



## Sources of American Styles in the Music of the Beatles

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CHARLES GOWER PRICE

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## Sources of American Styles in the Music of the Beatles

### *Royal Arbiters of Taste*

Surveying the events leading up to the November 22, 1963, release of the Beatles' second LP in Britain, Philip Norman writes: "Never again would pop music be considered the prerogative only of working-class boys and girls. *With the Beatles* was played not only in Council houses but in West London flats, in young ladies' finishing schools and in the blow-heated barns where country debutantes held their Christmas dances."<sup>1</sup> Through their hit records, tours, and national television appearances, the Beatles had achieved an unprecedented popular success in the United Kingdom within a short nine months after their first number one hit single, "Please Please Me."<sup>2</sup> The mainstream British press began following closely the "four cheeky, energetic lads from Liverpool" and the hysteria among the young girl fans created by them from the time of the Royal Variety Show performance at the Prince of Wales Theatre in London (November 4, 1963), which was attended by the Queen Mother, Princess Margaret, and Lord Snowdon.<sup>3</sup>

The Beatles opened their Royal Variety Show appearance with two of their original hit songs. With customary wit, Paul McCartney credited their third song to a fictitious American source, announcing, "The next song we'd like to sing now is one that is a bit slower. This is from the show *The Music Man*, and it's also been recorded by our favorite

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American group, Sophie Tucker."<sup>4</sup> Significantly, Meredith Wilson's "Till There Was You" is not a ballad that one would have associated with rock and roll in 1963. The audience at the royal performance (and the large British television and radio audiences a few days later) would probably have been just as surprised as they were amused by Paul's quip to learn what record actually inspired the Beatles' version of the song: Peggy Lee's album, *Latin ala Lee!* (1960).<sup>5</sup> Paul McCartney's love for popular music of the older generation was only one of a number of American influences that shaped the Beatles' music—but one that in no small way helped assure their widespread and enduring popularity with people of all ages.

It was while introducing the Beatles' fourth and final number at the Royal Variety Show performance that John Lennon made his famous wisecrack, "Will people in the cheaper seats clap your hands? All the rest of you . . . just rattle your jewelry."<sup>6</sup> This introduction was for the Isley Brothers' American hit "Twist and Shout" (1962), which the Beatles had included in their repertory since 1962 and which remained a rousing number for them in live performances into 1965.<sup>7</sup> This was full-tilt rock and roll, a song "far too wild to be acceptable to the older generation." In Ian MacDonald's words, it was a "song where parents, however liberal, feared to tread."<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the Queen Mother was charmed, and Princess Margaret was downright into it. The next day's headlines in the *London Daily Express* read, "BEATLES ROCK THE ROYALS."<sup>9</sup>

### *The Beatles' Early International Success*

There is little doubt that the image-making talents of manager Brian Epstein and plain good luck provided the catalysts for the Beatles' unparalleled international popularity. What will outlast their identification with the 1960s and the phenomenon of "Beatlemania," however, is the quality of their musical production. The talents of the Beatles, both collectively and individually, reveal a remarkable knack for absorbing a range of influences successfully—from American mainstream pop and Bob Dylan's lyric content to influences as far afield as Beethoven and Hindustani ragas.<sup>10</sup> The rapid maturation of their music, from simple adolescent anthems to carefully crafted studio creations with lyrics of substance, parallels the successful cultivation of their initial popular image as clean-cut, uniformed boys to the eventual public emergence of their true individual personalities, which ultimately led to the demise of the group.<sup>11</sup>

The Beatles were the vanguard of the huge international success of British rock in America. Only three days before the royal performance

in late 1963, Ed Sullivan had met the Beatles with Brian Epstein in London to arrange for their appearances on the *Ed Sullivan Show* in New York City. The day after the Royal Variety Show, Epstein left for New York to begin promoting the Beatles' first American trip.<sup>12</sup> Their presentation to the American public in the wake of their relatively unnoticed early record releases<sup>13</sup> was a well-orchestrated promotional campaign that involved the coordination of new releases with extraordinary media exposure, including their debut on the *Ed Sullivan Show* on February 9, 1964, which was seen by an estimated 73 million people—60 percent of the viewing public that evening.<sup>14</sup> Beatlemania had crossed the Atlantic for good.

The year 1964 marked the beginning of sustained international stardom for the Beatles.<sup>15</sup> Not since eight years before (when a similarly executed series of promotional events catapulted the young Elvis Presley to fame and fortune) had a new popular musical act received so much attention and acclaim.<sup>16</sup> As with Presley before them, the continued commercial successes of recordings, concert tours, and films that featured the Beatles generated an exceptionally durable popularity that sprang as much from their collective public image as from their music. Yet, with the music of the Beatles there was not only an appeal to the youthful record-buying public, but also significant interest among critics and intellectuals in this seemingly novel musical style from Europe.<sup>17</sup>

Although British rock developed within an urban youth culture peculiar to the United Kingdom, its vocabulary of musical styles was fundamentally derived from American popular music.<sup>18</sup> In particular, the musically cosmopolitan underground culture of Liverpool, a port city (with seamen bringing in American records unavailable in the music shops), contributed to the diversity of influences available to the young "Liverpudlians"<sup>19</sup> hungry for novel sounds from across the Atlantic.<sup>20</sup> From childhood, John Lennon remembered listening to the melodramatic singing styles of Frankie Laine and Johnny Ray, who were popular in the late forties and early fifties in England.<sup>21</sup> The 1950s had also witnessed a sustained interest in country music and the rise of "skiffle," a particularly British mixture of American folk and traditional jazz popularized by the Scotsman Lonnie Donegan.<sup>22</sup>

### *Rockabilly Covers*

The first rock-and-roll song to top the American Hit Parade, Bill Haley and the Comets' "Rock Around the Clock," was also popular in Great Britain. However, the first singer to capture the attention of John Lennon was Elvis Presley and his 1956 hit "Heartbreak Hotel"; in Lennon's words, "Nothing really affected me until Elvis." Paul McCart-

ney also remembers Presley's early recordings with enthusiasm: "That was the biggest kick. Every time I felt low I just put on an Elvis and I'd feel great, beautiful. I'd no idea how records were made and it was just magic. 'All Shook Up!' Oh, it was beautiful."<sup>23</sup> Though Presley's influence is reflected by over a dozen cover versions in the Beatles' early repertory, none of these songs were ever released on the original EMI recordings.<sup>24</sup> Recent releases of early performances by the Beatles contain four songs inspired by Presley's recordings (see table 1).<sup>25</sup>

The strong response of Lennon and McCartney to Elvis Presley's records was likely due to his vibrant and mannered vocal delivery—the earthy energy and power in Presley's voice which he had emulated from the recordings of blues artists like Arthur Crudup and Willie Mae Thornton at the suggestion of Sam Phillips, his first producer at Sun Records.<sup>26</sup> It was that quality of blues vocal delivery, combined with loud and repetitive instrumental accompaniment, that gave the best of early rock and roll its direct and convincing emotional power. As Lennon recalled in 1970, "It was the only thing to get through to me . . . when I was fifteen. Rock and roll was real, everything else was unreal. . . Something in it . . . is true."<sup>27</sup> As it was for most Americans growing up in the 1950s, the first experience with the aesthetic of the blues came not from the original blues artists themselves but from the rockabilly singers who first reached the general public's attention with the exaggerated and simplified style called rock and roll.<sup>28</sup>

