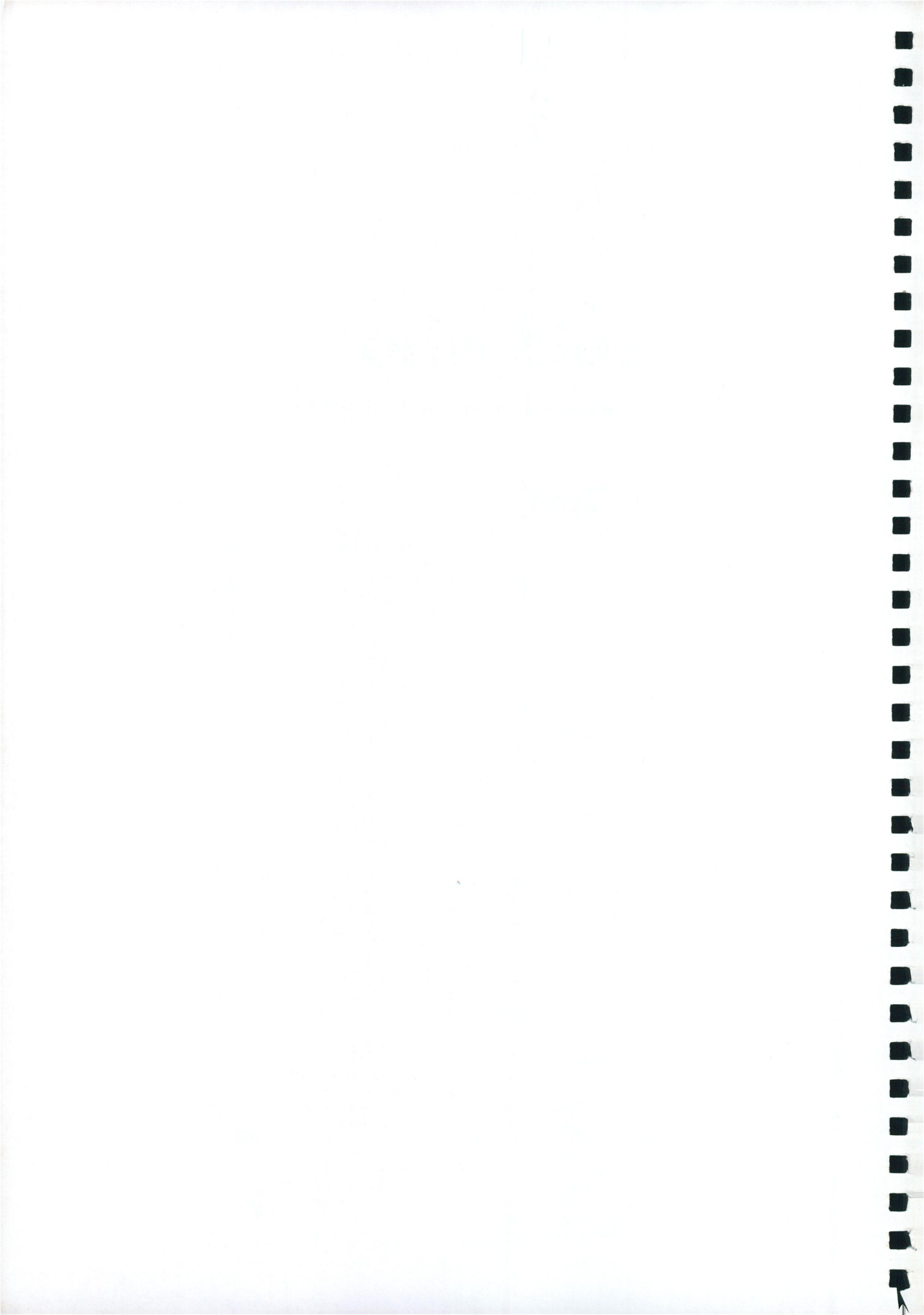
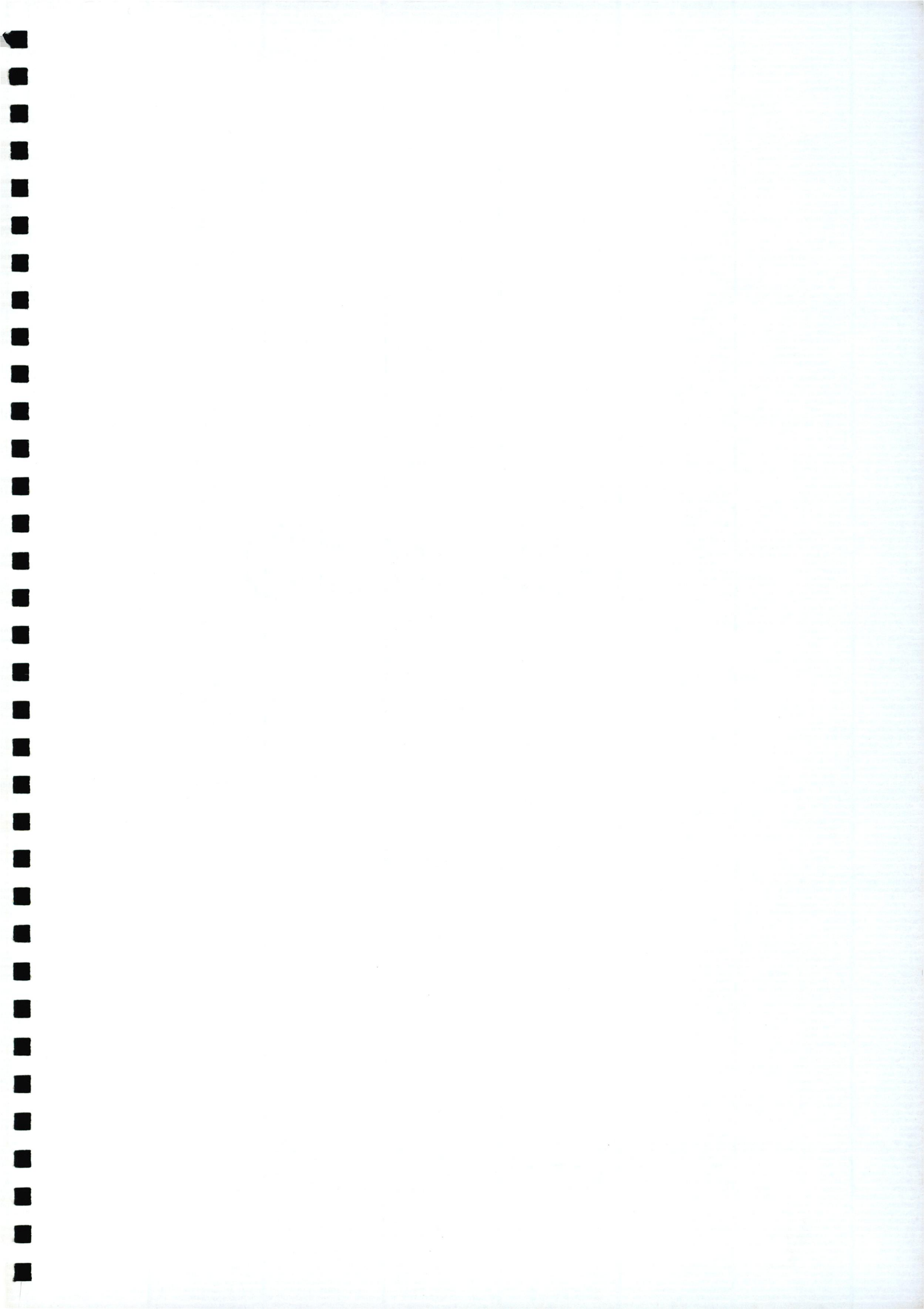


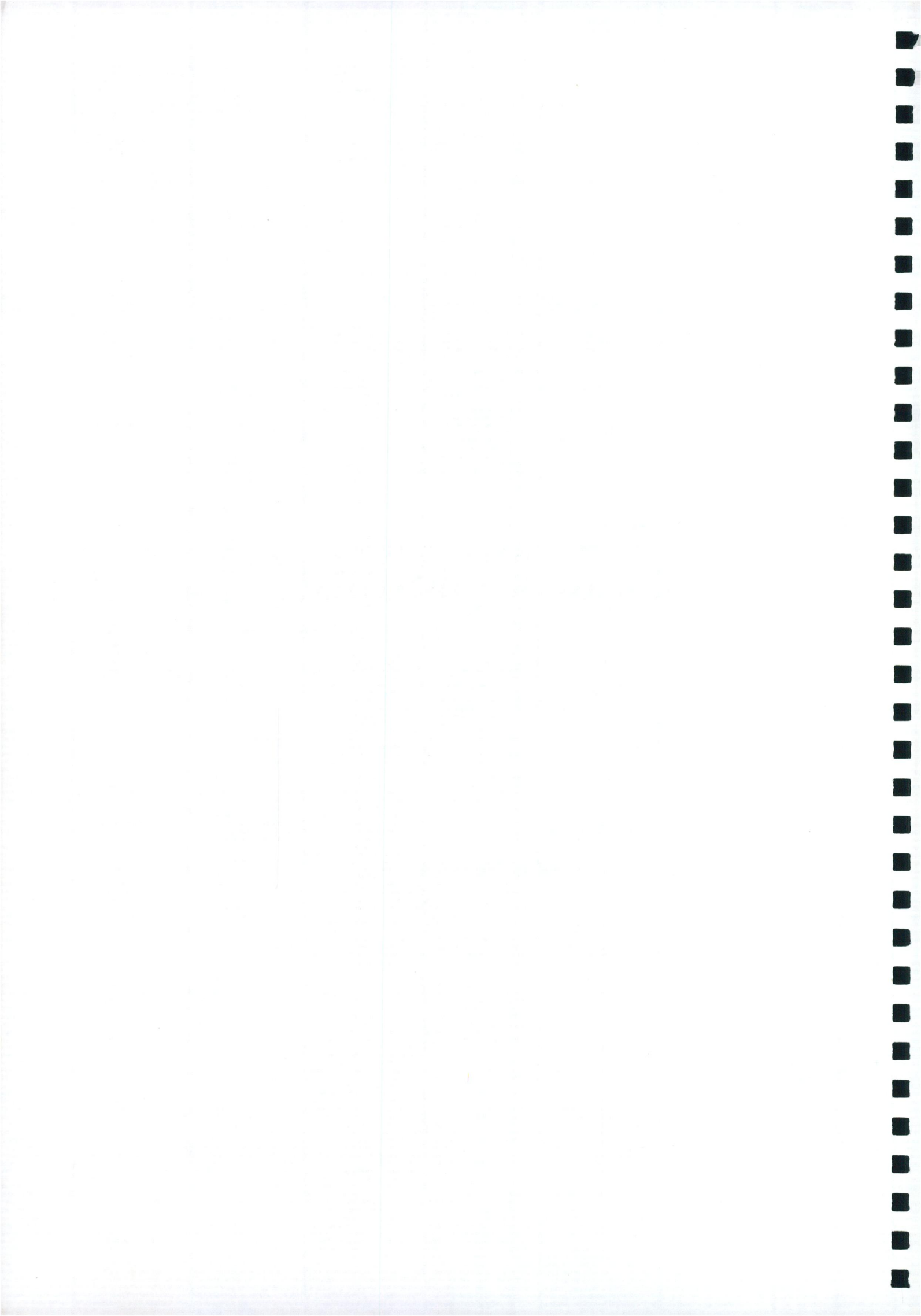
who sold who

The Progression of the Who's Image: 1961 - 1982.

By Garrett Glynn.







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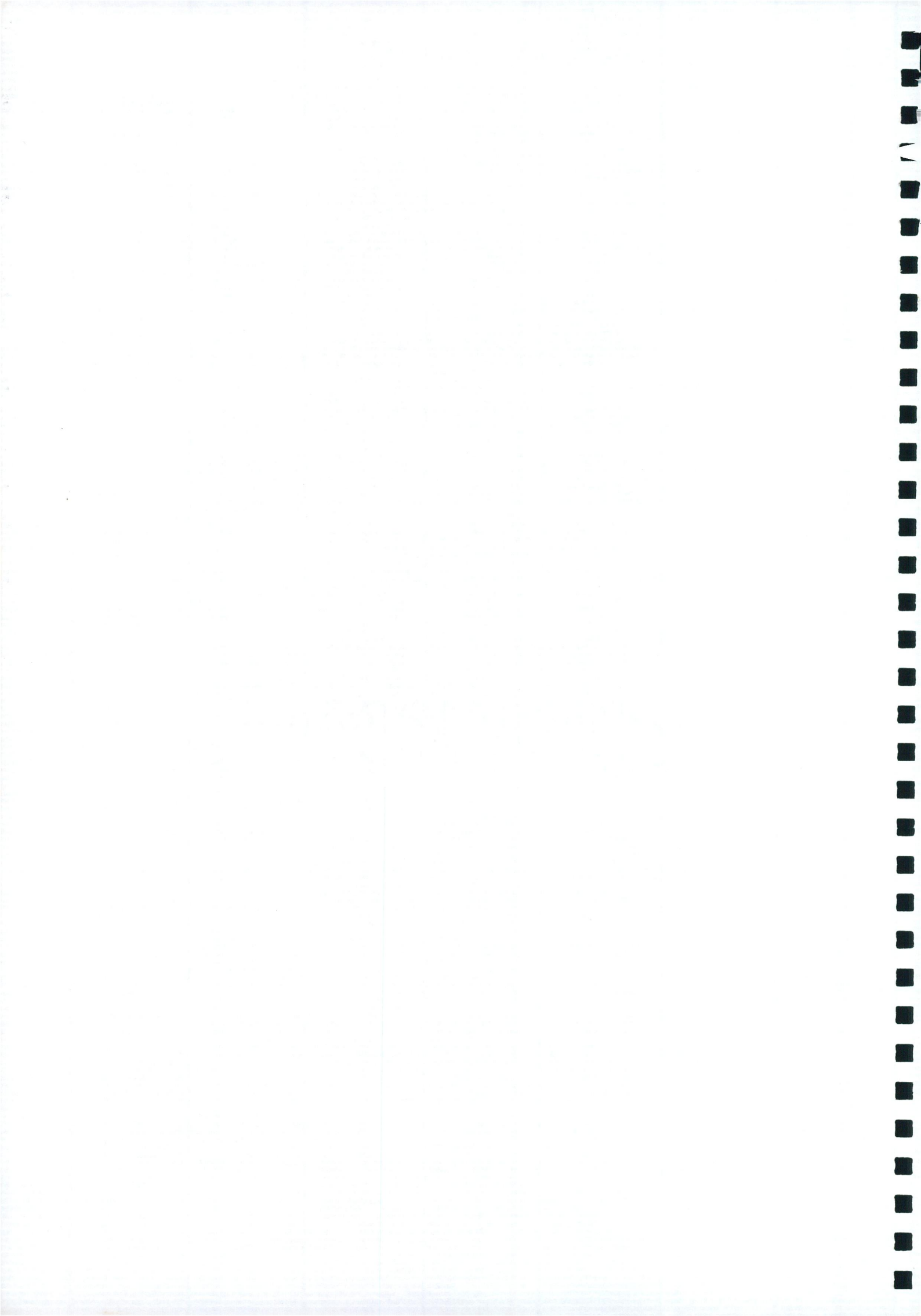


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INTRODUCTION

It has always been notoriously difficult for rock bands to find an appropriate image to market their own particular brand of music. Bands are finding it increasingly awkward to discover an original look, and many settle for a variation of an established style. The origins of most of the popular trends that exist in the music world today can easily be traced back to the early days of rock music, at a time when a band's image was just as, or even more important than its music.

The Who, without a doubt one of history's most listened to and talked about rock bands, burst upon a startled world in the early sixties and for nearly twenty years since, have maintained a pre-eminent position in shaping the sound and style of a generation.

