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FROM BLUES TO THE NY DOLLS:
THE ROLLING STONES AND PERFORMANCE OF AUTHENTICITY

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of Masters of Art in the
School of Art & Visual Studies
At the University of Kentucky

By

Mariia Spirina

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Anna Brzyski, Professor of Art History and Visual Studies

Lexington, Kentucky

2017

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

FROM BLUES TO THE NY DOLLS: THE ROLLING STONES AND AESTHETIC OF AUTHENTICITY

Rock'n'roll has specific aesthetic — a set of invisible rules that each young rock musician accepts as a given. If one examines the history of rock'n'roll starting from 1950s, one will notice that there was a clear division in rock that separates the rock'n'roll of 1950s from rock of the second half of the 1960s and beyond—the rock that we know today. This thesis investigates how the visual aesthetic of rock'n'roll evolved from its origins in the 1950s blues tradition, how it was formed in the second half of the 1960s, and how it was modified in the first half of the 1970s. In particular, it focuses on the role played by the British band Rolling Stones as mediators between the 1950s early rock aesthetics rooted in the blues tradition and the Beats' ideology and the subsequent generations of American rockers who emerged in the 1970s, such as the band New York Dolls. The final section of the thesis investigates how the New York Dolls adopted and transmitted the aesthetics of authenticity pioneered by the Stones to the new wave of punk and grunge bands. Although the thesis considers the music produced within this milieu, its primary focus is on the visual presentation and promotion of the new aesthetic through stage performances, publicity and the medium of television.

KEYWORDS: Rock'n'roll, rock aesthetics, the Rolling Stones, the New York Dolls, aesthetic model, authenticity.

Mariia Spirina

April 18th 2017

FROM BLUES TO THE NY DOLLS: THE ROLLING STONES AND
PERFORMANCE OF AUTHENTICITY

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INTRODUCTION

There is a clear division in the rock history that separates the rock'n'roll of 1950s from rock of the second half of the 1960s and beyond, but it is unclear why and how the division happened. Why were two periods so different aesthetically and ideologically, and how did the transformation take place? This thesis attempts to answer those questions by investigating the origins of rock'n'roll aesthetics in blues tradition and the Beats' ideology, its convergence with the British youth culture through the Rolling Stones, the presentation and promotion of the new aesthetic through the medium of television, and its lasting impact.

Rock'n'roll has a specific aesthetic—a set of invisible rules that each young rock musician accepts as a given. These are nonconformity with traditional social rules, a lack of walls between private and public, official and unofficial, rebellion behavior, “bad boys/girls” public reputation, combinations of contrasting elements in visible and invisible elements of image, etc. This aesthetic did not form immediately, but developed in a relatively short time in response to particular bands and musicians. If one examines the history of rock'n'roll starting from 1950s, one will notice that there was a significant change in the rock'n'roll visual presentation in the mid-1960s. Musicians who appeared in the second half of the 1960s were in many aspects different from the early rock'n'roll stars. This shift can be seen clearly in the way rock musicians dressed. Early on, there was a particular “look” —a set of clothes that all rock musicians wore during their performances. These were fashionable suits, polished shoes, and narrow ties. All band members dressed identically and each had a specific place on the stage. For example, these were such bands as the Beach Boys, the Clovers, Dave Clark Five, and others. [pic.1] The rock stars that appeared in the second half of the 1960s, like the Doors, Led Zeppelin, Velvet Underground, or MC5, departed dramatically from that pattern. [pic.2] They wore whatever they wanted and did not restrict their

wardrobe to costumes. They wore different outfits that, first, would distinguished them from pop artists, and, second, would break the identical visual image of the band's members, rendering each one into distinct individuals. Many of the performers did not distinguish stage outfits from their offstage clothing.



Picture 1. Dave Clark Five, Ed Sullivan Show, 1965.



Picture 2. The Stooges. 1969.

In this thesis, I will investigate how the visual aesthetic of rock'n'roll evolved from its origins in the 1950s blues tradition, how it was formed in the second half of the 1960s, and how it

was modified in the first half of the 1970s. While scholars have referred to the Rolling Stones as one of the most influential rock bands, their impact has been mainly assessed in terms of music, performance style and publicity of their personas. This thesis takes a holistic approach, considering their musical contributions together with their visual presentations on and offstage, and their life ideology. The main questions I have investigated in my research are: when and how did this aesthetic emerge? What were its roots and key components? How was it promoted and disseminated? And finally, what was its legacy? In particular, how and why was this aesthetic modified in the 1970s?

As a famous blues-based band the Rolling Stones found their inspiration in the US blues and R&B scene of the 1950s. They built their brand—musically, ideologically, and partly visually—on examples of such American musicians as Muddy Waters, Little Richard, Fats Domino, Rufus Thomas, and others. However, most of these early rock’n’roll stars did not have identifiable look and performance styles, and there was not common visual aesthetic that would link them to rock. In the 1950s, American musicians saw rock’n’roll only as music that accompanied emerging youth culture, but was not particularly ideological. It was the next generation of musicians who advanced rock’n’roll culture by seeking influences from social, cultural, and art life of the time. One of the bands that self-consciously combined different influences and, in particular, looked to American blues, was the Rolling Stones. When they conquered the US market at the end of 1966, they became a role model for many younger musicians. Among the main components of their identity and brand were nonconformity with social rules, a lack of walls between private and public, official and unofficial, combinations of contrasting elements, “bad boy” public reputation, and rebelliousness. They also presented rock’n’roll as a bohemian counterculture rather than just a popular music genre. One of the most

important distinguishing features of the Stones was their striking visual presentation that included Mick Jagger's outrageous dance style, musicians' untidy look, inappropriate outfits, and accentuated androgyny.

The Stones, who were the main creators and promoters of the rock'n'roll aesthetics of authenticity, functioned as a bridge between the early American rock'n'roll of the 1950s and later rock musicians who appeared in the early 1970s. The New York Dolls, a band formed in New York in the early 1970s, took the logic of the Stones' visual image and made it the dominant element of their rock'n'roll identity. Although the band is usually classified with glam rock because of their visual presentation and the time frame, my research shows that such classification is erroneous. I will argue that even though the Dolls had some similarities with the glam rock artists, their visual presentation was based on the Stones' aesthetics of authenticity, which included such characteristics as a rebellious behavior, lack of separation between the stage and life, a band featuring a conspicuous frontman, a preference for smaller, more intimate stages rather than stadium concerts, and similar promotion strategies (as young hooligans). Aesthetically the band presented a fusion of contemporary underground fashion with particular rock'n'roll aesthetic expressed through transgender performance. The Dolls, like the Stones, anticipated rock'n'roll's eventual visual development. They were ahead of their time and they became an important link between the Stones and next generations of rock musicians such as punk, and later grunge bands, which were interested in similar aesthetics. Thus, on the one hand they were an evolutionary manifestation of early rock'n'roll aesthetics that the Stones developed, performed, and transmitted to the next generations of musicians, but on the other hand, they also served as a bridge between the Stones and punk musicians that appeared in the mid-1970s.

There is no doubt that the Stones are one of the most influential bands in rock'n'roll history. There is a huge amount of research on every aspect of their music and lives. Scholars have analyzed their influence on culture, youth, fashion, music business, gender and sexual expressions, etc. A usual context in which researchers have looked at the band is their music. Scholars have studied them as blues purists—as one of the most authentic foreign blues-bands.¹ The formation of rock culture around the music explains why musical legacy of a band usually determines that band's significance. It is the reason why the Beatles, the Velvet Underground, Pink Floyd and many other bands have taken important positions in the history of rock. Similarly, the Stones' influence on other rock musicians is often based on musical qualities. However, music is just one of many components of the system that defines significance and success of rock musicians. In this research, I consider music as an influential element that determines other components of musicians' images but also as the element that is often determined by other components such as musicians' look, public and stage image, and ideology.

Along with music, one of the most important aspects of rock is its visual content. There is a big attention among scholars to the Stones' performance style, especially Mick Jagger's dance.² For example, Andrea J. Baker investigates some of the Stones' performance components like sexuality, stage outfits, Jagger's androgyny, facial expressions, and dance elements. She looks at Jagger's sexual expression as “seductiveness of his stage presence” in relation with his salacious lifestyle.³ She discusses the uniqueness of the band as a product of their time and looks at their influence on other musicians. But she does not trace the roots of Jagger and the Stones' performance style historically and does not connect the sexual content of his persona—onstage or offstage—with the blues tradition and the Beats ideology from which the Stones generated their rock'n'roll sensibility. Similarly, David Shumway investigates Jagger's sexuality in the Stones'

performances by contextualizing it mainly in the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. He emphasizes on its adolescent character rather than on its blues and the Beats evolutionary connection.⁴ Although there are many studies on different visual aspects of the Stones, in my work I offer a more holistic approach to examine particular components of the Stones' aesthetic and to investigate their origins. I also consider all aspects of their activities—on/offstage self-presentation, music components (voice, sound, lyrics), lifestyle, media representation (TV performances), interviews, etc., describing them as a well-organized and coherent system of representations.

The Rolling Stones created a compelling model comprised of many elements, including, not least of all, a unique visual appeal. It was the combination of different elements—musical, performative, and visual—that created a strong, unified and easily-readable image that has become synonymous with rock'n'roll. In this well-functioning system, all elements reflected and supported each other. By introducing this model, the Stones established a new visual aesthetic for the rock culture. This thesis argues that this was their main achievement and contribution to rock'n'roll.

Another important issue I investigate in my research is a notion of authenticity in rock'n'roll, particularly as it relates to the Stones. There is a belief that rock culture is associated with an “ideology of authenticity” which implies a rejection of any theatricality in musicians' images and performances.⁵ In *Performing Glam Rock*, Philip Auslander uses the notion of rock authenticity to reveal a contrast between David Bowie's activity and “traditional rock.” He associates rock's authenticity with such characteristics as musician's commitment to rock music/sound/ideology, refusal to carefully plan a show, rejection of extensive stagecraft, such as professional stage design, lighting, costumes, and make-up, and implied unity between real life and stage performance. But what exactly is rock authenticity? Does it mean a complete rejection

of any artificial and designed components in a musician's image, sound, or performance? Even the most authentic groups had carefully planned strategies in their performances, images, and promotion campaigns. For example, although the Rolling Stones intentionally performed in street clothing instead of specially designed costumes, they intentionally shared their clothes with each other right before they stepped on the stage in order to generate a specific reaction from the media. The Stones were well known for the great marketing success of the 1960s promotional campaign developed by their manager Andrew Oldman. They constantly used outrageous elements of their image to get a specific reaction from the media and to attract public attention.

Daniel M. Downes and June M. Madeley in their discussion of authenticity in pop culture coined a term "constructed authenticity," which is an interplay between authenticity of musical expressions and musicians' attempts to meet contemporary commercial demands.⁶ It is easy to apply this term to the Stones because their attempts to promote themselves had a constructive rather than organic nature. Like other pop artists who created their stage personas, the Stones constructed their image, but their image was based on an image of a real person, not a fantastic creature or a fiction hero. Moreover, they intentionally did not separate their stage image from the life one that provides their audience with a sense of continuity between the band and the real individuals who comprised it. In my research, I describe authenticity as a strong, self-conscious effort by rock musicians to keep the same image on and offstage.

Continuing this logic, I use this notion to analyze the authenticity of the New York Dolls' image. Although many consider their self-presentation to be artificial and theatrical, I look at it as an authentic one because the Dolls, like the Stones, maintain their image on and offstage. The Dolls were the Stones' followers in terms of "staying yourself," but if the Stones' image came

from their regular life almost organically, then the Dolls purposely created their image and then identified with it on and off stage.

This thesis consists of three sections: the origins of the aesthetics, formation of the aesthetic model, and an adaptation of the model by next generations of rock musicians. Section one focuses on a group of blues musicians that directly influenced the Rolling Stones to reveal the components of the emerging aesthetics, focusing mainly on the blues tradition, and leaving aside other rock'n'roll sub-genres, like country, boogie-woogie, gospel, and swing.⁷ It also examines cultural and art movements of the USA and the UK that influenced the formation of the aesthetics, such as the Beats and Young Angry Men/Women.

Section two investigates how the Rolling Stones developed and promoted the aesthetics of authenticity, for which they became so well known. It focuses on the case study of their “Satisfaction” performance on the Ed Sullivan show in September, 1966, which, I will argue, was a turning point for the visual development of the rock aesthetics. The final section investigates the impact of the Rolling Stones on the next generation of musicians by focusing on the proto-punk band the New York Dolls. I will argue that the New York Dolls adopted the Rolling Stones’ aesthetic model of the 1960s, and developed it in accordance with a specific art environment of the Max’s Kansas City club, setting up a paradigm for the later development of the punk and eventually grunge aesthetic.

SECTION ONE: THE SOUND OF THE ZEITGEIST

From the very beginning the Stones positioned themselves as a blues-based band. They called themselves blues “evangelists” emphasizing their choice to play blues—not rock’n’roll like many other young British band did at that time. ¹ They intentionally tried to distinguish themselves from other bands by sound, look, and a performance style. Of course, they watched and listened to other US stars of rock’n’roll like Elvis Presley, Bill Haley and his Comets but as a material for their own records and concerts they chose blues songs. They made covers mostly of the less refined blues songs and paid special attention to songs’ rhythmic structures, sound, lyric subjects, and language style.

Accordingly to *The Rolling Stone: History of Rock’n’Roll* by J. Miller, records of American bluesmen began to appear in England right after the World War II. ² Soon after, the first American blues musicians arrived with live concerts. Some of the future Stones’ members attended their performances and even had a short tour with a few US musicians. Despite this fact, there was a lack of visual information about R&B and rock’n’roll stars. Often young musicians did not know how their idols look like. In this situation, the sound and the lyrics became the sole means to understanding the aesthetic of American music.

In this section, I will focus on the group of blues musicians who directly influenced the Rolling Stones. I am going to reveal components that the Stones developed in their rock’n’roll aesthetics based on blues and R&B traditions. Also, I will look at cultural and art movements of the USA and the UK that influenced the formation of an image of rock musician and more broadly the image of “new youth” that the Stones’ members embraced.