Many of the singers who gained success in the early rockabilly style came from country backgrounds, and a few (notably Johnny Cash, Jerry Lee Lewis, Carl Perkins, and Roy Orbison) eventually returned to the country-and-western fold as their careers evolved. Several American rockabilly singers went on to even greater success in England than they had had in the United States. For example, when Paul McCartney first encountered John Lennon at a church social event in

Table 1. The Beatles' Elvis Presley Covers on CD

Song Title	Presley Recording Date	Original Artist and Date (Composer) <sup>a</sup>	Beatles Recording Date	Available Beatles CD
That's All Right	1954	Arthur Crudup (1947)	1963	BBC
I Forgot to Remember to Forget	1955	(Kesler-Feathers)	1964	BBC
I Got a Woman	1956	Ray Charles (1954)	1963	BBC
I'm Gonna Sit Right Down and Cry	1956	Roy Hamilton (1954) (Thomas/Biggs)	1962 1963	BLSC1 BBC

a. In those instances where a composer is not cited, the original artist was the composer.

BBC = *The Beatles Live at the BBC*

BLSC1 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 1

1957, he provided his new friend with the words to Eddie Cochran's "Twenty Flight Rock" and Gene Vincent's "Be-bop-a-lula," which were hits in England in 1956 and 1957 respectively.<sup>29</sup> Cochran, a native of Oklahoma, and Vincent, a Virginian, both influenced by Presley, were successful artists who toured in Great Britain. Cochran was killed in an automobile accident in England while on tour with Vincent in 1960. Ringo Starr later toured England as a member of a supporting act with Vincent, and Lennon patterned his early stage antics on Vincent's live performances.<sup>30</sup>

The Beatles played on the same bill with Gene Vincent and the Blue Caps both in Hamburg, Germany, and in Liverpool during 1962. Though several of the songs in the Blue Caps' repertory were played by the Beatles, only one is available on CD: the 1956 version of Jack Yellen and Milton Ager's standard, "Ain't She Sweet" (1927).<sup>31</sup> Likewise, only Eddie Cochran's 1960 version of Ray Charles's hit "Hallelujah, I Love Her So" (1956) is available on CD by the Beatles,<sup>32</sup> even though they were known to have played covers of Cochran's records in the early years. No covers of records by Jerry Lee Lewis or Roy Orbison are presently available on CD, despite the fact that the Beatles included songs by each of these artists in their early performances.<sup>33</sup> (For example, the Beatles performed Roy Orbison's hit "Dream Baby" at their first appearance on the BBC in 1962, and they toured England with Roy Orbison in 1963.)<sup>34</sup>

The Southern rockabilly artist most prominently represented on the Beatles' recordings is the Tennessean Carl Perkins (see table 2). Perkins is probably the most gifted singer, songwriter, and guitarist to record for producer Sam Phillips at the Sun Records Studio in Memphis. The releases that he recorded between 1955 and 1957 resonate with a freshness that is indicative of his substantial contribution to the rockabilly genre.<sup>35</sup> Most of his songs project a honky-tonk country sound (and often lyric content) that no doubt limited his appeal to the mainstream teenage audience of the 1950s, but it was certainly this authenticity that endeared his music to all four of the Beatles. Unlike Chuck Berry and Buddy Holly, the idea to write teen pop songs was not his; it came from producer Phillips. What resulted was one of the best teen anthems produced in the 1950s: "Blue Suede Shoes." It was a hit for Elvis Presley, and an even bigger hit for Perkins. (An automobile accident that injured Perkins seriously and killed his brother and manager in 1956 prevented him from following up on his success with that song.)<sup>36</sup>

The "B" side of Perkins's "Blue Suede Shoes," "Honey Don't," was one of three Carl Perkins songs released by the Beatles on EMI Records in 1964. A vehicle for Ringo Starr on the album *Beatles for Sale*, this song was originally sung by Lennon.<sup>37</sup> George Harrison (who had

Table 2. The Beatles' Carl Perkins Covers on CD

Song Title	Perkins Recording Date	Composer	Beatles Recording Date	Available Beatles CD
Honey Don't <sup>a</sup>	1955	Perkins	1963	BBC
			1964	BFS
Sure to Fall	1956	Perkins/Claunch/Cantrell	1963	BBC
Everybody's Trying to Be My Baby <sup>a</sup>	1956	Perkins	1962	BLSC1
			1964	BBC
			1965	BFS
			1965	BA2
Matchbox <sup>a</sup>	1957	[Blind Lemon Jefferson, 1927] /Perkins	1962	BLSC2
			1963	BBC
			1964	BPM1
Lend Me Your Comb	1957	Twomey/Wiseman/Wise	1962	BLSC2
			1963	BA1
Glad All Over	1957	Shroeder/Tepper/Bennett	1963	BBC

a. Original EMI releases, 1963–65.

BA1 = *The Beatles Anthology 1*

BA2 = *The Beatles Anthology 2*

BBC = *The Beatles Live at the BBC*

BFS = *Beatles for Sale*

BLSC1 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 1

BLSC2 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 2

BPM1 = *The Beatles Past Masters*, vol. 1

once used the stage name "Carl" Harrison)<sup>38</sup> is the vocalist on "Everybody's Trying to Be My Baby," the second Perkins song, which closes *Beatles for Sale*; the sexual boast of the song lyrics makes a convincing link with the Beatles and their groupies. (The Beatles' version is not an off-the-record cover, in spite of the Perkins guitar licks, but it adds extensive echo on Harrison's vocal reminiscent of Elvis Presley's "Heartbreak Hotel.") The Beatles had also recorded a few months earlier Perkins's version of the old Blind Lemon Jefferson tune "Matchbox," with Perkins as a guest in the studio.<sup>39</sup>

However much the Beatles idolized Carl Perkins and his sound, Buddy Holly and the Crickets were much more akin to the sensibilities of the Beatles' generation. Lennon recalled, for example, that the first song he learned to sing and play on the guitar was the Crickets' hit "That'll Be the Day" (1956).<sup>40</sup> In 1958, shortly after George Harrison joined Lennon and McCartney in John's skiffle group, the Quarry Men, they recorded "That'll Be the Day" at Liverpool's Kensington Recording Studio for 25 shillings.<sup>41</sup> The Crickets would also inspire the name of the Beatles one year later. Lennon remembered thinking about what a good name the Crickets would be for an English group: "The idea of beetles came into my head. I decided to spell it B-E-A-T-L-E-S to make it look like beat music, just as a joke."<sup>42</sup>

Buddy Holly, the main songwriter, singer, and guitarist for the Crickets, was a significant influence on rock in the sixties, and the success of the Beatles surely helped make that happen.<sup>43</sup> According to Holly's widow, Maria, "Paul told me that Buddy had more influence on his early songwriting than any other singer." (Paul McCartney, in fact, now owns the Holly music catalog.)<sup>44</sup>

A successful rockabilly singer, guitarist, and songwriter from Lubbock, Texas, Buddy Holly was being groomed to follow in the footsteps of Elvis Presley as a solo artist when he was tragically killed in an airplane accident on February 3, 1959, which also took the lives of Ritchie Valens and the Big Bopper. Holly's best recordings were supervised by the independent record producer Norman Petty in his studio in Clovis, New Mexico; from the beginning Petty produced the Crickets as a singing group that accompanied itself on guitars, drums, and bass, and he featured Buddy Holly as a solo singer and guitarist, often with the Crickets supplying the instrumental accompaniment. Although Petty would occasionally play keyboards, employ studio musicians, and overdub Holly's vocals on the solo releases (perhaps the earliest rock-and-roll recordings to do so), his releases of Buddy Holly and the Crickets came to represent a paradigm of the singing group that composed original songs and provided their own accompaniments: a forerunner of the quintessential rock group of the sixties.

