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Psychedelic Music in San Francisco: Style, Context, and Evolution

Craig Morrison

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Humanities

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at

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ABSTRACT

Psychedelic Music in San Francisco: Style, Context, and Evolution

Craig Morrison, Ph.D
Concordia University, 2000

Psychedelic rock began in 1965 and was popular until around 1970. Its most important centres were San Francisco, the city of its origin, and London. One of its chief features was the attempt to translate into musical terms the effects of hallucinogenic drugs, especially LSD, which had become available in artistic circles in the early 1960s and was legal until 1966. San Francisco psychedelic music took its ideology from the folk music revival of the 1950s, which many of its most important practitioners had participated in, including Jerry Garcia of the Grateful Dead, Janis Joplin of Big Brother and the Holding Company, and members of the Jefferson Airplane. The catalyst for the folk revival musicians to adopt the rock band format was the British Invasion, which began in 1964 with the arrival in America of the Beatles.

Psychedelic music is examined in relation to an original, seven-stage model of style evolution that is developed in the thesis. It looks beyond the heyday of the music, tracing the legacy of its decline and eventual revival in the present. The thesis offers detailed musical analyses that identify key structures, or matrices, in the evolution of the style. Much of the contextual evidence derives from original field work involving interviews with musicians and industry representatives who were part of the San Francisco scene.

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My wife Marie-France Nolet supported the project in every way and discussed every aspect of its production. It is dedicated to her.

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Introduction

Background

Psychedelic rock began in 1965 and was popular until around 1970. Its most important centres were San Francisco, the city of its origin, and London. One of its chief features was the attempt to translate into musical terms the effects of hallucinogenic drugs, especially LSD, which had become available in artistic circles in the early 1960s and was legal until 1966. San Francisco psychedelic music took its ideology from the folk music revival of the 1950s, which many of its most important practitioners had participated in, including Jerry Garcia of the Grateful Dead, Janis Joplin of Big Brother and the Holding Company, and members of the Jefferson Airplane. The catalyst for the folk revival musicians to adopt the rock band format was the British Invasion, which began in 1964 with the arrival in America of the Beatles. San Francisco psychedelic music is distinct for its folk revival roots, its emphasis on improvisation, and, at least in its early days, a naïve approach that was nonetheless innovative.

The general subject of the thesis is innovation and change in popular music. The specific topic is how they apply to the history of psychedelic music within the community that originated it. Although there are many popular versions of the story of San Francisco psychedelic music and several members of its colorful cast of characters are legendary, the purpose of this study is not to repeat the personality profiles or anecdotes that can be readily found elsewhere (see Selvin or Hoskyns, for example). Instead, the focus is on the process, the results, and

the contributing factors affecting musicians' decisions to combine influences into a new synthesis or commence a different musical direction. The thesis differs from previous studies in its approach and interpretation. First, it analyzes psychedelic music in relation to an original, seven-stage model of style evolution that is developed in the thesis. Second, it adopts a longer time frame than most studies of the topic by looking beyond the heyday of psychedelic music in the 1960s and tracing the subsequent legacy of its decline and eventual revival in the present.[1] Third, the thesis offers detailed musical analyses of psychedelic music that identify key structures, or matrices, in the evolution of the style. Finally, much of the contextual evidence for the thesis derives from original field work involving interviews with musicians and industry representatives who were part of the San Francisco scene in the late 1960s.[2]

The intensely creative music of the 1960s was a product of a unique climate of social and cultural upheaval. In The Sixties Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America (1991), Edward P. Morgan focussed on several of the decade's social and political movements. The struggle for racial justice—"the call to heal one of America's deepest wounds"—was played out in the civil rights movement, "the formative catalyst for sustained activism throughout the rest of the decade."[3] Student protest on an unprecedented scale, motivated by the "critique of the

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[1] Many accounts, such as Selvin's and Hoskyns', close around 1970.
[2] A list of interviewees follows the bibliography. My training in interviewing comes from graduate studies in ethnomusicology, a discipline that stresses the need for the researcher, "in order to work effectively, to collect his raw material himself, and to observe it in its 'live' state. Again, probably no one would deny the importance of field work" [Nettl: 9]. Folklorist Jan Howard Brunvand wrote: "the collector must be able to identify and locate good informants, to put them at their ease, and to encourage them to perform for him naturally and without inhibitions... Successful fieldwork, as ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl has remarked, sometimes resembles 'a combination of public relations and mental therapy" [Brunvand: 257].

programmed society,"[4] was expressed by leftist student politics, and the divisiveness of the war in Vietnam was played out in the largest antiwar movement ever seen in America.[5] At their best, Morgan said, the movements were "inspired by a hopeful idealism that envisioned a better, more democratic world, and by a determined morality that refused to elevate power as an end over respect for human personality."[6] As legacies of the decade, the author counted feminism and the women's movement, the ecology movement, and a revival of neo-Marxian criticism. The latter identified "the unmistakable impact of capitalism in producing or reinforcing the ills targeted by Sixties movements—poverty, racial and sexual inequality, elite dominated pluralism, the war in Vietnam, the decline of community and growth of impersonal public space, and the specter of ecological destruction."[7]

Morgan called the countercultural revolution, of which the hippie movement was a major part, a retreat inwards.[8] Jentri Anders, a veteran of the Berkeley campus free speech movement and anti-war demonstrations, said: "It was the culture…the whole American way of looking at things that was sick…. We came to a realization that one way to change that is to just live it differently. Instead of trying to change the structure in a direct confrontational way, you just drop out and live it the way you think it ought to be."[9] That attitude was at the core of San

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[3] Morgan: 10 (both quotes)
[4] Morgan: 86, quoting Greg Calvert and Carol Nieman, A Disrupted History: The New Left and the New Capitalism (New York: Random House, 1972), p.17
[5] Morgan: 127
[6] Morgan: 263
[7] Morgan: 251
[8] Morgan: 212-14
[9] filmed interview in the documentary Berkeley in the Sixties; Mark Kitchell, First Run Features, 1990.

Francisco's psychedelic music community, and was expressed in the way it made music, presented it, and dealt with the music industry when it came knocking: on their own terms as much as was possible.

Barry Melton, guitarist in the Berkeley-based band Country Joe and the Fish, recalled:

> The politics of hip is that we were setting up a new world, as it were, that was going to run parallel to the old world but have as little to do with it as possible. We just weren't going to deal with straight people. And to us, the politicos, a lot of the leaders of the anti-war movement, were straight people because they were still concerned with the government. They were going to go march on Washington. We didn't even want to know that Washington was there! We thought that eventually the whole world is just going to stop all this nonsense and start loving each other as soon as they all got turned on. It's amazing that these movement co-existed at the same time, were in stark contrast in certain respects, but as the 1960s progressed, drew closer together and began taking on aspects of the other.[10]

As Charles Hamm noted, "The 60s became the age of the underground."[11] Many of the unorthodox ideas and unusual methods that developed in

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[10] filmed interview, Berkeley in the Sixties

[11] Hamm: 87. The use of *the underground*, which in its wartime connotation, meant "a secret resistance movement, especially in an occupied or totalitarian country" [The New Lexicon Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language. Canadian Edition. New York: Lexicon, 1988: 1073], came to mean "the entire hippie counterculture." [Dalzell: 150].

underground films, publications, politics, religious movements, and education eventually were accepted into the prevailing culture. He continued:

> The 60s was the Age of Aquarius or the age of permissiveness, according to your point of view. It was a time of the Free Speech Movement, of draft card burning, of nudity on stage and screen, of Women's Lib and Gay Lib, of Black Power, of long hair, of the miniskirt and see-through blouse, of the virtual disappearance of censorship of movies, stage productions, books, and magazines, of topless and bottomless dancers and waitresses, of SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] and Young Americans for Freedom, of Hippies and Yippies, of marijuana and LSD, of wiretapping, mass arrests, mace, and assassination. The breakdown of faith in American institutions and the suspicion that the state, church, schools, and family was failing to guide people to meaningful lives persuaded more and more persons—not all of them young—to, in the classic phrase of the 60s, "do your own thing."... [P]eople tried to discover and follow their own individual desires, tastes, and needs. And if what they found conflicted with traditional American behavior, customs, morals, and even laws, so much the better, because these were the things that seemed to have failed.[12]

That the activities of the psychedelic community conflicted with American morals is seen in this except from a 1966 campaign speech by Ronald Reagan, future president of the USA, then running for the position of Governor of

California. He appealed to voters' moral outrage by decrying the events of a psychedelic dance, probably the one held in Berkeley, May 7, 1966, with the Grateful Dead, the Charlatans, the Great Society, and the Billy Moses Blues Band:

> I have here a copy of a report of the District Attorney of Alameda County. It concerns a dance that was sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee, sanctioned by the University as a student activity and that was held in the men's gymnasium at the University of California. The incidents are so bad, so contrary to our standards of human behavior, that I couldn't possibly recite them to you in detail from this platform. But there is clear evidence that there were things that shouldn't be permitted on a university campus. Let me read just a few excerpts. The total crowd at the dance was in excess of 3,000 including a number of less than college age juveniles. Three rock and roll bands were in the center of the gymnasium playing simultaneously[13] all during the dance. And all during the dance movies were shown on two screens at the opposite ends of the gymnasium. These movies were the only lights in the gym proper. They consisted of color sequences that gave the appearance of different color liquids spreading across the screen, followed by shots of men and women, on occasion, shots where the men's and women's nude torsos on

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[12] Hamm: 87-88

[13] I believe Reagan meant consecutively, without intermission. Simultaneous performance of three music ensembles is unlikely in any situation.

> occasion [sic], and persons twisted and gyrated in provocative and sensual fashion.[14]

The cause of this outrage, to paraphrase, was the improper use of university facilities, the assembly of a large number of juveniles, rock and roll, the sensory assault of continuous music and two films, the lack of focus (the bands or the films?), the near-darkness, the illogic and sensuous subject matter of the films (spreading liquids), partial nudity of both genders, and dancing that was suggestive, of, obviously, sex. Reagan, while providing an interesting contemporary report of an event, touched on many of the main themes in or around psychedelic music and the hippie movement of which it was an expression.

Many writers see beat culture, a social movement based primarily on a literary one, as an antecedent of hippie culture, a social movement based primarily on a musical one.[15] This is an easy comparison, for certain key figures—Allen Ginsberg and Neal Cassady particularly—played influential roles in both. Despite marked differences, each movement quested for self-knowledge away from quotidian society and placed a quasi-mystical emphasis on the present, bolstered by the use of stimulants.

The beats created a sensation in the middle and late 1950s that began to wane in the early 1960s, not before their image, ideology, and literature affected popular culture profoundly. The beat movement's largest impact was social, for

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[14] film clip in Berkeley in the Sixties

[15] Ebner is one, and he cites three others on page 185.

as a literary movement it lacked cohesion and unifying principles. A community of observant and creative outsiders who shared characteristics and attitudes, including an interest in spiritual liberation, founded it. Their lives, through their candid writing, became legendary. They viewed the status quo of 1950s America with disdain, seeing more clearly what they opposed than what they supported. Disengaging from the conformist and restrictive society, they lived in a hedonistic and artistic bohemian fringe. They explored freedom through self-reliance and a thirst for unrestricted mobility (driving, hitchhiking, train hopping), sexuality (homosexual, heterosexual), and transcendence (through drugs, mysticism, and Buddhism).

Those who followed the beats were called beatniks. Similarly, in the 1950s, the word hippie was a derisive term for one that was not a hipster but posed as one. The 1960s' sense of hippie—a post-beatnik drug-using drop-out who espoused a credo of love—appears to have been used first in print in 1965 in articles describing San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood. The writer seems to have used the words hippie, head, and beatnik interchangeably.[16]

In "Beats and Hippies: A Comparative Analysis" (1972), sociologist David Y. Ebner describes three possible postures a counterculture can assume in relationship to the dominant culture. His premise is that the beats were retreatists and the hippies were rebels.[17] Both groups rejected the established order. The beats retreated: they dropped out because they were failures (beat in the sense of oppressed). The hippies rebelled: they dropped out, not from being

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[16] Dalzell: 156

[17] The third possibility, called ritualistic or super-conformist, he discarded as irrelevant in this

unqualified for success but because they felt definitions of success were worthless, corrupt, or of little consequence. Sociologists like Ebner expect to find this- a revolutionary group preceded by a retreatist one. At the withdrawal of the retreatists, the rebels offer new suggestions, creating a near-religion that teaches a new social ethic. Trying to convert non-believers, such as through "dosing" unsuspecting people with LSD, is characteristic of rebel movements.

The hippies rejected many aspects of their parents' culture regarding marriage, cleanliness, modesty, health, diet, capitalism, living arrangements, etc.[18] However, while noting the "enormous impact on popular culture" of young people in the 1960s, historian George Lipsitz argued that "their influence came [more] from their sheer numbers and purchasing power than from any particular values or tastes...[they] had values that were remarkably consonant with those of their parents in most important matters."[19]

Though any depiction of Western culture in the 1960s includes the plentiful and visible hippies they were far from the only social group of young people. Others were involved in studies, the war in Vietnam, inner-city strife, or the work force. Lipsitz reminds us that Martin Luther King had more defeats than victories, the majority supported the Vietnam War and opposed civil rights and black power, pop music was as strong as rock, and that pro-war songs also hit the charts. While memory tends to overestimate the changes to American society

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case.

[18] Jeff Todd Titon and Mark Slobin define culture as "the way of life of a people, learned and transmitted from one generation to the next... From birth a person absorbs the cultural inheritance of family, community, schoolmates, and increasingly, the mass-mediated culture of magazines, movies, television, and computers" [Titon and Slobin: 1]. They point out that cultures are imperfect systems and sometimes break down.

[19] Lipsitz: 206-207

and culture in the 1960s, important ones were achieved. "The disruption and turmoil of the decade left a deep impression on Americans, offering an often unspoken social subtext to all of the cultural creations and practices produced in its wake.... [Though social movements] failed to achieve their immediate political goals...[they] often created both physical and figurative spaces for cultural transformation."[20] Lipsitz said that hippies challenged dominant culture by affirming sexual pleasure, desiring to cross racial barriers, attempting to neutralize gender as a fixed source of identity, and forming affective relationships beyond the family. They celebrated peace and love in a society being consumed by war and hatred, and rebelled against materialism and hierarchy.[21]

The credo of love was part of the hippies' heritage. Following the nearly global violence of World War II, America emerged as the world's most powerful economic and military force, in part because of the creation and deployment of the atom bomb. While building, maintaining, and defending a worldwide economic empire, Americans begot the largest generation of children in the country's history. The first wave of the baby boom[22]—people born in the 1940s

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[20] Lipstiz: 209
[21] Lipsitz: 226
[22] The exact dates of the baby boom are a moot point. The term was coined in 1941 [Metcalf and Barnhart: 169]. Sullivan specifies 1946-1964 as the birth dates [Sullivan: 171]. The San Francisco psychedelic musicians were hippies, whether they were all baby boomers is debatable. A sample of their birthdates show a range from 1938 for Spencer Dryden (Jefferson Airplane) and David Frieberg (Quicksilver Messenger Service) to 1949 for Pattie Santos (It's A Beautiful Day), with a peak around 1942 and 1943. The birth date sample is as follows.
1938: Spencer Dryden; David Freiberg
1939: James Gurley; Grace Slick
1940: Signe Toly Anderson; Dave Getz; Chicken Hirsch; Jorma Kaukonen; Phil Lesh
1941: Sam Andrew; Robert Hunter; David LaFlamme
1942: Marty Balin; David Cohen; Jerry Garcia; Paul Kantner; Joe McDonald; Bob Mosley; Don Stevenson
1943: John Cipollina; Mickey Hart; Janis Joplin; Steve Miller; Jerry Miller; Dino Valenti

and early 1950s—was described in 1969 by Hannah Arendt: "psychologically this generation seems everywhere characterized by sheer courage, an astounding will to action, and by a no less astounding confidence in the possibility of change."[23]

> [They were] the first generation to grow up under the shadow of the atom bomb. They inherited from their parents' generation the experience of a massive intrusion of criminal violence into politics; they learned in high school and in college about concentration and extermination camps, about genocide and torture, about the wholesale slaughter of civilians in war... Their first reaction was a revulsion against every form of violence, an almost matter-of-course espousal of a politics of nonviolence...[seen in] the field of civil rights...[and] the resistance movement against the war in Vietnam.[24]

The hippies' way of life and their philosophy and artistic vision, expressed particularly through music, literature, and the visual arts, had worldwide effect. The most durable representations of the San Francisco hippies are the psychedelic music they created and the poster art that announced it. In later years, collectors prized the records and posters as reminders of an expansive and tempestuous period that lasted from 1965 to around 1975. But it did not take

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1944: Peter Albin; Jack Casady; Tom Constanten
1945: Peter Lewis; Ron McKernan
1946: Gary Duncan; Greg Elmore; Bill Kreutzman; Skip Spence
1947: Bruce Barthol; Val Fuentes; Barry Melton; Bob Weir
1949: Pattie Santos

[23] Arendt: 15-16

[24] Arendt: 14

hindsight for people to be intrigued; as soon as the media presented the Haight-Ashbury hippies, "the public instantly romanticized what they thought was going on.... Truth and fantasy became entangled."[25]

The story of Haight-Ashbury, an "old Irish working-class neighborhood"[26] in San Francisco named for the intersection of two streets, is that of a small artists' colony that over a short period received media attention, was perceived as a Shangri La, became overrun, and disintegrated. Between 1964, when the hippie community began to recognize itself, and 1968, when much of Haight-Ashbury had become a boarded up disaster area, was a period both exhilarating and frustrating. The area was an "inter-racial, working class neighborhood bounded by Golden Gate Park, middle class Victorian houses on Ashbury Heights and the mostly black Fillmore District."[27] The population included students, teachers, dropouts, and alumni of San Francisco State, whose campus had originally been on lower Haight Street but had moved to the outskirts of the city, as well as artists and poets, some who were veterans of the beat scene of a few years earlier. Life was not expensive. The elegant three- and four-story Victorian and Edwardian houses that had been built following the infamous 1906 earthquake were cheap to rent and large enough to share, if they had not already been converted into apartments. Communal living arrangements led to much social and artistic experimentation and collaboration.

> It wasn't difficult in 1966 to work occasionally, sell marijuana or LSD intermittently, and thereby earn a living for oneself and friends. One could

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[25] Selvin 1995: i
[26] Selvin 1996: 14

devote most of one's time to art, writing or music, experience the enhanced and ecstatic states of mind accessible through the use of marijuana and LSD, interact with other artists, get high and talk until the sun's rays erased the night. In these years, and in these ways the particular styles of music, art, and the way of life identified with the Haight, the 60s and the Hippies developed. [28]

Becoming a hippie was like becoming one of the chosen few, the people who would transform the world to a better place. Rejecting responsibilities and the establishment brought a rampant narcissism with attendant omnipotent feelings of hope and ability to change the norm, or be above the norm. Actually, a different norm was installed. The group mentality was collectively based on the concept of freedom for the individual, yet it passively and indirectly imposed norms, thus group mentality controlled one's real freedom. Hippie parents commonly neglected their children, confusing not taking responsibility with freedom.

The appeal and openness of a movement advocating a frameless lifestyle based on pleasure and lack of restrictions attracted many types of people. The unstructured climate drew the innocent and naive, but also the damaged and worldly weary, inspired or renewed by a shared illusion of carefree, unlimited bliss. The hippie world also attracted opportunistic vultures seeking gain, dominance, or anarchy. The scene had its criminal element, drug pushers, Hell's

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[27] Cohen: unpaginated
[28] Cohen: unpaginated.

Angels, Black Panthers, and the unbalanced, like cult leader and mass murderer Charles Manson.[29]

As reported by the medical staff of the Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic, by 1966, two separate subcultures had evolved in the Haight district.[30] The first was hard-core and summer hippies who considered themselves members of a new community and put their faith in peace, love, and LSD. They tended to call themselves acidheads. They paid nominal attention to their health, though poverty or adherence to esoteric diets caused them to be deficient in vitamins. Symptoms from drug abuse included bad trips, acute anxiety reaction, flashbacks and recurrent perceptual distortions, and messianic delusions characteristic of toxic LSD psychosis. Linked with chronic hallucinogenic toxicity were psychological deficiencies, emotional impoverishments, defenses against feelings, inhibited aggression, and superstitious beliefs.

The second group was the speed freaks. They looked like hippies but sanctioned violence and crime and used amphetamine (speed). These people could go weeks without nourishment or REM sleep (due to chemical appetite- and sleep-suppressant compounds) and were prone to acute anxiety, paranoid-schizophrenic psychoses, exhaustion, malnutrition, abscesses, hepatitis, etc.

> Both groups kept to themselves as much as possible during the summer [of 1967], the hippies spending more time in their communes, the hoodies and habitual abusers shooting chemicals in their crystal palaces and roaming the street. Both groups also grew more defensive, the first

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[29] for information on Manson and other "acid fascists" see Felton
[30] Smith and Luce: 176-78

> chiding the second for being unconcerned about transcendence, the second ridiculing the spiritual aspirations of the first. And both groups competed for the attention of those uncommitted summer hippies whose psychological makeup determined their heroes and the patterns of their drug abuse.[31]

Though Haight-Ashbury remains to this day the symbolic center of the hippie movement, the artistic community did not survive the infestation of negative energy. Many people evacuated the area. Almost all of the support groups and organizations folded or were exhausted from the strain. Bands moved out, to nearby Marin County for example, and dedicated communes went back to the land. In the movie Psych Out, a Dick Clark production filmed in Haight-Ashbury (with a soundtrack by two Los Angeles bands, the Seeds and the Strawberry Alarm Clock), Jack Nicholson's character Stoner explains: "You don't have to answer to anybody in this scene, that's what it's all about. You know, everybody does his own thing." Concert promoter Bill Graham said: "The reason the Haight didn't grow further was because of an unwillingness to accept reality."[32]

The hippie philosophy, however, was carried and copied around the world, and millions ultimately embraced the hippie alternative. Its mass appeal and urban visibility faded, in my experience around 1975, yet I continued to see it at festivals like the Rainbow Gathering in rural Oregon in 1978, and at Grateful Dead shows in the 1990s. As a mass movement, the hippie ideal suffered

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[31] Smith and Luce: 176
[32] Peterson: 22

disillusionment, defeated by the paradoxes of its own tenets, yet its beliefs, noble and ignoble, linger still. Though derided then and now by whole segments of the population, living through a hippie phase is still a common rite of passage for many adolescents. Some of them seek validation in the music from San Francisco.

The most iconic of the 1960s San Francisco area musicians are the Grateful Dead (particularly guitarist Jerry Garcia), the Jefferson Airplane, and Janis Joplin (as a member of Big Brother and the Holding Company, and as a solo artist). Also important were the Charlatans, the Great Society, Quicksilver Messenger Service, Country Joe and the Fish, Moby Grape, and It's A Beautiful Day. These bands are still well known, and members of all—a few still using the band's name—are active in 2000. But in the 1960s, hundreds of other bands were busy on the scene, some obscure like the Mystery Trend and the Final Solution, some transplanted from elsewhere like the Steve Miller Band, Mad River, and the Youngbloods, and some not exactly psychedelic but borrowing elements of the style, such as the Sons of Champlin, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Santana, and Sly and the Family Stone.

At its inception in 1965, psychedelic music sprouted almost simultaneously in San Francisco, in Los Angeles (with the musical explorations of the Byrds), and in Austin, Texas (with the debut recordings of the 13th Floor Elevators). Before long and through the rest of the decade it was played far and wide. After San Francisco, London was the most important center, with Pink Floyd as its top psychedelic band. Psychedelic music in the United Kingdom generally had a

more intellectual character, was based more on rhythm & blues than folk, and was in sound closer to pop music.

Writing in 1966, folklorist Ellen J. Steckert stated: "The frenetic and off-handedly nihilistic young generation which dominates our times, unlike the bovine and silent 1950s, holds little truck with intellectual distinctions, and uses all things, from soup cans to folksongs, as means of expression.... [P]erhaps above all else, this is a hedonistic and sensual age in which living with the senses is the goal."[33] The most stimulating way that generation found for fulfilling its goal was through drugs. Unprecedented drug use sparked a range of reactions, from hedonistic pleasure to psychological imbalance, to an idealistic spirituality based on esoteric traditions and psychotropic insights. Without drugs psychedelic music would not have existed. While other styles show the influences of various stimulants like marijuana, heroin, alcohol, and pep pills, none had such a powerful one as LSD.[34]

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[33] Steckert: 93

[34] Dr. Albert Hoffman, a chemist working in Basel, Switzerland, invented LSD (Lysergic Acid Diethylamide) in 1938 while trying to create a stimulant for respiration and circulation. He began experimenting with it in 1943, and one day saw a "fantastic vision of extraordinary vividness accompanied by a kaleidoscopic-like play of intense coloration [which] continuously swirled around my head. The condition lasted for about two hours" [Leary: 279]. After noting its incredible potency he tried different dosages. In 1947 he began distributing the drug to psychiatric clinics. Psychiatrists were interested in the way LSD could seem to induce in healthy subjects an experience of schizophrenia. The US Government, through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), conducted mind control experiments with the drug in the 1950s. That decade, approximately 1,500 military personnel were used as subjects, many of them unknowing.

The word psychedelic was coined in 1957 by Dr. Humphrey Osmond of the New Jersey Neurophychiatric Institute in a letter to Aldous Huxley. They grappled with a description for the experience of taking the drug LSD. The literal translation of psychedelic from the Greek root words is visible (or evident) soul. Psyche is not only the Greek word for soul, but is also the name of a maiden in Greek mythology who personified the soul and was loved by Eros. Osmond, however, used the word psyche in its psychological sense, meaning the mind, both conscious and unconscious. Webster's defines psychedelic as an adjective describing "a mental condition induced by certain drugs and characterized by an impression of greatly heightened sensory perception. It may be accompanied by feelings of elation or misery, by

Humankind's desire to escape daily reality by altering consciousness, through whatever means, is an urge manifested throughout all societies. The counterculture's craving for altered states made much use of stimulants, which, when eaten, smoked, or injected, caused profound changes of awareness. Besides marijuana, hashish, and LSD, popular stimulants included psilocybin mushrooms, peyote, mescaline, and DMT. Alcohol played little part in the psychedelic world and was not served at any of the major venues. Musicians who favored it, such as Janis Joplin and Ron "Pigpen" McKernan, were exceptions. Once they discovered LSD, young people were interested in the way it could open new doors of perception, but some paid a price. Allen Cohen of the San Francisco Oracle said:

> LSD was the rocket engine of most of the social or creative tendencies that were emerging in the 60s. It sped up change by opening a direct pathway to the creative and mystical insights that visionaries, artists and saints have sought, experienced and communicated through the ages. But there were casualties of the LSD voyages including the psychologically wounded, badly guided, severe overusers, and victims of the CIA's irresponsible experiments with the psychedelic.[35]

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hallucinations, or by sharp perceptual distortion." The word also can refer to "patterns, images, etc. characteristic of this state." [The New Lexicon Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language, Canadian Edition. New York: Lexicon, 1988: 806.] Through "a complicated chain of events...LSD passed from the hands of the CIA, through selected scientists (like Osmond), through mavericks like Timothy Leary to the mass youth market." [Savage (undated): unpaginated See also Kaiser: 204-206]

[35] Cohen: unpaginated

Aside from bringing unconscious material into consciousness, LSD affects emotional responses, certain motor functions, and some functions controlled by the autonomic nervous system. It also causes contractions in the uterus and blood vessels, dilation of the pupils, and a rise in body temperature. The drug is easy to synthesize in a college-level chemistry laboratory. It has no color, odor, or taste, and doses are small and easy to conceal. Following ingestion, via liquid LSD dropped into beverages or soaked into blotting paper, it takes effect in less than an hour and lasts eight to ten hours.

> LSD first affects the senses. Hearing becomes more focused, colors become more vivid and realistic. Psychedelic art was born from this phenomena. The senses of touch, smell and taste are heightened. Some physical symptoms include increased blood pressure, sweating, thickening of saliva and arteriole constriction. Previous experiences are forgotten, each sight or sound are [sic] now experienced for what they are at the moment, as opposed to what they meant to the user. The main difference between LSD and other drugs is that the user of LSD finds it impossible to differentiate hallucinations from reality. The LSD user differs from the typical opiate user in that LSD appeals to individuals who are often socio-economically advantaged, who have the opportunity for higher education and successful careers, yet who choose not to adhere to the rules of society.[36]

Before it was made illegal and demonized, LSD had a period of societal approval. "As the 1950s closed, newspapers and magazines began to promote LSD as a new wonder drug... The public praise continued into the early 1960s... In 1964, despite years of positive publicity, the tide of opinion about LSD turned. Newspaper reports blamed the drug for dangerous psychoses and accidental suicides. In late 1965 the federal government banned LSD distribution."[37]

Glossy mainstream magazines covered LSD extensively. The March 25, 1966 cover of Life read "The Exploding Threat of the Mind Drug That Got Out of Control[:] LSD." Inside was a ten-page photo spread and article on Timothy Leary, a former Harvard professor turned acid evangelist, and author Ken Kesey and his parties known as Acid Tests. Other cover stories were titled "LSD and the Mind Drugs" (Newsweek, May 9, 1966), "LSD's Leary Interviewed" (Playboy, September 1966), and "New Experience That Bombards the Senses[:] LSD" (Life, September 9, 1966). The drug was outlawed in October 1966 as a serious danger to individuals and the maintenance of an orderly, productive society. While its manufacture and distribution went underground, increasingly controlled by gang elements, it continued to be a hot topic. A year later the cover of Post declared "The Newly Discovered Dangers of LSD[:] To the Mind [,] To the Body [,] To the Unknown" (December 8, 1967).

Talk of mind expansion and sensual distortion affected people's perceptions even if they never tried drugs. "LSD captured the popular imagination by 1966 to the point where people who had never had a psychedelic experience thought

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[36] Sorger: unpaginated
[37] Hicks: 59-60

they had a fairly good idea of what one was like.... Many of the bands that recorded psychedelic rock songs...had never taken psychedelic drugs, but the subculture told them everything they needed to know to sound authentic."[38] Various opinions on drugs are to be found in the lyrics of mid-1960s songs from the San Francisco region. The Living Children, a group from Fort Bragg, California (a coastal city about 140 miles north of San Francisco), criticized drug use while associating it with Haight-Ashbury in their garage-style "Crystalize Your Mind" [sic] from 1967: "There's a place called Haight I know yeah, 'cause everybody's told me so yeah, crystallize your mind with a empty heart...you keep on droppin' baby gonna blow your mind, the things you droppin' are keepin' you far behind." The flip side of the single, a folk rock ballad called "Now It's Over," seems also to refer to drugs: "When the day is through you'll be glad it's over, when you come down and your tightness is through, you'll be glad it's over." Mad River's "Amphetamine Gazelle" seems nightmarish: "Why'd you put spiders in my mind...Want to call the doctor but I don't have a dime, I just can't breathe...sit and pick the locust from your eye...got me jumping like an amphetamine gazelle, I say, I say, help me from golden gates of hell...break the spell...I'm a gazelle, amphetamine gazelle." The Great Society seem to approve of the effects of drugs in "Didn't Think So." Grace Slick sang: "Never thought that it could be the one face that I'd love... But his way of turning on seemed right to me and I think he'll make me free. Things he chooses to put in his mind seemed to have placed his sadness behind."

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[38] DeRogatis: 9

In San Francisco, the main source of high quality LSD was the laboratories of Augustus Owsley Stanley III. Owsley, as he is usually called, was the chemist for Kesey and his gang of Merry Pranksters, and his acid played a vital part in the San Francisco hippie world: it was plentiful and pure, and some of the profits financed the Grateful Dead.[39] Its plentitude and potency contributed to making the city a center for psychedelic music.

In no previous style had social alternatives affected the actual music making as the hippie philosophy did in numerous ways. Psychedelia reflected its credo of freedom and rejection of authority. Some musicians were attracted to psychedelic music because it is by nature an eclectic, less restrictive or formulaic style than are many others, such as blues. For certain bands that meant the freedom to do only their own compositions. For others it showed a way to take previous styles, particularly folk rock and garage rock, into a new dimension. Communal living, a characteristic of the hippie lifestyle, led to elaborate collective compositions and arrangements and fostered near telepathic interactions during improvisations on the bandstand. Psychedelic music was innovative in its use of improvisation and attempts to tap into the subconsciousness, and in its rejection of the music industry's *modus operandi*. In terms of technology, psychedelic music catalyzed the development of light shows and concert sound systems, and pioneered ways to use multi-tracking and such experimental electronic sound manipulations as feedback, phase shifting, backwards taping, and timbral changing devices like the wah-wah pedal for guitar.

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[39] For about ten years Owsley, also known as "Bear," designed sound equipment for the band, serving as a recording engineer for some projects.

The style is characterized by collective arrangements, freewheeling improvisation (including the improvisation of structure, not just soloing on top of it), and collaborative and often experimental composition. In addition, psychedelic music showed a remarkable willingness to incorporate eclectic influences. Its song lyrics made reference to mind-expansion, hippie philosophy, childhood images, or archetypal characters. Affected by its own disdain for the music industry and its nonetheless successful growth, psychedelic music had a short and spectacular heyday. By 1970, partly from having exhausted most of its available possibilities and many of its practitioners, it veered, at least in the San Francisco version, towards a more earthy style, as musicians returned to their folk and blues roots while retaining some of the elements of psychedelia.

Sources

One goal of meeting with musicians who were active on the West Coast in the 1960s—whom I interviewed in California, Washington, British Columbia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York—was to attempt to ascertain why they became involved with music and took part in a process of musical innovation. I asked them to describe their style, what differentiated the San Francisco groups from others, and where they learned or how they created their songs. I wanted to know of any circumstances that caused them to change musical directions, of the histories of their bands, and of the roles played by people inside and outside of them. Interviewing middle-aged musicians about the activities of their media-glorified youth meant adding a wealth of historical, musical, biographical, and

sociological information to the resources. It also allowed, as I became aware of the multitude of factors involved in musical innovation and evolution, some distance from the tendency to view history as a canon of great works made by great people. The music the San Francisco musicians made, which ranges in quality from outstanding to mediocre to atrocious, was, from the evolutionary stance advocated here, all significant. They were willful and creative people, but were not beyond the forces of history or the fickleness of the music marketplace. Alongside stories of striving and success were cases of drug abuse, legal disputes, destitution, and mental illness. To the extent they figure in the course of the overall evolution of psychedelic music, they are mentioned here.

My intention was to interview at least one member of every major San Francisco psychedelic band; the goal was nearly achieved. I met and recorded interviews with representatives of Jefferson Airplane (Marty Balin, Jack Casady, Paul Kantner); the Grateful Dead (Tom Constanten); Big Brother and the Holding Company (Peter Albin, Sam Andrew); Country Joe and the Fish (David Bennett Cohen); Moby Grape (Peter Lewis); and It's A Beautiful Day (David LaFlamme, Hal Wagenet). David Nelson, of the New Riders of the Purple Sage and the David Nelson Band, spoke of the folk revival days, recording with the Grateful Dead, and the shift to country rock. An interview scheduled with Gary Duncan of Quicksilver Messenger Service was cancelled, replaced by some email correspondence. A musician, Bob Flurie, who was a touring member of Quicksilver Messenger Service in its latter days (but who never recorded with the band), was interviewed concerning that stage of their career. He also played

with the Barry Melton Band (with whom he did record). Dan Hicks of the Charlatans declined my invitation, but is represented by previously published interviews. Printed interviews, from the 1960s and later decades, with these and other participants in the scene, were consulted and quoted where appropriate. Few women made psychedelic music in San Francisco, and only Grace Slick and Janis Joplin were prominent among them; they are represented by published interviews. Someone from the Bay area music industry was also interviewed: Chris Strachwitz, a record producer and owner of the folk and blues oriented Arhoolie label. He was the first to record Country Joe and the Fish.

Another producer, Lou Adler of Los Angeles, who worked with the Mamas and the Papas, Spirit, and a great many other hitmakers, was interviewed because of his role as one of the chief architects of the Monterey Pop festival. Members of two Southern California bands, who took a more pop approach to psychedelia, were also interviewed: George Bunnell of the Strawberry Alarm Clock, and Ernie Orosco of Giant Crab, both from Santa Barbara.

The impact of San Francisco music on the region to the north was a topic in interviews with Barry Curtis of the Portland band the Kingsmen, a chief exponent of the Northwest Sound, with Steve Lalor of the Seattle-based band the Daily Flash, who played their folk rock and psychedelic music many times in San Francisco, and Donnie McDougall of the Vancouver, BC, band Mother Tuckers Yellow Duck, who played folk rock and psychedelic music across Canada and in Washington state.

According to Paul Kantner, "Almost all of the people in the [San Francisco psychedelic] scene are from the white middle class."[40] Ones that were not tended to come from higher, not lower classes. Grace Slick was the daughter of an investment banker; Peter Lewis was the son of Hollywood movie star Loretta Young and screenwriter Tom Lewis. Jorma Kaukonen's father was in the foreign service and the family lived for a period in Pakistan and later in the Phillipines.

In terms of education, there was a wide range. Gary Duncan dropped out of high school; David Cohen, like many of his peers, dropped out of college; Sam Andrew was educated at the Sorbonne in Paris. Phil Lesh and Tom Constanten studied under European composers; many of the others were self-taught in their music. For rock musicians, Constanten said, "Education doesn't matter." On the background of the psychedelic musicians in San Francisco, he said: "It varied tremendously, both in terms of musical talent and ability, and education and taste. That might be part of the strength of diversity, is that there was so many types of players... The bands' contexts in putting together their presentation was very free form. Everybody brought their contribution and it flew or it didn't."[41]

The interviews point out some of the prerequisites and motivations for getting involved in a new style. Latent, embryonic, or inspiring elements within it attract the creativity and attention of musicians, and this offers the potential fulfillment of psychological and social needs. A prerequisite is the availability of like-minded souls (subject to circumstance and interpersonal dynamics). Also necessary is musical aptitude (a mix of talent and determination), and musical influences and

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[40] Gleason 1969: 138
[41] Constanten interview

teachers (providing inspiration through example). Once personality and temperament provide the desire to begin and the commitment to continue, the reasons for embarking can be grouped into four categories. They are: the excitement of fresh ideas (inspiration), the urge to explore (creativity), the needs of the ego and desire to be part of a community (belonging), and career and financial motivations (security). The results of the musicians' involvement and the evolution of the style are dealt with in later chapters.

As well as speaking to the musicians, I observed them in performance, on several occasions in some cases. I did manage to hear not only every record mentioned in the text, but nearly every record that was made by the acts discussed. I also heard many tapes of their live performances, plus a great deal of related music by acts not mentioned, including many hours recorded in San Francisco in the 1960s that did not meet with commercial success, some of which was not issued until the 1990s. As far as print sources, I tracked down an appreciable number of the books that have been written on various aspects of the topic, as well as magazines and newspapers from the period and since.

Histories of the 1960s invariably include comment on the music while focussing on political and social change. Besides Morgan's The Sixties Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America (1991), mentioned above, those consulted were Todd Gitlin's The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage (1993), and Charles Kaiser's 1968 in America: Music, Politics, Chaos, Counterculture, and the Shaping of a Generation (1988). David Pichaske's A Generation in Motion: Popular Music and Culture in the Sixties (1979) is closer to

the time period and the nuances of meaning in the musical world. From a different perspective altogether is Julie Stephens' Anti-Disciplinary Protest: Sixties Radicalism and Postmodernism (1998), which has little to say about music but includes an excellent chapter on the lure of Indian culture, offering insight into psychedelic music's flirtation with it. Books about the music industry that contain informative sections on 1960s rock are Fred Goodman's The Mansion on the Hill: Dylan, Young, Geffen, Springsteen and the Head-On Collision of Rock and Commerce (1997), and Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo's Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry (1977).

Although psychedelic music was a defining element of the Sixties counter-culture, academic discussions of it are rare. Graham M. Boone's transcription laden article on a single performance of a Grateful Dead song is one exception: "Tonal and Expressive Ambiguities in 'Dark Star'" (1997). More insightful is Sixties Rock: Garage, Psychedelic and other Satisfactions (1999), by Michael Hicks, a musicologist like Boone. There is, however, no lack of journalistic information on the careers and creations of the pertinent bands and people. Joel Selvin's Summer of Love: The Inside Story of LSD, Rock & Roll, Free Love and High Times in the Wild West (1995), portrays the period as a modern day frontier. Barney Hoskyns' Beneath the Diamond Sky: Haight-Ashbury 1965-1970 (1997), is a concise narrative and a good introduction to the heyday. San Francisco Nights: The Psychedelic Music Trip, 1965-1968 (1985), by Gene Sculatti and Davin Seay, tells the story in greater detail.

While some general histories of psychedelic music (Henke, et al., Huxley) and surveys of psychedelic recordings (Belmo, Joynson) discuss the music of San Francisco, others, such as Kaleidoscope Eyes: Psychedelic Rock From the '60s to the '90s (1996), by Jim DeRogatis, are dismissive of it, allotting its 1960s scene only five of the 233 pages of text. Some memoirs and chronicles of 1967's "Summer of Love" and the Haight-Ashbury hippie world do not place music at their center (Anthony, Gaskin, Wolfe).

One book (Selvin 1996) is a geographical guide to notable music sites in San Francisco. Paul D. Grushin's The Art of Rock: from Presley to Punk (1987), reproduces a huge number of the psychedelic posters that advertised musical performances and includes a thorough discussion of San Francisco poster artists and their relationship to the music scene, along with some interview material. High Art: A History of the Psychedelic Poster (1999), by Ted Owen and Denis Dickson, also reproduces many pertinent posters while concentrating on the artists that made them.

A unique source is The Fillmore East: Recollections of Rock Theater by Richard Kostelanetz (1995), containing concert reports written from 1967 to 1970 by a dedicated fan of rock music and rock theater. Kostelanetz, then in his late twenties, lived two blocks from Bill Graham's Fillmore East in New York City and went regularly, taking notes after observing performances there and at other local venues. He saw most of the American and British stars, veterans, and new sensations on the concert hall circuit, not just the rock acts but blues, soul, and ethnic ones as well. The comments about the San Francisco bands that he saw

makes a contrast to opinions made years and decades after the fact. Several excerpts are included in the present work.

Among the biographical or anecdotal books on legendary San Francisco figures are portraits of Janis Joplin (Amburn, Caserta, Dalton, Friedman, Joplin, Landau), Grace Slick (Rowes) and the Jefferson Airplane (Gleason), and Jerry Garcia and the Grateful Dead (Brandelius, Gans and Simon, Harrison, Ruhlman, Scully and Dalton, Troy). Jerry Garcia and Grace Slick have also written autobiographies, as has Darby Slick of the Great Society. The autobiography of concert promoter Bill Graham, interwoven with other interviews, is an important source of oral history (Graham and Greenfield).

The Grateful Dead have inspired a whole industry of specialized writings. They include a book of interviews with band members (Gans), a chronicle of the band's visit to Egypt and performance at Great Cheop's Pyramid (Nichols), the musings of a tape collector (Wybenga), a dictionary of Deadhead (fans') slang (Shenk and Silberman), comic books and comic book anthologies based on the band's lyrics (Tamarkin and Schreiner, ed.), and a book of lyrics by a writer who often worked with the band (Hunter). No other band has had its live performances subjected to the scrutiny found in Dead Base X: The Complete Guide to Grateful Dead Song Lists (Scott, et al.). One of the few books of critical analysis concerns the band's studio recordings (Womack).

The magazine Relix (formerly a Grateful Dead fan magazine), published since 1974, regularly contains information on San Francisco acts that originated in the 1960s. Numerous articles and interviews were useful. More San Francisco

details were provided in the story of Rolling Stone magazine, which started there in 1967 (Draper). On the World Wide Web, several websites devoted to bands were consulted. They are usually run by fans, and offer discographies, personnel information, lyrics, and near-complete lists of gigs performed. A few excellent discographies, particularly The Great Psychedelic Discography (Strong), were valuable for personnel information, birthdates, and for the sequence and release dates of recordings.

Record and CD releases from the 1970s onwards, especially box sets, contain detailed biographies and commentaries. Record collector magazines like DISCoveries and Goldmine occasionally published articles on pertinent artists. Numerous obscure fan-produced magazines ("fanzines") provided interviews, period photos and advertisements, and minutiae. Also of use were rock reference books—encyclopedias and record buying guides—too general and numerous to mention.

Outline

How the concept of style is treated in academic and popular literature is the topic of Chapter One. The matrix, Peter Van der Merwe's term for "a unit of musical communication,"[42] and the notion of evolution are discussed as a prelude to their application in later chapters. Chapter Two reviews definitions of psychedelic music and contextualizes San Francisco psychedelic music within the international scene. The examination of three canonical lists naming almost 400 songs revealed that exactly ten were common to all. These ten—five songs

from the US and five from the UK—are subjected to musical analysis to determine their matrices, as hallmarks of the style.

The topic of Chapter Three is the distinguishing features of San Francisco psychedelic music: its naïve innovation, emphasis on improvisation, and the implications of its folk revival roots. The musical climate around psychedelic music is covered in Chapter Four, which deals with the impact of the Beatle-led British Invasion, and 1960s rock styles such as surf, garage, folk rock, and country rock.

The last three chapters are devoted to the model of style evolution. Following a discussion of its development, the seven phases—conception, inception, proclamation, dissemination, fragmentation, revitalization, and confirmation—are presented one by one. The evolving history of San Francisco psychedelic music is described in relation to each phase of the model. Through a chronological format, pertinent events are presented, along with analysis of sample songs and album covers. The analysis reveals the matrices used in the sample items, with the idea that the pattern of matrix use may help to indicate the style's evolution. The serviceability of the phase descriptions—created through observations of several styles—is evaluated at the end of each application. Working with the model influenced the present investigation into psychedelia, both as an impetus to see where aspects of it fit, which caused a closer analysis of materials, and to see where they did not, which caused a reevaluation of the model. Models have their strengths and weaknesses. After I had shown him a preliminary version of the model of style evolution, former Grateful Dead keyboard player Tom

[42] Van der Merwe: 96

Constanten remarked on the application of labels for music styles: "They are useful if you realize they are disposable and temporary. It's like fanciful images to listen to a piece of classical music or program. There are some people who detest them; there are some people who depend on them overmuch."[43]

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[43] Constanten interview

Style

Chapter 1. Perceptions of Style

Music history is organized using various, often overlapping, categories. Some of them view it as a series of masterpieces, a pantheon of artists, or a succession of eras, others as schools of shared methods or expressions of geographical regions. Labels relating to these categories serve consumers, retailers, distributors, and producers by distinguishing among works and artists. Active artists have to deal with the ones in use in the marketplace.

Broad categories like blues, rock, country, jazz, and folk are broken down into smaller units. Terms for divisions large and small are not standardized; they are called variously genres, sub genres, types, styles, sub styles, forms, music cultures, subcultures, matrices, etc. I propose genre as the preferred term for the broad classifications, and style for their narrower divisions. Thus psychedelic music is a style within the genre rock, which also contains many other styles: surf, garage, progressive, punk, etc.

In classical music, genre is used to refer to categories defined by function or form (such as etude, minuet, sonata, and symphony). Only recently, at least in British and American scholarship, has critical writing on music attended to genre. Scholars agree, according to musicologist Charles Hamm, "that genre should not be defined by description or analysis of stylistic features alone."[44] Musicologist Jeffrey Kallberg, writing in 1988 about a Chopin Nocturne, identified a "generic

contract" as an agreement between composer and listener. In response to a composer's choice of genre, indicated by title, meter, or introduction, the listener "consents to interpret some aspects of the piece in a way conditioned by this genre."[45] In this way, genre refers both to the type or category (the dictionary definition) as well as a set of expectations that it carries for the perceiver.