Feeling the Blues

According to American blues singer John Lee Hooker, blues is the beginning of all music, “It’s the roots. Every other song has got some blues in it, ’cause blues is the roots of everything. Blues has been here since the world was born.”³ Billy Boy Arnold (a US bluesman) traced its origins to the oppression experienced by American blacks under slavery.⁴ The scholars agree that the blues appeared at the end of the 19th century, during 1880s in the rural Mississippi Delta, among African American slaves.⁵ It was a musical form associated with suffering and deprivation, plantation songs, spirituals, work songs, and howls. We know that since 1900s the first blues recordings started appearing in the USA. American Blues reached the UK along with American soldiers who served in Europe during the World War II.

As we know today, rock culture formed around music. Sound, rhythm, a certain set of instruments, and timbres played important role in formation of rock’n’roll aesthetics. With the time, musical characteristics reflected in other rock aesthetic components—visual images, ideology, or performance styles. In the case of the Rolling Stones music and sound determined everything. The Stones did not have many opportunities to see live performances or film recordings of most their idols. Thus, they had to perform the music they played in accordance with their own understanding and perception of blues. The sound determined how they would perform the songs.

According to Oily Wilson’s *Black Music as an Art Form*, blues has a set of characteristics that embrace not only music and sound features such as special organization of rhythm and a singing style, but general aesthetic aspects such as combinations of “dramatically contrasting qualities” in voice and sound, and “a tendency to incorporate physical body motion as an integral part of the music making process” in a performance style. He also pointed that there is a certain

pattern of bluesmen's concert life, "a tendency to create a high density of musical events within a relatively short musical time frame."⁶ Besides basic characteristics that are associated in general with blues or blues-related compositions, such as rock'n'roll songs, there are other characteristics that relate more specifically to a particular blues center, record company, and an individual musician. In terms of the Stone's influences, musicians who recorded with Chess Studio in Chicago, are most important because their records were most readily available for purchase in the UK.

In 1950s Chicago blues was known for its emotional performance style, angry mood of lyrics, and outrageous candor of sexual contents of the songs. The powerful emotional content of Chicago blues was reflected in bluesmen's performance style. When performing blues, musician live it, feel it though their whole body and reflected on it by their movement. Their movements were not a simple reaction to the driving rhythm, like for example in boogie-woogie, but rather felt responses inspired directly by the music being performed. Each blues song conveyed a particular emotion communicated by a distinctly interpretive movement that created different and immediately recognizable dancing styles of the leading bluesmen—Bo Diddley, Jackie Wilson, James Brown, and later Mick Jagger, and others.

This blues characteristic developed in the context of the Chicago scene where musicians paid special attention to their performance styles. They included unusual elements in their dances and played instruments in strange positions, often inappropriate by middle-class standards. Giles Oakley pointed that, "Showmanship was a large part of the new city blues. Saxophone players would often roll on the floor kicking their legs in the air while playing long screeching solos, or stand swinging the sax up and down between their legs."⁷ In postwar period, urban blues and R&B became identified with performances that functioned as rituals for self-expressions and mutual

celebration for both musicians and audience caught in the moment. As we know, showmanship also became a notable component of the Stones' band image. The band members paid special attention to their performing style with an expressed goal of becoming the best live band in R&B and rock'n'roll. In the 1960s they did not use any special stage props as they would later. Instead, they kept focus on Jagger's dance-like movements, stage look, and interactions with an audience during performances.

Along with extraordinary performing style the Stones became known for explicit sexual content of their songs' lyrics, which garnered them considerably notoriety and helped with their promotion. Again, this aspect of the band's identity can be traced to blues. An explicit sexual content and provocative performance style was an important characteristic of blues, especially of such Chicago bluesman like Muddy Waters—one of the Stones' main heroes. John M. Hallman in *I'm a Monkey* studied how the traditional blues argot influenced the Rolling Stones lyrics.⁸ He pointed out that sexually explicit lyrics and street slang appeared in early songs and became an important part of the blues tradition. Because bluesmen frequently came from working impoverished districts and urban ghettos many of them were illiterate. The language they used relied on simple "street" vocabulary. Also, sometimes musicians who were literate, but felt marginalized by the dominant culture intentionally avoided "big words" in their lyrics. With time the use of street language and emphasis on sexual content became a distinguishing characteristic of blues. It would underpin the development of a distinct form of Chicago blues after World War II.

In 1950s Chicago was a center of urban blues in the US. In a period of the Great Migration, many African Americans came north to escape Jim Crow discrimination and also lured by the promise of good industrial jobs in the steel and automotive industries. There were many musicians

among them. Electric blues came about in these urban clubs because they were so loud and crowded the acoustic instruments associated with rural blues could not be heard. As a result, a record business developed. Many record companies were in Chicago and many bluesmen signed contracts with them. However, if musicians wanted to sign a contract with a studio, have their music played on the radio, or perform on TV, they had to fit their songs into acceptable formats. This meant that they often had to change inappropriate street language charged with explicit sexual themes. As Hallman pointed out, bluesmen started to use oblique metaphors that were perfectly clear to the local African Americans, but were not necessarily transparent to the white audiences. Sometimes the metaphors were very easy to decipher.

‘jelly roll’ was used countless times for either the vagina or the sexual act itself... ‘Yas-yas,’ a common black childhood term for ass... Symbols and images of male sexual capacities alone could probably fill a miniature dictionary: ‘rooster,’ ‘black snake,’ ‘spike driver,’ ‘tiger in your tank,’ are about a few.⁹

Often a whole song could be a metaphor. For example, *Tiger in Your Tank* by Muddy Waters makes a not so subtle reference to love-making act described in terms of automobile maintenance.

The Rolling Stones adopted many of these metaphors and also invented their own. According to John Hellmann, “The most basic characteristic of that [Jagger’s] lexicon and phraseology is its vivid and almost uniformly sexual imagery. It is an argot built on symbol and metaphor, and an argot obsessed with the sexual act its sundry implications.”¹⁰ Hellmann also suggested that Stones’ use of candid street language was a way to escape from highly restricted and conservative British middle-class lifestyle. During the 1960s, the Stones had issues with censors over their lyrics. For example, in 1964 some American radio stations banned their song “Little Red Rooster” because of sexual connotations.¹¹ And on their fourth Ed Sullivan performance on January 15th, 1967, they were asked to change the line “Let’s spend the night

together” for “let’s spend some time together” which they did but every time Jagger sang the line he rolled his eye expressing displeasure and showing that it was not his idea. ¹²

Another important characteristic of Chicago blues lyrics that one also can see in the Stones’ works is intentional rejection of ‘sweet,’ romantic content and embrace of ‘dirty,’ or one could say, ‘real’ sexuality that associated pleasure and desire with pain and problems. Hallman refers to this as:

confrontation with reality. The bluesman does not sing of never-ending romances made in heaven... In other words, he refuses to create romantic illusions through language about the often ugly realities of his existence... Their lives, and thus their songs, had nothing to do with the pretty lies and facile rationales of “country love.” ¹³

The Stones adopted this attitude and made it an important part of their promotional anti-Beatles campaign. An example of their ‘dirty’ and direct lyrics can be seen in the phrase “let’s spend the night together,” especially when compared with the Beatles’ “let me hold your hand.” In comparison with the Beatles, the Stones’ attitudes in lyrics were angrier, more direct, more rebellion, more sexually explicit, and much more realistic than romantic.

The characteristics of the blues that the young Stones heard at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s determined their aesthetic perception of that music. The lack of visual information about American bluesmen pushed the Stones to create their unique performing style, which in many aspects was based on blues characteristics such as angry moods, combinations of dramatically contrasting qualities, a tendency to incorporate physical body motion in performances, the use of street language full of sexual words, phrases, and metaphors, and a rejection of “sweet” romantic themes in lyrics. The sound determined not only the way to perform the music but also provided the base for creating the band’s image, band conception, slang, lifestyle, and even promotional strategy. However, the sound of American urban blues does not

explain all aspects of the Stones' rock'n'roll aesthetic. There was another powerful influence that made a significant contribution to the rock'n'roll ideology.

The Beats in America and the UK

Starting in the late 1950s some American bluesmen began visiting England. Their tours and concerts gave English youth an opportunity to see their idols for the first time in live performance. Sometimes album covers provided some visual information about the musicians, but often eager fans, including young Stones, did not even know what their idols looked like. In his autobiography Keith Richards recalled, "I didn't know Chuck Berry was black for two years... And for ages I didn't know Jerry Lee Lewis was white... The only faces I knew were Elvis, Buddy Holly and Fats Domino... It was just the sound."¹⁴ Music itself - its characteristics—remained the most important factor in the band's understanding of blues and R&B aesthetics. The Stones had records with songs but they had to invent the way to perform them.

A substantial ideological influence on their performance came from an art environment of the 1950s, especially from contemporary American and English literature. In 1957 Norman Mailer published his essay *White Negro* where he described characteristics of a fast promoting "Hip" (or hipster) who became a hero of a new generation.¹⁵ It was published in 1957, on the same year as Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, and a year after Allen Ginsberg's *Howl*, during a period of a rapid development and popularization of rock'n'roll.¹⁶ All three works did not harbingers an appearance of a new type of a hero; instead, they described him as an already existing type.

What distinguished Mailer's characterization was the fact that he linked the origins of the hipster "hero" to the American black culture. Mailer described the hipster as a nonconformist who is constantly under media spotlight. People who observe him look for the news information about

his latest outrageous actions. Unlike the Negro who had to cope with the difficult conditions of everyday life, the hipster intentionally creates an illusion of such difficulties in his life to not follow prescribed life standards.

The Beats were attracted to the “low-class” lifestyle, which Mailer referred to as the “Negro lifestyle,” that assumed a nomadic life on the road, embraced lack of carefully made plans, rejected mundane rules of middle class propriety, and refused established academic forms and standards. They significantly contributed a promotion of such “black aesthetic” among young rock’n’roll musicians. In England, the Beats were called the Angry Young Men (AYM) or British Beats. Like the American Beats, AYM refused to submit to the dominant system, which in UK was class-based. Although USA and UK were quite different societies, the ways that the youth and artists opposed traditions were quite similar. In both instances they rejected established norms and expected life-styles. They expressed their alienation through intentional rejection of higher education, embrace of the street look, public use of inappropriate language, by having criminal records and, generally, exalting in a low-class life.

Simon Warner, an English researcher, in his work on intersection between the Beats and rock’n’roll noticed that the literary environment and ideas of 1950s and 1960s strongly influenced rock’n’roll ideological development.¹⁷ English youth and musicians, who were primarily oriented towards American music, were aware of and attracted by the Beats’ ideas. This was also true for the future Rolling Stones. We also know that four of the five Stones’ studied art in colleges or worked as artists when the band formed, thus they were surrounded by an environment where those ideas flourished. Furthermore, we know that the Stones were interested in the Beats’ ideas and aesthetics because they sought them out and wanted to collaborate with some of them. Brian Jones

had a friendship with William Burroughs and Mick Jagger was friends with Allen Ginsberg. In 1967 Ginsberg participated in the Stones' recording of "We Love you." ¹⁸

But what did happen when the Beats' ideas meet R&B aesthetics? Warner points out that the impact of two works in particular: the poem *Howl* (1955) by Allen Ginsberg and a song *Rock Around the Clock* by Max C. Freedman and James E. Myers, written in 1952 but made famous in 1954 in the version recorded by Bill Haley and the Comets.¹⁹ These cultural artifacts, occupying different cultural strata and coming from different intellectual spheres, "were symbols of [cultural] metamorphosis."²⁰ Important component of both, as Warner saw, was their eagerness for social change, including disruption of sexual expressions and a traditional "boy-meet-girl" model. The *Howl* addresses the contemporary culture which, as the author states, killed many brilliant minds of his generation. These "best minds" were not representatives of society's intellectual elite but a bottom of social hierarchy, like drug addicts, homosexuals, and prostitutes who openly hated the society and blamed it for their sufferings. The poem contains many references to homosexuality and different sexual practices as well as to excessive drug use and a frivolous lifestyle. It denies contemporary culture and social rules about sexual expression and conceptions of "good and bad." Similarly, but in a more superficial way, the song *Rock Around the Clock* opposes the culture by calling youth to "rock" without stopping and forget about life obligations. The poem and the song were similar in their ideas and, more importantly, in their meanings for the youth, who became the target audience for both.

From the very beginning the Beats were interested in African American music as a pure form of emotional expression. They also tried to experience what they considered to be a low-class life—to find emotional release from drugs and alcohol, and to live each moment without thinking about the future. However, for many of them it was just an experience that they chose for

themselves intentionally. After, living some time in “nowhere” they could always come back to their ordinary “privileged” life. As Warner pointed, “The emerging Beats ... were free to taste the exotic fruits of black New York, romanticize them, and then return to the safe haven of white normality.”²¹ This was the reference for the emerging Beat conception of the bohemian. And this is what the Rolling Stones and many other British youths wanted to experience. The Stones were middle-class young people who were interest in black culture and regarded it as a “cool entertainment,” as a romantic lifestyle — prohibited, notorious, full of drugs and alcohol, without responsibilities, but with sexual liberation, freedom - the opposite to a highly restrictive, conservative culture from which they came. However, unlike the Beats, who rejected the normative notion of success, the Stones were also eager to be rich and famous.

One of the main characteristics of the Beats’ works was their intentional combination of two different and usually distant dimensions of culture: the “high” elite culture and the “low” popular culture. They used such extreme combinations in performances of their works, for instance, performing poems with jazz or blues as musical accompaniment. According to Warner,

In these relationship we appear to witness an intersection of creative practices that had been traditionally divided by a long-evolving and essentially solidified arts hierarchy... There were clear splits between art perceived to be serious and enduring and those superficial fripperies of the proletariat.²²

Another aspect of the Beats’ high-low contrasts was their embrace of alternative performance spaces. They chose cabarets, clubs, and bars as appropriate places for performances not because they undervalued their works, but because they saw these places as venues of “real” life, free of artificial high-society restrictions and mores. They believed that there they could be themselves, fully express their views on social norms they did not agree with, and to find their supporters. Similarly, the Stones preferred to perform in small clubs, in a very casual atmosphere avoiding or refusing official settings. Even though they wanted to achieve fame and perform on “big stages”

as international stars, for the presentation of their music they often chose smaller, more intimate stages. They even called themselves a club-band.