Given the similarity of the Beatles' instrumentation with the Crickets, the Beatles were well suited to duplicate recordings in live performance. Rockabilly tunes by Chuck Berry, Carl Perkins, Gene Vincent, Eddie Cochran, Buddy Holly, and others became mainstays in the Beatles' early performance repertory. The only Buddy Holly song, however, to be released from a Beatles' studio production at EMI Records was "Words of Love" (1964).<sup>45</sup> This mesmerizing ballad about teenage love is one of Holly's best recordings, yet it was not a money-maker as producer Norman Petty's first solo release under Holly's name in 1957 on the small independent Coral label. (To make matters worse, industry giant Mercury Records produced a cover version by the Diamonds that stole what market there was for the song.) The performance on Holly's original release is a gem—from the metallic "Tex-Mex" guitar riff to Holly's signature, modulated diction and trance-like humming responses. In the Beatles' version, Harrison closely duplicates the lead guitar line and timbre, while Lennon and McCartney effectively mimic the Everly Brothers' style of vocal harmony, which Holly had overdubbed on the original. At least six other Holly songs were included in the early Beatles' repertory. Four are available on CD (see table 3).

Gerry Goffin and Carole King's "Don't Ever Change" was record-



Table 3. The Beatles' Buddy Holly Covers on CD

Song Title	Holly Recording Date	Composer	Beatles Recording Date	Available Beatles CD
That'll Be the Day (Crickets)	1957	Allison/Holly Petty	1958	BA1
Words of Love <sup>a</sup>	1957	Holly	1964	BFS
Crying, Waiting, Hoping	1959	Holly	1963	BBC
Reminiscing	1959	Curtis	1962	BLSC1

a. Original BMI releases, 1963–65.

BA1 = *The Beatles Anthology 1*

BBC = *The Beatles Live at the BBC*

BFS = *Beatles for Sale*

BLSC1 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 1

ed by the Crickets (after Buddy Holly's death) in 1962. The Beatles' 1963 recorded version of the song is now available on CD.<sup>46</sup> Additional rockabilly artists are represented in the early Beatles' recordings, with single songs available on CD, including the Jodimars, the Johnny Burnette Trio, Eddie Fontaine, Johnny Preston, and the Everly Brothers (see table 4). In spite of the obvious influence of the Everly Brothers on the Beatles in the early years, they were not a major source for the Beatles' songs by the time the group began to record. The Everly Brothers' sound was the most folk-like country style of all the rockabilly artists, with acoustic guitars mixed with electric guitars a prominent feature of their sound. They came from a family of excellent country musicians, and their vocal harmonies were straight from the bluegrass tradition without modification. The lyrics of their songs, mainly written by the Bryants (Boudleux and Felice Bryant, a song-writing duo based in Nashville), were directed toward teenagers, but the sound was a traditional strain of country. "The Everlys . . . were heirs to the brother duet tradition of country music," Bill Malone writes, "and although they are usually described as rockabillys, their sound and performance styles were very different from those of Sun's stable of musicians."<sup>47</sup> Although the Beatles could mimic country-and-western records effectively, the sensibilities of pure country music were foreign to their urban souls.<sup>48</sup> Like the blues (but for different reasons), pure country-and-western style shows up in their music rarely, and then usually as a kind of parody.

### *Touring in the Early 1960s*

Because of the desire of the recording industry for sure pop hits in Great Britain during the early 1960s, new acts (particularly those from outside London) had to establish themselves first as successful per-

Table 4. The Beatles' Rockabilly Covers on CD

Song Title <sup>a</sup>	Original Recording Date	Original Artist	Composer (Date) <sup>b</sup>	Beatles Recording Date	Available Beatles CD
Ain't She Sweet	1956	Gene Vincent	Yellen/Ager (1927)	1961 1961	ETB BA1
Clarabella	1956	Jodimars	Pingatore	1963	BBC
Lonesome Tears in My Eyes	1957	Johnny Burnette Trio	Burnette/Burnette/Burlison/Mortimer	1963	BBC
Nothin' Shakin'	1958	Eddie Fontaine	Fontaine/Lampert/Cleveland	1963	BBC
Hallelujah, I Love Her So	1960	Eddie Cochran	Ray Charles (1956)	1960	BA1
Leave My Kitten Alone	1960	Johnny Preston	Little Willie John (1959)	1964	BA1
So How Come	1961	Everly Brothers	Bryant/Bryant	1963	BBC
Don't Ever Change	1962	The Crickets	Goffin/King	1963	BBC

a. Covers by Presley, Perkins, Holly, and Berry are excluded from this list.

b. Dates are provided only if the song was written *before* the original recording date of the original artist.

BA1 = *The Beatles Anthology 1*

BBC = *The Beatles Live at the BBC*

ETB = *The Early Tapes of the Beatles*

forming groups before getting opportunities to record. The Beatles therefore put in years of apprenticeship performing in small clubs in Liverpool and touring in northern England. Beginning in 1960 they also appeared in seedy dives in Hamburg, Germany, working long hours for low wages. They often played seven nights a week, usually for six or more hours a night. Without doubt these conditions contributed greatly to their development as songwriters and performers. Klaus Voorman, then a commercial artist in Hamburg (and later a rock bass guitarist and sideman for Lennon), recalls his first experience seeing and hearing the Beatles: "I couldn't get over how they played . . . together so well, so powerful and so funny. And all the time they were jumping around. I gathered they kept it up for eight hours as well."<sup>49</sup>

The song that Lennon sang when Voorman heard the Beatles in Hamburg in 1960 was "Sweet Little Sixteen" by Chuck Berry, a popular African American rockabilly singer, guitarist, and songwriter popular during the 1950s. Berry's main contribution to rock and roll was not his vocal delivery, which could easily have been mistaken for a country or pop singer, but his distinctive solo and rhythm guitar work and the straightforward, youth-directed lyrics of his songs. These factors, combined with the vivid presence of the recordings being produced in Chicago at the studios of Chess Records, helped to create some of the most memorable rock-and-roll records ever made. In Lennon's words,