Being one of the few bands that managed to survive the radical musical changes of the sixties and the seventies, the Who are amongst the most durable musical forces in the history of rock music. The resilience of the band prompts one to ask some obvious questions. What was the overall image of the band? What were the changes that allowed the band to progress through the tremendous changes that occurred in rock music during the band's lifespan? Who, or what was responsible for the creation of each alteration of the band's image?

This thesis attempts to answer these questions as accurately as possible. It is divided into three parts. Part one gives a brief history of the band, but with attention given to the important developments of the overall image of the Who. Part two contains an analysis on each of the significant changes of the band's image, and the consequential effects. Part three is a brief conclusion to the findings. All quotes and references are acknowledged in the bibliography at the end of the thesis.





the who: a brief history



The Detours were just one band amongst the thousands of similar dance bands playing around the clubs and pubs of London in the summer of 1961. Unlike many of their contemporaries, the Detours did not get together for sport or to play free at youth clubs, they worked. They took on any work that came their way, from weddings to company outings to barmitzvahs. The band did not have a manager, and relied on the Detours original drummer, Doug Sandom, who provided the group with work from his contacts all around the lucrative west London pub circuit. There was nothing unique about the band's sound or appearance. They wore dark suits, white shirts and black ties as befitted a well-dressed dance band of the era. The Detours, at this early stage, were not too concerned with the promotional side of things, they relied on word of mouth, and because the band was not yet big enough to hold its own concerts, little money was spent on publicity material.

What few posters or flyers that were produced, from this early period, were of a primitive quality. They were badly hand-rendered, and were clumsily designed. Some of the posters had infantile caricatures of the group, while others had the work of the Daily Express cartoonist, Giles, incorporated in their designs. The relevance of these posters lies in the illustration of the humble origins of the Who. It is quite understandable that the Detours paid little attention to the advertising of the band. Considering the financial state of the band, it would have proved uneconomical to have posters professionally printed, and because the Detours did not have any regular venues it would have been pointless promoting a band that did not know where it would be playing from one week to the next. If the Detours were going to survive it became obvious that they desperately needed managerial assistance.

It was Pete Townshend's mother who arranged for their first audition with Bob Druce, a promoter who ran Commercial Entertainments Limited. Druce booked weekly dances at a string of pubs, most with dance halls attached, and at a few licensed clubs. Druce managed a dozen or so bands, and would juggle them around his clubs and ran a thriving and profitable business. Druce signed up the Detours which meant that they were now in the healthy position of having constant work and regular money. Druce promoted each dance with the help of large professionally printed posters which he would circulate around London a week or so before each event. Although they were bright and bold in appearance, they lacked any real sense of style and individuality. The Detours spent most of 1962 working their way to the top of Druce's Commercial Entertainments ladder, becoming the most important band on his circuit.





Fig 1.1

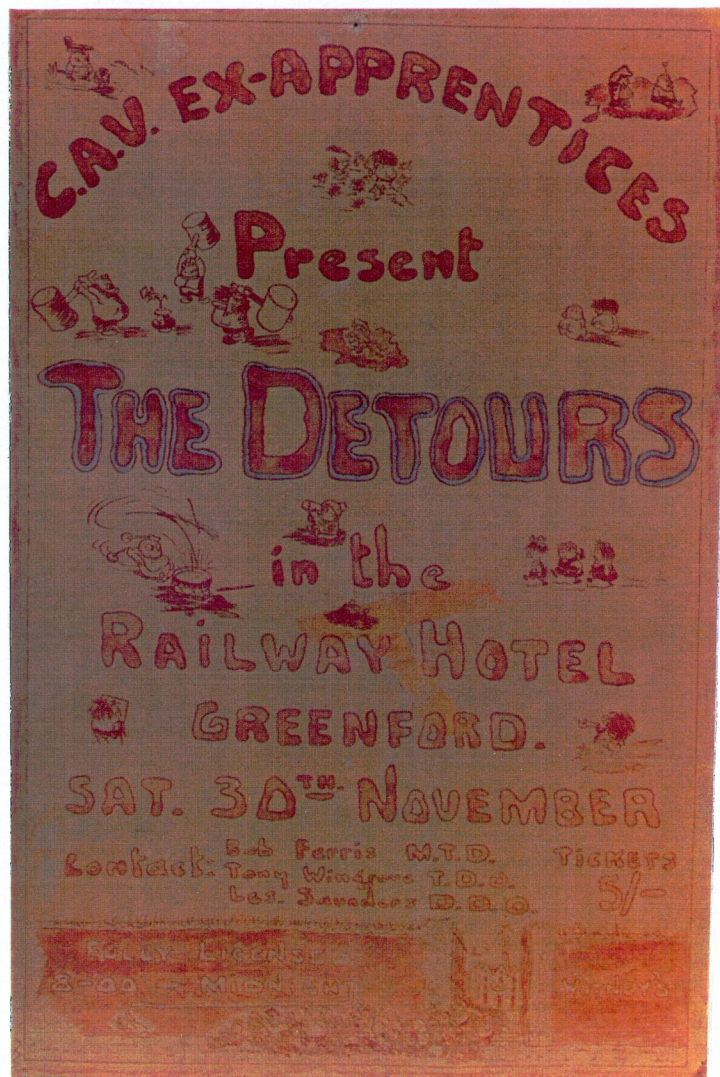


Fig 1.2

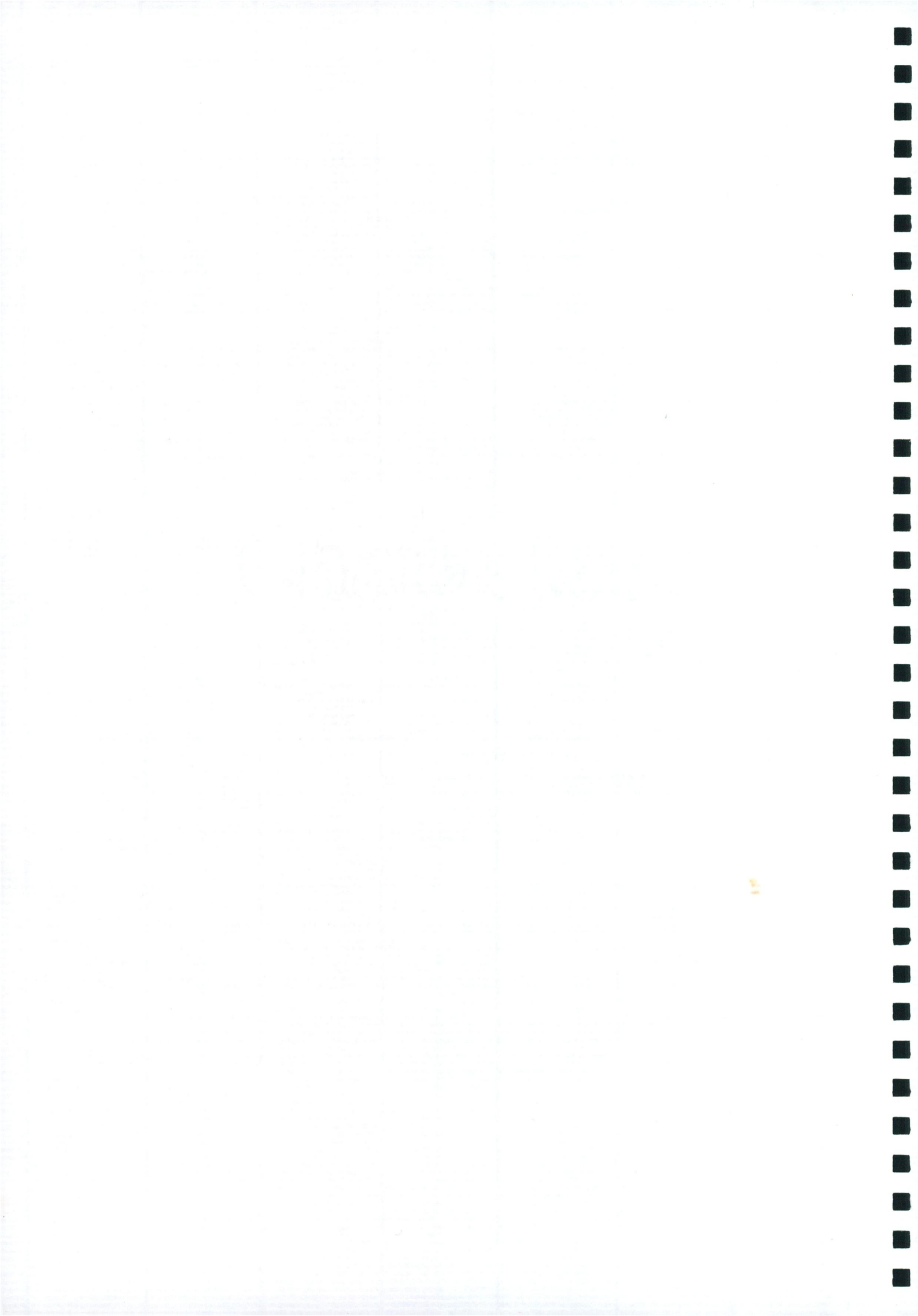
Above: The Detours (circa 1962).
 Left to right: Pete Townshend,
 John Entwistle, Colin Dawson,
 Doug Sandom, Roger Daltrey.
 Left: A Giles-inspired Detours'
 poster (1963)



In the autumn of 1961, Pete Townshend signed on for a four-year course at Ealing Art College studying graphic design. Rock critic Chris Charlesworth wrote that the "college experience was an eye-opener for Pete. In keeping with the times and his new Bohemian surroundings he dabbled in Left-wing politics, sowing the seeds of the deep-rooted socialist philosophy which would shape his attitudes - and his songwriting - in years to come". At Ealing, Townshend studied alongside John Lennon, Keith Richard, Ron Wood, Eric Clapton, Bryan Ferry, Freddy Mercury and many other aspiring British pop stars. It was in this fertile climate that Townshend, according to Dave Marsh, "displayed a thorough familiarity with contemporary artistic theory, which can easily be seen in his immediate application of ideas derived from Peter Blake's pop art paintings (notably, 'The First Real Target' and 'Self Portrait' in which the painter showed himself wearing a couple of dozen medals and badges, including one of Elvis Presley) and in his use of the auto-destructive technique he picked up at a lecture by the Austrian Gustav Metzke".

Townshend was also inspired by the American artists Larry Rivers and Robert Brownjohn, and the radical playwright David Mercer, who all gave lectures at Ealing. Townshend learnt about the technical and conceptual aspects of performance and recording techniques, he also learnt about the interaction between the performer and the audience, which obviously played an important role in the Who's vibrant stage act in the years that followed. Townshend's friend at Ealing, Richard Barnes wrote that "much of the Who's late success can be directly attributed to specific incidents experienced by Pete at Ealing Art school. The destruction of the equipment was developed and legitimized because of Pete's exposure to 'auto-destructive art' and the 'pop art' period was obviously influenced by art school, where what used to be called 'commercial art' became 'graphics' and merged with 'fine art' to become 'pop art'. However, the real influence on Pete and consequently on the Detours (and the High Numbers and the Who) came, not just through specific incidents, but through the general day-to-day awareness of art school life".

If it was Townshend's experiences at art college that would later mould his stage presence, it was the arrival of the Beatles that radically changed the way bands like the Detours presented themselves, on and off-stage. Dave Marsh wrote that "the Beatles were fundamentally disruptive. They revived rock & roll at it's most leering, sneering potency and they did so deliberately, in the face of an already known antipathy to such a music industry. The difference between Elvis Presley and John Lennon is the difference between an outlaw and a rebel. The Beatles' very existence was a refutation of the idea that pop was anything but