Genre categories are widely used in reviewing cultural products. Movie genre names are common parlance. Some examples are buddy films, romantic comedies, spoofs, pornography, horror flicks, family features, and dramas about coming of age, road trips, and courtroom battles.[46] A reviewer of two anthologies of rock criticism remarked: "More often that not, writing still tends to be discussed in terms of genre. It makes the discussion easier; so-and-so writes detective fiction, 'X' is an experimental writer."[47] One rock critic, the inimitable Nick Tosches, was praised for not sticking to genre conventions. He did it by "upending fundamentalism and blurring the line between journalism and narrative.... [I]n a world that is still hanging on to the genres, that's a kind of blurring that might help open up more room for everyone interested in reading and writing to maneuver."[48] The implication here is that genre conventions can become constrictive, that mixing them can open up new possibilities, and that the agent of change is a rule-breaking artist.

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[44] Hamm: 372
[45] Hamm: 372
[46] For these and dozens of additional movie categories, see "Category Index" in VideoHound's Golden Movie Retriever. Ed. Martin Connors and Jim Craddock. Detroit: Visible Ink, 1999: 1009-1210.
[47] Dubé: 33
[48] Dubé: 33

Charles Hamm, acknowledging that music is not alone in its discussion of genre, noted a trend to critique their existence: "Genre has been a major fascination of literary criticism for much of the twentieth century. The construction of taxonomies based on close textual analysis occupied many scholars of the modern era, while postmodern criticism has tended to deconstruct the process of genre construction itself—that is, to ask why the exercise is undertaken, not how—or to emphasize the flexibility and overlap of genres."[49]

One reason to create taxonomies is not hard to discern: to use them as marketing tools. A website company named Jaboom! MoodLogic, Inc. (formerly Emotioneering, Inc.), in the process of formulating "the next generation of music search engines," enlisted in the spring of 2000 a number of music experts (myself included) to be part of its research and development. An email from John Hajda, the company's Director of Music Taxonomy, included a lengthy listing of genre and style names (which he called sub genres, also spelled subgenre in the same document). The purpose in creating the taxonomy was to classify songs. He was asking help with the style names; the genre names were not in question.

> The list contains the proposed divisions (genres) and subdivisions (sub genres) of our song universe. Our goal is not to come up with every possible category under which a song might fit. Rather, we are trying to come up with the smallest possible number of categories that will still allow every song in a genre to be categorized.... Please indicate if you consider any sub genres listed to be superfluous or unnecessary, as well

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[49] Hamm: 371

as any glaring sub genre omissions without which certain songs cannot be categorized. In some genres, we have additional features that help us to describe and categorize music. These include rhythms, time signatures, dance steps and the like.[50]

Their list of genres includes: rock; latin; country; alternative, indie and punk; classical/ art music; electronica/ dance and DJ; folk; new age; pop/ easy listening; R&B [rhythm and blues]/ soul; reggae; and rap/ hip-hop. Sub genres seem to proliferate in newly formed genres such as electronica/ dance and DJ (which dates to the 1970s at the earliest); as sub genres it contains ambient, dance pop, jungle/drum 'n' bass, techno-house, trance, and trip-hop. "Additional features" for this genre include big beat, break beat, four on the floor, funky breaks, and turntablism. The classical/ art genre (with the sub genres medieval, renaissance, baroque, classical, romantic, post romantic, and modern/ avant-gard [sic]), has these additional features: ballet, choral, opera, oratory, orchestra, and vocal non-opera. Additional features of country are ballad, boogie, swing, two-step, and waltz. In folk they are jig 6/8, reel 2/4, two-step 4/4, and waltz ¾. And finally, for jazz the features are ballad, jazz standard, jazz waltz, swing rhythm, and walking bass.

Collectively, the additional features acknowledge that several specifics beyond these of rhythm, time signature, and dance steps listed in the email—namely conventions of form, instrumental use, accompaniment formulas, and function—are important in distinguishing nuances of style. Regardless of any

[50] Email received June 22, 2000. For more information, see www.jaboom.com.

kinks to be worked out—alternative rock is named as its own genre and also as a sub genre of rock for example—it is a good example of a commercial application of genre and style nomenclature.[51]

What is really underneath these distinctions is a linguistic concept. Note the use of words for speech in this phrase by musicologist Richard Middleton: "A genre can be thought of as analogous to a discursive formation, in the sense that in such a formation there is regulation of vocabulary, types of syntactic unit, formal organization, characteristic themes, modes of address (who is speaking to whom and after what fashion), and structures of feeling."[52] Another musicologist, Peter Van der Merwe, says simply "'style' is really a less pretentious synonym for 'basic musical language.'"[53] This language is commonly understood to be comprised of musical elements—rhythm, harmony, melody, and timbre—expressed by choices relating to form, texture, instrumentation, composition, and improvisation.

Musical style as a concept has, in academia, traditionally and logically been seen as the province of the field of music, where there are the scholars who have the analytic tools to decipher it. In A History of Western Music (1973), for decades a standard college and university textbook, musicologist Donald Jay Grout wrote: "The history of music is primarily the history of musical style, and it

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[51] In Jaboom!'s formulation, the genre rock contains these sub genres: Alternative Rock, British Invasion, Country/Southern Rock, Folk Rock, Hard Rock & Metal, Jam Bands, Pop Rock, Progressive/Art Rock, Psychedelic Rock, Rock & Roll/Roots, Rockabilly, and Surf Rock. The genre called alternative, indie and punk contains the following as sub genres: Alternative Metal, Funk and Rap Rock, Goth, Grunge, Hardcore & Punk, Industrial, and New Wave.
[52] Middleton: 144-145
[53] Van Der Merwe: 3

cannot be grasped except by first-hand knowledge of the music itself."[54] Classical music, until recently the only music suitable for academic inquiry, was studied as a series of chronological periods differentiated by the styles that typified them. Grout stated in reference to the Baroque period, considered to be 1600 to 1750: "it is possible and convenient to take these dates as the approximate limits within which certain ways of organizing musical material, certain ideals of musical sound, and certain kinds of musical expression developed from diverse and scattered beginnings to an assured and workable system."[55] Thus, three notions of music—organization, ideals, and expressions—are the indicators of style. At the same time, "the music produced in any age must reflect, in terms appropriate to its own nature, the same conceptions and tendencies that are expressed in other arts contemporary with it."[56] Each age, he is saying, had a temperament, such as the buoyant optimism exhibited in the Renaissance.[57] The conclusion, it seems, from this and other consistent statements, is style is a combination of historical period, its temperament, and musical treatments that reflect them.

In academia, the standard idea of what music is has been steadily enlarged to include a more global perspective. Also, input from other disciplines has helped form a broader concept of the factors that affect style. In the preface to the first edition of A History of Western Music (1960), Grout wrote: "A generation ago this book would have been called simply a 'History of Music.' Today's view is

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[54] Grout: xi
[55] Grout: 293
[56] Grout: 294
[57] Grout: 173

different, and the word *Western* in our title reflects the realization that the musical system of western Europe and the Americas is but one of several among the civilizations of the world."[58] Notwithstanding the sweeping inclusiveness of the book's title that remained, the topic of Grout's text was not all the music of western civilization, only its classical music, also referred to as "serious music" ("art music of a certain complexity which requires some effort to understand").[59] The rest of its musical expressions, apparently, were uncivilized. Though aware of one ethnocentrism, of geography, Grout appears not to have acknowledged another bias, the privileging of elite ("highbrow") culture over popular ("lowbrow") culture. In the revised (1973) edition of A History of Western Music, the author dispatched popular music in a single paragraph in the chapter on the twentieth century.

The erection of a boundary dividing elite from popular culture occurred in the years around 1900 as discussed by historian Lawrence Levine in Highbrow/ Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America. The more recent erosion of this scholarly and aesthetic boundary is a trend Robert F. Berkhofer called *dehierarchicalization*. Its name comes from the tendency to deny transcendental or universal principles or values in the evaluation of all forms of art and make aesthetic standards relative to the "specific location of the observer."[60]

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[58] Grout: xi
[59] Grout: 727. On this page, the last in the book, he admits that the audience for his topic "has never at any time been more than a minute fraction of the population."
[60] Berkhofer: 593.

The terms highbrow and lowbrow are borrowed from phrenology and imply the superiority of western and northern Europeans.[61] *Highbrow* was first used in the 1880s to mean intellectual or aesthetic superiority, and *lowbrow*, first used around 1900, meant of low intelligence and coarse. *Culture*, at first mostly associated with agriculture, came to mean refinement.[62] The noun *class* had taken on hierarchical adjectives (lower, middle, upper, working) a hundred years earlier due to economic changes consequent to the Industrial Revolution. In the late 19th and early 20th century *culture* took on similar words (high, low, legitimate, popular) from the consequences of modernization. Large sections of the population, however, held high culture in contempt, or were at least ambivalent, not just from anti-intellectualism (as usually attributed) but a resistance and resentment of intellectual authority.[63] Levine debunks the notion that these categories are of long standing, the natural products of tradition.

Elevation of European high culture in America meant denigration of the products of homegrown talent. In music studies, this meant that it took a long time for academia to address genres and styles that were not classical. Jazz was among the first to be studied by trained scholars. Gunther Schuller's highly regarded Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development (1968) is a prominent example of applying the musicological approach to nonclassical western music. At the time of its publication, Schuller was head of Boston's New England Conservatory of Music and a major American composer. As he noted in his preface, previous jazz writing, with few exceptions, was descriptive,

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[61] Levine 1988: 221-23
[62] Levine 1988: 224-25.

impressionistic, "well-meaning amateur criticism and fascinated opinion."[64] His book is full of transcriptions of recorded passages and conclusions drawn from an exhaustive comparative listening program that included every single record that related to his study. Along with the listening, Schuller's approach was "to concentrate on those moments, those performances, and those musicians who in one way or another represent innovational landmarks in the development of jazz."[65] While he acknowledged that nonmusical factors have influenced the development of jazz, he declined to elaborate them.

Schuller carried on his method in the sequel, The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz 1930-1945 (1989), a tome which the reviewers, quoted on the back cover, called a masterpiece, a monumental contribution, and a magisterial achievement. In a brief final chapter entitled "Things to Come," the author used the terms "style," "idiom," "period," and "era" as synonyms. Words for change were "evolution," "development," "transition," "retrogression," and "moving forward." Change itself is an "intricate process," which Schuller said, "is analogous to the process scientists call 'phase transition': water when heated turning into steam, when frozen turning into ice; or as when rain changes to sleet and eventually to snow."[66] The shift from swing to bop was one phase transition: "evolving from one mode of expression to another, with the basic root concept and structure intact."[67] The basic root concept and structure I take to mean the genre itself. After swing's "atrophy by repetition, formularization, ...[and the] loss

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[63] Levine 1988: 236.
[64] Schuller 1968: vii
[65] Schuller 1968: ix
[66] Schuller 1989: 846n

of spontaneity of creation," bop found a place for its "fresh ideas and exploratory thrust" in the small combo format, "a flexible, versatile medium, the ideal vehicle for these new forms of expression."[68] Schuller thus posits that styles transform, expand, and contract as a product of their inherent momentum or lack of it. The notion of history as a series of styles, and styles as a particular recipe with musical components as ingredients (with only casual reference to cultural forces), continues to be found in the study of jazz and rock. Katherine Charlton in Rock Music Styles: A History, published in 1990 and updated most recently in 1998, unquestionably assumes this definition of style.

Beyond the western hemisphere, ethnomusicology applied academic rigor to "exotic" forms (which included European folk music). Style matters are at the heart of the discipline, a marriage of musicology and anthropology, which believes the structure of music and its cultural context are equally to be studied.[69] Bruno Nettl stated one of the discipline's most fundamental questions as "what makes the musical style of a people the way it is?"[70] "Style," according to Nettl, "is frequently used to indicate a body of music which is described as having some homogeneity."[71] This homogeneity he called an "aggregate of characteristics" which are shared among the compositions in a "cultural complex" such as a unified body of music.[72] Identifying such characteristics allows ethnomusicologists to distinguish how styles "reflect differences in cultural and

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[67] Schuller 1989: 849
[68] Schuller 1989: 848
[69] Nettl: 9
[70] Nettl: 197-98
[71] Nettl: 174
[72] Nettl: 169

historical tradition."[73] These bodies of music can be divided into various successively smaller units: over-all style (the general style of a culture), regional sub-styles, village or tribal styles, and individual personal styles. This is analogous to the units described by linguists: language, dialect (a localized variant), and idiolect (a person's unique variant). Additionally, linguists acknowledge specialized languages derived from specific activities involving tasks, sports, rituals, etc. In music this compares to styles related to particular instruments, to occasions such as ceremonies, or to hybrids developed through outside influences.[74]

Michael Hicks characterized the San Francisco sound as "not so much a new language as an amalgamation of dialects. Its fuzztone guitar and stereotypical chord progressions echoed garage rock; but its frequent minor keys, twangy guitars, and deep reverberation sounded like surf music...This style derived largely from Beat culture folk music...as well as influences from outside American popular music: Middle Eastern music...and certain jazz and classical."[75] While Hicks did accurately name most of the influences on psychedelic music, it was actually a new language, if we take the word to mean an organized, differentiated system adapted to a special purpose.[76]

By the early 1980s, certain ethnomusicology programs had started directing attention to American folk music and popular music. Also at that time, popular music was being studied in departments of English, communication studies,

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[73] Nettl: 187
[74] Nettl: 175
[75] Hicks: 61

history, and other disciplines, particularly by scholars with Marxist leanings. Marxism, which Charles Hamm called a modernist meta-narrative, is behind some of the six types of narratives he identified as shapers of the literature on popular music.[77] They all tend to exclude the mainstream, that is, what is clearly most popular. These narratives are products, like popular music itself, of the modern era (defined as from the Industrial Revolution to approximately the 1960s). The six narratives each work on an assumption of popular music: as musically autonomous, as part of mass (lowbrow) culture, as a canon of great works and people, as an expression of youth culture, or as one of two narratives of authenticity. The first of the two finds an authentic expression of ethnic, racial or national culture that is under threat of commercialism, the second discounts authenticity as not possible under the hegemony of capitalism.

In the 1980s, other approaches came to the fore, ones that assume "that popular music has a life, a legitimacy, and an ideology of its own; and that modern mass media have played a constructive rather than deconstructive role in modern culture."[78] Seen in this light, popular music is a valid cultural product, and the meanings people derive from music and their social practices around it take precedence over hierarchical or exclusionary structures. The shift from basing analysis on aspects of structure to ones of meaning, is a shift from form—

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[76] The New Lexicon Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language. Canadian Edition. New York: Lexicon, 1988: 504.
[77] Hamm: 1-40
[78] Hamm: 27

the "shape or structure of the work"—to content: "its substance, meaning, ideas, or expressive effects."[79]

The first books on black jazz appeared in the 1930s, on blues in the late 1950s, and on rock in the 1960s; they have appeared steadily ever since. Most use of some of the narratives discussed by Charles Hamm, particularly the one concerning canon formation. Books published in the 1980s and 1990s reveal the ways much of the consumer audience experiences implicit definitions of style. Perhaps under a turn-of-the-century impetus to evaluate the past, in the late 1990s there was a wave of guide books about genres—blues, country, rhythm & blues, gospel, etc. This was in addition to the plethora of textbooks for popular music, rock, and jazz courses (revealing the proliferation of such courses in colleges and universities). Unlike most of the textbooks, written by professors whose didactic intentions are gathered around a listening list, the guide books were written by experts (researchers, dedicated professional writers, record collectors), as buying guides and reference books. Like the textbooks, they are full of style descriptions, but also contain short biographies and record reviews. The guidebooks indicate the staggering amount of choice that the recording industry has succeeded in making available through retail, mail order, and online points of sale. Surveying such books shows how the terms genre and style, or their equivalents, are used to inform the public.

Blues books, such as The Blackwell Guide to Blues Records (Oliver, 1989), MusicHound Blues: The Essential Album Guide (Rucker, 1998), The All Music Guide to the Blues (Erlewine, et al., 1999), use mostly the same style names,

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[79] Middleton: 141

with slight variations. Usually presented in approximate chronological order, there are a number of organizing principles behind the names. Category names refer to: regional identity, implying a school of practice (Delta Blues, Piedmont Blues, Louisiana Blues, also called Swamp Blues, West Coast Blues, Texas Blues, and British Blues);[80] city (Memphis Blues, Chicago Blues); environment (Downhome Blues, once known as Country Blues or Rural Blues, Urban Blues); featured instrument (Jug Bands, Harmonica Blues, Piano Blues, Blues Slide Guitar); generation, for an early style (Songsters); gender (Classic Women Blues Singers); origin (The Roots of the Blues); era, as a temporal relation to major events (Pre-War Blues, Post-War Blues); phenomenon, in the genre's history of reception (Blues Rediscoveries); means of production (Modern Acoustic Blues, Modern Electric Blues); description (Boogie Woogie, an onomatopoeic description, Jump Blues); and coupling, with other genres (Jazz-Blues Crossover, Soul Blues, and Blues Rock).

Country music books such as The Illustrated History of Country Music (Carr, 1980), The Best of Country Music (Morthland, 1984), Country: The Music and the Musicians (Kingsbury, 1988), and The Blackwell Guide to Recorded Country Music (Allen, 1994), like their counterparts in blues, share their genre's style names with minor variations. Many of the organizing principles are similar, such as by instrumentation (Stringbands), era (Contemporary Country), and couplings of style or genre (Western Swing, Hillbilly Boogie, Rockabilly, Country-Pop, Irish Country, Country Rock, Country Gospel). City is highlighted (Nashville,

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[80] As these are used as chapter and section headings in the books under discussion, I have retained the use of capital letters.

Bakersfield Sound), as well as a veiled references to region (Bluegrass, named after Kentucky, "the Bluegrass State"), and social class (Hillbilly, originally for poor settlers in the Appalachian Mountains). There is one ethnic-geographic term (Cajun, derived from *Acadian* and implying the French speaking residents of Louisiana). Place is invoked also in reference to where the style is performed (Honky Tonk, a working class bar). Also there are styles named for occupations (Cowboy), social outlook (Countrypolitan, a cosmopolitan, twang-less pop variant), market and taste position (Alternative Country), and repertoire and singing style (Balladeers).

Jazz books like Jazz: The Simon and Schuster Listener's Guide to Jazz (Jones, 1980), and The Blackwell Guide to Recorded Jazz (Kernfeld, 1992), and Jazz: A Listener's Guide (McCalla, 2000), similarly use a fairly standard set of style names. As usual, one finds references to geography (Dixieland, also known as New Orleans Jazz, West Coast), era (Early Jazz, Modern Jazz, New Thing), instrumentation (Big Band, Vocal Jazz), and coupling (Jazz-Rock Fusion, Soul Jazz). However, we also find rhythm invoked (Swing), onomatopoeia (Bebop, also just called Bop), references to texture, mood, or form (Hard Bop, Cool Jazz, Free Jazz), chord-scale vocabulary (Modal Jazz), market and taste (Avant Garde), and historical awareness (Neo-Classicism).

Finally, a look at style names in rock books, such as The Best of Rock: The Essential CD Guide (Clayson, 1993), All Music Guide to Rock: The Best CDs, Albums & Tapes: Rock, Pop, Soul, R&B, and Rap (Erlewine, et al., 1997), and Musichound Rock: The Essential Album Guide (Graff, et al., 1998). As expected,

there are references to geography (British Invasion, Merseybeat, after the river Mersey at Liverpool, Southern Rock), and genre mixing (Folk Rock, Rock Blues, Country Rock, Rockabilly, that is, rock and roll with hillbilly). In two names geography is mixed with genre (New Orleans R&B, Chicago R&B). Along with a well maintained adherence to decades (Fifties Rock, Sixties Rock, etc.), one style name refers vaguely to temporal position (New Wave). References to consumers and places of musical activity imply the age of the audience (Bubblegum, implying pre-teens), their age, manner of appreciation, and its object (Teen Idols), location of rehearsals (Garage Rock), and location of consumption (Disco, after discotheque). From the perspective of the performer come style names that refer to costume (Glam Rock, also called Glitter Rock), musical role (Singer-Songwriter), gender (Girl Groups), emotional involvement (Soul), intention to communicate (Rap, from rapport), creative intention (Progressive Rock), and attitude (Punk, which can also refer to the attribute of its consumers). In addition to a market and taste related name (Alternative), is one referring to a record label that formed a recognizable style (Motown). Some names express sound or musical texture (Grunge, Hard Rock, Heavy Metal); one uses imitation (Doo Wop, from the singing of nonsense syllables). Unusual names are one referring to earthiness (Funk), sport (Surf), drugs (Acid Rock), and mental perceptions (Psychedelic). Further exploration in this direction would surely uncover more terms for styles in these and other genres.

To summarize the use of style names in the guide books, the defining elements of style can be grouped according to time (decade, era), history (points

of evolution, relationship to historical events), geography (city, region, environment, places of rehearsals, consumption, and performance), sound (instrumentation, texture, form, mood, chord-scale vocabulary, repertoire, relation to other genres), technology (use of amplification), audiences and performers (gender, generation, ethnicity, class, occupation, attitude, manner of appreciation, musical role, emotional involvement, momentum of artistic development), modes of presentation (staging), intended experience (communication, mental state), inspiration (drugs, sports), and the marketplace (taste, consumers, reception, record labels). It would follow, then, that a comprehensive exploration of a musical style along these lines should attend to time, history, geography, sound, technology, audiences and performers, modes of presentation, intended experience, inspiration, and the marketplace.

If style is to refer to more than just musical elements, as the use of style names indicates, then perhaps a new term is needed. Ethnomusicologists Jeff Todd Titon and Mark Slobin have adopted the term *music-culture*. It stands for "a group of people's total involvement with music: ideas, actions, institutions, [and] artifacts."[81] A music-culture has four components: ideas about music (including the belief system, aesthetics, contexts, and history), social organization of music ("how a group of people divides, arranges, or ranks itself"),[82] repertoires of music (including style, genres—referring to types of songs such as lullabies, texts, composition, transmission, and movement), and material culture of music (produced objects). The old concept of style—"everything

[81] Titon and Slobin: 1
[82] Titon and Slobin: 9

relating to the organization of musical sound itself"—is then only an aspect of the component called repertoires of music. A style's elements "depend on the music-culture's aesthetics."[83] Aesthetics is an aspect of ideas about music. To complete the circle would be to say that repertoires of music are connected to ideas about music.

As an expression of a shared way of life, the designation music-culture applies to various categories into which people are born: family, generation, race, language, ethnicity, religion, region, and nation. Not all categories need be utilized, for one may talk of the singing of the Jones family, the music of Italians in England, or the songs of older United Church members. As well, the term is applicable to choices of avocation (such as participation in barbershop quartet singing) and occupation (loggers), and activities like rituals (weddings, parades), and initiations (bar mitzvahs, proms).

Music-cultures are organized around cultures, but they can also be organized around musics. The worlds of jazz or classical music are considered music-cultures. As Titon and Slobin point out in reference to the international popularity of the blues, "the people in a music-culture need not share the same language, nationality, or ethnic origin."[84] The concept of music-culture is useful, but the term has not entered general use; people continue to use words like genre, form, type, or style when referring to jazz, classical, blues, alternative rock, disco, surf, etc. Titon and Slobin consider a style such as psychedelic as a subculture.

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[83] Titon and Slobin: 10
[84] Titon and Slobin: 13

The word subculture has come to be associated with a movement in British cultural studies. A critique of the influential "subculture project" was undertaken in Van M. Cagle's Reconstructing Pop/ Subculture: Art, Rock, and Andy Warhol (1994), an analysis of pop art and glitter rock. The author devoted a whole chapter to a history of the work of scholars associated with the Birmingham Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Projects there on music and related ones on media and ideology were unique in their emphasis on the raw materials of contemporary popular culture and the critical interweaving, as needed, of diverse theoretical positions.[85]

Two works in particular influenced Cagle. "Subcultures, Cultures and Class," by John Clarke, et al. (1976), outlined the theoretical strategies and contextual aims that guided the authors in the anthology in which it appeared.[86] A common thread in that book, according to Cagle, is the concept (of Phil Cohen's) that working-class youth subcultures "magically resolve" the contradictions of their working-class parent culture, through rituals involving fashion, music, language, and territory. Their resistance to the dominant order, unlike the often direct strategies of their parents, is ritualistic and symbolic. The second primary influence on Cagle's work was Subculture: the Meaning of Style by Dick Hebdige (1979), a book concerned with punk. While he acknowledged class as a structural component of British youth subcultures, Hebdige made race his analytic focus. He developed a poststructural approach, linked to Antonio

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[85] Cagle lists these as including semiotics, economic and political theories, structuralism and poststructuralism, continental philosophy, deconstruction, phenomenology, feminism, psychoanalysis, Marxism, post-Marxist analysis, "queer" theory, and postmodernism (21)
[86] This is the first chapter of Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War

Gramsci's theory of hegemony (about the power of the dominant classes), to comprehend the coded layers of style. At the base of this theory is a conflict model: the concept of society as a system of structured inequality.

Cagle detailed several critiques of subculture theory, including its lack of attention to gender, the underrating of mainstream popular culture, and its non-acknowledgement of the participation of people from other sectors. For example, Hebdige virtually ignored the contributions to punk by art school graduates and maverick fashion entrepreneurs (such as Malcolm McLaren). While he and related authors tended to analyze subcultures "that are essentially composed of anonymous groups" in the British Teddy Boy, mod, ska, and punk movements, they "render[ed] few accounts of the aesthetic forms and conditions that gave rise to subcultures."[87] Cagle's aim was to "expose the artistic and musical processes that lead to subcultural production."[88] To do so, he spoke of individuals and events to describe the hows and whys of pop art and glitter rock.

While I accept the concept behind British cultural studies, that popular culture is a crucial site for the construction of social identity, the shortcomings of subcultural theory cause me to put it to the periphery. Its reliance on theories of hegemony developed by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci aligns it with the modernist narratives outlined by Charles Hamm. Sociologist Richard Butsch, editor of For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption (1990), wrote of how issues of power, domination, and resistance, commonly applied by scholars to labor, were being applied to leisure, that part of life given

Britain, edited by Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson. London: Harper Collins, 1976: 9-79.
[87] Cagle: 46

to amusement, recreation, sports, play, fantasy, imagination, and pleasure. Leisure is supposedly free of domination, but is actually transformed by capitalistic development. Certainly music needs to be analyzed this way, for according to Butsch: "people create and yet are created by society: structure provides the meaningful context whereby action is possible even as it constrains that action."[89] However, I side with Lawrence Levine when he says, while hegemony is a "condition many historians have come to assume existed...[i]f we become too obsessed with power, we risk losing sight of culture itself."[90]

The concept of place—literal or figurative—is regularly used in attempting to understand art movements, individual artists, and performances. In relationship to music, place can be categorized as physical, interpreted, or conceptual. Physical places are actual locations; where populated, they are suffused with human endeavor and social exchanges, marked by cities, buildings, etc. Genres and the styles that develop out of them can be seen as interpreted places.[91] Networks such as art worlds and scenes can be considered as conceptual places. While not totally divorced from physicality, conceptual places deal with ideas borrowed from physical reality such as inside versus outside, belonging versus exclusion, and frontiers.[92]

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[88] Cagle: 46
[89] Butsch: 7
[90] Levine 1992: 1429
[91] The genres that are the sources of rock and roll are all imbued with a sense of place. They call up visions of cities and areas: country (Mid-South farmlands and hills), folk (Appalachian Mountains, rustic pioneer settings), jazz (New Orleans, Mississippi riverboats, New York nightclubs), gospel (Southern churches, heaven), blues (the Delta, Chicago).
[92] Philip Ennis, in The Seventh Stream: The Emergence of RocknRoll in American Popular Music (1992), discussed the nature of social and artistic boundaries and their creation and maintenance, violation and repair. He said the "alternation of commitment to and release from those boundaries is one of the deepest rhythms of a social life" [Ennis: 2].

An example of style seen as an interpreted place, in this case America in microcosm, is David W. Stowe's Swing Changes: Big Band Jazz in New Deal America. The author's concept of the music treats it not only as sound but also as a social practice, as seen in performances, audiences, ideologies, and interactions with mass media. The meaning of music is constructed; its qualities depend on conditioning, which is culturally and historically specific. In charting swing's rise and fall as a pervasive phenomenon of mass culture, Stowe found swing's tensions and contradictions—race, politics, its own cultural status, and the role of women—to be the same as society's. The style was closely related to the ideology of Americanism in the years of the Depression and the Second World War. The central link was the New Deal, which was more than just legislative initiatives and government agencies, but a cultural movement. It brought new ways of thinking about history, racial and cultural difference, and the nature of American society. Swing's "decline paralleled the end of a distinctive moment of self-definition for many Americans."[93] Psychedelic music's decline paralleled the end of a distinctive moment of self-definition for many hippies.

In Art Worlds, sociologist Howard S. Becker described an art world as a conceptual place formed through a network of people whose combined knowledge of conventional ways of working produces art. He treated art as work and artists as workers, and viewed the ones at a lowly, mundane level, including crafts people who help make art works, as important as the ones who conceive them. His concern was not with aesthetics but social organization. Becker was more interested in patterns of cooperation between participants—not just the

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[93] Stowe: 1

creators—than art works themselves. In terms of the organization of art worlds, collective activity within the San Francisco psychedelic community included the various roles played by promoters, club owners, poster artists, light show operators, music store workers, inventors and manufacturers of technology, audiences, and the interactions between musicians and bands.

The scene, another conceptual place, is often described as imaginary (or nearly).[94] For their dangerous potential for cultural transformation, geographically situated scenes create excitement in rock music. Distinguished from locations that produce mere stylistic permutation, expressed as generic development of locally significant cultural values, the intensity of activity within a scene makes it capable of what Barry Shank called "semiotic disruption."[95] "Through this display," wrote Shank, "of more than can be understood, encouraging the radical recombination of elements...in[to] new structures of identification, local rock 'n' roll scenes produce momentary transformations within dominant cultural meanings."[96] In this view, San Francisco psychedelia qualifies as a scene.

Mark J.V. Olson described a musical scene as more than a cultural space which produces a sense of community (as perceived, according to Olson, by Will Straw), and more than a marketing or media-constructed entity with the cultural mobility to move beyond music into fashion and film (as suggested by Lawrence Grossberg). While accepting Grossberg's concept that scenes are characterized by a particular logic able to withstand changes in musical style, Olson refused to

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[94] Gay: 123-26
[95] Shank: 122

see them as synonymous with community. They are always related to geography, and are colored by the values they give to visions of the past, present, and future.

Rock music's promise of excitement and mobility, in contrast to the boredom and rootedness of everyday life, is acted upon by rock music's fans, who become migrants and pilgrims to scenes. Some fans achieve this without leaving home, by immersing themselves (listening, dancing) in music which provides them an "imagined destination, a utopic space of 'true' authenticity."[97] Fans are drawn "toward the imagined full-bodied, robust experiences" of the cool, hip, and authentic life one might lead if one were on the scene.[98] A scene represents a place "where nobody is, but where everybody belongs."[99] Olson concluded that fans form allegiances to ideas of place. These scenes are usually associated with college towns away from the traditional corporate centers of the music industry. San Francisco's relative geographic remoteness allowed time for a vibrant scene to thrive away from music industry scrutiny and the often creativity-numbing influence of narrow-minded corporate record labels in the major centers.[100]

The force of desire turns fans into pilgrims seeking salvation from the mundane, joined by their common urge to belong and to move. Fickle as fans

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[96] Shank: 122
[97] Olson: 282
[98] Olson: 283
[99] Olson: 283, quoting A. Melechi, "The Ecstasy of Disappearance." Rave Off: Politics and Deviance in Contemporary Youth Culture, edited by S.Redhead, Aldershot, UK: Avebury, 1993: 37.
[100] Distance from New York, Los Angeles, and London helped the development of music in other secondary markets such as Liverpool (home of the Beatles and the other Merseybeat groups), Memphis (rockabilly, soul), and Nashville (country).

are, they become real or imagined migrants. The "escape from everyday life is never really attainable. Authenticity is always already displaced to a 'somewhere else.'"[101] Because fans face toward the promise and the possibilities of the unknown, they never arrive but are continually oriented to new scenes. Historically, this is the Saturday night of leisure time, where the action is. Every city has a place catering to this urge, but the music business and the fans identify certain cities as "happening" scenes. Some of these are recognized in hindsight, such as Memphis in the mid-1950s. At the time, only people in the Mid-South would have been aware of it as a scene. Those who did move were performers looking to make it, not fans hoping to catch the vibrations. In the 1960s, scenes like the Liverpool of embryonic Beatlemania were still not identifiably available. Though Olson barely referred to anything before the 1990s, his pilgrimage concept is applicable to the media-induced mass migration to San Francisco in 1967. Haight-Ashbury was perhaps the earliest rock and roll scene available for fans to access while it was still developing. The influx of migrant fans following the media coverage of the Human Be-In of January 1967—a self-conscious gathering of tribes that is a legendary event—led to the overwhelming of the scene as the new population strained local resources and attracted predatory factions.

Some striking parallels to the Haight-Ashbury scene can be found in the New York scene described in Diana Crane's The Transformation of the Avant-Garde: The New York Art World, 1940-1985 (1987), a rare systematic analysis of visual materials by a sociologist. The author identifies avant-garde artists as a

[101] Olson: 286n

cohesive group committed to iconoclastic aesthetic values and rejecting popular culture and middle-class life-styles. Their art was esoteric, appreciated by a small audience, and disseminated through a specialized network. Crane outlined the evolution of the avant-garde and environmental and historical factors in its appearance and seeming disappearance. The growth in popularity of avant-garde art was seen in the increasing numbers of artists, galleries and attendees, art institutions (museums, corporate collections, and centers), collectors, and the rise in purchase prices (revealed by public auction sales).

Crane divided the audience for these works into three constituencies: organizational patrons (government, universities, and corporations who provide financial support), professional art experts (critics, curators versed in aesthetics who play a role in the art's dissemination), and dealers and private collectors who sell and purchase art works. For the San Francisco bands, the organizational patrons were the record companies: Autumn, RCA, Warner Brothers, Vanguard, Capitol, Kama Sutra, Columbia, and Mercury. The role of expert critic was played by certain individuals like Ralph J. Gleason, the first journalist to champion acid rock bands in his music columns in the San Francisco Chronicle. He became a founder of Rolling Stone magazine and later wrote The Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound. The dealers' and collectors' roles were played by the record store owners and the concert promoters (mentioned below) who presented the recordings and performances to the public.

San Francisco in the 1960s was a culture hearth. The term as used by geographer Larry Ford indicates a place where, due to special characteristics, a

particular cultural trait (or group of them) originates.[102] According to Ford: "The emergence and popularization of any new kind of music needs a patron and a center so that ideas may be exchanged and songs can be written and performed—in short, a place to facilitate personal contact."[103] San Francisco's size and importance in its region gave it sufficient resources, namely a pool of creative talent, the presence of patrons, and available venues. Some of the most famous venues of the period and their patrons were the Matrix (Marty Balin, founder of the Jefferson Airplane); the Avalon Ballroom (Chet Helms, the hippie promoter); and the Fillmore Auditorium, the Carousel Ballroom (renamed Fillmore West), and Winterland (all run by Bill Graham, the un-hip promoter who became the world's foremost impresario). The city had independent labels, Autumn being the first rock one, that were willing to try something new and a few radio stations that were willing to play local recordings.

All of these approaches to understand style return, sooner or later, to the actual music. A musical style is contained, indeed it exists, in performances: live, preserved on recordings, or as yet unplayed. The infinite possible versions of a piece of music are resolved in the recording. A single recording, a tiny yet significant example, will convey features of the style and clues to the composers' and performers' intentions and methods. The realization of ideas through a palette of available options expresses a particular moment: an intersection of human energy, geography, and time period—a point of evolution in other words.

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[102] Ford: 456
[103] Ford: 457

Charles T. Brown proposes that "the history of rock gains momentum every time some way is found to rebel against the establishment."[104] Folk rock had its social protest, surf perhaps its advocacy of leisure over work, psychedelic its expansive, fanciful, retreatist thinking over constricted, conformist, linear thinking. For the punks of the 1970s, "their attack on the vacuity of pop was merely an instinctive means to a far more disturbing attack on sex, as the mystification behind love, on love, as the mystification behind the family, on the family, as the mystification behind the class system, on the class system, as the mystification behind capitalism, and finally on the very notion of progress—as the ultimate mystification behind postindustrial Western society itself."[105]

Another way to understand a style is to see what change facilitated its advent. For example, surf music arose following innovations in surfboard technology: a lightweight foam plastic board, suitable for the youth market, helped the sport to grow.[106] Blues rock came about after British Invasion groups exposed blues traditions to their young white audiences. The availability of LSD led to psychedelic rock.

To talk about momentum or origin is to assume a trajectory and the possibility of an ending. In between a beginning and ending one would expect a development. "We," wrote Bruno Nettl of ethnomusicologists, "are interested in the reasons for change (or a lack of change), and in its nature, degree, and rate."[107] Naming the steps of a development leads to theories of how the

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[104] Brown: 149
[105] Marcus: 598
[106] Szatmary: 68-69
[107] Nettl: 227

progress is achieved; evolution is a logical choice. Nettl said: "We label an approach evolutionary if it recognizes a generally valid series of stages of musical style, into which the data are then fitted."[108]

The concept of evolution will forever be associated with the English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809-82). The observations he made by while voyaging on a survey vessel led to his 1859 theory of evolution by natural selection. In his view, the evolution of all living things is a process of development from earlier, primitive forms to present, complex forms whose specialized state is better suited to environmental conditions. Vital ameliorations are achieved by functional adaptations and randomly occurring mutations that prove beneficial. According to Brian Alters of the Evolution Education Research Centre, a joint project between McGill and Harvard University, Darwin's idea of evolution is "the fundamental theory of all of life, all the life sciences, all of biology."[109] The Darwinian concept of the survival of the fittest, where the predominant approaches are achieved through natural selection (by chance or design), can be applied to cycles of human development, including artistic endeavors and psychological solutions to challenges. In popular music, the fittest aspects, artists, or productions survive on popularity or influence, or on patronage, especially of record companies.

While biographical studies tend to treat individuals as solitary intervenors in a historical situation, evolutionary studies of artistic movements tend to treat styles as organic entities passing through inevitable phases that include birth and

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[108] Nettl: 240
[109] Swoger: A4

death. Certain potent styles do appear to have a trajectory analogous to organic life. Successful styles could be seen as formed by particular (fertile) situations, sprouting like plants and flowering in drama and glory. Their expressions, preserved in artifacts, may be likened to precious petals from which emanate a lingering romantic fragrance, while their influence germinates future growths. As with the naming of prize strains of flowers, an honored status for the style and its artifacts is conferred through a consensus of aficionados aiming to ensure a legacy. The organic metaphor is a very common one, even for musicians. John Barbata, drummer for the Turtles, said in 1968: "Any group has a life span and you have to make material gains through that time."[110] However Peter Van der Merwe offers a caution: "[O]ne must be careful in drawing biological parallels. A musical form can have two lives, depending on whether one is looking at it from the point of view of the composer or the listener. To the present-day composer the fugue may be dead, but it lives on for the listener."[111]

According to Bruno Nettl, evolutionary theories that propose to explain the historical development of basic musical elements such as scale, form, and rhythm, or repertoire within and across tribal cultures, have not generally been accepted. There are seemingly insurmountable problems to do with the data to be analyzed: how to make a representative selection, how to categorize it, and how to interpret it. Nettl concedes that evolutionary schemes can be useful for the purpose of arranging and classifying materials, and for explaining the development of specific cases. However he refuses to accept that "all cultures

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[110] "The Turtles: Learning About Themselves": 23
[111] Van der Merwe: 97

ultimately pass through the same set of musical stages.... We can say categorically that there is no evidence to support the notion that music [as a whole] passes through predetermined and predictable stages."[112] To be of practical use, evolutionary schemes "must thus be limited...to restricted areas and phenomena, and the existence of other factors must always be admitted."[113]

I postulate that what happens with scientific research programs is similar to what happens with popular music styles, and that popular music styles themselves could be described as research programs. In Perception, Theory and Commitment (1977), Harold I. Brown, a professor of philosophy, discussed the history and evolution of two major scientific research programs: logical empiricism and the new image of science that followed. One of the philosophers who ushered in the new image of science in the years 1958 to 1962 was Thomas S. Kuhn, who analyzed the structure of scientific revolutions within a framework of paradigm shifts.[114] He and others determined that several research programs might exist simultaneously, with some in states of fresh success, and others in stagnation, revival, or chaos. Music styles go through these states and exist simultaneously.

Brown said that as a research program matures, theories generally are replaced because of experimental failure. A new theory incorporates successful elements of its predecessor and explains the data that brought the earlier theory into question. A promising theory leads to new predictions that are verified experimentally. To paraphrase Brown while applying these ideas to music: *As a*

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[112] Nettl: 241-42
[113] Nettl: 241

music style matures, styles generally are replaced because of artistic or commercial failure. A new stylistic approach incorporates successful elements of its predecessor(s) and deals with whatever brought the earlier style into question. A promising style leads to new creative explorations that are validated artistically and commercially. The norm is the simultaneous existence of several research programs, with rival research programs contributing elements to each other, and degenerating research programs being revived.

Peter Van der Merwe wrote that a structural value (which he calls a matrix), "may die in one type of music and live on in another, the obvious example being the survival in folk or popular music of matrices that have perished in 'art' music. Nor is a matrix ever irrevocably dead; revival is always possible. The history of art is, among other things, a history of revival."[115]

The matrix is "a unit of musical communication"[116] such as a regular beat, a fixed musical note, or an individual chord. They are found grouped together in concrete ways (songs, styles), and conceptual ones (sonata form, or the keynote with its feeling of home base). All seem to depend on truisms and come with implications. The major scale, for example, depends on the idea of fixed intervals, and it implies, among other things, a sequence of chords (which can be revealed by stacking diatonic thirds above scale notes). A matrix can carry embedded meanings: "The major mode is bright, the minor dark; slow tempos

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[114] Brown: 97-98, 180
[115] Van der Merwe: 97
[116] Van der Merwe: 96

express repose, fast tempos animation."[117] The "additional features" of the styles in the Jaboom! taxonomy could be considered matrices.

An idea similar to Van der Merwe's matrix—a structural value that carries a meaning—is found in Thomas Vargish and Delo E. Mook's book Inside Modernism: Relativity Theory, Cubism, Narrative (1990). The authors called each of their three subjects (a scientific theory, a style of painting, and a technique of fiction writing) a cultural diagnostic. Cultural diagnostics are "advanced intellectual activities that serve to reveal the underlying *values* of the period."[118] The term can be applied to "any human activity or production that may be analyzed in order to abstract the historically defining values."[119] Value they define as "an underlying but identifiable characteristic... pervasive, almost ubiquitous at a certain level of culture during a certain period."[120] Values are not necessarily new, they just become dominant themes or qualities. A popular music style could be called a cultural diagnostic as it contains within it historically defining values. Value as used here is similar to matrix.

On hearing musical variations of any kind, Van der Merwe argued, one can find matrices in the "elements of the theme which are repeated in the variations."[121] Each of the following could be called a matrix: a rhythmic figure, time signature, cadence, phrase grouping, improvisation pattern, or song's tune family. Established matrices may be invoked by the slightest gesture; for example a single note in a melodic climax can imply a specific harmony. When

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[117] Van der Merwe: 95
[118] Vargish and Mook: 4
[119] Vargish and Mook: 4
[120] Vargish and Mook: 6-7

combined, they quickly resist comprehensive explanation: "beyond the simplest level, matrices become so subtle that rules attempting to describe them are inevitably simplifications."[122] The course of their existence depends on their nature. "As with living organisms, it is the simplest which are most durable, while the complicated and specialized are in danger of rapid extinction. Matrices on the level of the regular beat or the perfect fifth are in no danger of decay. It is the complex and delicate creations of music that have the shortest lives—the Baroque fugue, the Classical system of tonality, late Romantic chromatic harmony."[123] Compared to the life of the perfect fifth, the life of the Baroque fugue may seem short, but compared to that, the life of a style such as psychedelic rock is momentary. Words such as complicated, special, and delicate do seem appropriate for psychedelic music.

Van der Merwe sees the life of a style in terms of the organic phases of a new matrix. "Typically, the new matrix will go through an extended period of gestation before being born, during which it will be vague, irregular, and sporadic."[124] Birth, from the combination of old matrices, is usually relatively quick, and is "followed by the usual pattern of growth, maturity, decay, and death."[125] Once discovered, new matrices generate a "burst of creative energy."[126] When the new style is still uncodified, what appears to be freedom is merely rules as yet unwritten: "the matrices governing a particular style tend to be codified when that style is (at

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[121] Van der Merwe: 94
[122] Van der Merwe: 99
[123] Van der Merwe: 97
[124] Van der Merwe: 97
[125] Van der Merwe: 97
[126] Van der Merwe: 97

best) well matured or (more probably) going out of fashion."[127] The growth is usually rapid: "as soon as composers become conscious of a new matrix, they eagerly explore its possibilities. At first it will probably used in a stiffly simple way, but soon it will be elaborated on and lengthened if possible."[128] This elaboration is part of the mature phase, one of variable length. "Eventually either stability is attained or the elaboration reaches its limit, and decadence sets in."[129] Once the possibilities are exhausted, the decadent phase is typically relatively short: "the matrix comes to be used less and less in its pure, direct form, and more and more in indirect, implicit ways."[130]

There are, then, many ways of looking at style. No longer is it seen just in terms of form, it can be considered as a branch on a taxonomy, a category that helps define its genre, a research program, a music-culture, a scene, a cultural diagnostic, and a matrix. The ideas about evolution brought forth by Gunther Schuller, Harold I. Brown, and Bruno Nettl provide a context for the model of style evolution, and Peter Van der Merwe's concept of matrices as an indicator of musical style provides a tool to apply to the notion of phase transition.

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[127] Van der Merwe: 100
[128] Van der Merwe: 98
[129] Van der Merwe: 98
[130] Van der Merwe: 98

Context

Chapter 2. Definition and Overview of Psychedelic Music

The dimensions of a musical style are usually determined by answering questions about who did what at its creation and peak expression, when and where it happened, and how it sounds. When recordings or performances are clearly outside the usual categories, a new style name may appear. Once a new style name is widely adopted—having won out over competing names—a general definition is implied, usually based on model examples that become archetypes. Later, a more comprehensive definition is attempted.