Chuck Berry is one of the all-time great poets, a rock poet you could call him. He was well advanced of his time lyric-wise. We all owe him a lot, including Dylan. I've loved everything he's ever done. He was in a different class from the other performers, he was in the tradition of the great blues artists but he really wrote his own stuff—I know [Little] Richard did, but Berry *really* wrote stuff, just the lyrics were fantastic, even though we didn't know what he was saying half the time.<sup>50</sup>

John Lennon's hyperbole illustrates the degree to which Chuck Berry had become an idol for British rockers. Berry was, in reality, far from being "in the tradition of the great blues singers"; he himself cites mainstream popular singers as his primary influences. As an African American, he worked with bluesmen out of practical necessity, but his move into teenage rock and roll was a calculated plan for financial success in a mainstream popular market. Berry recalls, "Workin' for my father in the white neighborhoods I never heard Muddy Waters . . . [or] Elmo James. I heard Frank Sinatra . . . Pat Boone. . . . I said: Why can't I do as Pat Boone does, and play good music for the white people, and sell as well there as I could in the

Table 5. The Beatles' Chuck Berry Covers on CD

Song Title <sup>a</sup>	Berry Recording Date	Beatles Recording Date	Available Beatles CD
Roll Over Beethoven <sup>b</sup>	1956	1962	BLSC2
		1963	BA1
		1963	WTB
		1964	BBC
Too Much Monkey Business	1956	1963	BBC
Rock and Roll Music <sup>b</sup>	1957	1963	BBC
		1964	BFS
		1966	BA2
		1962	BLSC1
Sweet Little Sixteen	1957	1963	BBC
		1964	BBC
Johnny B. Goode	1958	1963	BBC
Carol	1958	1963	BBC
Little Queenie	1959	1962	BLSC1
Memphis, Tennessee	1959	1963	BBC
I Got to Find My Baby	1960	1963	BBC
I'm Talking about You	1961	1962	BLSC2

a. All songs were composed by Chuck Berry.

b. Original BMI releases, 1963-65.

BA1 = *The Beatles Anthology 1*

BBC = *The Beatles Live at the BBC*

BFS = *Beatles for Sale*

BLSC1 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 1

BLSC2 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 2

WTB = *With the Beatles*

neighborhood; and that's what I shot for . . . nice, nice music, and it caught on."<sup>51</sup>

Several of Chuck Berry's songs were part of the Beatles' early repertory, as they were for most Mersey beat groups from Liverpool.<sup>52</sup> Two of Berry's best songs, "Rock and Roll Music" and "Roll Over Beethoven," were issued on the Beatles' early EMI recordings, and they remained important in their stage shows for some time.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, Berry covers account for the largest number of songs by other artists recorded by Beatles which are available on CD (see table 5).

### *Hard Rock-and-Roll Covers*

Another formative influence on the Beatles was "Little Richard" Peniman, the dynamic African American singer and pianist from Macon, Georgia, who had adapted a frenzied gospel singing style to a raucous boogie beat and became a rock-and-roll star in the 1950s, even before the Presley phenomenon.<sup>54</sup> Paul McCartney specialized, for instance, from his earliest days in doing a Little Richard imitation. Bill Harry reports, for example, that Little Richard's hit song "Long

Tall Sally" (1956) was Paul's first public performance at a summer camp in Wales as a teenager.<sup>55</sup> James McCartney, Paul's father, recalls his son's Little Richard routine with little sympathy for its musical qualities: "I used to think it was awful, absolutely terrible. I couldn't believe anybody was really like that. It wasn't until years later, when I saw Little Richard on the same bill as the Beatles, that I realized how good Paul's impersonation was."<sup>56</sup>

It is difficult to overestimate Little Richard's influence on the Beatles, particularly their early performance routine. In 1961 the group worked as a supporting act for Penniman and his band in Hamburg, Germany, and in England. Though John Lennon would favor the songs of Larry Williams, a protégé of Lloyd Price, who was somewhat more restrained than Little Richard, it is Little Richard's original 1956 specialty recording of "Long Tall Sally" that sparkles with the timeless vitality of the best of early rock and roll (see table 6).<sup>57</sup>

Little Richard's contribution to rock music is easily as great as that of any other artist recording in the 1950s. He brought to the general public a folk style of singing from the black gospel tradition with little modification; Richard recalls, for example, the singing at his home church in Macon, Georgia, as having "no piano or no organ or nothin', [just] old folks stompin' their feet and moanin' and groanin'."<sup>58</sup> Along with the more jazz-oriented Ray Charles in 1955, he became one of the first major singers to make that crucial transfer of this intense religious vocal style to popular music, a trend that has since become dominant in the industry.<sup>59</sup> A dynamic stage performer, Little Richard remains unparalleled in the history of rock. According to him, he taught Paul McCartney the guitar part to "Long Tall Sally."<sup>60</sup>

As early as 1961 the Liverpool performances of the Beatles foreshadowed the audience hysteria that was to become commonplace after they became internationally famous. Hunter Davies reports: "In most places the appearance ended in riots, especially when Paul sang 'Long Tall Sally' . . . with tremendous beat and excitement. They were beginning to realize the effect they could have on an audience and often made the most of it."<sup>61</sup> The recording session that produced the Beatles' EMI version of "Long Tall Sally" came in 1964—less than a week after they returned from their phenomenally successful first trip to America and on the eve of filming of their first film, *A Hard Day's Night*. Whatever inspired them, the energy and sense of presence in the Beatles' version of "Long Tall Sally" is as convincing as any of their early EMI studio sessions in capturing the sound and spirit of a live show, with producer George Martin playing the "Little Richard" piano part (see table 6).<sup>62</sup>

Table 6. The Beatles' Little Richard and Larry Williams Covers on CD

Song Title <sup>a</sup>	Original Recording Date	Original Artist	Composer (Date) <sup>a</sup>	Beatles Recording Date	Available Beatles CD
Long Tall Sally <sup>b</sup>	1956	Little Richard	Johnson/Penniman/	1962 1964 1964	BLSC2 BA1 BPM1
Lucille	1957	Little Richard	Collins/Penniman	1963	BBC
Hey Hey Hey Hey, <sup>b</sup> sung as a medley with "Kansas City" (see below)	1958	Little Richard		1962 1963 1963	BLSC1 BBC BFS
Ooh, My Soul	1958	Little Richard		1963	BBC
Dizzy Miss Lizzy <sup>b</sup>	1958	Larry Williams		1965 1965	BPM1 BBC
Slow Down <sup>b</sup>	1958	Larry Williams		1963 1964	BBC BPM1
Bad Boy <sup>c</sup>	1959	Larry Williams		1965	BPM1
Kansas City <sup>b</sup>	1959	Little Richard	Leiber/Stoller, for Little Willie Little- field (1952)	1962 1963 1963	BLSC1 BBC BFS

a. In those instances where a composer is not cited, the original artist was the composer. Dates are provided only if the song was written *before* the original recording date of the original artist.

b. Original EMI releases, 1963–65.

c. Only released in U.S. in 1965.