There is another important aspect of the Beats' aesthetic that was attractive for youth and corresponded with some blues ideas. It is the enhanced attention to the sexuality and its expression. The Beats understood sexuality as a necessary part of freedom and art. However, they paid attention mostly to expression of men's sexuality and sexual preferences. Within that context, women were conceived generally as sexual objects. The misogyny was a constant in their works and lifestyles, with women considered not as important or possessing equal "minds" to the men; they were simply means for pleasure so necessary for artist's creative activity. According to Ellis Amburn, women were for the Beats "a sacrifice on the altar of bogus masculinity and dishonest sexuality."²³ Similar attitude towards women can be found in the Rolling Stones understanding of rock star's lifestyle. During all their career, there were many women around them, who served as another promotional tool for the band and as an indicator of their success.

The Beats and Rock'n'roll

The Beat's ideas and sensibility were rapidly spreading during 1950s and 1960s in the USA and the UK and the rock'n'roll scene was one of most fertile grounds for their influence. Since the beginning of 1960s, the Beats writers collaborated and befriended rock musicians, participating in and contributing to the development of rock'n'roll. ²⁴ Simon Warner pointed that the Beats created a model to follow for young musicians. One of their most important contributions was the inspiring atmosphere of an endless road: "the lure of travel, the notion of the open road, the sense of movement, moving on and heading for the next horizon."²⁵ This nomadic lifestyle became the hallmark of rock musicians' life—an incredible number of concerts in different places, cities,

countries and a lack of “normal” day schedule with separation of a day and night time. The Rolling Stones spent many years “on the road” playing few concerts daily, especially at the beginning of their career.

The most famous Beats’ hero was the Dean Moriarty character from Kerouac’s *On the Road*. It can be useful to compare the character’s characteristics with the Stones’ aesthetic. Kerouac described Moriarty: “[f]renetic speech and impulsive style, the hero, avaricious in his sexual desire, is personified, caring only for gratuitous pleasure, the needs of now and, almost immediately afterwards, the forthcoming adventure.”²⁶ One can easily attribute this description to the Stones’ members and other rock musicians. Some of these characteristics, like “frenetic speech and impulsive style,” were a result of drugs that the Beats, Moriarty, and rock musicians consumed excessively. The “needs of now and, almost immediately afterwards, [and] the forthcoming adventure” reflect the Beats’ perception of life as a present time, “now” moment, and as an opposition to making any future plans. Such attitude flourished in rock’n’roll as well. The sense of “now” related to the sense of “real.” For the Beats it was important to remain “real people” by avoiding commercialization, insipid academic standards. Those who could feel “real” emotions and remained authentically true to themselves. This exaggerated sense of reality and authenticity expressed an opposition to the domain culture. The Rolling Stones adopted this sensibility, and made it into one of the key characteristic of their aesthetic. The keen sense of “real” also correlated with blues lyrics non-romantic content. As I mentioned at the beginning of the section, bluesmen never sang about “sweet” and romantic things. Their songs were “dirty” and “real” – “about real life with pain and problems.”²⁷ This also became an important part of the Stones’ aesthetic of authenticity.

There was another dimension of the Beats's countercultural legacy. They embraced criminality. Dean Moriarty stole and resold cars, William Burroughs was involved in reselling of stolen things, another Beats writer Carl Solomon threw potato salad at a college professor. Rock musicians adopted such rebel attitude to life expressed in inappropriate or, often, prohibited actions. Although, some blues musicians in the 1950s also had criminal records. In their cases, it was often associated with life circumstances, harsh life conditions, and status of outsiders. In other words, their actions were not cultivated as part of their musical image. By contrast, the Beats and rock musicians chose to behave inappropriately, and at times criminally. For the rock musicians rebellious actions and frequent violations of the law developed into a form of "expected" behavior. Keith Richard called it "monkey behavior." Both he and Jagger regarded it as a game that they played by being rock'n'roll stars in contemporary society. The behavior correlated with their music. Jagger observed, "My father used to call it 'jungle music,' and I used to say, 'yeah, that's right, jungle music, that's a very good description.'" ²⁸

By adopting outcast lifestyle, the Beats adopted appropriate look. From their works, we know that they could wear the same clothes for many days in a row, they slept, went out, and performed in the same outfits, thus, their look and clothes were unkempt and possibly embarrassing for people around. The Rolling Stones had the same "vagabond" aesthetic. They liked to perform in casual clothes even on such official performances as TV shows, which outrageously distinguished them from other rock'n'roll musicians of the time who had a strict segregation of outfits for life and outfits for performances. This characteristic came from the Beats, not from American bluesmen or rock'n'roll musicians. The Rolling Stones were the band who developed and inculcated it into rock'n'roll.

Learning How to Perform

One of the most important components of the Stones' aesthetic is their performance style which they developed at the very beginning of their career. Access to blues and rock was tightly limited in the UK in early 1960s: it was difficult to get rock'n'roll records, to see actual stars, and to learn how they performed. After screening movies like "Blackboard Jungle" (1955) and "Rock Around the Clock" (1955) in UK, local government discovered powerful effect that rock'n'roll music had on the youth. Officials saw the new music as an inspiration for delinquency and source of moral decline, and thus, they decided to control its spreading in the UK. The decision was to ban the new American from TV and radio stations. As a result, the British youth and, hence, the Stones did not have many opportunities to see American bluesmen live or on TV when they formed their bands in the first half of the 1960s. However, the censorship had the opposite effect from what was intended; it spurred interest in rock and fueled the emergence a distinct youth culture based in rock'n'roll.²⁹

Although not many American rock'n'roll and blues musicians visited the country, the Stones had a unique opportunity to see them close up. In 1963 the young rockers toured as an opening act with such American stars as Little Richard, Bo Diddley and the Everly Brothers on the English leg of their tour. The tour had a remarkable influence on the young band in terms of their performance style. Mick Jagger admitted that he learned a lot from Little Richard—how to perform, how to get and hold audience attention, and even how to manipulate it. Jagger said that among the musicians who influenced his performing style, Little Richard was the most important.

Jagger said:

I used to spend a lot of time with Little Richard... He used to teach me a lot. I would watch him every single night to see how he handle the audience. He was a great audience manipulator, in the best sense of the word... I probably learned more from him than anyone else.³⁰

Indeed, Little Richard had one of the most identifiable performance styles among early rock'n'roll stars, and his performance, was a very important tool in his artistic life and a promotion strategy. He paid special attention to the performance components and tried to plan not only his own performing role, but also that of his band. [pic.1.1] Charles Conner, the band's drummer said,

Little Richard, dressed in flamboyant clothing with a pompadour hairstyle and make up, delivered his music accompanied by a wild stage show... We [his band] were the first band on the road to wear pancake makeup and eye shadow, have an earring hanging out of our ear and have our hair curled in process... Richard was the only guy in the band that was actually like that, but he wanted us to be different and exciting.³¹



Picture 1.1. Little Richard (the piano player) and his band. 1963.

In early 1960s Little Richard used performance components that the Stones and other rock stars would adopt and develop later as important components of rock'n'roll aesthetics. These were highly energetic (emotionally charged) performance, “wild” dance movements and hysterical voice. Jim Miller referred to it as “comic madness.”³² In relation to the Stones, other characteristics of Richard's performance, such as his scandalous use of makeup—carefully made eyes penciled with black— together with his androgyny in dance movements were also important because, very likely, they influenced the Stones to develop and express their own androgynous

image. Little Richard was one of the first examples of androgyny in rock'n'roll. His androgyny manifested in his use of makeup, high voice, dance movements, and mimicry. The Stones adopted all these elements - dance, androgyny, mimicry immediately, makeup a little later. In the 1960s, these characteristics played significant role in their outrageous promotion strategy. Although there were many extraordinary components to Richard's performance style that distinguished him from other musicians, in terms of performance clothes he was rather conservative. Like all his contemporaries, he wore a performance costume usually consisting of a white suit with regular or bow tie. The Stones would break with that approach.



Picture 1.2. Bo Diddley. 1960s.

That first tour played a huge role in the Stones' aesthetic development process. The influence of Little Richard on the Rolling Stones especially on their performing style is obvious.

In many interviews the band's members mentioned this fact. However, the tour included other American artists that had considerable an impact on the young Stones. Bo Diddley was a great representative of Chicago blues whose music style influence the Rolling Stones and whose songs they performed and recorded for many years. Bo Diddley, like Little Richard, had a unique performing style. [pic.1.2] He was an active guitar player during performances, but the instrument did not prevent him from dancing on stage. Diddley danced mainly using his legs; that is also how Jagger tended to move on stage. Their dances had very similar movement patterns. They looked like they did not accompany the music, but instead were organically generated by the music. Diddley's moves came from inside—he danced like he was a responding to the music, not performing it. This was also how Mick Jagger moved. By contrast, Little Richard moved in a very different way. His dancing was more planned and rehearsed. He also taught his band how to move during his performances. He did not integrate movements in his performance like Bo Diddley and then Mick Jagger did. In addition, Bo Diddley, as well as Little Richard, interacted with the audience during his performances through movements, gesticulation, a direct gaze, and mimicry. The Stones, who learned from both musicians, made this element one of the most important components of their performances. In the second half of the 1960s the component played a big role in the band's growing popularity. Another important element of Diddley's performing style that the Stones adopted was his way of holding a guitar. He held his guitar lower than most guitar players of the time. This position allowed him to have more freedom to move. Later the Rolling Stones—Keith Richards and Brian Jones—adopted this approach. One can easily notice it through comparison of the Stones and the Beatles' performances of 1964 - 1967.³³

Assembling the Components

In the 1950s, rock'n'roll performance style as well as rock'n'roll aesthetic that the Rolling Stones would develop later were presented in a rudimentary form. The situation actually worsened in the first half of the 1960s, when most of the greatest American R&B performers stopped touring.³⁴ The American bluesmen of 1950s introduced some basic characteristics of future rock'n'roll aesthetic: madness, unusual dance styles, attempts to interact with the audience (to break the “wall” between musicians and audience), voice distortion, etc. However, those performance characteristics were not expressed consistently. In the rock'n'roll presentation by American musicians of the 1950s, the music accompanied emerging youth culture but did not bear any particular ideology. It was the next generation of musicians, who developed it through the influence of art environment, changes of musicians' class, race, age, education, and even country. British musicians combined characteristics of blues and the Beats' aesthetic together in rock'n'roll performances and rock'n'roll musicians' lifestyles. The Rolling Stones did it in the most visible and influential way.

Rock'n'roll reached the next step in 1964 when a group of young British bands headed by the Beatles landed in the USA. Some of them played “fresh” rock'n'roll created by them, but some played the original blues and R&B, celebrating those forms of American music as the greatest music in the world. These musicians made a choice to play original, not refined versions of blues in order to ‘reintroduce’ this music to American public. But they also brought new altered version of rock'n'roll aesthetic. They had long, uncombed and dirty hair, they performed in casual outfits, they publically use inappropriate language, and their songs and performances had explicit sexual content. In their interpretation blues merged with the Beats' lifestyle, with “dangerous” and devastating ideology that refused traditions and values of dominant culture.

SECTION TWO: ROLLING STONES “(I CAN’T GET NO) SATISFACTION”
PERFORMANCE. ED SULLIVAN SHOW, 11 SEPTEMBER 1966

The American music scene, the whole set of teenage idols and clean-cut boys from next door and nice little songs, all that went right out... when these guys showed up.¹

Bobby Keys

The Rolling Stones arrived in the USA in 1964 as a part of British Invasion. Their first US tour began in June and was not particularly successful. Despite their growing popularity in the UK, Americans were not impressed. The band had serious difficulties in selling tickets for their concerts. Among other British Invasion bands, like the Beatles, the Animals, Yardbirds, and the Kinks, the Rolling Stones did not look great and could not get beyond third place on any top chart. In 1964 in the world of popular music the Beatles held the top position. They set up expectations for every aspect of musicians’ lives, work and performance—outfits, haircut, speech, voice, tunes, instruments (no saxophones), lyrics, and others. These were not just standards for rock’n’roll, they were standards for all pop music stars in the first half of 1960s.

To be popular you needed to have the freshest fashion look and to follow certain rules. All rock’n’roll musicians wore the same kinds of outfits during their performances and their outfits were costumes. They included fashionable, perfectly fitted suits with white shirts, polished shoes, and narrow ties. [pic.2.1] American saxophonist Bobby Keys, who performed with many rock musicians including the Rolling Stones, observed: “[y]ou got to realize that the vision, the image, according to 1964 US rock-and-roll standards, was mohair suit and tie, and nicey-nicey, ol’ boy next door.”²



Picture 2.1. The Beatles. Ed Sullivan Show. February 9th, 1964.

Visually rock musicians of the early 1960s did not resemble the rock stars that appeared in the second half of the decade, like The Doors, Led Zeppelin, Velvet Underground, Pink Floyd, the Stooges or MC5. This look, and one could say the rules of the rock's visual presentation, changed in 1966 when the Rolling Stones, a new band with a very different visual presence appeared. In the mid-1960s the Stones stood out from other British bands — they played American blues instead of producing their own material, they refused traditional stage look performing instead in their own 'street' clothes, they looked untidy and used inappropriate language ubiquitously. Their image contrasted remarkably with the Beatles' image, a fact that at first made them unpopular among the US growing rock'n'roll audience captivated by the Beatles.

Despite of the two-year performing experience as the Rolling Stones band, by 1964 Stones still were developing their signature performance style and image. In order to become competitive in the US, the Stones had to investigate the environment and get some experience of performing

in the country. Before they reached a status of big stars in the US at the end of 1966 they experienced many financial and artistic difficulties and transformations. Among others, they also switched from covering American blues to writing and performing their own songs. On their way to stardom they had to write a hit that could finally bring the band a number one spot in US charts and would become a tool for demonstrating their unordinary performing style. The “Satisfaction” song became such an instrument.

The Stones released the song in June 1965. It was one of the first songs written by the band and the first that brought them real success. The song achieved the number one spot on the USA music charts in July 10, 1965 and, finally improved the band’s business situation.³ The public interest also grew. The Rolling Stones used the situation and started to perform the song very often. One of the key performances occurred September 11th of 1966 on the Ed Sullivan show.