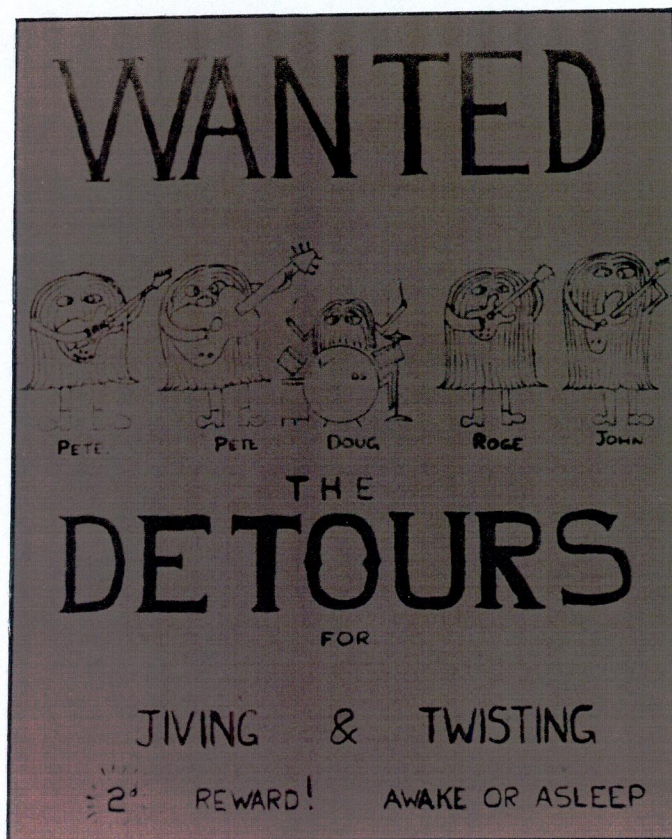


Fig 1.3

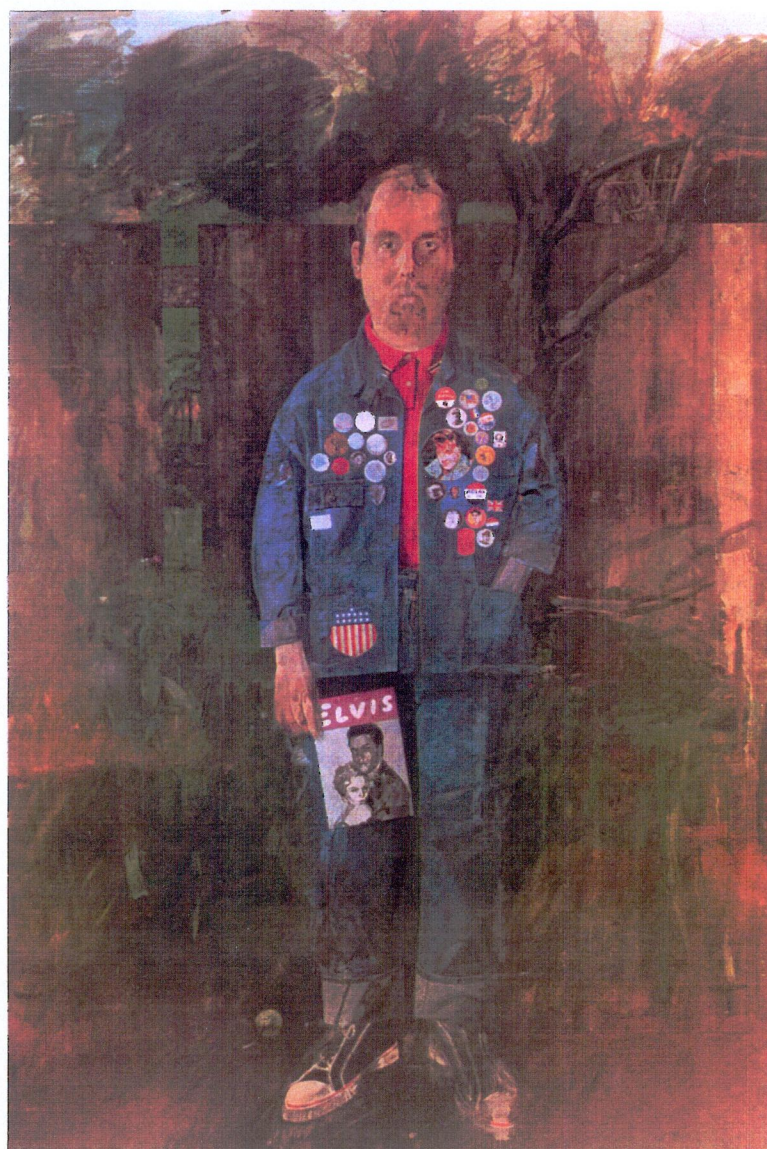
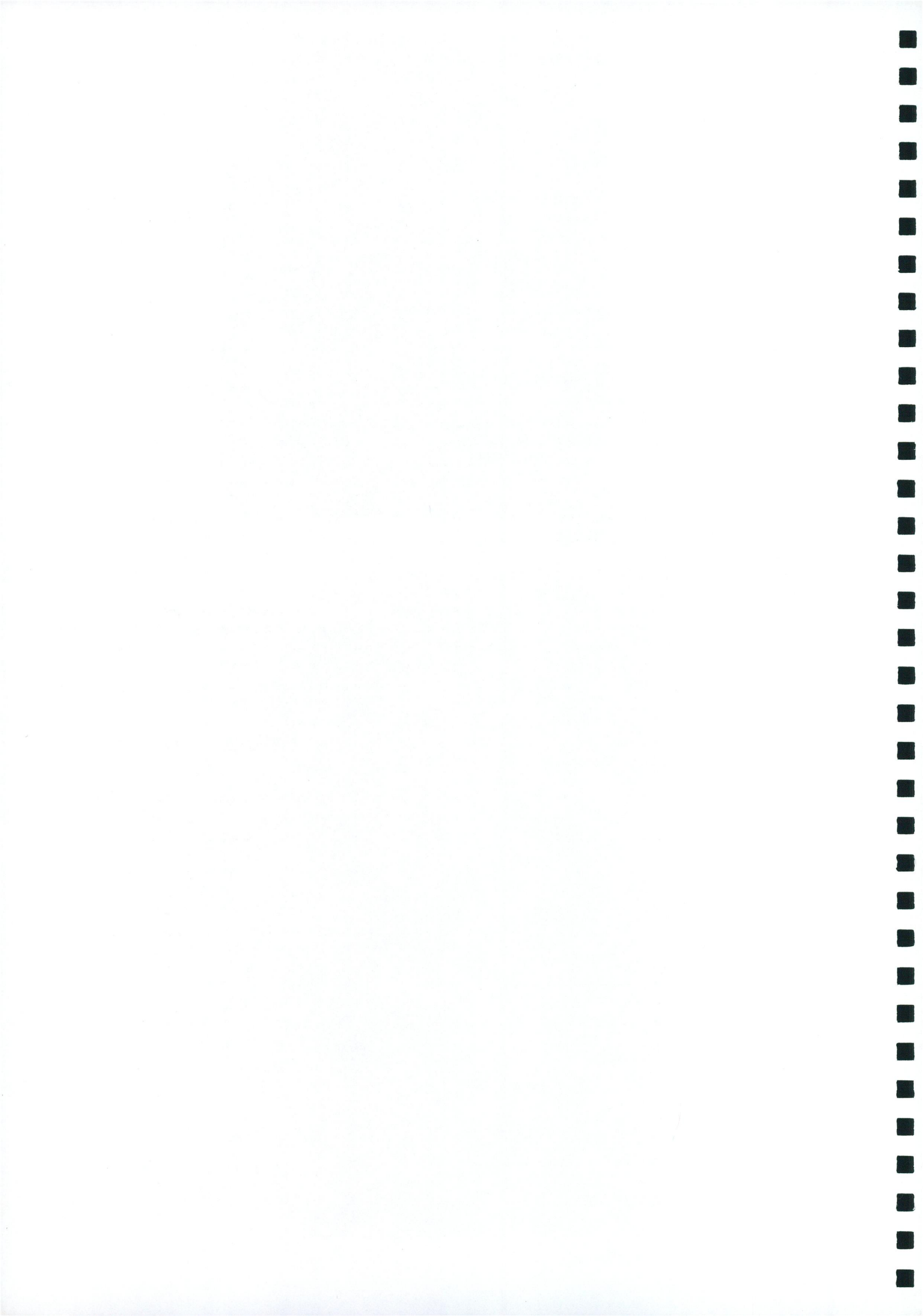


Fig 1.4

Above: Detours' poster (1962).
Left: Peter Blake's 'Self Portrait with Badges' (1961).



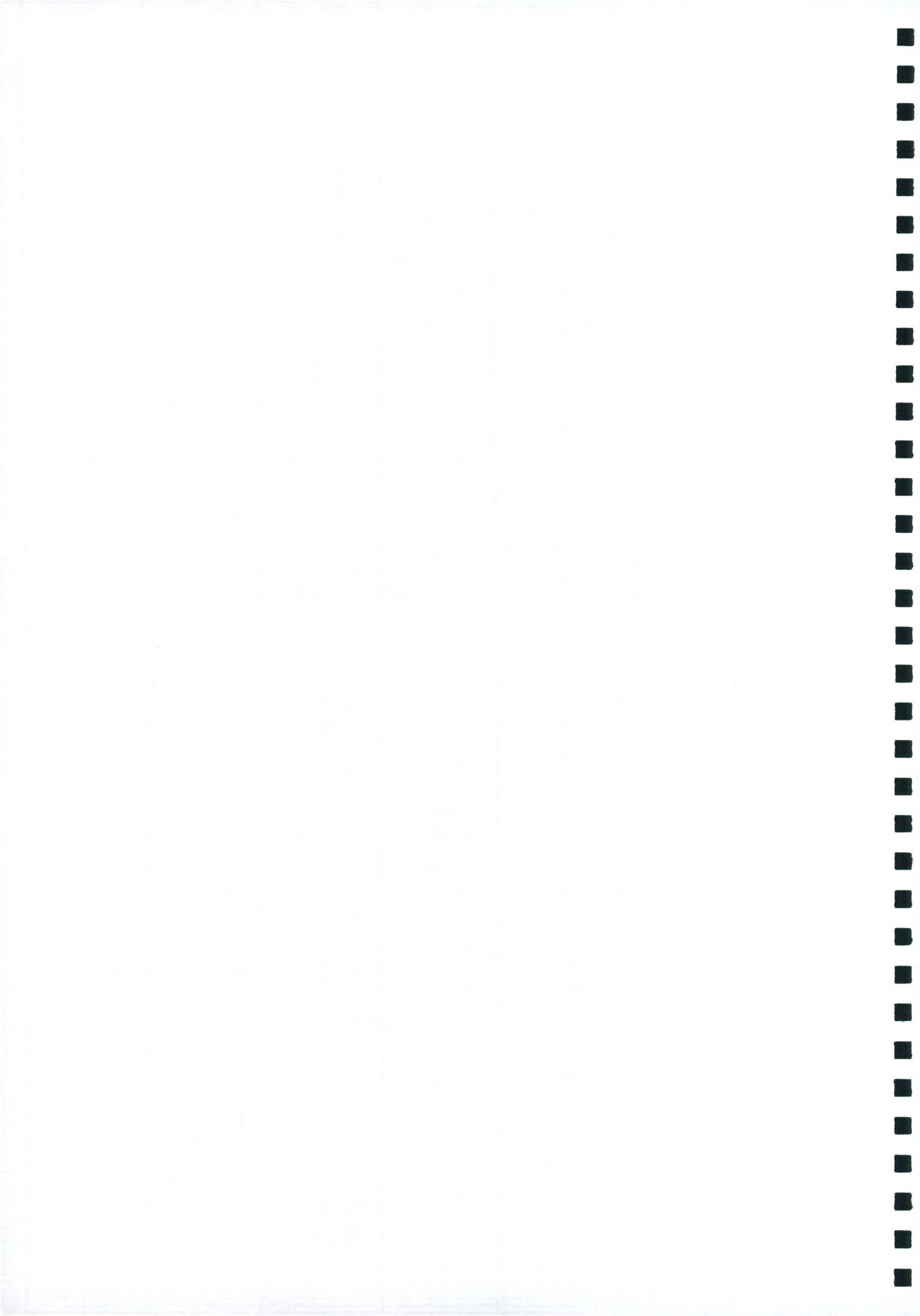
frivolity". Bands like the Detours realised that it was not enough to be versatile, in the sense that they could imitate already existing trends. Marsh concluded that if a band wanted to succeed, it needed to be able "to project a personality and style of it's own and to tinker with established 'rules' and concepts".

Druce gave the Detours that chance to support many of the bigger bands that were emerging from around the country. The Detours gained a tremendous amount from watching the other bands play. They realised the importance of a vibrant stage act and the commercial value of promotional gimmicks employed by many bands to plug their latest single releases. Barnes talked about the time the Detours supported Brian Poole and The Tremeloes.

II "Each member of the audience was given a stick of rock with the words 'Candy Man' running through the middle to promote their latest single". When the Detours supported the Undertakers, they witnessed them arrive in a hearse. The Undertakers dressed in black mourning suits and top hats and always preformed with a large black coffin on stage. Although these particular gimmicks could be deemed childish, the Detours saw the immense advertising potential of such extreme publicity stunts. Apart from the odd mention in the local papers, the Detours, like many of the bands on the Druce circuit, had little press coverage. On the other hand, they realised that groups like the Undertakers were basically novelty acts, and although they may have stolen the headlines in the music papers for a week or so, they disappeared from the media's attention as swiftly as they gained it. Townshend, inspired with his graphic design studies, produced a few rough designs for a Detours logo, but they were never used. An Irish band also called the Detours appeared on the TV show 'Thank Your Lucky Stars', and the group decided that they would have to change the name of the band.

It was Richard Barnes, Townshend's friend at Ealing, who came up with the groups' new name, the Who. Townshend had other ideas as to what the band should now be called. Marsh wrote that

O Townshend "wanted to call the band the Hair, since it was hair that was the major issue of the day, letters to editors all over the land decrying the moral decadence implicit in letting young men grow their locks out over the tips of their ears. However, the Hair did not seem to be a name with much potential for longevity - it could be outdated in about six minutes if Paul McCartney chose to get a crew cut". As a compromise, Townshend suggested calling the Hair and the Who, but Barnes, according to Marsh, "reminded him that they were trying to name a rock group and not a surrealist pub". Although the humour of this incident cannot be denied, it was arguably the most important decision in



the commercial evolution of the band. It was successful on posters because it was so short and therefore would print up so big. Barnes wrote that the "new name passed its poster test immediately. We designed and printed our rather crude posters at art school. The words, 'THE WHO' were in huge letters and we fly-posted fifty around the area. We had also printed some cards to hand out and put a small ad in the Melody Maker".

By late 1963, the Who needed to expand out of the Bob Druce circuit as they had really out grown the local scene. Helmut Gordon, a Jewish doorknob manufacturer, became the group's financial backer. Gordon was one of the many aspiring businessmen who envied the success of Brian Epstein, the entrepreneur behind the Beatles. Although Gordon knew very little about the current music scene, it seems that he believed that managing a pop group would be much easier and vastly more lucrative than working for a living. Gordon set about moulding the group around the Beatles' image, in the belief that he could repeat the success of the 'fab four'. Having spent money kitting the group out with expensive leather waistcoats and black ankle boots, Gordon soon realised that there were already hundreds of other bands already on the back of the Beatles' bandwagon, and that he was no Brian Epstein, Gordon and the Who required professional advice.

It was through his regular barber that Gordon got in contact with Pete Meaden, a freelance publicist who had experience as a promotion man in the record business. According to Barnes, "Meaden realised that the Who could be really big. He had a secret dream that one day he would develop a band that could play for and be accepted by the select number of elitist fashion heads that frequented the West End - the mods. Meaden saw the potential for using the Who to fulfil his dream. Helmut Gordon knew nothing about music or image or style, but realised that Meaden did". Meaden was a godsend to the band, he engineered their escape from the banality of the Druce circuit, and allowed the Who to carve out their own distinctive image under his educated guidelines.

The Who were fascinated with Meaden, and even more so with the mysterious world of mods which he introduced them to. As regards the mods, Charlesworth writes: "the origins of the mod movement are difficult to determine but the characteristics of its aficionados were easily detectable. Mods dressed and behaved smartly, they liked good soul music and rode scooters and they took uppers - usually Drinamyls - by the handful. They also enjoyed a difference of opinion with rockers that escalated from weekend skirmishes in London to full-scale riots on the beaches



at Brighton and Southend".

Meaden's effect on the band's image was almost immediate. They realised that if the Who were to become mods, or at least adapt existing mod styles, they would have their own identity and image, and would no longer have to follow trends created by bands like the Beatles or the Rolling Stones. Meaden received fifty pounds from Gordon to invest in promoting the Who. The first thing Meaden did was to change the band's name (Meaden considered 'the Who' as being too arty and too abstract). The Who became the High Numbers, a term used in mod circles to describe someone as a definite leader of fashion within the cult. This, of course, was completely inaccurate, as the group stole all their fashion ideas from the elitist mods, but the majority of mods believed, innocently enough, that the new trends originated from the band themselves.

Meaden was instrumental in securing the High Numbers' position as the number one mod band. Meaden made the band a cult within a cult. He insured that the High Numbers only performed in and around the the recognised centres of mod activity. He knew what music the mods wanted to hear and instructed the band to play good cover versions of rare rhythm and blues' tracks. Realising that there were no other groups advertising themselves as mods, Meaden got the band to promote themselves on and off-stage as the premier mod band of the moment. Meaden also realised that there was always the danger that the sceptical mods would reject the High Numbers as being manufactured, which of course, they were, but it was a risk worth living with as the High Numbers became the first homegrown group that the mods accepted.

In July 1964, the High Numbers released a single, 'I'm the Face'. Inspired by the artwork produced for Blue Note, a record company synonymous with jazz, the record sleeve was a simple but effective design. Produced in monochrome, the panel on the left depicts Daltrey posing as a 'face', another mod term for one considered an elite member of the cult. Meaden hoped the record would succeed in gaining the attention of the music press and that it would appeal to the growing numbers of teenagers taking an interest in the mod cult.

The record failed mainly because it was not very good but at least the music press was aware of the existence of the band. The group was bought from Meaden by Chris Stamp and Kit Lambert. They had the capital to carry on the direction begun by Meaden. Stamp and Lambert had no experience in the music business but this worked to their advantage, as they tackled each problem with fresh ideas. Lambert and Stamp had no intention of abandoning

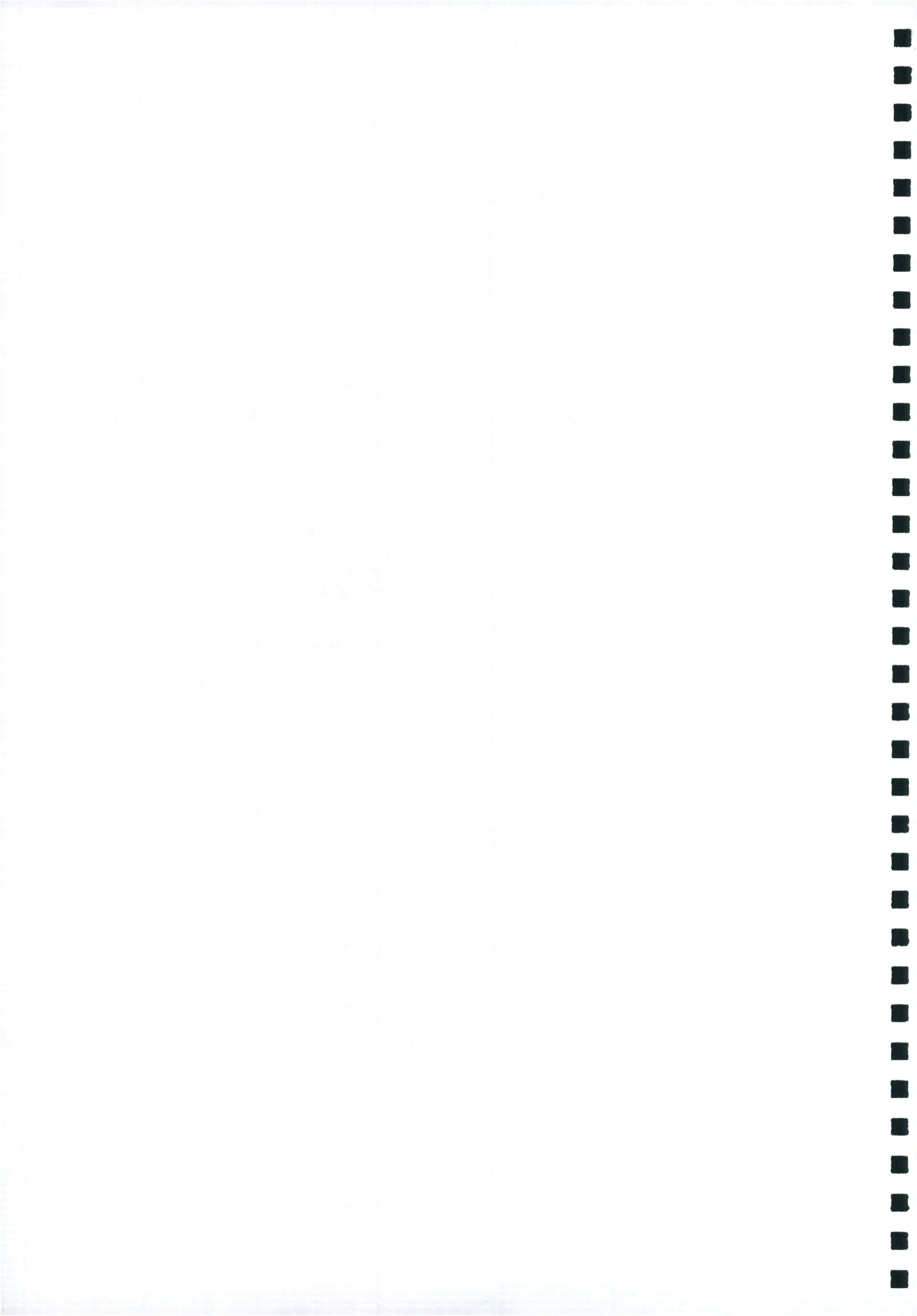




Fig 1.5

Above: The High Numbers (1964).
 Right: Sleeve design for 'I'm the Face' (1964).