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BLSC2 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 2

BPM1 = *Beatles Past Masters*, vol. 1

### *Contemporary Mainstream Pop and Soul Covers*

Following all the successful EMI singles that were produced by George Martin in rapid succession, the Beatles found themselves short of original material to complete their early albums. They naturally fell back on contemporary pop, soul, and the older rock-and-roll and rockabilly covers of Larry Williams, Little Richard, Chuck Berry, Carl Perkins, Buddy Holly, and others to fill the gaps.<sup>63</sup> Much of the group's early popularity was owed to the fact that Paul McCartney possessed a credible jazz singing voice, which he was able to demonstrate on "Till There Was You" and "A Taste of Honey" on the early Beatle albums. Popular standards had always been in the group's repertory, although the sources were usually contemporary recordings (see table 7).<sup>64</sup> Such songs anticipated McCartney's later ballads such as "Michelle," "Yesterday," and "Hey Jude," which are among the most commercially successful of all the Beatles' recordings. Although other British groups like the Rolling Stones and the Yardbirds relied heavily on more authentic blues material, the Beatles certainly realized that they were not as effective in that genre.

The Beatles were not limited to the older styles of the fifties for their inspiration. As Charlie Gillett observes, "The group's vocal style was a derivative of two American styles . . . the hard rock and roll style of singers like Little Richard and Larry Williams and the soft gospel call-and-response style of the Shirelles, the Drifters, and the rest of the singers produced by Leiber and Stoller, Luther Dixon, and Berry Gordy."<sup>65</sup> Many of the songs that appeared on the Beatles' early EMI releases were cover versions of the soul and r&b hits that had been produced in the United States; a considerable number of the songs in these styles were found in the Beatles' early performance repertory (see table 8). The Beatles also recorded for EMI songs by such female vocal groups as the Donays,<sup>66</sup> the Cookies, the Shirelles, and the Marvelettes, and covers by the Isley Brothers, Dr. Feelgood and the Interns,<sup>67</sup> Arthur Alexander, Barrett Strong, and Smokey Robinson and the Miracles. Although the Beatles' versions often lacked the delicate layering of textures and rhythmic buoyancy of the carefully produced originals, they had prepared these songs as live performance material, often with satisfactory results. Rather than imitating American models, the Beatles adapted the songs to their own sound by replacing the light and danceable textures of the original studio creations (e.g., the Marvelettes' delightful Motown hit, "Please Mr. Postman") with their own driving instrumental accompaniment.<sup>68</sup>

Charlie Gillett describes the instrumental sound of the early Beatles as "harsh . . . and shrill . . . comparable to some of the better American 'twist' records."<sup>69</sup> In fairness to the Beatles, the early recordings

Table 7. The Beatles' Mainstream Pop Covers on CD

Song Title	Original Recording Date	Original Artist	Composer	Beatles Recording Date	Available Beatles CD
The Honeymoon Song	1959	Marino Marini	Theodorakis/Sansom	1963	BBC
Till There Was You <sup>a</sup>	1960	Peggy Lee	Wilson	1963 1963 1964	BA1 WTB BBC
I Just Don't Understand	1961	Ann-Margret	Wilkin/Westberry	1963	BBC
A Taste of Honey <sup>a</sup>	1962	Lenny Welsh	Marlow/Scott	1963 1963	PPM BBC
I Remember You	1962	Frank Ifield	Mercer/Shertzinger	1962	BLSC1

a. Original BMI releases, 1963–65.

BA1 = *The Beatles Anthology 1*

BBC = *The Beatles Live at the BBC*

BFS = *Beatles for Sale*

BLSC1 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 1

PPM = *Please Please Me*

WTB = *With The Beatles*



Table 8. The Beatles' Soft Rock and Roll, Rhythm and Blues, and Soul Covers on CD

Song Title	Original Recording Date	Original Artist	Composer (Date) <sup>a</sup>	Beatles Recording Date	Available Beatles CD
Searchin'	1957	Coasters	Leiber/Stoller	1962	BA1
Youngblood	1957	Coasters	Leiber/Stoller/Pomus	1963	BBC
Three Cool Cats	1958	Coasters	Leiber/Stoller	1962	BA1
To Know Him [Her] Is to Love Him [Her]	1958	Teddy Bears	Spector	1963	BBC
Hippy Hippy Shake	1959	Chan Romero	Romero	1962 1963	BLSC1 BBC
Shout	1959	Isley Brothers	Isley/Isley/Isley	1964	BA1
Money <sup>b</sup>	1959	Barrett Strong	Bradford/Gordy	1963 1963	BA1 WTB
Red Sails in the Sunset	1960	Emile Ford <sup>c</sup> and the Checkmates	Kennedy/Grosz, for Joe Turner (1959)	1962	BLSC2
Besame Mucho	1960	Coasters	Velazquez/Skylar (1943)	1964	BA1
Boys <sup>b</sup>	1960	Shirelles	Dixon/Farrell	1963 1964	PPM BA1
Sheik of Araby	1961	Joe Brown and the Bruvvers	Smith/Wheeler/Snyder (1940)	1964	BA1
Baby It's You <sup>b</sup>	1961	Shirelles	David/Bacharach/Williams	1963 1963	PPM BBC
Please Mr. Postman <sup>b</sup>	1961	Marvelettes	Holland/Bateman/Gordy	1963	WTB
Devil in Her Heart <sup>b</sup>	1962	Donays	Drapkin	1963	WTB
Some Other Guy	1962	Richie Barrett	Leiber/Stoller/Barrett	1963	BBC1
You Really Got a Hold on Me <sup>b</sup>	1962	Miracles	Robinson	1963 1963	BBC BA1 WTB

Table 8, continued

Song Title	Original Recording Date	Original Artist	Composer (Date) <sup>a</sup>	Beatles Recording Date	Available Beatles CD
A Shot of Rhythm and Blues	1962	Arthur Alexander	Thompson	1963	BBC
Where Have You Been All My Life	1962	Arthur Alexander	Mann/Weil	1962	BLSC2
Soldier of Love	1962	Arthur Alexander	Cason/Moon	1963	BBC
Anna <sup>b</sup>	1962	Arthur Alexander	Alexander	1963	PPM
Keep Your Hands Off My Baby	1962	Little Eva	Goffin/King	1963	BBC
Chains <sup>b</sup>	1962	Cookies	Goffin/King	1963	PPM
Mr. Moonlight <sup>b</sup> and the Interns	1962	Dr. Feelgood	Johnson	1964	BA1
Twist and Shout <sup>b</sup>	1962	Isley Brothers	Medley/Russell	1964	BFS
				1962	BLSC2
				1963	BA1
				1963	PPM

a. In those instances where a composer is not cited, the original artist was the composer. Dates are provided only if the song was written *before* the original recording date of the original artist.

b. Original EMI releases, 1963–65.

c. Emile Ford, a West Indian, who worked in England.

BA1 = *The Beatles Anthology 1*

BFS = *Beatles for Sale*

BBC = *The Beatles Live at the BBC*

BLSC1 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 1

BLSC2 = *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club*, vol. 2

PPM = *Please Please Me*

WTB = *With the Beatles*

from EMI Records failed to reproduce McCartney's powerful bass line, which was one of the most innovative aspects of the Beatles' sound. The heavy driving drums and cymbals were occasionally amplified in the studio to compensate for the technical limitations of the primitive recording equipment at Martin's disposal. (This can be heard, for example, on the Beatles' recording of the Isley Brothers' "Twist and Shout.")