Many scholars consider “Satisfaction” as one of the greatest songs ever recorded and as a musical and social phenomenon that deeply influenced rock’n’roll development.⁴ Researchers often appeal to its simple structure, provocative lyrics, impudent voice performance, suggestive title, meanings, etc. But, along with combination of lyrics that corresponded the spirit of the time and the music that reflected R&B authenticity, the band developed a special way to perform the song. It was not an absolutely new way, but it helped them to hone their signature performing style. The Rolling Stones set an aesthetic direction for future development of the rock culture through their performances of the song in 1965-1966. The performance on Ed Sullivan show played a key role for this development due to the exposure it gave the band.

In this section I will argue that one should regard this performance as a turning point for the visual development of the rock’n’roll aesthetics. I will investigate: What were those particular components that made this performance so special? What role did the show played in delivering a

new visual aesthetic? Why did these visual changes occur in the middle of the 1960s, and why exactly in US culture? How and why did the performance become a turning point for generating changes in visual development of rock and roll aesthetics?

“Who are these pasty-faced, funny-talking, skinny-legged guys?”⁵

The Rolling Stones formed in 1962 in England. In 1964 they made their first United States tour. The tour was organized by the band’s manager Andrew Oldham. During that tour the group was promoted as a part of British Invasion and only because of this fact they could sell some concert tickets, records, and were able to get a few invitations on TV shows.

Before arriving to the US the band was regarded as one of the top young British groups. However, in the United States they were absolutely unknown and ‘alien.’ Additionally, the fact that in 1964 the Rolling Stones still made covers of American artists’ songs made them even stranger in the eyes of American rock fans. As Bobby Keys thought in 1964, “Who are these pasty-faced, funny-talking, skinny-legged guys to come over here and cash in on Buddy’s [Holly] song?”

⁵ American society regarded them as one of British “monkeys” or freaks. They were invited to events mostly to amuse and exhilarate the audience, and they, definitely, were not considered as serious, influential and long-lasting artists.⁶

At the end of 1964 some American radio stations banned the Stones’ song “Little Red Rooster” for sexual connotations.⁷ This act of censorship supported the band’s growing fame and strengthened their image as young rebels and, of course, made them more appealing to the youth of America. The band and the manager quickly realized how effectively they could use this restriction. They were not going to stop; instead, they embraced the controversy and were more and more provocative – in their lyrics, looks, performances, and interviews.

They caught their ‘wave,’ they found their way to ‘rock,’ and started to develop a distinct image very fast. Like “Little Red Rooster,” the song “Satisfaction” was designed to be sexual provocative. The lyrics of the song perfectly reflect the rebel nature of the band and brightly expressed their nonconformity. And, of course, the music also worked. On the one hand, it kept the authenticity of blues, on the other, it included the elements of new rock techniques. However, in addition to the perfect set of lyrics and music the band developed a special way of performing the song. In the Rolling Stones performances of from 1965-1966 one can observe a significant development of all signature components of their mature performance style and their rock’n’roll aesthetics in general.

During a year between the first “Satisfaction” performance in May 1965 and the Ed Sullivan performance the band had tours in the United States, Europe, Australia and New Zealand.⁸ They performed the song in very different parts of the world in many countries. This gave them an opportunity to learn how different audiences perceived the song. In that time the band became known for their concerts that ended in brawls.⁹ It is possible that the band provoked their audience intentionally because after each brawl they became more and more popular, more loathed by elders and more beloved by youth.

The band and their manager found an effective way to manipulate media. It was not difficult to attract media attention because the band’s behavior was provocative by design. They created a buzz around themselves, so that the media would always be able to get something “incredible” and scandalous to cover. The band successfully used this situation. As Keith Richards noted:

The media were so easy to manipulate, we could do anything we wanted. We’d get thrown out of hotels, piss on a garage forecourt..... We went to the Grand Hotel in Bristol deliberately to get thrown out. Andrew called Fleet Street to say if you want to watch the Stones get throwing out of the Grand Hotel, be there at such and such a time – because we were dressed incorrectly.¹⁰

Although during 1965 the band's fame grew significantly, they still felt they did not attract enough attention. They even surpassed the Beatles in some UK ratings, Mick Jagger was voted as the most popular frontman in England, but they still looked forward to conquering the USA.¹¹

Conquering the USA: The Ed Sullivan Show

In 1966 The Ed Sullivan show was the most popular TV show in the USA. It ran on CBS television and radio network from 1948 to 1971. The broadcasting time was Sunday nights at 8:00 p.m.¹² The show introduced the best and most popular artists—American and foreign—and presented itself as the platform for new talents. It was famous for presenting youth cultural icons such as Elvis Presley, the Beatles, and other bands of British Invasion, and it played an important role in cultural revolution underway in the US, especially in the fast changing 1960s.

The Ed Sullivan Show had a huge audience and was regarded as the most influential TV show in the country. In 1964 the show reached the peak of its popularity, the audience grew to incredible size – approximately fourteen million viewers.¹³ During the next two years the ratings did not reduce significantly. The opportunity to perform on the show was the door to the world of fame and successes. Foreign artists like the Rolling Stones especially valued such opportunity and saw it as a tool to conquer American audience. In the middle of 1960s everybody in the US knew how influential the show was for Presley's and the Beatles' careers, hence every artist tried to use their opportunities on the show in the most efficient way.

“Satisfaction” performance was the third Rolling Stones appearance on the Ed Sullivan. The band's two previous appearances helped to shape the Stones' visual image in the September 1966 performance. In the 25th October of 1964 the Rolling Stones performed on Ed Sullivan for the first time. According to the show's official website, there was a dress code rules for all participants.

¹⁴ These rules included a requirement that all male performers wore suits. However, Mike Jagger ignored this rule and, thereby, insulted the host and the audience. He wore a sweater and jeans, and looked very casual while the show wanted artists to look elegant. Moreover, four of five band members sported uncombed and dirty hair. [pic.2.2] After the show Ed Sullivan publicly apologized for inviting the band and said that he would never invite them again. Not only the host, but TV viewers were also disappointed. One viewer sent a telegraph to the show the following day. It stated: “Should be ashamed of yourself putting on such trash as The Rolling Stones. A Disappointed Viewer.”¹⁵ But the Rolling Stones continued to increase in their popularity, so the show was interested to book them again, and, of course, the band was very interested in performing on the main show in the USA one more time. The Stones were invited again in May 1965, but this time they had to agree to particular conditions about dress code. They had to wear suits and wash their hair. [pic.2.3]



Picture 2.2. The Rolling Stones. Ed Sullivan Show. 25 October, 1964.



Picture 2.3. The Rolling Stones. Ed Sullivan Show. 2 May, 1965.

This case affected the third performance as well. Although the band members were no longer required to wear suits, their look had to be quite elegant, and this is precisely what we see in the recording of the September 1966 show. Mick Jagger wears a red shirt and plaid black and grey trousers. Other band members wear suits but with turtlenecks instead of collared shirts. However, despite compromising on clothing, the Rolling Stones kept their rebellion intact and it was well received by their target audience. [pic.2.4]



Picture 2.4. The Rolling Stones. Ed Sullivan Show. 11 September, 1966.

There were several elements that distinguished this performance. In the first place, the band members were not dressed in costumes and they were not dressed identically, which was not common for the musicians performing at that time. In the second half of the 1950s rock'n'roll musicians like Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry, Eddie Cochran or Little Richard wore different types of clothing and did not follow common rules. However, all of them had to leave their musical careers for some time for very different reasons in the early 1960s. ¹⁶ Other, less famous musicians who were not so extraordinary and rebellious took their places, as they were ready to compromise with general pop-music rules and traditions like wearing costumes during performances and having an official, elegant look.



Picture 2.5. Teddy Boys. London. 1950s.

But this was not the only reason why musicians started dressing in the same costumes. After 1964 this way of dressing became a fashion trend. The British Invasion brought not only British groups with young talented boys and great melodies, but also British youth fashion, which developed rapidly at that time. It started in 1950s when the first youth subculture was formed and its aficionados were called Teddy Boys/Girls. They wore special perfectly fit Edwardian suits that

the Beatles adopted as their performing costumes. [pic.2.5] Very soon performers modified their outfits in accordance with the emerging mods fashion. Mods was another youth subculture that evolved from Teddies in early 1960s. The Beatles became the most popular and influential adapters and later promoters of the mods style. The image that they created was boys with neatly cut hair in ideally-cut suits with white nylon shirts and long and narrow ties. They wore pointed shoes called winkle pickers. When the Beatles came to the United States they brought this image with them. And they were especially elegant for such official performances like TV shows. [pic.2.6]



Picture 2.6. The Beatles. 1964.

The Beatles had tremendous power in the 1960s as trend setters. They established what to sing, what to say, what to wear, where to stand on the stage, how to hold the guitars and so on. New bands tried to imitate them, managers used the Beatles' approach to promote their groups,

journalists wanted musicians to give interviews in the way the Beatles did, TV shows wanted to see the Beatles-looking musicians with the same stage placements, and record companies wanted to see crazy screaming girls surrounding other bands. As Keith Richards noted, the Beatles were “everywhere” and if new band appeared managers started pushing it to copy the Beatles. “What are you going to do? The Beatles are all over the place like a fucking bag of fleas, right? Everybody’s too cute and they all wear uniforms and it’s all showbiz.”¹⁷

The Rolling Stones as any other bands were pushed by their manager Andrew Oldham to copy the Beatles, at least, in some aspects, such as outfits. On their first TV show appearance in England in 1963 - *Thank Your Lucky Stars* - they appeared in the same well-cut suits. [pic.2.7]

From Keith Richards’ memories:

The whole idea of the Beatles and the uniforms, keeping everything uniform, still made sense to Andrew. To us it didn’t. He put us in uniforms. We had those damn hounds-tooth, dogtooth check jackets on Thank Your Lucky Stars, but we just dumped them immediately... We’re not going to be the Fab Four, all wearing the same shit.¹⁸



Picture 2.7. The Rolling Stones. England, 1963.

After the show the band flatly refused to dress the same way and there was no way to convince them. After this they were allowed to dress the way they wanted without pressure from the manager. Usually their choices were sweaters or turtleneck, short narrow pants and shoes. If they wore suits, they were not perfectly-fit suits with less formal crewneck sweaters instead of shirts and ties. This combination of suits and crewneck sweaters is what we can see on three of five of the Stones in the 1966 on Ed Sullivan performance – Keith Richards, Brian Jones and Charlie Watts. All of them wear jackets of different colors. Brian Jones is dressed in blue jacket with white turtleneck and gray plaid trousers. Keith Richards wears the same items but all of them are black, and Charlie Watts is dressed in white jacket with blue turtleneck and black trousers. Bill Wyman was the most elegantly dressed. He chose the traditional black suit and white shirt but no tie. As on the first Ed Sullivan show, Mick Jagger was the one who looked the most distinct. He wore bright red shirt with a white undershirt, which we can see because he left the top two buttons undone, and gray trousers with plaid pattern and a black belt.

The clothes variety and different color choices were already enough to make the band look differently from other bands. However, the Rolling Stones went further and added important and easily noticeable details for the time. Charlie's white jacket is crumpled, a detail that was inappropriate for such high-profile TV appearance, and Jagger's shirt is unbuttoned on the top revealing his underwear—the white T-shirt.

Another important component of musicians' looks on the show is their hair styles. Hair of all members is too long for that time and noticeably uncombed. In the middle of 1960s, the hair length was very important especially in the USA, where long hair could mean that you were a freak or homosexual. Researcher Andre Millard stated, "Long hair was associated with all sorts of anti-social behavior."¹⁹ Today such hair style is normal and does not mean something special, but

back then people assumed that those sporting it were unemployed, careless, or abnormal by middle-class heteronormative standards of the period. However, their choice of hairdos was not absolutely new and different from other bands' hairstyles. The Rolling Stones' hair style was similar to that of the Beatles and mods. The hair was very arranged from the top of a head in a radial order; thereby they looked like a hat made of hair. Essentially, for this performance the Stones had mod hairstyles but they wore it in their own way. Firstly, their hair was uncombed, especially those of Mick Jagger and Keith Richards. Secondly, because Charlie Watts' hair was too long he had to divide it on a center-part in order to remove the hair from his eyes, and this created a remarkably different look.

In general, the Stones' looks were provocative on the show. Even the fact of compromising with the host about dress code did not destroy the rebellious mood and soul of the band's performance style. It seems like in every component of their outfits they found the way to deliver their message to the audience by making just few little changes to what was generally accepted. But these changes meant a lot and were easily readable.

The next aspect of the visual image of the performance is associated with the natural androgyny of the band members. They all were very thin and this made them look girlish especially with their long hair. As Keith Richards said in his memoirs, in the USA they were often intentionally called "girls," and people on the streets laughed at them. Nonetheless, they embraced this androgyny that would be very soon reassessed in the USA. The Rolling Stones would emerge as the band that brought sexual ambiguity to rock and roll.²⁰ The Ed Sullivan performance in the 1966 contributed to this perception. Here one should also remember that in the middle of the 1960s the hippie movement started to develop, and androgyny was one characteristics of their looks. Member of the Beatles and some other rock bands were also svelte; however, they did not try to

display that feature and they did not try to attract people's attention to it. But the Rolling Stones did. Since it was the feature that caught people's attentions they started using androgyny by emphasizing it through the outfits, hairs and the dance style.

The dance is one of the most important components of the Rolling Stones' performances. Mick Jagger developed a very special and provocative dance style. From the very beginning this characteristic visually separated him from the band and from other rock'n'roll singers. As I explained in the first section, in early 1960s the British youth had very limited access to rock'n'roll. Often they had only few records which provided them with music and sound but the rest of performance components they had to unravel by themselves relying on their music perception. There was a substantial influence from Little Richard and Bo Diddley, but we know that Jagger danced in performances before 1963 when he saw American artists while touring with them.