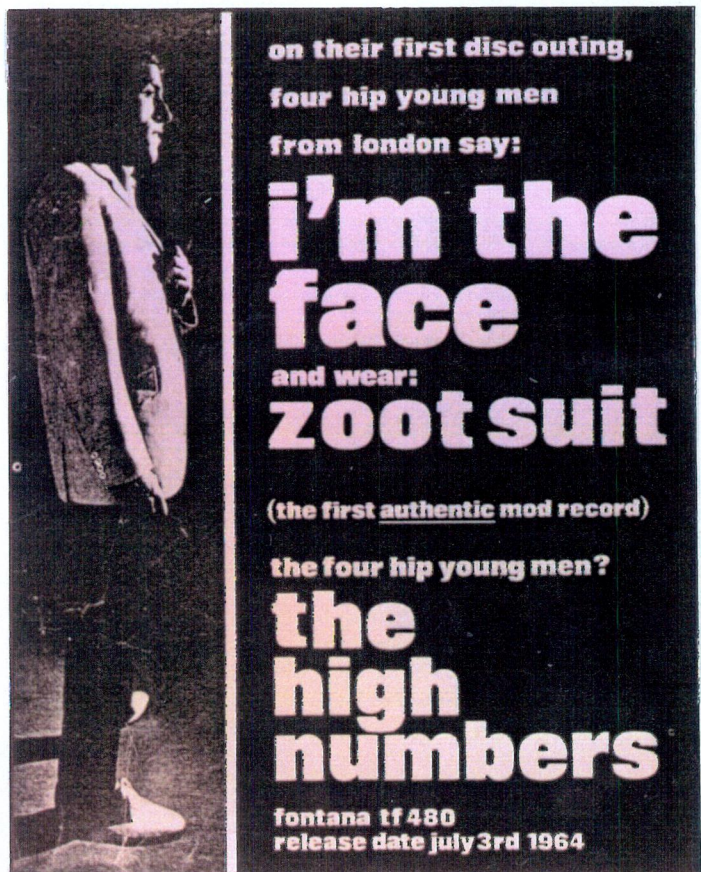
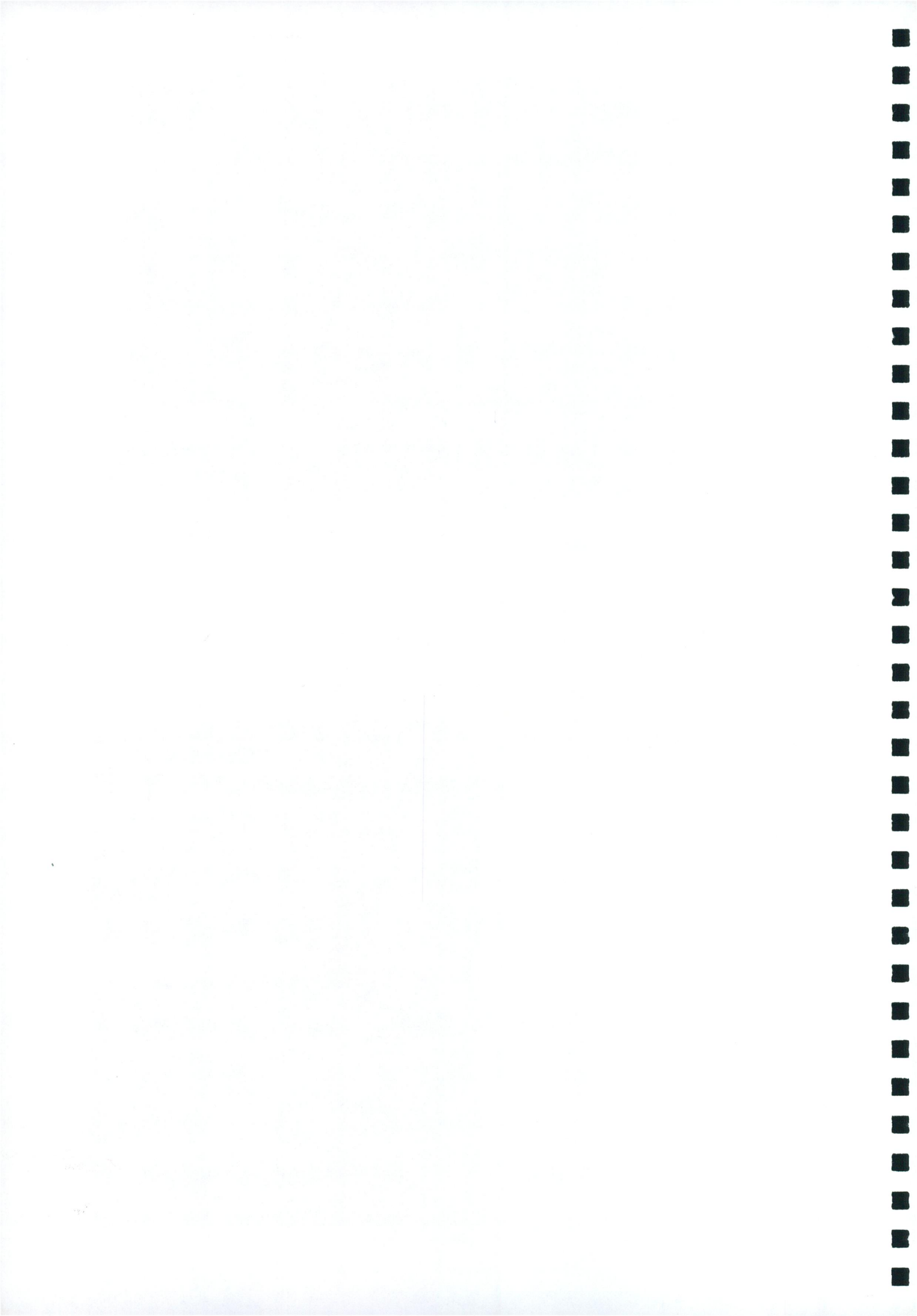


Fig 1.6



the mod image that Meaden had left behind, though they did plan to remodel it quite a bit.

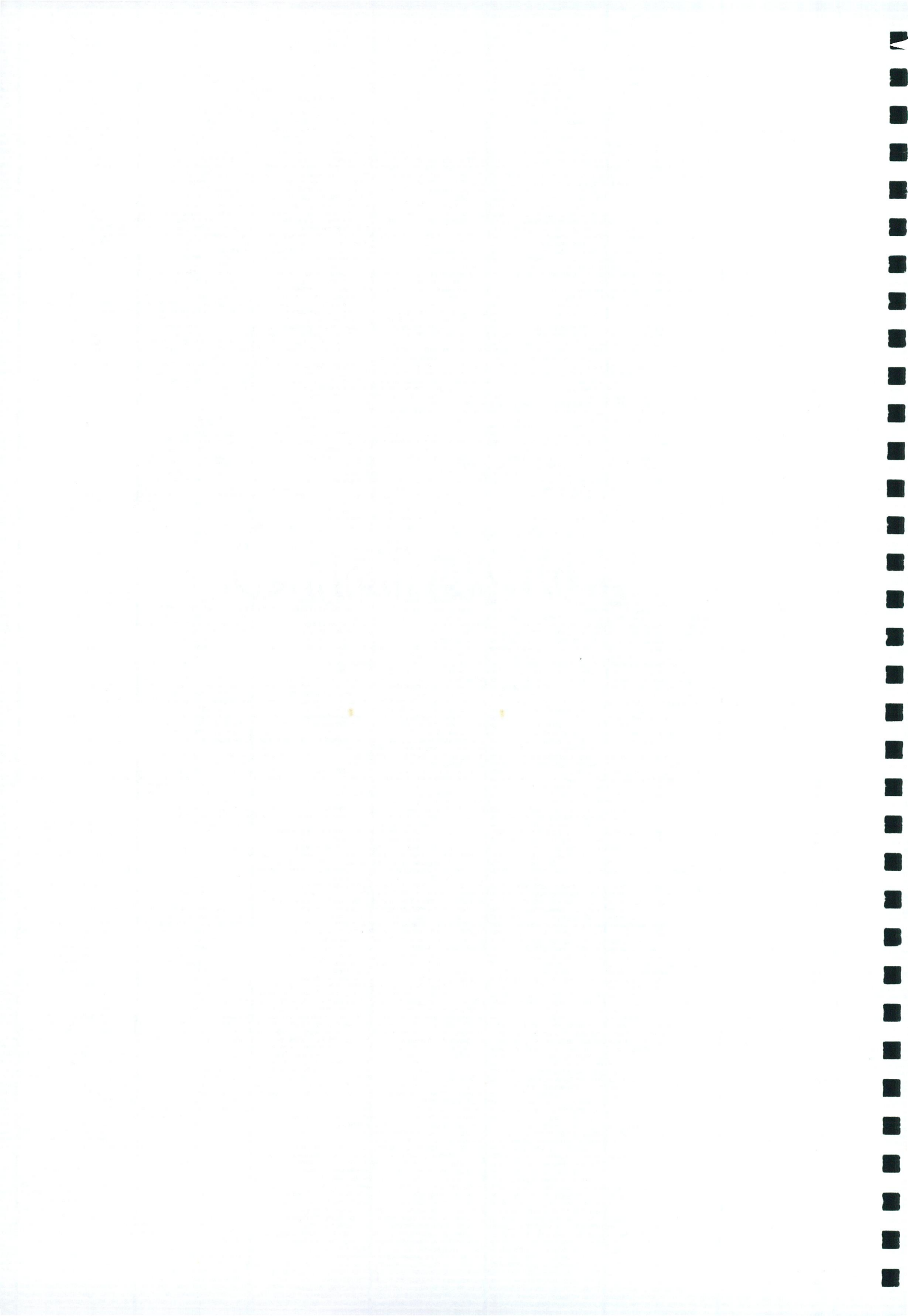
Their first insistence was that the band should change their name again - reverting back to the Who. Lambert told Nik Cohn, a rock critic, that "it was a simple formula. The Who was easy to remember, Made good conversation fuel, provided ready-made gags for the disc jockeys. It was so corny it had to be good". Lambert and Stamp both had experience in the film industry and realised the promotional importance of a strong visual presentation. They invested in a movie-studio style lighting rig to enhance the Who's stage act, at a time when most bands left it up to the management of whatever venue they were playing at, to provide the lighting for them.

The Marquee Club was argueably the most important venue in London during the sixties. Lambert and Stamp realised that if the Who could establish themselves successfully at the Marquee, it would be ideal for media exploitation, particularly when they released their next single. The Who secured Tuesday night, usually the worst night of the week, but it soon became the most successful.

One of the main reasons for the success of the Who at the Marquee was Lambert's creative publicity campaign. As I talked about earlier, one of the reasons why the name 'the Who' was so successful was because it was short and appeared large on posters. Lambert decided, according to Barnes, that it "needed to be longer for the very reason that he wanted it to appear more substantial on posters. That was one of his reasons behind the decision to add the words 'Maximum R & B' after their name. It was a brilliant piece of pop-marketing and image building". He had a graphic designer produce a logo for the Who with an arrow extended from the 'o', not unlike the medical symbol for male.

Produced in monochrome, the design featured Townshend, his right arm upraised, preparing to strike at his guitar. I would suggest that this design is probably the most successful logo created for a rock band, of all time. Dave Marsh wrote that the poster design "encapsulated pure rock energy, and its profile of Townshend, his nose pushing the border of the picture into blackness, made him seem absolutely predatory, a true Bird Man delivering a rock and roll salute"

It was the success of the band's first single (as the Who) 'I Can't Explain' that made Lambert and Stamp realise the full potential of the band and, in particular, Townshend's songwriting ability. The band's first record label, Brunswick, did not