Like the Beatles' rendition of "Please Mr. Postman," "Twist and Shout" is not a copy of the original, but an arrangement honed from many months of live performances into an effective vehicle for the Beatles. A comparison with the original version reveals the transformation. Bert Berns's original song, which is based on an old Latin riff popularized by Ritchie Valens's hit "La Bamba" (1959), blends the earlier Isley Brothers' hit, "Shout," with the popular "twist" craze of the early sixties.<sup>70</sup> Berns's production results in a wild and wonderful party-dance record. The swinging, undulating bounce is infectious, and the frantic swooping vocals create the excitement of an intense revival meeting. The Beatles transpose the song down to Lennon's range and (minus the more danceable rhythmic buoyancy of the original) intensify the bass line and drive the cymbals. Lennon's vocal solo is remarkable for its raw power. George Martin recalls the recording session: "John absolutely screamed it. God knows what he did to his larynx each time he performed it, because he made it sound rather like tearing flesh. That *had* to be right on the first take, because I knew perfectly well that if we had to do it a second time it would never be as good."<sup>71</sup> According to Tim Riley, the song was "as raunchy as anything the Beatles ever recorded. . . . Where Paul's singing is charged but charming, Lennon's delivery is nothing short of lustful."<sup>72</sup>

The American producer-songwriting team of Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, who had created simple and effective soft r&b records since the early 1950s, brought out amusing and well-crafted hits for the Coasters that were also important influences on Lennon and McCartney as songwriters. The stable of professional writer-producers whom Leiber and Stoller worked with in New York City (e.g., Gerry Goffin and Carole King, Phil Spector, Doc Pomus, and others) were likewise important models for the Beatles. Yet the sound of the singers was also important to Lennon and McCartney. Paul McCartney recalls, "If the Beatles ever wanted a sound it was R&B. That's what we listened to, what we used to like and what we wanted to be like. Black, that was basically it. Arthur Alexander. . . . Whenever we were asked who our favourite people were we'd say 'Black, R&B, Motown.'"<sup>73</sup>

The little-known soul singer Arthur Alexander is a telling choice for Paul McCartney to name as a favorite singer. Alexander was one of the first singers to record at the Fame Studios in Muscle Shoals,

Alabama, which would become famous during the later 1960s for the Jerry Wexler–Tom Dowd productions featuring Aretha Franklin on Atlantic Records. Like the earlier rockabilly singers from the South, Alexander blended black gospel with white country, but with somewhat different results. According to Alexander, “I grew up listening to country in the day and blues at night”;<sup>74</sup> in fact, he also recorded songs by country-and-western singers Gene Autry and Mel Tillis in a gospel style about the time that Ray Charles made his commercially successful, soulful country-crossover hits in the early sixties. Like Chuck Berry, and (in a very different way) the soft gospel sounds of Motown and the New York groups, Alexander and the white rock-and-rollers who made up his studio band were creating a fusion of styles directed to a mainstream audience that perfectly matched the abilities and inclinations of the Beatles.

### *The End of Covers—1965*

Around 1965 the Beatles’ recordings began to reflect two important developments: more sophisticated production techniques and a new depth of substance in song lyrics. Much credit should be given to producer George Martin for their newly acquired skills in studio production. Martin not only contributed musical arrangements and his knowledge of the recording process, but he also relinquished crucial decisions to the members of the group. Undoubtedly the new wealth and prestige of the Beatles contributed to the control they gained over their musical productions as well. McCartney explains Martin’s role with obvious sympathy: “George is quite a sage. Sometimes he works with us, sometimes against us; he’s always looked after us. I don’t think he does as much as some people think. He sometimes does all the arrangements and we just change them.”<sup>75</sup> Lennon, on the other hand, stated that Martin’s contribution to the groups’ later albums was minimal. He did concede, however, that Martin helped them “develop a language to talk to musicians.”<sup>76</sup>

John Lennon has been quite specific about the influence of Bob Dylan’s lyrics on his work. According to Lennon, “I started thinking about my own emotions. . . . Instead of projecting myself into a situation I would try to express what I felt about myself which I’d done in my books. I think it was Dylan who helped me realize that—not by any discussion . . . but just by hearing his work. I had a sort of professional songwriter’s attitude to writing pop songs. . . . I was already a stylized songwriter on the first album. But to express myself I would write *Spaniard in the Works* or *In His Own Write*, the personal stories which were expressive of my personal emotions. . . . Then I started being me about the songs, not writing them objectively, but subjec-

tively."<sup>77</sup> The new content in Lennon's lyrics soon began to influence McCartney's songs as well. As George Martin observed, "John was the rebel, the Dylan of the group, and much more of a word man than Paul. Paul learned about words from John."<sup>78</sup>

By 1965 greater access to the production process and the influence of Dylan's lyrics were the catalysts that moved the Beatles into a four-year period that yielded some of the finest music from the rock era. New inspiration seemed to flow in torrents from the media, other artists, as well as the Beatles' own experiences and childhood memories. Fatigue and controversy began to plague them on tour, and the decision was made in 1966 to end public performances. It became obvious that the recordings they were making in the studio were not always appropriate for live performance, even if they could have been heard above the constant screaming. American styles that had been the core of the Beatles' music from the beginning were reappearing in subtle new guises. According to Lennon, "I know we developed our style, but we still in a way parody American music."<sup>79</sup> No album of the Beatles contains more obvious examples of American parodies than *The Beatles*, their double album released in 1968.<sup>80</sup>

"The White Album," as it became known, is packed with direct and indirect American references: the Beach Boys' "Surfin' U.S.A." (a tribute to Chuck Berry's "Back in the U.S.A.") is quoted briefly in the bridge of "Back in the U.S.S.R." (the title being a word play on Berry's title); falsetto harmonies reminiscent of Frankie Valli and the Four Seasons appear near the end of Lennon's "Sexy Sadie"; and McCartney's singing on "Helter Skelter" is a classic example of Little Richard's screaming vocal style. There are lyric parodies as well. McCartney's "Rocky Raccoon" is a spoof of an Anglo-American folk ballad, probably inspired by similar spoofs by Dylan; and Lennon's "Glass Onion" is a catalog song that refers to past Beatles tunes, in the mold of Larry Williams's famous catalog of rock-and-roll hits, "Short Fat Fannie," which was recorded in 1957.<sup>81</sup> Lennon's "Yer Blues" is a rare example of a genuine blues parody. Wilfred Mellers observed, "In total effect this is a deeply serious song (which John himself thinks well of): one might even regard it as prophetic of the bluesy autobiographic songs in his solo albums."<sup>82</sup> Lennon referred to the song as an expression of pain and stated that he "was trying to express it in blues idiom."<sup>83</sup>

The eagle picks my eye  
 The worm he licks my bone  
 I feel so suicidal  
 Just like Dylan's Mr. Jones  
 Lonely wanna die  
 If I ain't dead already

Ooh girl you know the reason why.  
 Black cloud crossed my mind  
 Blue mist round my soul  
 Feel so suicidal  
 Even hate my rock and roll.<sup>84</sup>

By 1968 a remarkable reversal in Lennon's public persona had transpired: from happy-go-lucky moptop to suicidal paranoid!

