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TECHNOLOGY, BUSINESS, AND MUSIC CULTURE FROM THE T.A.M.I.
SHOW TO THE ROCK FESTIVAL (1964-1969)

A Dissertation presented in fulfillment of the Doctor of Philosophy Program in
History, Doctor of Philosophy degree

By

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May, 2021

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ABSTRACT

The social and cultural impact of the first concert movie - The T.A.M.I. Show - manifested in innovations, disruptions, and transformations, not only in the music and movie industries but society at large, some of which remain today. By recasting live and lively presentations of race, social class, and gender to a broad, predominately white audience on the most prestigious of entertainment platforms, the big screen of movie theaters around the world, The T.A.M.I. Show created sounds and images that complicated traditional white interpretation of Black music and culture, especially in the midst of the social and racial conflict of the 1960's.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 2014, Universal Pictures released *Get On Up: The James Brown Story*. Based on the life of the “Godfather of Soul”, the movie gave a look inside the music, movies, and moods of James Brown, taking audiences on the journey from his impoverished childhood to his evolution into one of the most influential entertainers of the twentieth century. Early on, the film depicts Brown performing in front of a live audience as the British rock band The Rolling Stones look on, awaiting their opportunity to take the stage. Brown’s showmanship and the audience’s delirious reaction mesmerizes the band. However, what began as respect and admiration for a fellow artist quickly turns to self-doubt and trepidation as The Stones realize they had to follow Brown on stage. After electrifying the audience with his final number, “Night Train,” Brown exits, flashes a smile, and says, “Welcome to America.” Mick Jagger and company are frozen with fear. They had unknowingly been put in the unenviable position of having to follow a performance by the self-styled “Soul Brother Number 1.” It was artistic suicide.¹

The scene in *Get On Up* depicted a scene that occurred fifty years earlier during the filming of the T.A.M.I. Show on October 29, 1964. The T.A.M.I. Show was the first live concert movie ever made. Prior to the groundbreaking T.A.M.I. Show, singers and musicians “acted” their musical performances by lip-synching to recorded tracks. While music and movie

¹ *Get On Up: The James Brown Story*, directed by Tate Taylor (Los Angeles: Universal Pictures, 2015), DVD.

historians, journalists, and pop music aficionados acknowledge the T.A.M.I. Show's achievement of establishing the live concert movie genre (which inspired a succession of movies such as *The Big TNT Show*, *Monterey Pop*, *Woodstock*, *Gimme Shelter*, and *Don't Look Back*) scholars have overlooked the deeper historical significance of the T.A.M.I. Show. The T.A.M.I. Show not only affected the movie and music business; it reshaped the social landscape and music culture of America in the 1960s.²

Historians have long argued that one of the many trends that evolved out of the instability of the 1960s was the influence of rock 'n' roll over "baby boomers." Multi-day concerts symbolized the ultimate manifestation of the commercial and cultural power of rock music. Typically, concerts featured an extensive line-up of artists, at times attracting crowds in excess of 100,000 people. To attendees, rock festivals not only confirmed the popularity of rock music but also represented a growing counterculture. While some radio stations and recording companies promoted the music of Black performers as early as the 1920s, rock festivals provided a new platform to market diverse styles of music to large mainstream audiences. The rock festival provided space for baby boomers to listen to "countercultural" music – however they defined it – and ingest drugs, experience free forms of sexuality, and display anti-establishment attitude.³

² *Get On Up: The James Brown Story*, directed by Tate Taylor (Los Angeles: Universal Pictures, 2015), DVD Liner Notes; David E. James, *Rock 'n' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 193.

³ Robert Santelli, *Aquarius Rising: The Rock Festival Years* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1969), ix; Glenn C. Altschuler, *All Shook Up: How Rock 'n' Roll Changed America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 186-188; Mitchell K. Hall, *The Emergence of Rock and Roll: Music and the Rise of American Youth Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 144-43; Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2001), 14-20.

Five years after the filming of the T.A.M.I. Show, the Woodstock Music and Art Fair took place in upstate New York. For historians like Robert Santelli, Glenn C. Altschuler, Mitchell K. Hall, and Bruce J. Schulman, Woodstock represented and advanced the camaraderie, inspired by protest against the Vietnam War and an assortment of social problems.⁴ Woodstock continues to serve as a guidepost for the power of utopian visions. Woodstock, as per the standard historical assessment, wrought community action during the tangled years of the late 1960s. Popular documentaries since the 1970s have promoted a similar narrative. Woodstock and other music festivals unified musicians and freaks together with a generalized euphoria of love transcending commodification of the union. Indeed, this romantic image of the counterculture, even in the wake of the less idyllic *Gimme Shelter*, appears a plethora of films, such as *Jimi Plays Berkeley* (1977), *Janis* (1974), *Frank Zappa's Zoo Motels* (1977), *Journey Through The Past* (1977), *Jimi Hendrix: Live at Woodstock* (1999).⁵ Baby boomer music journalists and other observers also transformed their memories of Woodstock into myths of the imagination and assigned the concert a high status in the collective memory of the 1960s.⁶

The T.A.M.I. Show and the Woodstock Festival offer an arresting comparison in historical sign posting – and, therefore, received historical understanding of music's power and place in 1960s American culture and society. For instance, consider the size and scope of each event. Over a half-million people assembled in upstate New York for Woodstock, spread over

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Mike Evans and Paul Kingsbury, eds., *Woodstock: Three Days That Rocked the World*, (New York: Sterling, 2019), 278; James, *Rock 'n' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music*, 248, 290.

⁶ Joel Makower, *Woodstock: The Oral History* (New York: Excelsior Editions/State University of New York Press, 2009); Bob Spitz, *Barefoot in Babylon: The Creation of the Woodstock Music Festival, 1969* (New York: Viking Books, 1979); "The Big Woodstock Rock Trip," *Life*, August 29, 1969, <http://bintphotobooks.blogspot.com/2013/08/the-big-woodstock-rock-trip-15-18.html>.

600 acres. By contrast, the T.A.M.I. Show attracted an audience of only 3,000 to the confines of the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium in California. The Woodstock crowd was diverse in age, race, class and geographic reach. Conversely, the audience viewing the T.A.M.I. Show consisted primarily of white, middle class teenagers from the Santa Monica community. The majority of the thirty-two artists performing at Woodstock came with a defiant message of protest against institutional authority and conservative norms. The twelve T.A.M.I. Show artists represented a lighter teen pop style driven primarily by commercial interests. Woodstock was a one-off concert event. The T.A.M.I. Show was an event produced as a movie for mass consumption and repeated viewing. Woodstock was uninhibited, with open displays of drugs, sex and alcohol. By contrast, the T.A.M.I. Show was planned, coordinated and highly structured, complete with tight security.⁷

Such historical contrasts go beyond mere speaking and observations of difference. The degree of attention granted Woodstock overshadows a more accurate assessment of the era's most lasting and influential music events.⁸ I argue that, underneath the veneer of glitzy entertainment, the T.A.M.I. show helped to direct the pliable attitudes of younger Americans about race and gender while also launching the pop rock music industry into the modern era. Indeed, the T.A.M.I. Show was a significant entertainment event of the 1960s. Thus, in popular memory and the available historiography, it should subordinate other events, particularly Woodstock, in terms of social, cultural, and commercial importance.

⁷ *Collector's Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, directed by Steve Binder (Los Angeles: Dick Clark Productions, 1964; Shout! Factory: 2010), DVD Liner Notes; *40th Anniversary Edition Woodstock: Three Days of Peace and Music, Director's Cut*, directed by Michael Wadleigh (Burbank: Warner Home Video, 1994), DVD Liner notes.

⁸ *Collector's Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD Liner Notes; Makower, *Woodstock: The Oral History*; Spitz, *Barefoot in Babylon*; "The Big Woodstock Rock Trip," *Life*.

Recognition of the T.A.M.I. Show as a seminal event of the 1960s has been blurred by a plethora of books, articles, and movies about Woodstock, Monterey Pop, and Altamont. To be sure, compared to Woodstock, the T.A.M.I. Show's audience was small. And yet, while the audience in Santa Monica, California numbered only 3,000, the audience who viewed the T.A.M.I. Show in movie theaters across America and around the world would dwarf the estimated 500,000 who attended Woodstock. Moreover, the social and cultural impact of the T.A.M.I. Show manifested in innovations, disruptions, and transformations, not only in the music and movie industries, but society at large, some of which, remain today. The T.A.M.I. Show also created cross-class and cross-racial relations via the performances of several Black artists, many of whom white Americans had never before seen in person or on television. At the time of the Show's filming, none of the artists' live performances – white or Black – had ever been captured on film for distribution to movie theaters. Performances by The Supremes, The Miracles, Marvin Gaye, and James Brown, introduced a style of cross-racial entertainment that heretofore had been confined to mostly Black audiences. Two months later in December 1964, the T.A.M.I. Show debuted in theaters across the country introducing to many in the audiences “new” styles of music, fashion, and dance, but more importantly, in a subtle way, the images on the screen introduced the possibility of the formation of “new” attitudes regarding race and gender outside of pop culture.

Black music's influence on mitigating racial inequities and creating a more harmonious biracial environment is a topic vigorously debated by scholars, generating questions about American society during the two decades between 1950 and 1970. Nevertheless, as historian Brian Ward states, “American popular culture has always provided an important arena in which white ideas about race and racial identities have been explored, tested, and verified. For many

whites, they learned, or confirmed what they thought they knew, about Blacks through popular culture. Such ‘knowledge’ often had little to do with Black character, culture, or experience. The image of Black culture for most whites came from listening to Black music over radio, from 45 rpm records of Black artists playing on jukeboxes in clubs and at parties, and watching Black artists in rare appearances on television.”⁹

Ward proposes an important line of inquiry which this dissertation addresses by privileging the T.A.M.I. Show. “Was the popularity of rhythm and blues truly a bridge between whites and Black toward cultural enlightenment, or merely an opportunity for whites to economically exploit Blacks? Did the popularity of Black music harden Black stereotypes, or help to erase them?” A number of writers and historians, namely Barney Hoskyns, Karl Hamptrom Miller, Charles Hughes, Pete Daniel, and Peter Guralnick have studied integration at segregated workplaces via southern musicians, performers, and songwriters. In general, they argue collaborative professional relationships did exist between many Black and whites in the music industry. White social dominance and economic superiority mediated the terms, conditions, and limits of what Guralnick turned the “southern dream of freedom.”¹⁰

While aspects of the T.A.M.I. Show confirmed white-over-Black social and economic relations, its dominant theme disrupted ongoing cultural marginalization of Black music. Black music cannot be given all the credit for bringing young whites and Blacks closer together on

⁹ Brian Ward, *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 235.

¹⁰ Ward, *Just My Soul Responding*; Barney Hoskyns, *Broken Hearted: The Country Side of Southern Soul* (London: Fontana/Collin, 1987); Karl Hagstrom Miller, *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Charles L. Hughes, *Country Soul: Making Music and Making Race in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Pete Daniel, *Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Peter Guralnick, *Lost Highway: Journeys and Arrival of American Musicians* (New York: Little Brown, 1979).

social issues, but Black music did play an important role in shaping whites' attitudes of the image of Black culture. For example, during the mid-to-late 1960s, the status of many Black entertainers rose due to the growing popularity of Black music. Rock festivals featuring Black acts as headliners, along with the increasing racial composition of many of the bands, made it possible for artists, such as Otis Redding, Sly Stone, Richie Havens, and Jimi Hendrix, to name a few, to achieve "superstar" status. The popularity of Black music expanded whites' understanding of Black culture, or at the very least, developed a passing or lasting appreciation for Black music.¹¹

Television was largely the arbiter of culture and politics by the mid-1960s. But it is crucial to remember that, until the release of the T.A.M.I. Show, arguably the most prestigious media influencer – movies – had not been employed to promote Black music. Via film, the T.A.M.I. Show changed the size, scope, and volume in how whites' received and interpreted Black music by displaying its most exciting and compelling element – the "live" performance. By filming the T.A.M.I. Show in front of a live audience, performers delivered their music uninhibited by the technical constraints often associated with studio productions or the short, episodic programming limitations of TV. Artists entertained the live audience to garner spontaneous reactions of excitement, not merely to "perform" for a camera in a television studio frequently staged without an audience. I argue this technological and commercial medium affect

¹¹ Kerry Segrave, *Payola in the Music Industry: A History, 1880-1991* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1994); Richard Carlin, *Godfather of the Music Business: Morris Levy* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2016); Wes Smith, *The Pied Pipers of Rock 'n' Roll: Radio Deejays of the 50s and 60s* (Marietta, GA: Longstreet Press, 1989); John A. Jackson, *Big Beat Heat: Alan Freed and the Early Years of Rock & Roll* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991); John Jackson, *American Bandstand: Dick Clark and the Making of a Rock 'n' Roll Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); John Broven, *Record Makers and Breakers: Voices of the Independent Rock 'n' Roll Pioneers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Mathew F. Delmont, *The Nicest Kids in Town: American Bandstand, Rock 'n' Roll, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in 1950s Philadelphia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

mattered because it was a newer approximation of “Black” forms of preferred cultural representation, less encumbered by the stylistic, programmatic, and commercial concerns of “white” audio-visual media, like television. The “live” concert movie format, never before attempted, gave Black artists appearing on the T.A.M.I. Show a rare opportunity to affect whites via their most powerful medium – the live performance. Black music, arguably diluted for commercial consumption for the majority of whites, took center stage, along with whites’ interpretation of Black culture. The performances of Chuck Berry, The Miracles, Marvin Gaye, The Supremes, and, especially James Brown, spotlighted the cultural and performative ingredients essential to the formation of Black music. Embedded in the rousing performance of James Brown were shouts of the field hollerer, spiritual chants of the church congregation, call and response pleas of the preacher, pulsating rhythms, syncopated dance routines, together with spastic bodily movements, emotional release through praising, shouting, crying, and wailing. Through his 27 minute set, “Butane James” Brown in particular exposed the predominately white audience to a style of Black music –impromptu, raw, live takes on popular music – that most white audiences had never before seen. More broadly, the fusion of Black artists appearing on the T.A.M.I. Show along with popular white performers created sounds and images that complicated the traditional white interpretation of Black music and culture, especially in the midst of the social and racial conflict of the 1960s. The T.A.M.I. Show, therefore, recast live and lively presentations of race, social class, and gender to a broad, predominately white audience on the most prestigious of entertainment platforms, the big screen of movie theaters around the world. As a result, the T.A.M.I. Show set a cultural stage for white Americans in the years that followed, both in musical culture and other arenas of American public and commercial life.

II. THE PRE-T.A.M.I. SHOW YEARS (1946-1963)

The end of World War II brought new concerns and challenges for Americans. Rapid economic and population growth triggered unprecedented social and political adjustments. Wartime worries were replaced with peacetime issues – the Cold War, the space race, the McCarthy witch-hunts, and the fear of an atomic attack. Suburbanization and modernization caused population migrations which created opportunities for many, and false hopes for others.¹² A wide range of cultural values and social structures came under scrutiny in the midst of these events, as many younger Americans adopted a positive view of the future by embracing a more frivolous lifestyle, encompassed by a new form of music called rock ‘n’ roll.¹³

The surge in the birthrate following World War II resulted in the population cohort known as the “baby boomers.” Children born after 1945 grew up in a world unlike that of their parents. Generally, theirs was an affluent world with many white people migrating to the suburbs.¹⁴ Because affluence made life more secure and provided opportunities for enjoyment for the younger generation, continuing self-denial seemed out-of-touch with the new reality. Many younger Americans revolted against a way of life that seemed no longer logical while

¹² Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 28, 53, 157, 229, 273.

¹³ Arnold Shaw, *The Rockin’ 50s: The Decade That Transformed the Pop Music Scene* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1974), xv.

¹⁴ Gerard J. DeGroot, *The Sixties Unplugged: A Kaleidoscopic History of a Disorderly Decade* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 11.

older adults reassured themselves that a spartan way of self-sacrifice was its own reward.¹⁵ Adolescent rebellion was not a new phenomenon, but it had previously been offset by the influence and power of adult society. What made the young postwar generation a seemingly dire threat to adults was their large number and economic power. Many of the younger generation appeared increasingly unwilling to accept adult values, particularly when it came to music, and dress.¹⁶

While the post-World War II national's economy underwent a period of extraordinary growth, it was uneven. Left behind were sections of the country, mainly older cities in the North and East, and rural areas in the South and Midwest. Underneath the façade of postwar prosperity, economic and racial inequality persisted – or even broadened. Perceptions of racial difference and inferiority were nourished by the persistent association of whiteness with Americanism. Popular images of whiteness and Blackness were constructed by music, radio, movies, and later, television. As historian Thomas Sugrue has posited, “perceptions of racial differences were not, wholly, or even primarily, the consequences of popular culture.” Yet, Sugrue concedes that, “popular images of whiteness and Blackness – and the ways in which they changed – influenced the day-to-day encounters between whites and Blacks at work and on city streets.”¹⁷

The first of the baby boomers turned fourteen at the start of the sixties. In the early part of the decade baby boomers became conscious of itself as a generational force beyond their collective economic purchasing power. The young generation found it possessed a moral

¹⁵ Ibid, 15.

¹⁶ Doug Duram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 186.

¹⁷ Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 5-9.

authority coupled with personal attributes qualifying it as “special,” thus creating one of the great mythological eras of modern times – the baby boomer generation – at least according to observers then and since.¹⁸ Many “boomers” exchanged conformity for contrarian clothes, hair styles, behavior, and language; traditional approaches to life were dismissed for personal fulfillment no matter how bizarre; patriotism was replaced with cynicism; timidity for civil disobedience; and the search for security and stability was mocked by those refusing to integrate into adult society.¹⁹ Movements for social justice that flourished from the 1920s through the 1940s reached strategic turning point in the 1960s as civil rights assimilated into the moral attitudes of baby boomers.²⁰ The growing popularity of rhythm and blues music, reclassified under the label of rock ‘n’ roll, and its passionate purveyors on stage and records, provided the civil rights movement with an amplified “call to arms” for a subset of young, white Americans.²¹ As author Karl Hagstrom Miller writes, “music could be an opiate and a weapon, a means to tell the truth and to lie, a testimony about the obstacles in one’s path and a way to get over. Quite often, it was all of these at the same time.”²²

One of the changes embraced by the youth generation was rock ‘n’ roll. According to Glenn C. Altschuler, “Many whites in the music industry recognized that rock ‘n’ roll was a metaphor for integration. It challenged racial stereotypes by bringing together “mixed audiences” at concerts and dances. While helping to integrate people through rock ‘n’ roll, some remained blissfully ignorant of the racial connotations enjoying the music and praising Black

¹⁸ Duram, *Born at the Right Time*, 136.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950* (New York: WW. Norton & Company, 2008), 1.

²¹ Matt Dobkin, *I Never Loved A Man the Way I Love You* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2004), Overleaf-Back.

²² Miller, *Segregating Sound*, 18.

performers while joining segregationist clubs.”²³ The hedonistic lifestyle endorsed by the younger generation was embodied in the music of the Beach Boys, who incorporated lyrics about the girl who had “fun, fun, fun” until “her daddy took her T-Bird away,” along with a host of surf songs, hot-rod songs, and the pleasures of a libertine beach lifestyle.

Rock ‘n’ roll did more than change what teenagers listened to; it changed the way teenagers imagined the male and female body, particularly through dance. Instead of following memorized steps, with the male in the lead, a new pattern emerged. Female equality was now exhibited by a freedom of movement by each member of the dance duo. Dance routines, or crazes, like the Twist, the Watusi, the Mashed Potatoes, became popular allowing dancers – particularly women – fuller freedom of expression on the dance floor.²⁴

Trying to identify the first rock ‘n’ roll record is a virtually impossible task. But Bill Haley’s “Rock Around the Clock” is easily identifiable as the first rock ‘n’ roll record to reach the number one position on *Billboard*’s pop chart in 1955.²⁵ Of course, rock ‘n’ roll had emerged 15-20 years before in Black musical circles. Sister Rosette Thorpe, Gore Carter, Jackie Brenson, Ike Turner, Fats Domino, and Little Richard were early and famous innovators of the style from the late 1930s to early 1950. Rock ‘n’ roll as a “white” or “whitened” genre was arguably born April 12, 1954 at the Pythian Temple on Manhattan’s westside the night Bill Haley and the Comets cut “Rock Around the Clock.” When his recording played behind the title credits to the movie *Blackboard Jungle* months later, white teenagers got their first taste of rock ‘n’ roll. About three months after Bill Haley’s recording session, another session occurred that

²³ Altschuler, *All Shook Up*, 48-49.

²⁴ Thomas Hine, *The Rise and Fall of the American Teenager: A History of the American Adolescent Experience* (New York: Perennial, 1999), 262.

²⁵ Mitchell K. Hall, *Crossroads: American Popular Culture and the Vietnam Generation* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 30.

turned out to be far more important. On July 5, 1954, Elvis Presley had his first Sun recording session in Memphis, Tennessee. During the same year, Alan Freed began his controversial stint as a deejay at WINS in New York. All three events signaled the arrival of the new genre. The only question was, as Jim Curtis put it, “Would it last?”²⁶

By 1959, almost exactly five years after “Rock Around the Clock,” rock ‘n’ roll was a powerful musical force sweeping the United States. However, the musical surge encountered some self-made obstacles. In 1959, the careers of a pantheon of rock stars were in trouble. The U.S. drafted Elvis into the Army; Jerry Lee Lewis married his thirteen-year-old cousin and was living in disgrace; Chuck Berry was in jail; Buddy Holly had been killed in an airplane crash; Little Richard had found religion again and quit the secular market, and Alan Freed had been dismissed from WABC under pressure involving payola investigations. Without these powerful innovators, rock ‘n’ roll was in crisis, and perhaps done, or, at least in serious decline.²⁷ As it turned out, 1959 was merely a lull for rock ‘n’ roll, because from 1960 to 1964, the music industry was propelled by the rise of girl groups, the Motown sound, and surf music. Then came the British Invasion, led by The Beatles, who, in April 1964, had the top five songs on the single charts in the United States.²⁸

Many of the popular records in the 1950s and early-to-mid-1960s were recorded in regional studios. It became common practice for producers to be given songwriter credits, or label owners to acquire songwriter’s rights for little or no consideration.²⁹ Rock ‘n’ roll spawned a number of independent record labels (“indies”) that out maneuvered the major record

²⁶ Jim Curtis, *Rock Eras: Interpretations of Music & Society 1954-1984* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Press, 1987), 37.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁹ Charlie Gillett, *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1996), xiii.

companies (“majors”). The indies were not constrained by traditional industry conventions, bringing a new breed of recording artist into the pop mainstream who wrote their own material, and whose rhythmic styles drew heavily from Black gospel and blues music. The majors fell behind in the race for this new breed of talent and did not catch the indies until a decade later.³⁰ Writer and record company owner Charlie Gillett states, “One of the results of the popularity of rock ‘n’ roll was that the number of successful Black singers became more prominent.” He surmised, “whereas during the forties and early fifties there were rarely as many as three Black singers simultaneously in the popular music hit parades; after 1956 at least one fourth of the best-selling records were by Black singers.” Before rock ‘n’ roll, some Black singers tried to emulate the white crooning style to gain wider market acceptance, afterwards most Black singers sang in their own cultural idioms.³¹

Beginning in the late 1940s and early 1950s, increasing numbers of youngsters became attracted to Black music, and publications like *Billboard* and, later, Alan Freed and other DJs marketed it, as “rhythm and blues.” As baby boomers advanced in age and in spending power, this group’s taste was reflected in the pop music charts and radio playlists. Their change in attitude – favorable to rhythm and blues music – forced a change within commercial music ventures. Large radio stations, which initially resisted broadcasting records of Black singers to white audiences, were obliged to play the records or face lost market share to smaller radio stations actively programming Black music. The same situation occurred at major recording companies. By not abandoning the old model of recording Black singers with white styles, or

³⁰ Broven, *Record Makers and Breakers*, 1-20.

³¹ Gillett, *The Sound of the City*, xix.

white singers with Black songs, the majors yielded to smaller independent companies a substantial share of the record market.³²

Orbiting around the rise of rock 'n' roll was another transformation that helped its proliferation – television. As prosperity became an expectation for many, rising discretionary affluence allowed American culture to fold inward to information and expression, to media access and on-screen visibility. Television acted as the featured player within a few short years, becoming the prized platform and a living room fixture in almost every home in America.³³ As a result, rock 'n' roll's anti-establishment characteristics came under attack and, in effect policed by white standards of “proper” musical forms, arrangements, and commercial viability.

Authors Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave provide a colorful description of the complaints about rock 'n' roll, stating, “The music has been damned as a corrupter of morals, and as an instigator of juvenile delinquency and violence. Denounced as a communist plot, perceived as a symbol of Western decadence, it has been fulminated against the left, the right, the center, the establishment, rock musicians themselves, doctors, clergy, journalists, politicians, and ‘good’ musicians.”³⁴ Until the early 1950s the recording industry was predominately a white world. Radio stations, jukebox operators, record stores, and performance venues presented white music while Black music was played only on Black owned radio stations and the records were available only in Black record stores. The entire recording industry maintained this division with only a few Black singers, namely, Nat “King” Cole and Buddy Ekstine, “crossing over” into the white market. Interestingly, the term used to describe

³² Ibid, xx.