Psychedelic is one of few music styles whose name is derived from a sensation.[131] Whether the style is called psychedelic or acid rock, both refer to LSD. In the early use, both are common, with acid rock the preferred term for book authors. More recently, perhaps to avoid confusion with 1990s styles that used the word acid (acid jazz, acid house), psychedelic is the favored appellation for the 1960s style. Another name for psychedelic that was used on occasion was head music, implying that the music was intended for mental rather than physical stimulation, profundity rather than triviality. Lillian Roxon wrote in 1971: "In 1969, he [Tommy James] finally got away from the bubblegum with a nice

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[131] Surf is named for a sport; musicians refer to or attempt to simulate the experience of surfing. Blues is named for a feeling. None of the following are named for a sensation or a feeling: swing, ragtime, jazz, classical, gospel, reggae, ska, rockabilly, punk, celtic, baroque, folk, bluegrass, honky tonk, western swing, fusion, grunge, techno, etc.

piece of head music called *Crimson and Clover*."[132] "Music For the Mind" was the subtitle adopted (in February 1981 and retained to this day), by Relix magazine when it wanted to signal a return to its roots in covering the music of the Grateful Dead and related acts after flirting with coverage of new wave and commercial rock.[133] The phrase may have originated in the 1967 album title by Country Joe and the Fish, Electric Music for the Mind and Body. A general but less common term for rock music of the 1960s, including psychedelic and pop rock sounds, was "happening music," implying activity and excitement.[134]

When psychedelic became identified, in 1967, as a fad, some acts rejected the term. Miranda Ward, a London correspondent for the American magazine Hit Parader, wrote at the time: "'PSYCHEDELIC' is just another label thought up inadvertently by some unassuming little guy somewhere- but the hangup is that it appears to be taking a great hold on people's imaginations!.... [I]f any group or entertainment- yes, even BEETHOVEN's 5th (if that's your scene) – takes you up and out of yourself and lets you forget your problems and dig it for a while...then for you it's psychedelic!.... All the groups in England who are being told they are psychedelic are denying it profusely!"[135] In the same column, Glenn Campbell, a member of the Misunderstood (from California, relocated to England), said: "we are NOT a psychedelic group! We are just trying to go beyond sounds, to present an exciting, visual act. We are giving them a flying carpet, a vehicle to

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[132] Roxon: 254. Savage calls this song "the last great psychedelic Number 1." Savage: unpaginated
[133] Abraham: 30
[134] "The Turtles: Learning About Themselves."
[135] Ward: 24

leave this dimension."[136] These statements seem in contradiction: the columnist says that any music that has the power to transport a listener is psychedelic, and the musician she interviews describes his music in just those terms but denies the label. They were a psychedelic group: the Misunderstood's "Children of the Sun" is one of the top psychedelic songs according to the canonical lists discussed in this chapter. On the same page in Hit Parader, the Move and Pink Floyd, two other bands with songs on the lists, also deny that they are psychedelic: the Move said "It's all a load of rubbish!" and Pink Floyd said "We are not psychedelic". However, Miranda Ward related that they both performed with light shows that between them included stroboscopes, lights connected to amps in order to pulse with the music, and three projectors that used paints and chemicals to make weird, swirling, warm, and beautiful patterns on the players and the large white backcloth hung behind the stage. Light shows purposely tried to simulate the effects and visions of the drug experience, so their use aligns the bands with psychedelia. That "no faces could be seen properly and no personalities came across to tie it all together"[137] is a typical effect of light shows, but also is consistent with the non-hierarchical ideology of psychedelic music.

Glenn Campbell continued: "Our music…if it has to be defined..is 'Love Music'…Love music is awareness – and when awareness is total, then man-made emotions like hate, fear and envy are abolished and what is left is love – which is the truth of life."[138] It seems, then, that whether these artists accepted the term psychedelic or not, they worked in the style nonetheless, and at least

[136] Ward: 25
[137] Ward: 25

part of their music has been categorized, both at the time and historically, as such.

A definition published in a Victoria music newspaper in 1967 said that psychedelic music "tends towards a certain kind of surrealistic impressionism. There is often the use of color symbols that denote release...the use of revelation, i.e., that people are lonely (Eleanor Rigby), that people are lonely and play games (Desolation Row), that death is the only significant reality (Desolation Row, Gates of Eden, A Day in the Life), and of religious discovery (Eight Miles High)."[139] None of the first three songs named are considered psychedelic now (and at the time of writing may not have been by anyone other than the author). Bob Dylan's "Desolation Row" and "Gates of Eden" are folk, Paul McCartney sings the Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby" accompanied by only a classical string octet. This definition nonetheless gives us a glimpse into a concept in evolution, and revelation and religion are themes that occur in numerous psychedelic songs. Two years later, with more psychedelic music available and some hindsight, came an excellent definition. At the "PSYCHEDELIC MUSIC" entry in Lillian Roxon's Rock Encyclopedia, written in 1969, it says "see ACID ROCK." There, where no other location but San Francisco is mentioned (for its dance scene, ballrooms, and its discovery of hallucinogens), Roxon traces a link between the effects of LSD and the musical elements of the style:

> [It was] music that tried to reproduce the distorted hearing of a person under the influence of lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD). The idea was to

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[138] Ward: 25
[139] Russell: 4

> recreate for someone who was not drugged the illusion of an LSD experience through music (an illusion heightened by light shows designed to reproduce *visual* aspects of a trip).... It was slower and more languid than hard rock, incorporating much of the Oriental music that was providing background sounds for the drug experiences of that period. Numbers tended to run on longer as though time as we normally know it had lost its meaning. Notes and phrasings lurched and warped in a way that had not, until then, been considered acceptable in rock. Lyrics conjured up images previously confined to the verses of poets like Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Blake....[T]he term acid rock could be taken to mean *enhancing* as well as *inducing* psychedelic transports.[140]

Michael Hicks defined psychedelic as "extremely loud, reverberant, contrapuntal rock, slowed in tempo, unstable in harmony, and juxtapositional in form...at least some of the music's parameters must go through devices that create 'molten' shapes in timbre, articulation, and spatial placement."[141] His proposal that the key to its stylistic definition lies in three fundamental effects of LSD—which he calls dechronicization, depersonalization, and dynamization[142]—that were translated into musical expressions is a brilliant extension of Roxon's idea that the style attempted to recreate "the illusion of an LSD experience through music." Dechronicization, depersonalization, and dynamization refer, respectively, to aspects of time, personality, and structure that were accepted as

[140] Roxon: 1
[141] Hicks: 73

stable, sound, or predictable but that became, under the drug's influence, conceptually and perceptually fluid.

Dechronicization is moving "outside of conventional perceptions of time."[143] In music, this is expressed in slow tempos, lengthy renditions, and meandering solos, often made of motivic licks that slowly transform, supported by ostinato figures played on the bass. Repetition engenders a hypnotic quality. Darby Slick, of the Great Society, supports Hicks's notion of dechronicization: "When music is really happening, it creates a new world, or even a new universe. Time, in the normal sense, seems to disappear, and the 'now' opens up and becomes all pervasive...there is acceptance, and even bliss...From the musician's perspective...the music seems to play itself."[144] Country Joe McDonald's definition also includes dechronicization: "The music slowly segues one thing into another, but the sections aren't clearly defined, and in the imagery and the way the instruments interplay with each other there's a timeless feel. That's what I meant by psychedelic—slow and intertwining and contemplative and abstract, but at the same time giving you not like a totally abstract piece, giving you an impression in your mind, painting a picture."[145]

Hicks defines depersonalization as the process of losing "the self and gain[ing] an 'awareness of undifferentiated unity.'"[146] Slick's comments above ("there is acceptance, and even bliss...the music seems to play itself") apply

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[142] Hicks: 63-74
[143] Hicks: 63
[144] Slick: 61-62
[145] Ruhlmann 1991: 8
[146] Hicks: 63, quoting John Blofield, "A High Yogic Experience Achieved with Mescaline," Psychedelic Review 7 (1966): 29.

here. Members of the Grateful Dead described the Trips Festival of January 1966 in those terms: Bob Weir said: "There was a feeling of unity," and Jerry Garcia reported: "Everybody was stoned and all on the same trip and everybody [was] having a good time...it was a responsive atmosphere."[147] Charles T. Brown emphasized high volume as a contributor to unity. He said psychedelic music was "very loud...deafening.... The music is to be felt rather than just heard.... The function of acid rock is to provide a stimulus for the total experience of the people involved, musicians and audience alike.... The entire crowd and band become part of the musical and physical experience.... It is the total art work that is important, not any one constituent part."[148]

Hicks says the "lack of instrumental competition made LSD-oriented groups emulate the textures of free jazz, which sometimes approached a kind of 'democratic counterpoint.'"[149] In most music making, as little as possible is left to chance. From written out parts or agreed upon structures, the musicians cooperate, working together to achieve an overall sound. This sound can take the form of almost complete integration, but usually there are two or more levels of activity. Often the vocalist has the highest level of freedom and prominence, followed closely by the soloists. Usually there is one instrument, not required as part of the support, which has the freedom to improvise or fill, whether only in selected places (the solo) or throughout the piece.

Psychedelic music's counterpoint seems analogous to the mentality of tripping as bands played to audiences engaged in trance-like dancing or

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[147] "The Grateful Dead Interview": 5.
[148] Brown: 145

watching light shows of stroboscopes, liquid projections of pulsating colors, and evocative imagery on film and slides. Sam Andrew, of Big Brother and the Holding Company, and I discussed these textures, which he attributed to inexperience and the search for individual expression:

> CM: In the 1960s the function of the instruments was very stratified: the lead guitar player, the rhythm guitar, the lead vocalist, backup singers. In Big Brother there is a willingness to allow a thicker texture than other bands, like the moment in "Summertime" when both guitarists are soloing at once. One is up high and one is down low so you can hear it, but there's often a lot going on. It happens vocally sometimes: two guys are singing in harmony and then somebody's doing a third thing. It is structured differently than the usual.
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> SA: In music school they would call that contrapuntal. We're doing counterpoint. We backed into that because we didn't know music. I was the only one who had ever played rock and roll before that. We didn't know enough not to do that. Usually in a band you get a real structured approach because they've been around the block and they know who the lead player is and who the rhythm is, but we didn't know that. We didn't even know there was a lead and rhythm player. It was just everybody going for it, at the same time.... Everybody had their freedom.[150]

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[149] Hicks: 65. Hicks attributes the phrase "democratic counterpoint" to Steven Johnson.
[150] Andrew interview

Perhaps instead of Hicks's concept of depersonalization as undifferentiated unity, unity itself might be considered a consensual solution to differentiation. The non-hierarchical organisation of many psychedelic bands influenced their approaches to composition and jamming. Spencer Dryden, drummer for Jefferson Airplane, explained: "We really don't have a leader. We just have people who get mad and rap about their ideas and other people rap how they feel about it and somebody else gets involved and we try the other and then work, come back tomorrow and work or look at it fresh. It's really strictly non-organisational. We all want the same thing but there are so many roads to get there and everybody has about six or seven roads of their own that they see possible." To this Paul Kantner replied: "It all works out somehow."[151] Jerry Garcia said something similar: "the Grateful Dead is an anarchy.... It doesn't have any goals, plans, or leaders. Or real organization. And it works. It even works in the straight world. It doesn't work like General Motors does, but it works okay. And it's more fun."[152]

Dynamization is the third of Hicks's concepts of how the fundamental effects of LSD were translated into musical expressions. Because "drugs transformed fixed shapes into shifting shapes",[153] within the process of dynamization objects seem to bend, dissolve, melt, dance, drip, or stream. Formal organization, harmonies, timbre, vocal and instrumental expression, and spatial deployment (how sounds were presented spatially on recordings), all underwent forceful and energetic activation.[154] With form, the bridge section of songs expanded to

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[151] Johnson: 26 (both quotes)
[152] Weitzman: 25
[153] Hicks: 66
[154] Hicks: 67-73.

become truly contrasting (such as in the Yardbirds' "For Your Love"), from the insertion of foreign bits within the song, such as the Buckingham's "Susan" (an otherwise conventional pop song), to songs with several movements in which the beat divisions and tempo differ, to segues that joined songs into a whole album side. The Grateful Dead managed to achieve improvised segues in live performances.

The music community in San Francisco represents a particularly vibrant and seminal strain of psychedelic music. In order to place it in the context of the overall style, in terms of history, geography, other practitioners, and representative songs and their market success, I analyzed what can be considered a canon of 1960s psychedelic music, drawing on three lists that were compiled in the 1990s, two in book form and one on CD.

The earliest was John O'Toole's The Psychedelic Years 1966-1969 (1990), and The Psychedelic Years Revisited 1966-1969 (1992). Each is comprised of three compact discs—two of American and one of British recordings—containing 50 tracks.[155] Jon Savage is a British writer whose "The Psychedelic 100," a list of the top 1960s songs—50 each from the USA and England—was initially published in England in the mid-1990s by Mojo magazine. It then became the soundtrack to the Rock And Roll Hall of Fame's I Want To Take You Higher exhibit (1997-'98) and was reprinted in the corresponding book, by Henke, et al. A writer known only as Belmo included a list called "The 200 Greatest Psychedelic Songs" in his 20th Century Rock and Roll Psychedelia. There are in

[155] It is possible that O'Toole's choices for the 100 songs may have been limited by licensing restrictions, a common hurdle in cross-label compilations. There are, for example, no songs

fact only 199, for position 149 has been omitted. Adding the three lists together makes a master list of 399 songs, from the hits to the total obscurities that only became appreciated years after their production.

Some choices are debatable, such as the inclusion of the pop rock "Happy Together" by the Turtles. Some names that are on the list do not really merit inclusion, such as Tim Buckley (folk), the Grass Roots (pop rock), and Otis Redding (soul). Others only dabbled in psychedelia. Certainly not all songs that deserve to be on the list are there, whether for reasons of brevity, taste or other factors. Nor are all the acts: missing are the Peanut Butter Conspiracy, Giant Crab, Mad River, the Savage Resurrection, Hawkwind, Tyrannosaurus Rex, and many other worthy bands. Only artists from the USA or the UK are included, with one exception: the Sparrow from Toronto.[156] Canadian contenders omitted are Mother Tuckers Yellow Duck, the United Empire Loyalists, the Collectors, and Reign Ghost. Psychedelic music was also made in the 1960s around the world, and fine recordings from Europe, Japan, South America, and elsewhere are rare but available. Nonetheless, the list can serve at least as a rough guide to contextualize the San Francisco scene.

Removing the duplications between the three original repertoires leaves 315 different songs, performed by 178 acts.[157] Of those, 17, or nearly 10%, are from San Francisco: the Beau Brummels, Big Brother and the Holding Company, Blue Cheer, the Charlatans, Country Joe and the Fish, Fifty Foot Hose, the Grateful

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by the Grateful Dead here.

156 They turned into Steppenwolf on moving to the USA.

157 Two groups, one from Los Angeles and one from England, had the same name: Kaleidoscope.

Dead, the Great Society, It's A Beautiful Day, Jefferson Airplane, Moby Grape, Alexander "Skip" Spence (of Moby Grape), the Mystery Trend, Quicksilver Messenger Service, Sly And The Family Stone, the Sopwith Camel, and the Vejtables. Of the 399 places, these acts occupied 46 (12%); in terms of different songs, they have 35 (11%). If we add the three acts from San Jose on the southern part of the Bay Area (Count Five, the Syndicate of Sound, the William Penn V), the two from Sacramento 85 miles to the northeast (Kak, Oxford Circle), plus two transplants (the Steve Miller Band and the Youngbloods), the total of San Francisco area acts is 24 (13%). These 24 acts accounted for 61 of the 399 places (15%), representing 46 different songs (15%). Thus, the San Francisco acts and their songs, whichever viewpoint is adopted, account for 11% to 15% of the psychedelic canon created by merging the three lists.

If we look at which bands have five or more individual songs named, the Beatles have the most by far (15). The Jimi Hendrix Experience is next (11), followed by Cream (eight). Three bands have seven: Jefferson Airplane, Love, and the Doors. Pink Floyd has six individual songs on the list, and these each have five songs: Buffalo Springfield, the Byrds, Donovan, the Grateful Dead, and Spirit. If we consider these the thirteen "most psychedelic" acts, then Los Angeles is the most important center, with five acts (Buffalo Springfield, the Byrds, the Doors, Love, and Spirit), England is next with three (the Beatles, Cream, Donovan—or four if we include Jimi Hendrix);[158] only two are from San Francisco (Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead).

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[158] Jimi Hendrix was born in Seattle, Washington, "discovered" in New York City, and developed his band the Jimi Hendrix Experience in London with two English musicians,

As ten of the songs were chosen by all three compilers, they form a kind of "Psychedelic Top 10." In terms of the nationality of the artists who recorded them, they conveniently divide into five American and five British. All five of the American songs were recorded in Los Angeles, emphasizing its status in the music industry, for only the Byrds originated there. The Electric Prunes had relocated to Los Angeles from Seattle, while the others went there to record: Count Five from San Jose, Iron Butterfly from San Diego, and the Jefferson Airplane, from, of course, San Francisco. The other acts originated in Britain and were recorded there, except Eric Burdon and the Animals who recorded in America. All songs made the American Billboard charts (except one that charted only in England), but three of the American songs did not chart in England. Between them, these ten songs exhibit many of the traits of psychedelic music and represent several types. These are the songs, in chronological order.[159]

1. "Eight Miles High": the Byrds, January 1966
2. "Psychotic Reaction": Count Five, September 1966
3. "White Rabbit": Jefferson Airplane, February 1967
4. "Get Me to the World on Time": the Electric Prunes, March 1967
5. "Paper Sun": Traffic, May 1967
6. "San Franciscan Nights": Eric Burdon and the Animals, August 1967[160]
7. "Itchycoo Park": the Small Faces, August 1967

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where they were first recorded. For this reason he is sometimes included with British rock.

[159] The dates are the earliest verifiable ones, whether of recording (song #1), or date of release: of the single in America (2, 4, 6, 7), of the single in Britain (5, 8, 9), or the album the song appeared on (3, 10).

8. "Rainbow Chaser": Nirvana, March 1968

9. "Fire": the Crazy World of Arthur Brown, June 1968

10. "In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida": Iron Butterfly, July 1968

These ten songs provide a microcosm history of the development of psychedelic music. The earlier ones, all from California, show the style's roots more directly, with garage and folk rock characteristics, and solos inspired by jazz and Indian music. Songs five to eight are more orchestrated, more self-consciously mannered, and the latter two use studio-created effects. The last two show a turn towards the theatrical and the "heavy," with the ninth having a demonic theme and the tenth using a unison blues riff as its a chief motif. Taken together, they reveal many of the matrices that characterize the style.

1. The Byrds: "Eight Miles High" (#14/66; #24)[161]

As the first hit record in psychedelic style, many of the style's earliest matrices are found in it—and its flip side, "Why." The matrices I have identified are listed below.

Animated bass lines.[162] The verse and chorus sections of "Eight Miles High" and "Why" feature this matrix. Paul McCartney's playing on Beatle records had liberated bassists from ingrained conventions of playing primarily chord roots

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[160] The song was performed at the Monterey Pop Festival in June 1967.
[161] The abbreviation indicates chart activity. The first number represents the highest placement, the second is the year the song entered the chart, thus this song made number fourteen, entering in 1966. The source is Billboard, as compiled by Whitburn. If additional numbers follow a semi-colon, they represents UK chart placement, as given in Strong.
[162] First mentions of matrices are in bold letters, reoccurences are in italics.

or arpeggiating figures, thus making bass lines more creative and bassists themselves more prominent. Bassists in San Francisco, especially Jefferson Airplane's Jack Casady and the Grateful Dead's Phil Lesh—were known for their active, inventive, and prominent lines.

The drone. The matrix is not a drone in sense of a long, low sustained note, but a repeated single note or figure made from roots and fifths, as played in Indian music by the tamboura (or tambura), a four- to six-stringed classical drone lute whose "function…is to sound [on the open strings] the tonic repeatedly throughout a composition so that both the performer and the listener are always aware of the basic note of the *raga*."[163] Here in the song's introduction, the bassist reiterates the root, upper fifth, and next higher root. In "Why," the drone in the form of a rhythmic reiteration of the tonic is the foundation of the solo.

George Harrison's sitar playing on "Norwegian Wood," from the Beatles' Rubber Soul album (released the month before "Eight Miles High"), ushered in an Indian influence in rock. Others took up the sitar (or made do with the electric sitar-guitar), approximated Indian scales, and made use of drones. Harrison's interest in the sitar and master instrumentalist Ravi Shankar apparently came from David Crosby of the Byrds. The Byrds' manager Jim Dickson had recorded Shankar in Los Angeles for the World Pacific label.

Indian/ jazz solos. This covers improvisations influenced by jazz and Indian music. Over the *drone* set up by the bass, the record opens with Roger [Jim] McGuinn's modal 12-string guitar solo,[164] imitative of Shankar's improvisations

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[163] Shankar: 37
[164] McGuinn got the idea to play electric 12-string from the Beatles' Hard Day's Night movie.

and those of jazz saxophonist John Coltrane. McGuinn recalled: "We were on a bus tour...and we only had one tape with us. It had John Coltrane on one side and Ravi Shankar on the other. If you listen to Coltrane's 'India and Africa' album you'll hear a tremendous similarity to the guitar part on 'Eight Miles High.'"[165] At the song's release, publicists proposed the term *raga rock* though it did not stick. The reviewer for Billboard wrote simply: "Big beat rhythm rocker with soft lyric ballad vocal and off-beat instrumental backing."[166]

This matrix was prominent in San Francisco. Darby Slick of the Great Society, studied with Ali Akbar Khan, the internationally recognized master of the sarode, a 25-stringed Indian instrument.[167] Slick also acknowledged Miles Davis as an influence, and also liked free jazz. He said: "I was a great admirer of Ornette Coleman, and I wanted my melodies to be quirky like his, but with my own stamp. Few of my attempts to get 'outside' made it to disk."[168] Big Brother and the Holding Company's guitarist James Gurley said: "I was trying to play guitar like John Coltrane played the sax—of course, nobody understood it, especially me."[169] Gurley's wild playing inspired Fish guitarist Barry Melton to say: "James Gurley was the first man in space! He's the Yury Gagarin of psychedelic guitar."[170]

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[165] McGuinn in Shannon and Javna: 239
[166] Warner: 29
[167] Khan began teaching in America in 1965, giving classes in Berkeley. In 1967, he founded the Ali Akbar College of Music to teach the classical music of North India at the highest professional level. The school moved just north of San Francisco (to Marin County) the following year. Darby Slick began studying under Khan before the Great Society disbanded. Slick then visited Khan's school in India but soon returned to the Bay area to study again with the master himself, continuing full time for twelve years.
[168] Obrecht: 75
[169] Obrecht: 71
[170] Obrecht: 75

Modal chords. By modal chords, I refer to the church modes and their chord scales (aside from Ionian, also called the major scale). They are heard here in the opening measures of the verse and throughout the solo. Their use comes both from folk music and recent jazz. California musicians, like the Byrds, were steeped in the folk revival and were passing through folk rock into psychedelia. Modal jazz and its slow harmonic rhythms were popularized by Miles Davis in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In contrast to bop and hard bop with their complex chord progressions and key changes, modal chords allow backup musicians to set up an airy atmosphere through which soloists can ride.

Trip lyrics. Applies to lyrics, which speak of various kinds of mental voyages, especially through drugs, in metaphorical terms. The Byrds had established themselves with their version of Bob Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man." Dylan wrote four verses but the Byrds used only one: "take me on a trip upon your magic swirling ship, my senses have been stripped, my hands can't feel to grip...I'm ready to go anywhere." Here the lyrics open with "eight miles high, and when you touch down you'll find it stranger than known." Songs that used words like "trip" and "high" were presumed to glorify drug taking, and they faced censorship.[171] In the mid-1960s "the blame for drug use among the young was laid squarely on rock and roll music.... The establishment saw a drug conspiracy

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[171] Between 1948-55, 80% of the lyrics of popular songs "fit into a conventional love cycle where sexual references are allegorical and social problems unknown" [Patterson and Berger: 163]. Rock and roll lyrics of the 1950s show that standard love issues were covered in more candid and personal ways than previously, and "numerous songs cited the conflict of youth with their parents at home, in school, at work and over love" [Patterson and Berger: 166]. In the period 1964-1969, "love themes still predominated, but these were often put in the context of broader social issues...many hit songs [were] dealing with subjects never mentioned prior to 1955...[including] sexual freedom, bourgeois hypocrisy, racial integration, black pride, drugs, politics and war" [Patterson and Berger: 167].

in rock music and were out to get the musicians."[172] In reviewing Fifth Dimension, the album on which the "Eight Miles High" appeared, Go magazine said: "Like the Beatles, the Byrds also try to surprise the record buyers with each new album release. Unfortunately this very talented Los Angeles quartet have run into trouble with 'the banners' who keep reading hidden drug addict fantasies into such tracks as "Eight Miles High" and "5D".[173] The former, one of the first to be thus attacked, was "singled out as a drug song by the Gavin Report, an American programming guide used by more than a thousand radio stations to select the music they played. Many banned the song, and it dropped in the charts. The flack was so intense that Byrd member Jim McGuinn tried to insist that the words were about an airplane to London."[174] They may have been: transatlantic aircraft do fly at altitudes around 42,000 feet, the lyrics make a reference easily interpreted to mean London ("rain gray town known for its sound"), and mention a London band, the Small Faces, by name.

2. Count Five: "Psychotic Reaction" (#5/66; –)

The rave up. More associated with garage than psychedelia, the rave up is a "pseudo-double time section with a corresponding intensification of dynamics,"[175] the result of two or more players creating busy, thick, unpredictable instrumental passages by joining in a jumble with fast rhythmic strumming and soloing over static harmony (one chord or simple to-and-fro chord motion). The British

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[172] Martin and Segrave: 200
[173] Go magazine, September 2, 1996, unpaginated (in photocopy)
[174] Martin and Segrave: 201
[175] Hicks: 31

Invasion band the Yardbirds had named and pioneered this intense barrage of sound, which was picked up by American garage bands. Count Five successfully mimic the Yardbirds' overall sound. A San Francisco psychedelic example is "The Slide" by the Flamin' Groovies from 1968.

The trip section. The trip section is a contrasting musical passage that simulates a mental journey, a metaphorical or actual drug trip. Count Five's rave up was an attempt to translate the mental disturbance and disorientation of the song's title into music. What leads to the psychotic reaction is the protagonist's frustrations with love; the singer shouts "and it feels like this!" as the first rave up begins. According to Handbook of Clinical Psychopharmacology for Therapists (1997), "*Brief reactive psychosis* refers to a condition in which a person has psychotic symptoms lasting from a few hours to a month. There is usually some identifiable stressor that has precipitated the psychosis, and the person demonstrates significant emotional turmoil."[176] One of the stressors that can induce psychotic symptoms is drug use. The central defining feature of psychotic disorders is "impaired reality testing," seen in bizarre behaviour, and "the creation of a new reality" in the form of delusions or hallucinations.[177] The trip section is the musical depiction of a new reality.

Though the fuzz guitar, harmonica, tambourine, standard rock instrumentation of guitars, bass, drums, and Mick Jagger-esque vocal all align the song with garage rock, the trip section is a psychedelic matrix. The song is on the border between the two styles, a transitional song in other words.

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[176] Preston et al.: 107
[177] Preston et al.: 105

Hypnotic vamp. A dechronicization technique, found here in the verse which uses the hypnotic effect of repeating of a one-bar, two-chord (tonic and subtonic) pattern. The matrix was used extensively in psychedelic music, as a foundation for solos for example. Before that, garage music used it, especially in songs that border on psychedelic, like this one and "Pushin' Too Hard" by the Seeds.

3. Jefferson Airplane: "White Rabbit" (#8/67; --)

Drug lyrics. More explicit than *trip lyrics*, this matrix makes direct reference to drug use. "White Rabbit" mentions pills, hookah smoking, and mushrooms. (Discussion continues below.)

Literary reference. Defined as borrowing characters, situations, or passages from works of literature. That the words of "White Rabbit" were readily understood to refer to Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, written in 1865, helped its popularity and disarmed potential critics.[178] Of her intent with the lyrics, Grace Slick said:

> I was actually ragging at the adults because they were saying why are you taking these drugs, this is bad. And what I was trying to say was that between the ages of zero and five the information and the input you get is almost indelible.... And they read us these books, like *Alice in Wonderland*, where she gets high, tall, and she takes mushrooms, a hookah, pills, alcohol. And then there's *The Wizard of Oz*, where they fall

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[178] Other psychedelic references to Carroll's Wonderland include the Beatles' "I Am the Walrus" (from the poem "The Walrus and the Carpenter") [Dowdling: 198], the band name Frumious Bandersnatch (from the poem "Jabberwocky"), and the mention of the Cheshire cat in the Grateful Dead's "China Cat Sunflower."

> into a field of poppies and when they wake up they see Oz. And then there's *Peter Pan*, where if you sprinkle white dust on you, you could fly. There's a series of stories where a chemical makes everything kind of really interesting. I was saying, you're reading all this stuff to us while we're little and then you wonder why we do it.[179]

The lyrics of "White Rabbit" paraphrase as 'mother's remedies are ineffective; when things get crazy give your brain some nourishment- drugs.' A kind of craziness in the music (the side slipping and hybrid tonality described below) is finally resolved at the end. Only at the finish does the song come to its senses, as it were, by supporting the "feed your head"'s with unequivocal, emphatic perfect cadences to a roundly satisfying tonic A chord. The message seems quite underlined, not only by the cadence, but by the beat used at the end, as described under the classical borrowing matrix defined below.

Another example is "Bass Strings": Country Joe sang "hey pardner, won't you pass that refer 'round... I'll get so high this time that you know I'll never come down."

Fantasy realm lyrics. Identified when an imaginary world, whether idyllic or horrific, is invoked. Though derived from Carroll's writing, the nightmarish space of "White Rabbit" seem like a bad trip. After "you've just had some kind of mushroom," the chessmen move and give orders, a white knight talks backwards, and a queen commands the execution of her subjects. Lyrics that concern a fantasy land of one kind or another are common in psychedelic music,

[179] Tamarkin 1992: 17

whether inspired by hallucinations, the make-believe worlds of children's literature, mythology, legends, or science fiction. Marine realms are found in the Beatles' "Yellow Submarine," Spirit's "Water Woman," and Jimi Hendrix's "1983... (A Merman I Should Turn To Be)."

Classical borrowing. Grace Slick's dramatic and commanding solo vocal drives the song along a beat derived from Maurice Ravel's "Bolero,"[180] played on a military-sounding snare. The drum strays from the Bolero-beat only twice, to play a standard rock beat in the bridge, which includes the words "you've just had some kind of mushroom and your mind is moving low," and at the end, leading to the grand finale: "feed your head, feed your head." Notice how at exactly those words, the rock beat—the "today" sound of hippie musicians, not the old beat derived from a French composer known for "formal precision... consumate craftsmanship and lucidity"[181]—emphasizes the song's message.

Side slipping. Also used in jazz, side slipping in Michael Hicks's definition is an embellishment of the tonic chord with another chord a semi-tone above (bII),[182] producing an odd, shifting sense. This is a way to "unnerve the harmony with simple half-step inflections."[183] In "White Rabbit," the basic harmonic motif is the side slipping of the opening two-chord pattern: two bars of a major chord followed by two bars of another one a semi-tone higher. [I hear them as VI and bVII, not as I and bII]. Other examples given by Hicks are the Sonics' "The

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[180] Maurice Ravel (1875-1937) was a French neoclassicist composer. "Bolero" was written in 1928 for the ballet.
[181] Salter: 152
[182] Hicks: 67
[183] Hicks: 139

Witch" (1964) and Jefferson Airplane's "House at Pooneil Corners" (1968).[184] That all three songs deal with characters from fantasy or fairy tale implies a music-lyric theme matrix that invites further research.

Hybrid tonality. Hybrid tonality is my term for the repertoire of songs played by garage musicians around 1966 that use only major chords (six or more). It takes the unequivocally major chord from the major-minor diatonic system but places it on scale degrees from that system as well as from blues tonality. The hybrid tonality—a new, exciting, and easy-to-play alternative to previous tonalities—may be seen as an expression of youth disenchantment with the establishment, and a desire to create an alternative. It was particularly exploited by California bands, such as the Syndicate of Sound on "Little Girl" and the Music Machine on "Talk Talk." The seminal song for this tonality is "Hey Joe" as played by the Leaves and hundreds of other bands. These three songs appear on at least one list from the psychedelic canon and are further examples from the border of garage and psychedelic music.

As the hybrid tonality matrix originated in garage music, its use in "White Rabbit" comes, as might be expected, early in the development of psychedelia. "White Rabbit" has six major chords, built on I, bIII, IV, V, VI, and bVII, though the side slipping mentioned above gives the song a unique exotic quality.

4. The Electric Prunes: "Get Me to the World on Time" (#27/67; #42)

The tour guide. A common matrix in psychedelic music which is related to the recommendation that a novice user of LSD be accompanied by an

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[184] Hicks: 67

experienced one as a guide. The song opens with the chorus: "Here I go, higher, higher...You gotta get me to the world on time." The "you," the tour guide figure, turns out to be the protagonist's girlfriend. Just after the moment of blast off, he seems to have only enough time to explain to her how she causes him to go into orbit. On sight of her "my pulse is beating faster and I'm heading for disaster." Her kiss, he says, is a "chemical reaction" that "disturbs my peace of mind." The title, in other words, says 'look after me and see that I get down before it's too late.'

Additional examples: "Roll up for the Magical Mystery Tour, step right this way" calls the barker in the Beatles' song, and the first voice heard on their Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Heart's Club Band is the master of ceremonies: "may I introduce to you the act you've known for all these years."

Trip lyrics. Couching space travel as the result of a wild, sensuous but frustrating love affair was but one way for songwriters, in this case two professionals, both female, to write about tripping and get away with it.

The trip section. At the song's end, the last word of "here I go" rises into the skies, as the bass plays glissandos along with a rising siren-like effect: the musical depiction of the trip.

The Bo Diddley beat. An ancient rhythm of African derivation that was popularized by Bo Diddley's mid-1950s recordings for the Chess label of Chicago. His records featured "thundering tom-toms laying down a variant on the old 'shave-and-a-haircut-six-bits' hambone rhythm that also cuts close to the

clave rhythmic core of Latin music"; it became known as the "Bo Diddley beat."[185] Not exclusive to psychedelia by any means, its use here and by Quicksilver Messenger Service is nonetheless noteworthy. This song's *trip section* uses as its basic motif the same two-chord (tonic and subtonic) pattern as "Psychotic Reaction," here played as one bar each. Bo Diddley made frequent use of this type of move in the 1950s, and his influence is acknowledged clearly by the Electric Prunes when they use actual Bo Diddley beat at the end of the verse, even adding maracas (an instrument uncommon in rock except on Diddley records) in the bridge.

Internal pedal point. A pedal point is a sustained tone in the bass that can, because they share it as a chord note or tension, thread together unusual harmonies that normally would seem discordant. An internal pedal point is one in a middle or upper register. It is similar in function to the *drone* but consists of a single note, not a combination of roots and fifth (sustained or arpeggiated). This song's internal pedal point is a sustained pitch played by the guitar. The tonic note sounds, as a remarkably hovering pedal point that almost pulses with its wide vibrato, through nearly the whole song. Its vibrato is not wide, regular, or fast enough to be considered an *oscillation* (see below).

5. Traffic: "Paper Sun" (#94/67; #5/67)

[185] Don Snowdon in the liner notes to Bo Diddley: His Best (Chess, 1997). For a range of examples that show its rhythmic versatility, general pervasiveness in rock, and its remarkable durability, listen to Bo Diddley Beats (Rhino, 1992). Included are pertinent recordings by Buddy Holly, Johnny Otis, Smoky Robinson, Ben E. King, Donovan, and Gene Krupa.

Use of Indian instruments. An alternative name for this could be *Bombay Calling* (to borrow a song title from It's A Beautiful Day), for the beckoning sound of Indian instruments, the real ones, like the Beatles used. In "Paper Sun" a tabla drum and a prominent sitar appear right at the start: raga rock.

Oscillation. A rapid alternation in sixteenth notes from a chord note (tonic or fifth) of the tonic or dominant chord to a note a second above or below. The effect gives the chord note vitality by making it seem to tremble. This fast back and forth gesture may have been derived from the Beatles' "I Am the Walrus." The sax in "Paper Sun" oscillates the notes sub-tonic and tonic over the long section of tonic minor that opens the piece and reoccurs within it.

The tumbling ostinato. Used where the tonic (minor) chord is held for a period, this two-bar motif descends step-wise, partly in off-beats, from the tonic note to the fifth or lower, to land on a lower tonic, only to leap back up to start again. Its rhythm is reminiscent of the *Bo Diddley beat*. In "Paper Sun" it is found in the bass line of the introduction, doubled by the sitar. In the Great Society's "Arbitration" the bass plays it for the tonic as well as the dominant chord. In Jefferson Airplane's "She Has Funny Cars" it is heard in the bass, doubled by the sung melody of the verse. The tumbling ostinato probably came from a fifties R&B matrix (which got it from boogie woogie); it may have contributed to the *two-bar blues riff* (see below).

6. Eric Burdon and the Animals: "San Franciscan Nights" (#9/67; --).

Flower Power lyrics. "Since hippies were fond of wearing and sharing flowers," reported a website glossary, "Flower Power was the hippie equivalent of the Black Power movement. An extension of the Peace and Love theme, Flower Power assumed that the power of Love would win out over violence and hate.[186] This song presents a heavenly vision, if only for one night.

Stately descending bass. The warm evening that unites old and young children, Hell's Angels, and police constables is musically depicted by a "Whiter Shade of Pale"-styled dotted-quarter, eighth, descending diatonic bass line (in the same key, C, as the Procol Harum song). Its use in "San Franciscan Nights" is not nearly so linear. It breaks after only two bars and then repeats.

Cliché quoting. A cliché "suspense" motif at the intro seems to signify that what follows is dramatic like a movie. Country Joe's Vietnam protest song has a circus calliope playing a cliché figure at the introduction.

Tour guide. A tour guide figure appears in the form of a pseudo-television announcer intoning, in a compressed, nasal voice: "This following program is dedicated to the city and people of San Francisco, who may not know it but they are beautiful." The guide suggests a visit to the city: "it will be worth it...for the sake of your own peace of mind." The music then changes to a calm, familiar ballad style.

Drug lyrics. With an opening couplet of "Strobe light's beam creates dreams, walls move, minds do too," we have no doubt that LSD is involved.

The drone. Found at the intro, which, after the suspense quote, is a tense E minor pattern over a droning bass tonic.

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[186] from the website http://hippy.com/glossary.htm

Diatonic harmony. The tonality of highbrow European composers and dignified popular songs, in 1960s rock lends an air of accessibility and, at moderately fast tempos, a British Invasion peppiness. "San Franciscan Nights," once past the introduction, is slow, with an unequivocally major tonality (though sometimes II is major, and IV is minor).

Idiosyncratic form. This matrix can provide an organic, handmade quality or an air of innocence and freedom from convention. A hidden (because it does not call attention to itself) oddness exists in the phrasing of "San Franciscan Nights." The verse is ten bars long and the bridge, like "Itchycoo Park," ends with an extra bar like a timed fermata.

7. Small Faces: "Itchycoo Park" (#16/67; #3)

Phase shifting. A swooping or whooshing sound also called phasing, it is created by "superimposing two identical dubs of the same material played at minutely different speeds," resulting in a "general hallucinatory impression."[187] A favorite of British pop psychedelic acts, here it is applied to the drum kit. Because it was applied selectively, one assumes the use of multi-track recording consoles.

Religious organ. "Itchycoo Park" has no orchestra, just the typical guitar, bass, drums, keyboards lineup. The guitar however is acoustic. The keyboards are organ, associated with the church, and piano, associated with the home and the concert stage. When heard together, as in "Itchycoo Park," the keyboards carry connotations of American gospel music, evoking perhaps unconsciously, a

sense of religious import, supporting the blissful revelation (see below). "Light My Fire" by the Doors, is built on its organ sound, and the lyrics mention a funeral pyre, a religious image.

The revelation. A statement of belief with religious overtones brought about by a spiritual or drug induced insight. "Itchycoo Park"'s revelation is: "It's all too beautiful!" This realization brought tears of wonderment ("I cried"), and was the result of a trip ("I got high") taken in nature ("to rest my eyes in shades of green...have fun in the sun").

Tour guide. Wanting to trip again ("I feel inclined to blow my mind"), the protagonist offers to share the experience ("I'd like to go there now with you...we'll get high, we'll touch the sky"), and as encouragement, suggests a little rebellion ("you can miss out school"). When the second party accepts ("won't that be cool"), the main voice replies with an anti-establishment, anti-intellectual dismissal of the past in the face of a blissful present ("why go to learn the words of fools").

Diatonic harmony. "Itchycoo Park"'s acid inspiration and phase shifting is layered over convention: diatonic major harmony (plus bIII and bVII), and logical repeating phrases—three of four bars, and one of two bars—combined in various evident ways, all starting on the tonic (A).

8. Nirvana: "Rainbow Chaser" (–; #34/68).

Oscillation. After circling the dominant chord from above (with two beats of bVI) and below (two beats of IV), the oscillation call attention to it. There, the

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[187] Hicks: 72

strings, heavily *phase shifted*, play a measure of accented sixteenth notes, alternating the root of the dominant chord with a semi-tone above.

Diatonic harmony. The tonality of "Rainbow Chaser" is clearly major but not so diatonic, as major chords are built on I, II, III, IV, and V. The submediant is, as expected, minor.

Internal pedal point. A pedal point in the bass often allows for unusual harmonies that normally would seem discordant. Here it is used very effectively in the upper-middle register to hold together a I, bIII6, bVI, I progression. The chorus and intro music of "Rainbow Chaser," features a massive unison, the tonic (C), held for six beats while the bass plays (for two beats each), a C, Eb, Ab, and returns to C, at which point the unison does a quick eighth-note leap up a major third and right back to the tonic, where it reaffirms, rather jarringly, the major status of the tonic chord.

Stately bassline. The slow tempo bass line moving step wise in a dotted-quarter and eighth rhythm, usually is reminiscent of Procol Harum's "A Whiter Shade of Pale." In "Rainbow Chaser" the bass line rises, but the connection to Procol Harum's song is evident, for they are in the same key and tempo.

9. The Crazy World Of Arthur Brown: "Fire" (#2/68; #1).

Tour guide. In a hoarse, stentorian voice, Brown, as an evil tour guide figure, proclaims "I am the god of hellfire"; who could this be other than the devil? He predicts a dire end ("I'll see you burn"). Fire's elemental force will eliminate all the fruits of effort and consciousness. "Fire" is a hellish trip into oblivion.

Religious organ. Here the organ is inverted from its church association. In the chorus, over a thumping pedal tone bass (*the drone*) reiterating in quarter notes the tonic minor (E), the organ plays a double-tracked figure too aggressive to come out of church. At the line "oh no, oh no, oh no you're going to burn!" it plays swirling, tumbling runs. At *the trip section*, Brown's incantation "burn, burn" rises, along with the roots of the organ chords, while the bass holds its pedal tone, to climax in gleeful, maniacal laughter.

Melodramatic moment. The marriage of music to lyrics to create a dramatic setting. The second verse of "Fire" is presented, in half time, to the accompaniment of woodwinds, their only appearance (though brass punctuates all choruses save the first). When he sings, in a lowered, close, malevolently condescending timbre "your mind, your tiny mind, you know you've really been so blind, now's your time to burn your mind," one thinks of "bad trip" stories where people "heard voices" that suggested or commanded destructive actions.

Theatrical stage show. This matrix is not exclusive to any style, though some make great use of it and others not at all. Its purpose is to involve or titillate an audience. Arthur Brown's presentation was controversial and arresting. A reviewer in 1969 was appalled; saying Brown "has one of those dangerous stage acts involving self-mutilation.... It ["Fire"] is a shockingly cruel, destructive sound, an ugly sound."[188] John O'Toole, in the liner notes to The Psychedelic Years 1966-1969, wrote that Brown "made a name for himself with his extraordinary stage act, playing London's underground clubs in the summer of 1967. He cut a demonic figure, with his make-up, flaming helmet to give the

impression that his hair was ablaze and his flowing fluorescent robes." Jon Savage said, "The charismatic Arthur Brown...would shriek and twist in a truly chilling, demonic performance that burned the song's curses into your brain."[189] Brown predates the theatrical excesses and sinister characterizations of glam rock and heavy metal, which applied some of the matrices of the psychedelic style.

10. Iron Butterfly: "In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida" (#30/68; –)

Superlength. The stretching of a composition or rendition past the four or five minute mark that was the previous respectable limit. It is a dechronicization technique. This sold more as a 17-minute album track (#4) than as an edited single. Here the length is in service of the *trip section*. In "In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida" (album version), a long guitar solo is followed by an even longer drum solo. The trend it began soon became tedious. Even Iron Butterfly grew tired of having to reproduce it at every concert.

Wah-wah guitar. A technique that dynamizes the tone of the guitar by rapidly altering its timbre via a foot pedal. It gives a quasi-vocal quality. The wah-wah pedal was popularized, starting in 1967, by Cream and Jimi Hendrix, who said it sounds "like something is reaching out."[190] Present here in the guitar solo.

Chord oscillation. Two chords of the same quality (major or minor) that are a minor third apart and do a back and forth motion, typically one bar for each. As

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[188] Brigitta: 35
[189] Savage: 199

this does not occur in diatonic harmony, it is a non-functional relationship. While logical and simple, it is somewhat unsettling in the way that it blurs the tonality. Michael Hicks identified this device by its use in the verse of "Light My Fire" (where Iron Butterfly must have found it).[191] In the Doors' song, the chords are minor (Am to F#m). In Iron Butterfly's song they are major, and there two in a row (G to E, then A to F#).

Two-bar blues riff. Related to the *tumbling ostinato* by its length, hypnotic quality, tendency to be played in unison (guitar and bass), and love of off-beats, it is distinguished from it by more blues character, a more deliberate, hammered delivery, and freedom to fall, rise, or hover. Whatever disruptive feeling the odd chord motion of "In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida)" may have summoned, the listener is reassured by a reliable medium tempo drum beat and a regular return to hypnotic repetitions of the signature two-bar blues riff. Iron Butterfly's riff is obviously derived from Cream's "Sunshine of Your Love" from a few months previous. It is made from the same notes in the same key and uses the same descending chromatic passage of V-bV-IV in offbeats in the second bar. In both songs, the riff is played by bass and guitar in unison (as is a tricky transition lick in the Iron Butterfly song).

The popularity of the two songs mark the rise of riff-based music in rock. Easy to create and rehearse, it was also more forceful than the communally improvised pieces it tended to supercede. David Szatmary explained the change as a ramification of social conditions, recounting that in 1968:

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[190] Hicks: 70

[191] Hicks: 68. He calls this matrix "non-functional chromatic mediants" but I cannot

> [S]tudent protests against the war became more serious and violent, driving a wedge between the hippies and the radicals. After the Viet Cong had launched the Tet offensive and the United States had stepped up aerial bombardment and defoliation efforts, students at Columbia University occupied university buildings to protest the war.... By the middle of June...almost 40,000 students engaged in 221 major demonstrations at 101 colleges and universities. In August, student dissent intensified at the National Democratic Convention in Chicago, where the ineffectiveness of the flower-power approach became evident.[192]

The fiasco at Columbia and in Chicago "changed the mood of students from hope-filled ebullience to a dark, protective aggression."[193] This shift led to changes in the musical tastes of young people. "Rather than the folk-based, airy, acid rock, they began to listen to the angry, slashing, piercing blues of British and American guitar heroes. Faced with police clubs and tear gas, they turned to the music of an oppressed race."[194] He is describing the heavy rock psychedelia, called pompous and simplistic by its critics, of Cream, Jimi Hendrix, Iron Butterfly, Blue Cheer, etc.

Fantasy realm lyrics. The title is, according to the songwriters, a slurred corruption of 'in a garden of Eden.' The almost absurd simplicity and

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comprehend his use of the word chromatic.
[192] Szatmary: 171
[193] Szatmary: 173
[194] Szatmary: 175

repetitiveness of "In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida"'s lyrics may be a comfort to the listener against the odd harmonies, fuzz-toned guitar playing, and elongated duration—they certainly would not challenge him. In their entirety, they consist of the title, plus "Oh, won't you come with me and take my hand...and walk this land, please take my hand" [which has *tour guide* implications] and "Don't you know that I'm lovin' you, don't you know that I'll always be true." In other words, 'I'm inviting you to accompany my on a journey through a land of assured true love.'

Religious organ. That a song about Eden should be arranged with a heavily featured organ seems appropriate given its association with the church.