There are many diverse musical references in the Beatles' later music, but their style remains fundamentally derived from African American-inspired popular music. What an odd twist of fate that so much of this musical legacy reached mainstream America via England. Recalling his impression of American attitudes during the Beatles' first trip to the United States in 1964, Lennon remarked,

We used to laugh at America except for its music. . . . It was black music we dug, and over here the blacks were laughin' at people like Chuck Berry and the blues singers. The blacks thought it wasn't sharp to dig the really funky black music, and the whites only listened to Jan and Dean. . . . We felt . . . that the message was: listen to this music. It was the same in Liverpool, we felt very exclusive and underground in Liverpool listening to those old time records. . . . We came over here and it was the same: nobody was listening to rock and roll or to black music in America. We were coming to the land of its origin, but nobody wanted to know about it."<sup>85</sup>

The Beatles' relationship to American black popular music is a complex one. Yet, in retrospect the image of the Beatles and other British groups of the 1960s introducing to enthusiastic North American audiences the sounds of their own musical heritage as an exotic, foreign novelty is a disturbing irony. The Beatles found more kinship with rockabilly and soft gospel than the electric blues artists, who were the originators of the style, but the British rockers recognized and respected the sources of the blues aesthetic. American and British rock music has brought belated attention to many artists who were victimized by the racist past. However, the reforms of American society that began in the 1960s remain sadly unfulfilled. Bob Dylan remarked in 1976 about the Beatles' role in changing societal attitudes: "America should put up statues to the Beatles. They helped give this country's pride back to it. They used all the music we'd been listening to—everything from Little Richard to the Everly Brothers. A lot of barriers broke down, but we didn't see it at the time because it happened too fast."<sup>86</sup> The optimistic façade presented by the early Beatles was the perfect tonic to relieve America's anxieties in the wake

of President Kennedy's assassination. Yet it was the strength of their individual personalities that fractured that image and the group itself a short five years later.

## NOTES

1. Philip Norman, *Shout! The Beatles in Their Generation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 201.

2. Feb. 23 on *Disc's* chart; Mar. 1 in *New Musical Express*; and Mar. 2 in *Melody Maker* (see Allen J. Wiener, *The Beatles: The Ultimate Recording Guide* [New York: Facts on File, 1992], 11).

3. The *Daily Mirror's* coverage of the Royal Command Performance was headlined "BEATLEMANIA," one of the first uses of the term. The extensive press coverage of the Beatles in the major London newspapers at this time is chronicled in Norman, *Shout!*, 198–200.

4. Paul McCartney at the Beatles' Royal Variety Show performance, Prince of Wales Theater, London, Nov. 4, 1963, *The Beatles Anthology 1* (EMI CD CDP-7243-8 34445-2-6, 1995).

5. Peggy Lee, *Latin ala Lee! Broadway Hits Styled with an Afro-Cuban Beat* (Capitol LP SM-1290, 1960); McCartney indicated the source of the song in Len Epanand, "The Generation Bridge," *Zoo World* (July 18, 1974): 13.

6. *The Beatles Anthology 1*.

7. Mark Lewisohn, *The Complete Beatles Chronicle* (New York: Harmony Books, 1992), 365.

8. Ian MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head: The Beatles' Records and the Sixties* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1994), 57–58.

9. Norman, *Shout!*, 198.

10. The harmonies of Lennon's "Because" were inspired by the opening of Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata* in C-sharp Minor, op. 27, no. 2; Harrison's "Love You To" is the first Beatles' song to be based on a Hindustani raga (see *Abbey Road* [EMI CD CDP-7-464462, 1987, 1969] and *Revolver* [EMI CD CDP-7-464412, 1987, 1966]).

11. Given the conformist inclinations of the 1950s, just the "long" hair was considered a rebellious threat to standards of decency for many adults in both Britain and America.

12. Wiener, *The Beatles*, 15–16.

13. When Capitol Records, EMI's sister company in the United States, refused to release the early EMI recordings in the United States, they were licensed to Vee-Jay Records, a small r&b label with limited distribution; as a result these recordings received little attention. For a detailed history of the U.S. releases before Capitol Records, see Bill Harry's *The Ultimate Beatles Encyclopedia* (New York: Hyperion, 1992), 677–79.

14. Wiener, *The Beatles*, 18.

15. The principal sources for biographical information on the Beatles' early years are Hunter Davies, *The Beatles: The Only Authorized Biography*, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Arrow Books, Ltd., 1985), and Norman, *Shout!* Paul Friedlander provides an excellent overview of the Beatles' impact on society and the music business in *Rock and Roll: A Social History* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996), 78–101.

16. See Jerry Hopkins, *Elvis: A Biography* (New York: Warner, 1972).

17. Serious critical acclaim for the Beatles' music started as early as Dec. 1963, when William Mann, the *London Times* music critic, named Lennon and McCartney "composers of the year," comparing their harmonies to those of Mahler (see Mark Hertsgaard, *A Day in the Life: The Music and Artistry of the Beatles* [New York: Dell Publishing, 1995], 58).

18. The best analysis of the sources of rock styles is Charlie Gillett, *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock 'n' Roll*, 2nd ed., newly illustrated and expanded (New York: Da Capo Press, 1996).

19. A native or inhabitant of Liverpool, with jocular substitution of "puddle" for "pool" (the *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Liverpudlian").

20. Lennon is quoted about Liverpool in Wilfred Mellers, *Twilight of the Gods: The Music of the Beatles* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), 30–31.

21. Davies, *The Beatles*, 19.

22. See Paul Oliver, "White Blues," in *The New Grove: Gospel, Blues and Jazz*, ed. Paul Oliver, William Bolcom, and Max Harrison (New York: Norton, 1986), 136.

23. Davies, *The Beatles*, 21, 33–34.

24. The EMI Records Beatles' releases between 1963 and 1966 were on the subsidiary Parlophone label.

25. Unlike many of the artists whom the Beatles covered, Presley was not a composer; his songs were either composed for him or they were covers of other records. In addition to *The Beatles Anthology 1*, the early German Polydor recordings with "Tony Sheridan and the Beat Brothers" are found on *The Early Tapes of the Beatles* (Polydor CD 823-701-2, 1985). Songs recorded in Hamburg are on *The Beatles Live at the Star-Club 1962*, vols. 1–2 (Sony CD AK-48544 and Sony CD AK-48604, 1991). A selection of the BBC recordings have been released on *The Beatles Live at the BBC* (EMI CD CDP-7243-8-31796-2-6, 1994).

26. Hopkins, *Elvis*, 51–81.

27. Jan Wenner, *Lennon Remembers: The Rolling Stone Interviews* (New York: Popular Library, 1971), 101.

28. For a precise technical description of rock and roll, see Ronald Byrnside, "The Formation of a Musical Style: Early Rock," in *Contemporary Music and Musical Cultures*, ed. Charles Hamm (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 173–89.