It is likely that Jagger may have been thinking about other rock'n'roll performers who danced such as Elvis Presley, who was famous in England and could be seen on the television. There were some similar components of Jagger and Presley's dances: both were regarded as too sexual and, hence, inappropriate, both were perceived as "weird" and full of unfamiliar sharp moves, and both were seen as rebellious. But there is one important difference between these two performers. Presley had a quite masculine image and through his dance he spoke to the girls. His look was not full of traditional men's characteristics of that time, but it also did not include female or androgynous characteristics. He was not skinny as Mick Jagger, oppositely he had an athletic body, his hair style was unusual but still it was man's hairstyle, his clothes in 1950s was loose and did not emphasize any particular body parts as did Jagger's clothes. In contrast, Mick Jagger's image was not particularly masculine; he was androgynous in his hairstyle and outfits. As David Shumway pointed out, "Mick Jagger's androgynous appearance and performance style covertly

suggested homoeroticism from very early on... Jagger's sexuality was far more ambiguous from the beginning than that of Elvis or the Beatles." ²¹ In his dance, as well as in his look, Jagger was seen as someone in the middle, neither male nor female. Through the dancing he appealed to both sexes, and both sexes got excited. On the Ed Sullivan performance in 1966 the cameramen showed the studio audience twice and both times one can see teenage boys behind the girls. Boys did not display their emotions with as much expressive as the girls, however, they were there and they seemed excited. The same as for artists there were rules on the show for the audience dress code and, possibly, about the behavior. Perhaps, it was not appropriate for men to express their emotions as much as girls could do it or TV format was not ready to show it in 1966 and cameras did not show us all of audience reactions.

Both Presley's and Jagger's ways of moving on the stage were condemned by older generation, who found them too sexual and rude; and both ways of dancing were not considered appropriate for TV when they appeared. It took some time for both to be shown dancing on TV. ²² However, the fact that two musicians eventually were allowed to perform on TV shows, even though older people did not approve of them, made them even more attractive to young people, many of whom wanted to imitate their stars.

On the 1966 Ed Sullivan show Jagger actively used the microphone in his dance. He danced with it and sometimes held it and jumped when the song reached emotional part, or sometimes he simply held it near his face for long time as if the microphone tried to run away. This is another visual component of the performance that could not be observed in official performances of other bands. Sometimes singers could touch the microphone, for example, Eric Burdon (the Animals) could keep the hands on it for a while or simply touch it to adjust its height, but this was not expressive and meaningful as Jagger's way of interacting with it. ²³ Usually musicians preferred

not to touch it at all on such official performances as TV shows while Jagger used it as an integral part of his visual image.

In the context of the performance Jagger's movement on stage is also a tool for communication between the band and the audience. There were two audiences in the performance—studio and TV. Mick Jagger communicated with both. During the performance, he actively used the cameras. He looked into them as if they were real people making eye-contact with the TV audience. His gaze was very direct and his eyes were wide opened. This made him look impertinent and persistent. He could hold his gaze for a rather long time. For example, at the beginning of the performance Jagger holds gaze on the camera for more than ten seconds. What is important is that the show's producers allowed Jagger to use this mostly provocative gaze in the show, and they also attracted peoples' attention to it by keeping the cameras on the Jagger's face for those ten seconds. It could be explained by the fact that in 1966 the Rolling Stones already gained their extraordinary fame. They became famous for their provocative, non-conformist and rebellious behavior, which made them stand out in a crowded field of other rock bands. By the September 1966 this characteristic became an important part of the band image thus the producers accepted and included it in the show.

Mick Jagger used the same eye contact with live audience in the studio. During the performance, he appealed to specific members of the audience many times, as if he spoke with them directly. Such direct contact was dangerous and the band knew it very well. They had enough experience at that time to know what it could mean and what it could lead to. Many Rolling Stones performances at this time ended in riots because such actions—the combination of looks, dance, direct gaze with expressive mimicry, and lyrics—encouraged audience to get excited and engaged, moving from passive listening and observing to participation and rioting. Other famous

musicians of the time did not use direct contact either with live audience or TV audience through the cameras. There was always an imaginary wall between them and their audience. It seems that they even try to avoid it. A crowd of screaming girls around was enough for them but it was not enough for Rolling Stones.

Another characteristic of the Stones' performance on Sullivan show in 1966 is obvious separation of frontman from the band. The frontman in rock'n'roll is a person who attracts the most attention from the audience during the performance. Usually, if a band had a frontman he or she was a singer. Moreover, if the one did not play any instruments during performances it would separate him/her from other members even more. The Beatles did not have a frontman—not theoretically, not visually. All the Beatles were singers and players, additionally, their uniform made them absolutely equal in terms of audience attention on the stage.

From the very beginning Mick Jagger was the Rolling Stones' singer. Keith Richards referred to him explicitly as a “performer,” not player. That meant that from the beginning Jagger developed his skills as a frontman/singer and as a main performer, the same way Richards developed his skills to play guitar. If one considers the fact that the Beatles were the main trendsetters in pop music culture at the time, it is not surprising that most rock'n'roll bands in the middle of the 1960s did not have a frontman or their frontmen were also players, for example, the frontman of the Kinks. However, some bands had singers who did not play any instruments during performances like, Mick Jagger. That was the case with the Animals and Yardbirds, but their singers did not dance, made no direct eye contacts with the audience or cameras, and were not visually separated from the band by their outfits or position on stage.

The localization of a particular place on the stage for each band member was another rule of performances in 1966. Usually there were two stage patterns in use. The first, featured three guitar

players located on the same line with the drummer placed behind them on the higher level. This was the Beatles' usual scheme. In the second pattern musicians formed a rhombus – in three planes, there was a singer on the first plane, then guitar players, and a drummer in the back plane. The second pattern visually separated a singer from other band members. Such British bands like Yardbirds and the Animals used this pattern. However, this pattern did not make their frontmen as visible as Mick Jagger. The reason was that during the performance Jagger was continuously moving, he crossed invisible lines between different positions and, thereby, attracted all attention of the audience. Sometimes his stage location was not even on the first plane like on band's second Sullivan show, but this did not make him less visible for the viewers because he moved more than others, his outfits were the most different, and he was the one who communicated with audience during the performances by using direct eye-contact with real people from the audience or by persistently looking into the cameras.

No other famous frontman of the time was so obviously separated from the band during the performance as Mick Jagger. And he was not the leader of the group. The band's leader was Brian Jones. Thus, it is clear that other band members helped to single out Jagger. The outfits are proof of this assumption. Four players wore different color clothes on the show, but all of them were dressed in suits and Jagger did not. He wore a bright red shirt—the big visual spot in constant motion that attracted much attention.

The final visual characteristic of the Rolling Stones performance that I am going to discuss is the guitar positions. Keith Richards and, especially, Brian Jones held their guitars unusually low. Such a way of guitar holding distinguished them from academic and traditional look of guitar players and at the same time gave them more freedom to move. As it was mentioned in the first section, the Stones most probably adopted this characteristic from Bo Diddley with whom they

made a tour in 1963. The traditional way of holding a guitar created a sense that a musician was bound by the guitar body and its strap and could not move freely. In such a way any torso movement could affect the playing. It is possible that the Beatles and other musicians did not dance during their playing because they were “bound” by their guitars. When a guitar is located lower, like the Stones and Diddley used to do, it is possible to move with torso without affecting playing process, and, as a consequence, playing feels more casual during the performance. [pic.2.8] At the same time Bill Wyman also held his bass guitar unusually high (almost vertically as if it were an acoustic string bass). This was also visually distinctive and a marker of their uniqueness.



Picture 2.8. The Rolling Stones. Ed Sullivan Show. 11 September, 1966.

On the Ed Sullivan Show the Rolling Stones demonstrated a combination of characteristics that distinguished them from the most of other musicians’ performances in the middle of 1960s. The uniqueness of the show—the way show’s creators broadcasted it, the huge audience and the show reputation—all played a significant role to make the performance memorable and influential.

But the band's strong desire to finally conquer American audience was the key motivator for the Stones to show Americans "the best" of themselves.

Here we are – the Rolling Stones

By the time of the performance the Stones had developed their rock'n'roll aesthetic built on such characteristics like authenticity of image expressed through the unity of life and stage image, provocation as the main element of a promotion strategy and performances, and a demonstrative rejection or ignoring of social rules of appropriate behavior. The Ed Sullivan show became a stage that allowed them to demonstrate their mature performing style and distinct image. The fact that there was a year gap between the first performance of "Satisfaction" and their performance on Ed Sullivan provided the Rolling Stones with enough time to become familiar and feel very comfortable with the song while performing it. It is also helped them to learn about possible audience reactions to various performance components, so they could anticipate almost any response.

The combination of the performance characteristics was successfully created in the way when all components of the chain supported each other and created one strong and easily-readable image. For example, outfits not only distinguished the band from other bands visually, but also served as one of the means to demonstrate their non-conformity and to separate their frontman. Androgyny was also supported by the outfits and at the same time reinforced band's image as unusual and non-conformist musicians. The dance and the way of communication with audiences transformed the official TV format to more live and casual one.

The image that the Rolling Stones created in their performance was successfully transmitted by the show to its huge American audience. By the end of 1966 the Rolling Stones had two-million-

selling albums and a few singles that were sold more than a million copies. The band became one of the top pop music bands internationally and finally “conquered” the American audience.²⁴ They achieved their purpose and, at the same time, established a new visual aesthetics pathway for the rock’n’roll culture.

SECTION THREE: FROM THE STONES TO THE NEW YORK DOLLS

At the end of the 1960s and early 1970s rock'n'roll experienced a start of a new wave. The British Invasion era ended with the Beatles disband in 1970, and the fast growth of many young rock'n'roll bands in the UK and the USA. There were two main types of rock'n'roll on the scene—glam rock in the UK and psychedelic rock in the USA—that were rapidly developing at that time. They were very different and yet similar. They both were aimed with big cultural claims, and believed in rock music as powerful tool for social change. But they were very different in terms of performances and the image of rock musician. In psychedelic rock, that was strongly associated with the hippie counterculture, musicians promoted natural image and equality for everyone. To them, a musician was not a celebrity but a person from a crowd. While in glam rock a musician was not a person from a crowd but a purposely created stage character that appeared exclusively on performances and some official events. Glam musicians often created special names for their heroes, and sometimes changed the characters during their careers. Their images and performances were very theatrical, they used professional assistantship—makeup artists, fashion designers, stage designers, light designers, and others.

In distinction from the musicians of the 1960s, new rock movements were also different in their understanding of rock'n'roll power. Especially it was typical for psychedelic musicians who tried to fight for the world peace through their music and establish 'love' as a unique base for any politics. Psychedelic bands tried to demonstrate to the America and eventually the whole world that "love could replace war, sharing could replace greed, and community could supersede the individual."¹ Moreover, by their activities they wanted to change the world immediately, like Jim Morrison, a frontman of the Doors, sang, "We want the world, and we want it now."² However, in spite of such highly enthusiastic intentions of new rock movements, there were some bands that

preferred to adopt, follow, and develop the rock'n'roll of the 1960s more than to join new rock trends. In the 1960s musicians were focused on individual liberation in societies they lived rather than on world-scale claims. They “wanted the world” but in terms of their own individual benefits.

By the end of the 1960s the Stones' aesthetic model was very controversial and also famous. By achieving huge popularity and conquering the US audience, the Stones became a role model for many young musicians. There were many components in their model that new bands adopted. Among them were—nonconformity with social rules, a lack of walls between private and public, official and unofficial. They created a particular band conception—the band with a frontman, instead of just a ‘band’ or ‘an artist and a band.’ They also presented rock'n'roll as a bohemian counterculture rather than just a popular music genre, which was a conception that many new rock bands and movements embraced, for instance, psychedelic musicians. By adopting some of the Stones' characteristics, young artists built their own interpretations of rock'n'roll, some of them were very different from the Stones' model, especially those of glam rock. However, there also were bands who tried to follow the model, not just to several characteristics of it, and saw the model as a tool for keeping the rock'n'roll authenticity and its “true soul.” In the rock'n'roll history some of these bands are often classified as proto-punk. These are the Stooges, MC5, and the New York Dolls. As many interviews and studies suggest, the Stones had a particularly strong influence on the NY Dolls who considered them to be authentic rock musicians similar to how the Stones had viewed the bluesmen before them. ³

The New York Dolls

When the Dolls formed in 1971 there were five original members – Arthur Kane (bassist), Rick Rivets (guitarist, replaced by Sylvain Sylvain in 1972), Johnny Thunder (guitarist), Billy Murcia (drummer, replaced by Jerry Nolan in 1972), and David Johansen (vocal). All of the

musicians grew up in different parts of New York City. Before became one of the Dolls, each of them played in different NY rock bands, although nobody had advance musical training.

Around 1970, Arthur Kane and Rick Rivets organized the band called “Actress” that Johnson, Thunders, and Murcia joined at the end of 1970th. In 1971 they renamed the band the New York Dolls. Their first performing place was Mercer Art Center. In 1972 they regularly played their Tuesday-night concerts in tiny Oscar Wilde Room.⁴ Another key stage was the Max’s Kansas City restaurant-club-bar where they found their main followers, friends, and supporters even before they formed the band. This place played important role in the band’s development as a rock’n’roll band and influenced their visual presentation and performance style.