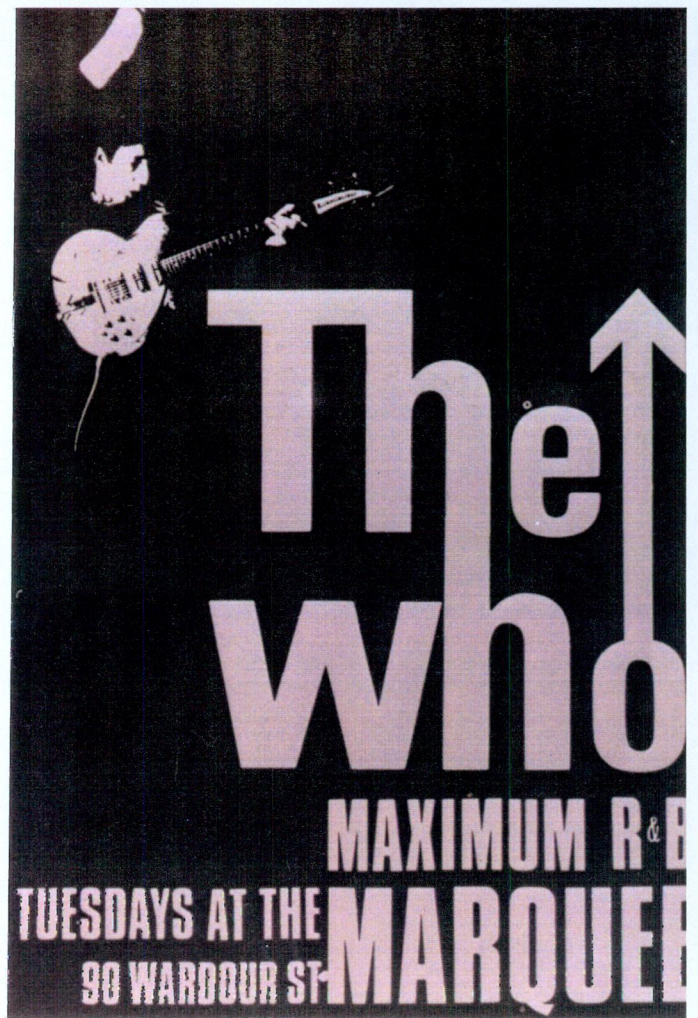


Fig 1.7

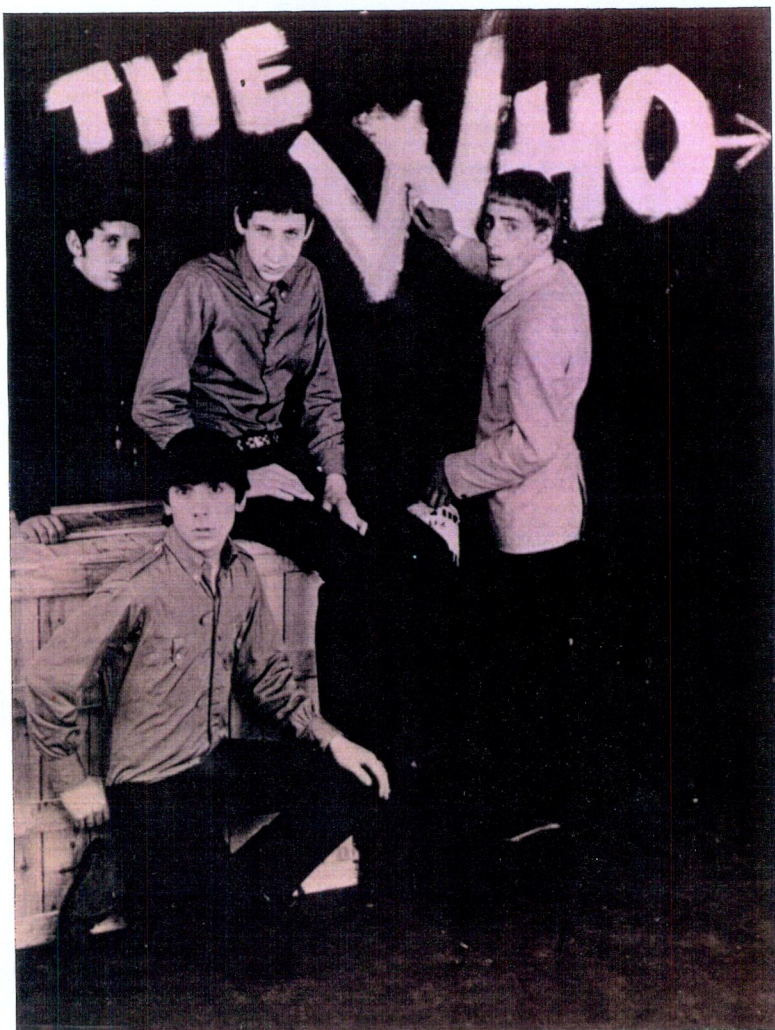
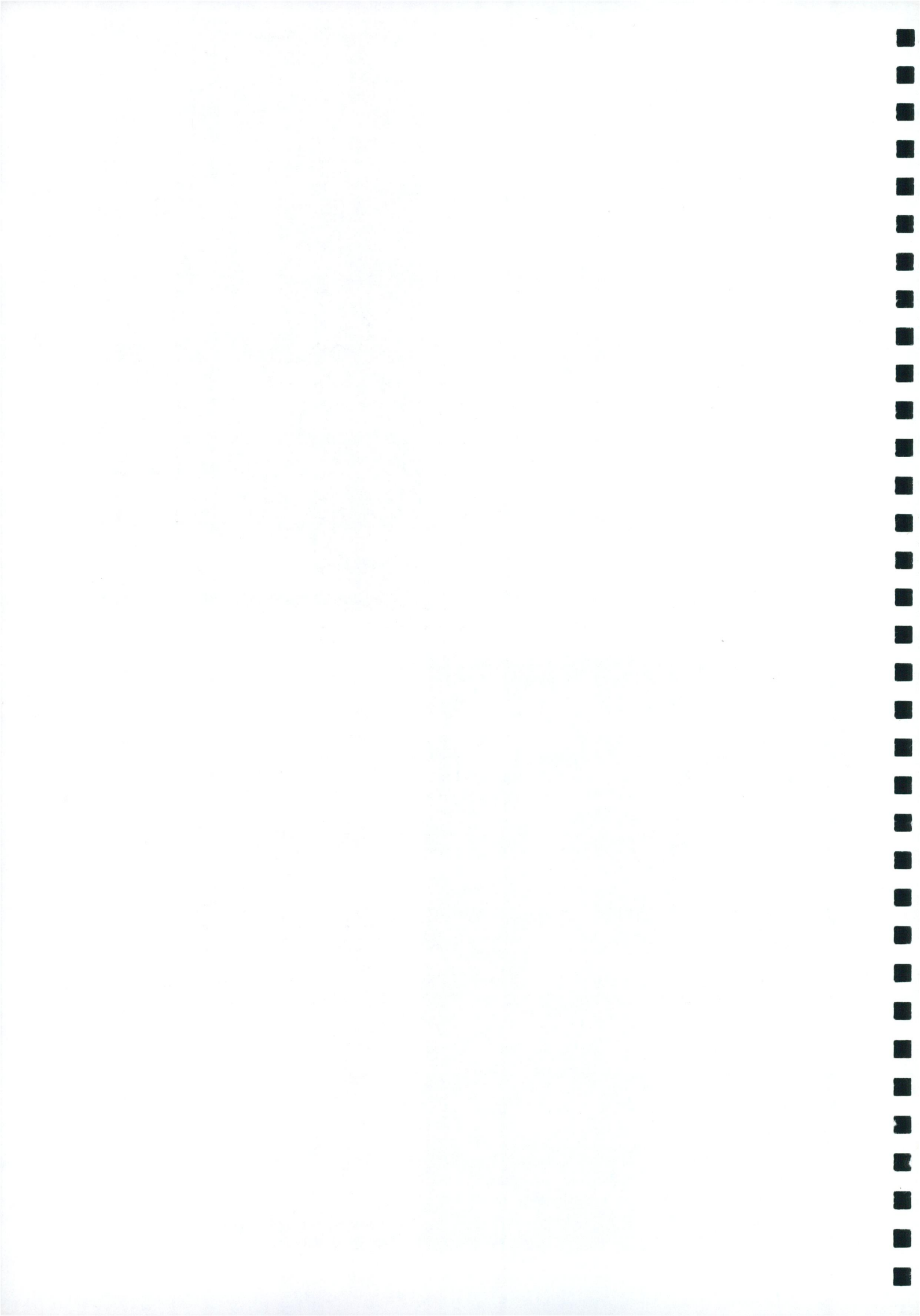


Fig 1.8

Above: The Marquee poster (1965).
Left: The Who (1965).



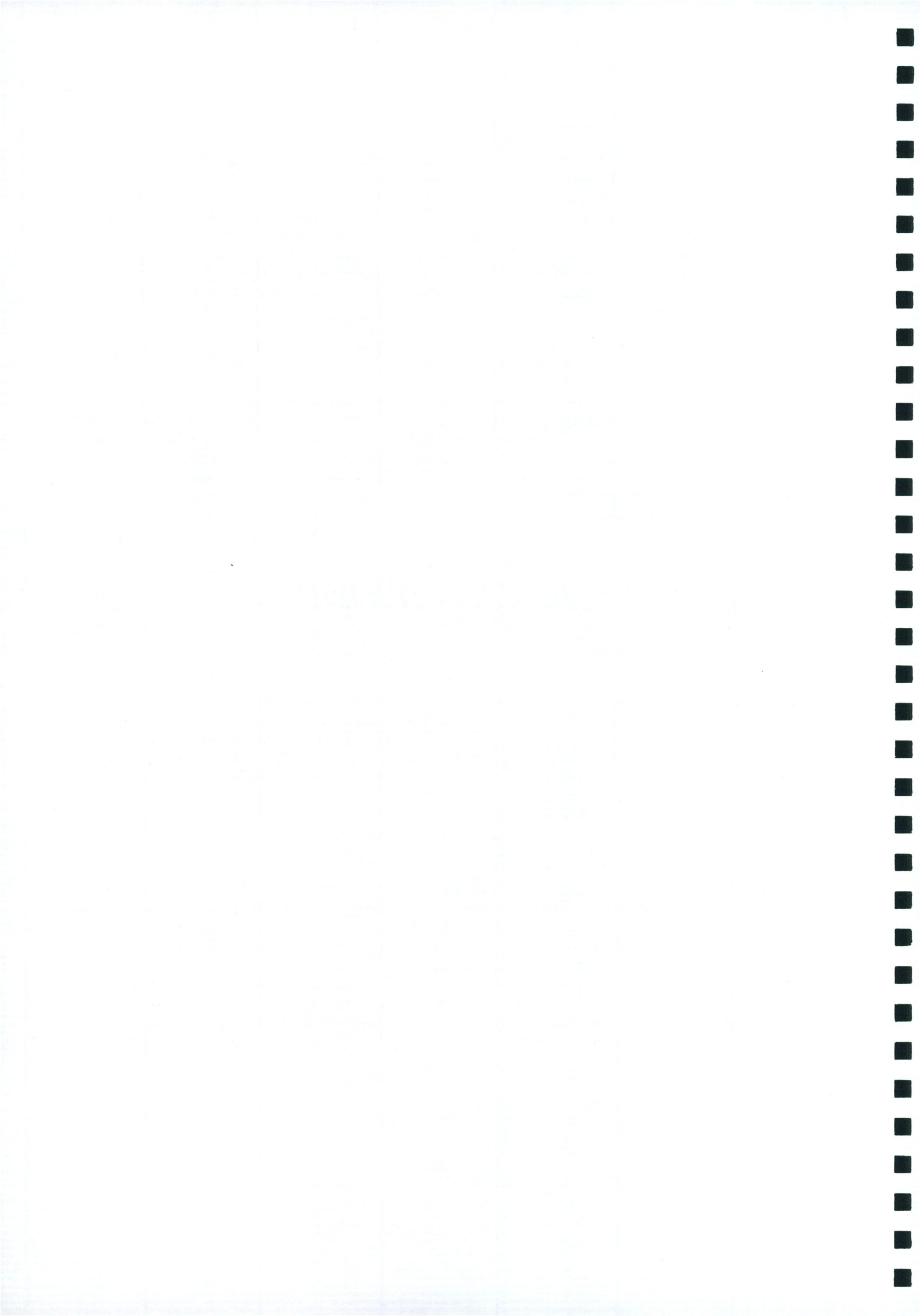
believe that the record would even enter the charts and, subsequently, did not spend too much on the marketing of the band or the record. The publicity material they produced failed to capture the Who's greatest asset - its stage act - and promoted the single with rather dull photographs of the group. 'I Can't Explain' was not a major hit initially, but it managed to arouse serious interest in the music press, and many magazines ran features predicting the Who as the next big group on the brink of a breakthrough.

Realising that Brunswick showed little interest in promoting the Who, Lambert took matters into his own hands and set up an official fan club, the 100 Faces. The members would follow the band from gig to gig, ensuring that the Who would always perform in front of a packed, and enthusiastic, crowd. When the Who got the chance to play on television's most important pop show 'Ready Steady Go', Lambert gave out 150 tickets to the 100 Faces, so when 'I Can't Explain' went on air, the nation was duped by a sensational 'staged' euphoria. After an appearance on 'Top of the Pops', and along with heavy airplay from Radio Caroline and Radio London, 'I Can't Explain' re-entered the charts and climbed to the top ten.

By the summer of 1966, the mod movement had reached its peak. Townshend and Lambert realised the danger that the group could become overidentified with the mod cult, and in order to prevent the Who from being dragged down with the style when it faded, they decided to change the Who's image.

Renato Poggioli wrote, in his book 'The Theory of the Avant-Garde', that "the chief characteristic of fashion is to impose and suddenly to accept as a new rule or norm what was, until a minute before, an exception or whim, then to abandon it again after it has become a commonplace, everybody's thing". The Who were aware that by abandoning their strict mod image, they would lose a number of fans, but since the band had become the symbol of mod for many outside London, they were in the position to alter their image and not lose any credibility.

As I mentioned earlier, Townshend was interested by pop art ever since his days at Ealing. Although he had difficulties defining the term, he believed that the Who was designing its own performance wardrobe. The band wore dozens of medals and badges on ordinary cotton t-shirts and pullover sweaters, which were decorated with images derived from pop-art paintings, such as bull's eye targets, arrows and basic geometric shapes. Inspired by Jasper Johns and Peter Blake, Townshend draped Union Jack flags over the amplifiers, and was later to have jackets made up



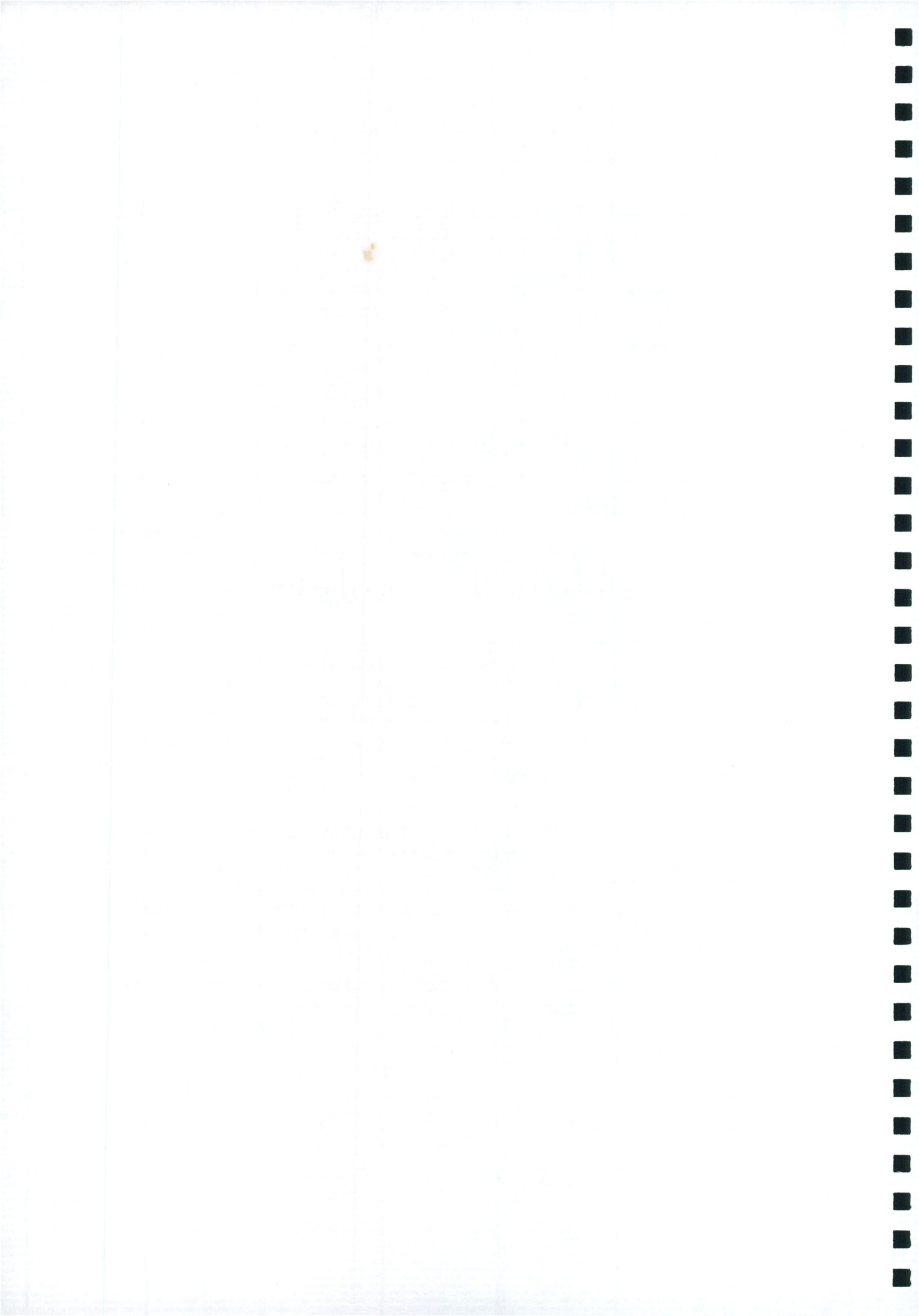
from various flags.