The various definitions and examples of psychedelic music in this chapter have, between them, invoked all the concepts of style collected at the end of Chapter One. In the chapters to come on the phases of the evolutionary model, I will point out the use of established or new matrices in the sample songs and album covers from San Francisco that are interspersed at appropriate locations in the chronology. Before that, however, three aspects that characterize that city's psychedelic music are described, as well as the general musical climate around psychedelia.

Chapter 3. Distinguishing Characteristics of San Francisco Psychedelic Music: Naïve Innovation, Improvisation, and Folk Revival Roots

What distinguishes San Francisco's psychedelic scene from others is the vigor of its community activity. The top acts played on the same circuit of ballrooms, sharing stages. Musicians joined each other's bands for a night of jamming, a recording session, or even a few months of gigs. Identifying what qualities in their music unites the San Francisco bands is not quite so easy. The writer of a 1967 record review essay found it was an openness to musical influences. The review, from San Francisco, concerned the recently-issued first albums by the Grateful Dead, Country Joe and the Fish, and Moby Grape:

> If there is one thing which links together the San Francisco groups it is not a specific or definable sound to which they all cling, but rather a common approach to music, a common style of digging and responding to music. There is only one generalization that can be made about the top San Francisco bands and that is that, regardless of any one group's featured style (say the Dead's special proclivity with blues, or Country Joe's affinity for the koto music of Japan), they all listen to a wide variety of different kinds of music from all over the world, they all listen to each other, and they all try to constantly incorporate fresh ideas gathered from their listening into the music.... San Francisco bands have most effectively demonstrated that different styles of music can blend and co-exist with each other; it is this very quality...which I think has been both the most

misunderstood and in many ways the most valuable thing to emerge from the scene.[195]

While the above comments seem valid, they are not the only factors that distinguish San Francisco psychedelia from other types. A musical ingenuousness, present at least in the early days of the style, a penchant for collective improvisation, and the ramifications of its folk revival roots all contribute.

Naïve Innovation

As with punk music of the 1970s, some of the San Francisco musicians, with many notable exceptions, were beginners or very basic players at the start. On the positive side, elaborate ensemble work by the musically inexperienced can have considerable originality and charm. Jon Savage selected the Great Society's "Someone to Love" for his "Psychedelic 100," commenting that it is "one of the few accurate representations of the San Francisco sound as it happened: teenage angst deliciously amplified to cosmic proportions, with that ballroom echo and wild, distorted guitar. The group's ambition outstripped their ability—producer Sly Stone quit the studio in disgust after fifty takes—but that's what makes them resonate still."[196] The preciousness of the artifact, the grandiose expression of intense youthful emotion, the evocation of its performance context, and an interesting instrumental timbre and approach were

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[195] "Record Reviews": 5
[196] Savage: 191

all impressive, but it was the dedicated amateurism confounding commercial values that, for Savage, made the recording endure.

Another song by the Great Society is an excellent example of naïve innovation. The modal chord use in "Didn't Think So"[197] is as idiosyncratic as the phrasing; it never settles, hinting at several possibilities while the key center seems to shift, felt particularly in the motion from Fm to F major. The phrasing is uncommon: in 6/8 time, the song uses a 24-bar pattern broken up into different lengths, always ending with two bars of the same chord:

a) a two-bar intro before the vocal begins: C minor chord (bars 1 and 2)

b) eight more bars diatonic to C natural minor: twice through a four-bar pattern of Cm/ Ab/ Bb/ Bb (bars 3-6, 7-10)

c) six bars (nearly) diatonic to Ab: Db/ Eb/ Ab/ Gb/ Fm / Fm (bars 11-16)

d) eight bars diatonic to Bb, in two phrases of four bars: F/ Eb/ Cm/ Cm; Bb/ Gm/ F/ F (bars 17-24). (A fermata on C minor ends the piece.)

In an online review, written around 1999, of Quicksilver Messenger Service's first album, George Starostin found purity in what he calls "hippie sloppiness":

> ["It's Been Too Long"] has a totally fascinating, unpredictable vocal melody. Less intriguing is the band's own [composition] 'Light Your Windows', but that's maybe because of the extreme sloppiness of the melody. All of this doesn't bother me that much, though, because it's a very interesting kind of sloppiness. It ain't your average unprofessional

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[197] Like "Arbitration," the recording date of "Didn't Think So" is not specified on the live album on which it appears—Conspicuous Only In Its Absence—but must be sometime between the

sloppiness, and it sure ain't the drunken sloppiness typical of macho braggart bands like the Faces. It's that charming 'hippie sloppiness' which so often characterizes bands that had all these self-taught guitar virtuosos who had their own unique, 'untamed' style and didn't know shit about how to gel their sound together, not to mention carefully producing it in the studio. Remember that it was San Francisco - nobody gave a damn about giving these guys' sound a glossy polish, and so much for the better; the music ends up sounding completely fresh and not a tiny bit artificial or 'dated' today. Some of today's bands, in fact, could kill for such an 'anti-production', but it's too late: this pure, unadulterated guitar sound is simply impossible to recreate any more. Take it like a fact.[198]

On the negative side, bands were criticized for being musically indulgent, inept, and out of tune (despite often taking excessive time to tune up on stage). A contemporary reviewer remarked: "Onstage the Airplane seemed terribly amateurish, taking an unconscionably long time to decide what to play next and then retuning their instruments more often than most."[199] Big Brother and the Holding Company was particularly criticized for being inept and out of tune, unfairly so according to all but a couple of the 1960s recordings and live tapes I have heard. Their ineptitude was given as the reason why Janis Joplin had to leave the band for a solo career. Some disagreed: "this can be a spectacular group, better in performance than on record.... Joplin's accompanying group has

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April 1966 concert that inspired it and the band's breakup in October 1966.

[198] Starostin: unpaginated

no star performers except perhaps the drummer Dave Getz...but as an ensemble they are effective."[200]

Improvisation

The penchant for long improvisations reflected the non-hierarchical structure of the ensembles. Most bands had one or more pieces created or extended by honing ideas out of jam sessions, such as "Dark Star" by the Grateful Dead (23 minutes on Live Dead), "Dark Magic" by Moby Grape (never officially released), and "Donovan's Reef" by Country Joe and the Fish (38 minutes on Live! Fillmore West 1969). A long set of variations of Bo Diddley's "Who Do You Love" was done by Quicksilver Messenger Service (edited down to 25 minutes on Happy Trails). Of course, not all of their improvisations were spectacular. Commenting on a 1968 show by the Jefferson Airplane, one observer stated: "whenever the four musicians jam together without the singers the result is invariably boring." Concerning another of their performances the same year, he remarked: "At their best they are quite brilliant, but most of the time, they are undistinguished."[201] Their drummer may have been thinking of comments like these when he stated: "We're not consistent, but we're interesting."[202]

How the Grateful Dead approached improvisation was described in an article in the University of Oregon's student newspaper. The occasion was a January

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[199] Kostelanetz: unpaginated. Jefferson Airplane review from May 4, 1968.
[200] Kostelanetz: unpaginated. Big Brother and the Holding Company review of March 8, 1968, incorrectly dated by the author as 1969.
[201] Kostelanetz: unpaginated. Jefferson Airplane reviews from May 4, 1968 and June 20, 1968.
[202] Johnson: 26.

1968 performance on campus by the band along with Quicksilver Messenger Service, the PH Phactor Jug Band, and Headlights (a light show by Jerry Abrams).

> The Dead, says [drummer Mickey] Hart, have "bowls of fixed composition" that serve as points of departure from which they improvise. There are two drummers in the group and often one will "split" off in one direction with half of the band while the other half, with the other drummer, goes into a separate theme. From these separate improvisations, the two halves will meet again in another "bowl." Here they solidify themselves and then "take off" again.[203]

The essential source of the Grateful Dead's psychedelic improvisations, according to music journalist Anthony DeCurtis, was Jerry Garcia's temperament and role.

> He was endlessly curious. For him, every musical possibility, every variation, was worth exploring. The moment was everything. There could be no such thing as a mistake; every direction pulsed with potential revelation. No song structure was ultimately firm, everything solid would melt into air, disintegrate, yielding a freedom that was both spiritually transformative and a little frightening. Who would I be if I were to lose

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[203] Saylor: unpaginated. The source of the article is a March 1999 posting on the web by Jeff Tiedrich (jeff@tiedrich.com).

myself this completely? At those instants, everyone—the band, the audience—looked to Garcia for deliverance.[204]

DeCurtis, in this eulogy, is perhaps overstating Garcia's role in the band, however, the author speaks with authority, having seen the Grateful Dead many times from 1967 onwards and having interviewed Garcia for Rolling Stone magazine.

The Grateful Dead's inspiration to improvise came partly from the beat writers. To trace the connection requires a look into the history of the beats. The narrowest definition of beat writers covers only the circle of friends present at its inception in New York.[205] The most famous and quintessential beats were the "guilt-obsessed" Jack Kerouac [1922-1969], the "sordid" William Burroughs [1914-], and the "ridiculously horny" Allen Ginsberg [1926-1997].[206] Their intensely personal and usually autobiographical work (populated by members of their circle) chronicles their adventures while seeking pleasure and visionary insight into the nature of life. The best known works of beat literature are Kerouac's novel On the Road (1957, written in 1951), Ginsberg's poem Howl (1956), and Burroughs' novel Naked Lunch (1959), probably in that order.

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[204] DeCurtis: 95. Originally published in Garcia (Rolling Stone Press/ Little, Brown, 1995.
[205] A broad definition of beat writers includes members, primarily poets, from three additional scenes: the San Francisco Poetry Renaissance, the tiny but influential Black Mountain College in North Carolina which published the Black Mountain Review, and later New York writers.
[206] Asher: "Lawrence Ferlinghetti." All three met in New York City in the 1940s when Kerouac and Ginsberg were students at Columbia University, drawn there by one of the finest English departments in the country. The university is next to Harlem, where Kerouac discovered jazz.

At the root of beat inspiration was a literary tradition that encouraged personal and spontaneous styles.[207] More immediate was the influence of the hipsters. Hip culture came from black jazz, the side that favored sharp sartorial style, coded slang, reefer humor, and cool detachment.[208] For the beats, the hipster connection meant illicit thrills and the freedom they heard in the improvised sound of bebop. The energy and exploratory approach they heard in jazz, specifically sax players such as Charlie Parker and Lester Young, influenced the rhythms of Allen Ginsberg's and Jack Kerouac's work.[209]

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[207] Principal forerunners were Rimbaud and Walt Whitman, the French Surrealists, and particularly Gertrude Stein for her expressionist aesthetics [see Foster: 14]. According to Daniel Belgrad, spontaneous creativity is a characteristic shared by the most significant developments in art and literature after 1945. In The Culture of Spontaneity: Improvisation and the Arts in Postwar America (1998), Belgrad shows that spontaneous improvisation is the unifying theme in schools of painting (abstract expressionism), sculpture (ceramic), psychology (Jungian and Gestalt), dance (experimental) and performance art, religion (Zen Buddhism), the anti-nuclear movement, poetry (beat), and music (bebop). Through his reading of the artistic works and their social, political, and intellectual contexts, Belgrad describes how this mentality and its aesthetics were in contradiction to 1950s consumerism. Rejecting artistic realism and intellectual rationalism, the aim of spontaneous creativity was to tap into the unconscious mind and the collective unconscious. This approach was an actively confrontational stance opposing the dominant ethnocentrism. The movement was fully articulated in the avant-garde between 1940 and 1960 but its influence on American society was felt most strongly in the 1960s counterculture.

[208] Hip passed from swing (Lester Young, Slim Gaillard) to bop (Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis) to jump rhythm and blues (Louis Jordan, Wynonie Harris). It spread by radio disc jockeys (Symphony Sid) and live broadcasts. It moved to white pop via Frank Sinatra, and showed up in the movies (Marlon Brando, Paul Newman, Montgomery Clift, James Dean). [see Carr et al.]

[209] One of Kerouac's "secret heroes" was saxophonist Charlie Parker, whom he eulogizes in the poem "Mexico City Blues" (1955), written a few months after Parker's death. Several times in On the Road, Kerouac describes visits to jazz clubs, such as the following passage set in San Francisco:

> The behatted tenorman was blowing at the peak of a wonderfully satisfactory free idea, a rising and falling riff that went from "EE-yah!" to a crazier "EE-de-lee-yah!" and blasted along to the rolling crash of butt-scarred drums hammered by a big brutal Negro with a bull-neck who didn't give a damn about anything but punishing his busted tubs, crash, rattle-ti-boom, crash. Uproars of music and the tenorman had it and everybody knew he had it...urging that tenorman to hold it and keep it with cries and wild eyes, and he was raising himself from a crouch and going down again with his horn, looping it up in a clear cry above the furor [Kerouac: 162].

In Howl, Ginsberg's writing refers to and sounds like music. The syncopated rhythms derive, the poet acknowledged, from Lester Young's sax playing on "Lester Leaps In"

Ginsberg and Kerouac were not the only ones to use language influenced by jazz. Hip comedian Lenny Bruce's hypocrisy-puncturing stance and use of obscene language put him in court in San Francisco and his "artful candor and naked self-revelation"[210] inspired rock musicians, including the Great Society who wrote about him in "Father Bruce." One side of Bruce's "creativity and masterful verbal spontaneity" was how he would replace perfected comic routines with looser versions.[211] Music columnist Ralph Gleason wrote that parts of his act were:

> a kind of verbal film, a sequence of flashing images (Bob Dylan described his own songs to me as "chains of flashing images") which were strung together by Bruce's comments. They were modal improvisations à la John Coltrane, if one accepts the analogy that his earlier things were verbal jazz improvisations à la Charlie Parker....They were full of jump cuts, flash-backs ticked off by a reference....intricate wanderings down side roads of free association and intuitive leaps forward....[it] was free form all the way. True there were parts of it that had been thought through before, possibly even worked on. But Lenny then would turn them back into free things, too...[he] picked up whatever was at hand and utilized it as part of what he

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[Ginsberg, Composed on the Tongue, as noted in Foster: 103]. The following excerpts may illustrate:

> angelheaded hipsters burning for the ancient heavenly connection to the starry dynamo in the machinery of night...listening to the crack of doom on the hydrogen jukebox....Moloch! Solitude! Filth! Ugliness! Ashcans and unattainable dollars! Children screaming under the stairways! Boys sobbing in armies! Old men weeping in the parks!....Moloch who frightened me out of my natural ecstasy! Moloch whom I abandon! Wake up in Moloch! Light streaming out of the sky! [Ginsberg, unpaginated]

[210] Selvin 1996: 14

[211] Charters 1993: 10, quoting Ralph Gleason from the liner notes to Live at the Curran Theater (Fantasy, 1973). These words describe a 1961 performance in San Francisco.

did. He wove everything he came across into a kind of surreal verbal film, slipping in and out of reality so quickly you can hardly catch him at it even when you write it all down.[212]

The aim of Kerouac, Ginsberg, and Bruce is summed up in literary critic Edward Halsey Foster's comment on Kerouac's spontaneous prose: "The point was to immerse oneself in sound and image and let the words follow until final revelation or exhaustion brought an end."[213] The description, if the word music replaced sound, would fit the jamming of San Francisco bands.[214]

The link from the beat writers to the Grateful Dead came from Neal Cassady via Ken Kesey. Cassady [1926-1968], one of the members of the beat circle, was a bisexual, charismatic Denver hustler, car thief, and reform school veteran. Meeting him deeply affected Kerouac and Ginsberg.[215] Kerouac admired Cassady's manic energy, independence, and resistance to conformity. From his rapid-fire speech and particularly his numerous and lengthy letters, Kerouac

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[212] Charters: 10, quoting Gleason: Live at the Curran Theatre
[213] Foster: 45
[214] Foster gives examples of Kerouac using words more for sound than meaning but notes that he did not take the concept of spontaneous prose all the way past syntax and vocabulary into abstract sound. The route through expressionism into pure abstraction was taken by one of his chief disciples—poet Clark Coolidge—as well as by painters and bop musicians. Among the hippie bands the Grateful Dead was the only one to go that far. One of the band's second-set rituals—one not universally appreciated by fans—was a segment called "Space." It followed a drum solo sequence ("Drumz"); when the band's two drummers would leave, the front line members would take the stage again to create free form, unmetered jams. Known as "drumz/space," this totally improvised "song" was played 1,265 times by the Grateful Dead in their thirty year existence (1965 and 1995), more than twice as often as their most-played song, "Me and My Uncle" [Scott et al: 117]. "Space" jams are available on live show recordings traded amongst fans, and some of the more interesting ones were collected on a CD called Infrared Roses (Grateful Dead, 1991).
[215] Two other men, who, like Cassady, wrote but little, influenced the beats as inspirations and guides: Herbert Hunke [1915-1996], was a storytelling hustler, drug addict, criminal, and former hobo, while Carl Solomon [1928-], was a schizophrenic genius. "Ginsberg, Burroughs, and Kerouac discerned in these [three] figures qualities that were bracingly

found his own "voice." Cassady is the main character (as "Dean Moriarty") in On the Road, the poignant story of their friendship and travels. In Howl, Allen Ginsberg referred to Cassady, with whom he had had a romance, as "N.C., secret hero of these poems, cocksman and Adonis of Denver."[216]

Shortly after the 1962 publication of Ken Kesey's first novel, the LSD-influenced One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest, Neal Cassady, recently released from prison for marijuana possession, came by and introduced himself. Kesey was delighted to meet the hero of Kerouac's On the Road. In 1964 Kesey and his gang, known as the Merry Pranksters and including Cassady, outfitted a 1939 International Harvester school bus with a psychedelic paint job and a destination marquee that read "FURTHUR" for a trip across the country, partly to visit the East Coast psychedelic community around Timothy Leary. On their journey, they acted outlandishly and filmed it. Cassady, nicknamed Speed Limit, was the driver.

> [The bus was] the psychedelic nose-cone of the 60's, a rolling cornucopia of technicolor weirdness.... With Ken Kesey raving from the roof and Neal at the wheel, Further [sic] roamed America from 1964 to 1966, infecting our national control delusion with a chronic and holy lunacy.... From Further tumbled the Acid Tests, the Grateful Dead, Human Be-Ins, the Haight-Ashbury, and as America tried to suppress the infection by popularizing it into cheap folly, The Summer of Love and Woodstock.[217]

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authentic, humane, commonsensical, even seraphic" [Watson: 72].

[216] Charters 1992: 65

[217] Barlow, "Cassidy's Tale." Kesey's bus was called "Furthur" (sometimes misspelled as "Further").

Cassady helped shape the Grateful Dead's philosophy, as Jerry Garcia described:

> It wasn't as if he said, "Jerry, the whole ball of wax happens here and now." It was watching him move, having my mind blown by how deep he was, how much he could take into account in any given moment and be really in time with it. He helped us be the kind of band we are, a concert, not a studio band... He presented a model of how far you could take yourself with the most minimal resources. Neal had no tools. He didn't even have work. He had no focus, really. His focus was just himself and time.[218]

Cassady frequently visited the Grateful Dead's house on Ashbury Street, rapping for hours while guitarist Bob Weir absorbed it. As Weir wrote in the song "The Other One": "The bus came by and I got on, that's when it all began. There was Cowboy Neal at the wheel of the bus to Nevereverland." Another Grateful Dead song ("Cassidy"), written after Cassady's death in 1968, refers in part to him: "Lost now on the country miles in his Cadillac, I can tell by the way you smile he's rolling back...Blow the horn, tap the tambourine, close the gap of the dark years in between you and me."

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[218] Shenk and Silberman: 35

The Grateful Dead's improvisations began at parties called Acid Tests, free-form "happenings" hosted by Kesey and the Pranksters, held in 1965 and 1966 while LSD was still legal.[219] Jerry Garcia described the effect of the Acid Tests:

> [T]here was no pressure on us because people didn't come to see the Grateful Dead, they came for the Acid Test; it was the whole event that counted. Therefore we weren't in the spotlight, so when we did play, we played with a certain kind of freedom you rarely get as a musician. Not only did we not have to fulfill expectations about us, we didn't have to fulfill expectations about music either. So it terms of being able to experiment freely with music, it was amazing.[220]

Improvisation, by its nature, is a hit or miss undertaking for its proponents. Some patrons of the Fillmore East in New York seemed unimpressed by psychedelic jamming as a concept, as noted in this review of a 1968 show by Quicksilver Messenger Service: "[They] really moved into that loud tuneless droning sound designed to initiate and compliment psychedelic experience, where the smallest change assumes monumental significance. Their work is controlled, their musicianship fine; but especially in this theater predisposed to hyper-active performance, the audience didn't much like this sort of drawn-out, or droned-out, thing."[221] The improvisatory capabilities of the San Francisco bands,

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[219] Allen Ginsberg was also part of the Acid Tests. The hand-drawn invitation for the second Acid Test (at Muir Beach in December 1965), lists as attractions Ginsberg, Neal Cassady, the Merry Pranksters, the Fugs (containing New York beats) [their name is an acronym for the Fuck You Generation Singers], and the Grateful Dead.

[220] Brandelius: 29

[221] Kostelanetz: unpaginated. Quicksilver Messenger Service review from November 2, 1968.

particularly the Grateful Dead, proved not only one of the most distinguishing features of the style, but one of its most durable qualities.

Folk Revival Roots

With rare exception, all of the major bands in San Francisco had one or more members whose apprenticeship was served and whose ideologies were formed in the folk revival of the 1950s and early 1960s. While books covering San Francisco musicians mention their folk activities, books on the folk revival (Cantwell, Marcus, Rosenberg) do not mention psychedelic music or any of its practitioners.

In the 1950s, young whites in America and the United Kingdom became interested in early rural styles like bluegrass, hillbilly, jug band, and blues. In the UK this interest led to a craze for skiffle music, an acoustic, novelty approximation of American folk music that was a formative influence on the Beatles and similar acts. In North America, the folk revival hit the mainstream in 1958 with the million-selling "Tom Dooley" by the Kingston Trio. The first books on the blues, by Paul Oliver and Sam Charters, appeared shortly after. In 1959, Joan Baez rose to prominence following a performance at the Newport Folk Festival, and in the early 1960s Bob Dylan became folk's leading light. Further momentum came from the seemingly miraculous appearance on festival stages of veteran musicians, for example white banjo player Dock Boggs, and bluesmen Son House, Skip James, and Mississippi John Hurt.

In Harvard Square in Cambridge, Massachusetts and Greenwich Village in New York City and other locales situated near college campuses, thriving folk music scenes developed. The revival was a social construct made out of a conservative, restorative cultural patriotism.[222] Though expressed as a romanticized vision of the past, in seeking a more just, genuine society, the revival rebelled against oppression, consumerism, and modernism. Young people participated in such numbers and with such fervor that the folk revival became an immense cultural and ideological force. The vision of a pastoral and romantic frontier past was carried into the hippie movement, where the inherent defiance, like folk music itself, was amplified.

In 1966, folklorist Ellen Steckert identified four groups of people involved in the revival: traditional singers, utilizers, imitators (she later preferred the term emulators), and creators of a new aesthetic.[223] Traditional singers learned their music orally in their early years. They inspired the emulators, such as the New Lost City Ramblers, who immersed themselves in folk's musical and cultural milieus while aiming for a purity of intention and presentation referred to as authenticity. Utilizers, such as the Weavers and the Kingston Trio, made folk music commercial by freely changing tunes, texts, and styles to fit an existing urban aesthetic. The fourth group, which included Joan Baez and Peter, Paul, and Mary, belonged to the new aesthetic, which scorned the utilizers and created new artistic traditions out "a merger of vocal and instrumental folk, classical, jazz,

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[222] see MacKay for the social construction of the folk revival
[223] Steckert: 96-100

and pop styles."[224] I maintain that psychedelic music is best seen as one of these new traditions, and that many of its originators had participated in the folk revival as emulators and utilizers.

Naming only those musicians in the forefront of San Francisco's acid rock scene who had extensive experience in folk music, the list is still rather long: Jerry Garcia, Bob Weir, and Ron "Pigpen" McKernan (Grateful Dead), Janis Joplin and Peter Albin (Big Brother and the Holding Company), Jorma Kaukonen and Paul Kantner (Jefferson Airplane), Joe McDonald and David Cohen (Country Joe and the Fish), and David Frieberg (Quicksilver Messenger Service). Traces of their folk involvement are readily heard not only in their repertoires [see Appendix] but also in their instrumental techniques.

The revival flourished until 1965, when a mix of folk and British Invasion sounds created folk rock. Two number one pop hits by the Byrds announced its arrival: "Mr. Tambourine Man," a Bob Dylan composition, and "Turn! Turn! Turn! (To Everything There is a Season)," a biblical text adapted by Pete Seeger. Folk rock split the revival community into two camps: acoustic or electric. Some of those who remained dedicated to acoustic music moved towards a deeper involvement in specific music-cultures, such as bluegrass, old-time fiddling, blues, and later klezmer. Neil Rosenberg calls these "named-system revivals," declaring them "aggregates of shared repertoire, instrumentation, and performance style generally perceived as being historically and culturally bounded by such factors as class, ethnicity, race, religion, region, commerce,

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[224] Steckert: 99

and art."[225] The people who moved to rock, primarily Greenwich Village folkies who migrated to Los Angeles, found success under the folk rock banner, such as the Mamas and the Papas.

Folk rock took hold in San Francisco. The We Five, containing a brother of one of the Kingston Trio and sharing the same management, scored a top ten hit in 1965 with their version of "You Were On My Mind." It was a composition by Sylvia Tyson, of the Canadian folk duo Ian and Sylvia, who were handled by Bob Dylan's manager. But psychedelic rock rejected the commercialism of the British Invasion acts and the folk rock ones they influenced. When the San Francisco bands played for free in the parks, as they often did, it was because music was of and for the people, a folk revival philosophy. Eric Clapton, visiting San Francisco from England, found this lack of concern for money impressive and highly unusual:

> The first thing that hit me really hard was that the Grateful Dead were playing a lot of gigs for nothing. That very much moved me. I've never heard of anyone doing that before. That really is one of the finest steps that anyone has taken in music yet, aside from musical strides.... There is this incredible thing that the musical people seem to have toward their audience: they want to give.[226]

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[225] Rosenberg: 177
[226] Wenner: 26

Country Joe McDonald said: "I saw Dylan at the Hollywood Bowl with Joan Baez. I wanted to be Bob Dylan."[227] Shortly afterward, McDonald moved from Los Angeles to Berkeley, sang folk songs and published a magazine of poetry and protest music influenced by the New York folk magazines Sing Out and Broadside. The instrumentation of the first version of Country Joe and the Fish was like a skiffle band: washboard, washtub bass, harmonica, and acoustic guitars. "Then Dylan went electric and the little skiffle band we had just went electric too."[228] In the protest tradition of their folk roots, Country Joe and the Fish were among the most political of all rock bands of the era.

Another thing the folk revival provided the founders of psychedelic music was a precedent for the inclusion of female vocalists. The prominence of Joan Baez in the folk revival—she was on the cover of Time magazine in 1962 (November 23 issue)—may have been a factor in the number of females who later were part of folk rock and psychedelic bands. In San Francisco the following had a female vocalist: the Vejtables, the Great Society, Jefferson Airplane, Big Brother and the Holding Company, Fifty Foot Hose, It's A Beautiful Day, and in the 1970s, the Grateful Dead. Lynne Hughes was an occasional member of the Charlatans.

One of the most important legacies of the folk revival on psychedelic rock was the sense of connectedness to a mythic America. Folk music's depiction of America encompassed fabled ancestors, archetypal roles, primal events, legendary places, and the struggles of the common people. Identification lead to mimicry, which was expressed by play-acting. One could act the part, as Robert

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[227] Salomon: 5
[228] Salomon: 5

Cantwell says, of "the desperado, the tramp, the poet, peasant, earth mother, or May Queen... Play had become an instrument for shaping reality and hence a means of laying claim to the social and historical initiative."[229]

The world's first psychedelic band was probably the Charlatans, whose name and Wild West image acknowledge such play-acting. Their frontier image was partly chosen for it quintessential American-ness, as a reaction against the British Invasion. This carried into their music. George Hunter, the band's founder, said: "We wanted the identity of an American band, rather than emulating the British sound, that's why we started drifting towards Americana and rootsier music as well, things that would not be identified with anything else."[230]

Big Brother and the Holding Company learned "Coo Coo" from the 1929 recording by Clarence "Tom" Ashley, a banjo player from Tennessee. They found it on Anthology of American Folk Music, a particularly influential set of vinyl albums on the Vanguard label.[231] Bassist Peter Albin:

> I played a little bit of rock and roll in high school but not much; I played mostly folk music. My brother and I had a band together. We started getting into folk music because of the Kingston Trio: pop folk music. It was fun and easy to do and we learned all the songs. Then we started getting into old-timey music like the New Lost City Ramblers. They were

[229] Cantwell 1993: 54-55
[230] Alex Palao: liner notes to The Charlatans (Big Beat CD 1996): 11.
[231] Edited by Harry Smith and released in 1952, the anthology reissued 84 songs from 1926-1934. It earned a Grammy award on its reissue in 1997. Other songs from this set show up in the post 1960s recordings of the Grateful Dead, Jerry Garcia (as a solo artist), and Hot Tuna (a Jefferson Airplane spin-off project).

very influential, not only to us but to David Nelson, Jerry Garcia, everybody else that was around at the time. A lot of the early Berkeley groups were into that old-timey music. We also got into bluegrass music. But my brother and I stuck with old-timey music rather than go the real strict bluegrass route that Garcia and David Nelson got into: they were listening to tapes and everything, and trying to find and play with Bill Monroe.[232]

Like Jerry Garcia, Jefferson Airplane guitarist Paul Kantner also played and taught the banjo. Kantner declared:

> The Weavers were my prime teachers. I sit at the feet of the Weavers, still. They were all very different people. Probably all together they make up one perfect human being, sort of like Jefferson Airplane or Jefferson Starship. Pete Seeger particularly. What got me into music was Pete Seeger's <u>How To Play the 5-String Banjo</u> book.[233] I was a banjo player for about 5 years. I played in college; still play banjo, love banjo. Ronnie Gilbert [of the Weavers] was the reason I wanted to work with a woman singer, just because she so obviously added a great unknown quantity. I really wish I had seen the Weavers perform because they were so invigorating to my songwriting approach, to life, and to what you're supposed to do as a band, whether you are a rock and roll band, a folk

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[232] Albin interview

[233] A self-published book first appearing as a mimeographed edition in 1948. A more widely distributed 3rd edition appeared in 1962. A companion record with examples from the book was published by Folkways.

> band as they were, or whatever: good, bad, indifferent, drunken party boys to severe ascetic, almost Amish kind of Pete Seeger dedication to the cause.[234]

David Cohen, guitarist and organist for Country Joe and the Fish, had been part of the Greenwich Village folk scene for years before moving to Berkeley and joining the band. He said: "California folkies were a little more relaxed, a little less manic about learning it exactly right."[235] He described his apprenticeship days in New York. What started as drudgery turned to passion with a change of instrument and inspiration:

> I started playing piano when I was seven. I studied for seven years and I hated it. I was sort of forced to do it. When I was ten or eleven I started playing guitar and I loved it. Then when I was 13 I went to a camp called Lincoln Farm Work Camp, which was very progressive, very radical, run by some communists, or at least inhabited by them. My background was that my grandparents were anarchists. So I wasn't really a "red-diaper baby" but I was close. That's a term for people like Arlo Guthrie and Country Joe whose parents were communists. This camp woke me up to a lot of things. It's where I first saw Pete Seeger, who came and did a concert.[236]

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[234] Kantner interview
[235] Cohen interview
[236] Cohen interview

Cohen's passion for folk music caused him to join others in Washington Square in Greenwich Village:

> I fell in love with folk music. I thought it was the best stuff. That summer, 1956, I started going to Washington Square Park. I had heard folk music was being played there from two to six [o'clock].... Mayor Wagner only gave a license [for those hours and] for stringed instruments, you couldn't have drums, couldn't have horns, only stringed instruments, and obviously no electronic instruments—there weren't any then anyway, none that you could take with you. The cops were very strict with us.... After six we'd go to someone's apartment or loft, we'd meet, exchange ideas, business, go to a concert at the American Youth Hostel on 8th Street. That was our day, I'd take the subway home.... I was young, but I had no choice, I was driven. I had started high school. I'd get home from school around 3:30, I'd go up to my room and play guitar for six hours. I'd do 15 minutes of homework and go to sleep. For three years.[237]

This kind of dedication continued with the psychedelic bands in the form of endless rehearsing, a continuation of the folk revival musicians' urge to explore music's possibilities. Of the community-minded and communal-dwelling San Francisco musicians, reports of passionate application to music making are common. Typically, bands rehearsed almost every day, all afternoon and sometimes in the evening too. Joe McDonald remembered:

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[237] Cohen interview

> The first year was the best—we were still enthralled with our own energy...We practiced most of the time, eight to ten hours a day, seven days a week. We never saw anybody or socialized, just got stoned and played, got stoned and played. Yeah, the first year was the easiest, it was a very fertile period for me. I was into some really far out arrangements. I was playing with sound; echoes, water dripping, bells—going from silence to no silence—a lot of texture changes.[238]

In summary, psychedelic music drew far more heavily from the folk revival than has been previously acknowledged. The folk revival had an influence on San Francisco psychedelia in ideology, repertoire, instrumental techniques, vocal harmonies, political and social commentary, the role of female musicians, play-acting, and passion for learning and rehearsing.

[238] Felton and Glover: 200

Chapter 4. Music Styles and Commerce in the 1960s

The musicians who forged the psychedelic style were exposed and enjoyed many other kinds of music. At the time of founding Big Brother and the Holding Company its two guitarists were listening to folk field recordings, the blues of John Lee Hooker and others, black song stylist Nina Simone, jazz iconoclasts Ornette Coleman, Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Cecil Taylor, and Sun Ra, quirky street singer Moondog, 18th century classical music, and South Indian vina and sitar music.[239] Jefferson Airplane bassist Jack Casady's listening experience crossed similar genre borders, adding the architects of rock and roll:

> I'd listen to jazz and classical and a lot of blues and folk music: I'd listen to it all as music. I love the emotion in different kinds of music. Probably the best thing that happened to me was being born in Washington [DC] and being able to go down to the Howard Theater and listen to all those bands that came through there in the mid to late-'50s. I saw Ike and Tina Turner when they first started, Little Richard, Bo Diddley, Chuck Berry; I got to hear all those people. Later on I got to see a lot of jazz and a lot of blues coming through DC as well. Then the next night I'd go down to Constitution Hall and hear Prokofiev or something. It was all available; that was fortunate. I listened to a lot of bluegrass at the same time. I just really loved music when it was played well and played honestly by people.[240]

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[239] Obrecht: 75
[240] Casady interview

When Guitar Player magazine began in 1970, it helped start the rock music education industry. With the aid of books of transcriptions and instructional videos many instrumentalists were drawn to study the styles of individual artists. Before then, with few exceptions like the play-along records of the Ventures, a successful instrumental band featuring guitars, music instruction was unavailable for rock musicians, unless they adapted what they found in jazz, folk, or blues tutor books. Jack Casady, like other 1960s rock players, formed his own style out of what he heard.

> I listened to a lot of different music and also played guitar before bass. And then somehow in my role as a bass player I would use all that, rather than just finding a bass player and trying to play like him. I loved other bass players. Duck Dunn with Booker T and the MGs was always one of my favorite bass players, but I didn't feel it was necessary for me to emulate him: he did his thing and I loved the music that he did. I had to find my own approach and try to play the notes that I was hearing in my head and get them out on the bass. I've always liked melody, I've liked concert music and the different roles of an orchestra, the way the lows go to the highs. I just happen to play the bass, so I would play all the notes that I had on a bass. Sometimes with some modicum of success, and sometimes not.[241]

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[241] Casady interview

By the late 1950s in America, rock and roll's basic instrumentation, formal structures, use of tonalities, subject matter, social functions, methods of dissemination, and regional centres of influence had been established. In its formative years (mid-1940s to mid-1950s), rock and roll drew from traditions in black music (blues, rhythm and blues, gospel) and white music (folk, country, gospel, and pop). By 1955, rock and roll crystallized as a new genre. Five styles collectively comprised rock and roll: two black R&B styles (as played in Chicago and in New Orleans), two white country-based styles (rockabilly, Northern swing), and doo wop, a vocal group style sung by both blacks and whites.[242]

Rock on the West Coast in the 1960s built on these traditions. Standard instrumentation was drum set, electric guitar(s), bass (by this time electric), and usually a keyboard (piano at first, then electric piano, then organ). In this decade, rock and roll became more complex in almost all areas—chord progressions, orchestration, lyrics, and form—much of it from the influence of the Beatles. Though the music was built from shared foundations, regional and stylistic differences abound. The popular music styles created or practiced on the West Coast in the 1960s that preceded psychedelia, were, in approximate chronological order: surf, the Northwest Sound, folk rock, goodtime rock, and garage rock. These styles were new types of rock yet showed influences from ragtime, vaudeville, barbershop, blues, country, jazz, and ethnic music. Stylistic differences, readily discernable on recordings, allow for an easy division of the West Coast into three geographical areas: the Pacific Northwest, the San Francisco area, and the Los Angeles area. Each territory represents a different

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[242] Gillett: 23-35

school of music making and each had a period when internal creativity was more forceful than outside influences.

Bounded on the east side by the Cascade Mountains and the west by the Pacific Ocean, the Pacific Northwest stretches from California's northern border to lower British Columbia. The main urban centres are Portland (Oregon), Seattle-Tacoma (Washington), and Vancouver (British Columbia). This region's economy is forestry-based, and its geographical remoteness, connected to other regions largely through shipping, meant that it retained a frontier roughness, a quality evident in its rock music. A sense of isolation was heightened by the fact that, by 1960, the majority of the population had been born in the region. A large youth population and strict liquor laws enforcing 21 as the legal drinking age caused a vibrant teen scene where bands played schools, churches, and private dances held at armories. Local radio was kind to homegrown acts because the most powerful dance promoters were the disc jockeys.

Formed in the early 1960s, the Northwest Sound was an original, raw, brash, and energetic strain of white rhythm and blues. Seattle and Vancouver each had a small black population and both were on the tour circuit for R&B musicians, some like Ray Charles and saxophonist Big Jay McNeely residing in Seattle for a period. Though little R&B was heard on radio, young whites were attracted to and influenced by live shows. Part of the influence is seen in the use of the sax by numerous bands, rare in other 1960s rock.

Touring San Francisco bands heavily influenced psychedelic music in the Northwest. The Jefferson Airplane, Country Joe and the Fish, the Grateful Dead,

Quicksilver Messenger Service, It's A Beautiful Day, and others all played in Seattle, Portland, or both in the 1960s. Seattle's small psychedelic scene began with the bands the Daily Flash and Crome Syrcus, and established bands such as the Wailers and Kingsmen took on the style for at least a few recordings. The Jefferson Airplane played in Vancouver as early as January 1966 and the Grateful Dead visited there in July and August that year for five appearances, their first shows outside California. Jerry Garcia reported that the audiences were unlike the ones back in California: "It was kind of funny. Stiff, is what it was. And the people [that] are there [have] a certain kind of reserve."[243] A complex light show run by inexperienced people did not help the mood. The crowd the next week was more responsive.

They and other San Francisco bands, including Country Joe and the Fish and Big Brother and the Holding Company, whom I saw in Vancouver in 1968, helped foster a psychedelic outpost. Vancouver's Fourth Avenue was a kind of Haight-Ashbury North and clubs like the Afterthought and the Retinal Circus promoted local and out of town bands with psychedelic poster art that is now highly collectible. Vancouver bands in the style included Mother Tuckers Yellow Duck and the United Empire Loyalists.

While it is easy to see how Northwest bands were influenced by San Francisco psychedelia, the Northwest Sound had not contributed to its formation. Northwest bands did however perform as part of the San Francisco psychedelic scene. Guitarist Jerry Miller described a moment in early 1966 when his band from Seattle came to the city:

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[243] "The Grateful Dead Interview": 4.

> The first time I played the Avalon Ballroom I was with the Frantics. We all had matching suits and razor cuts, playing this slick surf-type music. We saw all the people with long hair having a good time in a real scene, dancing, all painted up, with this good vibe, and we felt like boobs. We instantly said, "that's it, we quit." We dropped out of the Frantics and became part of the beautiful psychedelic scene. Many musicians we heard in those early days were really sour [laughter], but the crowds loved it and with all the energy and emotion behind the scene, we knew we wanted to be a part of it.[244]

Miller and the Frantics' drummer Don Stevenson did play a part in it: they helped form Moby Grape.

The music of the Neighb'rhood Childr'n of Medford, Oregon, just north of the California border, also shows changes in stylistic allegiance. Their core was guitarist Rick Bolz and organist Dyan Hoffman, whose musical talents were evident in distinctive writing and singing, which, with overall fine playing, makes their records highly regarded. In previous bands, some members played surf, but this band was inspired by the Portland ones to the north (the Ventures, the Wailers, Paul Revere and the Raiders). The Neighb'rhood Childr'n's Northwest leanings are seen in a 1967 cover of "Louie Louie" as are their British Invasion ones in a 1968 cover of the Beatles' "Can't Buy Me Love." But by then, they had already been enticed in a new direction by the sounds emanating from San

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[244] Robble: 12-13

Francisco, 350 miles to the south. They performed several times in San Francisco and recorded noteworthy psychedelic music.

Steve Lalor was a guitarist and lead vocalist with the Daily Flash, a band formed in Seattle that played so often in San Francisco that many people assumed they were local. At their first performance there, they saw an alternate way of doing things.

> On the way down to LA we stopped and played at the Avalon Ballroom. This is a whole different scene. We're making good money here, the band is making as much as we'd make at a top Seattle gig. But I'm noticing that the guy who jerks soda pop is making almost the same amount I am. Everybody. Chet [Helms] is throwing a party and the only thing he's keeping in the pot is enough for the rental of the hall next time. And everybody shares. We arrive for sound check and we expect it to be somewhat lackadaisically business-like, and what we find is that they want to take us home, you know? "We got places... comfortable beds for y'all to stay in, and there's gonna be an all night jam at this person's house if you feel like stayin' up all night and jammin', you'll be able to do that.".... I'm wandering around...and we're going, "Wow! I wonder how many other places like this there are!"[245]

These gigs at the Avalon were quite different from what the band was used to:

[245] Lalor interview

> On the one hand, we thought of ourselves as some sort of mainline entertainment thing, and so there's that aspect of the fame and the... you know, guards at the dressing room, together with this other aspect at the Avalon, which is just one big party. "Hi, you're welcome, you're the ones that are going to be over there on the stage." What began to dawn on me was that this was bigger than the music. This is like a cultural thing I'm in, not a musical thing, and the culture is bigger than the music.... They [dance concerts] were the only places where alternative people could show up and express themselves. And it wasn't to see us, exactly. It was to express themselves. We just happened to be the people on the stage playing. That's what constantly hit me through this whole period.... It was a totally tribal scene. The whole '66, '67 thing was just amazing.... The scene in LA was a whole lot more entertainment and amusement, not so much cultural. It was just selling widgets. And if you couldn't sell 50,000 singles, nobody wanted to bother with you.[246]

California by 1962 was the most populous state in the USA and it grew the most produce. Its balmy weather, natural resources, buoyant economy fed by government defence contracts, space program research, and a booming entertainment and electronics industries, attracted immigrants from other states at the rate of 1700 people arriving every day.[247] Currently, Los Angeles is the third largest city (after New York and Chicago) in the United States. A port city, it

[246] Lalor interview

is the industrial centre of southern California and close by to extensive agricultural regions and oil fields. The cultural centre of the West Coast, its film industry is pre-eminent in the world. Like the films made in the city's Hollywood district, the Los Angeles rock music industry to this day is pop oriented. It uses a very rich palette of sounds, in instrumentation, arrangements, and vocal harmonies. A notable 1960s example is "Monday Monday" by the Mamas and Papas, which features four-part harmony, a harpsichord, a string orchestra, and several modulations.[248] Los Angeles studios were the first equipped with eight-track recorders, and saw the early use of devices like fuzz pedals for guitar ("Hey Joe" by the Leaves) and bass ("Talk Talk" by the Music Machine).

In the early 1960s, Los Angeles was the home of surf music, which appeared originally in an instrumental form (Dick Dale, the Chantays), then a vocal form (Jan and Dean, the Beach Boys). Instrumental surf music, the music of choice for many of the state's 100,000 surfers, often used minor keys (especially the natural minor scale, as in "Pipeline" by the Chantays) and sometimes had an ethnic flavour, which comes from Dick Dale (known as King of the Surf Guitar). His "Miserlou" is an actual eastern-European melody, and a similar flavour is used in "The Wedge." Dale's tremolo picking technique (16th notes) reminiscent of bouzouki-like instruments. He was also a strong trumpet player, and many surf instrumentals feature a saxophone. Many songs used sound effects, especially waves, and shouted out song titles, such as "Wipe Out" by the Surfaris, which opens with the sound of a surfboard splitting apart and someone laughing and saying the title.

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[247] Szatmary: 68

[248] In order the keys are: F# (with a section in A), G, G# (with a section in B), A, G# (with the

Born at teen dances at large halls along the coastline, surf music became a sensational if short-lived fad. Its peak year was 1963, when it was the "biggest overnight sensation since the twist."[249] California instrumental groups, starting with Dick Dale's, tried to imitate the powerful feeling of surfing—awe, freedom, skill—in their songs by using trebly-toned amps with lots of reverb, and Fender guitars strung with medium or heavy gauge strings that provided rich tone while limiting note-bending to a half-step. The generally sunny outlook, humor, and rich musical textures were carried into the vocal version of the surf style.

Vocal surf at its peak used complex harmonic vocals and carefully crafted arrangements. Its lyrics dealt with the joys of the hedonistic, easy-going southern Californian beach culture style in songs that referred to surfing techniques, odd characters, types of cars and their mechanical components, and romantic opportunities and relationships. Brian Wilson of the Beach Boys was a masterful writer who often managed to go into emotional territory, bringing far greater depth to surf music in songs such as "Don't Worry Baby" and "In My Room." His lyrics were often matched with highly sophisticated melodic and harmonic material borrowed from pop traditions. He wrote or co-wrote most of the Beach Boys' hits (as well as co-authoring Jan and Dean's "Surf City"), which feature major diatonic harmonies, sometimes quite elaborate ones, and savvy modulations. He made regular use of the bVII chord, as did most of the Los Angeles bands in surf and later styles. Harmonizing groups from Los Angeles, from surf onwards, defined post-

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section in B), back to A, back to G# (with the section in B), and finally returning to F#.
[249] Shaw: 107

doo wop pop harmony singing and remain influential. Surf music was swept aside by the British Invasion.

In the United Kingdom, prior to the coming of rock and roll, musicians raised on pop and music hall songs created a style called skiffle by emulating American folk blues and traditional jazz. The Beatles formed in 1957 as the Quarrymen, a skiffle group. That year Bill Haley was the first of the American rock and roll stars to tour England to great acclaim and controversy. Inspired by rock and roll, with special attention to obscure American black music heard on rhythm & blues and blues records, UK beat groups of the early 1960s created a new approach that took America by storm. When it did, it was called the British Invasion.