³³ Thomas Doherty, *Cold War, Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 2.

³⁴ Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave, *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock 'n' Roll* (Hamden, CT: DaCapo Press, 1988), 3.

Black music in the early 1950s was “rhythm and blues.” It was a term that *Billboard* magazine adopted in the late 1940s to replace the derogatory term “race” music then applied to Black music.³⁵

Arnold Shaw, author, musicologist and composer, offers a context to the term “rhythm and blues” and “race,” stating,

The term *rhythm and blues* came into use in the later '40s after *Billboard* magazine substituted it for *race*. The trade magazine made the change in its issue of June 25, 1949, in a chart headed until then “Top 15 Best Selling Race Records.” The term *race records* had been in use since 1920 when best-selling Okeh Records of “Crazy Blues” by Mamie Smith stirred the disk companies of the day to record the Black female vaudeville artists, later known as the classic blues singers. In time the term became a catchall for any type of recording by a Black artist – jazz, folk, pop, big band. When World War II sensitized people to the pejorative overtones of the term, *rhythm and blues* came into being – and it, too, came to be used as a convenient catchall. [B]ut during 1964 *Billboard* eliminated R&B charts to avoid duplication as R&B records, sweetened by the used of strings and published arrangements, became regular crossovers into pop.³⁶

The migration from the South to northern and western cities during the labor shortage of World War II created a larger audience for radio stations already playing rhythm and blues music.

During the 1940s, over three times as many (1,260,000) Blacks left the south as in the 1930s.

The comparatively full employment status in the United States also increased the level of affluence, resulting in more disposable income that enabled people to spend more money on entertainment.³⁷

Television altered the course of radio programming in the early 1950s. Upon the arrival of television, the networks switched their variety of programs from radio to the new medium,

³⁵ Ibid, 4.

³⁶ Arnold Shaw, *Honkers and Shouters: The Golden Years of Rhythm & Blues* (New York: MacMillian Publishing Company, 1978), xv-xix.

³⁷ Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo, *Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977), 28.

thus creating a void for many radio stations to fill. Consequently, stations began to program more for specialty markets, and one of the fastest growing postwar markets was the white teen market. Once the number of radio stations in large cities playing Black music increased, more whites were exposed to the “new” style. The growing white audience spawned more requests for Black music programming, which in turn resulted in increased record sales and placement of Black records in jukeboxes, expanding the audience even more.³⁸

The acceptance of Black music was enhanced by a growing number of white disk jockeys who were programming rhythm and blues for their audience. The most notable was Alan Freed, then working in Cleveland, Ohio. Freed, in 1952, used the term “rock ‘n’ roll” to avoid the racial stigma attached to rhythm and blues conflating the two styles making it easier for whites to accept.³⁹ Freed did so with the long history of music technology – and how race shaped music’s delivery through said technology – in mind.⁴⁰

From the 1920s to the early 1950s, the recording industry directed its products at a family audience primarily using two delivery systems, radio and the phonograph. The industry was dominated by five major record companies: RCA, Mercury, Columbia, Capitol, and Decca. None of the majors made any forceful attempt to appeal to Blacks, or to young people. The music disseminated by the majors spoke to the dominant WASP culture thereby subordinating Black music.⁴¹ The vacuum in the market for rhythm and blues music was filled primarily by independent record companies. Some of the more prominent labels were Atlantic (New York), Chess (Chicago), and Specialty (Los Angeles). By the early 1950s, the rhythm and blues

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Jackson, *Big Beat Heat*, 82-87.

⁴⁰ Chapple and Garofalo, *Rock ‘n’ Roll is Here to Pay*, 28.

⁴¹ Ibid, 8.

("R&B") market was large enough to attract the attention of the majors. For the most part the majors failed because they tried to impose white standards and values on music which tended to ignore such standards.

Race shaped recording and distribution law as well. The practice used by the majors was that of covering a Black record. For example, when an independent company released a record, a major would produce a record of the same song with one of its well-known singers, thereby "covering" the release of the first company.⁴²

Many considered the practice of covering records a form of exploiting Blacks, together with the majors entering the R&B market and thereby pushing smaller independent companies out of the marketplace. The Copyright Act of 1909, still in effect in the 1950s, assisted the practice of covering. Under the Act, once a songwriter allowed his song to be recorded, then anyone else was permitted to record it as well. The composer was entitled to a royalty but he or she had absolutely no say over who could record the song.⁴³ The process of covering was also aided by the system of "compulsory licensing," which allowed multiple performances of a song to be recorded.⁴⁴ While white record companies could protect their version of a recording, such protection did not extend to the song itself, which was usually owned by a separate entity known as a music publisher and songwriter. The most important aspect for the record industry in attempting to make hit records was signing the top singers to long-term exclusive recording contracts since the best songs could be obtained at will.⁴⁵

⁴² Ibid, 9; Broven, *Record Makers and Breakers*, 1-20.

⁴³ 1909 Copyright Act: An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Acts Respecting Copyright, Pub. L. No. 60-349, 35 Stat. 1075 (Mar. 4, 1909).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Martin and Segrave, *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock 'n' Roll*, 10.

The system of compulsory licensing worked against the small independent company who might make a big investment in producing a record on an unknown artist, particularly a Black artist. Once the record was made, another investment was needed to promote airplay. If the record was lucky enough to be a hit, the momentum of the sale of records by the unknown artist could be “snuffed-out” by a major recording the same song with one of its popular artists. The compulsory licensing system also made it more difficult for independent, especially Black owned, companies to compete. Many radio stations refused to play a song recorded by a Black artist, but when a major covered the same song by a white artist, the song would receive airplay. This siphoned off potential sales from Black recording of the same song, often put out by black-owned indy.⁴⁶

As the rock market became more sophisticated, combined with less overtly racist attitudes, and as popular deejays like Alan Freed refused to play covers of Black artists pushed by the white-owned majors, independent labels still maintained the dominant share of the rock ‘n’ roll market. Conventional thought by heads of the major companies considered rock ‘n’ roll, which now subsumed rhythm and blues, as a short-lived fad that promoted “shoddy” music and performance. Rock music went against the existing power structures and values of the majors. Moreover, many of the big name artists signed by the majors had been paid large advances against future sales royalties. To recoup those advances, the majors had to release new recordings to generate sales royalties. A shift in popularity from the traditional solo crooner to rock was bad business for the majors. The rise of rock meant a corresponding drop in the market value of the big name crooners under contract to the majors. Consequently, the majors fervently hoped rock ‘n’ roll was only a passing fad and were reluctant to re-tool for a new product.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

Executives of the majors were also sensitive to the outcry about the sexual content of some of the songs. To exacerbate the problem, the sexually explicit lyrics in many of the objectionable songs were performed by Black artists, with Little Richard's raunchy version of "Tutti Frutti" the queuessential example.⁴⁷

Joining the internal war within the recording industry over rhythmic styles and lyrical content was ASCAP. The American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), founded in 1914, registered and licensed music. Shortly after ASCAP's founding, most of its publisher and writer members produced mainstream white pop material – big band, crooners, and traditional music. As rock 'n' roll grew in popularity, ASCAP's membership did not include songwriters and music publishers who were rock 'n' roll oriented. Consequently, a similar and rival organization, Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI), formed in 1940 to break the ASCAP monopoly. BMI developed its primary membership with songwriters and publishers who created rock 'n' roll music, whose music was recorded by independent labels, while ASCAP had the bulk of its songs recorded through the majors. Even though ASCAP's membership was relatively small, ASCAP wielded enormous power and used it to attack both rock 'n' roll and BMI vigorously in the press, Congress, and the courts (eventually bringing about the payola hearings).⁴⁸

At the heart of the Payola Congressional hearings in 1960 by the House Legislative Oversight Subcommittee of the Commerce Committee was the long-standing rivalry between ASCAP and NAB dating back to 1924. The radio broadcasters in 1924 had formed the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), which handled negotiations for royalty rates with ASCAP's

⁴⁷ Ibid, 11.

⁴⁸ Segrave, *Payola in the Music Industry*, 12.

writer-publisher members. By the late 1930s the relationship between NAB and ASCAP had become so contentious that the NAB formed its own licensing organization, Broadcast Music, Inc. Many observers believed the quarrel between ASCAP and BMI represented a pivotal struggle between the movie industry and the radio industry for market dominance. In 1953, thirty-three members of ASCAP filed a \$150 million lawsuit against BMI alleging violation of antitrust law accusing BMI of conspiracy “to dominate and control the market for the use of and exploitation of musical compositions.” As the litigation lingered, ASCAP urged a congressional investigation of BMI which resulted in the payola investigations of 1959 and 1960. The litigation and congressional hearings pitted ASCAP, Tin Pan Alley, and the Hollywood movie industry against the upstart BMI, the NAB, and rock ‘n’ roll. The result of all the political and legal wrangling between the industry powers was the expulsion of hundreds of DJs for a level of malpractice that was practiced in big business and politics throughout the country, the smearing of BMI’s reputation, and passage of laws banning payola once and for all. The NAB and BMI survived the assault, and rock ‘n’ roll music would emerge even stronger with the Beatles Invasion in 1964.⁴⁹ While ASCAP failed to defeat BMI in most instances, it was effective in generating a lot of negative publicity against rock music. The alliance between ASAP and the majors was another reason the majors resisted rock ‘n’ roll and delayed entry into the market with their own artists.⁵⁰

Ironically, the fact the majors ignored rock ‘n’ roll for so long allowed the indies to have fuller creative control in shaping the styles of some of the most noteworthy artists of the early days of the genre. It is unlikely the majors would have allowed Little Richard, Jerry Lee Lewis,

⁴⁹ Chapple and Garofalo, *Rock ‘n’ Roll Is Here to Pay*, 64-68; Segrave, *Payola in the Music Industry*, 120; Ward, *Just My Soul Responding*, 159.

⁵⁰ Segrave, *Payola in the Music Industry*, 120.

Elvis, and Chuck Berry, to name just a few, the same degrees of creative freedom as did the indies. The indies were in a much better position to stray from industry standards particularly regarding the policing of Black performative styles and values.⁵¹ Not only did the indies violate music industry norms, they ignored social customs as well. Many of the early founders of rock ‘n’ roll were Black, or, if white, such as Elvis, their songs originated out of Black communities and underground “chitlin’ circuit,” or red-light district clubs. Another major obstacle to the majors embracing rock ‘n’ roll was on racist grounds. The dominance of Black performers, songs written by Blacks, and lyrics with explicit sexual or racial overtures engendered resistance in blatant, and, at other times unspoken, ways.⁵²

Rock ‘n’ roll symbolized the generation gap and the attendant values embraced by a wide array of Americans. While rock music threatened the traditional values and standards of many parents, to the younger generation, the music represented freedom to pursue a new lifestyle and create their own traditions. Many youths considered themselves outcasts from the adult world and the boundaries imposed upon them by society. Rock ‘n’ roll became their identity and a way to talk about things they cared about – sexuality, fashion, school, or hot-rod cars – without adult interference. While rock was liberating to youths, albeit in varying degrees depending on one’s race, it outraged and frightened traditional adults. Critics from parents to religious groups, industry executives to government spokesmen, all attacked rock ‘n’ roll. The younger generation’s music represented a rebellion against authority and buried in the debate were the twin devils of racism and financial profit.⁵³

⁵¹ Martin and Segrave, *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock ‘n’ Roll*, 13.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Martin and Segrave, *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock ‘n’ Roll*, 13-14.

At the end of the 1950s and during the 1960s, the consolidated structure of the music industry was shaken. The advent of rock 'n' roll in concert with changes in the broadcast media environment resulted in a seismic shift that disrupted the mainstream popular music establishment. The old-guard, namely ASCAP, Tin Pan Alley, Hollywood, and the radio syndications, were engaged in competition with upstarts BMI, the NAB, indy record labels, and a host of young artists, for their respective share of the rapidly growing youth entertainment market. The inner-industry warfare manifested itself in lawsuits, congressional hearings, competition for shelf space in record stores, radio playlists, and placement on *Billboard's* charts. The combative environment was exacerbated by a rising awareness and discontent by artists of the laws governing conventional business practices in the entertainment industry. Many artists started pushing for more advantageous contract terms which the indy labels had more flexibility to grant compared to major labels. The industry was a hotbed of competing forces at every level as establishment forces and young upstarts fought for economic dominance.

Then, in 1964, as all this commercial, social, generational, and racial conflict continued to rise, teenagers in Santa Monica began to push their way through the turnstiles at the Civic Auditorium to watch the filming of the first concert movie.

III. THE T.A.M.I. SHOW

The idea for the T.A.M.I. Show originated with a flamboyant, Texas producer named William Hilton “Bill” Sargent. He served as the film’s executive producer at the age of thirty-seven. Sargent had been an engineer in the U.S. Navy and made a fortune in electronics. He founded the pay-per-view TV Home Entertainment Company, followed by Subscription Television, which offered closed-circuit broadcasts of sporting events to theaters. Sargent, along with Oliver Unger, a film entrepreneur and owner of Commonwealth United, a film distribution company, and another film promoter, Bill Roden, decided to produce a multi-act concert and film it for distribution to theaters. The driving force behind Sargent’s endeavor was his innovative, electronic camera that had greater resolution than the 525 lines used in television. The new technology was called “Electronovision.”⁵⁴

Sargent’s initial concept was to form an international non-profit organization that would produce an annual concert and awards ceremony filmed for network broadcast. The proceeds would fund music scholarships and other musical programs. Thus, the acronym T.A.M.I. – Teenage Awards Music International. None of these plans ever materialized other than the initial concert.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, by the time of the actual filming of the T.A.M.I. Show, Sargent, constantly in need of cash to fund the project, had sold-off most of his rights leaving him with

⁵⁴ “2003 Interview with Steve Binder, Director of the T.A.M.I. Show,” High Frequencies (blog), 2003, high-frequencies.tumblr.com/TAMI_SHOW; *Collector’s Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

little control over the post-production, distribution, and marketing of the film. Nonetheless, Sargent did conceive of the concert film format, selected the diverse line-up of talent, chose a director in Steve Binder, and managed the production to completion. There would be subsequent imitations, such as the Big T.N.T. Show, released in January 1966, but none would match the popularity and longevity of the classic T.A.M.I. Show.⁵⁶

When the T.A.M.I. Show was filmed, Binder directed the *Late Show* for Steve Allen, a ninety-minute show five nights a week.⁵⁷ Binder would later direct Elvis Presley's comeback special in 1968 and network specials for Petula Clark and Diana Ross. Binder was a uniquely skilled director in his ability to position cameras and select shots. He used the same crew that worked *The Late Show*, utilizing four large RCA studio cameras, three of them on mobile pedestals to film the T.A.M.I. Show. He positioned one camera at the rear of the stage facing the audience, one mounted on a crane in the Auditorium, and two cameras on the sides of the stage for close-up shots. Binder selected camera shots as the show was progressing without the benefit of modern post-production technological advances. As media analyst, David E. James has noted, "Directing the four cameramen to his choice of lenses and angles, he [Binder] used the switching board to compose the video feeds into the single mix that was processed directly on the film...manipulating multiple forms of rock 'n' roll visually, he used photographic and editing techniques to represent the audience and performers as a united commonality."⁵⁸

The choreographer for the T.A.M.I. Show was David Winters, who played A-Rab in the Broadway and film productions of *West Side Story*. He would later choreograph episodes of two hit television teen shows, *Shindig* and *Hullabaloo*. Assisting Winters was Toni Basil who would

⁵⁶ Alan Light, "Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!" *New York Times*, March 19, 2010, www.nytimes.com/2010/03/21/arts/music/21TAMI.html.

⁵⁷ "2003 Interview with Steve Binder, Director of the T.A.M.I. Show," High Frequencies (blog).

⁵⁸ James, *Rock 'n' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music*, 191-197.

later garner a hit single in 1982 with “Mickey.” Three of the show’s dancers would also enjoy stellar careers; Teri Garr as an actress, Emmy winner Anita Mann for her work choreographing *Solid Gold*, and Carlton Johnson, who choreographed *The Blues Brothers*. The musicians backing the performers also included an all-star ensemble. Guitarist Glen Campbell and pianist Leon Russell would become future solo stars. Jack Nitzsche, who arranged, conducted and played electric piano, would work with The Rolling Stones and Neil Diamond, and go on to score forty films and win an Academy Award for co-writing “Up Where We Belong.” Needless to say, the T.A.M.I. Show stage was packed with supporting talent for the headlining performers.⁵⁹

Binder and Nitzsche assisted Sargent in persuading star acts to appear on the T.A.M.I. Show. Hosting the show was the popular surf duo of Jan and Dean, who along with The Beach Boys, represented the surf music craze sweeping the country. Sargent and his directors booked the classic rocker Chuck Berry along with a little known garage-rock band The Barbarians. Motown Records contributed The Supremes, Marvin Gaye and the Miracles. Elements of the British Invasion, namely: Gerry and the Pacemakers, Billy J. Kramer and the Dakotas, and The Rolling Stones, who were making their first U.S. tour, were all added to the show’s line-up. To complete the roster, Sargent added rhythm and blues sensation James Brown and the Flames and teen sensation Leslie Gore.⁶⁰ The line-up would prove legendary. Seven of the twelve acts that appear on the T.A.M.I. Show are now in the Rock ‘n’ Roll Hall of Fame.⁶¹

Sargent developed a process to produce motion pictures, theatrical plays, and television specials in the 1960s and early 1970s using a high resolution videotape process for production,

⁵⁹ *Collector’s Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

⁶⁰ Daniel Eagan, “The Rock Concert That Captured an Era,” *Smithsonian Institution*, March 18, 2010, <http://smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/the-rock-concert-that-captured-an-era-11375757/>.

⁶¹ *Collector’s Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

later transferred to film via kinescope for theater release. The process became known as “Electronovision.” More than half a dozen films were produced in this fashion, namely, the T.A.M.I. Show and its predecessor, a production of Richard Burton in *Hamlet*.⁶² Once Burton’s Broadway presentation was converted to film and shown in movie theaters, it was a financial success. Encouraged by the success of the *Hamlet* project, Sargent improved electronovision by increasing the number of lines in the frame to 800 plus. He decided his next project would be to record a concert for theatrical release. The result was the T.A.M.I. Show.⁶³

Born in 1927, Sargent moved to Los Angeles in 1959. A self-taught electronics wizard, he held over 400 patents for tape heads, amplifiers, camera components and other devices. Sargent started the Home Entertainment Company which specialized in closed-circuit screenings, both in movie theaters and on television. In 1962, Sargent produced a boxing match which was shown in theaters, beginning the pay-per-view sports entertainment business model. As Sargent continued to make advances in the electronovision process, his business grew until 1966 when he encountered a number of business and personal setbacks. Sargent revived the electronovision process in 1975 with newer, color video equipment. Four years later he had his most successful production with Richard Pryor’s 1979 live stand-up comedy performance, *Richard Pryor: Live in Concert* which received wide distribution in theaters, on cable television and later home video.⁶⁴ Sargent’s innovative film process was the catalyst for replicating the excitement of the T.A.M.I. Show to audiences in movie theaters. In essence, his electronovision technology served as a multiplier, increasing viewership from 3,000 teens in the Auditorium to tens of thousands of fans viewing the film in theaters. It transformed the T.A.M.I. Show from a

⁶² “Electronovision,” Wikipedia, last modified March 2, 2017, accessed April 5, 2017, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electronovision>.

⁶³ *Collector’s Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

⁶⁴ Eagan, “The Rock Concert That Captured an Era.”

local one-time event into an international film. Moreover, electronovision proved essential to capturing the “live” facets of Black performance that made the T.A.M.I. Show a site of racial transgression, innovation, and affect. The T.A.M.I. Show also transformed its host venue – the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium – into a popular performance site.

The Santa Monica Civic Auditorium opened in 1958. It was designed by architect Welton Bechet whose firm was also responsible for the Capitol Records Tower, the Cinerama Dome, the L.A. Memorial Sports Arena, the Music Center, and the Beverly Hilton. The 3,000 seat venue cost \$2.9 million to construct and would go on to host the Academy Awards and an wide array of multi-genre attractions. (Today, the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium is mostly used for trade shows.) The Auditorium was equipped with a hydraulic floor that enabled the venue to switch from sloped, amphitheater-type seating to a level exhibition area. During 1964, the Auditorium had hosted everything from the T.A.M.I. Show to a headlining acoustic performance by Bob Dylan to the debut screening of the classic surf film *Endless Summer*.⁶⁵

The T.A.M.I. Show opened with a specially written song by Jan and Dean, “Here They Come (From All Over the World)”, that identified the performers and their place of origin. The song conveyed the message that the greatest stars were all converging on Santa Monica for the big show. The lyrics began with “The greatest stars you’ll ever see, some are flyin’ and some are drivin’, from Liverpool to Tennessee, Chuck Berry’s checking in from St. Lou, here they came from all over the world”⁶⁶ The opening song was accompanied by a rapid collage of vignettes of the performers rushing to the concert on skateboards, go-carts, buses, and cabs while concert goers pushed their way past ticket-takers in a panic to enter the venue. The

⁶⁵ *Collector’s Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

⁶⁶ “Here They Come,” *Collector’s Edition: T.A.M.I. Show*, directed by Steve Binder, (Los Angeles: Dick Clark Productions, 1964; Shout! Factory: 2010), DVD.

opening frames of the black and white film, coupled with the lyrical message of Jan and Dean's song, conveyed a sense of excitement of both performers and fans. As the opening scenes unfolded, the film displayed credits of those responsible for various aspects of the film, primarily its executive producer William Sargent Jr. and director Steve Binder. The thrust of the prologue depicted a gathering of young fans, in this case predominately white, female teenagers, and their musical heroes, a style that would become a fundamental convention of the rock festival documentary, especially in *Monterey Pop*, *Woodstock*, and *Gimme Shelter (Altamont)*.⁶⁷

The T.A.M.I. Show featured a stage design with minimalist scaffolding with steps connecting its multi-levels to display the dancers. The choreographers, David Winters and Toni Basil, directed the dancers throughout the show as they fruged and hitchhiked with great skill and energy while dressed in bikinis or go-go shimmy dresses. The erotic attire and movements of the bi-racial dancers created a kinetic environment for the performers and amplifies the music's momentum. The dancers connected the audience to the performers in a celebration of interactive communality. "Even though the audience was predominately white – and patrolled by the police – their euphoric celebration of Black performers is unprecedented in cinema," according to David James.⁶⁸

Proclaimed by Jan and Dean in their introduction as "the guy who started it all," Chuck Berry opened the show with one of his many hit songs, "Go, Johnny, Go." Berry was surrounded by an energetic troupe of dancers, who add energy to his performance. Halfway through Berry's second song of his set, "Maybelline," the focus suddenly shifted from him to an all white band from England, Gerry and the Peacemakers, who joined Berry on stage. In less

⁶⁷ *Collector's Edition: T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD; James, *Rock 'n' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 193.

than seven minutes, the T.A.M.I. Show shattered a number of taboos of the entertainment industry. Conventional wisdom by producers of television, film, and concerts dictated that mixing of musical genres should be avoided. Presenting Chuck Berry and Gerry and the Peacemakers in a “performance” of the same song was unprecedented. The blending of Black and white music violated yet another taboo, and supported the musical presentation with scantily clad, mixed-race dancers, was a complete violation of industry norms. The T.A.M.I. Show’s opening segment opened the door for a new model of music presentation that privileged sexual frivolity as a public and commercial good.⁶⁹

During the remainder of the opening set, Chuck Berry and Gerry and the Peacemakers bounced back and forth with their respective hit songs responding to the other’s musical salvos to the delight of the audience. When the set concluded, Berry had performed “Go, Johnny, Go,” “Maybelline,” “Sweet Little Sixteen,” and “Nadine”, all in a compact fifteen minutes. In response, Gerry and his fellow Brits unleashed four of their U.S. hits – “Don’t Let the Sun Catch You Crying,” “Everything Is Gonna Be Alright,” “How Do You Do the Things You Do,” “I Like It,” and their version of Berry’s “Maybelline.” This musical tag-team – in real time – was another first presented by the T.A.M.I. Show and became commonplace at rock festivals in years to follow.⁷⁰

Following the crowd-pleasing performances of Chuck Berry and Gerry and the Peacemakers, the host duo of Jan and Dean introduced the next act, The Miracles. The Miracles would later be renamed Smokey Robinson and the Miracles due to the overwhelming popularity of its lead singer. The sharply dressed quartet opened with “Sugar and Spice,” a mid-tempo

⁶⁹ Ibid; *Collector’s Edition: T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

song, and immediately follows with a soulful rendition of “You Really Got A Hold On Me.” After giving the audience time to recover from the rousing opening set of Chuck Berry and Gerry and the Peacemakers, the Miracles speed-up the tempo with their final number, “Mickey’s Monkey.” The result was 4 minutes and 54 seconds of unbridled showmanship by the Miracles. The combined effort brings the audience out of their seats as the decibel level of screams soars. Also adding to the overall volume in the auditorium is the orchestra assembled for the T.A.M.I. Show that joins in for the first time of the evening. Complete sight and sound entertainment “live” before an enthusiastic audience; no lip-synching by the performers, and all-out hysteria by the fans all in “real time.”⁷¹

Following the Miracles is another Motown recording artist, Marvin Gaye. A seasoned performer, Gaye did not attempt to raise the hysteria level to top the Miracles’; instead, he performed four songs in rapid succession, three of them each under ninety seconds – “Stubborn Kind of Fellow,” “Pride and Joy,” and “Can I Get a Witness.” Only his closing number, “Hitchhike” exceeded two minutes (2:09) in duration. By giving a calm and soulful performance, Gaye imposed his sophisticated style of blackness on the audience allowing it to recuperate from the rousing performance of the previous acts.⁷²

The savvy director of the T.A.M.I. Show, Steve Binder, placed the hottest U.S. Top 40 act at the time in the next slot following Marvin Gaye. Leslie Gore, who was riding a wave of hit records, was introduced by Jan and Dean with, “let’s hear a roar for Leslie Gore.” Gore, a diminutive, white teenage girl from Tenafly, New Jersey, dressed in a conservative skirt suit, opened her set with her hit “Maybe I Know” and followed with an early anthem for feminist

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

liberation, “You Don’t Own Me.” Throughout Gore’s set, she was backed by the orchestra and the Blossoms, a Black female vocal group, both of which added force and intensity to her vocal performance. Gore changed tempo with two calypso style songs – “Last Night” and “Hey Now” – before she got to the biggest hit of her career, “It’s My Party,” which brought the audience to its feet. When she transitioned from “It’s My Party” into “Judy’s Turn to Cry,” her last number, Gore was joined on stage by Chuck Berry, Gerry and the Peacemakers, the Miracles, Marvin Gaye, and the entire troupe of dancers backed by the orchestra. In addition to the visual impression of the sheer number of performers, dancers, and musicians on stage, the unconscious message sent was one of musical togetherness. The mixing of so many disparate styles and cultures into a theme of commonality upended preconceived notions of the music industry against mixing genres of music-particularly showcasing white and Black artists performing live together on stage.⁷³

As Gore completed her final number she handed the microphone to Jan and Dean before leaving the stage. The popular home-town duo, dressed in the proto-typical surfer attire of white socks, tennis shoes, chinos and broad horizontal striped shirts delivered two of their hit songs, “Little Old Lady From Pasadena” and “Sidewalk Surfin.” Both performances were backed by the orchestra and off-stage singers together with the bikini-clad dancers which enhance Jan and Dean’s surfer-boy image. Following Jan and Dean’s performance the show rapidly moved to introduction of the next act – The Beach Boys.⁷⁴

Consisting of the Wilson brothers, Brian, Carl and Dennis, cousin Mike Love and family friend, Al Jardine, the Beach Boys opened their set with their popular song “Surfin’ U.S.A.”