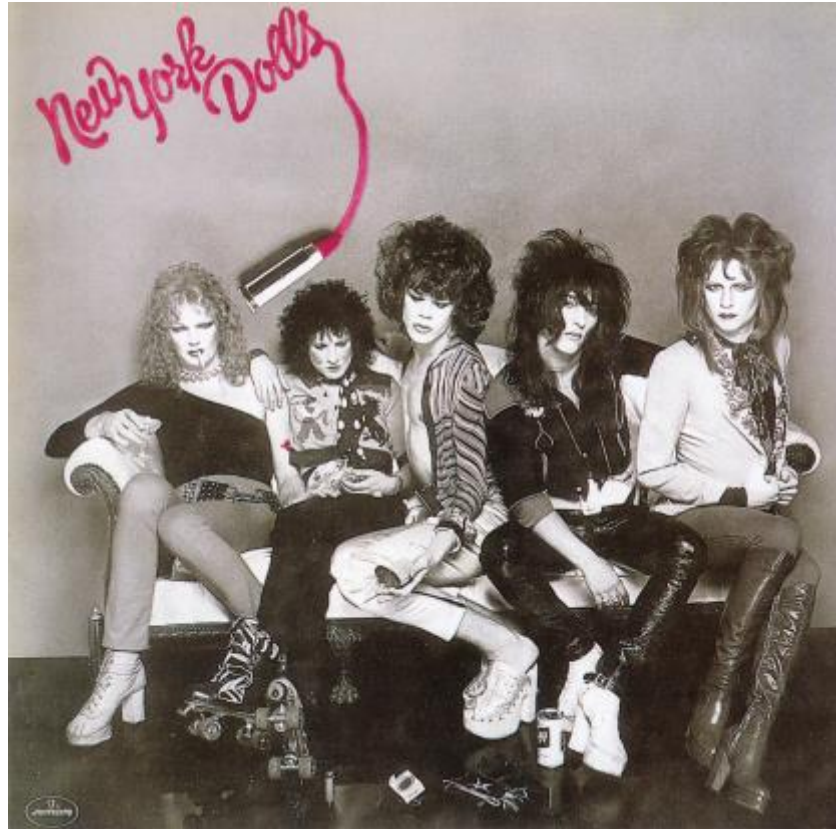
There are two important facts in the band’s biography that had direct connections with their future look. Around 1968 - 1970 Sylvain and Murcia ran clothes shop “Truth and Soul” where they sold “hand-loomed sweaters in a Native Colombian style.”⁵ Many members of NY underground art scene were often guests and customers. In particular, in the interview for Vogue Sylvain mentioned Betsey Johnson who at the same time period developed her career as a provocative fashion designer. She bought items to re-sell in her own shop.⁶ Future Dolls’ guitarist—Johnny Thunders was a good friend of theirs. As Fletcher noticed, “All three [Sylvain, Murcia, and Thunders] were obsessed with fashion,”⁷ although Thunders did not make any clothes but was curious to buy them. In 1970 Sylvain and Murcia sold their shop in order to go to Europe, including the UK, to see the local rock scene. They returned to NY inspired by London musicians as well as by many extravagant clothes and shoes they saw in the city. It is also important to notice that due Murcia’s mother the Dolls had an access to the UK clothes market. She frequently went to London to buy things for re-selling. David Johansen told:

We were also the first ones with those really high-heeled shoes. Billy Murcia’s mother used to go to England all the time and we used to see these pictures in

English papers of all these girls wearing these shoes and we'd put in our order with Billy's mother. We used to put our feet on the ground an outline and give them to her and she'd go to London and come back with twenty pairs of boots. And we would all wear them and paint them and trade them. ⁸

On one hand, it seems that the Dolls' obsession with clothes is a characteristic that distinguishes them from the Rolling Stones. The Stones did not spend much time searching for particular clothes. They cared only about their freedom to perform in whatever they wanted. They did not create a band special style except the principal refusal of any style. The Dolls purposely and carefully selected clothes they wore and even paid a lot of money to get the items from another country. They made their characteristic "outfits" dominant in their image. But on the other hand, both attitudes to clothes were reflections of the same idea—a demonstrative refusal of social norms. Both approaches could be identified with adolescent rebellion occurring at different historical moments. For the Stones it was enough to perform in casual clothes with dirty and long hair in 1960s in order to look provocative. By the 1970s, the Dolls pushed social norms further by dressing in women's clothes. There is an interesting fragment in a documentary on the Dolls. At one point a TV presenter discussing the band's look said, "Each time the things [in rock'n'roll] got crazier and crazier." ⁹ Then one of hosts mentioned Iggy Pop performance at the Max's club where Pop cut himself. The presenter wanted to make an example of another "crazy" act of contemporary rock musicians that was similar to the Dolls's "crazy" look. In the Rolling Stone magazine review of the Dolls' debut album, Tony Glover compared the album's cover photo with the Stones' wild look, "Remember the earliest Stones' publicity photos? What was scruffy and outrageous then looks so commonplace now—in ten years will this photo [the album cover] seem as quaint?" ¹⁰ [pic.3.1] He stated that the things that looked "crazy" and wild then do not do now, and that the Dolls conducted the same strategy like the Stones by using their look as provocative "crazy" act. Describing a usual reaction of people to their look Erin Amar noted, "Look at these guys, they're

a bunch of faggots, look at what they wear, look at their clothes.”¹¹



Picture 3.1. The New York Dolls. *The New York Dolls*, album. Mercury Records. July, 1973.

Such a rebellious behavior expressed in their appearance, played a key role in promotion strategies of both the Rolling Stones and the New York Dolls. Most often, media presented the Stones as anti-Beatles, anti-heroes, young hooligans, and bad boys, who were adored by youth but disliked by older generations. In 1964, the Stones quickly recognized benefits that they could get from such promotion campaign, and started using it. The Dolls applied the same strategy in the 1970s. Media charged both bands with social transgression.¹² According to David Johansen, “It was the humor, the fun and drunk ‘don’t give a shit’ attitude of the band, that was intoxicating.”¹³ Thus the band used women’s clothes partly for ‘fun’ and partly to make a point.

Another highly important aspect of the Dolls image similar to the Stones is that they did not make a distinction between life and performance. Similarly to the Stones, the Dolls stage and

life image was one and the same. But if the Stones came to their official performances like TV shows wearing their street clothing, the Dolls did the opposite. One could say that they never took off their costumes. Binky Philips who tuned the band's guitars for years said, "perhaps, most fantastically, these guys were not changing into stage outfits. They were strolling on the stage in their street clothes. They were living it!"¹⁴ They stayed in women's clothes in life too, unlike glam-rock musicians who used their transgender looks only for their performances and some official events.¹⁵ At a moment in which gender binaries were seen as a 'natural fact,' the Dolls exposed the discrepancies between biological sex and characteristics deemed masculine and feminine. In other words, as Judith Butler has theorized, they revealed gender to be "performative."¹⁶

In terms of performances, an important aspect of the rock'n'roll aesthetics that the Stones developed and spread was a conception of a band with a visual separation of a frontman during performances. Unlike other British Invasion bands, the Stones rejected identical costumes and static positions on a stage during performances. They intentionally presented Mick Jagger as a frontman—through his outfits, certain stage patterns, and musicians dance/movements, even though, the official leader of the band was Brian Jones. But, they never abandoned the idea of a band. The Stones did not become an "artist and a band," which was another structure of rock'n'roll band. On any other appearances they preferred to stay equal.

The New York Dolls adopted the same strategy. It is especially important to notice because glam musicians, with whom the Dolls are often classified, often used a model of an "artist and his/her band." Greatest examples are David Bowie and Alice Cooper. Such a model, perhaps, takes roots in Elvis Presley's rock'n'roll, especially in his 1960s performances where he was one "big star" on the stage, dressed in flamboyant purposely-designed costumes, with professionally made

hairdos and makeup. He was the one who concentrated all audience's attention on his persona. Other musicians who performed with him were intentionally dressed in less attractive costumes and located on back positions. Although the Dolls, like the Stones, had an expressive frontman during performances, they remained a band visually because other members were also appropriately dressed, they located close to each other on a stage, and all together they created one image of a band. For the Dolls the idea of a band instead of "artist and a band" was essential because they associated it with rock'n'roll authenticity verified by the Stones.

It is also important to point the Dolls' orientation toward small stages rather than stadium concerts with huge crowds. At the peak point of their career in 1973 - 1974 they had a few big concerts in Los Angeles, but these were an exception. They preferred to perform in clubs and even bars as a 'true' rock'n'roll band. They did not try to make a big show with professional stage design, light, performance, and costume designers on their team. They did not try to become a 'big' cultural phenomenon through the scales and set of their shows. In this aspect the Dolls were also similar with the Stones. Although, the Stones were very ambitious about their careers, they maintained a club-band during almost all 1960s. Live performance was the main component of their rock'n'roll. They considered a small-club stage as the best performing settings for their music.

In their image the Stones also stressed incongruous elements. For example, the band mixed private and public dimensions—they used street language in their songs and interviews or they could be dressed in crumpled casual outfits on official events. These combinations became an important part of their public image and a promotion tool. The Dolls adopted this idea. In addition to using a street language and 'special' outfits, they intentionally created a strong contrast between the women's fashion that they wore and their brutal voices and aggressive movements on the stage.

The Dolls started their careers as a local rock'n'roll bands who took their inspiration from classic rock'n'roll associated with the Rolling Stones. They adopted the Stones' model of rock'n'roll life on and off stage. However, they used the model in different place and time, which altered their aesthetic. In order to explain the changes, one should look at the main cultural venue where the Dolls spent much of their time, where they found their inspiration and support—Max's Kansas City club.

Transgender Imagery and Underground Fashion at the Max's

In 1970s Max's Kansas City club was the main underground venue of the New York art and music scene. It was also a venue for transgender people, drag queens, and new rock'n'roll bands, many of whom became well-known musicians, like Patti Smith, Ramones, Velvet Underground, and some others. The owner of the club Mickey Ruskin was very friendly and helpful person toward artists. Patti Smith pointed out that Max's kept many starving artists and drag queens alive due to its free cocktail-hour buffet.¹⁷ In the interview with Danny Fields, Ruskin said, "I just really wanted to be involved with creative people."¹⁸ He wanted to have a business inseparable from local art life. Photographer Anton Perich observed that, "It [Max's] became 'a kind of Ellis Island' for a wave of them [artists] who came to the city in the 1960s and '70s."¹⁹

The location of the club was very efficient in terms of artists' homes and studios. There were many photo studios around. The Chelsea hotel—a residence of many artists—was just three blocks away. Warhol's Factory was around the corner. As Smith described the place, there was a special social hierarchy with "kings," "queens," their courts, and other surrounding people. "The politics at Max's were very similar to high school, except the popular people were not the cheerleaders or football heroes and the prom queen would most certainly be a he, dressed as a she, knowing more about being a she than most she's [*sic*]."²⁰ Among the "kings" were such people

like Andy Warhol, Willem de Kooning, and William S. Burroughs. There also was a VIP area called “back room” where the stars and the most respectful guests located.

The “back room” space had its special history directly related to Andy Warhol. According to Mickey Ruskin, when Warhol started visiting the club, soon after opening, his visiting habits shaped the place. He always sat at the round table in the back room with a group of people who surrounded him—his friends and “stars.”²¹ Warhol’s visits served as an advertising of the place and attracted many young artists –photographers, painters, writers, film stars, musicians, etc. Most of them wanted to enter the Warhol’s circle and become his next “star.”

According to Smith, the “queen” of the club at that time was transgender Candy Darling (1944 - 1974). She was a Warhol’s films star from 1968 - 1971, and accompanied him almost everywhere during that time. She was obsessed with the idea of becoming a famous movie star, like Joan Bennet or Kim Novak. According to a documentary about her “Beautiful Darling,” in her life she acted like she was playing a role of a superstar. It did not matter where and with whom she was, she stayed in her role permanently. As she said, “I’m not a genuine woman. But I’m not interested in genuineness. I’m interested in being the product of a woman.”²² She indeed was a big star of those three years, many photographers wanted to work with her as she embodied stereotypical features of “womanliness” like big blond hair, painted lips, and large eyes. Among them were famous mainstream photographers and infamous young ones: Richard Avedon, Kenn Duncan, Robert Mapplethorpe, Peter Hujar, Anton Perich, and others. She appeared on the *Cosmopolitan* cover in November, 1972. And she also was referenced with her friend Taffy, in the Stones’ song “Citadel” in 1967.

Candy was the biggest and favorite Warhol’s star who frequently visited Max’s but not the only one. Her friends and colleagues were Jackie Curtis, Holly Woodland, and Wayne County.

They all were transgender individuals, were famous because of Andy Warhol, and all were important members of Max's life. Visitors loved them and many came specifically to meet the 'queens.' There were no doubts that they had shaped the place and had an influence Max's visitors including the New York Dolls.

At the end of the 1960s the Dolls' members started to appear at Max's. They became a part of the scene and were influenced by the regulars. Cyrinda Foxe, Johansen's partner, recalled that the future Dolls tried to become a part of Max's celebrities, "Johansen worked his way into the back room... [but] was a little more heterosexual than they wanted him to be."²⁴ It was the end of 1969 before the band was formed. At that time Johansen did not wear women's clothes and had a 'normal' heterosexual look. In order to become a part of the Max's he had to make some changes. Thus women's dresses started appearing in his wardrobe. Binky Philips told that Johansen was the one who started to wear women's clothes.²⁵ Other band members wore unisex items when the band formed.

It is obvious that the Max's place was important for the band. To get a recognition there meant to reach success among local underground scene. At the moment when the Dolls formed they perfectly matched the special aura of the club with its ideas and, most important, with its look. Max's became one of the first performing stage for the band and, probably, the most important one. Moreover, they quickly became stars there and were welcome in the VIP area. After Andy Warhol left his status of the "king" in 1973 by stopping visiting the place, his throne moved to the Dolls—as Danny Field a music manager and journalist pointed. It was 1973.²⁶

NY Dolls Hospital or a Circus Act Club

In spite the fact that the Dolls formed in 1971, they released their first album only in July of 1973. Before this time, they performed and were quite popular only in the local scene. They could not get any contracts and invitations for official performances in mainstream culture. When they, finally, released the first album they got the opportunity to appear before a “big” audience. 1973 became a culmination year for the band in terms of records, fame, official appearances, and visual aesthetic.

On the album cover the Dolls appeared in their “best” look. [pic.3.1] In a black and white photograph, they appear as vulgar and aggressive drag queens sitting on a sofa. The band’s name acts as an album title— “The New York Dolls” –written on the wall behind the sofa. It is written by bright pink lipstick, which is the only color on the picture. This picture is a property of Mercury Records company that had a contract with the band. It used the picture as an important promotional tool, as the band’s image played the main role in their success.

The “Personal Crisis” was the first and main hit from the Dolls’ debut album. It opened a door for the band to the mainstream and gave an opportunity to gain fame outside of an underground world. The album got positive reviews and high values from critics but it was not successful among American audiences and, thus, did not sell well. However, due to their shocking image the band became famous very fast. They did a tour around the USA and the UK and performed on a few TV shows.

On October 19th 1973 the Dolls performed on The Midnight Special—popular musical TV show created by Burt Sugarman and run by NBC from February 1973 till May 1981. It featured different popular musical artists performing live (not lip-synching of prerecorded song like it used to be on other shows of the period). On the show the Dolls performed their hit song “Personality

Crisis.”

In performance the band’s look reflected their two years of experience developing their outfits. They were dressed in their best and most elegant clothing that contrasted with their unkempt look. They wore tight bright and glossy leggings, very high and massive heels, ill-fitting (too small) unbuttoned jackets that revealed their naked torsos, and big fluffy ‘Barbie’ hairstyles. Additionally, they wore makeup and woman’s accessories, such as bracelets and necklaces. They were not dressed identically but all in the same style, like dolls and, at the same time, like drag queens. They presented their extravagant looks in a combination with ‘freak’ behavior expressed through hysterical movements, screaming voice, and aping about. [pic.3.2]



Picture 3.2. The New York Dolls. The Midnight Special Show. October 19th 1973.