It began with the arrival in North America of the Beatles—specifically their appearance on the Ed Sullivan television show in February 1964, which had an estimated viewing audience of 73 million. Less than a week before the Sullivan show, the Beatles received their first gold album and their first gold single on the same day, for Meet the Beatles! and "I Want to Hold Your Hand." By April, the Beatles held all top five places on the national singles chart. For North American society, the arrival of the Beatles started the Sixties (as opposed to the 1960s).[250]

Their influence was immense. Social critic Henry W. Sullivan wrote: "In all aspects of their creative activity and influence, they sent the message to their fans that another kind of logic, or way of knowing, was to be sought and,

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[250] The word is capitalized to indicate a conceptual construct referring to hippie culture rather than a chronological demarcation. Defining the beginning and ending of the Sixties is either a matter of personal opinion, tied to events in one's history for those who participated in the culture, or a matter of assigning significance to historical moments. Sullivan uses 1963-1973 [p.133]. Traditions in rock writing commonly cite as beginnings the assassination of President John Kennedy (November 1963) and the TV debut of the Beatles on the Ed

perhaps, encountered."[251] Just the fact that the Beatles wrote their own songs shifted the emphasis from covers to original compositions. They and other groups like the Rolling Stones inspired many to acquire instruments, and the majority of the already active rock musicians, plus many of the urban folk players, revised their approach.

Acts from the UK dominated the pop charts in the US and Canada in 1964 and were a powerful influence in the ensuing years.[252] Statistics for the period 1948-1973, show 1964 as the year the lowest-ever number of established performers earned top ten records (7.1%) and the highest-ever number of established acts had their last top ten hit (80%). The number of new performers making the top ten was very nearly a record high (68.6%). The most comparable previous time was in 1956 and 1957, when Elvis Presley broke through.[253]

From the start, the UK artists had a deep influence on all aspects of North American popular music. The reaction took many forms. Thousands of acts copied British styles and affected British sounds, clothes, and images. Despite

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Sullivan Show (February 1964). Commonly cited endings are the Altamont rock festival (December 1969) and the breakup of the Beatles (December 1970).

[251] Sullivan: 169

[252] Specifically, in 1964 in the wake of the Beatles came the Rolling Stones, the Kinks, the Animals, the Searchers, Freddie and the Dreamers, Manfred Mann, the Dave Clark Five, Cilla Black, Peter and Gordon, the Swinging Blue Jeans, Billy J. Kramer and the Dakotas, the Hollies, the Bachelors, Chad and Jeremy, Herman's Hermits, Petula Clark, the Honeycombs, Dusty Springfield, Lulu, and the Zombies. Additional UK names were added to the American charts (increasingly the album charts from 1967 onwards) each year throughout the decade:
1965: the Who, Donovan, Georgie Fame, Wayne Fontana and the Mindbenders, Tom Jones, the Moody Blues, Freddie and the Dreamers, the Silkie, Them, the Walker Brothers, Gerry and the Pacemakers, Ian Whitcomb, and the Yardbirds
1966: the Troggs, the New Vaudeville Band, and the Spencer Davis Group
1967: Procol Harum, Traffic, the Bee Gees, Fleetwood Mac, the Small Faces, and the Jeff Beck Group (including Rod Stewart)
1968: Cream, Joe Cocker, the Crazy World of Arthur Brown, Deep Purple, Mary Hopkin, and Dave Dee, Dozy, Beaky, Mick and Tich
1969: Led Zeppelin, King Crimson, and Blind Faith

[253] see Patterson and Berger

appearing as an overnight sensation, the Beatles had years of apprenticeship behind them in the nightclubs of Liverpool and Hamburg, Germany. Their repertoire was vast and varied, and they had absorbed its lessons. While many young musicians found the Beatles' pop-influenced chord progressions and rich harmony singing beyond their capabilities, some experienced musicians were competent enough to follow in the Beatles' musical footsteps or find their own sound using similar materials.

Musicians who were incapable or uninterested in the more complex, more pop side of the Beatles' approach emulated or covered the hard hitting, simpler songs in their repertoire: originals such as "You Can't Do That," or R&B songs such as "Slow Down" by Larry Williams and "Money" by Barrett Strong. Particularly influential were the bands from the rocking, gritty side of the British Invasion, namely the Yardbirds, the Animals, Them, the Rolling Stones, and the Kinks. American bands inspired by these acts created a style called garage rock, whose heyday was 1965 and 1966, between the first impact of the British Invasion and the wave of studio expertise heralded by the Beatles' Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band in 1967. Also in that time period came folk rock and thê beginnings of psychedelia, and garage rock has elements of both.

Garage was the do-it-yourself music of disenchanted middle-class suburban young men and high school boys. Born of a snarly attitude, garage band lyrics, usually sung by a single lead vocalist, often spoke in cynical tones of failed young love and teenage pressures and frustrations. Named for the location where many amateur musicians rehearsed (basements were also popular),

garage music is sometimes called '60s punk. In afterschool sessions, budding musicians orchestrated their search for differentiation with rebellious, thumping, thickly textured, intense, gutsy, primitive, and playfully aggressive music which parents generally found to be unpleasant noise. While wearing mod fashions, garage musicians played their elemental music at teen clubs, teen fairs, high school dances, and battle of the bands contests, getting tremendous variety out of a few major chords, combo organs, and blues guitar riffs played through fuzztone pedals. Los Angeles was a main locale for garage music, as exemplified by the Standells, the Leaves, the Chocolate Watch Band (from San Jose originally), and the Music Machine. "Hey Joe," a national top 40 hit by the Leaves in 1966,[254] crystallized two of the chief characteristics of garage: misogynous lyrics and a hybrid tonality, neither major-minor nor blues, made of shifting major chords often in a cycle of fourths. The hybrid tonality was carried into psychedelic music.

In California in the 1960s, folk music's association with post-Invasion rock produced as offspring three styles: folk rock, psychedelic rock, and country rock. In Los Angeles, the Byrds mix of Beatle rhythms and harmonies with Bob Dylan's folk songs (based on Woody Guthrie's inspiration and Dylan's New York Greenwich Village folk experiences), created folk rock in 1965. Folk rock had a brief but successful heyday as many Los Angeles bands emulated the Byrds' jangly approach on "Mr. Tambourine Man": Bob Dylan compositions or similar

[254] The Leaves recorded it first though hundreds of other recordings of the song were made. Naming only Los Angeles area acts who recorded it, the list includes the Byrds, Spirit, the Standells, the Music Machine, the Surfaris, Johnny Rivers, and Love. Though most people associate the song with Jimi Hendrix's slowed down version, three other versions were

poetic folk songs in rock versions using a Beatle-esque beat and featuring clear harmony singing, electric 12-string guitar, and tambourine. That narrow set of characteristics was too restrictive to last and soon diffused into a broader spectrum of sounds involving more orchestration and other influences. Los Angeles folk rock came in a more pop variety (the Association, the Mamas and the Papas, the Beach Boys, Sonny and Cher, the Turtles, and the Monkees) and a more rock variety (the Byrds, the Buffalo Springfield, Love after their garage phase, and at the end of the decade, Crosby, Stills and Nash).

After folk rock and psychedelic, in 1967, country rock was created in Los Angeles by Gram Parsons and the Byrds (whom he joined for a time) by mixing country (Nashville, bluegrass, and honky tonk) with rock sensibilities. Country rock was more varied than folk rock and more accessible, aside from the long hair and garish drugstore cowboy outfits, to the general public than psychedelia. It evolved to reach a peak of expression and success with the Eagles, whose album Their Greatest Hits 1971-1975 was certified in 1999 as the best-selling album of the 20th century.[255] Also important were the Flying Burrito Brothers, Poco, and the Pure Prairie League. As a return to earthiness, simplicity, and tradition, in 1970s the style was taken up in San Francisco by the New Riders of the Purple Sage, the Grateful Dead, and Commander Cody and his Lost Planet Airmen, whose "Hot Rod Lincoln," a remake of a 1950s country boogie song, was a top 10 hit. With solo and harmony singing, the use of the banjo and the pedal steel guitar gave a twangy, conventional, and comforting sound.

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moderate hits in the 1960s, by Tim Rose, Cher, and Wilson Pickett.

[255] The Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA). By 1999, this Eagles' album

In 1968, a broader style appeared from the East: roots rock (the term does not enjoy as wide a currency as the other style names). It incorporated folk rock with elements of country rock plus a deeper connection to 1950s rock and roll. It was created by the Band, four Canadians and an Arkansas native who had formed in Toronto as a backup band for Ronnie Hawkins before touring extensively with Bob Dylan. They honed their debut album in seclusion at informal sessions with Dylan at a rural retreat in New York State. Many months after its release, the Band made its concert debut in San Francisco in April 1969. Their impact had already been felt there, in the compositions of Creedence Clearwater Revival, who between Haight-Ashbury and punk, was the top American singles band. From 1968 to 1972 they placed a remarkable 19 songs on the charts. Roots rock was a post-psychedelic direction for the Grateful Dead and others at least until the mid-1970s.

Before the advent of psychedelia, the live music industry in San Francisco was concentrated in North Beach, an Italian district that was home to dozens of restaurants, coffeehouses, and nightclubs, some of them internationally famous. These venues presented folk, jazz, R&B, comedy, poetry, and go-go and topless dancers. Cork Marcheschi of Fifty Foot Hose, remembered:

> North Beach in 1963...had maybe 25 to 30 nightclubs in a 5 or 6 block area, and every one had live music, so there was a real working community of artists. You'd go to work at 9p.m. and get off at 2a.m. and play 5 hours a night for $25 cash each. That was real money back then, my rent was only $98 a month! It was absolutely great! You could sit in

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has sold 26 million copies, edging out Michael Jackson's Thriller.

with anybody, you got to know a lot of other musicians, and everybody in a band worked 5 or 6 nights a week. It was a job.[256]

It was a job but it there was little possibility of advancement. David LaFlamme, later founder of It's A Beautiful Day, recalled:

> In 1964 I had been performing in San Francisco at the hungry i, the Purple Onion—showcase showrooms—and some different places like that where I used to do a singing violinist act with a piano accompanist. I would sing and play, much as I do today but back then I wasn't doing anything original. I was doing just current popular music of the day, everything from to "I Left My Heart in San Francisco" to a lot of Charles Aznavour songs. The fellow who was the bass player in the Dave Brubeck quartet, Norman [Bates] liked my singing and playing and did some catchy arrangements for me of songs like "Love For Sale": the kind of thing you might see in Vegas. I wore a suit and a little thin tie. It just didn't seem to be going anywheres.[257]

Changes in the music scene caused LaFlamme to move towards a more currently popular kind of music:

> In '65, this friend of mine...we were both, at that point, pretty depressed about where our lives were going with music; he was brilliant pianist. We went in this bar called Vien Vien in North Beach and on the jukebox was

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[256] Powers: 16
[257] LaFlamme interview

playing a song I'd never heard before: "Satisfaction" by the Rolling Stones. He and I must have put $20 worth of quarters or whatever it was as we sat and got absolutely shitfaced and had hostile local Italian people who hung out there and couldn't get another song on the jukebox listening to "Satisfaction" over and over and over while we sat there and poured Scotch down us, just totally bluesed out. After that night I started to realize why things weren't happening for me. I realized that I was trying to do something that was ending. I was trying start into an ending thing. It was as though I was trying to be a Kingston Trio person when that style of music really was over. I realized I had to somehow find a way to get involved with different kinds of musicians and different people than I'd ever done before in my life. Not in the straight world, not in the straight drinking world, but in some other capacity. I thought, well, you play a little guitar or bass, enough to play simple rock and roll tunes: I could play "Satisfaction" certainly. So I thought, that's it: put the violin in the closet, forget it, forget those songs you've been singing, forget all that, just get rid of it. It's not happening, it's not going to happen...I started nosing around town, auditioning.[258]

LaFlamme played, rather successfully for a while, with other musicians doing songs by the Rolling Stones and other British Invasion bands as well as the Lovin' Spoonful. In other words, he found a solution to the dilemma of being out of step with the times, but he was still playing other people's music. The shift to

[258] LaFlamme interview

original music came later, once it was established that the psychedelic style required originality.

In rock music, two basic kinds of bands exist. Their differences are articulated in sociologist Stephen B. Groce's article "Occupational Rhetoric and Ideology: A Comparison of Copy and Original Music Performers" (1989). In studying the world of 25 semi-professional small-town band players, Groce found that while both copy bands and original bands play rock music and share some behavioral expectations, they are dissimilar in terms of goal orientation, cohesiveness, and internal differentiation. Copy bands (also known as cover or top 40 bands) play other people's music with a goal of audience approval and economic reward. Members see themselves as entertainers and pride themselves on stage presence and their technical competence and ability in learning (or faking) repertoire to cater to their audience. Rehearsals are efficient, tolerated rather than anticipated. Excitement is derived from popularity, a sense of mastery and power, and money.

Original bands compose and play their own music and are self-oriented rather than other-oriented (i.e. audience-oriented). Original players who had received instruction in music generally felt their lessons were too restrictive and inhibited creativity, contrary to the copy musicians who evaluated their training positively. Original players exhibited an inability or unwillingness to categorize their music. Groce speculates that either their music truly defied classification or that they intentionally shrouded it in mystery so audiences might wish to experience it for themselves. He neglects to conclude that the copy bands, which made twice or

three times the amount of money than the original bands in this sample, had more need to clearly define their style for the marketplace.

The goal for original musicians was participating in the creative process and excitement came from new discoveries and inventive collaboration. With no models to emulate, original music requires more rehearsal time to develop ideas. These musicians perceived themselves primarily as artists or at least as entertainers with integrity. Though both groups experience stumbling blocks to success, original musicians took a disdainful view, not of audiences, but of copy musicians for their ego-gratifying commercialism and lazy approach to repertoire. Groce wonders if this belittling contains envy, because original bands (at a local level) make less money. Copy musicians did not negatively evaluate original music, and would consider doing it if money and musicianship were sufficiently high. Whether involved in repetition or composition, neither type of musician had much control over the structural constraints in the larger situation in which they worked. Each had to position themselves in a niche in the music industry and in a role within society and used their ideology to justify their choices.

San Francisco's first independent rock label was Autumn, formed in 1964 by two top 40 disc jockeys. Tom "Big Daddy" Donahue had a major impact on the city's music. He went from being one of the most popular radio "boss jocks," leading his station KYA to the top of the ratings, to a concert promoter, to founder of not only of Autumn records, but the world's first psychedelic night club.[259] In 1996 he was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame's non-performer category:

> [Donahue was] the father of FM progressive radio. As a deejay and executive at San Francisco radio stations...in the late Sixties and early Seventies, Donahue invented 'free form' radio and revolutionized radio broadcasting in America.... He moved to KMPX in 1967 and KSAN in 1968, where he rebelled against standard Top 40 programming and encouraged his deejays to program their own shows and play music from different eras and genres.[260]

He and his on-air partner Bobby "Mighty Mitch" Mitchell had moved to the city in 1961 from Philadelphia to get away from the payola scandal. They became concert promoters and agents on the side, beginning with sock hops then moving up to a series of highly successful multi-act spectaculars at the 18,000 capacity Cow Palace. Their first there was January 27, 1962, a "Twist Party" with Chubby Checker. The next was March 2, 1963, a "Limbo Party." The third, called "Surf Party," was September 28, 1963, with the Righteous Brothers, Jan and Dean, the Ronettes, Dee Dee Sharp, Dionne Warwick, Betty Harris, the Drifters, Freddie Cannon, and locals George and Terry, and Bobby Freeman. All three shows sold out with audiences exceeding 15,000 and as many as 5,000 turned away, so Donahue and Mitchell knew the market was there. They formed Autumn to release a live album of the third show, which they called <u>Memories of the Cow Palace</u>. Phil Spector, from Los Angeles, the young producer of the Righteous Brothers and the Ronettes, conducted the orchestra of fifteen or more musicians,

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[259] Mother's in San Francisco's North Beach area, opened in July 1965.
[260] Rock and Roll Hall of Fame website: www.rockhall.com

as seen on the cover photo. The show is a microcosm of the state of rock music and its stars in the months just before the arrival in America of the Beatles and the explosion of self-contained groups. The Cow Palace performers are solo singers or male duos, with the exception of the two black vocal groups, the Ronettes and the Drifters.

Autumn's first hit single, in 1964, had no relationship with the current craze for British music. The label run by two disc jockeys began with a proven hit maker and a song that fit into an established niche. Bobby Freeman's first hit, "Do You Want To Dance" from 1958, sold a million and made him the city's first rock star. Freeman's "C'mon and Swim" entered Billboard magazine's pop charts in July 1964, climbing to number five, helping to establish the label. It was a late addition to the series of hit dance songs that followed "The Twist," Chubby Checker's number one hit from 1960. Some of the dances these songs celebrated or created were the Mashed Potatoes, the Bird, the Rug, and the Hitch Hike. In most of these recordings the singer instructs the dancers on what to do while comparing the dance to others they probably already know. Bobby Freeman sings: "kind of like the Monkey, kind of like the Twist, pretend you're in the water and you go like this...just like the Dog but not so low, like the Hully Gully but not so slow...swim like a fish...do the dog paddle baby, now do the backstroke." Freeman's impassioned R&B singing was accompanied by a horn section, organ, stinging guitar, and driving bass and drums. The song used the blues tonality and a riff employing the notes I, bVII, bIII, and IV. "C'mon and Swim" represents (and in fact was inspired by) the dance music presented in the

North Beach go-go bars and, starting in 1964, the topless clubs, where he often worked.[261]

Autumn did further R&B recordings, but had success with British-influenced folk rock acts, especially the Beau Brummels. They took their sound from the Beatles' folk rock period and their name from a famous 19th century English dandy. Not only did their name have an Anglo touch, it was rumored to have been selected to be so close in spelling to that of the Beatles that record shoppers flipping through a bin of their albums would come across the Beau Brummels next. They were the first San Francisco rock group to have hits, but their pop style as much as their commercial success denied them status in the emerging underground community.

Besides the disc jockeys Tom Donahue and Bobby Mitchell who were the label's founders, the other important figure in the history of Autumn was Sly Stone (Sylvester Stewart). The founders met Stone at one of their dances and hired him as a producer for the R&B acts from the North Beach club circuit that were their original focus. He stayed on through most of the other recordings and styles. Energetic in the studio, at various times Stone wrote songs (he did the lyrics for "C'mon and Swim"), arranged songs, polished vocal harmonies, or acted as a session musician on guitar, bass, or harmonica. In the late 1960s, he had major success with his band Sly and the Family Stone, mixing James Brown-influenced funk with psychedelic touches, particularly fuzz guitar, feedback, and hippie idealism.

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[261] Selvin 1996: 20

A sample of Autumn's pre-psychedelic acts can be heard on the Dance With Me: The Autumn Teen Sound, a 1994 CD anthology of releases and unissued tracks from 1964 and 1965. The British influence is evident in the covers of the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Dave Clark Five, and the style of the original compositions. The contributions of Stone as producer and occasional studio musician in evidence; standout tracks are by the Mojo Men (who moved to San Francisco from Florida in 1964) and the Vejtables. Autumn took note of the new sounds emerging from San Francisco's underground scene. In the summer and fall of 1965, the Charlatans, the Grateful Dead (as the Warlocks), and the Great Society recorded demos for the label.

The partners' business sense was not as sharp as their creative instincts, and they both gambled on the horses at the local racetrack. After Autumn folded in April 1966, owing $13,000 in studio costs to Golden State Recorders, their acts were sold to Warner's. Mitchell moved to Los Angeles, dying of Hodgkin's disease in 1969. Donahue died in 1975, at the age of 48. Autumn's legacy is a catalogue that chronicles the transition from rock as commercial pop for teens to rock as a social statement for young adults.

The difference between the two positions was intent. San Francisco psychedelic bands saw their music far more as an artistic expression than a medium through which to entertain. In developing a distinctive sound, they seemingly paid little attention to markets, trends, or categories. This approach may have been unprecedented in rock music. Darby Slick wrote in his memoirs: "One of my main goals in music was to break it open and play something really

weird that had never been played before, and I was willing to jump off the cliff in order to, hopefully, fly."[262] One of the owners of the Fantasy label, whose roster of rock bands included Creedence Clearwater Revival, said: "Some of the new groups are good but a little crazy. They are absolutely noncommercial and have to be taught to conform a little to make money."[263] The music industry had to find ways to cope with this unusual circumstance. The president of Warner-Reprise records recalled:

> We found we couldn't sell the Grateful Dead's records in a traditional manner. You couldn't take your ad in Billboard and sell a record that way. We found that they had to be seen. They had to play concerts. We had to advertise on FM stations which were just emerging at the time. The packaging was important. The cult was important. Free concerts where you handed out fruits and nuts were important."[264]

Concerts were more important than recording, not only because the moment was important and the live experience was the "real" one. Guitarist Anton Kolstee of the United Empire Loyalists, a psychedelic band from Vancouver BC that was heavily influenced by the Grateful Dead with whom they shared stages on at least two occasions, recalled:

> [W]e perceived ourselves as being part of the "underground"; putting out a record was not all that "hip" and was therefore not a big priority for our group. The "establishment" controlled the record industry and taste

[262] Slick: 61-62
[263] Chapple and Garofalo: 74-75

through its manufacturing of commercial music; we were consciously against this commercialization of music and against those who were seen as "cashing in" on the new youth culture.[265]

This is not to say that youth was against money. Grace Slick recalled the motivations that inspired the formation of the Great Society:

> I can only type 40 words a minute and nobody wants to hire that. Modeling is something you can do if you don't know how to do anything else. I had no money at all.... [W]hile I was still modeling I went to see the Jefferson Airplane at the Matrix, and they were making more money in a day than I made in a week. And they only worked for two or three hours a night and they got to hang out with the boys and girls and get drunk and all that, and I thought, this looks a lot better than what I'm doing.... I knew I could more or less carry a tune and I figured if they could do it, I could.... It [the Great Society] was a thrown-together kind of thing.[266]

Bill Graham observed: "At the start, musicians would say, 'we don't care how many we sell. We just want to make good records.'... No matter how they were at the start, the business would always take them over before too long."[267]

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[264] Chapple and Garofalo: 75
[265] liner notes to United Empire Loyalists (1998). One ramification for the band was that little of their music did get recorded; they made one single. Their CD contains material culled from a television show and a reunion performance.
[266] Tamarkin 1992: 17
[267] Graham and Greenfield: 338

New styles and social movements produce market uncertainties for cultural industries. In "Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organization Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems" (1972), Paul M. Hirsch studied how industries producing books, records, and films try to safeguard their efforts. One way is by filtering potential product through a selection process. Once achieving the approval and support of an entrepreneurial organization, whose prestige or advertising budget can greatly affect an item's performance, it needs then to receive coverage through media exposure and be made available for sale.

Three coping strategies are used to deal with market uncertainties. The first is the deployment of contact personnel to organizational boundaries. The rapid turnover of cultural products demands a constant supply of new material. At the input boundary are talent scouts, promoters, publicity people and the like who provide links from the artistic community to the sponsoring organization. The new artists and products are marketed at the output boundary. San Francisco music historian Alec Palao noted that "By 1967 the Bay Area was overflowing with thousands of rock bands, all eager to be part of the psychedelic milieu; it was also crawling with hundreds of record company A&R men, eager to exploit these groups, as the hype of the 'San Francisco Sound' gathered momentum."[268]

The second strategy for cultural industries according to Hirsch is the overproduction and differential promotion of new items. Flowing across the boundaries is a river of goods. Production technology for books, records, and many films is cheap enough to permit a surplus of product. Those not heavily

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[268] Alec Palao: liner notes to the various artists compilation What a Way to Come Down (Big Beat, 1997): 3

promoted may function as understudies, filling in the gaps when a touted item does poorly or an item with less prestige garners unexpected demand. Promotional efforts aim for volume sales for a small number of items that are selected by company policy makers. The impact of Bob Dylan and the Beatles on the music industry had ramifications for other musicians.

> [T]he fact that a beatnik type from a dying Minnesota town and four undereducated lower-class Englishmen from the provinces were now the five most influential people of their time had a remarkable effect on record executives everywhere. For a moment, there was no one a savvy talent scout could safely ignore at first sight. That circumstance opened the commercial music world to a brief period of unprecedented experimentation.[269]

When it became clear that something interesting and marketable was happening in San Francisco, major labels based in New York and Hollywood sent representatives there to sign bands. Mercury signed a dozen or so acts in one day, including the Savage Resurrection. Guitarist Randy Hammon remembered:

> They were sending people out to sign anybody! It was a massive signing frenzy! And then Mercury and other labels set up their own studios. It was worth it to them because they were signing so many people, to build their own recording studios.... There were great, state-of-the-art recording studios going up everyplace- Wally Heider, Record Plant, Pacific Heights,

> PHR Pacific High Recordings.... We just became part of the signing frenzy.[270]

The lure of fame and the machinations of record companies could prey on the minds of young hopeful musicians and alter their music, as Peter Lewis of Moby Grape candidly described:

> You want to express yourself, but some part of the thing that drives you is just wanting to be adored. A part of me is like that. I don't like that about myself yet I do it. I can see that in me. It's there in rock and roll because of the selective nature of the business that chooses one person over another. Are you beautiful too, are you 21? What are the criteria for getting a major record deal? It's not just being a great songwriter. Somehow you're always competing with the people that do get a record deal, because those are the people that you hear, and you say, "well maybe I could write a song as good as that." That's the way you deal with the situation. It's not real artistic and it's probably not even successful but it's there to confuse you if you want to be confused or you are confusable.[271]

The third strategy for cultural industries dealing with market uncertainties is the cooption of mass-media gatekeepers at the boundaries themselves. Promotion can take the form of advertising, but less costly techniques involve

[269] Kaiser: 207
[270] Hill: 17

giving the product to media outlets. In exchange for the products, which the media need for "copy" and "programming," they provide "free" publicity for the suppliers. Social norms, as demonstrated by the "payola" scandals of the late 1950s and embodied in the legal system, "mandate the independence of book-review editors, radio-station personnel, film critics, and other arbiters of coverage from the special needs and commercial interests of cultural organizations."[272] Though several psychedelic bands managed to play their hit song(s) on television shows, radio was the biggest media outlet for the style.

Reporting on the state of San Francisco radio in 1966, Dave Harris of the Mojo Navigator R & R News, a paper partisan to the city's emerging psychedelic music, summed up local disc jockeys: "Mostly unthrilling they are.... When the really good music started coming in, many good Bay Area D.J.'s fled the scene either musically or geographically."[273] In his perception of area stations, surf and British Invasion sounds were the order of the day. "The outlying provinces are mostly pretty dismal. KLIV is super-surf and some sort of an ad agency for the Syndicate of Sound (a really depressing band); KXOA and KROY in Sacramento are on it but mostly they are trying to pull a 'little England in Sacramento' scene—they have little relativity in the USA and are 'Mod' in outlook."[274] The fault was not so much the disc jockeys—he managed to praise some of them, including Sly Stone (for his knowledge of rock and soul records as well as his musicianship)—but commercial interests, for which he blamed payola. "The major hangup on

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[271] Lewis interview
[272] Hirsch 648
[273] Harris: 2
[274] Harris: 3

D.J.'s is not what their tastes are but the hideous crap and horseshit which the program managers and station execs get paid off for putting on the air and so shove down the D.J.'s throats."[275] Payola or not, commercial radio in the late 1960s did "broadcast an extraordinary mixture of folk, rock, jazz, and blues."[276]

"What is commercial success?" asked Spencer Dryden, Jefferson Airplane's drummer. "It is sound that you can hear, distinguish and relate to, that's what makes singles, that's what sells records. The kids that we play for, what do they yell for? 'White Rabbit' and 'Somebody to Love.' Why? Because that's what's programmed, that's what they know. Granted, there are kids who do like the music, do take it home and listen to the albums and love the band, but I still say they're in a minority."[277]

Dryden pointed out a difference between singles (45 RPM seven-inch vinyl records designed to carry two songs, one per side) and albums, also called LPs ("long playing": 33 RPM 12-inch vinyl records that presented about 12 songs). Singles were for potential hits, albums, up until the advent of the Beatles, contained the hits and some filler. After the Beatles, albums were made, some of them anyway, to be artistic statements. As such, for the rock audience, they carried more prestige, while singles had the taint of commercialism. Dedicated consumers started to want more than just the hits; they wanted to hear and evaluate what artists had to say. The difference began to be marked around the same time as a shift in radio format: the opening up of the FM band to music. The AM band, with its top 30 and top 40 stations, played singles, and FM, at

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[275] Harris: 3
[276] Kaiser: 207

least the "progressive" or "underground" stations, played album tracks. FM radio was essential in the style's dissemination: "Though psychedelia sporadically seeped into the mainstream pop charts…it seems unlikely that the music could have seriously penetrated the American consciousness without the almost accidental advent of progressive free-form FM radio stations."[278]

Concomitant with and related to the rise of psychedelic music and the format changes in radio and records, was the expansion of recording studio capabilities from stereo to multi-track in a few years. Jefferson Airplane's recordings, for RCA, illustrate the changes. Their debut album, Takes Off from 1966, was recorded on three-track equipment. Their 1967 release, Surrealistic Pillow, was made on four-track. The second from that year, After Bathing At Baxter's, and their 1968 release, Crown of Creation, were recorded on eight-track gear. For the Baxter's sessions, partly as a reward to the band for having garnered two top hits with their previous album and partly because psychedelic music was unfathomable to most in the corporation, RCA gave them free reign in the studio. The Jefferson Airplane indulged themselves, both creatively and chemically, taking several months to explore the new recording possibilities. Though much of it was too far out for most listeners, After Bathing at Baxter's stands as a monument to psychedelic studio experimentation and innovation. The Grateful Dead's Anthem of the Sun, another 8-track recording from 1968, was an ambitious collage of live and studio sessions. Of that record, Dan Healy, sound engineer for the band, said: "We created this whole thing where parts of the song

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[277] Johnson: 25-26
[278] Huxley: 10

grew out of other parts of the song by doing these really complicated crossfades. One of our philosophies...was the concept of the show being one movement. Like classical music, like an operatic form, where it was all woven together and went from one song to another to another, so you kind of walked your way through it."[279] Later in 1968, during the recording of their next album (Aoxomoxoa), the studio upgraded from eight-track to 16-track gear. Said Jerry Garcia: "so we abandoned our eight-track version and started over."[280] Both of Jefferson Airplane's 1969 albums, the live Bless Its Pointed Little Head and the studio Volunteers, their first studio album recorded in San Francisco, were made on a 16-track machine. The Grateful Dead's Live Dead, from shows in 1969, was the first album ever recorded live on 16-track equipment.[281]

The drive to make an artistic statement, the shift in recording formats, and the shift in radio formats all had ramifications that affected the style's status in later years. Because albums and FM radio were the prime means for the media dissemination of psychedelic music, the focus came away from individual songs that would saturate the public's awareness. Consequently there are few songs in the style that remain as icons in public consciousness, and it is remembered more for its flamboyant characters, colorful clothes, and social rebellion than for particular recordings. As Charles T. Brown observed, "San Francisco rock was designed for a particular audience in a particular state of mind; it was not

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[279] Nash: 73
[280] Paul: 100
[281] for technical details see Nash "Live Dead"

designed for mass consumption, which it seldom achieved. It was quite clearly a cult type of music."[282]

[282] Brown: 145

The Evolutionary Phases of San Francisco Psychedelic Music

Chapter 5. The Initial Phases: Conception and Inception

Before presenting the phases, a discussion of the development of the model of style evolution is necessary. The folk revival mentioned earlier is only one of many examples of revival in music. The word has been commonly used to refer to any resurgence of interest in older genres and styles, such as happened to dixieland in the 1940s, downhome blues and jug band in the 1960s, ragtime and rock and roll in the 1970s, and swing in the 1990s, etc. Use of the term *revival*, derived from the Latin word for life, not only invokes the organic metaphor but carries a religious connotation as well. This is apt, for participants in revivals often display a nearly religious fervor and sense of cause. That component is part of the definition offered by Tamara Livingston: revivals are "middle class social movements which strive to restore a musical system with the intent of changing society."[283]

Revival also implies other phases. In the arts, revival indicates that "the creative work in question already exists and has been displayed or disseminated but has also encountered a period of dormancy or suffered from inattention."[284] Therefore revival is preceded by dormancy, which followed a period of display and dissemination. While revivals have been widely discussed in academic

[283] Livingston: 1
[284] Jabbour: xii

literature (Cantwell, Livingston, Lornell, Rosenberg, et al.), the identification and description of other phases appears to be less formalized.

The notion of revival became commonplace in rock in the 1970s. In reviving 1950s rock and roll, Sha Na Na, a New York band of Columbia University students who played the Woodstock Festival in 1969, mixed parody and tribute. They toured, made many albums, had two hit singles, and began their own syndicated television show in 1977. They had many imitators. Another influential force was the hit movie American Graffiti (1973) directed by George Lucas. Set in 1963, its soundtrack was a best-selling double (vinyl) album of rock and roll classics.

In the early 1980s, while researching the dixieland and ragtime revival of 1940s, I developed an interest in the then-current revival: rockabilly—the early rock and roll style in which Elvis Presley worked—and the style's origins.[285] Comparing the history of rockabilly to that of ragtime led to a model of seven phases. In its initial form, the phases were:

1. Creation- a new style

2. First Wave- regional performers, vocabulary increases, negotiating relationships

3. Commercialization- heyday: hits, exposure, mania, making the most of the project

4. Fade Out- energy wanes, sound absorbed into the mainstream, main figures out of action, may include scandal, catastrophe, unfaithfulness

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[285] see Morrison 1996

5. Dormancy- sporadic, localized, idiosyncratic activity, if any, shifting allegiances

6. Revival- new bands, new hits, pioneers reemerge

7. Stability- revival continues among the faithful, new styles use original as a source, culmination

Below I present brief outlines of rockabilly and ragtime with reference to the phases as they stood at the time. Rockabilly's Creation phase began with Elvis Presley's first record for the Sun label in Memphis in 1954, crystallizing the efforts of white musicians with a background in country music to incorporate the exciting sounds of black blues and R&B, recently made more available to them by changes in radio broadcasting. The impact of black radio programming, starting with WDIA in Memphis in 1948 and soon becoming widespread, was so strong that it had created a paradigm shift.

Rockabilly's First Wave was in 1954 and 1955, when the extensive touring of the South by Presley and his band influenced dozens of future recording artists to pursue the style. Other early recordings were undertaken, mostly by independent labels. The Commercialization of the style came in 1956 and 1957, starting with Presley's TV debut and move to the RCA label, where he achieved success unprecedented in the music business. A gold rush started as every label sought a new Elvis, and songs like "Blue Suede Shoes" and "Be-Bop-A-Lula" become major hits. Billboard magazine coined the term rockabilly which replaced the more cumbersome (yet accurate) "country & western rhythm & blues."

In the Fade Out phase, 1958-1960, there were a few more hits but elaborations of instrumentation and production diluted the sound. Presley entered the army, Buddy Holly and Eddie Cochran died, Jerry Lee Lewis's star fell due to scandal, and teen idols became the order of the day. When rockabilly went into Dormancy, later styles like surf and the British Invasion took over. By the mid-1970s, the Revival began, initially through the activities of overseas collectors, boosted particularly by the death of Elvis Presley in 1977 and renewed interest in his early music. New bands took up the torch and new and old songs were hits in England and Europe. The advent of MTV was a major factor in making the Stray Cats the biggest rockabilly revival band in the world. A new hybrid called psychobilly began, and the European festival scene expanded into a well-established circuit.

The revival peaked by the mid-1980s, but the advent of compact discs stimulated further research and the production of definitive editions of recordings as the Stability phase began. Rockabilly festivals proliferated and the first books on the style, including my own, were published. The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame saluted some of the most successful artists and the style in general, and Now Dig This magazine in England and an unrelated website created their own, more comprehensive halls of fame.

Ragtime's Creation phase began in the early 1890s with the work of pianists such as Ben Harney and Scott Joplin in the Mid-West. Ragtime's signature is the syncopation—the "ragging" of time—in 2/4 meter of beguiling melodies over simple harmonies. It borrowed its form from the march and its harmonic

conventions and notation from classical music. Ragtime blended elements of folk music and folk dance, the tango, blackface minstrelsy, vaudeville and the fad for "coon songs," and made reference to the instrumental techniques of banjoists, and saloon and bordello pianists. Besides classic ragtime—the notated work of Joplin and contemporaries—there was vocal ragtime (popular songs), folk ragtime (rural styles generally unnotated), novelty ragtime (highlighting spectacular technique and humor), and stride (a "two-fisted" type of playing practiced by many early jazz greats). Orchestrated versions of piano pieces and new compositions were played by concert bands (including John Phillip Sousa's), vaudeville orchestras, string bands, and early dixieland units.

In the First Wave phase, from the mid-1890s into the 1900s, ragtime spread via sheet music, particularly Joplin's hit "Maple Leaf Rag" (1899), and players who met at World's Fair events in Chicago (1893) and St. Louis (1904). In the Commercial phase, the 1900s to 1910s, ragtime was played in a myriad of settings, from vaudeville halls to the silent movie theatre, and by home pianists and consumers of piano rolls. Tin Pan Alley created ragtime songs such as "Hello! Ma Baby" (1899), "Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home" (1902), and "Alexander's Ragtime Band" (1911). The latter was so popular it ushered in the style's heyday.

In the Fade Out phase, the 1910s to 1920s, Scott Joplin died (1917) and classical composers borrowed from ragtime. There was a marked decline in sales of sheet music and player pianos as the phonograph industry developed, jazz and blues with it. With the advent of talkies in 1927, the musical backup for

silent films was eliminated. Dormancy was in place by the 1930s as the start of the swing era rendered ragtime passé. The Revival phase started in the 1940s with a revival of Dixieland bands and a couple of big hits. This was followed by the publication of Rudi Blesh and Harriet Janis's book They All Played Ragtime (1950) and a craze for "honky tonk" ragtime played by pianists with colorful pseudonyms like Joe "Fingers" Carr and "Crazy Otto."[286]

The Stability phase began in 1970 when the Piano Rags by Scott Joplin album by Joshua Rifkin became a surprise hit with the public, provoking a reevaluation and appreciation of ragtime by the classical music world. In 1971, Joplin's collected works were published by the New York Public Library. Two years later, the Grammy award for Best Chamber Recording went to an ensemble from Boston's New England Conservatory lead by the institution's president, Gunther Schuller (mentioned earlier as the author of Early Jazz). This recording inspired the use of Joplin's music in the film The Sting, which in 1974 won two Academy Awards (Oscars): for Best Score and for Best Picture. The soundtrack album was one of the top sellers for the year and the main theme, Joplin's "The Entertainer," hit number three on the pop singles charts. The US Post Office issued a Scott Joplin stamp in 1983. To this day a festival circuit supports semi-professional pianists and bands, and scholarship produces definitive works.

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[286] Honky-tonk ragtime was a pseudo-nostalgia partly based on concepts of saloon music borrowed from Hollywood westerns. Its sound is distinguished by its tinkly timbre, imitative of an out of tune saloon piano. The effect was sometimes achieved by inserting tacks into the felt hammers of the piano.

Having looked to an earlier style, ragtime, to search for developmental parallels to rockabilly's phases, and encouraged by the results, I then looked to a later style, psychedelic music, for comparison. I presented the model in a conference paper, showing how key events and tendencies from the three styles could be matched to the seven phases.[287] A page outlining the phases (with more elaborate descriptions of their characteristics, but lacking examples) was used as a handout in two of my courses.[288] The model was introduced for lectures on rockabilly, then referred to when appropriate for other styles such as Motown and punk. In the process of teaching and marking exams where the students applied the model to a style of their choice, I refined the descriptions and rethought some of the names of the phases. First Wave was changed to Expansion, a more multi-directional word. Fade Out, a term used in music for endings, was changed to Diffusion to accommodate a sense of lingering influence and to imply the role of the media. And, after a trip to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame's exhibit on psychedelia, Stability was changed to Acknowledgement. The seven phases then stood as Creation, Expansion, Commercialization, Diffusion, Dormancy, Revival, and Acknowledgement.

The initial topic for this thesis was West Coast rock of the 1960s, covering surf, the Northwest Sound, garage, folk rock, psychedelic, and country rock. As the research advanced, and I interviewed participants not just from San Francisco, but ones who had been active in Los Angeles, Seattle, Portland, Vancouver, or Victoria, it became clear that all West Coast styles were affected

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[287] Morrison 1996b

[288] Rock and Roll and Its Roots (Concordia University Music Department), and Popular Music

by or interacted with psychedelic rock at some point. I then decided to concentrate on it, using the model as a guide. From interdisciplinary readings and discussions with professors, the concept of just what was being described as style was challenged. How did others view style, or evolution? Was it legitimate to use the word style to cover more than music and the activities of musicians? If so, then how much weight to allow for changes in the tastes of consumers, dramatic moments of reception, the actions of the music industry, or advances of technology? What about concepts of place such as the scene? According to the way the word style is used, as discussed in Chapter One, all of these notions are part of the concept.

Grappling with such questions, the names of the phases were altered one more time. Creation did not permit precedents into the model, so an earlier phase was named, one that gathered together, with momentum and through experimentation, the ideology and components needed for the creation. The Creation phase in rockabilly was considered as the first recording session of Elvis Presley. One or two day's work, no matter how momentous the product, was too short to be called a phase. After further consideration, that phase was called Conception. The others, reflecting an orientation more related to the musicians' perspective and less on commerce or reception, were renamed Inception, Proclamation, Dissemination, Fragmentation, Revitalization, and Confirmation.

This and the following chapters are devoted to the phases of the model. The discussion of each phase begins with its general description, concocted, as

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After 1945 (McGill University Music Department).

mentioned, from comparing overviews of rockabilly, ragtime, psychedelic, and other styles' histories. Each phase is then assigned specific dates relating to San Francisco psychedelic music. Because the first four phases of evolution—Conception, Inception, Proclamation, and Dissemination—concern the forming and spreading of a style, they are marked by innovation, expansion, and tremendous activity. Conception and Inception are grouped together in Chapter Five because of the shared quality of commencement. Proclamation and Dissemination are together in Chapter Six for their shared quality of declaration. For these four phases I adhere to a month by month chronology to show the course of events and the issuing of recordings, pausing at times to add related information, analysis, and comment. The songs from the "psychedelic top 10" are printed in bold. The last three phases, Fragmentation, Revitalization, and Confirmation are together in Chapter Seven. Because they concern coming apart, regrouping, or the legacy of the style, the activity is more sporadic, more easily viewed as broad phenomena. Therefore, the monthly format is dropped in favor of a summary. Whichever the format, the discussion of each phase concludes with a separate section on how well its general description corresponded to the specifics of San Francisco psychedelic music. In some instances, anomalies and issues not fully covered by the phase's general description came to light. Possible reasons are offered and suggestions made for further research to address the discrepancies and perhaps allow the model to be strengthened.

Phase 1: Conception

The formation of a new ideology out of compelling influences motivates musicians to work on a new recipe for sound combinations that can accommodate it. Prerequisite conditions have been set by recent phenomena of vast proportions, which have caused a paradigm shift. The new possibilities inspire individuals and ensembles, some operating largely in isolation. Their naïve and earnest creative explorations produce idiosyncratic work as various combinations are tried. In retrospect, only some of their efforts carry elements of the new style, for at the time the parameters have yet to be fixed. Little of the work of these pioneers is disseminated, and if their artifacts are belatedly made available, connoisseurs cherish them for their charm.

Conception of San Francisco Psychedelic Music: leading up to September 1965

In 1965, the energy unleashed by the British Invasion found expression in the creation of three new styles: folk rock, blues rock, and psychedelic. In San Francisco, the first bands got underway: the Charlatans, the Jefferson Airplane, the Grateful Dead, and the Great Society; most made demo recordings. The first important event was the Charlatans' summer gig at the Red Dog Saloon in Nevada. New venues opened, including Mother's and the Matrix.

May 1965. The first album by the Beau Brummels was released, showing the impact of Beatlemania in sound and image. In the cover photo of Introducing the Beau Brummels, the band boyishly races an incoming wave up the wet sand with the Golden Gate bridge in the distance. They manage to conjure up both the

jump-for-joy image of the Beatles, as seen on the cover of their 1964 album Twist and Shout, and the frolicking they popularized in their first movie A Hard Day's Night from the same year. The photo declares visually what the liner notes state: "The Beau Brummels are the first American group to successfully interpret the so called 'English Sound.'" On the back cover, the five individual black and white portraits of the band in performance also evoke the Beatles.

June 1965. The Charlatans, passing the audition despite never having performed in public before and while under the influence of LSD, started a summer gig at the Red Dog Saloon, Virginia City, Nevada.[289] They had already shot hundreds of publicity photos, acting the part of a successful rock band. In Virginia City, people took the Wild West concept seriously. They carried guns, dressed up the saloon like in the goldrush days, and the waitresses, musicians, and some of the patrons wore costumes. There was a lot of drug use and strange and wacky play-acting. Word got back to San Francisco that something interesting was going on and a lot of people drove up to see for themselves. By the time the band returned to the city, the scene was forming. Peter Albin, of Big Brother and the Holding Company, said of them:

> Even though their impetus into the rock thing was the Beatles, they didn't get into pop songs like the Beau Brummels, who really did do a Beatle-esque thing. The Charlatans did folk rock. We knew them pretty well. We got more rock 'n' roll than they did; they stuck with that old-timey folk

[289] A group of friends had purchased an abandoned bar in this small, former goldrush town. Renovations took months. The workers wanted some entertainment so on a trip to San Francisco for building supplies and marijuana, one of the team saw people that looked like they were a rock band—nobody else looked like that in mid-1965. It was the Charlatans.

> rock feel, and the image too, the 1920s garb and the cowboy stuff. I really loved them and I do think they were very influential. You talk to anybody from any of the San Francisco rock bands and they will tell you that the Charlatans were the very beginning.[290]

On the Charlatans' style drummer Dan Hicks said: "I'd say it was folk rock and it was old-timey rock. We'd take folk songs like 'Alabama Bound' and make it electric with drums. Old-timey things—blues, early [Rolling] Stones-like things, or John Hammond's electric album, that kind of stuff."[291]

The Charlatans: "Long Come A Viper"

One of the original songs played at the Red Dog Saloon was "Long Come A Viper,"[292] an example not only of the Charlatan's good timey sound and Dan Hicks' wry, cornball humour, but how the characteristics of psychedelic music started coming together. It blends blues and country elements without being bound by them; while the bassist plays a country pattern, the guitarist uses a blues lick lifted from Howlin' Wolf's "Smokestack Lighting."

Drug lyrics. Viper is slang for a user of marijuana, and was found in songs from the 1930s, such as "If You're a Viper," recorded by Fats Waller. The lyrics describe a person who had run out of alcohol and whose low mood is lifted by marijuana: "my jug was empty of my number one booze, along come a viper and

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[290] Albin interview
[291] Brown: 17
[292] It was recorded in early 1966 but not released at the time. In 1973, Dan Hicks and his Hot Licks released a new recording of the song in a faster, swing-style arrangement.

it blew my blues." In the last verse the central figure wants to get high again, and makes a general offer to sell a dose for five dollars, promising a (presumably pleasurable) disorientation.

Trip section. In this song, the trip goes by quickly and is more subtle than later usage. Nonetheless, the only section of this song outside the double-length blues progression that forms its main structure is the moment when a III chord is introduced (followed by a IV chord). This chord, never part of the blues, occurs right after Hicks sang about a flirtatious meeting with an attractive woman walking a dog who has noticed the protagonist's happy mood. He regretted not having any more marijuana for her, but their flirtatious meeting caused his imagination to run wild and he felt conflicting emotions. At the moment the III chord sounds, Hicks sings "just because she made them googly eyes I thought I'd won a home and I copped a prize." The language in this line encapsulates the Charlatans old-timey psychedelic music, their trip so to speak: "googly" is 1920s slang for teasing eye movements[293] and "cop" is hippie slang meaning "to acquire or obtain something, often illegal drugs, often by illegal means."[294]

July 1965. Bob Dylan "went electric" at the Newport Folk Festival and shocked folk purists. Tom Donahue opened the world's first psychedelic nightclub, Mother's, in North Beach, though it lasted only a few months. San Francisco folk rock in the form of the We Five's "You Were On My Mind," made

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[293] It originated with a popular cartoon character named Barney Google, created in 1919 by Billy DeBeck, that inspired a 1923 hit novelty song called "Barney Google" ("with the goo-goo-googly eyes"), written by Billy Rose and Con Conrad.
[294] Dalzell: 139

the charts (#3), joined by the Beau Brummels' "You Tell Me Why" (#38).[295] The success of local acts motivated the music community.