⁷³ Ibid.; Mikal Gilmore, “The Sixties,” *Rolling Stone: The Decades of Rock & Roll*, ed. Rolling Stone (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2001), 65.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

sending the crowd into hysteria. Their opening number was followed in staccato fashion with “I Get Around.” After two pulsating back-to-back performances the group slowed the tempo with Brian Wilson singing lead vocal on “Little Surfer Girl” to the swoons of hundreds of teenage girls in the audience. Then, hysteria returned as the Beach Boys conclude their set with the driving surf beat of “Dance, Dance, Dance.” As the group moved toward the end of the song the audience is again lifted to a state of delirium. The combination of Jan and Dean and the Beach Boys gave the young California audience just what they wanted, California surf music.⁷⁵

Again, the T.A.M.I. Show’s director demonstrated his talent for sequencing the acts to maintain the right pace. He sent to the stage the second of the three British acts to perform on the show, Billy J. Kramer and the Dakotas. Neatly dressed in matching coats and ties, the young, handsome Brits perform three songs, comprising only six minutes. Basically, Binder placed the ballad-centric Dakotas after the surf assault to allow the audience time to physically recover. After Kramer, the period of calm was extended by the third Motown act of the evening, the Supremes. Diana Ross, Florence Ballard, and Mary Wilson performed four mid-tempo songs, each under ninety seconds. Their last number, “Baby Don’t Leave Me,” the longest song of the set, lasted only two minutes and thirty-three seconds. The Santa Monica audience seemed in awe of the Black female group from Detroit, impressed with their wardrobe, jewelry, hairstyle, make-up, and overall sophistication. By keeping the slower placed songs short, and presenting them in rapid succession without any dialogue, Binder kept the audience’s attention and moved the show along toward its final destination.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Wedged between the Supremes and the next to last act on the show was the Barbarians, a four-man band from Massachusetts. The Barbarians were the forerunner of the garage-band wave to sweep the U.S. later in the 1960s. Their performance was unremarkable, performing only one song lasting two minutes and fourteen seconds. The most memorable thing about the Barbarians was their drummer, Victor “Moulty” Moulton, who played with a prosthetic “hook” on his left hand.⁷⁷

Jan and Dean’s introduction of the next act set the stage for the most memorable performance of the T.A.M.I. Show. From the moment James Brown walked on stage, the excitement level in the room started to rise and does not crescendo until his set ended. When the Godfather of Soul was done, so was the audience, losing all resemblance of sanity and literally on the verge of a riot. With the refrain “Are You Ready For The Night Train” still ringing in the ears of the out-of-control fans, it took over an hour to settle the crowd before the last act can take the stage.⁷⁸ The audience was left in a state of shock by their introduction to “live” rock ‘n’ roll, James Brown style.

James Brown opened with a two-and-a-half-minute rendition of “Out of Sight” and proceeded to vamp it for several minutes more as he toyed with the audience. He followed with “Prisoner of Love,” a soulful ballad and quickly rolls into his next song, “Please, Please, Please.” The crowd-pleasing song was delivered with theatrics as Brown pretended to plead with a departing lover to “please don’t go.” As the weight of the loss of his lover literally brings him to his knees, Brown’s attendant draped him in a cape, which emotionally fortified him, allowing Brown to bolt-up to yet again plead for her return. After many failed attempts, Brown

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Light, “Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!”; Stephen Davis, *Old Gods Almost Dead: The 40-year Odyssey of the Rolling Stones* (London: Aurum, 2006), 104; *Collector’s Edition: T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD.

slowed the tempo with a sorrowful refrain of the verse, actually the only verse of the song, for his lover not to go. Throughout Brown's five minute and forty-seven second emotional tug-of-war, the audience participated vocally and appears to be caught up in the theatrics of the performance. By the time Brown accepted the loss – she does go – the audience was numb. The audience became part of the performance, a hallmark of the festival era later in the decade. The audience was mesmerized by Brown. After his performance of "Please, Please, Please," Brown, the Flames, and his band, all working in conjunction with the orchestra, sang and danced their way into the archives of entertainment history. Brown's performance was the pinnacle of the T.A.M.I. Show from which the film becomes legendary. Brown's set didn't end with "Please, Please, Please." Instead, he attempted to outdo himself with the final song: "Night Train." Beginning as an instrumental, Brown and the Flames entertained the crowd with synchronized dance steps until he finally grabbed the microphone and yelled, "Are You Ready For The Night Train." In the usual fashion of a Black preacher or revivalist, he yelled "Night," "Night," "Night," awaiting the audience's response after each call. He extended the call and response until the energy in the room was near an explosive level before he drove into the next musical interlude. He pushed the audience with the pulsating music driven primarily by the orchestra's horn section, as Brown's drummer pounds out the driving beat. Brown was up, down, on one leg, then two, twisting, turning, gyrating, and then, with one hand gesture, the music instantly stopped. Over and over shouting, "Are You Ready For The Night Train," followed by the repeated call and response, "Night," "Night," "Night," and back to the music, Brown's dancing, and vocal announcements together with the Flames, caused the audience to lose its collective

mind.⁷⁹ For the majority of the audience, it was their first time to experience the “live” excitement of James Brown, or any Black rhythm and blues performer. Unnoticed in the frenzy created by Brown’s performance was the whirring of the big cameras filming the action unfolding on stage, which would be released as the first concert movie.⁸⁰

The unfortunate victim of Brown’s legendary performance was a group of five young Brits who were wrapping up their first American tour. As Brian Jones, Bill Wyman, Charlie Watts, Keith Richards, and Mick Jagger viewed Brown’s performance and the enthusiastic reaction of the audience, reality set in. They were next on stage. The Rolling Stones had requested that they precede Brown not follow him. Their request was vetoed by Binder and they were forced into the untenable position of closing the show. While the Stones did receive an enthusiastic reception from the young audience, and gave an admirable performance of “Joint Rockin,” “Off The Hook,” “Time Is On My Side,” and “I Use To Love Her”, they could not recreate the level of excitement generated by the Godfather of Soul.⁸¹

After the Stones move quickly through their set, the only dialogue with the crowd by lead singer Mick Jagger was prior to the group’s last song “It’s Alright.” To conclude, the Stones were joined by the entire repertoire of performers and dancers to a sing-along and dance-

⁷⁹ Light, “Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!”; *Collector’s Edition: T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD; James, *Rock ‘n’ Film: Cinema’s Dance with Popular Music*.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Edna Gundersen, “Concert Film ‘the T.A.M.I. Show’ Captures Rock in its 1964 Glory,” *USA Today*, March 18, 2010, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/life/music/news/2010-03-18-TAMI18_CV_N.htm; “2003 Interview with Steve Binder, Director of the T.A.M.I. Show,” High Frequencies (blog); Light, “Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!”; Davis, *Old Gods Almost Dead*, 104; James Brown with Bruce Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1986), 153; Light, “Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!”; Davis, *Old Gods Almost Dead*; PJ Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown* (New York: Gotham Books, 2012), 152; Dora Loewenstein and Philip Dodd, eds., *According to the Rolling Stones* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2003).

off to direct the Show to its conclusion.⁸² Movie historian David E. James described the

T.A.M.I. Show's conclusion:

The entire ensemble ends with "Get Together," a simple repeated riff, with dancers, the Supremes, Berry and Brown, and all the other performers assemble on stage: young and old, stars and supporting acts, Black and white, Mike Jagger and Diana Ross, all singing and dancing together. Brief medium shots focused on particular groups are cut with shots from behind, with the band, the stage camera, and the ecstatic audience framed together. Finally, a wide shot with a slowly rising camera showing them all dancing and singing in harmony ends the film, positioning the Stones at the center of a Black-white, male-female, UK-US musical commonality.⁸³

When the T.A.M.I. Show concluded, Steve Binder had created a rock 'n' roll film that, according to James, "bridged the divide between Black and white, between music and dance, between the U.S. and the U.K., and between rock 'n' roll and rhythm and blues of the fifties, and the renewal of them that the British Invasion bands brought back home to the U.S." The T.A.M.I. Show liberated music, dance, and cinema from so many social and racial constrictions of its time. It became a model for mid-sixties rock 'n' roll television shows, namely, *Shindig* and *Hullabaloo*, and opened the door for the artistic formats employed during the rock festival era. Rock 'n' roll was now interracial, mixed-genre, and, defined by the baby boomers' own definition of culture and politics.⁸⁴ The music in the T.A.M.I. Show resonated beyond engaged listeners' aural and past experiences. The unabashedly black styles of The Supremes, Marvin Gaye, The Miracles, and James Brown, each with their own stylistic approach to "live" performance, made the T.A.M.I. Show a model and a precursor for live TV teen dance shows

⁸² *Collector's Edition: T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD.

⁸³ James, *Rock 'n' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music*, 194.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

and the festival era that follows. The T.A.M.I. Show fused the sounds of the 1960s with images creating a deeper meaning of music for the masses.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Miller, *Segregating Sound*, 16.

IV. GEARING UP FOR A REVOLUTION: TECHNOLOGY, BUSINESS AND MUSIC CULTURE FROM THE T.A.M.I. SHOW TO THE ROCK FESTIVAL (1964-1969)

Following the release of the T.A.M.I. Show to movie theaters in late 1964, reaction to the film was swept-up in a number of social and political issues: television, the civil rights movement, the pill, the commercial revolution, the antiwar movement, the British Invasion led by the Beatles, expansion of broadcast radio, technological developments in stereo equipment, and the popularity of the hippie lifestyle.⁸⁶ Music quickly matched the political and social mood of the moment. Artists like the Beatles, Bob Dylan, James Brown, Bob Marley, the Grateful Dead, and a host of others, gave voice to the passions of the young generation. Unlike film, television, and print mediums, musicians were largely uncensored and could move swiftly from making a recording to release of a record to the market. According to rock music journalist Andrew Grant Jackson, “The epic cultural changes ignited an unprecedented explosion in creativity ... in the most groundbreaking twelve months in music history.”⁸⁷

Between the release of the T.A.M.I. Show in 1964 and the first major rock festival, Monterey Pop in 1967, a number of social, cultural, political, and technological changes dramatically affected the music industry. For the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, the

⁸⁶ Andrew Grant Jackson, *1965: The Most Revolutionary Year in Music* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2015), 1.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

United States was essentially an apartheid nation. The United States Supreme Court's ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) upheld the separate but equal doctrine. But, by the time of the filming of *The T.A.M.I Show*, while suburbanization still tended to maintain the racial division in America, there were signs of change, namely, the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the civil rights Act of 1964, and subsequently, the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Another contributing factor leading to a more accepting society was sound.⁸⁸

By the early 1920s, a broadcast model employed for commercial radio stations had developed. Radio stations began delivering news and entertainment to listeners as a mass medium delivery system. A new kind of music – jazz – emerged over the radio airwaves, creating a national phenomenon. Once radio established itself as a national medium for delivering music, it incited sub-cultures of unknown artists an opportunity to reach broader markets. What made jazz particularly unique was that the majority of its artists were African American. For the first time, African American culture drifted into the living rooms of white Americans over radio airways.⁸⁹

The impact of the “new” sound was offensive to many adults, while, at the same time, exciting youth. After dark, suddenly voices too faint to hear during the day became available on the radio dial. Stations like WLAC in Nashville reached from Tallahassee to the Canadian border. Through the music played on radio, Black American music was introduced to white America. The instigators of this cultural acceptance of Black music started with the teenagers of the 1920s and continued, and expanded, with the baby boomers.⁹⁰ Bored by pop music aimed at

⁸⁸ William McKeen, *Everybody Had an Ocean: Music and Mayhem in 1960s Los Angeles* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2017), 25.

⁸⁹ Steven Johnson, *How We Got to Now: Six Innovations that Made the Modern World* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2014), 108.

⁹⁰ McKeen, *Everybody Had an Ocean*, 25.

adults, teenagers wanted music that could make them feel their youthful emotions. They wanted upbeat, fun, danceable music. As the radio airwaves exposed teenagers to new sounds they were quite willing to lead the way across the racial divide.⁹¹ The T.A.M.I. Show offered visual images that contradicted many previously held norms about music, which threatened standard business models of major recording companies followed for decades. In particular, it took the “live” look and feel of Black culture and promoted it for mass audience.

As the number of baby boomers increased, so did the number of radios. With the introduction of portable radios between 1953 and 1956, 3.1 million portable radios were being sold each year. By the time of the T.A.M.I. Show, portable radio sales quadrupled. Along with the increase in the number of radios being sold, the power and influence of disc-jockeys (also known as deejays or DJs) continued to rise. Radio announcers in New York, Chicago, Nashville, and Los Angeles were reaching audiences across the country. Purveyors of “hip” sounds did not hesitate to play music from the dark side of town and in doing so helped to create a teenage subculture and planted seeds of rebellion.⁹² The music of that rebellion emerged from Black nightclubs and honky-tonks, and into high-school hops and dance parties. By 1953, twenty-five percent of all radio stations surveyed by *Billboard* magazine, were programming rhythm and blues.⁹³

Radio had the power to reach millions while maintaining a seductive intimacy. Part of this unique formula of the airwaves was the disc jockey – the person selecting the records. He – usually he – was the gatekeeper who determines what music meets his audience. In many cases,

⁹¹ Ben Fong-Torres, *The Hits Just Keep on Coming: The History of Top 40 Radio* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 1998), 21.

⁹² Smith, *The Pied Pipers of Rock 'n' Roll*, 19.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 26.

the disc jockey had influence over shifting styles and changing tastes.⁹⁴ In addition to the music selected by disc jockeys, another cultural influence was the way they spoke on air. Some adopted a jive-rhyming, slang-talking, Black dialect. White DJ's spoke, and advertised, to both the Black community and younger whites. Dewey Phillips of Memphis's WHBG was well known for his "broadcast Blackface" style. The "white negro" style disc jockey was an extremely successful invention as evidenced by some of the most popular DJ's in the country: Murray The K, Bob "Wolfman Jack" Smith, Zenas "Daddy" Sears, George "Hound Dog" Lorenz, Hunter Hancock, Ken "Jack The Cat" Elliott, Hos Allen, and in Cleveland Alan "Moondog" Freed. As the popularity of rhythm and blues started to rise at the end of the 1940s, adventurous white DJ's started to add it to their playlists. The move was further accelerated by the commercial success of some of the new Black stations, such as by WDAI in Memphis – the first Black owned radio station – which served as the home of DJ's B.B. King and Rufus Thomas.⁹⁵

Alan Freed popularized the term "roll 'n' roll," going so far as to use it as his radio show title. Actually, it was black slang for sex, used in bars and the chitlin circuit stretching back to the 1940s. For Freed's purpose, rock 'n' roll was rhythm and blues music disguised under a different name making Black music accessible to white teenagers. Freed did more than anyone to popularize the music and, in doing so, aroused so much controversy that he would undergo continuous investigation by the federal government.⁹⁶ Authors Bill Brewster and Frank Broughton described Freed's approach: "Oblivious to criticism, Freed ploughed ahead using the

⁹⁴ Bill Brewster and Frank Broughton, *Last Night A DJ Saved My Life: The History of the Disc Jockey* (New York: Grove Press, 1999), 30.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁹⁶ Jackson, *Big Beat Heat*, 82-87.

advantage of his color to promote this nascent Black form on a scale that most Blacks had been prevented from doing. By 1957, Freed's show was syndicated across the entire United States and could even be heard in Britain on Radio Luxembourg. Alan Freed was not the first person, Black or white, to play rhythm and blues on the radio, but he was certainly the most prominent."⁹⁷

President John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963, coupled with the ongoing turmoil in southeastern Asia, loomed over the so-called hinge years. As the British Invasion began, the mood turned melancholy and desperate as President Johnson started drafting thirty-five thousand men in 1964, mostly baby-boomers, a month to Vietnam, while civil rights riots exploded in Detroit and Watts creating urban unrest.⁹⁸ While years of unrest, unemployment, discrimination, and police violence were linked to civil rights riots,⁹⁹ some believed social stability was crumbling due to the upheaval driven by rock 'n' roll.¹⁰⁰

Inside the music business there was another battle, namely the fight to reclaim America's title as the center of pop music from the British. The war raged on for the postwar baby boomers' purchasing power. In 1965, half the U.S. population was younger than twenty-five; 41 percent were younger than twenty; and eighty percent of the country was white (11 percent Black). The U.S. economy was booming, youth had money to spend for records, radios, headphones, stereo equipment, pop music magazines, and concerts. The arrival of the British groups hijacked many of those U.S. dollars back to the United Kingdom.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Brewster and Broughton, *Last Night A DJ Saved My Life*, 44.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 3-14; Brewster and Broughton, *Last Night A DJ Saved My Life*.

¹⁰⁰ Brewster and Broughton, *Last Night A DJ Saved My Life*.

¹⁰¹ Jackson, *1965: The Most Revolutionary Year in Music*, 5.

The images involving the horrors of Jim Crow and the ground war in Vietnam were beamed into homes across America by another technological innovation – color television. Now the nasty sounds of riots and wars were further enhanced by moving images. Author Harvey Kubernik states, “The power of television to shape the popular cultural discourse is irrefutable, television’s ability to bring the immediacy of an unfolding event into our lives was so potent that the Vietnam War was dubbed the ‘living room war’ in 1965.”¹⁰²

As television and radio broadcasts exerted powerful influence over the cultural direction of the country, a seemingly insignificant act by a federal agency, although occurring after the T.A.M.I. Show, accelerated the music revolution. In 1965, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) mandated that radio stations could no longer maintain their AM and FM broadcasts with identical programming.¹⁰³ The long-neglected FM bandwidth became a haven for jazz and classical artists of this surprising directive. However, rock music would be the ultimate beneficiary.¹⁰⁴ After the FCC’s ruling, forward thinking radio stations considered different programming for their FM channels. Tom Donahue at KMPX-FM in San Francisco started a new trend by playing entire albums non-stop. By 1967, FM radio formats had been revolutionized providing listeners with expanding entertainment options. In the U.K., pirate radio mimicked FM radio in the United States. Prior to Radio Caroline in 1964, the BBC had a monopoly on what was played over its air-waves. Once pirate radio went offshore on ships, the government’s punitive laws on radio broadcasting were circumvented, at least for a while.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Harvey Kubernik, *1967: A Complete Rock Music History of the Summer of Love* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., 2017), 41.

¹⁰³ 2 F.C.C. 2d 190, 1965

¹⁰⁴ Kubernik, *1967: A Complete Rock Music History of the Summer of Love*, 44.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 45; Marc Elio, *Rockonomics: The Money Behind the Music* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1989), 144; Chappee and Garofalo, *Rock ‘n’ Roll is Here to Pay*, 98-122.

Technological advances during the hinge years activated growth in home entertainment centers, stereo components, and the popularization of headphones, which made it possible to have a more intimate, private relationship with music.¹⁰⁶ Consumers were also introduced to a variety of playback systems such as the 8-track tape cartridge. By 1967, car manufacturers made the 8-track a factory optional item. The options were transistor radio, car radio, and now, 8-track car playback. The listener was now mobile and free to select the music he preferred.¹⁰⁷ Another factor driving growth of the entertainment economy was advertising. Advertising changed in the early sixties as the industry experienced its own “Creative Revolution.” The pioneers of the revolution realized that to truly capture an audience’s attention, especially the younger members, they had to continually amuse the public with the “Big Idea” concept by using snappy, witty headlines and picture ensembles. The move represented a distinctly American genre of creative promotion.¹⁰⁸

As rock music became an emerging art form a cadre of young writers emerged who took the music and the artists seriously. The lyrics of songs expanded beyond teen moods and romance and new outlets for reporting on a wider variety of topics emerged. In 1966, Paul Williams founded *Crawdaddy*, the first magazine to approach rock music as a medium that warranted serious study. The most famous rock magazine came out of San Francisco in 1967 when Jann Wenner and Ralph Gleason founded *Rolling Stone*. Some of the most notable rock critics and photographers of the sixties era began their careers at *Rolling Stone*. Barry Kramer started *Creem* in Detroit in 1969. Beginning with a local focus, *Creem* grew into a national monthly magazine with a circulation of around 100,000 subscribers. While the magazine

¹⁰⁶ Kubernik, *1967: A Complete Rock Music History of the Summer of Love*, 55.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 204.

¹⁰⁸ Jim Heimann, ed., *The Golden Age of Advertising – the 60s*. (Cologne: Taschen, 2005), 4.

identified with the counterculture it frequently recognized its problematic link to consumerism. Articles in *Creem* covered interviews and reviews about music and records as well as films, books, and the larger culture surrounding its audience. In Great Britain there were two publications devoted to music culture, *Melody Maker* and the *New Musical Express*, the first paper to compile a top singles chart for the United Kingdom.¹⁰⁹

Into this vortex of cultural changes, the T.A.M.I. Show's subtle influence for expanding cultural diversity, prepared baby boomers for the coming rock festival era. Beginning in 1967 with Monterey Pop during the Summer of Love, reaching its crescendo at White Plains, New York with Woodstock in August 1969, and ending in horror, and death, five months later at Altamont, these events became the trademark of the baby boomer generation.¹¹⁰ The T.A.M.I. Show set in motion remarkable stylist and racial broad-mindedness which later characterized the cathartic spirit of the rock festival era fostering technological innovations, changes in music industry business practices, and transformations that influenced social and cultural changes in America.¹¹¹

The T.A.M.I. Show was a disruptive force to the entertainment industry establishment. Older generations of musicians, record company executives, music publishers, record producers, and concert promoters recognized it as a potential force of empowerment for young, aspiring music industry moguls seeking their own identity within the existing hierarchy. On a broader scale, many of the political and cultural ideas harbored by the youth movement were in opposition with attitudes of the older generation who recognized it as a catalyst for ideas about a

¹⁰⁹ Hall, *The Emergence of Rock and Roll*, 125.

¹¹⁰ Kubernik, *1967: A Complete Rock Music History of the Summer of Love*, 3.

¹¹¹ Ibid.; Gilmore, *Rolling Stone: The Decades of the Rock & Roll*, 65.

host of political and cultural issues in opposition with the older generation. The T.A.M.I. Show was a potent compound of live music, choreographed movements by Black performers, interracial dancers, and mixed musical genres, preserved on film for movie theaters in front of predominately white audiences. The T.A.M.I. Show introduced innovative film technology that spawned a new genre of movies which helped accelerate the commercialization of electric instrumentation and amplification. The excitement of intertwining Black artists performing with their white counterparts disrupted standard conventions about avoiding the mixing of styles and musical genres. The popularity of the T.A.M.I. Show highlighted the potential value to record companies in controlling movie rights in artist recording agreements. The innovations, disruptions, and transformations generated by the T.A.M.I. Show influenced changes in the entertainment industry and in the younger generation's view of American culture.