The Who's new pop art image could not have been timed any better. Pop art became a sensation in the national press as it was the first important figurative movement for some time. The press was fascinated with the movement's successful use of everyday objects as images of art. The Who's next single 'Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere', was promoted as the first 'pop art record'. The band's new image may have captured the interest of the music press, but the record failed to make any real impression in the charts.

Undeterred by the failure of 'Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere', the Who concentrated on their stage act. They began building on their reputation as the most outrageous and stunning live act to hit the British scene. Richard Barnes wrote that the Who's live act was "like a total no-holds-barred assault on the senses. There were no half measures, they threw everything they had at the audience, ending with a blitz on their own equipment, which they would systematically destroy, and, in a cloud of smoke and fused smouldering amps and other debris, simply walk off stage". Roy Carr, a journalist with the NME, commented, "it was like seeing a piece of pure energy, pure raw energy. If you could possibly get just pure energy and put it in a form and operate it - that was the Who".

Lambert and Stamp realised the enormous publicity value in promoting a band who destroyed their equipment and encouraged the Who to perform their destructive act at every opportunity, particularly when the press were on hand to cover the event. Although Townshend mentioned the work of Gustav Metzke to justify the group's on-stage excesses, the destruction of their equipment originated from an accident that happened at one of their early performances, when the neck of a guitar and a low ceiling collided.

The destruction of equipment and the controversy and outrage that followed it, were important steps in the image building of the Who. The Who's stage antics could be considered tame compared to the excesses of some of the present day rock bands, but in traditional Britain of the sixties, they were considered wild revolutionaries. Taking the social values of British society of the time into consideration, one did not destroy goods, especially such expensive goods as electric guitars. Of course, this seemingly mindless destruction worked wonders for the band's reputation and publicity, ensuring that the Who would never be short of attention.



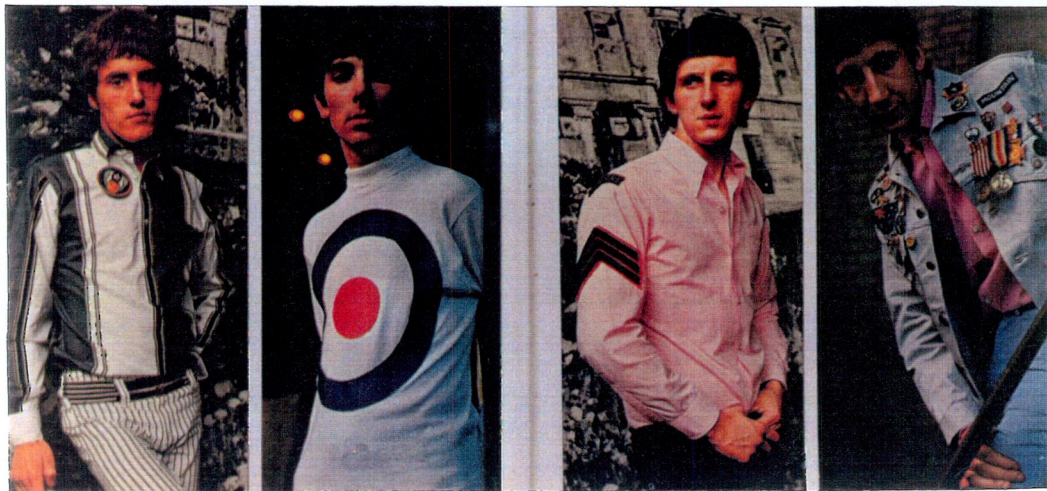
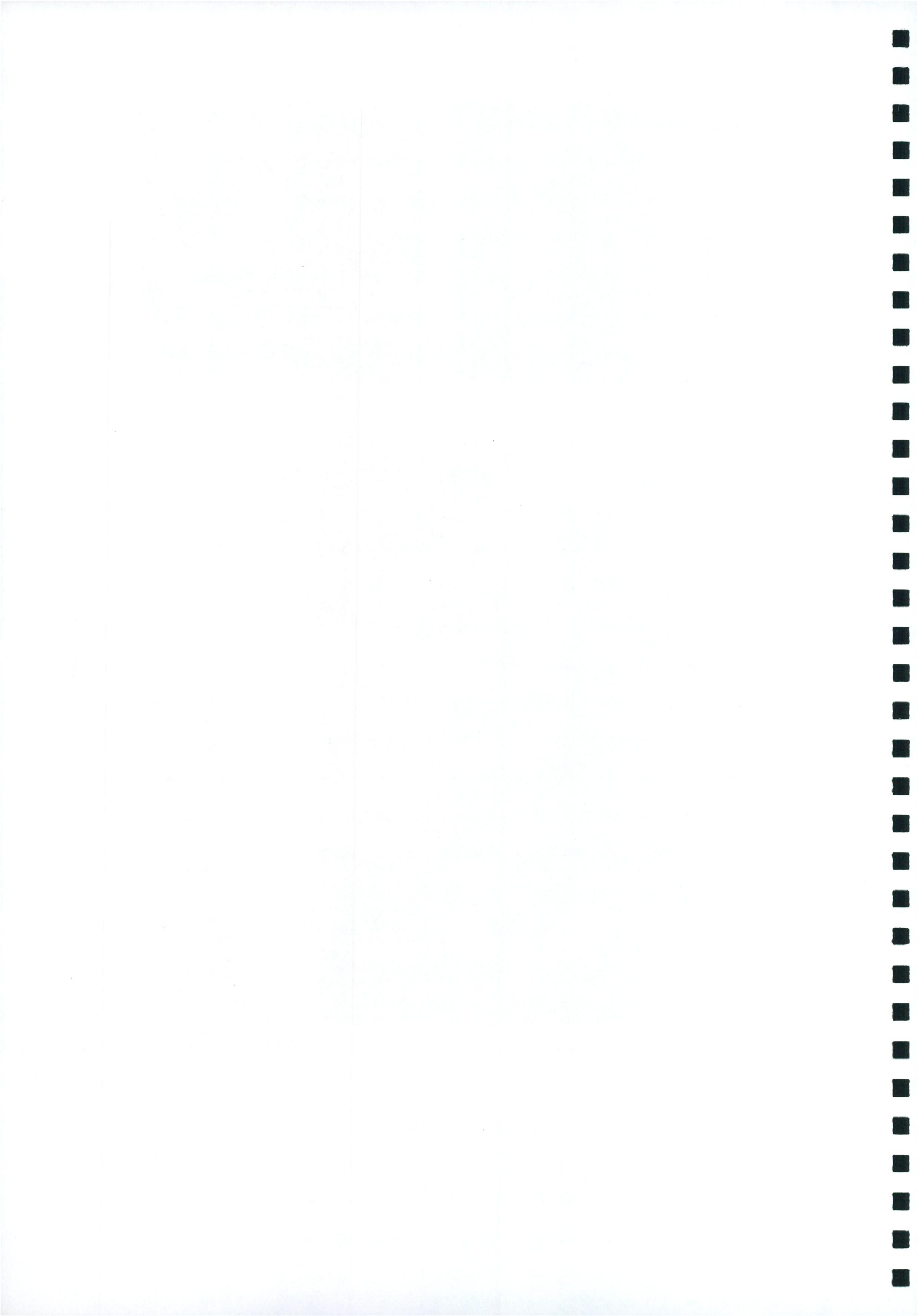


Fig 1.9



This page: Under Kit Lambert's aesthetic guidance the Who's image became increasingly conscious. 'Pop Art' was the term coined to describe their originality of dress which was heavily dependent on buttons, badges and pop art motifs.



More controversy was to follow with the release of 'My Generation', the Who's third single. The BBC initially banned the record on the grounds that Daltrey's stuttering vocal was insulting to stammerers, but (as often with BBC censorship) successful sales and heavy airplay from pirate radio stations caused the ban to be rescinded. Although the record did not reach the number one position in the charts, it established the Who as the most original and articulate pop group on the scene. It also helped establish the band as one of rock's first strong anti-pop images. Townshend once wrote: "We've never lost that feeling of our early days, when image was almost as important as sound. It's somehow intrinsic in the mood of the band. When we stand together on stage or in a studio, we feel that image take over and become bigger than any single one of us".

Under the guidance of Lambert and Stamp, the Who's image deliberately evaded many of the necessities required for a contemporary pop group. Dave Marsh wrote: "The group's only pretty face (Keith Moon's) was hidden behind the drums; it's aggression was delivered full-force and without respite; it's undercurrent of sexual tension was more likely to alienate than attract innocent young girls. In fact, the entire approach of the Who was designed the make it's audience feel either terribly uncomfortable or, alternatively, almost smug in it's assurance then this, and only this, was the current fashionable mode of behaviour. In that sense, the Who were the first genuinely avant-garde rock group".

The subsequent success of their first album, 'My Generation', and the tour that followed confirmed the fact that the Who were the biggest British band behind the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. It was the failure of their second album, 'A Quick One', in repeating the critical and commercial success of 'My Generation' along with the emergence of exciting new talent that prompted the Who to rethink it's image. The music world's interest in pop art was declining in favour of the wild and loud trends coming from the San Francisco sound.

By the end of 1966, the band's popularity was at it's lowest ebb. Although there were many factors contributing to the decline of the band's popularity, the single most important reason was the shift in attitudes of pop fans and pop musicians alike. The Beatles had released 'Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band' which effectively killed off their 'Fab Four' image complete with the thousands of screaming girls, and helped build on the idea that rock music could be taken seriously as art. No longer was it enough, or even credible, for a group to play in front of an audience of screaming teenage girls, a serious rock



band now had to be musically aware, appreciative and talented.

The Who realised that their stage act and image could suddenly make the band look shallow and mercenary. By 1966 'Ready Steady Go' had gone off the air and the mod movement had died. The Who were without a concrete image and a platform to sell from. Instead of creating a new look or trend, they briefly jumped on the new flamboyant, psychedelic bandwagon along with many of the new groups such as Pink Floyd, Cream and Jimi Hendrix.

Although the Who had some degree of success with the LSD inspired single 'I Can See For Miles', the group reverted back to it's pop art image for the release of it's third album, 'The Who Sell Out'. The record was a critical success, and the Who won much praise for the conceptual idea of weaving songs together with commercials. The Who spent most of 1968 touring America and the Antipoles, clawing back it's credibility as an important rock band.

Ultimately, it was the release of the band's rock opera, 'Tommy', that saved the band from falling into obscurity. Touted as the first 'rock opera' (which it was not), it was hailed as Pete Townshend's masterpiece. Almost overnight, it radically changed the Who's image. Chris Charlesworth wrote that Daltrey's new ultra-sexy image was to become the "accepted stereotype for every lead singer in rock".

The early seventies saw the Who perform their 'rock opera', 'Tommy' all over America and, to the pleasure of the avant-garde, they played in selected opera houses all over Europe. Thanks to the critical and commercial successes of 'Tommy', the Who joined an elite club of rock performers whose image and status would never again be automatically governed by the quality or sales of their latest album. In time critics and rock historians were to place the Who in the same envied category as the Rolling Stones, Bob Dylan, Led Zeppelin, John Lennon, Paul Lennon and even Elvis Presley as rock immortals.

The Who had achieved the ultimate goal of stardom and, in doing so, created their own distinct identity, image and style. No longer was it necessary for them to search for new trends, they had created an indelible image of their own. They followed up the success of 'Tommy' with a long succession of critically acclaimed albums throughout the seventies. As the band progressed from playing small theatres to large stadiums they maintained the group's distinct image.

Like the Beatles, although to a lesser extent, the Who's



During the seventies, the Who's marketing men often looked at the band's graphics of the sixties for design ideas.

Right:
Publicity photograph for the release of 'Quadrophenia' (1973).

Below:
Two promotional posters for the Who's 1979 film, 'The Kids Are Alright'.