August 1965. The Charlatans, back in San Francisco, recorded a folk rock demo session for Autumn, and the Lovin' Spoonful, with their first hit "Do You Believe in Magic" moving up the charts headed for the top ten, played at Mother's. The local scene found a new, longer lasting, venue and a vital spot for community interaction when Marty Balin opened the Matrix, the first home of the band he formed, the Jefferson Airplane. (According to rumour, LSD, still legal, was sold at the bar.) Balin explained the motivation behind its opening:

> I was doing this folk stuff but I wasn't happy, I wanted to use electricity on my guitars and I wanted to have a drum. And folk didn't really do that too much. Then I heard Trini Lopez do a folk song with an electric guitar and I said "that's it: folk's got to have electric." Then the Beatles came on Ed Sullivan and I said "well hell man, I know I'm right on beam baby, you know, come on!" So I tried to get things happening in town but nobody would hire us because we had a drummer and we had electricity on our guitars, so I said "well to hell with it, I'll open my own nightclub." So I opened the Matrix, and out of the woodwork came all these other people who were doing the same thing: Janis Joplin, the Warlocks—became the Dead—Santana Blues Band, Steve Miller Blues Band. Plus at the time comedy was a big trip so all the comedians came down for opening night

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[295] While the month where the song is mentioned is that of its entry into the charts, the position given is the highest attained, whether in that month or later. Chart positions are from Billboard as reported in Whitburn.

and played a set and did a bit. It was overnight a success, bam! we're on our way. There was nothing there on that street when I did it.[296]

September 1965. The Beatles performed in San Francisco at the Cow Palace. The Mystery Trend made their first recordings, demos at the Divisadero Tape Centre.[297] Golden State Recorders opened in San Francisco with the latest gear, four-track equipment. At the time, Coast was the only other major studio in town.

Consideration of the Conception phase.

Beatlemania and LSD use were the paradigm shifting recent phenomena of vast proportions. The general description of the phase was apt for what happened with psychedelic music, with its relatively isolated practitioners making idiosyncratic music as the parameters fell into place. Their artifacts for the most part were made available only in the 1990s, such as the CD issues of recordings by the Charlatans and the Mystery Train, and were cherished by connoisseurs for their charm.

Phase 2: Inception

As the vocabulary increases, the style's "pure core" is assembled by key songs, sounds, and ensembles. At events which later acquire a legendary status, the new discovery is validated by the excited acceptance it receives from

[296] Balin interview
[297] "Wake Up Cryin'" can be heard on The Mystery Trend: So Glad I Found You (Big Beat,

a small audience and other musicians. Creators and followers spread the style regionally and new network relationships are negotiated. The first steps are taken in evolving the style and its conventions regarding dress, image, performance, and stance towards the media, etc. Initial repertoire is largely made of songs taken from source styles. Active labels are almost exclusively the independents. The ideology has been worked out, and the initial centers of activity established; people take or are given positions. Passion, energy, and creativity burn brightly, individually and collectively, as momentum increases and new possibilities appear. In preparation for the rigors of campaigning which mark the next phase, bands' rosters settle as founding members add missing positions or replace inadequate players.

Inception of San Francisco Psychedelic Music: October 1965-May 1967

The psychedelic era began with the first dance concert promoted by a collective called the Family Dog. The first psychedelic recordings were made, and the Human Be-In brought media attention. The scene was small and comfortable then. Joe McDonald said: "I remember the early days when people lay on the floor and listened completely surrounded by lights, but there was so much space there was room to lie on the floor".[298] He elaborated:

> The dancehalls were half-full. The people at the Human Be-In had short hair. Freaky, crazy things were not as freaky and crazy as we think of them now. There was a real camaraderie and community sense. No one

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1999).

[298] McDonald in Salomon: 6

> was famous, then. The only thing that was famous was that the scene was starting to be famous. But it was a very exciting, creative time, very exciting and very small.[299]

James Gurley remembered:

> We played the Avalon, the Fillmore, and the [Golden Gate] Park all the time. There was great camaraderie, but there was also this great competitive spirit. We always were trying to blow each other off the stage. We were all friends and we'd get up on stage and play our asses off and try to out-do everybody else. We all enjoyed each other's work, the creativity, it just flowed.[300]

October 1965. The event that stands as "the birth of the mad and wondrous and, some would say, calamitous, San Francisco Psychedelic Era"[301] is the first dance concert put on by the newly formed collective called the Family Dog. Called "Tribute to Doctor Strange," it was held at Longshoreman's Hall on October 16, 1965, featuring the Charlatans, the Jefferson Airplane (their first gig outside of the Matrix), the Great Society (their second gig, the first was the night before), and a now forgotten band from Oakland called the Marbles. The seeds of Rolling Stone magazine were laid when Ralph Gleason met Jann Wenner, as were the seeds of Quicksilver Messenger Service, for that night John Cipollina met Gary Duncan and Greg Elmore and they talked of forming a band. A week

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[299] McDonald in Ruhlmann "Summer of Love": 22
[300] Juanis 1987: 15

later in his column in the San Francisco Chronicle Gleason wrote: "It just could be that the Family Dog has hold of something here that rivals the beginning of the Swing Era. At the very least, it's fun and fascinating."[302] The Great Society began recording demos for Autumn. Country Joe and the Fish released a seven-inch extended play single on their own Rag Baby label which included "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag," protesting the Vietnam war, and "Superbird," a satire on US president Lyndon B. Johnson. Both songs were done in jug band style.

November 1965. The Grateful Dead recorded for the first time (as the Warlocks), a demo for Autumn. Playing five nights a week for six weeks at the In Room in Belmont had tightened their sound. On the demo, they played garage, folk rock, British Invasion style blues, and early psychedelia. Bill Graham staged his first event, a benefit for the Mime Troupe, featuring the Jefferson Airplane, the Mystery Trend, and the Fugs, an irreverent band of beat poets from New York. The Great Society began a month residency at Mother's.

December 1965. Folk rock was the order of the day. The Beatles' Rubber Soul album was released, "the first to show signs of their experiments with illicit substances."[303] The cover has liquid lettering and the band portrait is distorted by the camera's fish-eye lens. The album, one critic claimed, showed that they "had absorbed the music of Bob Dylan—their greatest influence after the classic early rockers—and the record was a folk-rock masterpiece."[304] It also included "Norwegian Wood" which used the sitar, and sparked a wave of Indianisms in

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[301] Draper: 36
[302] reprinted in Gleason 1976: 66
[303] Kaiser: 203
[304] Evans 1992a: 44

rock. The Lovin' Spoonful's first album, Do You Believe in Magic, with two songs destined for the top 10, was released. The Beau Brummels' "Good Time Music," barely entered the top 100, the last song to chart for Autumn (they will have one more minor hit in six months, a cover of a Bob Dylan song, for Warner Brothers). Around this time Ron Elliott of the Beau Brummels, in explaining the band's philosophy to an interviewer, showed attitudes that were not shared among the psychedelic bands: "We always keep the audience in mind when we are playing. We don't try to deafen them with over-amplified guitars and we don't try to baffle them with way out sounds."[305]

The first public Acid Tests were held on three successive Saturday nights: in San Jose (after the Rolling Stones concert), Palo Alto, and Muir Beach, all with the Warlocks (Grateful Dead). The second Mime Troupe benefit featured the Grateful Dead (using that name for the first time), the Jefferson Airplane, the Great Society, the Mystery Trend, plus the jazz of the John Handy Quintet, and the now unknown Gentlemen's Band. For a $25,000 advance, the Jefferson Airplane signed with RCA. The Great Society recorded their single "Free Advice" and "Someone to Love."[306] Released on Autumn's subsidiary label Northbeach, the single had virtually no impact in the marketplace, nonetheless, it is a prime candidate for the first psychedelic music on record.

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[305] 1966 Go: In the Beginning [a compilation of clippings reprinted by record dealer Bill Finneran of Eugene Oregon, no date]

[306] "Someone to Love" was probably mistitled in the session logs, as the vocalists sing "somebody to love" and all future versions use that as the title.

Great Society: "Free Advice"

Middle Eastern Allusion. The reference is more North African or Arabic than Indian. This song had a vaguely oriental sound that came from the bass's ostinato pattern (two quarter notes: the root and the fifth above, arrived at by a slide), a tambourine pattern reminiscent of finger cymbal rhythms (a quarter note then two eighths), and most prominently, Grace Slick's wordless, Arabic sounding vocal as it improvised "solos" and filled in around the lyrics.

January 1966. Psychedelia arrived. The Psychedelic Shop opened in Haight-Ashbury, Acid Tests were held in Portland, Oregon, and, for the first time, in San Francisco. Bill Graham organized the third and last Mime Troupe benefit, at the Fillmore, and then the Trips Festival at Longshoreman's Hall. On the local scene, the Syndicate of Sound recorded "Little Girl," a future garage classic, at Golden State Recorders. In Los Angeles, the Byrds recorded what soon became the first psychedelic hit record, **"Eight Miles High" (1)** [matrices present: *animated bass, the drone, Indian/ jazz solos, modal chords, trip lyrics*].

February 1966. Bill Graham presented his first event for profit, at the Fillmore, featuring the Jefferson Airplane; the poster read "Sounds of the Trips Festival."[307] Big Brother and the Holding Company introduced its new vocalist, Janis Joplin. Acid chemist and Grateful Dead patron Owsley, as the band's manager recalled, "has to get out of town for a while. Things are getting a bit too hot for him and he decides to book to L.A. There he can expand his LSD

business while letting things blow over in San Francisco. We follow. We need a place to...hide out for a couple of months and...write some new songs, get a new set together."[308] This month and the next, the band performed several times around Los Angeles. Crawdaddy!, the first magazine to take rock seriously, debuted. Folk rock matured with the release of the sophomore albums by the Lovin' Spoonful (Daydream), and the Byrds (Turn! Turn! Turn!). Jefferson Airplane's first single, "It's No Secret," was released.

March 1966. The Yardbirds' "Shapes of Things," embryonic British psychedelia, entered the charts (#11). Life magazine had a cover story on LSD.

April 1966. The Autumn label folded. Chet Helms opened the Avalon Ballroom with a show by the Great Society and the Blues Project from New York City. The visiting band's approach was influential. According to Darby Slick, Peter Vandergelder, the Great Society's new bass player, said to his bandmates: "We've got to be more like that. We've got too many people playing the same notes in the same range with the same rhythm. If we can play more like counter-point, and in different ranges, our sound'll get a lot bigger. And we've got to make stuff build more, too; not just start everything at once."[309] Shortly, Vandergelder presented a new song where the approach was utilized. Slick said:

> In "Arbitration", the emphasis was on ensemble playing, and building by adding elements. The song utilizes changing scales and time signatures, but the power comes from the layering of parts. The song marked a

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[307] Graham and Greenfield: 142
[308] Scully and Dalton: 38

turning point for us, and affected everything we played. Even the older material was revised to make the parts more pared down and clear, yet more effective by their relative positionings.[310]

Great Society: "Arbitration"[311]

Odd time signatures. Defined as time signatures with measures of 5, 7, 9, or 11, etc., that is, ones other than the standard 4/4, ubiquitous in rock and popular music in general, the occasionally used 2/4 or 6/8,[312] or the less common 3/4.[313] Most of psychedelic music maintains rock's reliance on 4/4. While psychedelic was the first rock style to explore odd meters, jazz had recently done so. This may be taken as another example of how jazz influenced it. Dave Brubeck's "Take Five," in a time signature of 5/4, was such a big hit in 1959—it is the first million selling jazz single—that it "might be the best known recording in jazz history."[314] It was on an album named Time Out which contained "Unsquare Dance" in 7/4 and "Blue Rondo A La Turk" in 9/8. Another Brubeck album, Time Further Out, continued the trend.

The instrumental section of "Arbitration" is in 7/4, as is the one in "Rose" by Fifty Foot Hose. The instrumental section of "Crown of Creation" by the

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309 Slick: 80

310 Slick: 80-81

311 The recording date is not specified on the live album on which it appears—Conspicuous Only In Its Absence—but must be sometime between the April 1966 concert that inspired it and the band's breakup in October 1966.

312 Two 6/8 examples are the Great Society's "Didn't Think So" and parts of Quicksilver Messenger Service's "The Fool."

313 Once in a while, especially for rock artists with a folk or country background, a 2/4 bar or two is used when the music makes a little jump, as in "Pretty Woman" by Roy Orbison. Rock artists are just as likely to round out these 2/4 bars, however, as the Rolling Stones did on their version of Hank Snow's "I'm Movin' On."

Jefferson Airplane in 5/4. A British example of this meter is the introduction of Cream's "White Room." The aptly titled "The Eleven" by the Grateful Dead is in 11/4.

(April 1966 continued.) Many bands moved towards psychedelia. The Beatles recorded their first psychedelic song, "Tomorrow Never Knows," and used backwards tape loops for the first time on "Rain." This was the "first of many [songs] by Lennon (and Harrison) that emphasizes that 'reality' is just an illusion and a state of mind."[315] The Byrds **"Eight Miles High" (1)** entered the charts (#14).

The Vejtables recorded garage music with Indian overtones verging on psychedelic, including "Feel the Music," a suggestion consistent with psychedelic philosophy of sensuality. This and other songs from the same session are superb examples of how garage incorporated a raga/ psychedelic edge when guitarists simulated Indian music. Another example is "Rumors" by the Syndicate of Sound, a hit in the summer of 1966. About two thirds of the way through its two minute length, the band temporarily leaves off a "Gloria" inspired pattern[316] for a droney, Indian-sounding psychedelic trip of almost 20 seconds.

At the Cow Palace, a contest event called the Band Bash was "one of the few times the teen bands of the suburbs would rub shoulders with the underground

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[314] Morgenstern: 42
[315] Dowdling: 130
[316] "Gloria," an extremely influential song, was the first American hit for Them, a band from Belfast, Ireland that featured vocalist Van Morrison, the song's composer.

bands of the city."[317] Some 44 bands competed, including the Mystery Trend, and the headlining acts were the Turtles, Sam the Sham and the Pharoahs, Bob Kuban and the In-Men, plus locals Capt Zoom, called "pop rock" in the event's program, and the Charlatans. The caption under their photograph in the program talked about their image, not their sound: "The 'New Look' in Rock 'n' Roll…The Charlatans show off the latest 'far out' look—flowing hair and Edwardian-Wild West vestments."[318] Randy Hammon, later of the Savage Resurrection, was competing in a teen band called the Boys:

> One of the definitive moments of my musical life was when, at the tender age of 14, I was playing a Battle Of The Bands at The Cow Palace and saw The Charlatans who were one of the paid bands. They were dressed as old Wild West gamblers, but they were total acid heads and when they walked by with their glazed eyes, a trail of cannabis smoke marked their path like an old car that burns oil. Their music had a mix of folk and acid. That contrast kind of twisted my brain in a way it wasn't supposed to go and I was never the same after![319]

May 1966. Album releases included the Beach Boys' Pet Sounds and Bob Dylan's Blonde on Blonde, containing the lengthy "Visions of Johanna" in which Jon Savage finds "the infinitesimal focus of acid-time compression."[320]

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[317] "Band Bash '66": 50
[318] "Band Bash '66": 58
[319] Hill: 16.
[320] Savage 1997: 191

June 1966. The Vietnam war escalated with the first bombing of Hanoi, capital of North Vietnam. The Grateful Dead's first recording was issued: a 45 RPM single with two folk revival songs: "Stealin'" by the Memphis Jug Band, and "Don't Ease Me in" by Henry Thomas, both first recorded in 1928. One of the earliest psychedelic records was recorded and released this month: the extended-play single of Country Joe and the Fish, containing three songs. This seminal disc received airplay and distribution on both coasts, selling an estimated 10,000 or more copies in six months. On the back cover, manager Ed Denson of the Berkeley Barb newspaper described the band in terms that seem to outline the qualities of the emerging subculture: "They're a warm open band, not a hard rock group, and they radiate the Berkeley hip-innocence when they play. They give the impression of an unfreaked acid-head taking an outdoor trip in summer flowers: amazed when something works out, amused when it doesn't, because nothing serious ever goes wrong, and things work out unexpectedly fine."[321]

July 1966. The manager of the Kingston Trio, Frank Werber, signed the Mystery Trend to his talent roster. The Byrds' Fifth Dimension album came out, including **"Eight Miles High" (1)** and "5D (Fifth Dimension)," a song about a transcendent, possibly drug-induced, journey through space and time, containing a *revelation*: "I opened my heart to the whole universe and I found it was loving, I saw the great blunder my teachers had made: scientific delirium madness."

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[321] Band member David Cohen provided a photocopy of the record jacket. The tracks have been reissued on The Berkeley EPs anthology.

August 1966. The Beatles played in San Francisco; it turned out to be their final concert. The Psychedelic Sounds of the 13th Floor Elevators, the debut album by a band from Austin, Texas, was released, possibly the first use in print of the word psychedelic applied to music. Mojo-Navigator Rock & Roll News, one of the first fanzines, debuted, then and now a valuable source of information about the San Francisco scene. The tension between the emerging psychedelic ethos and the top 40 mentality is evident in an editorial in the August 23, 1966 issue. David Harris criticized the Fillmore for the "gimmick" of booking "schlock shit" in the form of hit-making bands such as the Turtles, Sam the Sham and the Pharoahs, the Wailers, and the Mindbenders. "Sam the Sham pumping away with his ridiculous all-sounding-the same songs combined with a psychedelic light show is really a sad thing to see." These "crap" bands made money but attracted teeny-boppers, not the "people with taste" who liked the usual "quality of music" found at Fillmore and Avalon shows. Harris then announced "the really bad news—the next atrocity will be those well-known stars of stage, screen, and outer space, Paul Revere and the Raiders. Tri-cornered hats at the Fillmore, anyone?"[322] The next issue clarified the matter of "this interest in bad music" on the part of Bill Graham. Graham was first praised: "Graham has been the single most important innovator in the SF rock scene, and the most courageous if not quite the most creative promoter around." What was at stake was the place of art: "What groups like Paul Revere are doing is not art... I object...to mere entertainment being presented at the Fillmore.... [W]hy can't he [Graham] leave the crud where it came from and where it belongs and attempt to regain some

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[322] David Harris in Mojo Navigator #3, August 23, 1966, unpaginated.

measure of his once unequalled integrity?"[323] The "crud" has a place in town, the writer said, but not in the hallowed halls of art.

September 1966. The Monkees' TV show debuted, as did the San Francisco Oracle. The first album from the San Francisco rock scene was released: Jefferson Airplane's Takes Off, recorded months previously. Inside a huge postage stamp (airmail supposedly), the front cover features the band's name in hand-drawn lettering, and a photo of them, two wearing aviator goggles, posed in front of a propeller plane at the airport. The back cover proclaims "A Jet Age Sound" over their photo, looking like the folk rock band they are at this point, performing on stage with airplane diagrams as backdrops. As Jon Savage mentioned in connection with "Eight Miles High," the "airplane flight [was] the central pop metaphor for LSD's trip into the otherworld."[324] Count Five's **"Psychotic Reaction" (2)** was released [matrices present: *the rave up, trip section, hypnotic vamp*].

October 1966. Grace Slick's official debut with the Jefferson Airplane caused the breakup of the Great Society. LSD was made illegal. The Black Panther party was launched in Oakland.

November 1966. More artists and record companies showed interest in the San Francisco scene. Steve Miller moved to Haight-Ashbury from Chicago, immediately formed a band and began to do gigs. By January he was headlining

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[323] Greg Shaw: "Bill Graham Revisited" in Mojo Navigator #4, August 30, 1966: 7
[324] Savage 1997: 190

at the Avalon Ballroom. Mathew Katz invited 14 record companies to see Moby Grape at the Fillmore Auditorium. Columbia won the ensuing bidding war.[325]

December 1966. The good timey "Hello Hello" (#26) by the Sopwith Camel entered the national charts, the first single by a San Francisco band from the ballroom circuit to do so. From Los Angeles, Buffalo Springfield's first album, in folk rock style, was released. Also released was the first New York psychedelic recording: Psychedelic Lollipop by the Blues Magoos, containing the canonized songs "(We Ain't Got) Nothing Yet" (#5) and "Tobacco Road," previously out as singles.

January 1967. The Human Be-In took place on an uncharacteristically warm day, with Allen Ginsberg, in the role of hippie high priest, as a master of ceremonies. Approximately "20,000 people gathered in the park for a day of music and fraternity."[326] Events like dances and concerts in the park had shown the community that it was larger than even its members realized, but when the media became involved, at the Human Be-In, things changed drastically. In The Summer of Love: Haight-Ashbury at its Highest, a book of photographs and commentary by Gene Anthony, the author *ends* his history with this event. It was not just "a day of innocence and hope"; it was "the last moment of naivete for a neighborhood that had just gone public."[327] The event was considered a complete success, but the result was unexpected: "Organizers...believed they

[325] Juanis 1990: 31
[326] Frolik: unpaginated
[327] Brandelius: 40

had sent a message to the world: Smile, turn on, be like us. But many who saw the pictures on television or in magazines read it as: Come!"[328]

More than 50,000 people came to the Haight for what the media announced as the "Summer of Love." Some of them were unprepared for what awaited. "Many of the newcomers were teenagers who had run away, had no money and no prospects of getting any legally. Then, too, there were opportunists - drug dealers, pimps and criminals - who heard "peace and love" as a license to prey on the weak. Before long, heroin and speed flooded the scene, followed inevitably by overdoses and homicides."[329] Alan Cohen of the San Francisco Oracle, whose pages had announced the Be-In, said "The disaffected, the disenchanted, the mafia, the mad, the CIA, the FBI, the sociologists, poets, artists, American Indian shamans, East Indian Gurus, TV and movie crews, magazine and newspaper reporters from all over the world, and tourists riding through and staring at it all descended on the tiny street called Haight. It was a monumental traffic jam on all levels."[330]

The psychedelic music community residents were affected adversely. Steve Miler said: "All these kids showed up, and pretty soon it went from being a nice little place to Calcutta."[331] Poster artist Stanley Mouse likened it to a zoo. "But at first it was great, it was festive. Then all the crazies came from everywhere. It

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[328] Frolik: unpaginated
[329] Frolik: unpaginated
[330] Cohen: unpaginated
[331] Frolik: unpaginated

went from an artists and poets and musicians scene [sic] to a real heavy drug scene. The street turned from a love street to a very dangerous place."[332]

February 1967. Station KMPX-FM presented the first underground radio show. Jefferson Airplane's second album, Surrealistic Pillow, was released. Its cover presented a reassuringly old fashioned atmosphere which the back cover subverted. The front has a posed black and white photograph showing the group holding instruments—banjo, violin, a silver clarinet, recorder, and a horn (euphonium)—like a town band, a hippie one. A quaint, florid font on a pink background was used for the enigmatic title; the band name in typed capital letters was superimposed over the head of the banjo. On the back is a collage of individual portraits, some fragmentary, their edges ripped, plus a portion of the front cover photo, this time upside-down and in negative. That they are from San Francisco is suggested by the fan club's address, and the listing of the band only by first names gives a sense of approachability.

The album featured Grace Slick and contained two future top ten songs that she brought with her from the Great Society's repertoire: "Somebody to Love" and **"White Rabbit" (3)** [matrices present: *drug lyrics, literary reference, fantasy realm lyrics, classical borrowing, side slipping, hybrid tonality*]. They will prove to be the biggest hits for Jefferson Airplane and for San Francisco psychedelic music. They embody two fundamental tenets of the hippie philosophy: take drugs and share love

Jefferson Airplane: "Somebody to Love"

[332] Frolik: unpaginated

Flower Power lyrics. The lyrics paraphrase as, 'when in despair, find someone to whom you can give your love.' Chet Helms said that "Somebody to Love" "became virtually the anthem of a generation and influenced greatly the tone of things to come, ergo the 'love generation.'"[333] Another popular San Francisco song in this vein was "Get Together," written by Dino Valenti and recorded by the Kingston Trio, the We Five, Jefferson Airplane, and the Youngbloods. Its chorus is: "Come on people now, smile on your brother, everybody get together, try to love one another right now."

Modal chords. Using only four chords from the dorian mode and a melody that spans only an octave, the music provided a constrained environment perfectly suited for the lyrics about disillusionment and a craving to be soothed by love. The four chords are F#m and B (tonic minor and IV), and A and E (bIII and bVII). The circularity of the verse unit—F#m/ B E/ F#m/ F#m—and of the chorus—A E/ F#m B—makes a hypnotic effect, nearly a *hypnotic vamp* except for their fixed duration.

March 1967. The Electric Prunes' **"Get Me to the World on Time" (4)** was released [matrices present: *tour guide, Bo Diddley beat, internal pedal point, trip section, trip lyrics*]. Also released was the Mystery Trend's only single, "Johnny Was A Good Boy"; it will be chosen by Jon Savage as one of "The Psychedelic 100." First albums came out by the Grateful Dead and Country Joe and the Fish. The album by Country Joe and the Fish was reviewed at the time as "sensational...the best record issued by anyone this year, and that includes any

[333] quoted in a one-page promo sheet for the publication of Darby Slick's book.

major group you want to name. The organ phrasing, the lead guitar work, the half-yelled half-cryed square on pitch singing are just out-of-sight. Country Joe has the only band in the world that can play acid, not just formulate pseudo-hippy lyrics about it...just about everything about this band is original."[334] Another first release was by the Peanut Butter Conspiracy, from Los Angeles with a psychedelic folk rock sound similar to Jefferson Airplane's. "It's a Happening Thing," from The Peanut Butter Conspiracy Is Spreading, entered the charts (#93). The Neighb'rhood Childr'n from Oregon visited San Francisco to record at Golden State Recorders.

Grateful Dead: "Cream Puff War"

With its garage, folk, blues, and jug band songs, the album showed off their early influences. "Good Mornin' Little School Girl," nearly six minutes long, and "Viola Lee Blues," at ten minutes, are early examples of *superlength*.

Text painting. An ancient musical device, also called word painting, defined as "The reflection in musical materials of the ideas resident in or suggested by certain words of a song."[335] More deliberate than just a *musical mood* (see below), in psychedelic music it is analogous to a *trip section*, but not specific to a mental voyage. Contrasting sections, as a bridge or "middle eight" (a term the Beatles used for an eight-bar section that occurred once), are common in popular songs, but do not carry, usually, a text painting component.

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[334] David Harris in Mojo Navigator #4, August 30, 1966: 7
[335] Apel and Daniel: 339

A pronounced tempo shift occurs in the chorus of the "Cream Puff War," where, at the words "wait a minute, watch what you're doin' with your time," there are eight beats in a slower tempo, broken up into two bars of 3/4 and a 2/4 bar. The regular tempo and meter return for two bars, then the music repeats the slower tempo for eight more beats.

The Bo Diddley beat. The first two bars of the verse of "Cream Puff War" use this for an interesting progression of five chords, shadowed rhythmically by the sung melody.

Hybrid tonality. With only five major chords (one that is sometimes minor), "Cream Puff War" does not quite qualify, however, its sounds like the garage/ psychedelic songs that use this matrix.

Hallucinogenic imagery (visual). Artwork that mimics the distorted perception experienced on drugs. Ones used on the album cover are "liquid" letters, "seeing double," mirror images, photographic negatives, and references to the cosmic unseeable and unknowable.

Liquid letters. Hand-drawn, flowing, rounded letters, often on a curved or flowing substructure, that tend towards illegibility. Used here for the band name; the version on the back cover is closer to illegibility.

Seeing double: On the front cover, though there only five members, three of them have a second photo, giving a first impression of eight people. Also, the bell of a tuba is repeated numerous times.

Mirror image and photographic negative: The back cover, in black and white, is divided in half. On the left at the top is "San Francisco's Grateful Dead" and

the members names, another handlettered version of the band name, then a group photo in negative. Below are the song titles and other information. The right half of the cover is the same but in mirror image with the positive-negative reversed; on that side the only thing "readable" is the photo.

Cosmic unseeable and unknowable: a photograph of a solar flare; a string of nonsense letters across the top.

Exotic symbolism (visual). The use of images derived or associated with foreign, ancient, pioneer, indigenous, or primitive cultures; the visual equivalent of borrowing music from India or the Middle East. The central figure of the cover collage is a four-armed Indian deity; Jerry Garcia is wearing a bear-claw necklace, a reference to Native American Indian traditions.

Subversive symbolism (visual). In the context of the times, certain actions were symbolic political statements indicating disfavor with the status quo in general and US government policies in particular, especially the war in Vietnam. Examples would be the improper display of the American flag or wearing long hair, seen as anti-conformist, anti-military, and gender blurring. On both the front and back covers, Jerry "Captain Trips" Garcia (as he is identified), is wearing a top hat with American flag stripes. The red and white pattern of the flag is "rhymed" visually with a barber pole, something the longhaired musicians depicted have not needed for some time.

Country Joe and the Fish: Electric Music For the Mind and Body; "Not So Sweet Martha Lorraine"

Light show imagery (visual). Photographs of light shows refer to the unique and trippy live performance setting created in San Francisco (and then exported). Each section of the quartered oval that dominates the front cover has a photo of the band playing while bathed in projected colour patterns from a light show.

Supernatural lyrics. The counterculture's explorations of alternate spiritual paths such as meditation, mysticism, or black magic were occasionally expressed in song lyrics. "Not So Sweet Martha Lorraine," Joe McDonald said, was "one of the first songs about intellectual women approaching romance from a different point of view."[336] Martha Lorraine has "celestial secrets engraved on her back," reads the I-Ching, gives out rings that enhance sexual potency, and seems to take pleasure in death. The protagonist sings of the scene before and after his own suicide precipitated by madness:

> Sweet lady of death wants me to die
>
> So she can come sit by my bedside and sigh
>
> And wipe away the tears from all my friends' eyes
>
> Then softly she will explain, just exactly who was to blame
>
> For causing me to go insane, and finally blow out my brain
>
> Sweet Lorraine, ah Sweet Lorraine
>
> ...The only way you'll ever get her high
>
> Is to let her do her thing and then watch you die

April 1967. While the Jefferson Airplane's "Somebody to Love" climbed towards the top 5, bus tours of the Haight began. In the spring, Life magazine

published their "Summer of Love" issue, and the members of Mad River dropped out of college in Ohio and moved to Berkeley.

May 1967. A report in the New York Times described how the hippies' lifestyle put them at odds with the rest of their community. Ironically, their non-materialist ideals fueled the tourist business:

> Most of the area's residents have learned to live with the 15,000 or so hippies for neighbors. But despite the hippies' almost total non-involvement there are some things hippies do actively like, and these bother not only their neighbors but the San Francisco police as well. Hippies like LSD, marijuana, nude parties, sex, drawing on walls and sidewalks, not paying their rent, making noise and rock 'n' roll music.... All pure hippies, both boys and girls, have long and dirty hair. And though many of them work—a number of them are postmen—and have cars, they do not like to pay their bills, so often the water is shut off in their pads, making it difficult for them to wash.... While the hippies insist they love just about everyone, nobody here loves the hippies. But they have become a tourist attraction, and traffic jams are not uncommon in Haight-Ashbury as people drive slowly through the area gawking at the hippies, who have, for example, put dimes in the parking meters and lain in the parking space on the street. One bus line has put on a daily tourist tour billed as the 'Hippie Hop' through the "Sodom' of Haight-Ashbury.[337]

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[336] McDonald in Salomon: 7

[337] "The Hippie Subculture" New York Times May 4, 1967, in Mayer: 139-141.

Scott McKenzie's "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair) hit the charts (#5). Locals saw this as a sign that the end was near for their scene. Traffic's first release,**"Paper Sun" (5)**, came out in the UK (it will be released in America in August 1967) [matrices present: *Indian instruments, oscillation, tumbling ostinato*]. The debut album by Moby Grape was released, extending folk rock by adding touches of soul, blues, and psychedelia.

Moby Grape; "Sitting By the Window" and "Changes"

Hallucinogenic imagery. The band logo is white flowing letters in a purple circle.

Light show imagery. The back cover's large dynamic color shot shows the band performing in one of the ballrooms, the light show's projected bubbles and globs behind them.

Exotic symbolism; subversive imagery. The cover photo, reproduced as a large poster insert, shows the band posed in front of an antique store, all but one of them looking like frontier types, wearing leather boots and jackets with buckskin, standing or sitting on wooden chairs, holding a frying pan, spoons, and a rifle. Don Stevenson's middle finger was extended on the washboard he was holding. Since there was an American flag behind the band, this was interpreted as giving "the finger" to the flag. Later editions had the digit airbrushed out to make it look like his hand was closed, and the flag became all black; on the picture singles the photo was cropped just above the offending finger and the flag was red.

Text painting. In "Sitting By the Window," following the words "I'm playing my game and I guess you're playing it too," a ten-bar instrumental bridge introduces five as-yet-unheard chords within four measures, nicely illustrating the "game." The text painting is expressed by an ambiguous tonality (that begins in minor and ends in major), and a new harmonic rhythm (one chord per bar).

Musical mood. More general than *text painting*, where a musical depiction of the lyrics is introduced at the moment the text in question is presented. Use of the *musical mood* matrix is identified when an emotion or sensation central to the theme of a song is supported or conveyed by the arrangement of musical materials. "Sitting By the Window" has a mood of suspension conveyed by lengthy periods of Em chords (intro and verse) that set up a feeling of waiting, supported by repetitive, hypnotic, interlocking guitar parts. Throughout the song, a sense of instability is portrayed by subtle harmonic variations: E is minor in the verse but major in the chorus; D is major in the chorus but both minor and major in the bridge. The C chord appears once, in the bridge, set up by a IIm to V motion to sound like a tonic, but the D major immediately after breaks that notion. "Changes," unproblematically diatonic (in A, using only I, IV, V, and briefly vi), has a solo and ending entirely over a B chord, held long enough to sound like a new key center, as if to illustrate the title of the song.

Consideration of the Inception phase.

Psychedelic's "pure core" was assembled by key songs, sounds, and ensembles in this phase, and the excitement and momentum of the first dance

concerts was in keeping with the description of the phase's characteristics. Most of the other tendencies were congruent with the description also, however, there was more use of original compositions in bands' repertoires than expected.

Chapter 6. The Intermediate Phases: Proclamation and Dissemination

Phase 3: Proclamation

During this phase the style name is settled and the style becomes widespread and commercialized with big hits, big stars, and media recognition. Major labels are very active as all involved make the most of the project. Fan mania is at its peak and the dress code may become a fad. Elements of the style become codified in what sociologists call the routinization of charisma. The most flamboyant aspects are likely to be criticized by conservatives. The repertoire increasingly features original compositions. There is an influx of new people into the centers of activity. The market begins to get flooded. In order to attract attention, some acts adopt a novelty attitude. Towards the end of the phase cynicism creeps in.

Proclamation of San Francisco Psychedelic Music: June 1967-February 1968

June 1967. The Beatles Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Heart's Club Band was released and the live televised performance of "All You Need Is Love" was seen by 400 million people on five continents. Singles entering the charts include **"White Rabbit" (3)** (#8) by the Jefferson Airplane, "Light My Fire" by the Doors (#1), and "A Whiter Shade of Pale" by Procol Harum (#5). The latter two contribute to increased use of the organ in rock.

Very nearly the first-ever rock festival, the Monterey Pop Festival (June 16-18, 1967), marked the handing of the torch from Los Angeles to San Francisco

as the next vital regional cultural hearth. Essentially, this meant the passing of folk rock and the rise of psychedelic rock, and the beginning of its Proclamation phase. All five of San Francisco's top psychedelic bands—the Airplane and the Fish, the Quick and the Dead, the Holding Company—were there. So was Moby Grape, the newest of the San Francisco acts. Big Brother and the Holding Company benefited most, getting signed to Columbia on the impression made by Janis Joplin. They were later heavily featured in the Monterey Pop film documentary.

Certain performers and their stage antics—Otis Redding mesmerizing the audience, the Who smashing their instruments, and Jimi Hendrix burning his guitar—are now canonized in rock history. After Woodstock, Monterey is the best remembered of the hundreds of rock festivals; the two are also the most documented. Discussions of Monterey are *de rigeur* in rock history books, and its sounds can be heard on a box set of four compact discs plus the tapes and videos of additional performances circulating among collectors.

Organizers John Phillips of the Mamas and the Papas and their producer Lou Adler were regarded with suspicion by the San Francisco musicians who questioned their motives and disliked their Los Angeles show-biz image but eventually agreed to perform. Not only were the Mamas and Papas considered rich and phony hippies, but Phillips had written and produced Scott McKenzie's single "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)," which was already on the charts. Another paean to the Haight-Ashbury scene, sung first at the festival, was Eric Burdon and the Animals' **"San Franciscan Nights"(6)**,

which became a hit later that summer [matrices present: *Flower Power lyrics, cliché quoting, stately descending bass, idiosyncratic form, the drone, tour guide, drug lyrics*]. ("Monterey," their tribute to the weekend, was a hit at the end of the year.)

Besides the Mamas and the Papas, who announced the festival on the Ed Sullivan show, and Scott McKenzie, Los Angeles was represented by Johnny Rivers, a dynamic nightclub entertainer whose hits were mainly pop rock versions of black R&B songs, and folk rock acts the Association, Buffalo Springfield, and the versatile Byrds. The Beach Boys, though advertised, were in crisis after several extremely successful and creative years and did not perform.[338]

Other styles that were represented at Monterey were: East Coast singer-songwriter pop folk (Simon and Garfunkel, Laura Nyro), soul (Lou Rawls, Booker T and the MGs, Otis Redding), British Invasion (the Who, Eric Burdon and the Animals), plus Ravi Shankar's Indian ragas, and an ethnic-jazz mix from South-African born trumpeter Hugh Masekela. But aside from LA folk rock and San Francisco psychedelia the strongest contingent came from blues and blues rock, with the Paul Butterfield Blues Band, the Steve Miller Band (not yet as psychedelic as they became), the Electric Flag, the Blues Project, Al Kooper, Canned Heat, and the Jimi Hendrix Experience, who were making their debut in

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[338] Though the Wailers and the Daily Flash had played the Fillmore and the Avalon, neither they nor any acts from the Pacific Northwest were at the festival. Not only was the region so isolated that there was insufficient interaction between it and the California scene, the Northwest was a large enough market to keep most bands in work within the area. Those that did leave either did not achieve success and returned (or fragmented), excepting Paul Revere and the Raiders; their teen pop was passé for the hip crowd anyway. By 1967, the vitality of the Northwest Sound, the region's R&B-based garage style, was starting to wane

America. The Jimi Hendrix Experience introduced a new format, the power trio: a singing guitarist backed only by (very proficient) bass and drums.[339] Blues rock proved to be the most durable of all the styles present, played to this day in every city where electric guitars are to be found.

For the players, the audience, the police, and the townspeople, Monterey managed to live up to its advertised motto of "Music, Love, and Flowers." With the Jefferson Airplane riding high in the charts at the time, psychedelia was the hot item for the music industry. As David Cohen said: "Commercial means just that people like it, but to a record company, commercial means it sounds like something else that has made a lot of money."[340] For the record industry, Monterey was something like a trade fair.

> Executives flocked there, and the price for bona fide underground San Francisco bands skyrocketed. The previous year, RCA had signed Jefferson Airplane for $25,000; around the time of the festival, Capitol picked up two acts, the Steve Miller Blues Band and the Quicksilver Messenger Service, for guarantees of $40,000 apiece.[341] Then, in the wake of an impressive performance at Monterey, CBS paid Janis Joplin and her band, Big Brother and the Holding Company, an astounding

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due to increasingly seductive external influences.

[339] Amplifier technology had evolved, as had the technical ability of the best instrumentalists, to make this a feasible sonic combination. As well, the rise of the guitar hero as a stereotypical figure had begun to become ingrained through the adulation accorded to certain British players, particularly Eric Clapton, Jeff Beck, Jimmy Page (all at various time members of the Yardbirds), and Peter Green. America started to embrace the guitar hero as an archetype with Mike Bloomfield of the Paul Butterfield Blues Band, whose influential "East-West" was perhaps the first extended improvisatory piece by an electric band.

[340] Cohen interview

[341] The deal included an unusually high royalty rate of 16 percent, based on wholesale prices [Chapple and Garofalo: 74].

$250,000. Clive Davis, who was now running CBS Records, was giving his competitors notice that the industry leader now believed in the commercial legitimacy of the new music and wasn't adverse to using its deeper pockets to get the best talent.[342]

July 1967. Time magazine ran a cover story called "Hippies- Philosophy of a Subculture."[343] Moby Grape hit with "Omaha" (#88); it would be their only one. "All You Need Is Love" was released, soon topping both the American and British charts. Triangle, the Beau Brummels' third album was released, containing their most psychedelic track, "Magic Hollow."

August 1967. Beatle George Harrison and his girlfriend Patti Boyd visited Haight-Ashbury bringing international attention to the local hippie scene. Among album releases were the debut efforts by Sopwith Camel, Canned Heat, and Big Brother and the Holding Company. The Small Faces' **"Itchycoo Park" (7)** was released in the UK (its American release will come November 1967) [matrices present: *phase shifting, religious organ, revelation, diatonic harmony*]. Singles entering the charts included Eric Burdon and the Animals' **"San Franciscan Nights" (6)** (#9), Country Joe and the Fish's "Not So Sweet Martha Lorraine" (#95), and Jimi Hendrix's "Purple Haze" (#65). Cream, a trio that Eric Clapton formed, inspired by Hendrix, made their San Francisco debut with six sold out nights at the Fillmore.

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[342] Goodman 1997: 77
[343] Time, July 7, 1967

Both Hendrix and Cream had a profound influence on rock, in their power trio format, their virtuoso and flamboyant musicianship, blues derived tonalities, psychedelic songwriting, and sheer forcefulness. David LaFlamme of It's A Beautiful Day recalled:

> In a little coffee place in Seattle was the first time I heard "Purple Haze." I'll never forget that. It was astounding; I'd never heard anything like it. I was really, really impressed. There was a certain kind of rhythmic depth to the [Jimi] Hendrix Experience. It wasn't just blues, it had another kind of influence that I don't think I'd ever heard before, in the riffs and the way they were presented. It got me thinking more about different ways I might do something similar. I'd never done anything punchy like that at all. I thought, I need to punch some of my stuff up more like that, make it bigger. The arrangement of "Wasted Union Blues"—I had written it before—was influenced by that.[344]

However, many bands that followed the lead of the Jimi Hendrix Experience and Cream lacked the taste in repertoire or musical finesse of their models, leaning more on bombast and sheer volume. Their performances in San Francisco inspired many bands, including Aum, Blue Cheer, and the Savage Resurrection. Bill Harper, lead singer for the Savage Resurrection, said, "after we heard Hendrix all that other stuff paled."[345] The band's guitarist, Randy Hammon, recalled: "Most of all we idolized Jimi and understood him completely,

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[344] LaFlamme interview
[345] liner notes to Savage Resurrection (Mod Lang, 1998)

loved his energy, his style, where it came from, his roots and what he was trying to do. I saw him lots of times."[346] Wayne Ceballos, guitarist for Aum, a power trio with religious overtones that played the ballrooms, wrote: "Jimi Hendrix was the catalyst, the impetus that inspired me to form AUM: To realize and utilize my talents to the fullest extent, to use my entire body as an Instrument; and the Dream of one day meeting and jamming with Jimi; of sharing the same stage with him. A Dream, that within fourteen months time, and beyond my wildest expectations, came true.... "[347]

Big Brother and the Holding Company; "All Is Loneliness"

Hallucinogenic imagery. The album cover has the band name in a font that bulges top and bottom. The letters of "Big Brother" alternate purple with orange, the "Holding Company" letters alternate purple and green. Small individual portraits, black and white photos each treated with a different colour, form the petals of a felt-penned flower-like design.

The drone. A drone made from root, fifth, and upper root played on guitar by James Gurley is kept throughout "All Is Loneliness."

Peculiar song/ arrangement. This matrix refers to odd, eclectic repertoire choices of songs from unconventional or unexpected sources. Since there is no real tradition of how to treat them, they may call for an unusual arrangement. "All Is Loneliness" was written in 1951, the first in a series of rounds, by a blind New

[346] Hill: 17
[347] Ceballos: unpaginated

York street poet and singer named Moondog who dressed up as a Viking.[348] Big Brother and the Holding Company apparently picked it up directly from the composer, either from a cassette or music sheet sold to one of the band members. In its circularity, a round has a quality of dechronicization. The only words are "all is loneliness here for me," "loneliness come botherin' round my house," and "loneliness come worryin' round my door." Guitarist Sam Andrew explained how they transformed it:

> That song was by Moondog. He wrote it in 5/4 , we didn't know 5/4. We were the same thing as the Rolling Stones, and a lot of people, John Lennon. . . art students who picked up guitar.... We didn't know about 5/4 and we probably just thought "it sounds kind of funny," or "maybe he doesn't quite have it right and we're going to straighten it out and put it in 4/4."[349]

Also using this matrix are Big Brother's version of "Summertime," and Country Joe and the Fish's adaptation of "Muskrat Ramble," both discussed below.

Latin percussion. A form of exotic borrowing. Part of the *peculiar arrangement* of "All Is Loneliness" is the use of shakers and claves. Big Bother and the Holding Company used a guiro (scraper) in "Combination of the Two." Latin percussion instruments in rock are associated with Santana, whose psychedelic leanings and San Francisco origins are sometimes overlooked.

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[348] He recorded an album, which included this song, for Columbia in 1971.
[349] Andrew interview

September 1967. Jefferson Airplane's "Ballad of You and Me and Pooneil" entered the charts (#42), and Jimi Hendrix's first album Are You Experienced? was released. It hit #5 on the album charts and remained there for nearly two years.

October 1967. The Diggers hosted a "Death of Hippie" ceremony in Haight-Ashbury. The Doors second album, Strange Days, was released.

November 1967. Rolling Stone magazine was launched in San Francisco. Recordings released included the Beatles' Magical Mystery Tour, the Jefferson Airplane's third album, the experimental After Bathing at Baxter's (#17), and Country Joe and the Fish's I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin' To-Die. Around this time, Mad River recorded and released their first effort, an EP.

Jefferson Airplane: After Bathing At Baxter's,

Cartoonish protest. This matrix may refer to artwork or music. It is a political protest presented as a cartoon or caricature. Here it is as artwork: the gatefold (double) cover is framed with the *subversive symbolism* of an American flag motif: across the top is a band of blue with large white stars; a red band runs along the bottom. In between, on a white background, is a detailed cartoon of a flying house—a triplane whose body is a Victorian mansion like the ones found in Haight-Ashbury. The plane, the confetti it sprays and the banner it pulls (containing the album's enigmatic title), are held up by balloons, the only parts of the drawing in colour. It flies over a black and white civilization that is a junkyard: empty cans, ruined automobiles, and a deserted city. Signs say "Every Litter Bit

Hurts," "Stop," "Smoke," "Consume!" "Drink It," and "Loans." A police helicopter, a jet, and a saucer fly above. The message seems to be that this mobile shelter, an archaic contraption full of character, is on a celebratory mission above a decadent society.

Hallucinogenic imagery. On the inside cover, six odd and otherworldly photos of band members seem to emerge out of the black background. To read the blue, handwritten information, one must turn the cover clockwise (for the song titles on the left), and then counterclockwise (for the credits on the right). Thus, the viewer must have three vantagepoints.