The process known as "Electronovision" was the catalyst for creating a new movie genre known as the "rockumentary." In the 1960s and early 1970s, Bill Sargent and Joseph Bluth's process produced motion pictures, theatrical plays, and television specials using high resolution videotape for production, later transferred to film via kinescope for theater release. More than a half dozen films were produced in this fashion, namely, the T.A.M.I. Show, and its predecessor, a production of Richard Burton in *Hamlet*. Burton's Broadway presentation of *Hamlet* was converted to film and shown in movie theaters and was a huge success. Encouraged by the success of the *Hamlet* project, Sargent continued to improve the electronovision process by increasing the number of lines in the frame to more than 800. Since television pictures are received through vertical and horizontal lines, and before the advent of HDTV, the standard was

525 lines to create an electronic picture, the increase to 800 plus lines gave more quality to the picture.¹¹²

Eager to apply his innovative film production technique to a music event, Sargent embarked on the T.A.M.I. Show project. As the event unfolded in Santa Monica four large RCA studio cameras, three of them on mobile pedestals, two of them on the sides used mostly for close-ups and one from the rear of the stage facing the audience, with the fourth mounted on a crane in the audience. The cumbersome cameras were able to zoom, pan, and move fluidly around the set, to provide a choice of shots from extreme close-ups to wide angles of the ensemble dancing. The T.A.M.I. Show's director, Steve Binder, edited the video feeds in a makeshift control room while directing the four cameramen to his choice of lens and position. Binder used the switching board to compose the video feed into a single master mix processed directly on film.¹¹³

Sargent's innovative film process was the catalyst for replicating the excitement of the T.A.M.I. Show to audiences in movie theaters. His electronovism technology served as a multiplier – increasing viewership from 3,000 teens in the Santa Monica Auditorium to tens of thousands of fans viewing the film in theaters. The T.A.M.I. Show was transformed from a local event into a national movie, and, subsequently, due to a number of circumstances, into an international underground film. Sargent's electronovism process offered movie viewers a front row seat to live concerts, albeit a virtual experience. The new technology employed by Sargent in producing the T.A.M.I. Show expanded opportunities for music fans to experience live performances by converting movie theaters into concert venues. For record companies, the

¹¹² *Collector's Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

¹¹³ James, *Rock 'n' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music*, 196.

advent of electronovism increased the ability of its artists to reach larger consumer markets. The movie industry benefitted from increased box office sales from fans attracted to theaters by the new film genre. As previously noted, Sargent was constantly in need of cash to fund his movie project. To raise money he sold the foreign distribution rights of the T.A.M.I. Show prior to divesting himself of total ownership to AIP. Both the domestic and foreign distribution rights were burdened with a recall option granted to the Beach Boys which would be activated after the initial theatrical run of the movie. When the Beach Boys chose to exercise their option, AIP was obligated to notify theater operators in possession of the prints (i.e. master copies of the film) and request their immediate return. Not surprisingly, a number of the 2200 prints were never returned to AIP. Speculation was that some of the missing prints remained in the possession of several of the foreign distributors who were beyond the jurisdiction of U.S. copyright law.¹¹⁴

After it became apparent there would be no second theatrical run of the T.A.M.I. Show due to the legal complications created by the Beach Boys, the film began a remarkable 46 year odyssey playing in foreign theaters under an assortment of titles in an attempt by operators to avoid legal consequences for pirating the movie. It was not until 2010 that Dick Clark Productions finally obtained all the rights necessary to release the original film to the mainstream market.¹¹⁵

Unlike *Monterey Pop*, *Woodstock*, and *Gimme Shelter*, whose foreign distribution followed conventional channels, the foreign box office revenue for the T.A.M.I. Show between 1965 and 2010 was impossible to track making comparisons to the other rockumentaries

¹¹⁴ *Collector's Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

impossible. Banishment to the underground marketplace and decades of pirating of the movie by foreign operators diverted substantial earnings away from industry publications reporting box office revenue. However, celluloid life in the underworld can have advantages, namely, it can create an aura of the “forbidden,” which generates gossip among music and movie fans, and, sometimes, even results in a loyal cult following. The prolonged life of the T.A.M.I. Show in foreign movie theaters provides strong evidence that the movie reached cult status. While many fans, domestic and foreign, do not recall the T.A.M.I. Show by its original title, almost everyone remembers it was the movie “where James Brown kicked the Rolling Stones’ ass.”¹¹⁶

The T.A.M.I. Show’s electrified instrumentation and amplification marked a departure in the history of filmed music. Fifteen years before the filming of the T.A.M.I. Show, popular music had been the domain of dedicated artisans, trained professionals in tuxedos, who read notes on paper and sat on bandstands in disciplined regiments, led by a big name bandleader in a bow tie. Crooners like Bing Crosby acted out songs written for them by others, and sang for adults, not young people. Nearly everyone who joined them on the pop charts had white skin.¹¹⁷ In the years after World War II, singers like Chuck Berry and Bo Diddley, and later Marvin Gaye, and groups like the Supremes, rose onto the charts once ruled by whites. These cultural changes were accelerated by a complimentary revolution in the technology of music-making. By the time the T.A.M.I. Show was filmed in 1964, anyone with the right equipment could achieve volumes that would reach hundreds, or thousands, of onlookers. The new rules of music

¹¹⁶ Lee King, interview, April 4, 2017; James Bullard, interview April 3, 2017; Gundersen, “Concert Film ‘the T.A.M.I. Show’ captures rock in its 1964 glory.”

¹¹⁷ Ian S. Port, *The Birth of Loud: Leo Fender, Les Paul, and the Guitar – Pioneering Rivalry That Shaped Rock ‘n’ Roll* (New York: Scribner, 2019), 2.

allowed electric guitars and amps to produce a universe of evocative new sounds.¹¹⁸ According to music critic Ian S. Port:

One company had done more than any other to usher in the technology that was changing listeners' aural experiences. One company had made electric guitars ubiquitous leisure accessories, by supplying cheap, sturdy instruments to amateurs and professionals alike. This firm was the first in its industry to align itself with the tastes of young people, among the first to paint guitars bright red and later metal-flake blue and purple, first to give its models sexy monikers like Stratocaster and the Jaguar."¹¹⁹

Launched in 1946, Fender Electric Instrument Company would take on established electric guitar giants like Gibson and Gretsch. In 1951, Fender introduced the seminal electric bass guitar. Fender's Precision bass would lead the way in making the electric guitar the most important musical instrument of the twentieth century.¹²⁰

Clarence Leo Fender perfected the tools that ushered in pop music's electronic revolution. He started out welding guitars and amplifiers in the back of his radio repair shop in the mid 1940s. A self-taught electronic tinkerer, Fender did not play any musical instruments but he had a keen ability to listen to what musicians told him they needed from their musical equipment. While competitors had long mocked Fender and his electronic creations, by the time the Beach Boys and The Rolling Stones performed at the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium, his company dominated the booming market for electric instruments.¹²¹

The main competition for the Fender Electric Instrument Company was the established Gibson and its Les Paul guitars. Ian S. Port describes Les Paul, "as emphatic and as colorful as

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 3.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Brad Tolinski and Alan Di Perna, *Play It Loud: An Epic History of the Style, Sound, & Revolution of the Electric Guitar* (New York: Doubleday, 2016), 76-82.

¹²¹ Port, *The Birth of Loud*, 3.

human beings come, as loud and public as Leo Fender was quite and private: a brilliant player and a gifted technician, a charmer and a comedian, a raconteur and a tireless worker who hungered for the top of the pop charts. Les Paul had invented a flashy style of playing but found existing guitars inadequate. What he wanted was a loud, sustaining, purely electric guitar sound.”¹²² Consequently, Paul sought out Leo Fender and the two men began experimenting with ways to boost the volume, quality and versatility of the guitar. Once a radical new electric guitar design became a reality, their friendship fractured into a fierce rivalry. The competition between Leo Fender and Les Paul soon became an industry war of Fender battling Gibson for market dominance by wooing the affection of a generation of rock ‘n’ roll guitar players.¹²³

After the fracture of Leo Fender’s and Les Paul’s friendship and business relationship, they began to pursue different career paths, and the competition between the two men seemed to abate. However, the T.A.M.I. Show reignited the hostility between Fender and Paul. As the Beach Boys with their Fender guitars battled the Rolling Stones with Keith Richard’s Gibson Les Paul, the old competitive battle lines were redrawn. The two companies began a new, more intense, phase of proxy warfare, each brand endorsed by an assortment of popular musicians in the showdown for electric guitar supremacy.¹²⁴

As each act performed during the filming of the T.A.M.I. Show, the screaming audience gave little attention to the brands of the guitars played by their rock heroes or to the rectangular box of electronics, some the size of a refrigerator, covered in a grey grillcloth, and connected by a long cord to the guitar in use. This assemblage of electronics – the amplifier – provided the

¹²² Ibid, 4.

¹²³ Ibid, 5.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

power to drive the notes and chords being played over the roar of the audience. The electric guitar without the amplifier was impotent. But, by “amping-up” the volume, the sheer power and thrust of projecting sound, rock ‘n’ roll was transformed into a sonic force. The sounds of rock ‘n’ roll were created by the “holy trinity” of a guitarist, an electric guitar, and an amplifier. When the T.A.M.I. Show played in movie theaters not only did it increase awareness of the performers, it also increased the exposure of the brands of guitars and amplifiers used to create the popular new sounds..

Tangled-up in the impact of the British Invasion was the competition between manufacturers of amplifiers in the U.S. and the U.K. The Brit bands brought with them new amplification equipment to blast their sounds to American audiences. As the trade wars raged on between guitar manufacturers, namely, Fender and Gibson, the Brits imported foreign brands that entered the fray. A similar fight occurred over amplification equipment, and at the center of this war was the British-made Vox amplifiers. Music critics Brad Tolinski and Alan DiPerna state,

Vox amps would closely be identified with the “jangle” of the British Invasion sound. The Beatles agreed to use Vox amps exclusively and also lend their image, likeness, and words of endorsement to Vox advertisements and other promotional endeavors resulting in a marketing bonanza for the company. Like everything else surrounding the Beatles, Vox amps looked as fabulous as they sounded with its diamond-pattern grille cloths, Vox logos, and space-age chrome stands, all became vital British Invasion signifiers. Along with the bold new look Vox kept pushing the volume capacity up, and up, and up.¹²⁵

Amplification created an entirely new kind of event – mass gatherings – involving tens of thousands, and during the rock festival era, hundreds of thousands of people. Large outdoor

¹²⁵ Tolinski and Di Perna, *Play It Loud*, 172-174; Dave Hunter, *The British Amp Invasion: How Marshall, Hiwatt, Vox and More Changed the Sound of Music* (Milwaukee: Backbeat Books, 2017), 5; David Peterson and Dick Denney, *The Vox Story* (Westport, CT: Bold Strummer, Ltd., 1993), 41.

gatherings, stadiums, and massive indoor venues became possibilities for live musical performances. Before amplification the limits of performers' vocal cords made it difficult, if not impossible, to speak to more than several hundred people at a time. But, with a microphone attached to multiple speakers, and driven by a powerful amplifier, the range of earshot could be multiplied. Amplification made it possible for the Beatles to play Shea Stadium, and it was amplification that was the driving force of the rock festival era. There could be no Monterey Pop, Woodstock, or Altamont without amplification.¹²⁶

In the early 1950s, guitarists, especially Bo Diddley and Muddy Waters, started to use distortion as a stylistic sound in their performances and recordings. In the 1960s, a band called The Ventures, developed a device to add a fuzz effect to their music setting off the commercial demand for "distortion boxes". Within a short period, The Rolling Stones' recording of "Satisfaction" with Keith Richard's opening riff became the trademark sound of 1960s rock.¹²⁷ Feedback was an entirely new creature that did not exist in any form until the invention of speakers and microphones. As sound engineers diligently worked to eliminate feedback from recordings and live performances, some artists embraced noise-feedback and distortion as a style. Amplification increased the range of sounds available to musicians. Noise became an acceptable art form as evidenced by Jimi Hendrix's iconic performance of the "Star Spangled Banner" at Woodstock. The amplified sounds transmitted from the electric guitar – melodic or distorted – became the musical voice of the young generation. The T.A.M.I. Show exposed, and advanced, the art of noise to a national audience with the performance of The Barbarians. The forthcoming wave of garage-bands became the primary vehicle for a new musical

¹²⁶ Johnson, *How We Got to Now*, 113.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 115.

conversation. The alliance of American guitars and British amplifiers made the distorted ear-piercing new sound popular with the young generation.¹²⁸

As amplifier technology improved, so did sound system reinforcement. By the time of Woodstock, a small number of individuals had developed expertise in sound system operations, but, only a few had experience with large outdoor events. One who did, Bill Hanley, and his company, Hanley Sound, became well-known for systems for mass gatherings. Hanley developed protocols for selecting, designing, and operating the components of sound systems required for festivals such as Woodstock.¹²⁹ While sound systems are crucial for performers, especially at large gatherings, event announcers must be able to communicate with audiences on a host of issues, such as, crowd control, warnings, lost persons, and medical emergencies. The ability to project sound properly is vital to large concerts and events requiring the human voice to be heard.¹³⁰ As the T.A.M.I. Show increased awareness of the role guitars and amplifiers played in producing popular music, it inadvertently spawned the artform of noise with fans.

By the time the T.A.M.I. Show was released in movie theaters, Sargent had lost most of his rights to the ownership and control of the film. According to Binder, “Mr. Sargent, needing cash, started selling off different rights to the movie; he was offered the Far Eastern rights for \$1,000. The drive-in horror movie specialists at American International Pictures (“AIP”) ended up with the theatrical rights, and Dick Clark acquired the broadcast rights.”¹³¹

The *Hollywood Reporter* in 1964, stated the cost of the T.A.M.I. Show was \$450,000 to film. The Rolling Stones, Gerry and the Pacemakers, and Billy J. Kramer and the Dakotas each

¹²⁸ Alan, *Play It Loud*, 184

¹²⁹ John Kane, *The Last Seat in the House: The Story of Hanley Sound* (Oxford: University Press of Mississippi, 2020), 223.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 271.

¹³¹ Light, “Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!”

received \$25,000, while James Brown was paid \$15,000. The Motown package of Marvin Gaye, The Miracles and The Supremes received an undisclosed lump sum payment. It was reported that the Four Seasons were approached to perform on the Show but Sargent declined to pay their asking price of \$45,000.¹³² A major expense, \$600,000, was for the 2200 prints that were sent to movie theaters. In addition, \$350,000 was budgeted for worldwide marketing and promotion in advance of the release of the film. After the show was released it oftentimes ran at special pre-matinee (10:00 a.m.), matinee (noon), and midnight screenings at reduced prices ranging from 99 cents to \$1.25. The film reportedly racked up weeklong grosses of \$9,000 in Boston, \$9,700 in Norfolk, \$5,100 in Spartanburg, and \$3,500 in Portsmouth – besting AIP’s previous grosses for *Beach Party*, starring Frankie Avalon and Annette Funicello, in 13 locations.¹³³ *Variety* reported that the film grossed \$9 million between 1964 and 1966.¹³⁴

After the T.A.M.I. Show had completed its theatrical run, legal problems began to develop. Actually, the genesis of the legal problems began with Sargent’s previous production of *Hamlet* starring Richard Burton. The arrangement between Sargent and Burton allowed Burton complete control over the distribution of the *Hamlet* film. Although the project was a huge commercial success Burton was not pleased with his performance and demanded the film be recalled after its primary theatrical run. Consequently, the print copies of *Hamlet* were taken off the market, essentially killing the film. The manager and patriarch of The Beach Boys, Murray Wilson, made a similar demand asking Sargent to remove The Beach Boys portion of the film after the theatrical run was completed. Unconfirmed accounts blame Wilson’s request on The Beach Boy’s enigmatic prodigy, Brian Wilson, because Wilson was not pleased with his

¹³² “The TAMI Show,” *Hollywood Reporter*, November 22, 1964.

¹³³ *Collector’s Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

¹³⁴ Gundersen, “Concert Film ‘the T.A.M.I. Show’ captures rock in its 1964 glory.”

performance on the T.A.M.I. Show. Removing The Beach Boys portion of the Show was tantamount to scrapping the 2200 prints in circulation, thus having to incur the cost to re-print the movie. As theater owners started to return the movie after its designated run some of the 2200 prints mysteriously “got lost” and were never returned to AIP, or, possibly did get returned and were not accounted for by the distributor.¹³⁵ It is from these missing prints of the T.A.M.I. Show that reproductions were made, re-made, and circulated in the underground market. The value of the illegal reproduction of the film is impossible to calculate. However, given the length of time between when the Show ran in theaters in 1964 to the date of its release on DVD in 2010, a conservative estimate of damages would be in the tens of millions of dollars. Ironically, after it became obvious that the T.A.M.I. Show was receiving worldwide attention, Murray Wilson requested that The Beach Boys footage be reinstated in the film. Unfortunately, the legal, financial, and marketing mess he had created could not be easily reversed as legal entanglements stalled any new marketing and promotion of the film.¹³⁶

As one example of the legal morass of the T.A.M.I. Show, litigation involving James Brown is instructive. Growing out of The Beach Boys’ successful demand to remove their portion of the film after its theatrical run, James Brown was emboldened to bring a legal action against Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation in the United States District Court, District of Columbia, in 1992. The action stemmed from Brown’s appearance on the T.A.M.I. Show. Twentieth Century owned and distributed a motion picture entitled, *The Commitments*, which was released in 1991. The film is about a group of young Irishmen and women who form a soul music band. In order to demonstrate what it takes to be a successful soul music performer the

¹³⁵ *Collector’s Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

¹³⁶ “2003 Interview with Steve Binder, Director of the T.A.M.I. Show,” High Frequencies (blog).

group leader shows the band members a video tape of James Brown's performance of "Please, Please, Please" on the T.A.M.I. Show. Portions of the performance are shown in *The Commitments* in seven separate "cuts" for a total of 27 seconds, sometimes in the background of a scene and sometimes occupying the entire screen. Although Brown's name is not mentioned in the scene it is mentioned later in the film.¹³⁷

In connection with his performance on the T.A.M.I. Show, Brown entered into a letter Agreement with the producer (i.e., Sargent d/b/a Electronovision Productions, Inc.), granting the producer the sole and exclusive right to license, assign, or use in any manner whatsoever, any part of Brown's performance in the T.A.M.I. Show embodied on film, photographs and audio recordings, throughout the world in perpetuity. The Court noted that through a number of transfers Dick Clark Teleshows, Inc. (a subsidiary of Dick Clark Productions) was granted a limited transfer of copyright in the T.A.M.I. Show for "television" use, "not movie" theater release. Another defendant in the case, Beacon Communications, acquired from the holder of the T.A.M.I. Show copyright in September 1990, the right to use "no more than 2 minutes of the song, 'Please, Please, Please' by Brown from the T.A.M.I. Show for all 'theatrical, non-theatrical, video cassette and video disc' uses throughout the world." Additionally, Beacon obtained from Dick Clark Televisions, Inc. a license to use its television rights and, separately, obtained the rights to use the musical composition and lyrics of the song "Please, Please, Please" from the entities who own the publishing rights.¹³⁸

Brown contended that the 1964 letter agreement with Sargent was ambiguous with respect to whether the grant of rights included the right to use his performance in films, film

¹³⁷ *Brown v. Twentieth Century Fox Film Corp.*, 799 F. Supp. 166 (D.D.C. 1992).

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

productions and video cassettes (a new medium). The Court fixated on a key portion of the letter Agreement, which granted the Producer the sole and exclusive right to

...perpetually and throughout the world to exhibit, transmit, reproduce, distribute, broadcast and exploit, and license or permit others to exhibit, transmit, reproduce, distribute, broadcast and exploit, any or all of such photographs, reproductions and recordations in connection with all or any portion of the Theatrofilm...in and by all media and means whatsoever.

Brown's counsel countered with the argument that the phrase limited the producers right, stating, "The producers could license and distribute the show itself (such as in the form of television syndication) and could use plaintiff's performance to advertise the show, but could not reproduce or license the reproduction of the performance for use in entirely separate contexts such as a full length motion picture."¹³⁹ The Court rejected Brown's argument and ruled in favor of Twentieth Century Fox essentially upholding the original grant of rights given to Sargent by Brown in the letter Agreement in connection with the T.A.M.I. Show in 1964. The Court also dismissed Brown's claim that the use of his name, likeness and persona violated his right of publicity.¹⁴⁰

The James Brown litigation is illustrative of the increasing importance by artists in protecting their ancillary rights in music and movie industry contracts. Prior to the T.A.M.I. Show few artists and record company executives recognized the potential value of controlling the rights associated with an artist rendering a live performance in a movie. After T.A.M.I., artists fought to retain control of these rights while record companies attempted to squeeze concessions out of artists in negotiating record contracts. Two legal issues involving the T.A.M.I. Show, namely, the action taken by the Beach Boys demanding that all the master

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

prints of the film be removed from distribution after the initial theatrical run, essentially condemning the Show to an underground, cult audience, and, the Brown litigation, helped to pull back the veil on the often shady business practices in the entertainment industry. After the T.A.M.I. Show, musicians became more aware of their contractual rights in creative partnerships with record, publishing, and film companies, and concert promoters. Instead of accepting terms dictated by the industry establishment, many artists began to question conventional interpretations of their rights, electing instead to resort to litigation for relief.¹⁴¹

Lawsuits, bootlegging, counterfeiting, and pirating entangled the T.A.M.I. Show in a complicated knot of problems. Eventually the legal problems were resolved and the rights acquired by Dick Clark Productions (“DCP”). Unfortunately, projects to release the Show on new formats remained on hold due to the ownership of DCP changing hands. When Orly Adelson took over as President of DCP, she made the T.A.M.I. Show a top priority. DCP partnered with Shout! Factory, a company specializing in retro releases, for a DVD release in 2010. Finally, after 46 years the path was cleared for the T.A.M.I. Show to return to circulation to the mass market – legally.¹⁴²

The T.A.M.I. Show was the first full-length film to base its entire action on a “live” concert.¹⁴³ After the release of the T.A.M.I. Show in December of 1964 it spawned a new genre of movies called the “Rockumentary.”¹⁴⁴ The best known rockumentaries were released during the Festival Era – *Monterey Pop*, the iconic *Woodstock*, and the notorious *Gimme Shelter*

¹⁴¹ *Zacchini v. Scripps-Howard Broadcasting Co.*, 433 U.S. 562 (1977); *Joel v. Weber*, 166 A.D.2d (N.Y. App. Div. 1991); *De Havilland v. Warner Bros. Pictures*, 67 Cal. App. 2d 225 (1944); *Thomas v. Gusto Records Inc.*, 939 F.2d 395 (6th Cir. 1991); *Apple Records Inc. v. Capitol Records Inc.*, 137 A.D.2d 50 (N.Y. App. Div. 1988); *Sanford v. CBS Inc.*, 594 F.Supp. 711 (1984); *Davis v. U.S.*, 384 U.S. 953 (1966); *Waller v. Osbourne*, 763 F.Supp. 1144 (M.D.Ga. 1991); *Ward v. Rock Against Racism*, 491 U.S. 781 (1989).

¹⁴² Light, “Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!”

¹⁴³ Philip Jenkinson and Alan Warner, *Celluloid Rock: Twenty Years of Movie Rock* (London: Lorrimer Publishing, 1974), 61.

¹⁴⁴ David Ehrenstein and Bill Reed, *Rock on Film* (New York: Delilah Books, 1982), 77.

(Altamont). Especially after the release of *Woodstock*, dozens of rockumentaries appeared, some focusing on a parade of stars, others on single star's performance. Rockumentaries created an impression that the audience in the movie theater was at the concert – the next best thing to being at the actual event.¹⁴⁵

To fully understand the impact of the T.A.M.I. Show, it is important to note that, until its release, no “live” concert had even been shown in movie theaters. The spontaneity and excitement generated at a live event had never been transferred to film for viewers. Because movies of live performances did not exist prior to the T.A.M.I. Show, and because television only offered limited opportunities of performers lip-syncing their hit records, opportunities for fans to experience a live performance of artists were limited. Further, racial barriers, seen and unseen, limited access of whites to Black artists and vice versa. While television mitigated some constraints, it only provided pantomimed performances thereby diluting the impact of the artists' performances, especially Black performers'. The opportunity for many whites to experience Black music came from listening to progressive radio stations, mostly at night. Yet, this experience lacked the visual component which was a major part of many Black performers show. The T.A.M.I. Show linked music to a visual experience, providing the complete performance, which changed the way performers presented themselves to audiences, and in doing so, gave birth to a genre of film shaped by Black artistic and performative contributions – the “rockumentary.”¹⁴⁶

Movies can be uniquely realistic. For many movie-watchers, a movie becomes indistinguishable from what they would have seen had they been at the original event. While

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 83.