Fig I.10

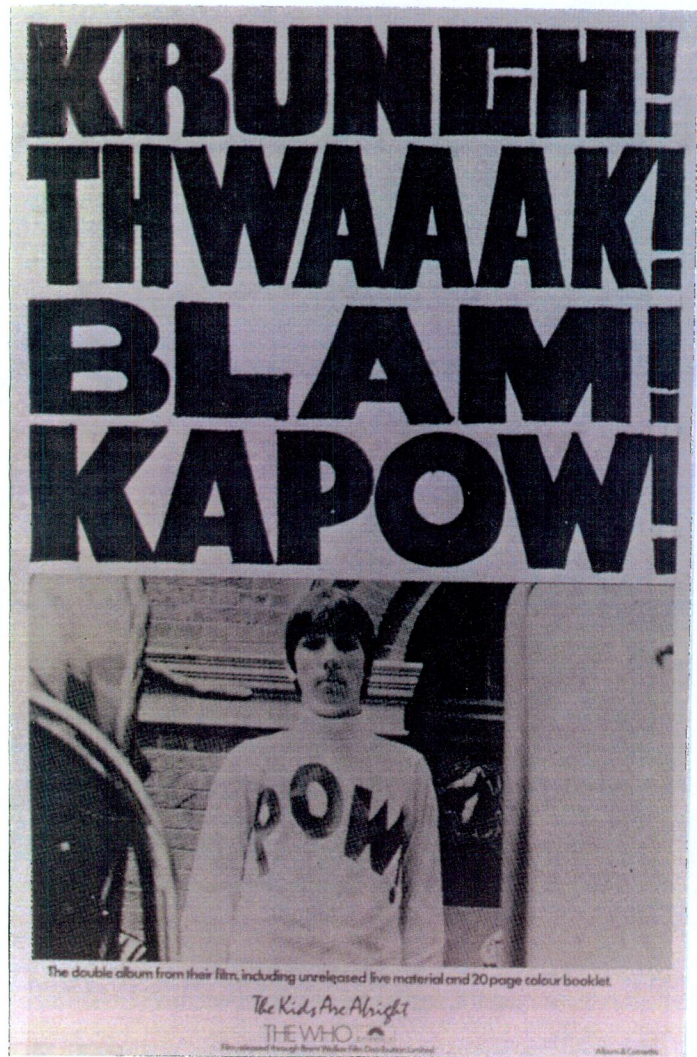


Fig I.11



Fig I.12



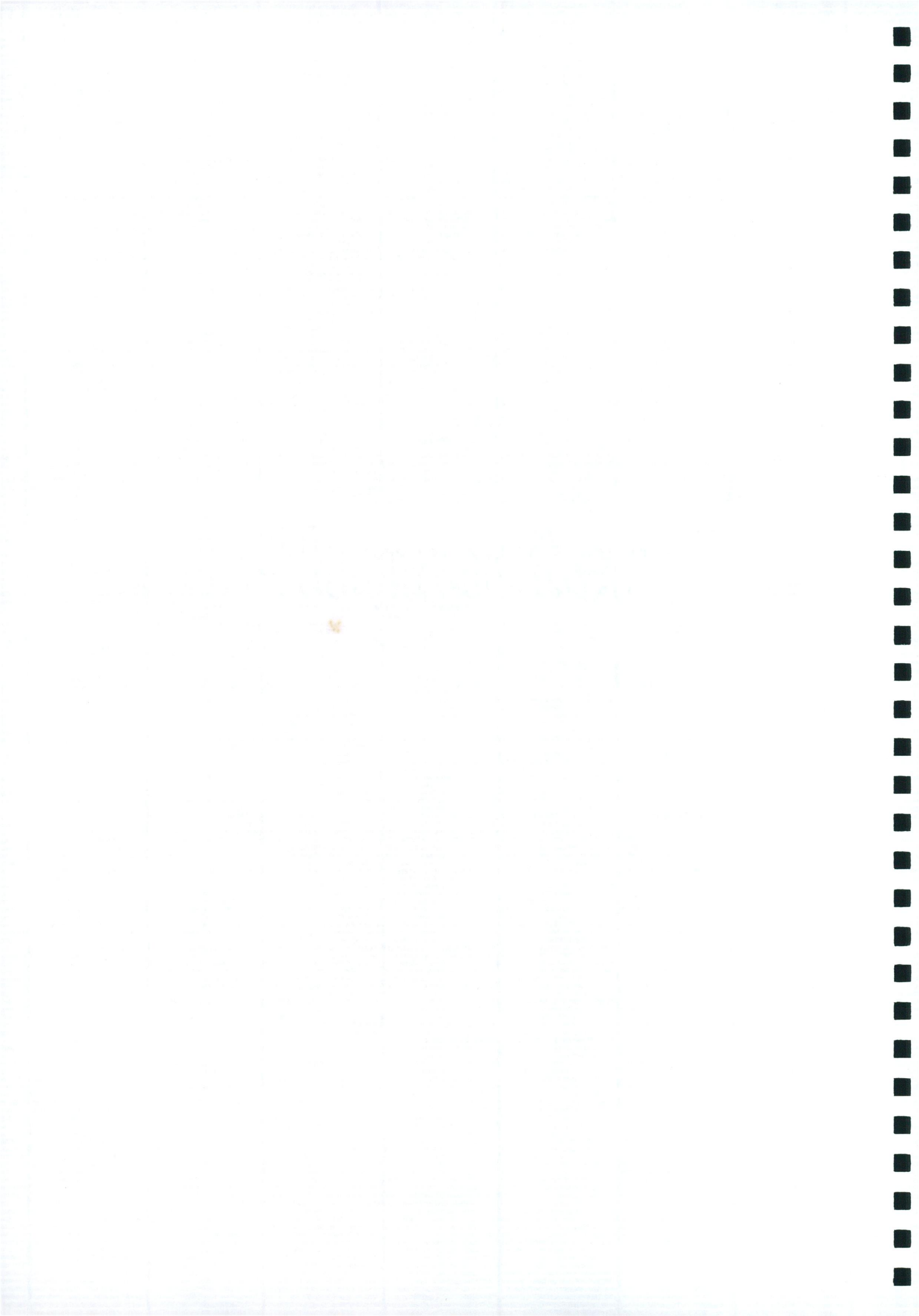
biggest marketing asset lay in the fact that the band was a combination of four highly recognisable characters. Roger Daltrey was the aggressive singer who flung his microphone around the stage; John Entwistle was the stoic bass player who had a fetish for leather and wore a metal spider around his neck; Keith Moon was the lunatic drummer who was often enibriated on stage, but rarely missed a beat; Pete Townshend was the tall guitarist with the big nose, who wore a white boiler suit and twirled his arm like a windmill.

It was a winning formula and the band realised that it should be maintained. Even when they took on extra musicians, to expand the band's musical ability on tour, they kept them hidden in the background while the four original members stole the limelight. In keeping with their reputation as hellraisers, the group appeared with a great deal of regularity in the national tabloids throughout the seventies. Tales of hotel wrecking, wild parties and other acts of chaos, however inaccurate, only served to add to the growing mystique of the band.

The arrival of punk in 1976 had little effect on the Who's visual presentation. Although the punks despised everyone involved in the rock world, labelling them as 'Boring Old Farts', the Who escaped ridicule. Maybe this was a result of the part the Who played in influencing the punk sound. Believing that punk was just a musical development, the Who pointed out to the music press that what bands like the Sex Pistols were doing they had done in 1965. Daltrey saw the punks as being "just kids off the streets whose music is exactly the same as what we were doing - good rock and roll energy".

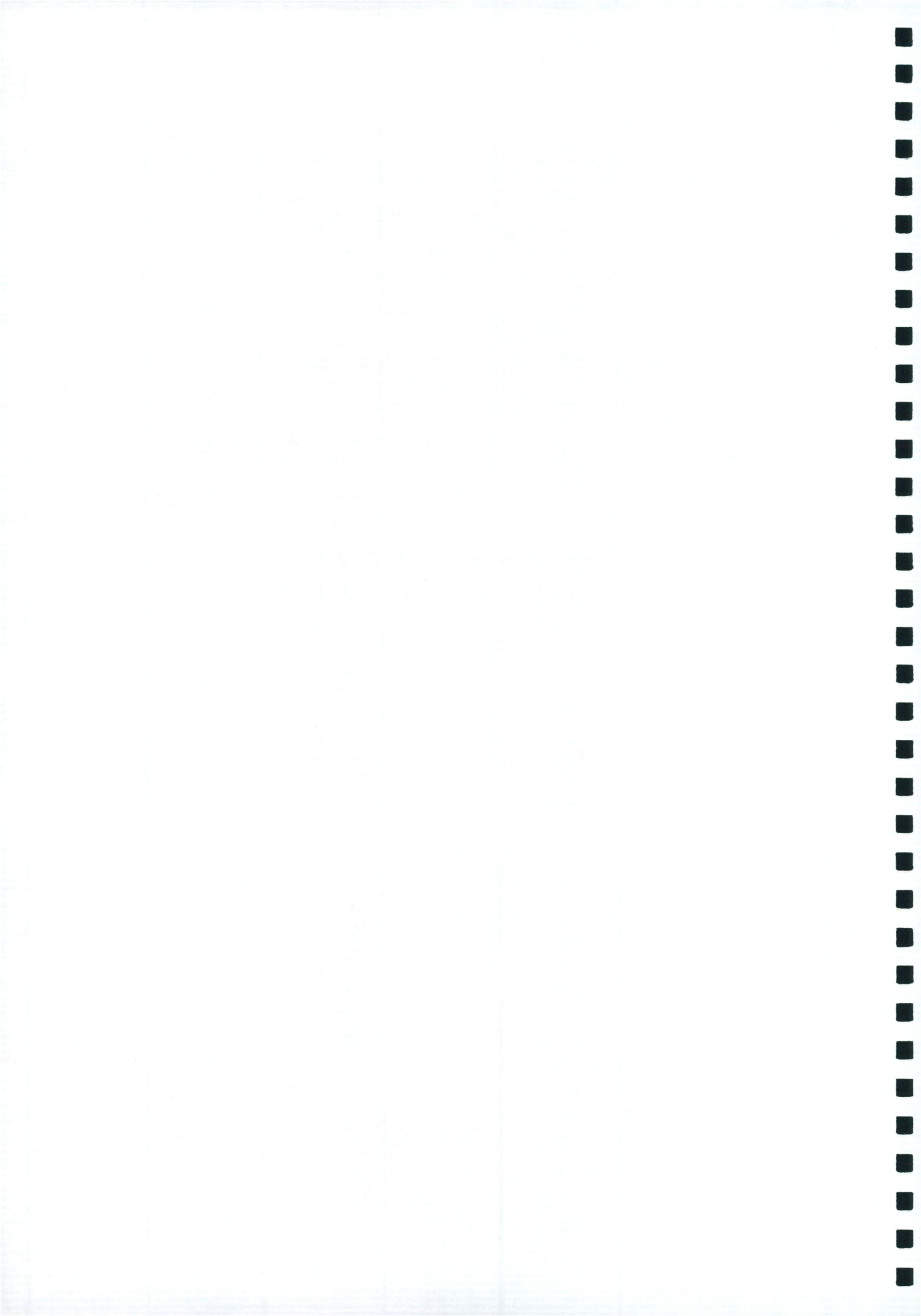
It was the death of Keith Moon, from a drug overdose, in 1978, that spelt the beginning of the end. Moon was a vital component in the musical and visual make-up of the band and the other members realised that it would never be the same again. The band found a replacement in Kenny Jones, a one time member of the Small Faces, one of the Who's rival mod bands in the sixties. The Who made two more studio albums during the early eighties, but there was a universal sense that the old magic had left them.

Although the American tours of the eighties were successful, the band showed little of the flair and imagination that made them super-stars during the early seventies. They seemed quite content to roll out the old stage favourites, and eventually it became a nostalgic trip down a sentimental memory lane. It was the failure of the band's last two albums to generate the critical and commercial successes of the seventies ventures that led them on their 1982 Farewell Tour.

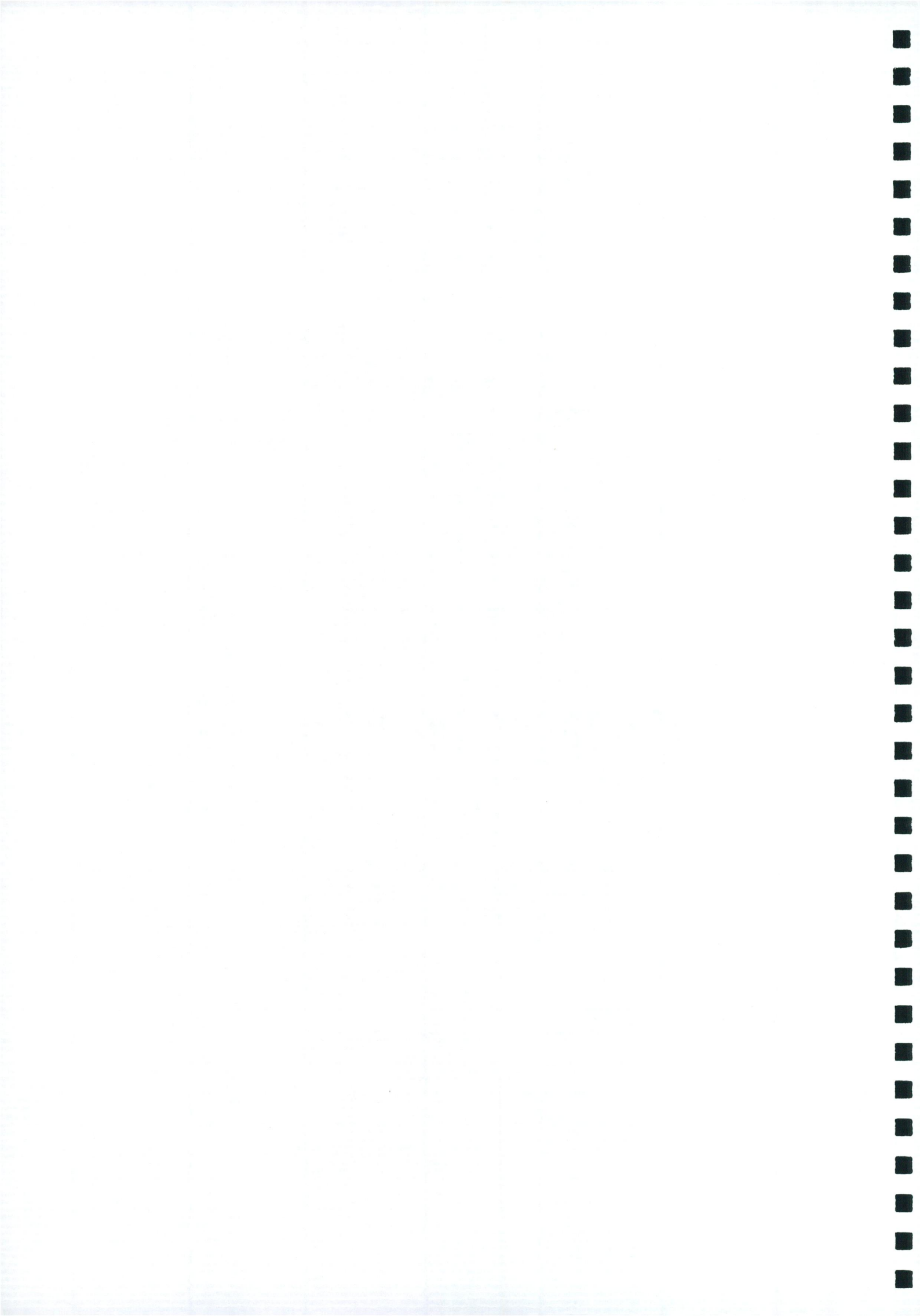


There was a mixed reaction in the music press as to why the Who had decided to embark on their final tour. It ranged from the cynical remarks ("let's get the dough while we still can"), to the nostalgic remarks from some of the older critics. Rock critic Peter Goddard wrote that "the Who is a process, not a package. As long as the Who were the process, that on-going process of making rock 'n' roll, and as long as everyone believed in it, the kids were alright. But the fear was that they were being packaged, bound by business that didn't understand, and it was time to pack it in".

The Who did get back together in 1985 for Live Aid, through the persuasive powers of Bob Geldof. It was, apparently, a combination of pressure from their record company and their own marketing men, with the added financial incentive from a sponsoring beer company, that prompted the Who to regroup again in 1989. Although the subsequent tour was a complete success, there was a definite negative reaction in the press to old bands regrouping, whether it was for love or money. The band split up again but, recently, there has been rumours circulating, concerning a possible tour of Europe.



analysis



In analysing the progression of the Who's image, it is possible to detect seven major changes in the group's image from the early days of 1961 to the present day. It is significant to note that five of these alterations of the band's appearance occurred in the sixties, the so-called decade of radical change. In the analysis below, each change in the band's image has been categorized in chronological order.

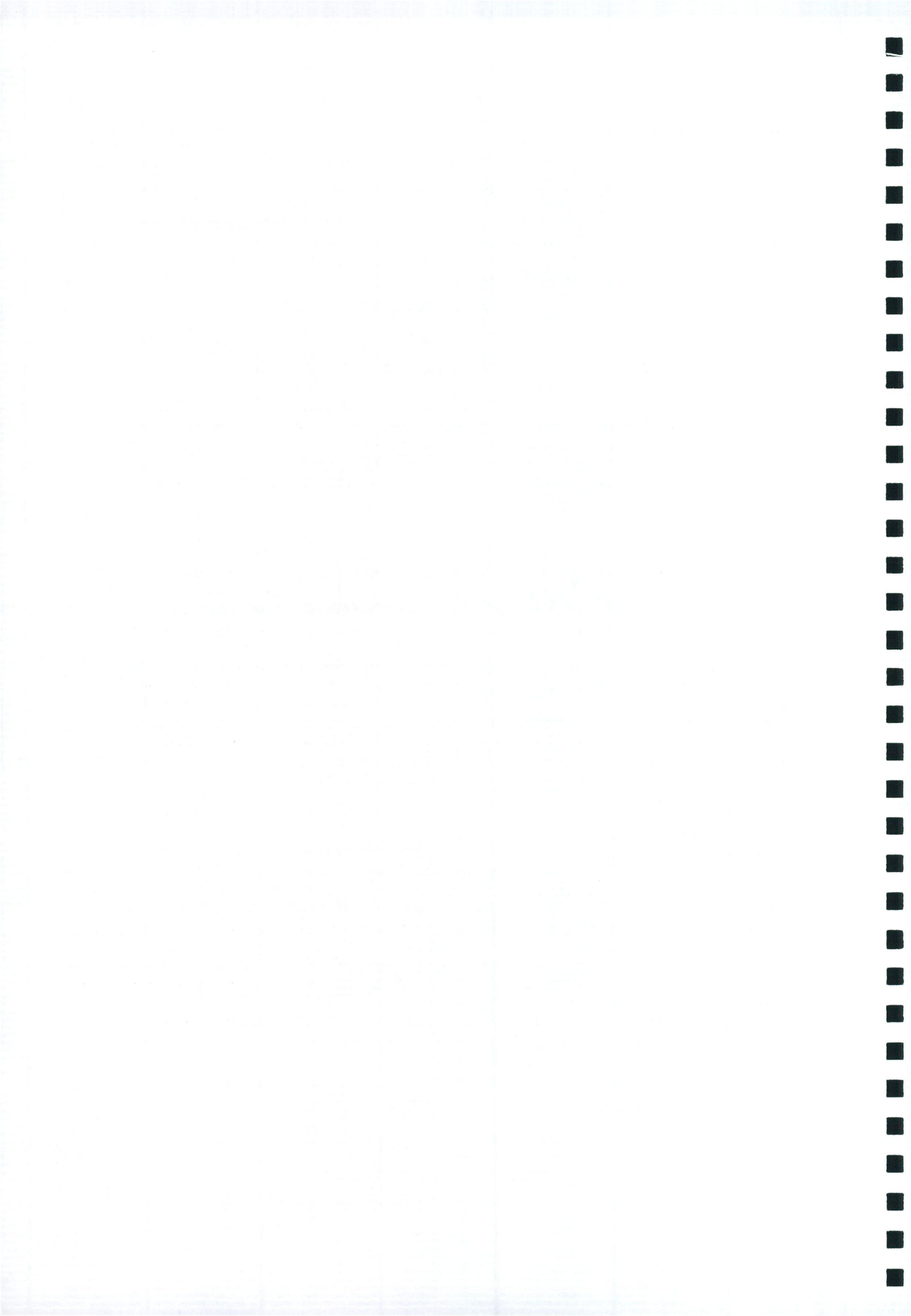
(A) The Detours/The Who (1961 - 1964)

The Detours were a typical working class band. The reasons for their bland appearance are simple. Like the majority of similar dance bands, the Detours did not see that their sense of dress was a major priority. The dark suits, white shirts, black ties and short haircuts that they wore was the traditional way a typical dance band dressed. It would have seemed improper to dress any other way. The band were far too concerned about getting work as a reliable and traditional band, to upset anyone by dressing away from the norm.