Country Joe and the Fish: <u>I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin' To-Die</u>; "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin' To-Die Rag"

Subversive imagery. The cover has a colour photo group portrait with the longhaired band each in costume: a wizard, a uniformed soldier, a Mexican revolutionary with a rifle, a Jewish rabbi smoking a cigar and wearing a propeller beanie hat, and one member draped in black with a tomato or apple in his mouth. The American flag sewn to the sleeve of the soldier is echoed in three of the four corners of the frame by drawings of the flag.

Peculiar song/ arrangement; cartoonish protest. Although the title is borrowed from a Bukka White blues song, "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag" is actually new words set to the jazz standard "Muskrat Ramble."[350] The oompah

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[350] That piece was written in 1926 by New Orleans trombonist Kid Ory, then a member of Louis Armstong's Hot Five band. The connection to New Orleans jazz was strong in San Francisco: Ory recorded there as early as 1921 and the city was home of one of the strongest dixieland revival scenes in the 1940s. Participating in it was one of the most highly regarded

beat, calliope, kazoo, and megaphone voice provide camp effects to heighten the parody. Still embedded in collective memory are verse one and the chorus.

Come on all of you big strong men, Uncle Sam needs your help again
He's got himself in a terrible jam 'way down yonder in Vietnam
So put down your books and pick up a gun
We're gonna have a whole lot of fun

And it's one, two, three, what are we fighting for?
Don't ask me I don't give a damn, next stop is Vietnam
And it's five, six, seven, open up the pearly gates
Well, there ain't no time to wonder why, whoopee! we're all gonna die

Arranged in an acid-influenced jug band sound, the song was the most popular song of its era to express protest against the Vietnam War. Sung at anti-war rallies and political stages, it also served to boost the morale of soldiers in combat. In the song, dread, fear, and violence are presented in cartoony surreal lyrics, such as "peace can only be won when we've blown 'em all to kingdom come." Parents are urged to send off their sons "and you can be the first ones in your block to have your boy come home in a box." That these words are set to a jaunty, happy ragtimey melody and chord progression (Kid Ory's "Muskrat Ramble"), makes the lyrics seem even more absurd while making them easily sung. Joe McDonald had probably heard this piece while quite young. He had

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units in the revival: Lu Waters' Yerba Buena Jazz Band, patterned after King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band of New Orleans, which had included Armstrong.

been a proficient trombone player in high school and played in a dixieland band, though by the time of his graduation in 1959 he had switched to guitar and joined a rock and roll one.

Sound effects. The use of recorded sounds interpolated into musical passages for dramatic, narrative, or symbolic effect. Like the use of selective *phase shifting*, this matrix indicates the use of multi-track equipment. The cartoonish protest of this song is replaced at the end by a realistic recording of machine gun fire.

December 1967. Jefferson Airplane's "Watch Her Ride" (#61), and Eric Burdon and the Animals' tribute to the Monterey Pop Festival, "Monterey" (#15), entered the charts. Buffalo Springfield's second album, Again, was released, more psychedelic than their debut, as was Cauldron by Fifty Foot Hose.

Fifty Foot Hose: Cauldron

Idiosyncratic creativity. Applied not just to structure, as in *idiosyncratic form*, but to an artist's general approach to music making, which has eccentric, experimental, or avant-garde qualities. Frank Zappa and Captain Beefheart are examples from Los Angeles. For a brief time, the innovative and idiosyncratic creativity of Fifty Foot Hose, expressed in unusual compositional and performance ideas and avant-garde electronic sounds, found a small but devoted audience on the psychedelic ballroom circuit. They made this unusual and highly regarded album in late 1967 and disbanded a few months later. From early

exposure to black gospel singing, Louis "Cork" Marcheschi acquired an abiding interest in R&B and became a bass player working steadily in the North Beach nightclub scene. Like Frank Zappa, 20th century composers such as Edgar Varese also fascinated him. Marcheschi's art school involvement made him aware of the dadaist/ futurists and the experimental music of John Cage, Terry Riley, and Luigi Russolo, as well as the local activities of two pioneers: "The Mills College Taped Music Center in Oakland had a studio in San Francisco above a nightclub called the Both And. That's where Don Buchla developed the first true synthesizer, the Buchla box. Morton Subotnick was a collaborator of Don's; most of the things Buchla made were made for Subotnick...who took them out and really performed."[351]

When Marcheschi met David Blossom, a guitarist with psychedelic leanings, they decided to form a band. Besides psychedelia, Blossom's compositions, usually sung by his wife Nancy, at times contained modern jazz inflections, odd time signatures, atonal sections, and timed intervals of unspecified free play. Accompanying all were Marcheschi's electronic sounds from a homemade instrument. He left the bass guitar behind:

> I started building little bits and pieces of electronic noisemaking devices which just became more sophisticated as time went on. The attitude was always to create something, not to purchase something, not to buy a piece of equipment that another person could have, but personalize an instrument.... Develop an instrument that is your own that not only makes sounds you are interested in, but the way it functions comes from

[351] Marcheschi in Powers: 16

something that you're very comfortable with physically as well as intellectually.[352]

His instrument, bolted into a plywood box "as portable as a small coffin," came to include two theremins (one homemade), tone generators, voice and contact microphones, a mixer, an echo unit, volume and tone controls, electronic bongos, a siren and additional effects, plus a twelve foot cardboard tube and a five gallon tin. The band mesmerized a small part of their audience but was too strange and esoteric for the rest. "We just never were cool. The people at the Tape Center weren't into the rock part, and the people at the Fillmore weren't into the art part. We were neither fish nor fowl."[353] The band did prove somewhat influential in the long run.

January 1968. The Tet Offensive heralded a more deadly phase of the Vietnam War. Bob Dylan's John Wesley Harding was released; its folk and country style, out of step with current trends, predicted future ones.

February 1968. The Beatles, Donovan, and Beach Boy Mike Love studied Transcendental Meditation in India with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. The twelfth and final issue of the San Francisco Oracle was published around this time. The Flamin' Groovies first recording, Sneakers, came out. At least one observer felt that music from the summer of 1967 had an impact that was hard to match six months later. Describing a show by Country Joe and the Fish, Richard

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[352] Marcheschi in Powers: 17
[353] Alec Palao, liner notes to Fifty Foot Hose: Cauldron.....plus rare and unissued

Kostelanetz said: "none of their new songs were better than any of the old ones…this leads me to confirm my earlier suspicion—that the new rock of the past few months has not been as fine or influential as the songs of last summer and before. Now that new musical styles have been forged, no one seems able to make a distinctive new contribution."[354]

Consideration of the Proclamation phase.

As the terms psychedelic and acid rock were in use in phase two, it is not accurate to say the style name was settled in phase three. It is true, however, that this phase in psychedelia, in San Francisco and elsewhere, was marked by big hits, big stars, media recognition, major label activity, and an influx of new people, especially after the Monterey Pop Festival. As the dress code was indistinguishable from the general hippie attire, it certainly did become a fad. Though the details of songwriting credits have not been noted, a brief scan of the albums released in phase three compared to earlier phases shows an increase in original compositions. The psychedelic gold rush began, though whether the market was flooded, or that cynicism increased more in this phase than any other is hard to gauge. Elements of the style did become codified, and acts like Steve Miller and Moby Grape brought in a slicker sound. What the model does not directly address is the effect of a compelling new variation of the style, as seen here with the impact of Jimi Hendrix.

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tracks (Big Beat)

[354] Kostelanetz: unpaginated. The show took place February 2, 1968 at the Crawdaddy—

Phase 4: Dissemination

In this phase the style spreads and also disperses. Established artists continue to develop, and produce some of their best and best known work. Some try to take their creativity further, while unsuccessful ones may wish to experiment, either for the sake of it or in hopes of coming up with a hit sound. These impulses lead to idiosyncratic creations that may add new matrices to the style. The most durable sound elements have entered and been absorbed by the mainstream. Additions or alterations water down the style, and energy wanes. The loss or defection of key practitioners, through unfaithfulness, scandal, or catastrophe thins the ranks. For artists at a distance from the style's center, the ideology is reduced to an outline, presented as clichés.

Dissemination of San Francisco Psychedelic Music: March 1968-December 1970

March 1968. Bill Graham expanded his operations to New York with the opening of the Fillmore East; this event signifies the start of phase four. Blue Cheer's first album, Vincebus Eruptum, was released; their power trio rendition of "Summertime Blues" entered the charts (#14). Nirvana's **"Rainbow Chaser" (8)** was released (in the UK only) [matrices present: *oscillation, phase shifting, diatonic harmony, internal pedal point*].

April 1968. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated. A song by the Jefferson Airplane, "Greasy Heart," dipped into the charts (#98). Albums released were Moby Grape's second, Wow, with bonus album Grape Jam, and the first from the Steve Miller Band, Children of the Future.

Yiddish Anderson theatre in New York City.

May 1968. The eponymous first album by Quicksilver Messenger Service was released.

Quicksilver Messenger Service: "The Fool"

Orchestral composition. A dramatic, highly evolved long piece (wholly or mostly instrumental) molded out of improvised jamming; it is a dynamization of form. "The Fool" was written during rehearsals for the album, and is credited to guitarist Gary Duncan and bassist David Freiberg. The recorded version of "The Fool" is over twelve minutes long. The piece's duration was not fixed: in concert, the musical details would vary. Duncan wrote:

> The song started out as a bunch of "Speed Ramblings" on my part which congealed over a period of time into "The Fool"....it had movements and sections which we always adhered to...but the inbetween stuff was always improvised. The name comes from the 0 card in the Tarot Deck......which in my view stands for "The Choice"....that we all have to make when we are here in Physical bodies...either Positive or Negative.[355]

John Cipollina described the song in visual terms: "We wrote it with lots of chemicals and lots of butcher paper. We sat there and drew pictures, "Well, I don't know, so I'll give you this section now. I'm gonna make it go like this: here's

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[355] Gary Duncan, April 2, 1997, online post responding to a query about the song's origins in quicksilver-list@penncen.com . Punctuation in the quotation is exactly as written.

a road and here's some trees and–" "Oooh! Let me do the mountains! I'm gonna play mountains," and stuff like that.[356]

Many years later, a fan remembered the drama of a performance at the Fillmore West (Carousel Ballroom) in the summer of 1968:

> [D]uring "The Fool," the music halts and a new pace begins. When John's guitar starts growling. He took a stance and growled along with the guitar. As the wah-wah(ed) guitar solo grew in intensity, he faced across to the other band members, leaned forward from the waist and with an upward nodding of the head, spoke or pantomimed the melody line as if to toss it across the stage. Sometimes moving forward a few steps, silently raving as he went. Wearing an orange-red nehru-type jacket similar in color to his guitar. Hair flying to his movements. An image of artist and guitar seeming one... [H]ow impressed I was, not only with their music and musicianship, but also with the physical presence too. They looked *big* onstage. Seeming all musical business, they had an air of dignity that could be confused with aloofness. But they definitely had showmanship (showpersonship?). At the time, the thought entered my head, they'd stepped out of the time of King Arthur. And at times, played with all the drama of swordplay. The aura, the swish and clash of musical fencing. Meeting in the air and bouncing off. Shimmering, bell-like metallic tones and harmonics.[357]

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[356] Cipollina in Ruhlmann: 29, 30
[357] posted by Joe (ddicola@snowcrest.net) January 15, 1997 to the quicksilver-list@penncen.com. Joe says this is a reprint of some concert memories he wrote a few years earlier.

"The Fool" is a pinnacle of collective arranging. A rubato intro features a guitar cadenza (and a finger cymbal). When the time starts, there is viola, furious strumming on guitar and an instrumental version of the melody (used later with lyrics) on a guitar played through a Leslie speaker (a rotating speaker usually used with a Hammond organ). After a moment of silence comes quarter note triplets, march-style drumming, a growling sound produced by a wah-wah pedal on guitar, whip-like cracks, the addition of an acoustic guitar, and the sung portion. Also heard are a female vocalist, organ, the viola again, feedback, and a 6/8 meter which starts at the words "life life is love." The lyrics contain a *revelation*. They are:

> Can you hear it in the morning, sings the golden sun
>
> Life's song is moving ever onward, from and to the sound of one
>
> Turning in turning out, spirals high, never die
>
> Wonder, wonder wanders
>
> Fear falls, tumbling walls, one world, one truth
>
> Heaven's above, life is love
>
> Life life is love, love is life, it's love, love[358]

June 1968. Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated. The Crazy World of Arthur Brown's **"Fire" (9)** was released in the UK (its American release will be

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[358] the lyrics were provided to me by David Freiberg, one of the songwriters, in e-mail correspondence

September 1968) [matrices present: *melodramatic moment, theatrical stage show, tour guide, religious organ*].

July 1968. Album releases included the Grateful Dead's second, Anthem of the Sun, the first by the Band, the influential roots rock styled Music From Big Pink, and Iron Butterfly's In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida. The latter immediately entered the charts on the strength of the song **"In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida" (10)** [matrices present: *superlength, wah-wah guitar, chord oscillation, two-bar blues riff, fantasy realm lyrics, religious organ*].

Grateful Dead: Anthem of the Sun

Hallucinogenic imagery; exotic symbolism. Like the cover of first album, the Grateful Dead's Anthem of the Sun repeats the flame and Indian deity motif on the front, and a distorted band photo on the back. The photo is circular, and shows the band in the shadows of forest trees, sunlight revealing Indian-style jackets and shirts, and an astrakhan hat. They are looking down into camera, equipped with a fish-eye lens; the photographer, it seems, is down in the shadows. Again, hand-drawn lettering (like flames) are used for the band name and album title, with a mandala-like drawing featuring a multi-eyed Indian deity in the lotus posture, breathing fire from nose and mouth, whose body sends out six snake skin tendrils each with a head (the band now numbers six). The perimeter is ringed by fire and crowned by two cobras. The total effect is one of mystic exoticism.

August 1968. Infamous demonstrations and reprisals occurred at the Democratic national convention in Chicago. Two songs by Big Brother and the Holding Company entered the charts: "Piece of My Heart" (#12), on their current label, and "Down on Me" (#43), from their previous one. Third albums came out by the Jimi Hendrix Experience, Electric Ladyland, and Country Joe and the Fish, Together.

Big Brother and the Holding Company: "Piece of My Heart" and "Summertime"

Peculiar song/ arrangement. Both songs show the band's willingness to transform source material. Sam Andrew explained that they came to "Piece of My Heart" via inter-band camaraderie, and how they changed the song:

> "Piece of my Heart" was written in Tin Pan Alley. Jack Casady who played for Jefferson Airplane—this is just like a movie—he brought us to the tune and said "this is great, you guys should do this. Listen to it." And we did, and it was Erma Franklin, Aretha's sister. The version she did of it was really relaxed, the best of the African-American thing.... She had a gospel group on there.... Perfect, very musical. Here we are, all these white kids on dope, and we take it and speed it up...and jam in as many notes as we can. And we put this other key on the front of it, this F# minor, to open it. The basic thing is in E. We play the break in F# minor, the ending in F# minor.[359]

My response was "What a great idea. Such contrast." Andrew replied, "Yeah, but it's bizarre though."

Contrapuntal improvisation. Counterpoint is defined as "two or more melodic lines sounding simultaneously."[360] Normally it is composed and notated, as in the classical music tradition. Rarely is it improvised, for unless the players are skilled and are very attentive to each other, it sounds cacophonic. Its use in psychedelic music is a depersonalization technique. "Summertime" is another example of *peculiar song/ arrangement*; it uses *classical borrowing* as the jumping off point for the contrapuntal improvisation. The music for "Summertime" was composed in 1935 by George Gershwin for the musical Porgy and Bess. Sam Andrew described how the band arranged it.

> "Summertime" was a particularly effective tune for Big Brother because it was a change from our usual harum-scarum romp and it gave Janis a chance to show what she could do with a classic tune that had been done in so many different styles.... I had been fascinated by this minor key tune with its major sixth since high school. One of my favorite versions was a long ruminating read of it by Nina Simone. Another major influence on my arrangement of "Summertime" was the prelude in C minor at the beginning of "The Well Tempered Clavier" by Bach. I was listening to a lot of Bach, Telemann, Schütz, and other eighteenth century musicians that summer when Big Brother was getting together. I played the theme of this

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[359] Andrew interview
[360] Apel and Daniel: 72

prelude at half tempo and it was the perfect starting point and central motif for "Summertime."[361]

I asked Andrew where this classical influence came from. He said "I was going through an Elizabethan thing. Singing a lot and reading out of an Elizabethan songbook, John Dowland and that kind of thing.... I was in a recorder quintet and we did Telemann and Bach." I wanted to know if the classical influence came from the recorder books. His response was: "Yeah, recorder and guitar and playing lute suites and cello suites arranged for guitar. I brought a real classical thing to the band. There was a big clash between James [Gurley] and I. I was trying to mix them together, shove these two non-compatible things together. That made a lot of force.[362]

Country Joe and the Fish: <u>Together</u>

Nothing is psychedelic on the cover though the music inside still is. The gatefold sleeve has a wraparound colour photo of Joe McDonald and his new bride leaving a church, surrounded by a crowd of well wishers. Inside is wedding snapshots, some showing band members. There is no handlettering or artwork. The band name and album title are in a slightly cartoonish 1960s font, all other information is typewritten. The close community implied by the photographs and title were ironic, as various incomplete combinations of members recorded many of the songs, and four songs lacked McDonald's playing and singing altogether. It is the last of their albums made by the lineup that made their debut.

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[361] Andrew: 34

Some of the songs are presented as *cartoonish protest*, such as "Bright Suburban Mr. & Mrs. Clean Machine," "The Streets of Your Town," and "The Harlem Song," but there is nothing cartoonish about the stark and graphic "An Untitled Protest." A concert review of a few months later could apply to the Together album: "Musically, the Fish are inconsistent, or exploitative, latching onto a variety of current styles (which may explain why their very best recent pieces are really close to satire)—heavy rock, some country, much political invective."[363]

September 1968. Creedence Clearwater Revival's first single entered the charts, "Suzy Q (Part 1)" (#11), a remake of a rockabilly song from 1957. Their roots rock will give them more commercial success than any of the San Francisco psychedelic bands. Though their fame will come from their mastery of the two or three minute single, some of their recordings shared the psychedelic desire for length and jamming: "Suzie Q" and "Graveyard Train" were both over eight minutes, and their version of "I Heard it Through the Grapevine" was over eleven. The Jefferson Airplane's Crown of Creation made the top 10 on the album charts.

Jefferson Airplane: Crown of Creation; "Crown of Creation"

Subversive symbolism. In this case, the imagery is specifically anti-war. The title and the band name run across the bottom in small green capital letters that

[362] Andrew interview
[363] Kostelanetz: unpaginated. Review of October 8, 1968 performance.

are on fire. Hovering in the heart of an atom bomb's mushroom cloud is a double-exposure band photo, *hallucinogenic imagery* that implies atomic mutation. The bomb picture, provided by the United States Air Force, is of the explosion at Hiroshima, Japan, site of the first wartime use of an atom bomb (1945). The same band photo appears on the back, larger, and now the bomb's cloud seems to emerge from the palm of a band member's raised hand.

Literary reference. In writing "Crown of Creation," Paul Kantner quoted from John Wyndham's book The Chrysalids, a science fiction novel written in 1955 about post-Apocalypse genetic mutation. The enforced conformity of the survivors and the persecution of those with the deformity of being able to communicate through mental telepathy paralleled the "us and them" thinking that pitted the freaks (hippies) against the straights (ordinary citizens).

> In loyalty to their kind, they cannot tolerate our minds
> In loyalty to our kind, we cannot tolerate their obstruction[364]

A casual listener would not pick up a science fiction setting, so there is no *fantasy realm lyrics* matrix in use.

October 1968. Big Brother and the Holding Company's Cheap Thrills album hit #1. Albums released were Mad River's first and Steve Miller Band's second, Sailor.

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[364] Wyndham's original words were: "In loyalty to their kind they cannot tolerate our rise; in loyalty to our kind, we cannot tolerate their obstruction" [Wyndham: 196]. Though Wyndham was uncredited as a composer, in interviews with band members the book was acknowledged as the source.

Steve Miller Band: "Living in the USA" and "Song for Our Ancestors"

Sound effects. Steve Miller recorded his first three albums in England. Glyn Johns, his producer and engineer, had helped engineer the Beatles' Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, and he gave the Steve Miller Band production values unknown to other San Francisco bands. In "Living in the USA," sound effects are used to illustrate a point about America's consumer culture. Starting with the roar of a racing car, a harmonica solo leads to a riff not unlike the one heard in Bobby Freeman's "C'mon and Swim," the early San Francisco rock hit. Miller comments on modern life in America, singing "I won't pay, I'd rather play, it's my freedom." He sings "dietitian, television, politician, mortician...got to get away," refers to racial categories, Uncle Sam, installment plan purchases, and concludes with "somebody get me a cheeseburger!" The song ends with a return to the sound of the racing cars and the voice of a sports commentator.

"Song For Our Ancestors," one of Miller's "acid ballads," is an instrumental that takes its form from building and adding elements, beginning with near silence. To the introductory collage of sound effects—foghorns, ocean, ship's horns, and one long, loud and disconcerting blast—is added held notes and chords played by violins, giving a sense of suspension. The piece ends with the sound of rainfall, segueing to the next song.

Mad River

Hallucinogenic imagery. The cover presents distorted vistas front and back. The front is mostly black, with the band name in runic three-dimensional letters of white and gray. The band photo, heavily solarized (a darkroom technique) in black, silver, and white, was taken from above, the five band members looking up into the camera. Filling the back is a colour photograph, the top half the blue ocean behind the band, who are close together, very hairy (long hair, mustaches, muttonchop whiskers), seen from chest up, again all staring up into the camera.

November 1968. Richard Nixon was elected president of the USA. The Byrds fifth album, Sweetheart of the Rodeo, announced the start of country rock. The Beatles "White Album" was released. Led Zeppelin, the recently formed English hard rock band that will father heavy metal, started touring in the US to audience acclaim. Janis Joplin, on the eve of leaving Big Brother and the Holding Company, reflected on earlier days:

> The best time of all was Monterey. It was one of the highest points of my life. Those were real flower children. They were really beautiful and gentle and completely open, man. Ain't nothing like that ever gonna happen again. But for awhile, there were kids who believed they could make it all better by being better. And they were better and it didn't make a bit of difference.[365]

[365] Joplin: 239. The quote was originally published in Los Angeles Times West, November 24, 1968.

That Joplin would have fond memories of the Monterey Pop Festival is understandable given its importance in her career, and her feeling that something had irretrievably changed may have been affected by her impending departure from the band, nonetheless, her perceptions that the time was over for "real flower children" seem accurate.

December 1968. Janis Joplin did her farewell show with Big Brother and the Holding Company. She then took a more pop and soul-influenced direction and her old band took a hiatus. The Miami Pop Festival, the first on the East Coast, drew 100,000 fans. The lineup included the Grateful Dead and Country Joe and the Fish, as well as Iron Butterfly, Canned Heat, the Turtles, Procol Harum, Chuck Berry, Joni Mitchell, the Box Tops, Three Dog Night, Richie Havens, Fleetwood Mac, Junior Walker, and Marvin Gaye.

January 1969. Creedence Clearwater Revival's "Proud Mary" (#2) entered the charts, to become their first million seller and the their first with an Americana subject, an imaginary riverboat.

February 1969. Replacements for the three members that had left Country Joe and the Fish were found in the drummer and bassist from Big Brother and the Holding Company (though they will depart in six months). Albums released included Led Zeppelin's debut, Moby Grape '69, and Jefferson Airplane's Bless Its Pointed Little Head.

Jefferson Airplane: Bless Its Pointed Little Head

Hallucinogenic imagery. Front and back covers each have a single odd black and white photo. They are treated with a vertical screen process that gives a strange but appealing dreamlike effect. On the front is an incongruous picture of bassist Jack Casady, wearing long hair, a headband, granny glasses, and a Native American hand-knit coat (known as an "Indian sweater"), seemingly passed out in an old mansion (as signified by the tablecloth, wallpaper, high ceiling, and pillars). His right hand grips the neck of a wine bottle, one of a row of more than a dozen that line, evenly spaced, the center of a long table that turns a corner and carries on into the next room. On the back, the band cavorts, jumbled together on a bed or couch. One smokes, another waves, a third bows a violin. In the foreground is a small table with candles and nick knacks.

Sound effects. Light shows sometimes incorporated movies, usually excerpts, with the sound turned off. When shown between sets of music, the soundtrack would be on. At the opening this album we hear, not a song, but the audience cheering, booing, and hissing as it watches King Kong. When an actor says "it wasn't the airplanes, it was beauty killed the beast," Jack Casady starts playing his bass.

March 1969. Quicksilver Messenger Service's second album was released, Happy Trails, a mostly live album whose lengthy jams are considered a pinnacle of San Francisco ballroom sound.

April 1969. This month marked the peak number of US troops in Vietnam. Bob Dylan's Nashville Skyline, a country rock album with Johnny Cash guesting on one song, was released.

May 1969. In Berkeley, police destroyed People's Park—which a cross-section of the community had landscaped, complete with a playground, on abandoned university land—and opened fire on demonstrators, onlookers, and reporters, killing one person. National Guardsmen then occupied the park.

> The community's fear was palpable.... People's Park brought the metaphor of Vietnam home.... Some were moved to call for armed rebellion.... Others, drained and horrified by the brutality, sought refuge away from bitter struggles with the power structure. Ironically, People's Park, the very action that had brought together radicals and hippies, polarized them further, with considerable help from Governor Reagan and the police.[366]

It's A Beautiful Day's first album was released, with "White Bird" which became a hit on the FM airwaves. The song's theme is the need for freedom from constraint. It also proved ironic, considering the restrictive dealings they were to experience with their manager, Mathew Katz.

June 1969. The first rock opera, Tommy by the Who, hit the charts. Third albums from the Grateful Dead, Aoxomoxoa, and Steve Miller Band, Brave New World, came out. Also released was the first from Crosby, Stills, and Nash. All three of them were from top groups—David Crosby from the Byrds, Stephen

Stills from the Buffalo Springfield, and Graham Nash from the Hollies. Their trademark three-part harmony singing was very popular. The album sold over two million copies and stayed on the charts for two years. It influenced many, notably the Grateful Dead on their roots-oriented 1970 albums.

The Grateful Dead: Aoxomoxoa; "China Cat Sunflower"

Hallucinogenic imagery; exotic symbolism. The artwork continues their cover themes of sun, symmetry, symbolism, and a distorted group photo on the back. This one is slightly distorted by a circular wide-angle lens, the high contrast of the solarization, and a tilted horizon line. It shows the band and many associates, including several children, a couple of dogs, and a horse, lounging on the grass by leafless oak trees. On the front cover, crowned by an Egyptian-like winged sun flanked by two cobras, Rick Griffin's hand-drawn, three-dimensional letters for the band name are almost unreadable. Below is a larger sun with sperm-like rays that shines on a convex earth, shown in cross-section so both above and below ground are visible. The earth sprouts mushrooms, an embryo-seed with a flower-like top, and a leafy tree with pear-shaped roots. That their shape is reminiscent of female sexual and reproductive organs is underlined by a solitary sperm aiming towards its lowest point, a slight opening. Front and center, holding a large egg in each of its bony hands, is a skull and crossbones. The album's title, Aoxomoxoa (a made-up palindrome), taking the symmetrical theme literally, is echoed in the skeleton, formed by the superimposition of the crossbones' "X" over a "body" formed by a red "A" and a blue "M." Below, a

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[366] Morgan: 186-87

scarab beetle, an Egyptian symbol of the sun or cyclical cosmic pattern, sits over the central letter in the album title. The overall effect is organic fertility.

Fantasy realm lyrics; literary reference. Robert Hunter's thirty-year career as chief lyricist for the Grateful Dead had begun with their previous album. "China Cat Sunflower" was one of the initial two songs he wrote for them (with music by Jerry Garcia and Phil Lesh). It became a concert staple, performed live more than 500 times and made available on at least four different live recordings by the band.[367] Hunter, like Bob Dylan, wrote about archetypal characters and used evocative, often nostalgic, terminology. In this song Hunter's imagery is fanciful and non-linear. In the Annotated Grateful Dead Lyrics, a web site by David Dodd, Hunter's references to other works are discussed.[368] Dodd traced various words, lines, and images to the poetry of Dame Edith Sitwell, the vocabulary of Buddhism, the Krazy Kat cartoons, and Alice's Adventures in Wonderland. Hunter described writing the song in Mexico and claimed that a cat dictated it to him.[369]

> I had a cat sitting on my belly, and was in a rather hypersensitive state, and I followed this cat out to—I believe it was Neptune—and there were rainbows across Neptune, and cats marching across the rainbow. This cat took me to all these cat places; there's some essence of that in the song. Oh, I wrote part of it in Mexico and part of it on Neptune.[370]

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[367] The studio version is on Aoxomoxoa, and live versions appear on Europe '72, Without a Net, Hundred Year Hall, and Dick's Picks, vol.4. Of the 480 songs the Grateful Dead played on stage between 1965 and 1995, only four others and the drumz/space improvisation were played more frequently.
[368] http://www.uccs.edu/~ddodd/
[369] Shenk and Silberman: 36
[370] Gans: 24

Though Hunter wrote seven verses, the Grateful Dead used only three:

> Look for awhile at the China Cat Sunflower
> Proudwalking jingle in the midnight sun
> Copperdome bodhi drip a silver kimono
> Like a crazyquilt stargown through a dream night wind
>
> Krazy Kat peeking through a lace bandana
> Like a one-eyed Cheshire like a diamond eye Jack
> A leaf of all colors plays a golden string fiddle
> To a double-e waterfall over my back
>
> Comic book colors on a violin river
> Crying Leonardo words from out a silk trombone
> I rang a silent bell beneath a shower of pearls
> In the eagle wing palace of the Queen Chinee

Contrapuntal improvisation. In this song, the delight in the word games is echoed in the bands' playing, which represents an early breakthrough for them in forging a creative and unique pathway that their later work extends. One writer says: "'China Cat Sunflower' is a polyphonic classic. The playfulness of the peeking piano, the grinning organ and Garcia's sweet, silly guitar is inspired ensemble madness. The looseness adds to the mood. The fuzzy weirdness at

the end isn't just 'trippy,' it's great playing following easily from everything that precedes it.'"[371]

July 1969. Astronauts of the US space program landed on the moon, the first humans to walk its surface. Skip Spence, formerly of Moby Grape, recorded Oar, playing all the instruments. It is rock's first completely solo album, and though it sells poorly, it will gain a cult following over the years. Mad River's second and last album, Paradise Bar and Grill, was released, containing country rock alongside psychedelic tracks.

August 1969. The Woodstock festival in upstate New York drew 450,000 fans. As a form of retaliation against people who he felt had thwarted his dreams of a career in music, members of Charles Manson's "family" committed sadistic murders in Los Angeles, terrifying the entertainment community. An edited version of Quicksilver Messenger Service's "Who Do You Love" briefly entered the charts (#91). Led Zeppelin II was released; by November it topped the charts on both sides of the Atlantic.

September 1969. Albums released include Truly Fine Citizen by Moby Grape, who had already broken up, Santana's debut, the second album by the Band, and the Beatles' Abbey Road, which contained their final recordings as a group. They broke up shortly after.[372] A concert report of the Grateful Dead at the Fillmore East, indicated the return to earthier styles: "Most of the songs are in a gentle country-western mode reminiscent of the new Byrds."[373]

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[371] Womack: 112
[372] Let It Be did not appear until May 1970, fifteen months after it was recorded.
[373] Kostelanetz: unpaginated. Review of September 26, 1969 performance.

November 1969. Janis Joplin had her first solo hit with "Kozmic Blues" (#41). Jefferson Airplane hit with "Volunteers" (#65), the title of their latest album, also released this month, as was the Grateful Dead's Live Dead.

Jefferson Airplane: Volunteers

Subversive imagery; cartoonish protest (visual). The front and back covers are a mock newspaper, with the album title as a headline. The American flag, the only thing in color, forms the background for a band portrait. Though it is a photograph, it has a cartoonish quality, as the members variously wear masks, grimaces, glasses, hats, and wigs. In tiny letters above one hat are the words "our great society." Most prominent is the barechested musician giving a salute, white gloves on his hands and a lampshade on his head. A joke caption, referring to a fictitious music festival in South Dakota called the Paz Chin-In, is underneath. On the back the "newspaper" features an "report" about the festival with a photograph, a crossword grid, an underground cartoon, the credits, and a "question of the day." The question, "what is your favorite stripe on the flag," is responded to by each musician in an oblique way: as if the flag were a gun ("Point that thing somewhere else"), or non-existent ("What flag?"). Other answers refer to undesirable hippie types and evil spirits. The inside of this gatefold cover, over a background of grocery store advertising copy, shows nothing but two oversize pieces of toast. The one on the left is spread with crunchy peanut butter, the one on the right with strawberry jam. Closing the cover makes a sandwich, a visual pun, and a comment on consumption. The

impression is one of patriotism and consumerism mocked and general irreverence.

Grateful Dead: Live Dead

Hallucinogenic imagery; exotic symbolism; subversive symbolism. Filling the space of the front cover, the word "live" is drawn in giant pink letters. Their extremities turn to spirals and their width is decorated with a dark leaf and vine motif. The background is all vine motif in orange and yellow. In front of the word, a longhaired goddess-like woman, draped in long green and blue robes except for nearly bare breasts, rises out of an open coffin. In one hand she carries a crown and in the other a thin pole that points to or supports a waving banner on which is written the album title. This imagery, with the illustrated manuscript style of the letters, gives a mythic or medieval air. The back cover is filled with the word "dead," written in elongated black and red letters that are decorated with a skull and crossbones pattern, overtop of a portion of the American flag.

December 1969. Country Joe McDonald's first solo album was released, Thinking of Woody Guthrie, with all songs composed by Guthrie. They are ones, McDonald says on the record, that he knew early on. Recorded in Nashville with country session players, it was another indication of the folk revival roots of psychedelia and the late 1960s shift towards country rock.

The ill-fated Altamont festival occurred, the event that signaled to many the end of the Sixties dream. On the suggestion of the Grateful Dead's manager, the

Rolling Stones, criticized for the high ticket prices on their American tour, decided to do a free show in San Francisco with leading local bands. One day before the show, the site was changed, though the food, toilet facilities, and even the stage itself were inadequate. Magical thinking prevailed and the event went ahead. The Altamont concert, which has been thoroughly discussed and analyzed in the literature,[374] took place with a feeling of dread and doom easily felt by watching the documentary film Gimme Shelter. At the concert, captured on film, the Hell's Angels, hired to provide security and paid with booze and drugs, beat people in the audience. At one point Marty Balin of the Jefferson Airplane jumped off the stage to provide a protective role and got knocked unconscious, and Grace Slick spoke to try to calm the crowd. An argument between a musician and an Angel was carried over the PA system. The Hell's Angels killed a man in front of the stage during the Rolling Stones performance of "Sympathy For the Devil." Ron Polte, the manager of Quicksilver Messenger Service who had lived a life of crime in Chicago but was transformed by LSD, said: "We got sucked back into America. Somehow, in the beginning we broke free. Then we got absorbed again."[375]

Consideration of the Dissemination phase.

As expected, established artists did continue to develop and produce some of their best and most known work, such as the Grateful Dead's Live Dead and

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[374] for example: Selvin 1995: 245-249; Hoskyns: 207-11; Scully and Dalton: 179-85; Graham and Greenfield: 295-300; Morgan: 194-96; Chapple and Garofalo: 145-46; Gitlin: 406-07; Pichaske: 218-20
[375] Frolik: unpaginated

Jefferson Airplane's Volunteers. Creativity and experimentation did add new matrices, notably contrapuntal improvisation and orchestral composition, however, *idiosyncratic creativity* was already present in the previous phase. Many elements entered the mainstream and there were considerable signs of waning energy, in personnel changes, Janis Joplin's departure from Big Brother and the Holding Company, the break up of Moby Grape, and the solo project of Country Joe McDonald.

Chapter 7. The Advanced Phases: Fragmentation, Revitalization, and Confirmation

Phase 5: Fragmentation

In this phase, the style's energy dissipates, and practitioners are few and far between. There is a tendency towards self-consciousness, expediency, and formula, with a reduction of the variety of sound characteristics as some of the conditions that created or allowed them fade away. The visibility is low, concentrated on a handful of artists with particularly deep creative resources or drive that are still associated with the style but are exploring other possibilities and incorporating other influences. The style may yet yield a last hit or two (with a somewhat out of date sound), thus causing a brief general flurry of activity or prolonged allegiance on the part of the lucky artist and any peers or imitators. The public loses interest as fresher styles command attention. Some of its characteristics begin to appear anachronistic, and then disappear. The style may be the object of scorn or parody. Activity, such as there is, is sporadic, localized, or idiosyncratic as allegiances are shifted. Most acts have disbanded. Musicians still active, if not desperately remaking their stance, drift in and out of short-lived projects made of recombinations of community members. Repertoire may reprise the best-known songs from the heyday, as if to rouse the memory, though some receive drastic rearrangement in other styles. Activities of artists seem directionless and erratic. Record companies have lost interest. This phase may be comparatively long, as in the case of ragtime.

Fragmentation of San Francisco Psychedelic Music: 1970-1986

Most psychedelic bands, if they had not already, headed for the grounding effects of country rock and roots rock. For their new compositions about Americana, the Grateful Dead featured harmony singing, inspired by Crosby, Stills, and Nash. In 1970, Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young's Déjà Vu, including the country rock hit "Teach Your Children" on which Jerry Garcia played the pedal steel guitar, made #1 on the album charts. That it was one of the years' top selling albums shows that softer, harmonizing bands with folk and country leanings connected with public sentiment. They had a similar approach to the solo artists in the burgeoning singer-songwriter movement—James Taylor, Joni Mitchell, Jackson Browne for example—which found tremendous popularity in the early 1970s.

On reviewing a performance of the Grateful Dead at the Fillmore East (January 3, 1970), Richard Kostelanetz described an odd mix of elements: "I admired their spirit, which got the entire audience dancing, but didn't care much for their music, which struck me as far too close to country-western for my taste. (The Band puts me off for the same reason). This time they seemed just dull. For their climax they resorted to a symphony in feedback that I found oppressive, if not vulgar. The best musician here is the lead guitarist Jerry Garcia, who has developed a style that is neither blues nor country."[376] Of Workingman's Dead, the Grateful Dead's fifth album and the first to reflect these stylistic changes, one writer said: "the complexity of earlier LPs is dropped in favor of...country-rock

roots and harmony vocals, though a psychedelic sensibility remains."[377] While retaining this psychedelic sensibility, over the next 25 years they continued to mine Americana themes and mix blues, country, folk, rock, jazz, and even reggae into their original blend.

The cover of Workingman's Dead is tan, yellow, and black with the band name in clear calligraphy and the album title in a font not unlike the "7 Up" sign on the door of the corner store in the picture. The words and photo are each soberly framed in black-lined rectangles; there are no circles, colours, or mystic symbols. The black and tan band photo shows them lined up on the sidewalk in front of wooden buildings, as if waiting for the bus. A lunchbox at Ron McKernan's feet underlines the blue collar image. The back cover repeats the black framing lines, around each portrait—treated photos that look like line drawings—that could almost be six neatly placed cards on a table. The impression is old-fashioned, with straightforward values.

Workingman's Dead expanded their audience greatly, earning the band its first gold record and first charting single.[378] Their next album, American Beauty, released later in 1970 and also in country rock mode, earned another gold record and another charting single.[379] The albums are generally considered "for all but fanatics…the band's irrefutable high point." Both of them "featured carefully arranged songs and tight playing…[the songs] were alternately witty or lovely, and the Dead's signal strength—its casual, loping swing—found its best

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[376] Kostelanetz: unpaginated. Review of January 3, 1970 performance.
[377] Lazell, et al.: 214
[378] "Uncle John's Band" (#69/70)
[379] "Truckin'" (#64/71)

vehicle."[380] While the band presented a new and commercially viable sound, one that was not particularly psychedelic, they expanded their territory by playing their first overseas gig, a rock festival in England.[381] An extensive overseas tour two years later will be commemorated in the live triple-album Europe '72. On average, the band put out a new album every year until 1981.

In 1970, other San Francisco bands achieved success on the charts. Marrying Maiden by It's A Beautiful Day hits #28.

It's A Beautiful Day: Marrying Maiden

Exotic symbolism. The title of comes from one of the 64 hexagrams found in the I-Ching, the ancient book considered to be the foundation of Chinese wisdom and philosophy. "The Marrying Maiden" warns that desires related to relationships may lead to misfortune.[382] This may be seen as a prophetic caution, given the protracted struggle, still unresolved as of 2000, between the band and their infamous manager Matthew Katz over royalties and even the band's name. The predominantly white album cover, the hexagram at the bottom right, features an artwork done as a "joint venture" by two artists. By their different styles, we see that one painted the two fanciful figures, a man on horseback approaching a bare-breasted woman in a long dress, and the other created the Japanese-style design of swirls and sprouts. The colour photo on the back cover shows the hirsute band in a hippie apartment; visible is a ouiji board, a frenchhorn, a tabla drum, candles, a small framed skull, and a bouquet.

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[380] Evans 1992b: 289

[381] The Hollywood Rock Festival, Newcastle-Under-Lyme, England, May 1970.

Also in 1970, Quicksilver Messenger Service had its biggest hit with "Fresh Air." It only made #49. Santana's "Evil Ways" and "Black Magic Woman" both hit the top ten. Can their popularity be partly attributed to the themes of foreboding of their *supernatural lyrics* being in step with the mood of the times? They brought Latin-American elements, particularly *latin percussion* instruments, into rock, and sometimes sang in Spanish. What they took from psychedelia was a penchant for long songs and instrumental jamming (with the focus on Carlos Santana's fluid guitar solos).

In this phase, all of the psychedelic bands had personnel changes but the Grateful Dead was the only one not to eventually break up. In the summer of 1970, Joe McDonald, who had already released two solo albums, disbanded Country Joe and the Fish. Their last album, unimaginatively called C.J. Fish, had come out in the spring, with no overt psychedelic imagery on the outside, though still sounding psychedelic on the record. Only McDonald and Barry Melton remained from the band's original lineup. One of the replacements was drummer Greg Dewey, formerly of Mad River. In 1971, Peter Albin explained to a reporter from Rolling Stone magazine how shifting personnel was a fact of life for Big Brother and the Holding Company and other bands:

> The trip that we're on as a band is not a tight thing. Like there's these five people and it's gotta be these five people all the time. Because we've found, as we've gotten older and more mature, that this kind of setup doesn't work with a band. Like no bands work like that any more. So, we

[382] Walker: 111

> have a family and the family consists of about ten people, and the nucleus of the band is three or four people.... [I]t makes the performing free and easy.[383]

Sam Andrew added: "But it's wreaked havoc on us financially. And just for our minds, psychologically, it's been very hard because the thing's uncertain a lot."[384] One musical ramification of bands becoming irregular, shifting pools of musicians was a corresponding reduction in the complexity of arrangements, and a tendency to rely on riff-based blues numbers or straightforward chord progressions.

Big Brother broke up in 1972, It's A Beautiful Day in 1974. Bassist David Frieberg left Quicksilver Messenger Service and joined Jefferson Airplane in 1972 as a vocalist. Their last album came out the next year. They transformed into Jefferson Starship in 1974 and had great success with a pop rock sound virtually devoid of psychedelic elements, and then Starship in 1985, which contained not a single member who had been part of the original band. A retrospective view of their development shows the splintering of psychedelia: "While the Grateful Dead evolved into a ritual celebration of nostalgic utopianism, and the rest of the acid-rock pioneers simply vanished, those members of the Airplane who formed Jefferson Starship chose survival by means of sheer

[383] Dubro: unpaginated
[384] Dubro: unpaginated

commercialism."[385] The acid-rock pioneers did not actually vanish, but most kept such a low profile that they may as well have as far as the public was concerned.

Death disheartened the counterculture. In Ohio in May 1970, "a National Guard contingent, called out to maintain order on the Kent State campus, knelt in formation and without warning opened fire on a crowd of about 200 unarmed students...protesting the war.... Four students were killed instantly.... The national response was...shock and dismay."[386] Other deaths, some caused by drugs, evoked a similar response in the rock community. In September 1970, Jimi Hendrix died, of inhalation of vomit after an overdose of barbiturate. The next month Janis Joplin died of a heroin overdose. A few months later, Marty Balin left the band he founded, the Jefferson Airplane, "dejected after the death of his friend Janis Joplin and the shift in tone of the entire scene."[387] Balin said: "It was dark times. Everybody was doing so much drugs and I couldn't even talk to the band.... Cocaine was a big deal in those days and I wasn't a cokie.... I thought it made the music real tight and constrictive and ruined it. So after Janis died, I thought, I'm not gonna go onstage and play that kind of music. I don't like coke."[388] In 1971, the death of another flamboyant star of 1960s rock—Jim Morrison of the Doors—increased the sense of loss. In 1975, two of the most influential people to the formation of the San Francisco psychedelic rock scene died, Tom Donahue and Ralph J. Gleason. As if to underline the waning of San Francisco as a major music center, two years later the magazine Gleason co-

[385] Evans 1992c: 364
[386] Morgan: 125
[387] Tamarkin: 16
[388] Tamarkin: 19

founded, Rolling Stone, moved to New York; by 1981 no San Francisco writers remained on staff.[389]

The concert business got larger and more aggressive and greedier. Bill Graham closed his venues out of frustration: both the Fillmore West and the Fillmore East closed in June 1971. He remained in the concert business but used a variety of venues. The Matrix closed in 1972. Audiences, Graham said, "were becoming demanding rather than appreciative."[390] So were performers: "Why did I have to beg somebody to do an encore? Because he got 90 percent of the money? The streets were tough, the bikers were tough, the drug scene was tough.... But the artists and their managers didn't see what I saw. Or they didn't want to deal with what I saw."[391] Record companies used their clout and the musicians used their drawing power to demand what the venues found hard to give. A close observer explained the constrictive business factors:

> The thing that killed the Fillmore was this: If Santana got the closing act, and they were on Columbia, Columbia would dictate who went on before them. So they put on acts that weren't any good. So by late '69 there were no great new acts. All the great music came in '68 [the year the Fillmore East opened] and early '69, and after that there was nothing. Once the headliners began demanding money it got difficult. It cost eighteen thousand dollars a week to run the Fillmore; the gross was forty-two thousand. So the most you could pay the acts was fifteen thousand dollars total. When the big bands wanted 20K for themselves, it became

[389] Draper: 19
[390] Graham and Greenfield: 336

> unprofitable. The musicians' greed actually killed those kind [sic] of venues. So, what happens at the [Madison Square] Garden is that you can't introduce new bands, it's too big, it's a whole different spirit.[392]

Breakdowns of previous ways of doing things and lessons in limitation seem to underlie this period. Frustration inspired alternate approaches. The motive behind the Grateful Dead starting their own record company in 1973 was to foster an independent network. Before the company folded in 1976—the band then signed with the Arista label—they had released three Grateful Dead records and 11 albums of side projects. In that time however, commercial obligations caused a change in the social structure the underlay the music. Their manager said:

> Grateful Dead Records is a way of reconstituting the lost community of the Haight by other means. A closed circuit of heads and freaks owning their own company, distributing through their own channels to other freaks. A Deadland of airwaves and albums and concerts that would supersede the first, literal (and doomed) attempt at a hippie community in the summer of 1967. This new plan would no longer necessitate everyone living together or starting their own country or seceding from the union; we would be a community of like-minded souls linked electronically. A *virtual* Haight-Ashbury!...There is one major flaw, however. The day-to-day requirements of running a record company are the very things we've spent

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[391] Graham and Greenfield: 338
[392] Kostelanetz: unpaginated, quoting John Ford Noonan

> our whole lives *avoiding*.... The creation of Grateful Dead Records dissolves the original communal bond between members of the Dead family.[393]

When not ending their recording careers (at least until the reformations of the late 1980s) with live albums, as was the case with Jefferson Airplane and It's A Beautiful Day, bands that had already fragmented seemed to end their careers with one last effort to reunite the original members. This happened with Moby Grape in 1971 for 20 Granite Creek, with Quicksilver Messenger Service in 1975 for Solid Silver, and Country Joe and the Fish in 1977 for Reunion, on which they re-recorded their only charting song. None sold well. A line in "I Heard You Singing" from Solid Silver seems to sum up the end of an era: "Remember the people all singing, like they never sung before, all over the country, did you love the way they loved you?" A touring version of Quicksilver Messenger Service, with varying personnel, carried on until disbanding in 1977. Of this period, Gary Duncan recalled: "[Y]ou just couldn't sell Quicksilver on their past merits at that point."[394] Sick and tired of the music business, he retired from playing and worked as a longshoreman from about 1978 to 1981.[395]

While some of the musicians retired, many continued with live work at a local level, under various names and in shifting lineups, sometimes recording at home or in independent studios. The members of Moby Grape regrouped in various

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[393] Scully and Dalton: 229-30
[394] Skidmore: 13
[395] Gary Duncan interview by John Barthel, posted April 15, 1997 on quicksilver-list@penncen.com

combinations, putting out Live Grape in 1978 and Moby Grape in 1983.[396] But by the late 1970s almost no other bands existed as such, except for the Grateful Dead. Some of the main figures from the San Francisco scene made solo albums in this phase with little or no psychedelic content, including Joe McDonald, Barry Melton, David Cohen, Grace Slick, Marty Balin, Jorma Kaukonen, Mike Wilhelm, David LaFlamme, Bob Mosley, and Gary Duncan (under the name Quicksilver). They were marketed as current acts, whether pop, blues, or folk, and little attention was drawn, by the artists or the record company, to any psychedelic credentials. Psychedelic music was basically passé. In 1984, the prolific Country Joe McDonald, who had made one or more records—solo or with the band—a year since 1967, left off recording, feeling depleted and disconnected from his audience.[397] (His next album, aside from reissues appearing on CD, appeared in 1991.)