¹⁴⁶ Colin McGinn, *The Power of Movies: How Screen Interact and Mind* (New York: Pantheon Books: 2005), 3.

rockumentaries are simulations of a live concert, they do recreate the event and make later consumption possible by others unable to attend the concert. While there is no substitute for the anticipation of attending a concert in person and, the experience of watching the event live, rockumentaries still have much to offer music fans. For instance, depending on the seating location at a concert venue, a ticket holder may have an obstructed view of the performers; poor sound system and acoustics can be a nuisance; competing noise from the audience can diminish the sound quality of the music; inclement weather conditions at outdoor events can make the concert experience uncomfortable; and, the behavior of fellow concert-watchers can be annoying. Viewing a rockumentary, admittedly a simulation, offers the music fan an experience to see and hear the concert in a comfortable environment eliminating many of the negatives posed by live events.¹⁴⁷ Author and philosopher Colin McGinn notes, “The moving images surrounded by music, or, better, performers performing the music, makes Rockumentaries uniquely accessible to the viewing mind. Movies depict the event in a visual way instead of words on a page, making them easily digested, assimilated, and adopted as real.”¹⁴⁸

Another interesting aspect of movies compared to other mediums was celebrity status. When compared to radio and television celebrities, movie celebrities seemed to occupy a higher status on the celebrity hierarchy. Radio personalities were one-dimensional – their voice. Consequently, radio personalities seemed less magnetic, making it difficult for them to connect with their audience on a more personal level. While television celebrities had the advantage of being seen, as well as heard, giving them more ways to project their personalities to an audience, this medium had two disadvantages compared to movies. First, “air time” was usually

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 4-6.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 12-14.

allotted into 30 or 60 minute slots, making it more difficult to establish a personal connection to an audience. Secondly, television screens are much smaller than screens in movie theaters, thereby reducing the celebrities' image to a smaller – less magnetic – status. The combination of less time, less absorption, led to less emotional connection with the psyche of the viewer.¹⁴⁹

The T.A.M.I. Show captured the exciting atmosphere and action inside the Civic Auditorium during the concert. Largely employing television production techniques, the film proved that reasonable sound and picture quality could be obtained at live events and demonstrated that portable light-weight equipment could duplicate the work of large, heavy studio cameras. Perhaps, most importantly, the T.A.M.I. Show inspired a host of young filmmakers – Albert Maysles, Richard Leacock, Nick Proferes, D.A. Pennebaker and Michael Wadleigh, to name a few – who would produce rockumentaries of the major rock festivals in the late sixties.¹⁵⁰

The T.A.M.I. Show gave impetus to new techniques in filming musical acts. In combination with improvements in film equipment, and faster film stock, which reduced lighting requirements, cameramen were turned into mobile recording studios embedding themselves in crowds, behind stages, on stage, atop scaffolding, and inside dressing rooms. No longer confined to a studio, or a stage, rockumentaries captured the entire event, not just what occurred on stage. Starting with the T.A.M.I. Show, the audience became part of the overall performance of the performers.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 197.

¹⁵⁰ Jenkinson, *Celluloid Rock*, 61.

¹⁵¹ Ehrenstein, *Rock on Film*, 77.

By fusing live music with movement, the T.A.M.I. Show disrupted the notion that music and performance were separate components of an artist's act. Prior to 1960, rock 'n' roll was a euphemism for "sex" specifically and having a "good-time." More generally, songs were short in duration. Lyrics were trite. Record companies deemed "successful" music as consisting of three-minute, 45rpm, quick-hits. By the mid-sixties, however, rock had thoroughly shattered the three-minute song time barrier. As rock music matured along with advances in equipment, film, and production techniques, the rockumentary flourished.¹⁵²

The T.A.M.I. Show minimized narration and eliminated fictional interludes, thereby enlarging the spectacle of live performance so that it centered the film.¹⁵³ While the T.A.M.I. Show was the "kick starter" for future rockumentaries, subsequent films added social and political components in a more brazen way reflecting the strong attitudes of their young audiences. For instance, *Monterey Pop* became the first film in which the rock 'n' roll culture represented itself on its own terms. The film presented "rock" (leaving behind the term rock 'n' roll), and the youth masses, known as "tribes," that embraced music as its mode of communicating. Rock music celebrated the reconciliation of different cultures: the blending of U.K. and the U.S., East and West coast, and, Black and white.¹⁵⁴

The promotional material sent to theaters throughout the U.S. by American International, the distribution company to whom Sargent had sold his rights to the T.A.M.I. Show, proclaimed the film as a unique opportunity for theaters, stating, "The potential gross of the attraction is staggering. Properly handled it could be the biggest grosser of the year. The

¹⁵² Ibid, 75-77.

¹⁵³ James, *Rock 'n' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music*, 191.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 213.

T.A.M.I. Show is an important event in the lives of your teenage patrons.”¹⁵⁵ The distributor’s promotional campaign emphasized the lucrative youth market for whom the show was produced, further stating, “They particularly dominate the entertainment field. Teenagers alone spend 12 billion dollars a year, they have no groceries to buy, rent to pay, or medical bills to meet; almost all their money is spending money.”¹⁵⁶ The promotional hype compelling theaters to present the T.A.M.I. Show concludes saying, “Never before have you had the opportunity to get so many kids into your theater at one time. They will thank you for letting them see this attraction.”¹⁵⁷

The national promotion and advertising campaign unleashed by American International included newspaper, radio, television, private screenings, print (i.e., posters, window cards and heralds), and cross-promotion with the artists’ record labels, namely, promotional events at record stores. The diversity of the artists’ record labels demonstrates the variety of musical genres represented:

The Beach Boys	Capitol
The Barbarians	Joy
Gerry and the Pacemakers	Laurie
Lesley Gore	Mercury
Jan and Dean	Liberty
Billy J. Kramer	Imperial
The Rolling Stones	London
Chuck Berry	Chess
James Brown and the Flames	King
Marvin Gaye	Motown
The Supremes	Motown
The Miracles	Motown ¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ University Archives Special Collections, H.T. Sampson Library, Jackson State University, Jackson, Mississippi.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

One of the important factors leading to the success of the T.A.M.I. Show was that most of the acts who performed were either riding the top of the charts, or on the verge of breakout hit records. For example, The Beach Boys were in the middle of a run of hits including “Fun, Fun, Fun,” “Don’t Worry Baby,” and their smash hit “I Get Around.” Lesley Gore had hit the Top 40 charts an incredible seven times within the twelve months leading up to the T.A.M.I. Show. The Supremes were beginning their run of an amazing five Number 1 hits in a row. The rest of their Motown colleagues, The Miracles and Marvin Gaye were beginning to create their own market excitement.¹⁵⁹ According to writer Gerald Posner, “By 1964, Motown was generating so many hits – forty-two of sixty records produced that year broke into the charts – that it had become the third most successful singles label in America.”¹⁶⁰

The roster of artists for the T.A.M.I. Show was further enhanced by the British Invasion, whose popularity was evident on the U.S. and U.K. charts. Gerry and the Pacemakers became the first band in pop history to have their first three recordings all go Number 1 on the U.K. charts (i.e., “How Do You Do It,” “I Like It,” and “You’ll Never Walk Alone”).¹⁶¹ Billy J. Kramer’s single release in the U.S., “Little Children” backed with “Bad To Me,” simultaneously charted as Top 10 hits (i.e. Number 7 and Number 10, respectively), a rare feat.¹⁶² The Rolling Stones achieved six Number 1 hits in the U.S. between 1963 and 1965.¹⁶³

In the early 1960s the Holy Grail of the international music industry was the United States. The U.S. represented stardom and financial success with its population of almost 200

¹⁵⁹ Dave Swanson, “50 Years Ago: The TAMI Show Captures a Moment in Rock and Roll History,” *Ultimate Classic Rock*, October 29, 2014, <http://ultimateclassicrock.com/tami-show/>.

¹⁶⁰ Gerald Posner, *Motown: Music, Money, Sex and Power* (New York: Random House, 2002), 126.

¹⁶¹ Alan J. Whiticker, ed., *British Pop Invasion: How British Music Conquered the World in the 1960’s* (London: New Holland Publishers, 2014), 85.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 213.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 117.

million people, a third of whom were born between 1945 and 1964. The baby boomer market had money to spend and poured millions of dollars into the record industry. By 1964, the American teen market was ready for a music revolution brought on, in part, by the invasion of long-haired musicians from England.¹⁶⁴ Filling this need, Sargent wisely included The Rolling Stones, Gerry and the Pacemakers, and Billy J. Kramer in his concert movie thereby expanding its marketability.

Added to the already star-studded lineup were local favorites Jan and Dean, the garage rock band, The Barbarians, and rock ‘n’ roll innovator, Chuck Berry. All of these artists were experiencing success, or shortly after the T.A.M.I. Show, rose to even more fame with chart success. The wildcard of the show was a hard core rhythm and blues performer rarely seen outside the “chitlin circuit” in the South (i.e. a national network of ex-vaudeville homes in Black neighborhoods). While James Brown and the Flames received spotted radio airplay in the South, they enjoyed limited recognition being confined to a sub-genre of the music industry known as rhythm and blues. James Brown had never appeared on television, however, the T.A.M.I. Show would provide him the opportunity to showcase his skills and redefine his brand of music as Top 40 to the white baby boomer market.¹⁶⁵

Often lost in the litany of praise for artists like the Beach Boys or James Brown is Chuck Berry. He was one of the artists leading the rock ‘n’ roll revolution. Along with Bill Haley and the Comets’ “Rock Around the Clock”, Berry’s release of “Maybelline” are both considered as the first rock ‘n’ roll mega hits.¹⁶⁶ Berry’s contributions to the rock ‘n’ roll era are staggering – “Maybelline,” “Roll Over Beethoven,” “Johnny B. Goode,” “Carol,” “Back in the USA,”

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 1-3.

¹⁶⁵ Eagan, “The Rock Concert That Captured an Era.”

¹⁶⁶ Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Lobsang, 1979), 391-394.

“Sweet Little Sixteen,” and “Rock ‘n’ Roll Music,” to name a few of his songs. His songs have been recorded by the Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Beach Boys, Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Buddy Holly, Carl Perkins, Ricky Nelson, Johnny Rivers, Buck Owens, George Jones, The Animals, Rod Stewart, Bob Seger, Linda Ronstadt, Emmylou Harris, Electric Light Orchestra, the Grateful Dead, and Jimi Hendrix. Berry’s influence on pop music had wide appeal over many decades both before and after the T.A.M.I. Show.¹⁶⁷ The T.A.M.I. Show opened the door to the lucrative baby boomer market for rhythm and blues artists. No longer would artists like Fats Domino, Little Richard and James Brown be confined to the chitlin circuit. As these artists gained more visibility, independent record labels such as Chess, Sun, and King started to experience a greater demand for their product.

To fully appreciate the impact of the T.A.M.I. Show in helping break down racial barriers in American society in the 1960s, the event needs to be viewed in the political context of the decade, and, specifically, 1964. The T.A.M.I. Show predated the rock festival era, *Rolling Stone* magazine, and the hit television shows *Shindig* and *Hullabaloo*. It was staged four months after the hard fought passage of the civil rights Act of 1964. Radio formats reduced all artistic musical expression into a pre-determined definition of Top 40. Recognition of other styles of expression, namely, rhythm and blues, were ignored by Top 40 radio playlists. Black performers rarely appeared on television and in movies.¹⁶⁸ For most teenagers in America during the early ‘60s, who were listening to Black artists on the radio, they rarely saw them perform in person.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Charlie Gillett, *Rock ‘n’ Roll 39-59* (Paris: Foundation Cartier, 2007), 409.

¹⁶⁸ Light, “Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!”

¹⁶⁹ Gundersen, “Concert Film ‘the T.A.M.I. Show’ captures rock in its 1964 glory.”

The T.A.M.I. Show's producers departed from conventional standards by enlisting a heavy contingent of Black performers, dancers, back-up singers, and musicians for a predominantly white, female, high-school age audience. A subtle reminder of the racial environment of the time is the white, male, uniformed policemen patrolling the auditorium during the show.¹⁷⁰ The diversity of artists appearing on the T.A.M.I. Show was a mix of musical genres which created a collision of social structures never tested so boldly in front of a live audience. Jan and Dean and The Beach Boys represented the dominant white, male, American society, and along with Leslie Gore, the music industry establishment. Characterized by shallow song lyrics (except for Gore's "You Don't Own Me"), cleancut appearance, happy-go-lucky personality, and downhome biography, such young stars were easily acceptable to the audience.

On the other side of the divide was a contingent of "newbies" at best, or considered by many in the music industry, down right outcasts, both musically and racially. Led by Motown Records, Berry Gordy provided the show with the services of The Miracles, Marvin Gaye, and The Supremes. Gordy's objective was clear, to grab a share of the major record labels' lucrative white, teenage market by getting his artists exposure in movie theaters. Gordy's Motown Records had become a force of social and cultural change within the music industry and society at large. During the 1960s, Gordy assembled a line-up of artists that would be proclaimed by music journalists as "The Sound of Young America." The label developed the careers of some of the most popular artists of the decade. Motown's incredible stable of artists were agents for change bridging the racial divide with their music.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ James, *Rock 'n' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music*, 193.

¹⁷¹ "Motown Music - The Sound That Changed America."

Gordy embraced Black capitalism, and by placing three of his artists on the first concert movie, hoped to expand the market for selling Motown's records. Historian Suzanne Smith comments, "In the end, Motown's success in the record industry proved how capitalism, by definition, cannot be bound by racial agendas or community concerns."¹⁷² Music critic Nelson George noted, "Motown Records is a triumph and a contradiction. It is a testament to the power of Black music and an example of how soul-shifting success can be when its fruits are not shared."¹⁷³ George identifies how the paradoxes of power for Black people in America underserved their temporary triumphs.

People of any color can build an enterprise from a good idea and then move away from what they know best, with consequences that are disastrous spiritually if not economically. But in Gordy's case that familiar tragedy of success had an inescapably racial dimension. He made great music by tailoring Black rhythm and blues to the tastes of a notably open-minded generation of white American teenagers, but he knew that if it was to be a true fun success story it couldn't stop there, so, not only did he act like any other boss and treat talented people who worked for him like peons, but he ended up where the entertainment industry always ends up – Hollywood.¹⁷⁴

Author Adam White comments, "That by 1964, Motown was running two shifts on West Grand Boulevard in Detroit similar to the Ford Rouge factory. One, almost entirely Black, comprised of songwriters, producers, and musicians. The other, almost entirely white, comprised of experienced salesmen charged with selling, promoting, and collecting money from distributors and retailers."¹⁷⁵ While all of Motown's distributors and promotion staffers were white during the early 1960s, this became a political issue toward the end of the decade

¹⁷² Smith, *Dancing in the Street*; Curtis, *Rock Eras*, 90.

¹⁷³ Nelson George, *Where Did Our Love Go: The Rise and Fall of the Motown Sound* (Sydney, Australia: Omnibus Press, 1986), xvii.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, xv.

¹⁷⁵ Adam White and Barney Ales, *Motown: the Sound of Young America* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2016), 70.

as Black militancy grew.¹⁷⁶ The assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. forced Gordy to alter the racial mix of sales employees at the previously color-blind company.¹⁷⁷ Historian Gerald Early addressed Gordy's paternalistic approach to Motown, commenting,

The intense paternalism probably helped the company to survive in its early years. The paternalism of the early years, and the implicit sense of racial uplift and community – fostered by the company's own bourgeois – motivated and practically rendered need in a racist society to have an identity of virtue and racial commitment – undoubtedly fostered the sense among many that Motown was not a privately owned enterprise which, in fact, it was, but some sort of cooperative venture. For a time, Gordy was able to manipulate both his Black and white audience by having Motown as vaguely a “race company” to satisfy certain nationalistic yearnings for Blacks while presenting it as an assimilationist success story for whites. He balances, through his family image, the neurotic need of his Black audience for uplift and the equally neurotic need for accommodations outreach for his white audience.¹⁷⁸

Like Gordy, Syndey Nathan, the owner of King Records, and his artist, James Brown, were color-blind and motivated by the rewards of capitalism. Brown and Nathan set out to destroy the prevailing distinction in the music industry between Black and white music; the long standing belief that rhythm and blues was for Blacks and pop for whites. The explosion of rock 'n roll began the process of blurring racial distinctions. To Brown and Nathan, whether a million-seller was pop or rhythm and blues, did not matter because either one generated the same revenue. Brown was all about Black economic self-determination and Nathan was happy to support his artist, as long as he shared in the profits.¹⁷⁹

Brown, Nathan, Gordy, and many independent label owners recognized the lure of Black music for whites. Black music was marketed as dangerous with a sexual quality about it compared to white music. Gordy, in particular, shaped the Motown Sound to incorporate

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 85.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 200.

¹⁷⁸ Gerald Early, *One Nation Under a Groove: Motown & American Culture* (Hopewell, NJ: Ecco Press, 1995), 31.

¹⁷⁹ Craig Werner, *A Change Is Gonna Come: Music, Race, & Soul of America* (New York: A Plume Books, 1998), 17.

enough raw Blackness with a tinge of gospel to soothe the fears of critical white adults as their teenage children consumed the new sounds coming out of Detroit.¹⁸⁰

The T.A.M.I. Show brought these diverse collections of musical and social extremes together to do what had never been done before – to make a movie of a rock ‘n’ roll concert. To accomplish their objective, the producers had to eliminate, or, at least, mitigate, a number of tensions: the competition between the major and the independent record labels, the competitive tension between the U.S. and U.K. artists, and the racial divide between Black and white artists, dancers, background singers, and musicians. Once production hurdles were overcome the producers still had to package the Show in a way that would attract mainstream America to the movie box office. While the T.A.M.I. Show provided audiences worldwide with a rousing display of musical entertainment, it also broadened the cultural landscape for a generation of youth by providing them with visual evidence of racial blending.

Brown fully understood that Black music was the industry’s bastard child. The major record labels dismissed Black music as a curiosity and relegated it to subsidiary lines which were not pushed in the white marketplace. According to Nelson George, “Blacks simply weren’t considered good enough to sit in the front of the record industry bus with the Sinatras, Comos, and other white angels...like a bastard child, this music was shunted to a corner and left to fend for itself.” Yet by 1960, “rhythm and blues” was leaking into the radio airwaves and into the consciousness of young Americans. The new sound was delivered by indie record labels – small independent record companies run by white entrepreneurs. Indie labels started popping up

¹⁸⁰ Werner, *A Change Is Gonna Come*, 19.

in New York (Atlantic), Chicago (Chess), Los Angeles (Imperial), and Memphis (Sun), to name a few.¹⁸¹

In this emerging new environment success for Black performers was measured by sales of 45 RPM records in the 100,000 to 300,000 range. This resulted in a lack of substantial album sales, live performances limited to the chitlin circuit, and a cycle of rapid rising and fall of artist popularity. Black music was rife with one-hit wonders since the indy labels concentrated on hit singles instead of hit singers. The indy model started to change beginning in 1963 with the rise of Gordy's Motown Records. Gordy's message was clear – to make money. Many romanticized his motives, but the message was all about success in 1963, not Black success. Nelson George comments, "Part of the Motown mystique has been that it was Black owned. It was, however, never entirely Black operated." Berry Gordy believed whites were essential to building Motown's sales and image outside the Black community."¹⁸²

Sargent and his directors used skillful ways to blend the variety of musical genres, and race, by having two acts on stage at one time. For example, Chuck Berry opens the Show, but halfway through his hit "Maybellene," he is joined by Gerry and the Pacemakers. David E. James comments, "As the two acts trade numbers, their presence together on the same stage and the interracial dancers behind them announce the film's overall marriage of Black and white music."¹⁸³

Another example of this clever blending of musical styles, and multi-nationalism occurs at the end of the first half of the Show, which was concluded by teen pop star Leslie Gore. For Gore's closing song, "Judy's Turn To Cry," as she is joined on stage by all the artists who had

¹⁸¹ George, *Where Did Our Love Go*, 50; Broven, *Record Makers and Breakers*, ix.

¹⁸² George, *Where Did Our Love Go*, 53.

¹⁸³ James, *Rock 'n' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music*, 193.

preceded her, The Miracles, Marvin Gaye, Chuck Berry, Jan and Dean, and Gerry and the Pacemakers. As David E. James points out, “The numerous shots that include both performers and audience, and the minimal breaks between acts all together sustain a delirious interactive commonality among fans and performers and dancers, Black and white, and even though the audience is predominately white – and patrolled by the police – their euphoric celebration of Black performers is unprecedented in cinema.” The same “kumbaya” moment is created in even more dramatic fashion at the end of The Rolling Stones set with their rendition of “Get Together” (the title of the song itself is another merger of genres and races). All the dancers and performers – young and old, Black and white, stars and startups, male and female, U.S. and U.K. – take the stage to sing and dance together in international, genderless, biracial joy.¹⁸⁴

In accessing the contribution of the T.A.M.I. Show in breaking down racial barriers, the visual performance of dance as an integral aspect of Black artists must be considered.

According to music journalist Ann Powers, “Music is an erotic exchange that’s at the heart of American pop culture resulting in the full human experience.” Music thrives in places where people gather and encourages the release of anxieties, pressures, and prejudices. Regardless of the setting – concert venue, church, or night club – music paired with a dynamic performer can provoke a communal response from polite applause to storming a stage. Once an audience is moved by the excitement of music to dance or holler, or sometimes both, the audience becomes an intrinsic part of the performance, unified with the performer.¹⁸⁵ The foundation of rhythm and blues is the live performance, flowing out of Sunday church service with the preacher unifying his congregation with music and sermon, fostering a ritual of ecstatic responses of

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 193.

¹⁸⁵ Ann Powers, *Good Booty: Love and Sex, Black and White, Body and Soul in American Music* (New York: Dey St., 2017), xix, xxv.

hollering, testifying, and dancing. It was no coincidence that the musical devices and performance techniques borrowed from gospel were those used by many Black artists.¹⁸⁶

Several of the Black performers on the T.A.M.I. Show, namely The Miracles, and James Brown, used dance routines to amplify their vocal presentation to stimulate crowd response. These artists seduced their audience into an interaction that synchronized the energy in the Auditorium into a state of pandemonium. White audiences may have listened to Black artists on the radio, however, the overwhelming majority had never *seen* them perform. No other artist at the time had the ability to inspire audience participation like James Brown. According to cultural historian Brian Ward, “Soul singers like Brown ... recast the ‘home-wrecking’ tactics of Black preachers and gospel acts into exhilarating showbiz ritual.”¹⁸⁷ Author and musicologist Arnold Shaw, comments about the quasi-religious quality to Brown’s performance,

At the end of a show, he rushes back on stage, his face drenched with sweat of exhaustion, and collapses. His attempts throw a bespangled robe over him. In a matter of seconds, the robe rises and Brown flies forth like a phoenix emerging from a fiery pyre. He races offstage and again returns to collapse, to be covered with another bespangled robe, and to rise. The convulsive ritual has been compared by some reviewers to an enactment of the Crucifixion. The analogy is sound. But I take the ritual Brown’s falls and risings, to represent Jesus at the stations of the cross.¹⁸⁸

The T.A.M.I. Show provided its Black performers a platform to display their live performance talents. As the T.A.M.I. Show circulated in movie theaters, white audiences were introduced – many for the first time – to the exciting styles of James Brown, Chuck Berry, and the Motown artists, the Miracles, Marvin Gaye, and the Supremes. As more and more whites became aware of Black music, fashion, and dance, many began to wonder what they had been missing.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Ward, *Just My Soul Responding*, 201.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Shaw, *Honkers and Shouters*, 258.

¹⁸⁹ Elijah Wald, *How the Beatles Destroyed Rock ‘n’ Roll: An Alternative History of American Popular Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 455, 218.

The apex of the T.A.M.I. Show is undeniably the performance by James Brown and the Flames. The interplay between Brown and the Stones makes for movie drama, but, the real story centered on the struggle of Black artists, especially James Brown, wanting to capitalize on the rare opportunity to appear in front of a mostly white audience on a show that was being filmed for theatrical release. Brown, a savvy veteran, knew what was at stake –cultural acceptance from white America meant market expansion. While ego was certainly a factor for Brown to close the Show, more importantly, he wanted the last slot on the bill to ensure his performance would not be forgotten which meant market expansion. Brown delivered a performance that achieved both objectives. Darlene Love, a member of The Blossoms, a girl group used for backup vocals for some of the acts, stated, “Seeing James introduced to the white world was unbelievable. I wanted everybody to see how good James was.”¹⁹⁰

Director Steve Binder recalls that it was he who wanted the Stones to close the Show, “When the word got to Mick Jagger he came to me and said, ‘We can’t.’ Mick did not want to follow James Brown. Shortly thereafter, Brown’s manager came to me and said, ‘Nobody can follow James.’” For whatever reason Binder stuck to his initial decision even though both the Stones and Brown were protesting. The situation further deteriorated when Brown refused to rehearse to allow Binder to plot camera angles for the set. The rehearsal was crucial for Binder since he had never seen Brown perform nor was he familiar with his songs.¹⁹¹ Binder had a tough decision to make; Brown was mostly unknown to the mainstream pop audience, while the Stones had recently arrived in the U.S. heralded as the next big British act. Binder held to his decision for the Stones to close the Show.¹⁹² To exacerbate the tense situation, Brown thought

¹⁹⁰ Gundersen, “Concert Film ‘the T.A.M.I. Show’ captures rock in its 1964 glory.”

¹⁹¹ “2003 Interview with Steve Binder, Director of the T.A.M.I. Show,” High Frequencies (blog).