This combination reflects the band’s name. According to T. Fletcher, the idea of dolls for the band’s name came from the New York Doll hospital (dolls repair shop) that was located in

front of Sylvain and Murcia clothing shop.²⁷ They decided that it was appropriate name for their band. A direct reference to dolls received a concrete visual representation in their outfits, hairstyle, and makeup. Such a look could, first, well fit into local, in particular, Max's imagery, and, second, it had a great potential as a rock'n'roll outrageous appearance.

Not only was 'dolls' a catchy and symbolic word, but the idea of hospital appealed as well. Since Elvis Presley and the Rolling Stones, rock musicians were often associated with crazy and freaky behavior. Keith Richards recalling the Stones' first US tour, observed that the American audience "treat you like some dumb circus act."²⁸ American society regarded the band as one of the British freaks. During their first US tour the Stones were invited to events mostly to amuse and exhilarate the audience. The idea of musicians' dissonance with behavioral norms became one of the most important aspects of rock'n'roll. However, this characteristic took on special meaning in the context of proto-punk and punk. The Dolls were one of the first New York bands of the early 1970s to use this strategy. Many other performers and bands - Velvet Underground and Bob Dylan- tried instead to make rock'n'roll into a 'serious' genre of music.

The Dolls like the Stones wanted to save this early rock'n'roll crazy content in their behavior. In the performance, besides crazy appearance, the Dolls expressed it through the sound and their movements on the stage. First, Johansen would sing in a very expressive way, with his voice breaking down and constantly fluctuating between singing and screaming. His screaming remained hysterical as if he were insane. Moreover, while singing he would grimace like a kid or an insane person. Mick Jagger did the same in the Stones' performances and called it "circus acts."²⁹ The Dolls adopted this characteristic, and successfully used it in combination with their wild look. Another 'crazy' element was the movements of musicians on the stage, which were sharp and inconsistent.

Balancing in Gender

Returning to the band's appearance on the performance, one can clearly see that in their way to dress up as women the Dolls consciously chose to imitate only particular elements of an image. This idea could come from Max's queens. They were not all transsexual and many intentionally refused the idea of sex change by surgery. The majority were instead openly transgender and actively stressed gender as performative. Everybody knew that they were men dressed as women, and they were satisfied with their statuses. Jacky Curtis and Holly Woodlawn could even change their gender daily, thereby, demonstrating that the image and even identity is just a performance—a role one can play daily.

The Dolls did partly the same. They all retained a sense of masculinity while in women's clothes. They never claimed or wanted to be a "she" like Max's "queens." The Dolls wanted to be perceived as men while being dressed like women. In the context of Max's club their look was about fashion and appearance. The Dolls were very selective as far as what components to imitate. They used women's clothes and some movements—gesturing and dance elements. But if in Max's their look reflected only fashion trends, then in the performance they used women's look as a rock'n'roll provocative action, the same way the Rolling Stones used their long, dirty and uncombed hair. With this act the band demonstrated their outrageous spirit and attracted people's attention to their personas. It was important to keep the look ambiguous—not fully transgender and not traditionally masculine—in order the contrasted elements (masculine and feminine) worked as a provocation as well as the idea of "playing in being a woman" also was readable. In the performance all the Dolls were dressed in women's clothes. The most important items were tight leggings or small shorts, very high heels, and Barbie dolls' haircuts. At the same time all had

their men's torsos shown to stress their masculinity. Visually their look consisted of more women's components than men's, however, their heavy music, and deep and harsh baritone of David Johansen created very noticeable contrast between visual and sound parts.

It is also important to say that all the Dolls were heterosexuals when the band formed. They explicitly demonstrated it. While queens and other transgender individuals often have untraditional sexual orientation, the Dolls look was not constructed to suggest a same-sex orientation. As the Stones' disciples they were surrounded by many women, and women knew that the band's members were interested in them because they make it obvious. According to Bob Gruen, the Dolls' deployment of femininity only enhanced their attractiveness for women, "The girls liked them more because they had the balls to dress like this."³⁰ Many of the rock'n'roll stars of 1950s and 1960s, like the Rolling Stones, and later, the Dolls were surrounded by female fans, which became part of the show.

In addition to Max's inspiring environment and the rebellious attitudes expressed through their self-fashioning, the Doll's look can be also explained by the extension of the rock'n'roll androgyny that the Stones demonstrated in an expressive way in the 1960s. In such view, the Dolls' look is an exaggerated androgyny of the Stones, Mick Jagger in particular. In his book Phillip Auslander stated that Mick Jagger was the first prototype of the androgynous image in the rock'n'roll before David Bowie or the New York Dolls.³¹ In both cases—the Stones and the Dolls—androgyny was not planned as a serious claim or ideological manifestation. It was a demonstrative act of walking on prohibited territory—another manifestation of rock'n'roll rebellion. In the performance, the Dolls expressed androgyny through such elements of their look as a particular skinny body structure accentuated by outfits, hairstyles, and dance, similar to the Stones.

The dance was one of the most expressive and important elements in the Dolls' performance and image. Similarly to the Rolling Stones, where Jagger's dance was an effective addition to the outrageous image of the band, the Dolls dancers—Johansen and Thunder—played the same role in the band's image. They strengthened their look with gestures and expressive movement. However, there is a difference in the origin of two dances. From the very beginning the Jagger's dance was a product of his blues sensibility. He invented this performance component when he had not yet seen many of rock'n'roll stars that later more or less influenced his dancing style, like Little Richard, Bo Diddley, James Brown, and Tina Turner. His dance did not have any particular prototype to imitate, while the Doll's dance was based on women's movements and gesticulations, and sometimes drew on the exaggerated movements of drag queens. The most expressive characteristic of the Dolls' dance were rash and deep squatting, sticking out a backside, hysterical clutching a head, short rapid steps, and drags' gesticulation.

The Stones within the Dolls

One of the main contribution that the Stones made in rock'n'roll visual presentation was the interaction with the audience during performances by eye contacts, direct long gazes on somebody or in the camera, and sometimes actual touching. By setting such contacts the Stones broke an imaginary wall between the band and an audience, and created casual atmosphere instead of official one, like it usually was on a TV shows. On the Midnight Special performance, the Dolls used this approach. They interacted with the audience. Johansen made eye-contact with people in the room, especially when he tried to clearly pronounce song words, as if he was speaking with a person. Although, the show format was made in a way to imitate rock concert settings with a separation of musicians and audience, one could still observe how relaxed people were in their

behavior. They sat right on the floor, dressed in daily clothing, and sang and danced with the band. What is unusual for the TV shows is that the Dolls appropriated all the space, like in a real rock'n'roll concert. There is no sense that it was a TV show format, where the band is just a guest that come to perform one song and then leave. Just the opposite, there is a sense that this is their concert in which they are central figures, who set the place and the manner of the performance in the way they want.

The Dolls like the Stones used dance as a mean for communication with the audience and as a tool to become closer to them. In glam rock, artists, covered by costumes, separated themselves from the audience. Their performances often looked more like a theater performance, rather than a rock'n'roll concert. This is another element that proves that the Dolls's emulated the Stones rather than followed glam aesthetics.

In the Midnight Special performance, the New York Dolls presented a combination of elements that determined their rock'n'roll sensibility. Their aesthetics were a product of the Rolling Stones' model that they adopted and modified in accordance with the place, time, and ideology in their immediate surroundings. The key aspects of their performance corresponded those of the Stones', such as identity with the image in life and stage, non-conformism with social rules expressed particularly as they relate gender; abnormal behavior shown through the dances, gesticulation, and mimicry; domination of casual live atmosphere over official theatrical presentation; and direct interaction with audience. They also used the same conception of a rock'n'roll band that the Stones used, where one can clearly see a frontman, but, at the same time, not separate him too much from the band. Using this lack of hierarchy, the Stones and the Dolls reinforced their rebelliousness.

Outside of these components there were other similarities not directly tied to the

performance. First, the Dolls' promotion campaign was based on their image of 'bad and crazy boys,' the same as the Stones. But if the Stones' 'bad boy' image served as a comparison with the Beatles' 'good boys' image, then the Dolls' promotion based on their comparison and similarity with the Rolling Stones' image. Media regarded them the Stones' followers. Second, following the Stones' example, the Dolls remained a 'club band.' Even though both bands were quite ambitious about their popularity and cultural status, their music and performance styles corresponded small amateur gigs rather than huge stadium shows, which required professional work of many people.

However, besides the same aesthetic base there were some differences in two presentations that have to do with the context in which both bands developed. From the very beginning the Stones presented themselves as an R&B band. It was a principal position that they tried to keep as much as possible. The band insisted that they were a blues based band, and by this, they distinguished themselves from other bands. As Keith Richards once said, "that was our kickoff point."³² As so, the Rolling Stones paid the most attention to their music and live performances and proudly considered themselves as the number one live band. The presentation of music they loved was the most important aspect on their rock'n'roll model. Music determined all other components of their rock'n'roll, including image. The Dolls did not follow this idea. They made their look the dominant component while music was just accompanying it. In their model it was the music that was determined by the image, not vice versa.

Next difference is associated with a provocative character of their appearance. Both bands used it, but in a slightly different way. In 1960s, in order to generate public resonance, for the Stones it was enough to appear during official performance not wearing identical costumes. Such a small thing could generate a big reaction and contribute to the development of a 'bad boys'

image. However, by the early 1970s the same act would not generate any response. Consequently, musicians were looking for other ways that would support their rock'n'roll outrageous look and rebellious status. The Dolls found their way in women's fashion. This decision worked absolutely the same way as the Stones' refusal to wear identical costumes.

Another difference is that the dance, while being important component of the visual presentation of both bands, served different functions. In the Stones' version it was a reflection of the music—particularly, Jagger's understanding and expression of blues. But in the Dolls' version, dance served as an accompaniment for their look and was purposely created with this idea. This aspect is another direct reflection of the bands' different choices of the dominant element in their rock'n'roll aesthetics –music and performance for the Stones, and an image for the Dolls.

The most underexplored aspect of the Dolls image (and the reason for their usual classification as a glam rock band) is the fact that they were men dressed like women. This analysis showed that the basis for this look was the Stones' model of rock'n'roll on one hand, and the social milieu at Max's Kansas City on another, rather than glam rock attitudes. However, was it neither just an expression of a rock'n'roll rebellion, nor an imitation of a fashionable trend that the band witnessed at the Max's. Rather, it was both the Stones' androgyny and daring performances of Max's transgender stars that influenced their image. Transgender performance perfectly fit the Stones' rock'n'roll model. It was eye-catching and expressed non-conformity with social standards of public outfits. It also generated a lot of “noise” in media and corresponded with an important rock'n'roll rule to produce a combination of contrasted elements. New York of the 1970s and especially Max's club provided the Dolls with a certain atmosphere and attitude where they created their images that perfectly match to both the rock'n'roll aesthetics and the local art, music, and fashion scene.

While the Dolls were not fully transgender nor were they drag queens, they created the look and identified themselves with it but only partly. They used the look as an expression of particular rock'n'roll aesthetic, not sexual orientation. They did it to promote their band and became popular rock'n'roll stars like the Rolling Stones. The look served as the most important element of their image and was an effective promotional tool. They were dressed like women and they imitated some women's movements and gesticulations but they also intentionally combined women's look with brutal, man's voice and the rough sound of proto-punk rock, which corresponded to the Stones' aesthetic model. This research showed that the New York Dolls were the adopters of the Stones' model not only by similar promotion campaign, as it is usually stated, but by the full set of image elements, including their transgender aesthetic.

Moreover, the Dolls tried to follow early rock'n'roll ideas, to re-create 'true' rock'n'roll instead of glamorous, well-planned, and polished in its visual presentation glam rock. This claim in the second half of the 1970s will become one of the main claims of the New York punk scene that will choose the Rolling Stones as one of its main heroes. And later will be reflected in the US grunge rock.

In 1973 in *Creem Magazine* the Dolls won the first prizes in two categories: The Best New Band and The Worst New Band, which perfectly corresponded to the aesthetics they promoted. Although the Rolling Stones established the aesthetic of authenticity, the New York Dolls became its best and most important manifestation. The Stones from the very beginning were music centered band. For them music was the core of any other elements of their rock'n'roll. It was their R&B perception that they wanted to promote. However, in the eyes of their audience the Stones were the most famous and attractive because of their image. Many rock bands that formed at the second half of the 1960s realized an importance of an image, which could be a center of everything

else—sound, lyrics, playing, and other elements. The Dolls were the band that adopted the Stones model and developed it in an appropriate way making an image the dominant element in their rock'n'roll model. They presented the model in a “full color,” which developed, strengthened, and moved the aesthetics to the next level.

CONCLUSION

In this study I have argued that there is an aesthetic model in rock'n'roll based on the notion of authenticity. The Rolling Stones, a British band, developed this aesthetic from American blues of 1950s and the Beats' ideology. Along with the fast-growing popularity of the band in the USA, their aesthetic model got more and more followers among young musicians. A turning point was the Stones' performance on the Ed Sullivan show on September 11th of 1966 after which the rock'n'roll visual presentation changed and got separation from the pop music scene. A new generation of musicians adopted many components of the Stones' model, however, on the edge of 1960s and 1970s rock musicians were concerned with different strategies by presenting rock as a powerful political tool or converting it into theatrical shows. In such circumstances, the New York Dolls, who adopted the Stones' model, served as an important bridge between the Stones of the 1960s and punk bands of the second half of the 1970s. Moreover, the Dolls modified the model by changing the hierarchy of its elements from music-dominated to image-dominated, thereby making a claim that music is not the main component for the rock musician and thus, it is not necessary to be a good musician and have a special skills or education to become a successful rock'n'roll artist.

One can look at the Dolls as a culmination of the aesthetic development because after them adopters did not make any fundamental changes to the model. Different bands used existing components in different combinations, adding or reducing some of them. This study does not claim

that most rock bands after the Stones and the Dolls are direct followers of the model, however, there are some characteristics of the model that became an inherent part of the rock culture. In particular, these are ideology of authenticity when a life image of a rock musician is his/her stage image, a frivolous lifestyle when musicians reject social norms and visions on the process of maturation and mature life, and an outrageous public and sometimes private behavior.