29. Norman, *Shout!*, 44.

30. Harry, *Ultimate Beatles Encyclopedia*, 166, 681–82.

31. See table 4. Consult also the *Early Tapes of the Beatles* and *The Beatles Anthology 1*. Lennon recalled that this arrangement, which was recorded in Hamburg in 1961, was "a harder version . . . more like a march" (Lewisohn's liner notes to *The Beatles Anthology 1*).

32. See table 4. Originally recorded at Paul McCartney's home in 1960 without a drummer and with Stuart Sutcliff on bass—the only known recording with Sutcliff (*The Beatles Anthology 1*).

33. Lewisohn, *Complete Beatles Chronicle*, 361–65.

34. Harry, *Ultimate Beatles Encyclopedia*, 503.

35. See Carl Perkins, *Original Sun Greatest Hits* (Rhino CD RNCD-75890, 1986).

36. Harry, *Ultimate Beatles Encyclopedia*, 517–18.

37. A much more convincing version with Lennon as vocalist is found on the *Live at the BBC* album.

38. Harry, *Ultimate Beatles Encyclopedia*, 517.

39. Perkins had been invited by the Beatles at the conclusion of his first tour of England in 1964 (Mark Lewisohn, *The Beatles: Recording Sessions* [New York: Harmony Books, 1988], 44).

40. *The Beatles Anthology 1*.

41. Mark Lewisohn, notes to *The Beatles Anthology 1*.

42. Davies, *The Beatles*, 71–72.

43. Dave Laing, *Buddy Holly* (New York: Collier Books, 1972).

44. Harry, *Ultimate Beatles Encyclopedia*, 313. Paul McCartney purchased the rights to thirty-eight Holly compositions in 1976.

45. See Buddy Holly, *From the Original Master Tapes* (MCA CD DIDX-203 and MCAD-5540, 1985).



46. See table 4. Consult also the Beatles, *Live at the BBC*.
47. Bill C. Malone, *Country Music, U.S.A.*, rev. ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 252.
48. The last song not composed by the Beatles to be included on their EMI albums was "Act Naturally," the 1963 country-and-western hit of Buck Owens and His Buckaroos, which was issued on the British album *Help!* and on the "B" side of the single "Yesterday"; it also appeared on the album *Yesterday and Today*, which was compiled in the United States in 1965. This off-the-record parody of country-boy naiveté was a brilliant vehicle for Ringo, with the lines "They're gonna put me in the movies, They're gonna make a big star outta me!" (see *The Very Best of Buck Owens*, vol. 1 [Rhino CD R2-71816, 1994]).
49. Davies, *The Beatles*, 92.
50. Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*, 168.
51. The 1995 television series written, produced, and directed by David Espar, *Rock & Roll*, episode 1, "Renegades." The original source is the motion picture *Chuck Berry: Hail Hail Rock and Roll*, dir. Taylor Hackford, Universal Cities, 1987.
52. "Mersey beat" (named for the greater Liverpool region of Merseyside and the Mersey River that runs from Manchester to the sea at Liverpool) was the term coined for the regional style of rock and roll that became popular in the early 1960s with many working-class Liverpool teenagers who rejected the bland rock and roll then popular in the United States and the United Kingdom in favor of the local bands emulating the earlier American r&b and rockabilly styles of the 1950s. The Beatles were the most successful of some 300 bands that played in the small clubs of the region. The local music magazine that was popular with these fans was the *Mersey Beat* (see Paul Flatery, *The Illustrated History of British Pop* [New York: Drake Publishers, 1975], 71-84). Bill Harry, the founder of *Mersey Beat*, claims to have first used the term (Harry, *Ultimate Beatles Encyclopedia*, 461).
53. See Chuck Berry, *The Great Twenty-Eight* (MCA CD CHD-92500, 1984).
54. Arnold Shaw, *The World of Soul: Black America's Contribution to the Pop Music Scene* (New York: Cowles, 1970), 152-56.
55. Harry, *Ultimate Beatles Encyclopedia*, 411.
56. Davis, *The Beatles*, 34.
57. *The Essential Little Richard* (Speciality CD SPCD-2154-1, 1985).
58. Espar, *Rock & Roll*, episode 1.
59. Shaw, *World of Soul*, 283-85.
60. *The Rolling Stone Interviews* (New York: Paperback Library, 1971), 373.
61. Davies, *The Beatles*, 106.
62. This was a rare "take one" performance that was outstanding (see Lewisohn, *The Beatles*, 41).
63. The first three albums released in Britain by EMI Records each contained six covers and eight original songs: The Beatles, *Please Please Me* [EMI CD CDP-7-46435-2, 1986, 1963]; *With the Beatles* [EMI CD CDP-7-46436-2, 1987, 1964]; and *Beatles for Sale* [EMI CD CDP-7-46438-2, 1987, 1964]. The fourth album, *A Hard Day's Night* (1964), contains all originals. The fifth had only two covers (see the Beatles, *Help!* [EMI CD CDP-7-46439-2, 1987, 1965]). The various North American album releases were not controlled by the Beatles, and they are therefore not considered here.
64. Lewisohn, *Complete Beatles Chronicle*, 361-65.
65. Gillett, *Sound of the City*, 263.
66. This obscure group recorded on the British label Oriole Records, an independent company that distributed Motown Records in the United Kingdom in the early sixties (see Gillett, *Sound of the City*, 378).
67. This was the band of Piano Red (William Perryman), an old-time singer and boogie pianist from Atlanta, Georgia (see MacDonald, *Revolution in the Head*, 100; also

Arnold Shaw, *Honkers and Shouters: The Golden Years of Rhythm and Blues* [New York: Collier Books, 1978], 461–62).

68. The Marvelettes, *Deliver: The Singles 1961–1971* (Motown CD 3746–6259–2, 1993).
69. Gillett, *Sound of the City*, 263.
70. The Isley Brothers, *Twist and Shout!* (Sundazed CD SC-600–2, 1993).
71. George Martin, *All You Need Is Ears* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 131.
72. Tim Riley, *Tell Me Why: A Beatles Commentary* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 58.
73. Lewisohn, *The Beatles*, 7.
74. Notes to Arthur Alexander's *The Ultimate* (Razor & Tie CD RE-2014, 1993).
75. Alan Aldridge, "Beatles Not All That Turned On," in *The Age of Rock: Sounds of the American Cultural Revolution*, ed. Jonathan Eisen (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), 146.
76. Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*, 27.
77. *Ibid.*, 124–26; also John Lennon, "In His Own Write" and "A Spaniard in the Works" (New York: New American Library, © Simon and Schuster, 1964, 1965).
78. *Rolling Stone*, July 15, 1976, 87.
79. Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*, 34.
80. *The Beatles* (EMI CD CDP-7–46443–2, 1987, 1968).
81. See Gillett, *Sound of the City*, 102.
82. Mellers, *Twilight of the Gods*, 126.
83. Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*, 32.
84. © 1968 by Northern Songs, Ltd.
85. Wenner, *Lennon Remembers*, 14.
86. Neil Hickey, "A Voice Still Blowin' in the Wind," *TV Guide*, Sept. 11, 1976, 6.