¹⁹² Light, “Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!”

the Stones were pushing to close the Show over his protests. Author and journalist Stephen Davis reveals the mindset of the visiting Brits,

The Stones were shocked to learn they were headlining: this meant they had to follow James Brown and the Flames – the best, most exciting, most impossible-to-follow band in the world. Even worse, Soul Brother Number One was mad as hell that the Stones were closing the Show, rasping, ‘Tell those crazy motherfuckers they gonna wish they never left London!’ Mick badgered Andrew (the Stones manager) to get the billing changed, but the producers refused. It was finally agreed that it would be ten minutes [break] after wringing-wet James Brown was helped from the stage by his retainers before the Stones would go on.¹⁹³

In Brown’s autobiography he states, “The Stones had come out in the wings by then, standing between all those guards. Every time they got ready to start out on the stage, the audience called us back. They couldn’t get on – it was too hot out there. By that time I don’t think Mick wanted to go on the stage at all.”¹⁹⁴ Darlene Love stated, “It must have taken an hour for everything to calm down enough to bring The Rolling Stones out.”¹⁹⁵ Only The Supremes would speak to the Stones, everyone assuming it was the Brits’ ego that caused the demotion of the Godfather of Soul as the closing act. As Brown delivered his energy charged performance the other acts cheered him on while the Stones watched the video feed on a monitor in their dressing room. Finally, after Brown left the stage and after the delirium of the audience subsided, Chuck Berry and Marvin Gaye took pity on the shell shocked Stones and offered them words of encouragement.¹⁹⁶

James Brown stated, “the T.A.M.I. Show was the highest energy thing that has ever been. I danced so hard my manager cried. But I really had to. What I was up against was pop

¹⁹³ Davis, *Old Gods Almost Dead*, 104.

¹⁹⁴ Brown with Tucker, *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul*, 153.

¹⁹⁵ Light, “Pop History Revealed! Doing Splits!”

¹⁹⁶ Davis, *Old Gods Almost Dead*.

artist – I was R & B. I had to show ‘em the difference, and believe me, it was hard.” The T.A.M.I. Show put a face on not only James Brown, but all rhythm and blues artists. As a result Americans would not only hear, but now see Black music.¹⁹⁷ Charlie Watts, the Stones drummer commented, “Seeing James Brown play had a great affect on all of us. At the time he had the crown as the greatest entertainer around, and his show was unbelievable.”¹⁹⁸ Decades later Keith Richards said, “The biggest mistake of my life was going on the T.A.M.I. Show after James Brown.”¹⁹⁹ Unquestionably Brown was driven to win new fans – to expand his market for record sales and performance revenue – and to protect his image as the hardest working man in show business, but lurking in the shadows was another motivator.

According to author and composer James McBride, “Before the show, Brown was told by the producers that the Stones, the new rock band of the moment, a bunch of kids from England, would have the honor of closing the Show.” McBride relies on the account of Charles Bobbit, a Brown staffer, who said “the producers did not provide Brown with a dressing room. Allegedly Brown had to rehearse his dancing off stage in the Auditorium. The snub charged Brown and he hit the stage a man possessed.”²⁰⁰ True or not, the Bobbit comments reflect the ongoing tug-of-war between the old racial mores and customs and the ever evolving new wave of social respect for African Americans. Regardless of the motivation affecting James Brown the night of the T.A.M.I. Show history was made. His performance coupled with the rise of Motown and other indy labels accelerated the appreciation for Black music, and Black people.

¹⁹⁷ Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown*, 152.

¹⁹⁸ Loewenstein and Dodd, eds. *According to the Rolling Stones*.

¹⁹⁹ Smith, *The One: The Life and Music of James Brown*.

²⁰⁰ James McBride, *Kill ‘Em and Leave: Searching for James Brown and the American Soul* (New York: Spiegel & Gram, 2016), 17.

What motivated James Brown to deliver arguably the greatest performance of his career? Who was he trying to impress – the audience in the auditorium; the fans who would see the T.A.M.I. Show in movie theaters; music industry moguls; himself; or, perhaps, something larger, and far more reaching? For insight into Brown’s legendary performance on the T.A.M.I. Show, Lee King, Brown’s road manager from 1968 to 1972 and confidant, offers compelling details of Brown’s mindset.

According to King, James Brown liked to talk about the events surrounding the T.A.M.I. Show. On several occasions Brown and King watched a bootleg copy of the Show as Brown energetically commented about the events leading up to his performance. Brown found out about Sargent’s plans to produce the first rock ‘n’ roll movie from his friend, Little Richard. Richard had been approached by Sargent’s director, Steve Binder, to appear on the show, but Richard refused the offer when he learned that his performance fee would be less than several of the white performers. Brown was quick to dismiss this affront and seized upon the potential benefits of being seen by a massive white audience in movie theaters alongside the popular “great white” artists. King comments, “Mr. Brown wanted to be on the T.A.M.I. Show because he understood the importance of expanding his exposure to whites. Mr. Brown saw a picture bigger than the amount he would be paid for the one night performance on the show. He wanted to show the world that he was equal to, or better than, any of the popular artists in the U.S. and U.K.”²⁰¹

Once Brown was booked to appear on the T.A.M.I. Show, his self-interests were superseded by a another motivation. Brown, who was intensely proud of Black music and his

²⁰¹ King interview, October 15, 2020.

performance style, considered himself the standard bearer for all Black artists struggling for greater recognition in the entertainment industry. King states,

While Mr. Brown was pleased many of the popular British groups were recording and performing on stage songs written, or made popular by Black songwriters and performers, their performance styles did not do justice to their adopted material. Mr. Brown wanted the world to experience Black music delivered in a Black style, and no other Black performer could do that like him. Mr. Brown's supreme confidence allowed him to carry the burden that if he failed to be the best act on the T.A.M.I. Show, it would not only be his failure, but meant failure for Black music, its artists, and Black people in general.²⁰²

Brown delivered a spectacular performance that achieved his goal, which, according to King, pleased him greatly. King adds, "Mr. Brown was proud to be Black. He considered Black music on the same level as the world's greatest music. On a bad day, he viewed himself as one of the world's greatest performers. On a good day, like the T.A.M.I. Show, he considered himself "the" world's greatest performer."²⁰³ Less than a year before Brown's appearance on the T.A.M.I. Show, he recorded "James Brown Live at the Apollo Theater." The recording had both commercial and cultural implications. The record stayed on *Billboard's* top album charts for an unprecedented sixty-six weeks. The popularity of Brown's record brought him financial success and much publicity; but the record also had a major cultural impact. The Apollo Theater, established in 1934 in Harlem, New York, had become for Blacks perhaps their most important cultural institution. The structure located at West 125 Street has been referred to as the "Uptown Met," a "Black Grand Ole Opry," and "the Black equivalent of the Palace." According to author Ted Fox, "the Apollo Theater probably exerted a greater influence upon popular culture than any entertainment venue in the world." Brown's music and style on "Live

²⁰² King interview, October 15, 2020.

²⁰³ Ibid.

at the Apollo” was pure “Black.”²⁰⁴ He made no concessions to accommodate white tastes. Brown’s music, infused with feeling and expression, could only come from the Black experience. Blacks viewed Brown’s performance on “Live at the Apollo” as a form that whites could never steal. He followed “Live at the Apollo” with a visual presentation of his music on the T.A.M.I. Show which connected Brown to many young whites desiring to understand the needs and aspirations of Blacks. James Brown helped define a new role for Blacks as demonstrated by his later recording, “Say It Loud – I’m Black and I’m Proud.”²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Ted Fox, *Showtime at the Apollo: 50 Years of Great Entertainment from Harlem’s World Famous Theater* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1983).

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 242.

V. THE ROCK FESTIVAL ERA (1967-1969)

The immediate sources of the rock festival era began around 1965 in San Francisco. The city was an ideal place for a counterculture movement to grow. Some of the most important personalities of the Beat movement had migrated to San Francisco in the fifties and early sixties. By 1965, hippies and young people were relocating in the Haight-Ashbury district of the city.²⁰⁶ In the summer of 1967, the rock festival had assumed immense importance to the growth of the counterculture and consistently attracted youth to the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco.²⁰⁷ As outspoken revolutionary Jerry Rubin proclaimed, “Under the surface, silent people railed at the chains upon their souls. A latent drama of repression and discontent. Amerika was trapped by her contradictions.” Rubin credited Elvis for “turning our uptight young awakening bodies around. Hard animal rock energy/beat surged hot through us, the driving rhythm arousing repressed passions. Music to fill the spirit. Music to bring us together.” In Rubin’s words, “Rock ‘n’ Roll marked the beginning of the revolution.”²⁰⁸

Rock festivals in the late 1960s had three distinguishing characteristics: the age of the attendees; the widespread use of drugs; and, the size of the crowds. The majority of rock festival attendees were under thirty, with a larger majority in the eighteen-to-twenty-five year old

²⁰⁶ Jerry Rubin, *Do It!: Scenarios of the Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), 18.

²⁰⁷ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 18; Nicholas von Hoffman, *We Are the People Our Parents Warned Us Against: The Classic Account of the 1960s Counter-Culture in San Francisco* (Chicago: Elephant, 1968), 7.

²⁰⁸ Rubin, *Do It!: Scenarios of the Revolution*, 18.

cohort. While alcohol and marijuana were prevalent at twentieth-century jazz festivals, drug use at rock festivals was far more extensive. Not only were drugs used openly, drug use was considered part of the festival experience. The sheer numbers of people attracted to rock festivals – Woodstock and Altamont, both in excess of 400,000 – were staggering..²⁰⁹

The message of many baby boomers, often sensationalized by the media, speaking through their amplified language of rock music, was a rejection of middle-class American values. For example, Monterey Pop was treated more like a hippie circus. However, as planning for Woodstock was underway by 1969, the media began to take a more serious view of the rock festival.²¹⁰ For journalists, rock festivals symbolized the temporary triumph of a counterculture and led to a new proliferation of rock music. Festivals also seemed to provide a volatile generation with a much-needed emotional outlet.²¹¹

On a beautiful June weekend in 1967, the Monterey International Pop Festival unfolded. Monterey featured career-making performances by Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and Otis Redding, but they were just a few of the performers in a wildly diverse lineup.²¹² The Monterey International Pop Festival would happen only once, yet it stands out as one of the most important events in rock music history.²¹³ Held June 16, 17, and 18, 1967, in a sleepy oceanside town between Los Angeles and San Francisco, the Festival promised an amazing line-up of talent—Jefferson Airplane, The Byrds, Otis Redding, The Mamas & the Papas, Jimi Hendrix, The Grateful Dead, The Who, Big Brother & the Holding Company along with sixteen other noted acts—and it was to take place in a huge outdoor setting over three days. While the festival

²⁰⁹ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 6.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, ix.

²¹² *Monterey Pop*, directed by Leacock Pennebaker (United States, 2017), DVD Liner Notes.

²¹³ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 58.

format was not unusual for Jazz and Folk music concerts, it was a radical, never before attempted, concept for rock 'n' roll music.²¹⁴ Monterey is widely regarded as the forebearer of the modern day music fest in so far as it was the first attempt to make sense out of the Summer of Love ethos. Despite its promise of music, love and flowers, Monterey was designed to make a profit.²¹⁵

The original organizers of Monterey Pop, two Los Angeles hipsters, Alan Pariser and Ben Shapiro, envisioned a full-blown pop festival similar to the prestigious Monterey Jazz Festival which began in 1958. Pariser and Shapiro recruited financial support in the Los Angeles area and solicited high profile artists to perform at the Festival. During the early planning phase, the organizers turned to London for assistance consulting with Paul McCartney of the Beatles, who strongly recommended that The Who and Jimi Hendrix be included to give Monterey Pop an international flare. Pariser and Shapiro secured a commitment from the popular Los Angeles based group, The Mamas & The Papas, who were coming off six consecutive Top Ten records. The Los Angeles based group brought immediate star-power to the Festival's artist roster. Yet Monterey Pop needed the creativity and adventure the New Rock bands that only San Francisco could provide. However, merging the mavericks from Haight-Ashbury, who were instinctively suspicious of the Hollywood hucksters of Top Forty music, with the two Angeleans Adler and Phillips, posed serious diplomatic problems. After several meetings between the contingents from Los Angeles and San Francisco, their philosophical differences became even more apparent. The relaxed, freewheeling San Francisco groups viewed the Los Angeles music scene corrupted with commercialism offering little expression of

²¹⁴ Kubernik, *1967: A Complete Rock Music History of the Summer of Love*, 122.

²¹⁵ Max Bell, "Monterey International Pop Festival Uncut," *RocksBackPages*, March 1998, <https://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/imonterey-international-pop-festivali>.

artistic quality. The Los Angeles contingent's view of the Bay Area hippies was that they foolishly substituted sound business practices for a drug induced state of consciousness which ultimately resulted in financial disaster.²¹⁶

Rock Sully, former Grateful Dead manager, described the situation between the Los Angeles and San Francisco groups quite colorfully in his book *Living With the Dead*. He stated:

They met with several managers of local bands at the Airplane's house on Fulton Street in Haight-Ashbury. It started with John and Michelle Phillips coming to see us representing themselves as fellow musicians who've taken acid or who have maybe taken acid. Phillips is a musician whose group we respect but why is he talking like that? The hip malapropisms, the music-biz cliches, the fake sincerity. We discover that once you get beyond the fur hat and the beads he's just like a goddamn LA slicko. We all get the same vibe from him. He's here to exploit the San Francisco hippie/love phenomenon by building a Festival around us and Janice, Country Joe, Quick silver, and the Airplane.²¹⁷

Eventually, the opposing groups from the Bay Area and Hollywood were able to form an alliance by agreeing to make the Festival a charity event. It was agreed that any profits would be distributed to needy students wanting to enter the field of popular music, along with some other loosely defined charities as potential beneficiaries.²¹⁸ Based upon the Festival's commitment to give all profits to charity, the *San Francisco Chronicle's* influential columnist, Ralph Glesson, a respected figure in the Haight-Ashbury community, gave the Festival his blessing.²¹⁹ Despite lingering misgivings about the Los Angeles organizers' intentions, the Bay Area groups committed to participate in Monterey Pop. Jefferson Airplane, The Grateful Dead, Country Joe

²¹⁶ Joel Selvin and Jim Marshall, *Monterey Pop, June 16-18, 1967* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1992), 11-15.

²¹⁷ Rock Scully with David Dalton, *Living With the Dead* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1996), 99.

²¹⁸ Selvin and Marshall, *Monterey Pop*, 11-15.

²¹⁹ Danny Goldberg, "Monterey International Pop Festival: Looking Back," 50th Summer of Love San Francisco 1967-2017, <http://summerof.love/monterey-international-pop-festival-looking-back/>.

and the Fish, Moby Grape, and Big Brother & the Holding Company were all on the bill. Once it was known that the popular Bay Area groups were going to perform at the Festival, San Francisco's new underground FM Radio Station KMPX started to promote ticket sales and, as sales rose, the mass-media coverage began. The Festival offered an unprecedented and unmatched collection of talent which the masses would be exposed to for three days.²²⁰

Festival emissaries were dispatched to meet with Monterey city officials on numerous occasions to deal with their concerns as media coverage of the event began to intensify. The Festival's delegations were confronted by skeptical, and sometimes, hostile public officials. John Phillips made an appearance at a critical meeting and presented the case for why the Festival should be embraced by the Mayor and city officials. Phillips used his celebrity status to charm everyone and, essentially, told the city officials and politicians whatever they needed to hear. The City finally consented and Monterey Pop was a go.²²¹

By mid-afternoon on Friday, June 16, 1967, every highway leading into the quite seaside resort of Monterey was clogged with traffic. The staging area for the Festival was the Monterey County Fairgrounds which held some 7,500 seats. Immediately adjacent to the staging area was an open field where squatters could enjoy the music of the bands performing on stage. Reserve seat tickets ranged from \$3.00 to \$5.00 for the afternoon shows, and \$3.50 to \$6.50 for the evening shows; which all sold out, except for the Sunday afternoon event. Tickets to access the field adjacent to the staging area cost \$1.00. The organizers didn't know how many people would show since the outdoor format for rock 'n' roll music was the first of its kind.²²² As it

²²⁰ Selvin and Marshall, *Monterey Pop*, 5.

²²¹ *Ibid*, 11-15.

²²² James Miller, *Flowers in the Dustbin: The Rise of Rock and Roll, 1947-1977* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 260-61.

turned out the crowd at the Monterey Fairgrounds was so large, that once 12,000 tickets sold, the organizers decided to take down the fence, and turn the Festival into a no-charge event.²²³ At least 50,000 people came to Monterey Pop, creating at that point, the largest gathering ever for a Rock 'n' Roll concert.²²⁴ In addition to the music, the Festival's staff provided booths, decorated in flashy colors, selling paraphernalia and clothing appealing to the hippie culture. An array of items including necklaces, bracelets, pop art, beads, leather pieces, small balls, Indian Moccasins, headbands and other paraphernalia were available for purchase. Flowers were everywhere.²²⁵

The Festival organizers hoped to attract an audience similar to the "Human Be-In" held in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco on January 14, 1967. At this outdoor gathering a new breed of teenage rebels, the "hippie" revealed itself. This polyglot mixture offered an irresistible photogenic look for the media and critics of the new youth culture. Sporting long hair, bell-bottom pants, sandals, or barefoot, and even partial nudity, ringing small meditative bells, handing out flowers, carrying an array of colorful balloons and burning incense, the hippie image emerged. The terms "love feast", "free love", and "psychedelic" were introduced into pop culture by the hippie movement. The motto of Monterey Pop reflected the new youth culture, "Music, Love, and Flowers." Festival organizers promoted this trendy theme by inviting people to the event to listen to music, be happy, and to be free. Colorful posters were hung throughout the psychedelic enclaves of California pushing the Festival's theme of Music, Love and Flowers.²²⁶

²²³ Goldberg, "Monterey International Pop Festival."

²²⁴ Miller, *Flowers in the Dustbin*, 260-61.

²²⁵ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 30.

²²⁶ Miller, *Flowers in the Dustbin*, 262.

As the event began to unfold the crowd arrived in cars and vans, and by Friday evening close to thirty thousand people had jammed into Monterey. Surprisingly, the crowd was not made-up of just hippies, it consisted of all types. Some dressed in funny costumes, some in coats and ties; long-hairs and short hairs attended; some carrying hippie paraphernalia, including mind altering drugs; many with baskets of flowers; and, all primed and ready to party at the first outdoor rock ‘n’ roll festival. Also in attendance at Monterey Pop were record company executives from New York and Los Angeles, who paid \$150 for their prime seats right in front of the stage. These music moguls were drawn to the Festival by the large number of bands, all performing in one place over a short period of time. Their curiosity, along with the fear of missing out on the next big trend in music, attracted the industry’s top “star makers” to the happening at Monterey.²²⁷ While some artists came to make their statements, not their careers, Monterey turned out to be a proving ground for many of the artists. Many powerful people in the music industry experienced the New Rock for the first time and left Monterey with a glimpse of a new music world.²²⁸

As the record industry moguls would later realize, Monterey Pop was the beginning of the rise of under-ground rock over Top Forty.²²⁹ The battle between the “new” Rock and Top Forty “pop” rock changed the industry landscape. The standard three-minute, saccharine love songs delivered to the teenybopper market on seven-inch 45rpm records was changing to gut wrenching, blues inspired songs containing lyrics imbedded with social commentary delivered on twelve-inch, long playing albums. The sweet, soft sounds of The Association, Johnny Rivers, and The Mamas and The Papas were overrun by Joplin, Hendrix, The Who, Jefferson Airplane,

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Selvin and Marshall, *Monterey Pop*, 5.

²²⁹ Kubernik, *1967: A Complete Rock Music History of the Summer of Love*, 135-38.

and The Grateful Dead. Monterey Pop heralded the arrival of the blistering new sound that became the soundtrack of the late 1960s.²³⁰

Monterey marked the arrival of Rock ‘n’ Roll as big-time business. The festival set off a frenzy of signings with record companies trying to scoop-up groups with potential commercial value. The race for talent was on, and it started in earnest at Monterey. The new-found “hard rock” created a demand at Top-40 AM stations for songs formerly considered too radical for playlists. FM stations began popping up regularly and played the music unveiled at Monterey Pop. The Festival ushered in a more sophisticated system of sound amplification allowing bands to play for crowds in the tens of thousands. Gone were the days of the Beatles’ performance at Shea Stadium in New York in 1965, when 55,600 fans overpowered the Fad Four in audio volume. Stage lighting of artists now became an intricate part of the performance, and crews demonstrated efficiency in transitioning multiple acts on one stage with minimal downtime.

New standards for creature comforts were set at Monterey Pop with bands expecting whatever items of pleasure they needed to deliver a peak performance. Monterey unveiled the New Rock and the new counterculture, but not without a price. Artists now sought extravagant performance fees plus lavish contract rider demands. The vision of large profits motivated festival organizers as the format spread and record companies raced to sign talent with commercial viability regardless of musical quality. Perhaps, most concerning, the embracing of drugs of all shapes and colors became commonplace by both artists and audiences. Things would never be the same again after Monterey.²³¹ The first issue of the new *Rolling Stone* magazine, published five months after Monterey Pop, blasted the Festival’s board in an article

²³⁰ Selvin and Marshall, *Monterey Pop*, 3-4.

²³¹ Selvin and Marshall, *Monterey Pop*, 58-59; Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 269-270.

styled “Where’s the Money from Monterey?” While claiming to have earned a net profit of more than \$200,000, only a small portion had been allocated to charities several months after the Festival. The *Rolling Stone* article also questioned the high expenses incurred in producing the event calling it “the traditional charity ball in hippie drag”.²³² But, by the end of the year a substantial portion of the reported profits had been distributed to silence most of the critics. The Festival board reported expenses of slightly less than \$300,000, and revenues from ticket sales and other sources at \$200,000. If not for the \$250,000 payment from ABC-TV the Monterey Internal Pop Festival Foundation would have lost money.²³³

Initially, a film of the festival produced by D.A. Pennebaker floundered due to poor distribution. Pennebaker’s film eventually earned a \$2 million box office gross and was praised by some movie critics as the standard for future rock concert documentaries. An attempt was made to hold a second Monterey Pop festival, but city officials reversed their lavish praise and laudatory remarks given during, and, shortly after, the event. Instead, festival organizers were met with concern over drug use, open sex, nudity, and loud music. After several meetings with city, county, and state officials, plans for a second Monterey Pop were abandoned by organizers.²³⁴

In the coming years, the rock festival era that Monterey initiated grew to remarkable proportions. The size of festival crowds would range half-a-million and more, and festivals like Woodstock and Altamont would be filmed for documentaries. But, the beginning was Monterey Pop and, before that, the T.A.M.I. Show.²³⁵ “Monterey Pop provided the happy ending everyone

²³² Michael Lydon, “Where’s the Money from Monterey Pop?” *Rolling Stones*, November 9, 1967, <https://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/wheres-the-money-from-monterey-pop>.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Selvin and Marshall, *Monterey Pop*, 101-104.

²³⁵ Ibid, 105.

has pretty much forgotten about,” recalled music journalist Harvey Kubernik, “That mystical June weekend let people know there was an audience for bands that in no way fit the operative models for what bands should be like. They were not groups that wore uniforms and tried to be entertainers. This change was not a love thing, but one that happened throughout the western world, the English-speaking world. Everything was becoming more integrated and blended.”²³⁶ Journalist Michael Lydon agreed, “The Monterey International Pop Festival was a dream come true. An odd, baffling, and at times threatening dream, but one whose main theme was the creation and further growth of rock ‘n’ roll music, a music as young, vital, and beautiful as any being made today.”²³⁷

The failure of music journalists and historians to recognize the influence of the T.A.M.I. Show on rock festivals obscures a more complex reality. Monterey Pop, and, later Woodstock and Altamont, were the beneficiaries of the social, technological, and commercial transformations initiated by the T.A.M.I. Show. These changes not only affected the music industry, but also influenced the way many youths viewed Black performers, themselves, and society. As with the the T.A.M.I. Show, Monterey Pop incorporated a diverse lineup of artists representing a wide range of musical genres. The results were remarkably similar. For example, Otis Redding’s performance in front of a predominately white audience at Monterey Pop duplicated the same reaction as James Brown’s stunning performance three years earlier in Santa Monica. Both shows introduced their own novel acts, the Rolling Stones on the T.A.M.I. Show, and Jimi Hendrix at Monterey Pop. The T.A.M.I. Show introduced television while Monterey unveiled new sound amplification technology. Monterey Pop adopted the concert film

²³⁶ Kubernik, *1967: A Complete Rock Music History of the Summer of Love*, 138.

²³⁷ Michael Lydon, “Monterey Pops! An International Pop Festival (2),” *RocksBackPages*, June 20, 1967, <https://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/monterey-pops-an-international-pop-festival-2>.

concept – the Rockumentary – pioneered by the T.A.M.I. Show.²³⁸ The music played on the T.A.M.I. Show and Monterey Pop shaped young people’s views of the world. According to historian Brian Ward, “Popular music did contribute to the ways in which ordinary people arranged their beliefs, values, and priorities.”²³⁹ Monterey Pop acted as the nexus from the T.A.M.I. Show to the biggest ventures in festival money-making yet to come – Woodstock and Altamont.

In 1969, half a million people converged on a small, rural town in upstate New York to attend an outdoor music festival. Held August 15, 16, and 17, 1969, the Woodstock Music and Art Fair: An Aquarian Exposition, was destined to become the symbol of the sixties counterculture.²⁴⁰ Considered by many historians and journalists as the most famous musical event of the 1960s, if not the entire century, Woodstock is held more reverently as a sacred memory than are the other pilgrimages of rock music. Despite an impressive line-up of bands, the fame Woodstock has enjoyed was only marginally related to the music. Woodstock became the mark of generational values and power, as commentators have used the words “epical” and “biblical” to describe the importance of the event. Woodstock symbolized an utopian, idealized vision of peace, harmony and community, at least for its predominately white, middle class attendees and chroniclers.²⁴¹ In this way, Woodstock created its own reality, one seemingly and

²³⁸ Michael Haralambos, *Right On: From Blues to Soul in Black America* (New York: Drake Publishers, 1975), 9.