By introducing the model, the Stones established a visual aesthetics for the rock culture that today is regarded as traditional rock'n'roll. The fundamental values of their aesthetic came from American blues and the Beats, therefore, all their followers have the same aesthetic base. The Dolls adopted it through the Stones. The roots of all the main characteristics of their image—gender-bending look, provocation, outrageous language and behavior, drag gesticulation, dance, and mimicry, etc.—could be found in the 1950s bluesmen's activity but they were not explicitly expressed there. Due to the Stones, the Dolls adopted and significantly developed those early ideas in accordance with contemporary fashion and imagery and passed it to the next rock generation. We know that the Dolls became one of few bands who upcoming punk movement would consider their teachers. Similarly, blues traditions combined with the Beats' ideology reflected in other rock'n'roll movements of 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

One of the main issues explored in this thesis was the conception of authenticity in rock'n'roll. In this work, I showed that concerning a musician's or band's image the authenticity was performative. Despite a visual illusion of the authenticity of the Stones' images it was a carefully planned strategy. The Stones and the Dolls easily used the image components to promote themselves and to generate a specific reaction from the audience and media. They altered the image and their appearance in accordance with their promotional aims and goals. Their attempts to look authentic—the same on and off-stage and as a real person, not a fantastic creature—was one of

such planned acts. Many musicians followed this idea and made it one of rock culture basics, which is embodied in a such rock claim as “be yourself.”

The aesthetic model that I described in this study also sheds the light on where some specific rock components came from such as androgyny of musicians’ look, unusual presentation of masculinity, gender-bending aesthetics, and explicit sexuality in performances, lyrics, look, and lifestyle. Different researchers explain these elements by different conceptions depending on time and place contexts of any particular band. The model allows to see them as parts of one chain grown from the same roots, not excluding possible influences of contemporary tendencies, fashions, and ideologies. The model helps to look at rock visual aesthetics as a coherent system.

NOTES:

Introduction:

¹ David Malvinni, *Experiencing The Rolling Stones. A Listener’s Companion* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

Robert Christgau, “The Rolling Stones,” in *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll*, ed. Jim Miller (New York: Rolling Stone press, 1976).

² These authors and books look at different aspects of the Stones’ performance style: Philip Norman, *Mick Jagger* (Canada: Doubleday Canada, 2012). Tim Riley, *Fever. How Rock’n’Roll Transformed Gender in America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004). Andrea J. Baker, “Satisfaction: Sex and the Rolling Stones’ Personas, Performances, and Fan reactions,” in *The Rolling Stones. Sociological Perspectives*, ed. Helmut Staubmann (Lexington, KY: Lexington books, 2013).

³ Andrea J. Baker, “Satisfaction,” 173.

⁴ David R Shumway, “The Rolling Stones: Rebellion, Transgression, and Excess,” in *Rock Star*, ed. David R Shumway (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 2014).

⁵ Philip Auslander, *Performing Glam Rock. Gender and Theatricality in Popular Music* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 5. In his work Philip Auslander pointed that traditional rock is strongly associated with an “ideology of authenticity.” However, there are other rock musicians that could not follow this ideology or even oppose it. For example, representatives of glam rock such as David Bowie, Mark Bolan, the Kiss, built their rock aesthetics on theatricality which is a direct opposition to the ideology of authenticity.

⁶ Staubmann, “*The Rolling Stones*,” 15.

⁷ The aesthetic model that I describe in this research takes its roots from American blues and R&B. However, rock’n’roll embraces many genres such as country, boogie-woogie, gospel,

swing, etc. Different bands built their music on different rock'n'roll genres, consequently there are different aesthetics built on different genres.

Section One:

¹ Keith Richards, *Life* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2010), 159.

² Miller, ed., *The Rolling Stone*, 242.

³ Jeff Dunas, *State of the Blues* (Vicenza, Italy: L.E.G.O., 1998), 9.

⁴ *Ibid*, 72

⁵ Cheryl L. Keyes, "The Aesthetic Significance of African American Sound Culture and Its Impact on American Popular Music Style and Industry," *The World of Music* Vol.45, No.3 (2003): 110.

⁶ Oily Wilson, "Black Music as an Art Form," *Black Music Research Journal* 3 (1983): 1-22. Keyes, "The Aesthetic Significance," 17.

⁷ Oakley, *The Devil's Music. A History of the Blues*, 231.

⁸ John M. Hellmann, "I'm Monkey: The Influence of the Black American Blues Argot on the Rolling Stones," *The Journal of American Folklore* Vol.86, No. 342 (1973): 367-373.

⁹ The Rolling Stones used "yas-yas" word on the cover of their album *Get Yer Ya-Ya's Out!': The Rolling Stones in Concert* in 1969. *Ibid*, 369.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 368.

¹¹ Murry R. Nelson, *The Rolling Stones: A Musical Biography* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, 2010), 33.

¹² Dave Swanson, "Why the Rolling Stones Were Forced to 'Spend Some Time' With Ed Sullivan." *Ultimate Classic Rock*, 2015. Last modified March 24, 2017.

<http://ultimateclassicrock.com/rolling-stones-ed-sullivan-spend-some-time/>

¹³ Hellman, *I'm a Monkey*, 370.

¹⁴ Richards, *Life*, 72.

¹⁵ Norman Mailer, "The White Negro: Superficial reflections on the hipster," *Protest: The Beat Generation and the Angry Young Men*, edited by Gene Feldman et al. (London: Panther, 1960), 288-306.

¹⁶ Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (London, UK: Penguin Book Ltd, 1989).

Allen Ginsberg, *Howl* (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Publishers, 2001).

¹⁷ Warner, *Text and Drugs and Rock'N'Roll*.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 249.

¹⁹ The song was a mix of "white ballad" and race music. It was built on traditional R&B twelve-bar form, and has elements of "bad" lyrics and "row" sound which later were filtered by record company. Warner, *Text and Drugs and Rock'N'Roll*, 78.

²⁰ Warner, *Text and Drugs and Rock'N'Roll*, 67.

²¹ *Ibid*, 7.

²² *Ibid*, 4.

²³ Morris Dickstein, "Beyond Beat: After inspiring a movement that's still moving, Jack Kerouac lost interest in it." *The New York Times on the Web*, 1998. Last modified September 30, 2016.

<https://www.nytimes.com/books/98/08/09/reviews/980809.09dickm.html>

²⁴ Warner mentioned friendship of Brian Jones, D. Bowie with W. Burroughs, M. Jagger, Bob Dylan, the Beatles with A. Ginsberg. Pages 2,249.

²⁵ It is interesting that the Beats' "road" aesthetics partly correlate with the one of Wilson's blues characteristics that we mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. It was "a tendency to create a high density of musical events within a relatively short musical time frame," that makes bluesmen be constantly "on the road". Warner, *Text, Drugs, Rock'n'Roll*, 40.

²⁶ Warner, *Text and Drugs and Rock'N'Roll*, 30.

²⁷ Hellmann, "I'm Monkey," 370.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 368.

²⁹ Theodore Gracyk, *I Wanna Be Me: Rock Music and the Politics of Identity* (Temple University Press, 2001), pp. 117–8.

³⁰ Holland, Jools and Dora Loewenstein, *The Rolling Stones: A life on the Road* (New York: Penguin Studio, 1998), 26.

³¹ Szatmary, *Rockin' in Time. A Social History of Rock-and-Roll*, 18.

³² Jim Miller, ed., *The Rolling Stone* (Illustrated History of Rock & Roll. New York: Rolling Stone press, 1976), 52.

³³ The third American band in the 1963 tour was the Everly Brothers, whose performance style did not stand outside the pop music scene of the time. They were country based rock'n'roll band, and, thus, they were not included in the Stones' list of favorite musicians. The band did not mention any influences they got from the Everly Brothers.

³⁴ Loyd Grossman in the *A Social History of Rock Music* pointed: "Rock and Roll began to lack drive and direction as the major talents faded. Buddy Holly was killed in an airplane crash. Eddie Cochrane died in a fatal automobile accident... Elvis Presley was drafted into the army... Chuck Berry's career was clouded by a morals charge involving an underage girl." Little Richard in 1958 stopped performing and dedicated his life to preaching. p. 23.

Section Two:

¹ Keith Richards, *Life* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2010), 154.

² *Ibid*, 153.

³ "Billboard Official Website," last modified November 12, 2015, <http://www.billboard.com/>.

⁴ Geoffrey Stokes in *Rock of Ages: The Rolling Stone History of Rock and Roll* (p.287-288) speaks about 'Satisfaction' value in the Rolling Stones career and also discusses its musical content with few elements of its structure. He noticed the song unusual and important for the historic period components such as the use of chorus in recorded version and perfect guitar riff. He also pointed that the song helped the band to sell records significantly and supported their international fame. Another researcher Murry Nelson in the book *The Rolling Stones: A Musical Biography* (p.37-38) focuses on the use of fuzz box "an effects pedal that distorts sound." Andra J Barker (*The Rolling Stones: Sociological Perspective*, p. 151-173) speaks about the song in the context of cultural changes and its reflection in the 'Satisfaction' lyrics.

⁵ Richards, *Life*, 152.

⁶ *Ibid*, 151,163.

⁷ Murry R. Nelson, *The Rolling Stones: A Musical Biography* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, 2010), 33.

⁸ *Ibid*, 38.

⁹ In *The Rolling Stones: A musical Biography* Nelson provides with few examples of riots that happened on the Rolling Stones concerts around 1965-1966. "The next big tour began in

September 3 [1965] with two shows in Dublin, the second of which ended in a riot, with instruments being smashed and band members knocked around... The band encouraged audience members to get excited, but a likely combination of alcohol and hooliganism got the audience completely out of control.” p. 27,39.

¹⁰ Richards, *Life*, 168.

¹¹ Nelson, *The Rolling Stones*, 28.

¹² *The Official Ed Sullivan site*. Last modified October 22, 2015. <http://www.edsullivan.com/>.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Loyd Grossman in the *A Social History of Rock Music* pointed: “Rock and Roll began to lack [by the end of 1950s] drive and direction as the major talents faded. Buddy Holly was killed in an airplane crash. Eddie Cochrane died in a fatal automobile accident... Elvis Presley was drafted into the army in 1958 and came out two years later with much of his musical vigor diminished. Chuck Berry’s career was clouded by a morals charge involving an underage girl.” Also he pointed that Little Richard in 1958 stopped performing and dedicated his life to preaching p. 23.

¹⁷ Richards, *Life*, 127.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Helmut Staubmann, edit. “*The Rolling Stones: Sociological Perspectives*,” (Maryland: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2013), 54.

²⁰ Marc Spitz, *Jagger: Rebel, Rock Star, Rambler, Rogue* (Gotham: Reprint edition, 2001).

²¹ David R Shumway, *Rock Star: The Making of Musical Icons from Elvis to Springsteen* (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 2014), 109.

²² On the first Presley appearance on the Ed Sullivan show, the artist was shown only by torso. “*Youtube*.” Elvis Presley on Ed Sullivan show performance, 1956, last modification December 12, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NwWJXzobSp8>.

²³ “*Youtube*.” The Animals on Ed Sullivan show performance, 1966, last modification December 12, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FiYlv-hcJc>.

²⁴ Nelson, *The Rolling Stones*, 47.

Section Three:

¹ Szatmary, David P., *Rockin’ in Time. A Social History of Rock-and-Roll*. New (Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2010), 145.

² this is a line from the Door’s song “When the Music is Over,” from *Strange Days* album of 1967. Hollywood, CA: Sunset Sound Recordings.

³ Many resources mentions the Stones influence on the Dolls. For example, Gruen, *New York Dolls*. Fletcher, *All Hopped Up*. “New York Dolls,” Allmusic, “December 19th” by Binky Philips, and others.

⁴ Randy Kennedy, “Revisiting Max’s, Sanctuary for The Hip,” *The New York Times*, accessed December 9, 2016, <http://nymag.com/nymetro/arts/music/features/5287/>

⁵ Fletcher, *All Hopped Up and Ready to Go*, 307.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

- ⁸ Legs McNeil and G. McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk* (Grove Press, 2016).
- ⁹ Bob Gruen, *New York Dolls: All Doled Up* (Documentary. Videodisc (203 min.) Directed by Bob Gruen. NY: Music Video Distributors, 2005. DVD).
- ¹⁰ Tony Glover, "New York Dolls: New York Dolls," *Rolling Stone*, accessed December 9, 2016, <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/albumreviews/new-york-dolls-19730913>
- ¹¹ Erin Amar, "Private World: New York Dolls Manager Marty Thau on his days with the band," *Rocker*, accessed December 9, 2016, <http://www.rockerzine.com/2012/05/private-world-new-york-dolls-manager-marty-thau-on-his-days-with-the-band/>
- ¹² David R Shumway, *Rock Star: The Making of Musical Icons from Elvis to Springsteen* (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 2014), 97.
- ¹³ Lisa Robinson, "Rebel Nights," *Vanity Fair*, accessed December 9, 2016, <http://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2002/11/new-york-rock-scene-1970s>
- ¹⁴ Binky Philips, "December 19th," *The Huffington Post*, accessed December 9, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/binky-philips/new-york-dolls_b_2347929.html
- ¹⁵ There is a documentary made specifically on the Dolls' life by Bob Gruen. He made these recordings during 1973 where he captured the Dolls' life on and off stage. In the film the band did not change only for the stage. They lived everyday life in their transgender look, strutting proud down the street, in parks and airports. Bob Gruen, *New York Dolls: All Dolled Up* (Documentary. Videodisc (203 min.) Directed by Bob Gruen. NY: Music Video Distributors, 2005. DVD).
- ¹⁶ Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993) xi-xii.
- ¹⁷ Patti Smith, *Just Kids* (New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishers, 2010), 115.
- ¹⁸ "Mickey Ruskin interviewed by Danny Fields," *Warholstar.org*, accessed December 9, 2016, <http://www.warholstars.org/mickey-ruskin-interview.html>
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- ²⁰ Smith, *Just Kids*, 116.
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- ²⁴ Fletcher, *All Hopped Up and Ready to Go*, 308.
- ²⁵ "December 19th."
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- ²⁷ Fletcher, *All Hopped Up and Ready to Go*, 308.
- ²⁸ Richards, *Life*, 151.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ Fletcher, *All Hopped Up and Ready to Go*, 311.
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