand.

Disc four – *Beatles '65* (CDP 7243 8 66874 2 5)

Stereo: No Reply; I'm A Loser; Baby's In Black; Rock And Roll Music; I'll Follow The Sun; Mr. Moonlight; Honey Don't; I'll Be Back; She's A Woman; I Feel Fine; Everybody's Trying To Be My Baby;

Mono: No Reply; I'm A Loser; Baby's In Black; Rock And Roll Music; I'll Follow The Sun; Mr. Moonlight; Honey Don't; I'll Be Back; She's A Woman; I Feel Fine; Everybody's Trying To Be My Baby.

2006

The Capitol Albums Volume 2, compilation box set released 11 April 2006 by Capitol Records (CDP 0946 3 57497 2 4).

Disc one – *The Early Beatles* (CDP 0946 3 57498 2 3)

Stereo: Love Me Do; Twist And Shout; Anna (Go To Him); Chains; Boys; Ask Me Why; Please Please Me; P.S. I Love You; Baby, It's You; A Taste Of Honey; Do You Want To Know A Secret;

Mono: Love Me Do; Twist And Shout; Anna (Go To Him); Chains; Boys; Ask Me Why; Please Please Me; P.S. I Love You; Baby, It's You; A Taste Of Honey; Do You Want To Know A Secret.

Disc two – *Beatles VI* (CDP 0946 3 57499 2 2)

Stereo: Kansas City/Hey Hey Hey Hey; Eight Days A Week; You Like Me Too Much; Bad Boy; I Don't Want To Spoil The Party; Words Of Love; What You're Doing; Yes It Is; Dizzy Miss Lizzy; Tell Me What You See; Every Little Thing;
Mono: Kansas City/Hey Hey Hey Hey; Eight Days A Week; You Like Me Too Much; Bad Boy; I Don't Want To Spoil The Party; Words Of Love; What You're Doing; Yes It Is; Dizzy Miss Lizzy; Tell Me What You See; Every Little Thing.

Disc three – *Help! Original Motion Picture Soundtrack* (CDP 0946 3 57500 2 7)

Stereo: James Bond Theme (Instrumental); Help!; The Night Before; From Me To You Fantasy (Instrumental); You've Got To Hide Your Love Away; I Need You; In The Tyrol (Instrumental); Another Girl; Another Hard Day's Night (Instrumental); Ticket To Ride; The Bitter End/You Can't Do That (Instrumental); You're Gonna Lose That Girl; The Chase (Instrumental);

Mono: James Bond Theme (Instrumental); Help!; The Night Before; From Me To You Fantasy (Instrumental); You've Got To Hide Your Love Away; I Need You; In The Tyrol (Instrumental); Another Girl; Another Hard Day's Night (Instrumental); Ticket To Ride; The Bitter End/You Can't Do That (Instrumental); You're Gonna Lose That Girl; The Chase (Instrumental).

Disc four – *Rubber Soul* (CDP 0946 3 57501 2 6)

Stereo: I've Just Seen A Face; Norwegian Wood (This Bird Has Flown); You Won't See Me; Think For Yourself; The Word; Michelle; It's Only Love; Girl; I'm Looking Through You; In My Life; Wait; Run For Your Life;

Mono: I've Just Seen A Face; Norwegian Wood (This Bird Has Flown); You

Won't See Me; Think For Yourself; The Word; Michelle; It's Only Love; Girl; I'm Looking Through You; In My Life; Wait; Run For Your Life.

Love, soundtrack album released 21 November 2006 by Apple and Capitol Records.
Track listing identical to United Kingdom version.

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