²³⁹ Ward, *Just My Soul Responding*, 15.

²⁴⁰ Michael Lang, *Woodstock: 3 Days of Peace & Music* (London: Reel Art Press, 2019); Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 277.

²⁴¹ Doug Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 283.

a historically distant from its commercial ends and means, at least for its predominately white, middle class attendees and chroniclers.²⁴²

Newspapers, magazines, television, and deep thinkers sanctioned the myth of Woodstock, and it quickly spread across the continent. It became difficult to separate *Time's* reporting of Woodstock from *Rolling Stone's* description of the triumphant event. The notion of a “Woodstock Generation” or even more descriptive, the “Woodstock Nation,” slipped into the language of reporters, columnists, and writers. Many reached the conclusion that an autonomous youth subculture had been formed within the larger structure of society. According to historian Doug Duram, “Woodstock became an event that was claimed by a generation as a symbol of their own transformative ability.” It was the “dawning of the Age of Aquarius.”²⁴³ As historian Mitchell K. Hall describes, “Even though the event proceeded under a general atmosphere of dissent from the ongoing war in Vietnam, the political stance was more implied than overt. Woodstock produced an exhilarating sense of optimism for the future.”²⁴⁴

In truth, Woodstock began as a commercial enterprise when John Roberts, a recent graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and Joel Rosenman, a recent graduate of Yale Law School, met following their graduations. They quickly became friends, and, then, business partners. United by their mutual desire to get involved in a venture with big, quick profit potential, Roberts and Rosenman were eager to explore non-traditional – even countercultural – business opportunities. Both young men had financial resources, or, at least, access to resources to allow them to take risks in their business careers. Roberts was the beneficiary of a substantial

²⁴² Robert Sam Anson, *Gone Crazy and Back Again* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1981), 124.

²⁴³ Owrn, *Born at the Right Time*, 284; Lyrics from the composition Age of Aquarius on the LP “Hair”

²⁴⁴ Mitchell K. Hall, *The Emergence of Rock and Roll* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 141.

trust fund, and Rosenman's father was a prominent Long Island orthodontist with capital to assist his son with a start-up business. The two young men formed Challenge International, Limited, and placed an advertisement in the *New York Times* that read: "Young men with unlimited capital looking for interesting and legitimate business enterprises." The advertisement produced close to five hundred replies, none of which captured Roberts and Rosenman interest.²⁴⁵

A lawyer friend of Rosenman introduced him and Roberts to two shaggy-haired individuals who had a promising idea. Michael Lang and Artie Kornfeld wanted to build a rock star retreat with a state-of-the-art recording studio and living quarters near Woodstock, New York. The town was fast becoming a counterculture gathering place for rock musicians and composers. The validity of Woodstock as a site for a creative hide-a-way was supported by Bob Dylan – by then a household and profitable brand himself – residing there. To attract the media and the rock world to their creative facilities, Lang and Kornfeld envisioned a large concert being held with Woodstock locals such as Dylan, the Band, and Tim Hardin to headline the concert. Kornfeld was confident the rock community would embrace his creative enclave.²⁴⁶

Lang and Kornfeld were hip to the music scene; Roberts and Rosenman were not. Kornfeld worked as an A&R man at Capitol Records and previously had worked at Laurie Records; prior to his stint at Capitol he was a part-time producer and lyricist for a top-40 band, the Cowsills. Lang managed bands, and in that capacity, had approached Kornfeld with a tape of a band he was managing while Kornfeld worked at Capitol. Lang and Kornfeld did not have

²⁴⁵ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 121; David Szatmary, *A Time to Rock* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), 211; Joel Rosenman, John Roberts and Robert Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital: The Inside Story of the Woodstock Festival Told by the Two Who Paid for It* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974).

²⁴⁶ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 121; Szatmary, *A Time to Rock*, 122; Rosenman, Roberts and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

the capital to transform their ideas into reality, but it appeared to them, the New England preppies could provide the funding. The reality was that the cash needed to fund the Rock retreat was Robert's money, not Rosenman's. Roberts was due to receive the first installment from his trust fund, and he was eager to invest it. While Roberts liked Lang and Kornfeld's overall concept, he was reluctant to turn over a substantial amount of his inheritance to a couple of long-haired hipsters to invest in a record studio in up-state New York, especially in a town with a reputation for attracting people with a counterculture philosophy.

Roberts came up with a counterproposal. He would invest a portion of the amount Lang and Kornfeld requested, but not for a recording studio. Instead, Robert's funds would be used to expand the concert idea to a two, or three day, rock festival. The profits Lang and Kornfeld were so confident the concert would generate could be used to finance the rock retreat studio. Lang and Kornfeld had nothing to lose, so they agreed. Because Rosenman was Robert's friend and roommate, he cut him in on the deal. The four agreed on the basic plan for a multi-day music festival, and Woodstock Ventures Incorporated was formed.²⁴⁷ Historian Gerald J. DeGroot describes the deal, "Naïveté provided a sturdy umbrella against a storm of trouble. Roberts and Rosenman agreed to put up \$150,000 of their own money to cover a substantive portion of the estimated costs of \$200,000. Since a crowd of 75,000 was expected, and admission pegged at \$6.00 per ticket per day, logic suggested that the promoters would be rolling in money from the event. As it turned out, Kornfeld and his sidekick Michael Lang proved remarkably adept spenders, much of the money going for drugs and beautiful women."

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

“‘It sounds feasible,’ Roberts said of the idea. ‘And not really all that risky. After all, how much trouble can you get into putting on a concert?’”²⁴⁸

After a month of business preplanning, the first problem that confronted the new enterprise was Lang’s inability to secure a site for the festival. Negotiations with the landowner of a site near Woodstock came to a halt once it became clear what the intended use of the property would be. Several other sites in Woodstock were dismissed as unsuitable for various reasons. The search was expanded to areas outside Woodstock, and a site called Mills Industrial Park was discovered. Roberts and Rosenman met with the landowner, Howard Mills. Mills was in the process of turning his land into an industrial park, but at the time there was nothing on it. He thought it would make a perfect site for a “folk” festival. Negotiations went smoothly with Mill’s main concerns being the kind of music that was going to be played, and would the promoters clean up the property afterwards. A fee of \$10,000 was agreed upon to rent Mill’s property. Roberts and Rosenman were pleased with the site because all the utilities were supplied, and the site contained about two hundred attractive acres with great highway access.²⁴⁹ When Roberts and Rosenman returned to the city and informed their partners of the Mills site, Lang immediately wanted to survey the property by helicopter. After his aerial tour, Lang proclaimed the site unfit, finding it ugly and dirty. Time was not on the group’s side since it was now April and acts were being signed for the August concert. Lang gave in, but warned his partners that, “The town itself and the surroundings were kind of hostile to say the least.”²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ DeGroot, *The Sixties Unplugged*, 237; Rosenman, Roberts, and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

²⁴⁹ Makower, *Woodstock: The Oral History*, 55.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 58; Rosenman, Roberts, and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

Initially the Wallkill, New York Zoning Board of Appeals, the incorporated municipality in which the Mills property was located, approved the property lease between Mills and Woodstock Ventures. Rosenman told the Board that a crowd in the thirty-thousand range was anticipated. The only topic that the Board seemed concerned about was traffic, otherwise, reaction to the proposed concert was benign. After the seemingly successful meeting with the Board, Roberts voiced concern to his partners about the general atmosphere in which the meeting was conducted. It was obvious to Roberts that the individuals on the Board did not view promoters from New York City favorably. Wallkill, a lower middle class, conservative, religious, community, was not exactly the prime site for an event that would attract an invasion of rock music fans. Robert's intuition proved correct when Woodstock Ventures learned that several Wallkill citizens had formed a group called the Concerned Citizens of Wallkill to oppose the proposed event. When Rosenman first presented the Woodstock Festival concept to the Board, he described it as a cultural exposition featuring arts and crafts, and music of all kinds. Any emphasis on "heavy rock" music was played down. As construction of the stage and sound towers began on the Mills site an influx of workers, many of whom had long hair, and dressed in hippie attire, became more prominent. Loud music was played during the day as workers went about their activities, and talk about marijuana use began to circulate through the town. Most alarming to the locals was a rumor that the estimate of the size of the crowd for the festival had been grossly, and, intentionally, underestimated. As the Woodstock Ventures principals were led to believe that the town would issue it the necessary permits, the Concerned Citizens Group were pressuring town officials to pass a new law which would in effect stop the hippie invasion.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ Ibid, 89; Rosenman, Roberts, and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

By early July, Woodstock Ventures had entered into artist performance contracts advancing \$457,000 in deposits for the upcoming event. Behind the scene town officials opposed to the festival, and representatives of the Concerned Citizens Group, were drafting a new law, Local Law #1 of 1969, regulating the assembly of persons in public places. Two sections of the law would be problematic to Woodstock Ventures; Section 3.2 stating, “All garbage, trash, rubbish, or other refuse shall be stored until removed at an unobtrusive area of the premises”; and, Section 3.4 stating, “No permit shall be issued unless the applicant shall deposit with the Town Clerk cash or good surety company bond, approved by the Town Clerk, in the minimum of \$100,000.00, and conditioned that no damage will be done to any public or private party.”²⁵²

The Board called a public meeting July 14 to allow discussion of the proposed law. After representatives of the Concerned Citizens Group and Woodstock Ventures made their respective arguments, the Board adjourned to deliberate its action. At 3:00pm July 15 it was announced that the new law was approved by a vote of 4 to 0 with one abstention. The adoption of the new law was the death knell for the Woodstock Festival in the town of Wallkill.²⁵³ The Mills lease was dead.

During the weeks following the adoption of the new law, preparations for the Woodstock Music and Art Fair continued without interruption, but not without serious challenges. The loss of the festival’s site created a publicist’s nightmare trying to counter negative stories about the perils of Rock festivals in general, and Woodstock in particular. An eviction notice was posted on the front door of Howard Mill’s barn, the site office for

²⁵² Spitz, *Barefoot in Babylon*, 206; Rosenman, Roberts, and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

Woodstock Ventures, informing it to pack-up its belongings and clear out. Once the Wallkill Board's decision was made public, contractors and suppliers started to demand immediate payment for outstanding accounts, and, the New York Attorney General's office started inquiring about how refunds for tickets already purchased would be handled. While on the surface the principals maintained a confident attitude about legal appeals to keep the festival in Wallkill, behind closed doors, thoughts of panic and financial ruin were starting to surface. The Woodstock festival was scheduled to take place in less than a month.²⁵⁴

Everyone within fifty miles of the White Lake community of Sullivan County, New York knew Max Yasgur. He was an outspoken, commanding voice, who locals respected. A local real estate agent, hired by Woodstock Ventures, approached Yasgur and explained the extenuating circumstances involving the kids who wanted to hold a concert. Yasgur agreed to at least listen to a proposal to rent a portion of his farm from the young entrepreneurs. Fortunately, for the principals of Woodstock Ventures, Yasgur strongly believed they had been treated wrongly by the Town of Wallkill. Being a fighter himself, Yasgur was inclined to help, but only if it made good business sense for him.²⁵⁵

Roberts and Lang met Yasgur at his farm, and once the pleasantries were disposed of, got down to business. Yasgur was polite, but firm, acknowledging that he was inclined to help but emphasized that few options remained for Woodstock Ventures to salvage its festival. Yasgur also pointed out a number of concerns he had about potential damage to his property, crops, and negative comments from some of the locals that he would have to deal with. Yasgur assured Roberts and Lang they would not experience the same problems with the Town of

²⁵⁴ Spitz, *Barefoot in Babylon*, 212; Rosenman, Roberts, and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 247.

Bethel that they encountered at Wallkill. Yasgur was confident he could handle city politics. After agreeing on a rental fee of \$125,000, Yasgur outlined every detail of the proposed agreement, and drew a map of each plot of land that he would make available; how long it could be used; exact boundaries of the land rented; clean-up, and repair requirements. Once the parties shook hands on the deal, Yasgur said he would have his attorney draft a memorandum of understanding for everyone to sign. Confident in his ability to get officials of the Town of Bethel to approve the rental agreement, Yasgur already requested a town meeting. As Yasgur promised, the Bethel Town and Zoning board did meet and approved the rental agreement. The key phrase stated during the board meeting was, “all we are asking for is fair play.” This phrase would be repeated frequently by Woodstock Venture’s principals in the future when interviewed by the media. On Tuesday, July 22, 1969, just 24 days before the start of the Aquarian Exposition, a caravan of trucks, buses, station wagons, heavy machinery, vans, and motorcycles journeyed from Orange County, New York to the tiny town of Bethel on their way to Max Yasgur’s farm.²⁵⁶

As construction on the site was underway, Woodstock Ventures was plagued by additional problems that jeopardized its Aquarian Festival. One such situation involved the twenty-eight year old, high-profile, community organizer, Abbie Hoffman. Hoffman approached Woodstock Ventures “requesting” that it “kick-in” a portion of its soon-to-be profits to help a number of community based organizations that provided services to, or supported political causes, for the audience the festival sought to attract. Some of these organizations provided drug addiction services to hippies, others were anti-war focused, and, a few, questionable at best, such as, Medical Committee for Human Rights, Up Against the Wall

²⁵⁶ Spitz, *Barefoot in Babylon*, 255; Rosenman, Roberts, and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

Motherfucker, to name a few. The principals of Woodstock Ventures, especially Roberts, who was funding the event, viewed Hoffman's "demands" as a shakedown. Hoffman pledged his support, along with his allied community groups, in return, for a payment of \$10,000. However, if Woodstock Ventures refused, then Hoffman threatened "to bring this whole thing down around your ears and if you don't want us to do that you'll write a check." Eventually, Woodstock Ventures paid Hoffman.²⁵⁷

As the start of the Festival rapidly approached problems with the food vendors erupted. Under threat of a walk-out, Woodstock Ventures had to renegotiate its concession agreement and submit to less favorable terms. The new agreement reduced potential income to Woodstock Ventures thereby fueling a billowing plume of red smoke from the company's financial forecast. The problems for the festival seemed endless. The logistics of building the stage, getting lights and sound systems up, erecting fences and gates, making arrangements for parking, providing electrical power, toilets and sanitation facilities, sources of drinking water, communication equipment, trash removal, and traffic control, were all running behind schedule due to the debacle in Wallkill. The last minute change of venue created a host of problems related to promotion, marketing, and ticket sales. In addition, an edict issued by New York Police Department Commissioner, Howard R. Leary, banning his off-duty officers from providing security services for the festival, created another major challenge for organizers. A strenuous negotiation occurred between Woodstock Ventures and, an "unofficial, unaffiliated, unnamed" spokesman for the New York City patrolmen willing to defy Commissioner Leary's order. Eventually a deal was reached with the renegade cops to provide the manpower needed

²⁵⁷ Makower, *Woodstock: The Oral History*, 107; Abbie Hoffman, *Woodstock Nation* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), 703; Rosenman, Roberts, and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

for the Peace Service Corps- the official security force for the festival. The members of the Corps signed service contracts under colorful aliases – Casper the Ghost, Elmer Fudd, Robin Hood, Clark Kent, Irving Zorro – and demanded payment in cash every twelve hours. They refused to sign any receipts for receiving the cash payments. Once the deal was concluded, it was apparent the cops were artists too--con artists.²⁵⁸

Roberts fully understood Woodstock Ventures was flirting with economic disaster, having spent more than double the amount originally projected when the project was first conceived. But the potential to erase the red ink still existed with two revenue sources – gate receipts and film rights. Roberts attributed a great measure of optimism to a film deal to turn the festival's bottom line positive.²⁵⁹ Woodstock Ventures made a deal with Wadleigh-Meurice Productions, a team of young filmmakers, who agreed to raise all the necessary funds for production of the film, which was estimated to be approximately \$100,000. Under the arrangement Wadleigh and Meurice would retain artistic control by placing the finished movie with a distributor of their choosing. Woodstock Ventures retained fifty percent of the producer's royalty after the distributor's fee, and Wadleigh-Meurice would share thirty percent of the royalties received by Woodstock Ventures. As the Festival rapidly approached, it became apparent the filmmakers were going to be unable to find investors to underwrite the costs of production. In a panic Meurice approached Woodstock Ventures to ask if it could front the \$100,000 in return for one hundred percent of the profits. Roberts adamantly opposed any renegotiation where the responsibility to fund the film fell on Woodstock Ventures. As the young filmmakers worked frantically to secure funding their negotiation leverage diminished.

²⁵⁸ Spitz, *Barefoot in Babylon*, 337; Makower, *Woodstock: The Oral History*, 124, 338; Rosenman, Roberts and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

²⁵⁹ Spitz, *Barefoot in Babylon*, 311; Rosenman, Roberts and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

Ultimately, Meurice made a deal with Warner Brothers, but in his haste to salvage a deal, only a small percentage of royalties was retained for Woodstock Ventures. As it turned out, Roberts made a very costly mistake in his decision not to fund the film producers. Robert's decision would haunt him as perhaps the most tragic decision of the entire Woodstock Venture.²⁶⁰

The other source of revenue Robert's believed would help turn the losses to profits was gate receipts. Advance ticket sales were over \$1,000,000, which indicated that walk-up gate receipts could be substantial. Surprisingly, the crowd coming to the festival arrived before all the fencing and gates could be completed. By Wednesday, August 13, over twenty-five thousand Acquarians were ensconced on the festival grounds. To make the situation worse, the advance crowd continued to arrive every hour, and it became apparent the fence and gates were not going to be completed in time to control the crowd.²⁶¹ Roberts, Rosenman, Lange, and Kornfeld made a painful decision that spelled financial doom for the festival. Woodstock would be a free event. According to Roberts, "certainly as a business venture, it was dead. When you couldn't collect ticket revenues at the gate, we sort of said, 'Fuck the gates'."²⁶²

By nine o'clock Thursday night, the line of traffic along Route 17-B was creeping slowly. It appeared that the organizer's estimate of 200,000 people would be dwarfed by a much larger crowd. Festival goers traveled in beat-up heaps, VW buses and bugs, station wagons, sports cars, pick-up trucks and vans, school buses and hearses. License plates from California and Colorado were common. The American Automobile Association warned motorists the thruways were a madhouse. The traffic boondoggle did not seem to deter rock fans from across

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 312; Seth Cagin and Philip Dray, *Born to Be Wild: Hollywood and the Sixties Generation* (Boca Raton, FL: Coyote Books, 1994), 86.

²⁶¹ Cagin and Dray, *Born to Be Wild*, 86.

²⁶² Makower, *Woodstock: The Oral History*, 180; Rosenman, Roberts and Pilpel, *Young Men with Unlimited Capital*.

the nation from converging on the Town of Bethel. Tens of thousands of hitchhikers moved methodically toward Yasgur's farm. Many area homeowners yelled at teenagers who trespassed on their property, tossed garbage into their yards, or paused to urinate against their trees. The influx of young people seemed to many residents of Bethel an invasion. The siege was just beginning.²⁶³

By Friday afternoon, August 15, the traffic problem had grown worse. All roads leading to the festival were locked in a long line of cars and nothing was moving. Some festival goers grew impatient with the traffic cluster and pulled their cars off the side of the road and began walking to the festival site. Once space ran out along the side of the road, some people abandoned their cars in the middle of the road. According to New York State Police, "there were more than a million people on the road in the festival vicinity by late Friday afternoon. Of that number, at least forty percent never got close to the festival site."²⁶⁴

Despite such problems of audience access, media coverage was intense for Woodstock. This was a blessing and a curse. For example, the *New York Times* criticized Woodstock in an editorial, posing the question, "What kind of culture is it that can produce so colossal a mess?" For *Times* reporters, the music of the festival was subordinate to the crowd and the conditions, which symbolized the ideas and lifestyles of the young generation.²⁶⁵ Woodstock Ventures claimed to have lost \$1.3 million on the event. In reality, John Roberts suffered the financial loss, not his partners. When Roberts rejected Michael Wadleigh and Bob Meurice's attempt to renegotiate the film agreement, Woodstock Ventures lost valuable royalty rights. Wadleigh-

²⁶³ Spitz, *Barefoot in Babylon*, 342; Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 127.

²⁶⁴ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 131; Daniel Bukszpan, *Woodstock: 50 Years at Peace and Music* (Watertown, MA: Imagine Books, 2019), 53.

²⁶⁵ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 147.

Maurice sold their rights to Warner Brothers for \$100,000. As of 1990, Roberts claimed, “that the film had amassed gross receipts of more than \$100 million, and that the soundtrack and album had sold more than six million units grossing more than \$100 million as well.” The immense popularity of summer rock festivals proved that the magnetic attraction was much stronger than anyone had anticipated.²⁶⁶

There were a number of similarities between Woodstock and the T.A.M.I. Show; both were live events, each had a diverse lineup of popular artists from multiple genres, many of the headliner artists were heroes to the younger generation, and the audiences were overwhelmingly white.²⁶⁷ Yet, the contrasts between Woodstock and the T.A.M.I. Show were also stark. At Woodstock, some fans at the massive, three day event engaged in drug and alcohol consumption, sexual acts, nudity and openly announced their political views, namely, anti-Vietnam War, anti-authoritarianism, anti-commercialism, anti-racism, and so on. The T.A.M.I. Show focused on the performers and their music.²⁶⁸ The demographics of those attending Woodstock were demonstratively different from those attending the T.A.M.I. Show: older, a wider geographic footprint, politically active, and greater financial resources.²⁶⁹ But, Woodstock and the T.A.M.I. Show share a common bond; both events became movies. Live filming helps explain the influence Woodstock had in shaping the narrative of young peoples’ perceptions of the 1960s. The movie created a generational reality far beyond those who

²⁶⁶ Mike Evans and Paul Kingsburg, *Woodstock: Three Days that Rocked the World* (New York: Sterling, 2019), 250; Dale Bell, ed., *Woodstock: An Inside Look at the Movie That Shook Up the World and Defined a Generation*. (Studio City, CA: Michael Wiese Productions, 1999); Lang, *Woodstock: 3 Days of Peace & Music*, 272; *40th Anniversary Edition Woodstock: Three Days of Peace and Music*, directed by Michael Wadleigh (Director’s Cut 1994; Burbank, CA; Warner Home Video) DVD.

²⁶⁷ *40th Anniversary Edition Woodstock*, DVD Liner Notes.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ Rex Weiner and Deanne Stillman, *Woodstock Census: The Nationwide Survey of the Sixties Generation*, Viking Press, New York, 1979, 13.

attended the event. It created an image to those young people, whose only connection to Woodstock, came in movie theaters, not in the mud and rain on Max Yasgur's farm.²⁷⁰

Promoter Michael Lang provided the universal narrative of Woodstock, stating:

At Woodstock, we would focus our energy on peace, setting aside the onstage discussion of political issues to just groove on what might be possible. It was a chance to see if we could create the kind of world for which we'd been striving throughout the sixties: that would be our political statement – proving that peace and understanding were possible and creating a testament to the value of the counterculture. It would be three days of peace and music.²⁷¹

While both Woodstock and the T.A.M.I. Show resulted in movies, the central themes of each were radically different. The T.A.M.I. Show places emphasis on music, while Woodstock celebrated the counterculture lifestyle. No artist at Woodstock created a James Brown moment, or an Otis Redding, Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin shock wave. The music at Woodstock provides background sounds and images for the central theme of the youth-driven counterculture – utilitarianism, racial equality, women's rights, artistic freedom, and sexual liberations. Woodstock represents the ultimate gathering of the Woodstock Nation and an opportunity to flaunt its values.²⁷² The message of the younger generation amplified so loudly at Woodstock would be terribly distorted at Altamont.

Altamont was scheduled at the end of the Rolling Stones tour of the United States as a giant "thank you" to their fans, a sentiment in line with the golden age of peace and harmony. The Stones wanted to replicate their free concert earlier in the year in Hyde Park, London, and

²⁷⁰ Thomas Edward Harkins, *Woodstock FAQ: All That's Left to Know About the Fabled Garden* (Guilford, CT: Backbeat Books, 2019), xiv.; Mike Evans and Paul Kingsburg, eds, *Woodstock: Three Days that Rocked the World*, 249; Lang, *Woodstock: 3 Days of Peace & Music*, 272.

²⁷¹ Lang, *Woodstock: 3 Days of Peace & Music*, 11.

²⁷² Harkins, *Woodstock FAQ*, xv; Evans and Kingsburg, *Woodstock: Three Days that Rocked the World*, 8.

to upstage the Woodstock Festival held just months earlier. Instead, Altamont turned out to be the antithesis of peace and harmony.²⁷³

Similar to Woodstock, the producers of Altamont – the Rolling Stones – faced logistical, legal, and financial problems, all of which were exacerbated by impending deadlines imposed by late changes in the location of the event. Relying on advice from local experts, namely, members of the Grateful Dead, and their associates in local chapters of the Hells Angels, decision making became problematic at best. The Stones' forceful leader, Mike Jagger, was adamant that the concert be held regardless of the obstacles thus abandoning caution and prudent decision making.