The seeds of the next phase, Revitalization, are seen in the mid-1980s revival of garage music. Though "the hotbeds of the revival were inarguably New York and Los Angeles,"[398] and the sonic and fashion ideal was based, in the words of Greg Shaw, on "an aesthetic originally formed and perfected in 1966 high school gyms,"[399] some of the energy overlapped, just like garage had done in the 1960s, with psychedelia. Curiously, little of that had anything to do with San Francisco. Bands from Australia, New Zealand, Germany, Sweden, England, and the East Coast of the US were most likely to be influenced by British psychedelia if they

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[396] This album is sometimes referred to as "Silver Wheels" to distinguish it from their debut album.
[397] Ruhlmann 1991: 8
[398] DeRogatis: 173

strayed from garage at all. Plasticland, from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the bands based in Los Angeles that came to be known as the "paisley underground"—the Three O'Clock, the Rain Parade, the Dream Syndicate and others—were among those that were particularly psychedelic, and none showed influence of the San Francisco bands.

Ones that did were not considered part of this revival but fell into the "jam band" phenomenon, which was partially inspired by the Grateful Dead.[400] Not only were they still touring, thus making their sound available to younger audiences, but tape trading of their live shows became a consuming hobby for many fans.[401] Some jam bands followed the Dead's approach to ensemble playing, and some mimicked their instrumentation and copied their repertoire. An annual festival in Brandywine, Maryland, called Celebration of Jerry Garcia's Birthday began in 1987, presenting veteran and younger musicians who played in jam band style. However, influence on the jam bands from other San Francisco acid rock acts was almost indiscernible, as if they had in fact vanished.

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[399] DeRogatis: 171

[400] The jam band name comes from the value placed on live performance and improvisation, in contrast to musicians who use synthesizers, drum machines, and MIDI sequences. Jam band players, primarily of college-aged musicians, believe that not every part of musical performance should be pre-determined: improvisations and musical details can and should be products of the heat of the moment. Songs tend to be lengthy and tempos are predominantly on the slow side of medium. Even with two drummers, as the Grateful Dead had and some jam bands too, the backbeat is not strong and its placement is floating. Bass lines are more melodic than just functioning as rhythmic patterns that outline the chords. Phish, from Vermont, emerged in the late 1980s to become one of the biggest bands of its type. Its fan base incorporated a large number of younger Deadheads. Jam bands to this day represent the continued validity to young people of making and enjoying music in performance settings. For information on hundreds of jam bands, see Bundick.

[401] The recording and trading, but not the sale, of tapes was authorized by the band in 1975. In 1985, a syndicated radio show called the Deadhead Hour began, presenting concert and archival recordings to an international audience.

Consideration of the Fragmentation phase.

A comparison of the general description of the phase with the specifics of psychedelia as presented above reveals much concordance and some anomalies. The continuation of the Grateful Dead is unusual and contrasts with what happened in rockabilly and ragtime. While pioneers such as Charlie Feathers in rockabilly and Joseph Lamb in ragtime continued to work and maintain allegiance to their respective styles, they received respect and reverence from a tiny number of fans, not mass adulation like the Grateful Dead. Rockabilly pioneer Elvis Presley did, of course, continue to receive mass adulation during rockabilly's Fragmentation phase, but he also had arguably abandoned the style. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to look more closely at how iconic figures as such as Muddy Waters, the chief architect and major practitioner of Chicago blues (which became the dominant strain of the whole genre), affect the style to which they belong. Other of the 20th century's seminal musicians, ones who overshadowed their peers, are Hank Williams in honky tonk, Bill Monroe in bluegrass, Mahalia Jackson in gospel, Clifton Chenier in zydeco, Bob Wills in western swing, and Louis Armstrong in dixieland. What these figures have in common is transcendent artistry and a lasting affect as builders and propagators of their respective styles.

The idea that this phase brings a reduction of the variety of sound characteristics as some of the conditions that created or allowed them fade away was seen to be true. That seems to be only part of the story. If the definition of a style cannot expand to accommodate the new sounds and influences that are

attractive to its practitioners, then perhaps the definition is too rigid, too clamped to the way the style sounded in its early phases. Can the definition of a style's sound incorporate new sounds that come during its evolution? As a member of a rockabilly discussion group on the Internet said: "Can we know rockabilly is alive only when it can be historically defined so exactly that it is impossible to make new rockabilly music in any other way than copying the old music?"[402]

Phase 6: Revitalization

Once the time for a style has passed, the collective psychic investment in it is, eventually, honored either through nostalgia or a new interpretation of its relevance to current culture. In the Revitalization phase, events and renewed interest cause musicians to decide to pick up where they left off some years previously. A term in wide use for this phase is "revival." An early sign of rising energy is when the style becomes a defined area for collectors of artifacts. Around the available recordings and related manifestations of the style, the audience reunites, to buy and sell, reevaluate and collect. The collecting audience overlaps with the audience that goes out to see performers, and a new community forms—as casual networks and formal appreciation societies—around the music. New bands and new hits provide vitality as young performers take up the style and veteran performers are resurrected, their careers, morale, and gig calendars boosted by the attention. The style receives further notice from researchers and the media, significantly from "foreign" countries. When the

[402] Katarina Blomqvist, Helsinki, Finland, "Re: ROCKABILLY," Internet posting February 8, 1997.

original style is championed by aficionados of a different national, racial, or ethnic background, there is sense of cultural transference, or "transracial appropriation."[403] Appreciation of this kind may have an underlying, usually unspoken therapeutic function related to a perception of collective guilt, aiming to repair histories or instances of abuse, neglect, or capriciousness. On the other hand, Revitalization may draw energy from injections of the primitive, natural, unrestrained energy of a foreign or exotic "other." Usually this takes the form of rhythm, "orientalism," or "deep-rooted" sensibilities. While the music and its milieu provide an exotic or romanticized aura, issues of authenticity are hotly debated. Much of a revival's energy comes from an impetus to document what is perceived as a dying tradition and a strong desire to give proper recognition to pioneering artists. Alluring mysteries cause speculation and debate as the history is recovered a little at a time. The repertoire finds value in rarities and obscurities. New styles use the original as a source.

Revitalization of San Francisco Psychedelic Music: 1987-1990

While the garage and psychedelic revival described above had caused a renewal of interest in 1960s music, and the jam band movement was getting underway, neither garnered much attention for the San Francisco acts aside from the Grateful Dead. The beginning of this phase can be dated by the nostalgic observation of an anniversary. The mainstream press, as well as specialty magazines like Relix magazine (which had already played a big role in uniting the audience for San Francisco music), heralded the 20th anniversary of the

[403] Lornell: 13

"Summer of Love" (1987) and reported on the commemorative events. Moby Grape reunited for a West Coast tour with the regrouped It's A Beautiful Day, plus the Strawberry Alarm Clock and the Fraternity of Man, all who had connections to manager Matthew Katz. In the Dark, the first Grateful Dead album since 1981, yielded their only top ten hit, "Touch of Grey," with the memorable line "I will get by, I will survive" which lead to the encompassing "we will get by, we will survive." This greatly expanded their fan base, causing stressful situations at concerts. The title and subtitle of a Rolling Stone article from 1990 spelled out the situation: "The End of the Road? Citing overcrowding, drugs and violence, some concert venues are banning the Grateful Dead, Are their fans loving them to death?"[404] Until Garcia's demise in 1995, the Grateful Dead achieved unprecedented popularity: in some years they were the top grossing touring act in the entertainment industry.[405]

Referring to a period around 1988, Country Joe McDonald said: "I detected a change in the audience.... It was a change from electric to acoustic, from protest to lyrical, from fast to slow, from beat music to more listening music, and I could tell from the requests the audience was asking for. I think that my older 'Woodstock' audience started showing back up at shows."[406] A band called the Dinosaurs performed regularly, doing a mix of 1960s classics and new material. They had one album released in 1988.[407] The recording lineup included one

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[404] Goodman 1990: 21

[405] According to Pollstar magazine, the Grateful Dead topped the 1993 list of top-grossing acts in the concert business, with a total of $45.6 million US. Rod Stewart was a distant second at $30.5 million. The Grateful Dead were in the top five list for each of the previous five years. See Sumrall: B11.

[406] Ruhlmann 1991: 8

[407] Dinosaurs (Relix, 1988)

member each from Country Joe and the Fish, Quicksilver Messenger Service, Jefferson Airplane, and Big Brother and the Holding Company, plus the Grateful Dead's lyricist.[408] Other veterans joined or replaced them from time to time. The Barry "the Fish" Melton Band, with a lineup that included most of the same players, kept a twice-a-month gig at the Saloon in North Beach from 1982 to 1994. They decided to start recording in 1989 to document John Cipollina's last performance as he was in poor health; he died of emphysema later that year. The band's live CD preserves some of their repertoire—old songs from their albums and some blues classics.[409]

Another nostalgic anniversary, the 20th anniversary of the Woodstock festival (1989) generated further interest in bands and music of that era. The Jefferson Airplane reunited, toured, and put out a lackluster album. Big Brother and the Holding Company toured with two Los Angeles bands formed in the 1960s, Love and the Seeds. Also that year, Quicksilver's John Cipollina died, and a sociology professor at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro offered a course on Deadhead subculture, which included following the Grateful Dead to eight concerts.[410] Relix magazine promoted "Bay Rock" as a new term for an "unclassified musical realm."[411] They profiled current bands that were directly influenced by "the Grateful Dead, and the music out of San Francisco's Psychedelic '60s era, the improvisational sounds of that time, and...the roots of

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[408] Specifically they are Barry Melton, John Cipollina, Spencer Dryden, Peter Albin, and Robert Hunter. Merl Saunders, who had worked with Jerry Garcia, was also part of the band and the recording.
[409] The Barry "The Fish" Melton Band: The Saloon Years (Saloon Recording, 1997)
[410] Juanis 1989: 54
[411] "Bay Rock!": 9

that music—blues, rock 'n' roll, jazz, folk, country, bluegrass…[plus] reggae."[412] Some of the bands recorded for the Relix record label. Another anniversary was celebrated, perhaps less publicly, in 1990: the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Grateful Dead. That year, Big Brother and the Holding Company recorded again for the first time in nearly two decades.

Consideration of the Revitalization phase.

There are some indications from the story of San Francisco psychedelic music that revitalization and revival are not synonymous, as they appear to be in the history of rockabilly music. That there was a revival in the mid-1980s of psychedelic music that did not seem to include or touch the San Francisco variant of the style would help make a case for naming them as two different things. The folk revival roots of San Francisco psychedelic music not only set it apart from all other variants, but gave it an available source of strength to return to at any juncture. For example, on the Dinosaurs album is a version of "The Butcher Boy," sung by Barry Melton, which he probably learned it from the 1928 recording by white Appalachian banjo player Buell Kazee on Harry Smith's Anthology of American Folk Music. The band that had the strongest roots in the folk revival (or at least the one that drew the most from those roots), was the Grateful Dead, and they were the band that lasted the longest and had the most success. A parallel with British Invasion acts would be the Rolling Stones, the most enduring and successful band to come out of it, whose concerts throughout

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[412] "Bay Rock!": 9

their career and hit records as late as "Harlem Shuffle"[413] in 1986 include covers of rhythm & blues songs.

In San Francisco, the veterans were revitalized certainly but there is little evidence, there or elsewhere, of younger musicians picking up on the style as a viable possibility, aside from a significant number of Grateful Dead tribute bands. This did occur in the next phase. In term of hit records, there seems to be only "Touch of Grey" as an example. Interest from foreign countries, seen in the production of compact discs, did not occur until the mid-1990s, that is, not until the next phase. Whether there was any sense of cultural transference is, like the activities of record collectors, difficult to assess. Any unspoken therapeutic function, a concept appropriate perhaps in the case of blues revival motivation, is unlikely to apply here. Neither does there seem to be the suggested injection of primitive features in the music, and since the Revitalization of San Francisco psychedelic music concerned primarily the original musicians who created the music, there was little discussion of authenticity. There was, however, the usual impetus to document and give recognition to pioneering artists. The sense that the tradition was dying was not strongly present, given the number of musicians still active, though reminders of mortality did motivate some projects.

Phase 7: Confirmation

In the final phase, the style is recognized as historical, yet still vibrant, and becomes institutionalized and commemorated via retrospective guidebooks and recordings, awards, scholarly analysis, academic courses, etc. The deaths of

[413] This is a cover of a 1963 R&B recording by Bob and Earl.

seminal musicians underline the transient nature of life and art, and cause reflection and reevaluation. The revival continues less spectacularly but more consistently as committed fans gather devotedly around the increasingly professionally produced publications, events, etc. that celebrate it. The most durable of the veterans and younger practitioners are able to maintain a career. The mystery is solved, yet for those attracted and willing to invest, enchantment is available. After a period of stability, changes in fashion and society and the arrival of particularly vibrant, magnetic artists may cause an influx of new and younger aficionados to begin another wave of revitalization, engendering new types of acknowledgement that include the efforts of the earlier revivalists. At this point, the style has been transformed from its origins as the expression of a community, to a more abstract and universally accessible practice. In the change from a vernacular tradition to an international realm, citizenship is conveyed less by geographical or temporal circumstance and more by identification. Anyone who feels a connection and the desire to belong to the realm will express it by their allegiance.

Confirmation of San Francisco Psychedelic Music: 1991 to present

An intense urge to document the psychedelic era coupled with a willingness of the participants to renew or review their contributions to it seemed to manifest itself in the early 1990s. In 1991, the four surviving members of the Charlatans reunited for a show at the Red Dog Saloon in Nevada. Mary Works filmed it and edited in archival footage for her documentary movie <u>The Life And Times of the</u>

Red Dog Saloon (1996). The event was also covered in Cream Puff War, a high quality fanzine "dedicated to the San Francisco Bay area sound" that put out two issues (1991, 1993) containing a total of 180 pages of interviews, discographies, photographs, reproductions of concert posters, and exhaustive band profiles of teen and early psychedelic bands who were active in the mid-1960s. Their articles on the Great Society, Mystery Trend, Vejtables, Flamin' Groovies, Chocolate Watch Band, Syndicate of Sound, and a large number of obscure bands, some who never recorded, provided an extremely detailed historical look into a scene in transition. Each of the two editors became producers of extensive reissue campaigns of related music. Jud Cost, for the Sundazed label of New York, specialized in CDs of individual bands, while Alec Palao, for the Big Beat label of England, ran a series called Nuggets From the Golden State. It consisted of anthologies of California labels and the collected works of relatively obscure bands, such as the Mystery Trend, Frumious Bandersnatch, the Charlatans, and Fifty Foot Hose. Other old material came out in the form of reissues like the several CDs featuring John Cipollina offered by the Legend Music label in France, such as the Nick Graventies-John Cipollina Band's Monkey Medicine. The two of them regularly played in Europe in the 1980s, especially in Italy and Germany, where the tracks were recorded. Major labels and prominent reissue labels mined back catalogues to produce retrospective box set compilations for all kinds of artists and styles. San Francisco acts with double or triple-CD sets to appear in 1991-1993 included Janis Joplin (featuring

many Big Brother and the Holding Company recordings), Quicksilver Messenger Service, and Moby Grape.[414]

Death claimed several figures and brought mourners together to honour the memory and achievements of the departed. Bill Graham died in a helicopter accident in 1991. A huge memorial concert and other observances highlighted his importance in the community and its sense of loss. Psychedelic poster artist Rick Griffin, whose art work is on the cover of albums by Quicksilver Messenger Service and the Grateful Dead, died the same year in a motorcycle accident. At his wake, fellow artists gathered along with members of Quicksilver Messenger Service, Country Joe and the Fish, the Grateful Dead, Big Brother and the Holding Company, and It's A Beautiful Day, and other community figures including Chet Helms, and Allen Cohen of the San Francisco Oracle. Two months earlier, several other well-known poster artists—Victor Moscoso, Stanley Mouse, and Anton Kelly—celebrated with Griffin at a retrospective show of his art "for their artworks were finally being accepted as genuine high-priced commodities at a resected mainstream gallery."[415] Other wakes, benefit shows, and special events would continue to unite the community over the years, as when Dino Valenti died in 1994, and Skip Spence, after a long battle with schizophrenia and alcoholism, in 1999.[416]

Institutional recognition came from the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland. They inducted Bill Graham in the non-performer category (1992),

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[414] Sons of Mercury: The Best of Quicksilver Messenger Service 1968-1975 (Rhino, 1991), and Vintage: The Very Best of Moby Grape (Columbia Legacy, 1993), were double-CD packages. Janis Joplin: Janis (Columbia Legacy, 1993) was a triple-CD set.
[415] Juanis 1991: 41

then the Grateful Dead (1994), Janis Joplin (1995), and the Jefferson Airplane (1996).[417] In conjunction with the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame's psychedelic exhibit, I Want to Take You Higher: The Psychedelic Era 1965-1969 (1997-98), Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters drove a new version of the Furthur bus from Oregon to Cleveland for what they called the Grandfurther Tour. To celebrate the opening of the exhibit, two concerts were held. The one in San Francisco, at the Fillmore Auditorium,[418] featured Country Joe McDonald, Big Brother and the Holding Company, and members of the Grateful Dead, the Charlatans, Quicksilver Messenger Service, It's A Beautiful Day, and the Sons of Champlin. The Cleveland concert had Country Joe McDonald, Big Brother and the Holding Company, and Donovan.[419] During the exhibit's run, the Charlatans reformed and performed at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Though the exhibit acknowledged psychedelia as a geographically widespread phenomenon, and highlighted San Francisco and London as its two main centers, it is noteworthy that aside from Donovan, all of the live music in conjunction with the exhibit came from San Francisco. This may have been a function of economics or geography. More likely it spoke of the identification of this music with that city, and the resilience of the San Francisco scene and how its musicians retained their connections to the style.

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[416] "No Experience No Problem For Jefferson Airplane Drummer": B6

[417] The three main bands who came up during San Francisco's psychedelic era that borrowed or made concessions to the style were also inducted: Creedence Clearwater Revival, Sly and the Family Stone, and Santana.

[418] The hall had been refurbished in the 1980s. In 1988, Bill Graham again started to produce shows there regularly. [Selvin 1996: 104]

[419] "What A Long, Strange Trip It's Been": 4-5

A 1993 special issue on psychedelic music in Relix magazine contained articles on collecting records, biographies of old and new bands, and an international overview of recent psychedelic recordings by dozens of new artists.[420] A few months earlier, Relix had advertised a one day convention to be held in New York City, a combination of the Third Annual Tapers Convention with the so-called Bayrock/ Psychedelic Music Expo (a trademarked phrase). The copy promoted "40+ Dealers with the finest and rarest Grateful Dead and Rock merchandise, and handmade clothes and crafts."[421] Five bands were to perform during the day, followed by an evening concert featuring the New Riders of the Purple Sage, a band that once included Jerry Garcia, and the Dead Ringers, a band with former Grateful Dead keyboardist Tom Constanten, and Dave Nelson, who had recorded with the band. The Dead Ringers, no less than a Grateful Dead tribute band, toured across the US and into Canada in 1992 and 1993, putting out a live album.[422] Not surprisingly, Deadheads came out to see them.

The Deadhead experience appeared to mix nostalgia and a longing for a psychedelic wonderland with running away to join the circus. The Grateful Dead—through their kaleidoscopic music, poetic lyrics, extensive repertoire, unpredictable set lists, inscrutable stage personas, and constant touring—cast a spell. Its aspects were vast enough and enigmatic enough to allow for endless interpretation by their ever growing numbers of devotees. Guides proliferated, such as Skeleton Key: A Dictionary for Deadheads by David Shank and Steve Silberman (1994), and the Annotated Grateful Dead Lyrics web site by David

[420] Relix, October 1993.
[421] The advertisement appears in Relix, April 1993: 3.

Dodd. In 1995, Jerry Garcia died of a heroin overdose. The Grateful Dead then disbanded, having played 2,318 shows in their career.[423] Both events summoned tremendous public grieving, copiously documented in tributes and reminiscences in films, magazines, books, and on the Web. Among the many magazines to do a cover story eulogy for Garcia were Newsweek, Entertainment, People, High Times, and Rolling Stone. They treated it as the end of an era.

An annual festival to celebrate the psychedelic music of the 1960s and its legacy began in 1996 in the Poconos region of Pennsylvania. Called Gathering on the Mountain, it is held on the weekend closest to the anniversary of Garcia's death. The first year's lineup included Big Brother and the Holding Company, Moby Grape, and Jefferson Starship, whose repertoire was largely drawn from the Jefferson Airplane catalogue and whose personnel included three of that band's founding members. Other veterans presented in the next three editions of the festival were Country Joe McDonald, David Cohen, Jorma Kaukonen, Gary Duncan's Quicksilver, and It's A Beautiful Day, and three former members of the Grateful Dead- Tom Constanten, Vince Welnick, and Donna Jean Godchaux.

A series issuing live Grateful Dead recordings from the band's own archives began in 1991, called From the Vault; a second series, called Dick's Picks, began in 1993. As of 2000, over 60 legally issued CDs of live Grateful Dead concerts were available. An album of Grateful Dead songs done by top rock, country, and reggae artists started a trend.[424] In the 1990s, at least twenty

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[422] Dead Ringers (Relix, 1993)
[423] Scott, et al.: 117
[424] Deadicated on the Arista label features Grateful Dead songs performed by Los Lobos, Bruce Hornsby, Elvis Costello, Suzanne Vega, Dwight Yoakum, Indigo Girls, Lyle Lovett,

additional albums covering this band's songs were released on both major and independent labels.[425] Following a general tendency in the music industry, major labels probed their own archives. Psychedelic examples are Jefferson Airplane Live at the Fillmore East (in 1968), on Columbia, and Janis Joplin with Big Brother and the Holding Company Live at Winterland '68, on Sony. A few younger musicians in the Bay area were presented on compact disc by a German label with an interest in the San Francisco psychedelic musicians. A Moby Grape reunion show inspired the formation of Project Grape Escape, a band that not only covered Moby Grape's repertoire and other 1960s songs in performances, but whose compact disc had as guest performers four members of their favorite band, as well as Tom Constanten of the Grateful Dead.[426] An anthology called The Infinite Summer of Love presented several younger Bay area bands doing their renditions of songs by Quicksilver Messenger Service, Jefferson Airplane, Grateful Dead, Steve Miller Band, It's A Beautiful Day, Big Brother and the Holding Company, Sopwith Camel, the Chambers Brothers, the Beau Brummels, and the Sons of Champlin. Certain songs featured what the label's catalogue called "eyewitness artists": Mike Wilhelm of the Charlatans, Ron Nagle of the Mystery Trend, Naomi Ruth Eisenberg of Dan Hicks and his Hot

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Midnight Oil, Cowboy Junkies, Burning Spear, Jane's Addiction, Dr. John, and others.

[425] These include Henry Kaiser's Eternity Blue, Fire on the Mountain...Reggae Celebrates the Grateful Dead (two volumes), a few country and bluegrass albums, and a number of jazz ones, by the David Murray Octet, two by Jazz Is Dead, and three by Joe Gallant & Illiminati. In addition, several Dead cover bands have releases that are closer to copies than original treatments of the repertoire. More details are available in "Under the Covers: The Grateful Dead Interpreted" by Eric Levy in Relix December 1999: 16-33.

[426] Project Grape Escape: A Vine Way to Escape (Taxim, 1997). Recordings were made between 1989-1994.

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Having a "legendary past" made new opportunities to perform and record available. One option beyond presenting new songs or reprising old ones was to refer to early inspirations. As psychedelic music in San Francisco was built on the folk revival, its foundations are ever more clearly revealed by the repertoire choices made by veteran musicians for their 1990s recordings.[430] Whether the songs are new or old additions to the repertoire of these artists is not as relevant as the deep affinity they show for this material. Mike Wilhelm, a founding member of the Charlatans, recorded a solo CD in 1997 at a club for Japanese Deadheads.[431] He included two songs from the Grateful Dead's repertoire but no songs that the Charlatans had recorded, favoring originals and downhome blues, the kind of music that inspired him in the first place. For Jerry Miller, formerly of Moby Grape, it was blues and R&B, as his Live at Cole's (1998) attests. Former Fish member David Cohen, who played organ and guitar with the band, has dedicated himself to piano and exploring New Orleans and boogie woogie piano traditions, namely the work of Professor Longhair and the pianists known as the Boogie Woogie Trio. When not playing in a blues band led by Bobby Kyles, he gives solo concerts of primarily boogie woogie, including only "Janis" from the Fish repertoire, and "Muskrat Ramble," the instrumental source for their "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag."

Another veteran who showed little time for his psychedelic era repertoire was Gary Duncan, one of the three surviving Quicksilver Messenger Service

[430] For Jorma Kaukonen, both as a soloist, bandleader, and part of Hot Tuna with Jack Casady, it was merely a continuation of what he had been doing since 1969 with his love of downhome blues.
[431] Mike Wilhelm: Live in Tokyo (PSF Records, 1997)

members and the only one still actively performing (as Quicksilver or Gary Duncan's Quicksilver). In a 1999 performance at the Gathering on the Mountain Festival he acknowledged his old band's repertoire with only one song: "Who Do You Love." His current sound is built on jazzy, wry songs (some are quirky comic-book vignettes of shady characters) and instrumental jam pieces over boogie blues or hard rock riffs, as well as, most interestingly, modal jazz pieces,[432] a reminder, perhaps, of its influence on the origins of the psychedelic style. The Internet has boosted Duncan's musical endeavors, like those of many of his peers. With the support of an active e-mail community of fans, he has been able to reissue a vinyl album in CD format, and create and sell live albums of 1997 and 1999 band performances.

Consideration of the Confirmation phase.

Consistent with the general description of a style's confirmation phase, psychedelic music was recognized, institutionalized, and commemorated, particularly after the death of Jerry Garcia. It also showed itself to be still vibrant, though the styles at its foundation are even more enduring. Not enough time has passed for a second wave of revitalization to have occurred. The pattern of less spectacular but more consistent devotion is true also, as seen by the annual festivals. The durable veterans, some of them ambivalent about their past notoriety, were able to maintain a career, at least part time. The incredible following of the Grateful Dead revealed a current of nostalgia and longing for

[432] Live at Fieldstone (1997) contains "Señor Blues" by Horace Silver, and "Maiden Voyage" by Herbie Hancock. His live repertoire includes Silver's "Nica's Dream" and Thelonious

what the Sixties represented. However, to cite George Lipsitz, "a deep sense of regret for lost idealism" informed the nostalgia".[433]

Monk's "Around Midnight."
[433] Lipsitz: 227

Conclusions

A style can be identified by the matrices that it uses. Each matrix has a history—some predating the style, others seemingly produced by it. Determining the matrices a style gathers up or creates, and tracking their presence across time is a promising method for understanding a style's development. I have used it as a tool to test the model of style evolution.

Trying to correlate the appearance of a matrix or its characteristics of use with a social condition is a way to comprehend the process of innovation, though some matrices resist such an explanation. Connecting the rise of harder, blues-based rock to the increased militancy on campuses, as David Szatmary did, makes perfect sense. Identifying the matrix of the two-bar blues riff as a component of that kind of rock, as I have done, makes its development easier to trace. That the riff is usually played in unison (guitar and bass) suggests a socially-related interpretation of a need to work together in order to be heard clearly and project a more forceful nature. This line of thinking—relating musical moves to social situations—is intriguing, but ultimately remains an interpretation. What are we to make of the tumbling ostinato, a relative of the two-bar blues riff? Why does it descend? Because it mimics gravity, a fact of earthly existence? Have we overlooked an ascending one? Picking up my guitar to play one, I notice that an ascending ostinato not only has a less entrancing character, but it does not summon up an association with any song. Writers on the blues such as Jeff Todd Titon have noted that the tendency of blues melodies is to fall slowly

and rise quickly only to fall again. I have already remarked that the rhythm of this matrix is related to the Bo Diddley beat, so the blues connection is present. Are then the reasons for its popularity in psychedelia to be found in its practitioners' affinity for the blues? Probably, but why this matrix over some other blues-derived one? And why does it show up in 1967 in both San Francisco (Jefferson Airplane's "She Has Funny Cars") and Birmingham, England (Traffic's "Paper Sun")? While a logical and satisfying explanation may be found, one did not suggest itself merely from the identification of the matrix or finding places where it was used.

A larger sample and additional analytical lenses would provide a more comprehensive picture of psychedelic music. Certain matrices associated with psychedelic music did not show up (either they were not present or were not detected in the sample items). These include panning (a stereo mixing technique used by Jimi Hendrix among others), backwards taping (used by the Beatles and in San Francisco in the introduction to Moby Grape's "Omaha," to cite one example), and lyrics about science fiction scenarios (as in Jefferson Airplane's "Wooden Ships"). There is more work to be done on minor tonalities, to determine the prevalence of certain modes, the extent of modal interchange, and to create a definition, if one is needed, of a hybrid minor tonality. It would be worthwhile to continue the analysis of album cover art to locales outside of San Francisco, especially Los Angeles, New York, and London. The gradual thickening of instrumental textures is only one of the tendencies that appeared that was not fully examined.

Even the present sample and the components that were attended to—form, harmonic motion, exotic influences, lyric themes, etc.—could be probed further for additional results. There were, for example, far more instances of animated bass lines than were acknowledged. Grouping matrices into categories in order to compare them from a broader perspective could also prove fruitful. They could be grouped as to how they make themselves identifiable, whether due to their repetition (hypnotic vamp, odd time signature, two-bar blues riff, oscillation, Bo Diddley beat), pitch direction (stately descending bass line, tumbling ostinato), referential qualities (religious organ, cliché quoting, exotic borrowings), timbral qualities (phase shifting, wah-wah guitar), dramatic intention (trip section, melodramatic moment, text painting, musical mood), or by some other organizing principle.

Despite the limitations expressed above, there are a number of tentative conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis that has been done. The direct and indirect references to Bo Diddley (repertoire, beat, use of maracas) represent the only clear trace of influence from 1950s rock and roll. There seemed to be no other link from it to the psychedelic style: no sign of Elvis Presley, the Everly Brothers, Jerry Lee Lewis, Buddy Holly, Fats Domino, or their peers, nor any doo wop, honky tonk, or swing. It of course drew from blues and jazz, but directly, not via rock and roll. This confirms the suggestion that psychedelic belongs not to the genre of rock and roll but to rock, which is sometimes dated as starting with the Beatles' studio period.

As psychedelic music developed, whether the phases of the model of style evolution are accepted or not, certain tendencies appeared. The use of Indianisms (drones, Indian-esque scales, Indian instruments), seemed to diminish once they had served their purpose as founding influences on the style's creation. Matrices carried over from garage music (hybrid tonality, rave up) were dropped once garage itself was virtually replaced by psychedelia. The trip section, a brief ensemble passage created by the collective contributions of musicians, may have then developed into the orchestral composition. The time involved in piecing together and polishing an orchestral composition seems to have been harder to find after 1968, at which point contrapuntal improvisation was more common, at least on record. Greater mastery of instrumental techniques and more experience as ensemble players on the part of the San Francisco musicians likely contributed not just to the advancement of contrapuntal improvisation but the decline of idiosyncratic forms, which often have a naïve quality about them. The rise in 1967 and 1968 of timbral changing devices and techniques (phase shifting, wah-wah, panning) that carried inherent psychedelic qualities seemed to have somewhat replaced the need for ensembles to create a psychedelic effect through musical arrangements alone. The arrival of Arthur Brown's outlandish stage show suggests that once the style had collected or created a large stock of matrices, room for development was taken into the performance setting. The use of mannerisms and formula, according to what was commercially viable and what was expedient, is an

indicator of a mid-point in a style's evolution, as I have proposed in the description of the Dissemination phase.

Each genre is made of several styles that advance its development. Each style arises from a unique and unusual confluence of conditions and opportunities that can be traced to social and geographical traits. I have treated psychedelic as a style within the genre of rock, and treated San Francisco psychedelic music as a regional expression of the style. The identification of matrices backs this up, for some are shared in all forms of psychedelic music, such as fantasy realm lyrics, and some seem to occur exclusively in San Francisco music (or music that it has influenced), such as contrapuntal improvisation. According to Will Straw, in "Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Scenes and Communities in Popular Music" (1991), the perception of rock music as a series of regional visions that periodically find international commercial favor is on the wane. Gone are the times, like the mid-1960s, when rock evolved across the board, so that, years later, an informed listener could date typical records to within a six-month period just by their sound. The kind of scene where intense local activity and creativity that shook up and showed direction to whole segments of rock music makers has largely been replaced by a terrain: a long project such as heavy metal, alternative rock, or dance, which endures, like the English language, by taking in whatever seems useful. Observers will still be able to see micro-changes brought by tensions, oppositions, and bursts of creativity but the overall project is not likely to take a sharp turn. Psychedelic music, as a broad phenomenon, became a terrain.

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List of Interviews

All interviews were conducted by the author. Following the name of the interviewee[434] is their main musical role or roles and the name of their principal band or activity in the 1960s. If the band was not based in San Francisco, then the city of operations is given. Next listed is the date and location of the interview. Many of the interviews were conducted at the annual Poconos Gathering on the Mountain music festival held at the Big 2 Resort in Lake Harmony, Pennsylvania, so this location is abbreviated.

Adler, Lou (record producer, organizer of Monterey Pop Festival; Los Angeles). December 2, 1996, at his home in Los Angeles.

Albin, Peter (bass, vocals): Big Brother and the Holding Company. August 10, 1996, at the first Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

Andrew, Sam (guitar, vocals): Big Brother and the Holding Company. August 10, 1996, at the first Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

Balin, Marty (vocals): Jefferson Airplane. August 8, 1999, at the fourth Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

Bunnell, George (bass): Strawberry Alarm Clock (Santa Barbara). August 10, 1996, at the first Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

Casady, Jack (bass): Jefferson Airplane. August 8, 1999, at the fourth Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

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[434] All interviewees with the exception of Lou Adler have signed a permission form allowing me to quote them.

Cohen, David Bennett (organ, guitar): Country Joe and the Fish (Berkeley). February 21, 1998, at his home in Forest Hills, New York; plus telephone interview March 1, 1998.

Constanten, Tom (keyboards): Grateful Dead. August 9, 1998, at the third Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

Curtis, Barry (organ, guitar): Kingsmen (Portland, Oregon): June 13, 1998, at my sister's home in Seattle, Washington.

Flurie, Bob (guitar): Quicksilver Messenger Service, Barry Melton Band (1970s). August, 1998, at a nightclub performance in Frederick, Maryland.

Kantner, Paul (guitar, vocals): Jefferson Airplane. August 8, 1999, at the fourth Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

LaFlamme, David (violin, vocals): It's A Beautiful Day. August 6, 1999 at the fourth Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

Lalor, Steve (guitar, vocals): Daily Flash (Seattle). June 15, 1998, at my sister's home in Seattle, Washington.

Lewis, Peter (guitar, vocals): Moby Grape. December 10, 1996, at his home in Solvang, California.

McDougall, Donnie (guitar, vocals): Mother Tuckers Yellow Duck (Vancouver). February 23, 1999, in a recording studio on Saltspring Island, BC.

Nelson, David (guitar, vocals): New Riders of the Purple Sage. August 9, 1998, at the third Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

Orosco, Ernie (guitar, vocals): Giant Crab. December 11, 1996, at his studio in Santa Barbara, California.

Strachwitz, Chris (Arhoolie record label owner, El Cerrito, California). April 17, 1998, at Arkansas State University's Delta Symposium, Jonesboro, Arkansas.

Wagenet, Hal (guitar): It's A Beautiful Day. August 8, 1999, at the fourth Gathering festival, Pennsylvania.

Discography

Individual artists are listed first followed by anthologies. All are original vinyl issues except those noted as CDs.

Aum

Resurrection (Fillmore, 1970)

Beau Brummels

Introducing the Beau Brummels (Autumn, 1965)

Big Brother and the Holding Company

Live (Rhino, 1984) 1966 recordings

Big Brother and the Holding Company (Mainstream, 1967)

Cheap Thrills (Columbia, 1968)

Be A Brother (Columbia, 1971)

How Hard It Is (Columbia, 1971)

Byrds

5D (Fifth Dimension) (Columbia, 1966)

Charlatans

The Amazing Charlatans (CD: Big Beat, 1996) complete 1965-'68 recordings by the original lineup

The Charlatans (Philips, 1968) by a reformed lineup

Cleanliness and Godliness Skiffle Band

Greatest Hits (Vanguard, 1968)

Country Joe and the Fish

Collector's Items: The First Three EPs (CD: One Way, 1994) 1965 and 1966 recordings

Electric Music For the Mind and Body (Vanguard, 1967)

I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin' To-Die (Vanguard, 1967)

Together (Vanguard, 1968)

Here We Go Again (Vanguard, 1969)

Live! Fillmore West 1969 (CD: Vanguard, 1994)

C.J. Fish (Vanguard, 1970)

Reunion (Fantasy, 1977)

Daily Flash

I Flash Daily (bootleg)

Fifty Foot Hose

Cauldron.....plus rare and unissued tracks (CD: Big Beat)

Flamin' Groovies

Supersneakers (CD: Sundazed, 1996) 1968 recordings

Frumious Bandersnatch

A Young Man's Song (CD: Big Beat, 1996) 1960s recordings

Grateful Dead

Grateful Dead (Warner Bros., 1967)

Anthem of the Sun (Warner Bros., 1968)

Aoxomoxoa (Warner Bros., 1969)

Live Dead (Warner Bros., 1969)

Workingman's Dead (Warner Bros., 1970)

American Beauty (Warner Bros., 1970)

Grateful Dead (Warner Bros., 1971) (also known as "Skull and Roses")

Europe '72 (Warner Bros., 1972)

Wake of the Flood (Grateful Dead, 1973)

From the Mars Hotel (Grateful Dead, 1974)

Blues For Allah (Grateful Dead, 1975)

Steal Your Face (Grateful Dead, 1976)

Terrapin Station (Arista, 1977)

Shakedown Street (Arista, 1978)

Go to Heaven (Arista, 1980)

Reckoning (Arista, 1981)

Dead Set (Arista, 1981)

In the Dark (Arista, 1987)

Dylan and the Dead (Columbia, 1989)

Built to Last (Arista, 1989)

Without a Net (Arista, 1990)

Great Society

Born to be Burned (CD: Sundazed, 1995) 1965 studio recordings

Conspicuous Only in its Absence (Columbia, 1968) 1966 live recordings

How It Was (Columbia, 1968) 1966 live recordings

It's A Beautiful Day

It's A Beautiful Day (Columbia, 1968)

Marrying Maiden (Columbia, 1970)

Choice Quality Stuff/ Anytime (Columbia, 1971)

At Carnegie Hall (Columbia, 1972)

Jefferson Airplane

Takes Off (RCA, 1966)

Surrealistic Pillow (RCA, 1967)

After Bathing At Baxter's (RCA, 1967)

Crown of Creation (RCA, 1968)

Bless Its Pointed Little Head (RCA, 1969)

Volunteers (RCA, 1969)

Bark (RCA, 1971)

Long John Silver (RCA, 1972)

Thirty Seconds Over Winterland (RCA/ Grunt, 1973)

Early Flight (Grunt, 1974) miscellaneous early tracks

Jefferson Airplane (Epic, 1989)

Live at the Fillmore East (CD: RCA, 1998) 1968 performances

Steve Miller Band

Children of the Future (Capitol, 1968)

Sailor (Capitol, 1968)

Brave New World (Capitol, 1969)

Your Saving Grace (Capitol, 1969)

Mad River

Mad River (Capitol, 1968)

Paradise Bar and Grill (Capitol, 1969)

Moby Grape

Moby Grape (Columbia, 1967)

Wow!, Grape Jam (Columbia, 1968) two single albums packaged together

Moby Grape '69 (Columbia, 1969)

Truly Fine Citizen (Columbia, 1969)

20 Granite Creek (Reprise, 1971)

Mother McCree's Uptown Jug Champions

Mother McCree's Uptown Jug Champions (CD: Grateful Dead Records, 1999)

Mother Tuckers Yellow Duck

Home Grown Stuff (Capitol, 1969)

Starting A New Day (Capitol, 1970)

Neighb'rhood Childr'n

Long Years in Space (CD: Sundazed, 1997) 1967-68 recordings

Quicksilver Messenger Service

Quicksilver Messenger Service (Capitol, 1968)

Happy Trails (Capitol, 1969)

Shady Grove (Capitol, 1969)

Just For Love (Capitol, 1970)

What About Me (Capitol, 1971)

Quicksilver (Capitol, 1971)

Comin' Thru (Capitol, 1972)

Solid Silver (Capitol, 1975)

The Savage Resurrection

The Savage Resurrection (Mercury 1968; CD: Mod Lang, 1998)

Sopwith Camel

Sopwith Camel (Kama Sutra, 1968)

The Miraculous Hump Returns From the Moon (Warner Bros., 1973)

13th Floor Elevators

The Psychedelic Sounds of (International Artists, 1966)

United Empire Loyalists

Notes From the Underground (CD: independent, no label, 1998) live recordings from 1968, 1970, and 1990

Vejtables

Feel... (CD: Sundazed, 1995) 1965-66 recordings

Anthologies

The Berkeley EPs (CD: Big Beat, 1995). First recordings of Country Joe and the Fish, Frumious Bandersnatch, Mad River, and Notes From the Underground, all originally released on EPs (extended play singles), 1966-1968.

Crystalize Your Mind (CD: Big Beat, 1994, Nuggets From the Golden State series). Garage and psychedelic recorded at San Francisco's Golden State Recorders studio, 1966-'68, including the title track by the Living Children, also the Mourning Reign and the Vejtables.

Dance With Me: The Autumn Teen Sound. (CD: Big Beat, 1994, Nuggets From the Golden State series). Starring the Mojo Men (8 tracks) and the Vejtables (3 tracks).

Good Things Are Happening. (CD: Big Beat, 1994, Nuggets From the Golden State series). Mostly pre-psychedelic unissued tracks made at Golden State Recorders, 1965-'66. Garage and beat groups including the Vejtables (five songs), Butch Engle & the Styx (four), and two each from the E-Types, Mourning Reign, the Navarros (pre-Neighb'rhood Childr'n), and others.

Monterey International Pop Festival (Castle Communications, 1994). Includes Country Joe and the Fish, Jefferson Airplane, Big Brother and the Holding Company, and the Steve Miller Band.

Nuggets Volume 7: Early San Francisco (Rhino, 1985). Includes the We Five and the Beau Brummels.

The Psychedelic Years 1966-1969 (CD: Sequel, 1992)

The Psychedelic Years Revisited 1966-1969 (CD: Sequel, 1992)

Revolution: Original Motion Picture Score (United Artists, 1968). Contains the earliest recordings of Quicksilver Messenger Service, Steve Miller Band, and Mother Earth. Recorded on 8-track equipment.

San Francisco Roots (JAS, 1976) a collection of Autumn label tracks, includes Bobby Freeman.

Appendix: San Francisco Psychedelic Bands' Folk Revival Repertoire on Record and in Performance to 1970 (regardless of year of issue on recordings)

Charlatans:

Alabama Bound: folk/ragtime, also done by Jelly Roll Morton

Codine: Buffy Sainte-Marie

Devil Got My Man: Skip James (as Devil Got My Woman)

East Virginia: traditional, learned from the New Lost City Ramblers

I Got Mine: Frank Stokes, learned from Guy Clark

I Saw Her: British traditional, learned from a folk song book

Jack of Diamonds: traditional folk

Sidetrack: traditional blues

Big Brother and the Holding Company

Blindman: learned from a Lomax songbook

Oh Sweet Mary, derived from Coo Coo: Clarence "Tom" Ashley

Down on Me: Lomax field recording

I Know You Rider: traditional

Moanin' At Midnight: Howlin' Wolf

Country Joe and the Fish

original compositions only

Grateful Dead:

All Around This World: Grandpa Jones

And We Bid You Goodnight: traditional Bahaman folk

Ballad of Casey Jones: traditional blues, folk, and country

Beat It on Down the Line: Jesse Fuller

Betty and Dupree: traditional blues

Big Railroad Blues: Cannon's Jug Stompers

Cold Rain and Snow: Obray Ramsey

Dark Hollow: traditional bluegrass

Death Don't Have No Mercy: Rev. Gary Davis

Deep Elum Blues: traditional blues, country

Don't Ease Me In: Henry Thomas

Down in the Bottom: traditional blues

Goin' Down the Road Feelin' Bad: Woody Guthrie

Good Morning Little School Girl: Sonny Boy Williamson

I Know You Rider: traditional

Monkey and the Engineer: Jesse Fuller

Morning Dew: Bonnie Dobson/Tim Rose

New Minglewood Blues: Noah Lewis Jug Band

Nobody's Fault But Mine: traditional gospel

One Kind Favor: Blind Lemon Jefferson

On the Road Again: Memphis Jug Band

Stealin': Memphis Jug Band

Sitting on Top of the World: Mississippi Sheiks

Viola Lee Blues: Cannon's Jug Stompers

Walking Blues: Robert Johnson

It's A Beautiful Day

The Dolphins: Fred Neil

Jefferson Airplane:

Chauffeur Blues: Memphis Minnie

Good Shepherd: Jimmie Strothers (as Blood Stained Banders)

High Flyin' Bird: Billy Ed Wheeler

Lets Get Together: Dino Valenti

Star Track, derived from Death Don't Have No Mercy: Rev. Gary Davis

Quicksilver Messenger Service:

Babe, I'm Going to Leave You: Erik Darling/P.Bennett/A.Bredon

Codine: Buffy Sainte-Marie

Pride of Man: Hamilton Camp

Shady Grove (a new composition based on a traditional theme)