In a chaotic meeting held at the office of one of the attorneys representing the Stones, the flamboyant Melvin Belli, surrounded by radio and television crews, announced just two days before the scheduled concert its location – the Altamont Raceway – located fifty miles east of San Francisco. Seventy-two hours later, four people were dead, numerous others severely beaten by security personnel, and countless others injured or sick. Altamont was a disaster with far reaching cultural consequences.

A comparison of Altamont to the T.A.M.I. Show reveals similarities and troubling contrasts. The obvious link between the concert at the Altamont Raceway and the event at the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium is both were memorialized as movies. The T.A.M.I. Show and the Altamont film, *Gimme Shelter*, follow the rockumentary format, a genre established by the T.A.M.I. Show, and subsequently by the producers and money-men behind Monterey Pop and Woodstock.

²⁷³ DeGroot, *The Sixties Unplugged*, 411-412.

The T.A.M.I. Show featured a diverse lineup of artists and styles, showcasing a number of Black performers, who had never before been seen by most of the white teenagers in the audience. The general mood inside the auditorium was enthusiastic and welcoming. Organization of the T.A.M.I. Show resembled a television production as artists were shuffled to and from the stage at designated times. Uniformed policemen were present, and there was no appearance of inappropriate behavior by the audience. The artists' performances were the dominate feature of the T.A.M.I. Show.²⁷⁴

Gimme Shelter portrayed a completely different mood. The concert at Altamont started late and ended early. The physical environment was cold, the landscape desolate, and the concert grounds littered with debris from past demolition-derby events at the speedway. The massive crowd had to contend with inadequate supplies of food, water, and sanitation facilities. The topographical location and low stage elevation made it difficult for many in the audience to see, or even hear, the performers on stage. Poor event organization resulted in delays getting acts on and off stage causing the crowd to become impatient and ill-tempered.²⁷⁵

To make matters worse, instead of employing uniformed law enforcement personnel, the producers of the event hired contingents of local Hells Angeles' clubs to perform police duties. The mere presence of Hells Angeles created a menacing mood. When the Angeles were called upon to clear the stage and restricted areas of intruders, they resorted to threats and strong-arm tactics, employing, sawed-off pool cues, chains, and fists to remove unwanted fans. As the day progressed, and as the Angels' consumption of alcohol and drugs increased, crowd control

²⁷⁴ *Collector's Edition T.A.M.I. Show*, DVD liner notes.

²⁷⁵ *Gimme Shelter*, directed by David Maysles, Albert Maysles and Charlotte Zwerin (Los Angeles, CA: 1970; The Critern Collection, 2009), DVD Liner Notes.

methods became more brutal, resulting in numerous injuries to fans, concert personnel, and to each other, together with the death of Meredith Hunter.²⁷⁶

When the Rolling Stones ended their set and exited the grounds by helicopter, and as the massive crowd began to evaporate into the night, Altamont mercifully ended leaving behind a terrible mess, both literally and symbolically, for the young generation to clean up. The death of Meredith Hunter, who attended the concert with his white girlfriend, and dressed in flashy attire, aroused suspicions about whites' racial prejudice. Did the Angeles who assaulted Hunter act out of legitimate concern for the safety of the Rolling Stones? Or, were their actions motivated by violent racism? The incidents at Altamont caused some youths to examine their admiration for Black music as a meaningful conduit toward racial understanding and unity on social issues.²⁷⁷

The T.A.M.I. Show encouraged an optimistic view of how popular music could be a change agent for the way people arranged their beliefs, priorities, and sense of right and wrong. But Altamont presented a disturbing reality.²⁷⁸ As musician, writer, and historian Elijah Wald comments:

In hindsight, it is striking to watch the T.A.M.I. Show ... [where] all the artists were greeted with equally fervent screams by and overwhelmingly white, female audience, then to watch the effort Otis Redding had to make just three years later to connect with the audience of white hippies in Monterey. [S]till that was better than Woodstock two years later where out of thirty-three acts, the only featured Black performers were

²⁷⁶ Sasha Frere-Jones, *Bill Owens: Altamont 1969* (Milano: Damiani, 2019); Saul Austerlitz, *Just a Shot Away: Peace, Love, and Tragedy with The Rolling Stones at Altamont* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2018); David Dalton, "Altamont: An Eyewitness Account," *Gadfly*, November/December 1999, <https://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/altamont-an-eyewitness-account>; Ethan A. Russell, *Let it Bleed: The Rolling Stones, Altamont, and the End of the Sixties* (New York: Springboard Press, 2009); Joel Selvin, *Altamont: The Rolling Stones, The Hells Angels, and the Inside Story of Rock's Darkest Day* (New York: Dey Street Books, 2016); Austerlitz, *Just a Shot Away*; Sasha Frere-Jones, "The Chaos of Altamont and the Murder of Meredith Hunter," *The New Yorker*, March 28, 2019.

²⁷⁷ Ward, *Just My Soul Responding*, 12.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

Hendrix, Richie Havens, and Sly and the Family Stone. And the decline was more than numeric: In 1964, rock 'n' roll was still a completely biracial genre.²⁷⁹

Wald contends popular music split into two currents by the end of the 1960s, one current driven by rhythmic beats displayed by performance driven artists and supported by fans who liked to dance; the other current driven by complex musical and lyrical expression. Interestingly, Wald credits the Beatles as the catalyst for the split-currents of popular music, pointing out, that once the group stopped performing and became studio oriented, their music became grounded in complexity and listener oriented music. This fundamental split, “would create splinters over the following decades.”²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ Wald, *How the Beatles Destroyed Rock 'n' Roll*, 455.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 246.

VI. CONCLUSION

An array of commentators are instructive in evaluating the T.A.M.I. Show's contributions to American culture. While record sales and movie box office receipts are indicators of success, financial success alone does not automatically qualify a recording or movie as culturally significant. Often financial success is driven by the moods and whims of consumers, especially young consumers, which are ephemeral. The passage of time provides a more reliable context for evaluating the cultural impact of a recording or movie. Over half-a-century since its filming, the T.A.M.I. Show has been placed under a multi-generational microscope by writers, journalists, critics, industry executives, fans, and historians providing commentary about the social impact of the Show and its performers.²⁸¹

Based upon the continuous stream of praise from music and film critics for the T.A.M.I. Show, it is undeniable the film created something special. Obviously the Show struck a chord with teenagers in America during the mid-1960's, especially those in attendance the night the Show was filmed. The same conclusion can be derived by the success of the film's run in movie

²⁸¹ Swanson, "50 Years Ago: The TAMI Show Captures a Moment in Rock and Roll History"; "the T.A.M.I. Show," <http://www.media-party.com/discland/2010/04/the-tami-show.html>; Gundersen, "Concert Film 'the T.A.M.I. Show' captures rock in its 1964 glory."; Milo Miles, "The T.A.M.I. Show: A Groundbreaking '60s Concert," *NPR Music*, April 13, 2016, www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=125599928; Mark Deming, "the T.A.M.I. Show (1964)," AllMovie, accessed April 4, 2017, <http://www.allmovie.com/movie/v48291>; Colin Stutz, "What Makes the T.A.M.I. Show So Amazing, Still Today," *Crave*, June 7, 2015, www.craveonline.com/music/864727-makes-t-m-show-amazing-still-today; Eagan, "The Rock Concert That Captured an Era"; David Remnick, "The Possessed: James Brown in Eighteen Minutes," *The New Yorker*, July 30, 2014, www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/possessed-james-brown-eighteen-minutes; Steve Rosen, "The TAMI Show Remembered on its 40th Anniversary," WaybackMachine (blog), November 18, 2004, <http://blogs.indiewire.com/steverosen/archives/002167.html>; Brackett, David, "The Politics and Practice of a 'Crossover' in American Popular Music, 1963 to 1965," *The Musical Quarterly* 78.4, 1994, 792; David E. James, "Rock 'n' Film: Generic Permutations in Three Feature Films from 1964," *Grey Room* 49, (Fall 2012): 6-31.

theaters throughout the U.S. and around the world. However, the financial success of the film only gives a superficial view of its impact. Considering the political and social context at the time of the film's release provides a deeper understanding for the positive reaction of the public. The confluence of the multiple musical genres coupled with the advancing acceptance of black music into mainstream pop culture, all occurring in a highly charged atmosphere of racial adjustments, provides a more nuanced explanation for the influence of the T.A.M.I. Show and its lingering popularity half a century later.²⁸²

The reasons for the success of the T.A.M.I. Show from the perspective of pure “entertainment” are understandable: an all-star lineup of trend setting performers, talented dancers, musicians, background vocalists, directors and producers, great songs, innovative audio and film technology, and a wildly enthusiastic audience. These ingredients explain, in part, the success of the Show in the 1960s and its lasting popularity today. But the T.A.M.I. Show did more than entertain – it influenced a generation of young Americans during the volatile 1960s. The diversity of the Show infiltrated the consciousness of an entire nation toward racial reconciliation in a stealth-like way.

Sounds made by humans have meaning and, thus, have the power to influence. Powerful people, or powerful groups of people, use the sound of words to transmit concepts, ideas, and causes to others, who are often less powerful. When strong words are embedded in music, particularly loud music with an upbeat rhythm, sound can become a powerful force influencing the emotions of people and their reaction to the message being conveyed.²⁸³ The cultural and

²⁸² Jesse Thompson, Interview, March 27, 2017; Willie Frye, interview, April 3, 2017;

²⁸³ David Hendy, *Noise: A Human History of Sound and Listening* (New York: ECCO, 2013), xvi; George Prochnik, *In Pursuit of Silence: Listening for Meaning in a World of Noise*. Doubleday, New York, 2010, 96, 97, 133; Robert B. Cialdini, *Pre-Suasion: A Revolutionary Way to Influence and Persuade* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), 195; Hendy, *Noise: A Human History of Sound and Listening*, xvi; George Prochnik, *In Pursuit of Silence: Listening for Meaning in a World of Noise* (New York: Doubleday, 2010), 96, 97, 133.

social changes of the 1960s constituted transformations of attitudes, styles, and political direction. The soundtrack of the youth culture was a combustible mix of rock, and rhythm and blues. It was the cement that held together the ideals of the decade. Most of the artists rising to rock star status were outcasts from traditional society, which made them even more appealing to the youth generation. Bob Dylan, Jefferson Airplane, the Grateful Dead, the Beatles, Marvin Gaye, Jimi Hendrix, the Rolling Stones, James Brown, and a host of others, became the messengers of the ideals of the youth culture.²⁸⁴

While written records help scholars form visual images of past events, analysis of the T.A.M.I. Show is enhanced by the film itself without distortion by post-production film edits, vocal and instrument manipulation, and scripted dialogue. The film and soundtrack provide an authentic dual sensory resource normally unavailable to historians attempting to interpret past events. According to historian Mark A. Smith, “visual action is explained – anchored – through the soundtrack. So much of the basic storytelling information remains verbal.” Journalist and television producer David Hendy writes, “More than that, the feelings, and therefore the motivations of its protagonists are often revealed most potently by the music or sound effects rather than by what can be seen in the frame. It’s as if hearing takes us beyond the surface of things and allows us to access other people’s minds.”²⁸⁵

The innovations, disruptions, and transformations generated by the T.A.M.I. Show cut deep into the cultural psyche of Americans during the 1960s. Electronovism led to the rockumentary film genre which established a new platform for artists to reach larger audiences. The T.A.M.I. Show intensified the ongoing trade war between guitar manufacturing giants

²⁸⁴ Paul Monaco, *The Sixties: History of the American Cinema 1960-1969* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 2001), 266.

²⁸⁵ Hendy, *Noise: A Human History of Sound and Listening*, 324; Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 262.

Fender and Gibson thereby increasing the visibility and popularity of the guitarists utilizing feedback and distortion as a music artform. The merging of Black music and performance styles with iconic white pop artists on the T.A.M.I. Show expanded awareness of Black artists with white audiences. As the popularity of Black artists spread, traditional radio formats had to adjust by adding Black music which displaced white artists on radio playlists. After the T.A.M.I. Show, major record companies and national booking agencies signed more Black artists to meet the increasing demand for Black music. As major record companies and agencies aligned with more Black artists, the number of television appearances and bookings at traditional white venues increased dramatically for Black performers. The T.A.M.I. Show elevated Black artists to the same level as the white artists allowing audiences to compare – many for the first time – two distinct music and stylistic forms of entertainment.

As noted by author Ted Fox, “Racism is based on fear, ignorance, and hatred, and music can be a potent antidote for these poisons. It’s almost impossible to be a racist and love Black music at the same time; it’s hard to be a fan of someone you consider inferior.”²⁸⁶ The T.A.M.I. Show facilitated dialogue between younger whites and Blacks through the music, seen and heard, in Santa Monica, and continued in movie theaters around the world for decades. Music became a lubricant for social change in the 1960s. It was a common denominator that fostered communications and the exchange of ideas about topics more serious than music. While historians acknowledge Monterey Pop as the first modern rock festival; Woodstock as the biggest; and, Altamont as the last; the T.A.M.I. Show should be recognized for its significant contributions to American culture.

²⁸⁶ Fox, *Showtime at the Apollo*.

Rolling Stone magazine writer Mikal Gilmore sums up the contributions of the T.A.M.I.

Show to the social and cultural history of the U.S., writing:

Yet perhaps the greatest triumph of the time was simply that all these riches – white invention and Black genius – played alongside another in a radio marketplace that was more open than it had ever been before (or would ever be again) for a shared audience that revered it all. Just how heady and diverse the scene was came across powerfully in the 1965 film *The T.A.M.I. Show*, a greatest hits pop revue, which in its remarkable stylistic and racial broad-mindedness anticipated the would-be catholic spirit that later characterized the Monterey Pop and Woodstock Festivals. For those few hours of the T.A.M.I. Show, as artists like the Supremes, the Beach Boys, Chuck Berry, Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, Marvin Gaye, Jan and Dean, James Brown and the Rolling Stones stood alongside one another on stage at the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium, rock & roll looked and felt like a dizzying rich, complex and joyous community in which any celebration or redemption was possible.²⁸⁷

On December 27, 2006, Librarian of Congress James H. Billington added 25 motion pictures to the National Film Registry, bringing the total number of films on the Registry to 450. Billington stated, “The selection of a film recognizes its importance to American movie and cultural history, and to history in general. The Registry stands among the finest summations of more than a century of wondrous American cinema.” Among those new entries on the National Film Registry was the T.A.M.I. Show – signifying its deserving recognition and preserving access to this landmark film by future generations.²⁸⁸

The images and music of the T.A.M.I. Show captured by Bill Sargent and company sparked changes in television programming, movie production, and concert presentation together with stretching the attitudes of many about racial, gender, and political issues confronting Americans in the 1960s. When the 3,000 teens at the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium boarded James Brown’s “Night Train” they were unaware that a historic journey had begun.

²⁸⁷ *Rolling Stone: The Decades of Rock & Roll*, 71.

²⁸⁸ “Librarian Adds 25 Titles to Film Preservation List,” *Library of Congress Information Bulletin*, Vol. 66, No. 1-2, January/February 2007, <https://www.loc.gov/loc/lcib/07012/film.html>.

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Wadleigh (Director’s Cut 1994; Burbank, CA; Warner Home Video).

CURRICULUM VITAE

X. M. "Mike" Frascogna Jr., Esq.

Current Employer-Title
Profession
Work History

Frascogna Courtney, PLLC - Senior Partner
Attorney, Professor of Law, Neutral
Senior Partner, Frascogna Courtney, PLLC, 1985-present;
Partner, Frascogna and Hetherington, 1976-84; Attorney,
private practice, 1972-76.

Experience

Over 46 years as a civil trial attorney with experience in commercial and corporate litigation, international business transactions and litigation, mass toxic tort litigation, real estate, financial, oil and gas, securities, insurance, intellectual property, entertainment and sports together with all forms of alternative dispute resolution; assisted the Federal Bureau of Investigation in a hostage negotiation incident to a successful conclusion; appointed Special Master in six circuit court districts in Mississippi involving mass tort silica litigation, conducted hearings on dispositive and non-dispositive motions, issued over 800 reports and recommendations between 2003 and 2010 to the appointing circuit judges; served as lead trial counsel for the Complainant in a case involving several multi-national parties litigated in the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, Netherlands.

Alternative Dispute
Resolution Training

AAA Arbitrator Performance and Demeanor – Meeting Participant Expectations, 2018; AAA The Rise of Modern Arbitration Laws in America, 2018; AAA Dealing with Difficult Attorneys, 2017; Motion Practice Under AAA Rules – What You Need to Know, 2017; AAA Arbitration Awards – Safeguarding, Deciding and Writing Awards, 2017; AAA, Litigant Psychology, 2015; AAA, Making the Most of Med-Arb: Best Practices for Neutrals 2015; AAA, Judicial Remands of Challenged Awards: What Happens When the Decision Isn't Final, 2009; AAA Neutrals Conference, 2004; AAA Arbitrator Training - Advanced Case Management Techniques, 2002; AAA Arbitrator Update, 2001; AAA Commercial Arbitrator Training, 1999;

AAA Advanced Negotiation, 1995; AAA Basic Arbitrator Training, 1994; AAA Basic Mediator Training, 1994; Member of the American Arbitration Association National Sports Panel which is designed to handle Olympic eligibility disputes.

Pepperdine University School of Law, Straus Institute for Dispute Resolution, Advanced Mediation Skills Conference, 2005; ALI-ABA, The Art and Science of Serving as a Special Master in Federal and State Courts, 2005; Institute for Advanced Dispute Resolution of William Mitchell College of Law, Special Masters Conference, 2004; University of Mississippi Center for Continuing Legal Education, Advanced Mediation Skills Training, 2004; Mississippi College School of Law, Office of Professional Services, Negotiation and Settlement Advocacy, 1991; Harvard Law School, Program of Instruction for Lawyers, 1991.

Professional Licenses

Admitted to the Bar: Mississippi, 1972; U.S. District Court, Southern District of Mississippi, 1976; U.S. Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, 1977; U.S. Supreme Court, 1977.

Professional Associations

American Bar Association (Former member of the Forum Committee on Entertainment and Sports; Alternative Dispute Resolution Section); Mississippi State Bar Association (ADR Committee, Past Co-Chair; Past Board of Bar Commissioners); National Academy of Court Appointed Masters (Charter Member); The Recording Academy (Voting Member); American Arbitration Association.

Education

Mississippi State University (BS-1969; MA-1970); Mississippi College (JD cum laude-1972; MBA-1976; MSS-1982). University of Mississippi (Ph.D (2021)).

Publications/Professional

Co-author, Entertainment Law for the General Practitioner, American Bar Association, Chicago, 2011; co-author, This Business of Artist Management (4th edition), Random House, New York, 2004, Japanese translation by Oricon, Tokyo, 2008; Publication Committee, Appointing Special Masters and Other Judicial Adjuncts: A Handbook for Judges, Academy of Court Appointed Masters, Minneapolis, 2006; co-author, The Lawyer's Guide to Negotiation, American Bar Association, Chicago, 2001; Chinese translation by Law Press China, Beijing, 2003; co-

author, *This Business of Internet Law*, Watson-Guptill, New York, 2001; co-author, "The Ten- Minute Negotiator - Bargaining Basic for Busy Lawyers," GP Solo, American Bar Association, Chicago, 2000; "Check Cashers: An Expanding Financial Service," *Mississippi College law Review*, 1998; co-author, *Negotiation Strategy for Lawyers*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New York, 1982.

Publications/Popular

Co-author, *JUCOS: The Toughest Football League in America*, Mississippi Sports Council, Jackson, MS, 2011; co-author, *Gridiron Glory: Celebrating Over 100 Years of Mississippi High School Football*, Mississippi Sports Council, Jackson, MS, 2010; co-author, *Bull Cyclone Sullivan and the Lions of Scooba*, Mississippi, Mississippi Sports Council, Jackson, MS, 2010; Guest Columnist for the *Clarion Ledger* newspaper, Jackson, MS, 2010 and 2011; co-author, *Y'all vs. Us: Thrilling Tales of Mississippi's Hottest High School Football Rivalries*, Mississippi Sports Council, Jackson, MS, 2008; Co-author, *Gridiron Gold: Inspiring Stories of Legendary Mississippi High School Coaches, Guardians of the Greatest Football Talent in America*, Mississippi Sports Council, Jackson, MS, 2007;

Films

Producer, *Bruin Legacy: The Enduring Gridiron Excellence of St. Joseph Catholic School*, Frasco Film Productions, LLC, Jackson, MS, 2015; producer, *Choctaws vs. Majors: A Southern Gridiron Classic*, Frasco Film Productions, LLC, Jackson, MS, 2015; co-producer, *Live at the Hard Rock – Part II*, Williams Brothers, Blackberry Records Inc., Biloxi, MS, 2013; producer, *Small Towns: BIG Football*, Frasco Film Productions, LLC, Jackson, MS, 2013; producer, *Bull Cyclone Sullivan and the Lions of Scooba*, Mississippi, Frasco Film Productions, LLC, Jackson, MS, 2013; producer, *Mississippi JUCO: The Toughest Football League in America*, Frasco Film Productions, LLC, Jackson, MS, 2012; co-producer, *Still Here*, Williams Brothers, Blackberry Records, Inc., Jackson, MS, 2011; co-producer, *Live at the Hard Rock, Part I*, Williams Brothers, Blackberry Records, Inc., Biloxi, 2011; co-producer, *SoulLink Live*, Williams Brothers and their Superstar Friends, Blackberry Records, Inc., Atlanta, GA, 2004;

Recordings

Co-producer, *Liberation-Live at Duling Hall*, Derek Norsworthy, MiJA Records, Jackson, MS 220; Co-producer, *Amazing Grace*, Williams Brothers, Blackberry

Records, Inc., Jackson, MS, 2014; co-producer, Live at the Hard Rock, Part II, Williams Brothers, Blackberry Records, Inc., Biloxi, MS, 2013; co-producer, Live at the Hard Rock, Part I, Williams Brothers, Blackberry Records, Inc., Biloxi, MS, 2011; co-producer, Still Here, Williams Brothers, Blackberry Records, Jackson, MS, 2011; co-producer, Y'all vs. Us: Winners, Williams Brothers, Blackberry Records, Inc., Jackson, MS, 2007; co-producer, Get Saved, Hip Boot Joe, Blackberry Records, Inc., Jackson, MS, 2004; co-producer, SoulLink Live, Williams Brothers and their Superstar Friends, Blackberry Records, Inc., Atlanta, GA, 2004; co-producer, Good Time Gospel, Various Artists, Blackberry Records, Inc., Jackson, MS, 2003; co-producer, Remember September 11, 2001, Williams Brothers, Blackberry Records, Inc., Jackson, MS, 2001; co-producer, True Love, The Original Drifters featuring Bill Pinkney, 601 Music, Jackson, MS, 1999; co-producer, Peace in the Valley, Bill Pinkney and the Original Drifters, Blackberry Records, Inc., Jackson, MS, 1996; co-producer, Showdown in Jackson, Various Artists, Blackberry Records, Inc., Jackson, MS, 1995.

Live Events

Co-Producer, Live at the Hard Rock, Williams Brothers, Blackberry Records, Inc., Biloxi, MS, 2013, 2011; Co-producer, Mississippi – The Birthplace of America's Music Celebrates Its GRAMMY® Legacy, Biloxi, MS, 2011, 2010, Tunica, MS, 2009, Jackson, MS, 2008, 2007; Producer, National Governors Association's Concert, Hard Rock Hotel, Biloxi, MS, 2009; producer, Southern Governors Association's Concert, Beau Rivage Hotel, Biloxi, MS, 2007; co-producer, SoulLink Live, Williams Brothers and their Superstar Friends, Blackberry Records, Inc., Atlanta, GA, 2004; co-producer, National Football League, New York Jets vs. Houston Oilers, Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium, Jackson, MS, 1996; co-producer, National Football League, Philadelphia Eagles vs. New York Jets, Mississippi Veterans Memorial Stadium, Jackson, MS, 1995;

Speaking Engagements

Else School of Business, Millsaps College, negotiation seminar for Executive MBA students, 2018, 2016, 2014; C-Spire Executive Leadership, Else School of Business, Millsaps College, negotiation seminar, 2018, 2017; Mississippi College School of Law, CLE seminar "Entertainment Law for the General Practitioner," 2011, 2010, 2009; Mississippi College School of Law, CLE

seminar "Negotiation Strategies for Lawyers," Eagle Ridge Conference Center, 1999; Else School of Business, Millsaps College, negotiation seminar for the Center for Executive Development, 1995.

Adjunct Professor of Law at Mississippi College School of Law since 1978 teaching courses in Negotiation, Entertainment Law and Sports Law; Visiting Adjunct Professor of Law at the University of Mississippi School of Law since 2014 teaching Entertainment Law; Visiting Adjunct Professor at the Else School of Business, Millsaps College since 2014 teaching Negotiation.

Awards and Honors

American Arbitration Association Master Mediator Panel, 2017; Recognized by Best Lawyers® since 2015; Honorary Doctor of Laws, Mississippi College, 2015; Lawyer of the Year, Mississippi College, 2013; Top Ten Leaders in Law, Mississippi Business Journal, 2013; Honorary Master of Laws, Mississippi College, 2007; 47th Annual GRAMMY® Awards nomination, co-producer, Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album, Still Here, 2004; Martindale-Hubbell AV-Preeminent Rating since 1993; The American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, The ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award, New York, 1980;