When the Beatles arrived, they only served to confirm the fact that neatness and uniformity was still the way to make it. Of course the Detours knew that there was no guarantee that they would be anywhere nearly as successful as the Beatles. All of the members of the band had their own jobs during the day, and playing with the band was an enjoyable way of making extra money.

It was the financial assistance of Helmut Gordon that helped regulate the band's appearance. We know that Gordon wanted to transform the Detours into his own version of the Beatles by buying them the clothes that the Beatles were making fashionable. The Detours, content to have expensive clothes bought for them, put up little resistance to having to wear Pierre Cardin leather jackets and having their hair cropped short with Beatle fringes at the front.

Although Townshend was studying graphic design at Ealing, neither he nor the rest of the Detours had much say in the visual presentation of the band on promotional posters or flyers, the bulk of which were handled by Commercial Entertainments Limited. It would not be incorrect to speculate that the Detours were quite happy to allow the managerial forces behind the scenes, to take full control over the promotional image of the band. The hard facts of the matter are, that the Detours did not have a concrete image to promote, they relied on their performances and word of mouth rather than hype or favourable press reviews, to help establish themselves as a competent dance band. The blandness of the majority of the Detours posters and publicity



photographs only serve in illustrating the rather colourless origins of the Who.

(B) The High Numbers/The Who (1964 - 1965)

As discussed earlier, the single most important factor in the long-term development of the band's image was the decision to rename themselves the Who. Meaden's decision to rename them the High Numbers was also an important step in the band's image-building. Meaden introduced the band to an evolving youth movement which was exciting, fast-moving and mysterious, those already involved called themselves 'mods'.

Meaden realised that the mods did not listen to the charts and that they did not have a band on which they could focus. He saw the marketing potential of a group that could appeal to this growing mod cult. Meaden dressed the High Numbers up as elitist mods and began promoting them as such. It was a successful image, albeit a false one, the High Numbers were not real mods, but they did see the potential of the image and carried out the facade.

The band's introduction to the mod world had serious implications on the future of the Who's image. The mod cult was a male dominated movement and this led to the Who's male dominated following. Dave Marsh wrote that, according to Doug Sandom, the Who was a "bloke's band", Richard Barnes believed that it was the effects of the Amphetamines (which cut into their users' sex drive) that was the root cause of the Who's appeal to a large male audience. March concluded that "the Who was basically too aggressive to attract many girls. Anyway, they lacked a stereotypically pretty face: Even Roger was no teenybopper's heartthrob".

Later on in the band's career, their strong association with the mod cult was to help build the growing mystique of the Who, which appealed to the curious minds of the music world. This was particularly relevant in America, where mods did not exist, and any band who had a link with a 'cult' caught the imagination of the music press. The 1979 mod revival in England was responsible for the Who's renaissance. The thousands of new younger fans regarded the Who as the godfathers of the mod cult.

The big difference between the Detours and the High Numbers is the fact that the latter were conscious of their image and had a particular direction to follow. The High Numbers were wearing clothes that were deemed fashionable by the genuine elitist mods. These fashionable items included Ivy League and Italian-style

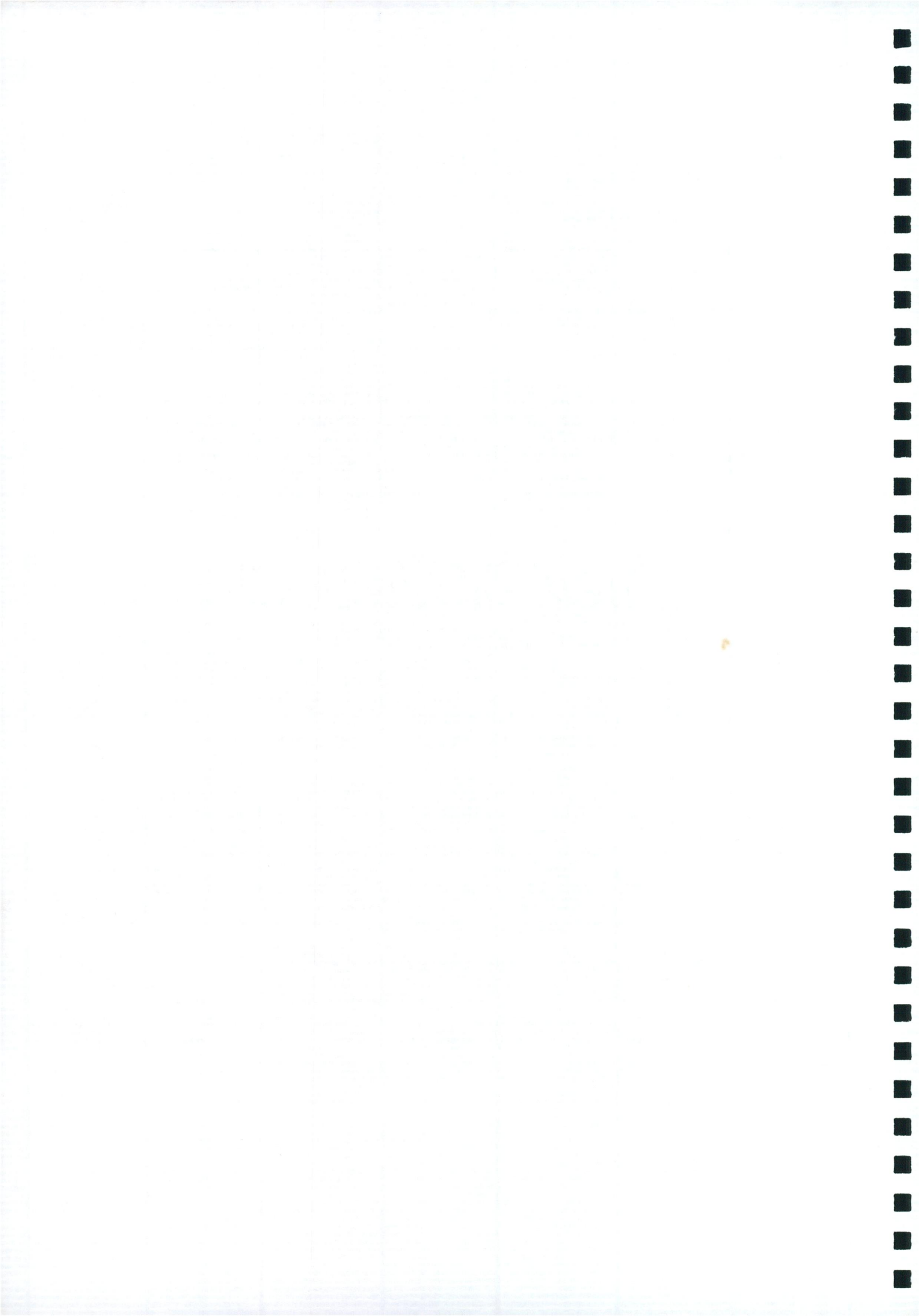


Fig I.13
SSION 4/6



Acton jazz and jive group, the "Detours", at last found their way to a local booking on Saturday when they were the second band at Saturday's Gala Ball at the Town Hall. Left to right: Roger Daltrey (18), Colin Dawson (19), Peter Townsend (17), Doug Sandon (18), and John Johns (17)

Left: The Detours (1962).

Middle: Poster produced by Commercial Entertainments Ltd (1963).

Fig I.14

FOX & GOOSE HOTEL
HANGER LANE, EALING, W.5

JIVING & TWISTING
FRIDAYS
FEATURING THE DYNAMIC
"DETOURS"

7.30-11.00 P.M. **4/- ADMISSION**
LICENSED BALLROOM BAR

BUSES—83, 187 TO DOOR 112, 105 TWO MINUTES TRAINS—HANGER LANE, PARK ROYAL

COMMENCING FRIDAY, 11TH JAN.



Fig I.15

Left: The High Numbers (1964).

Below: London mods (1964).

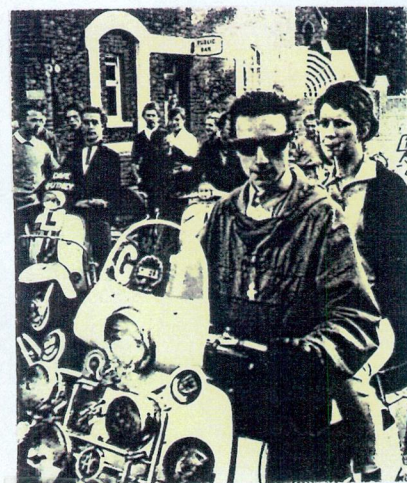


Fig I.16



jackets, cycling shirts and Fred Perry polo tops, 501's and tight-fitting dark trousers, desert boots and basketball trainers. The High Numbers led the mod cult by following it.

Overall, the band gained from its association with the mods. They were now aware of the importance of a distinct image, and they had the advantage of having the stigma of being involved with a cult, and having a specific following to market.

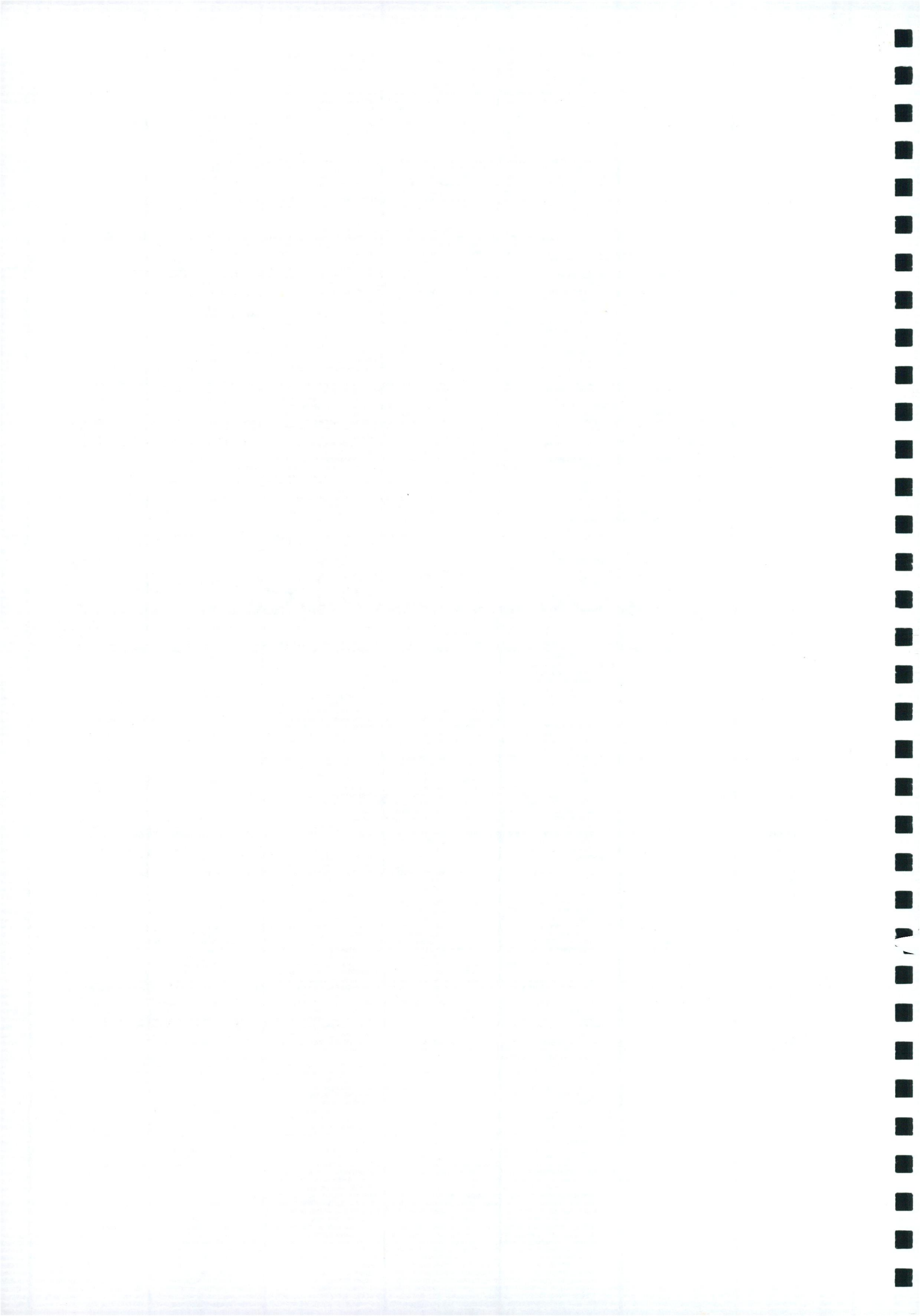
(C) The Who (1965 - 1967)

The reasons for the Who's change of image during this period was a combination of Townshend's fascination in pop art and the arrival of Kit Lambert and Chris Stamp as the band's new management. Through their own unorthodox marketing methods, Stamp and Lambert took the band out of the underground mod scene to the top of the music scene. Lambert, it seems, had no intention of destroying the image built by Meaden, but he saw the need to remodel it. He believed, rightly, that the Who's strict mod image could polarise the band's appeal. The Who needed to widen its appeal and, at the same time, keep their significant mod following.

As discussed earlier, it was during his stay at Ealing that Townshend found his affection for the pop art movement. It was possibly Lambert's high-brow aestheticism and homosexuality that accounted for his fondness of pop art and the humour and campness that the art trend possessed.

Pop art was the ideal vehicle for the Who's new image - for many reasons. Taking pop art as its inspiration, it labelled the Who as an innovative new group and, at the same time, it greatly improved their stage presentation. Decorating their clothes with images taken from pop art paintings (such as medals, targets, arrows and basic geometric shapes), the Who was to become one of the most colourful acts of the mid sixties. In designing their own performance wardrobe, they attracted the attention of the pop magazines who, admiring the group's constant graphic inventiveness, ran large features on the group on a regular basis.

Not only did their on-stage destruction of equipment reinforce the aggressive side of their image, it won them a cult following on both sides of the Atlantic. Due to the unpredictability of their stage act, it meant that the television cameras focused on the band as a whole, and not just concentrated on the lead singer. Richard Barnes makes the point that the Who's stage performance helped them enormously in Europe, where they did not



understand English, making the lyrics meaningless. Yet they could still relate to the power and loudness of the sound and the physical showmanship.

The transformation of the Who's image widened the group's following. Many teenagers outside London, the birthplace of the mod movement, saw the Who as the sole leaders of the cult and looked to them, via the group's media exposure, for their fashion ideas. The importance of the television show, 'Ready Steady Go' cannot be overlooked. 'Ready Steady Go' was among the pop-oriented programmes that challenged the lack-lustre format of the British pop shows that startled life in the fifties. Not only did it provide the latest happenings in the pop world, it kept the rest of the country in touch with the new trends and fashion ideas that were emerging from the capital. In this respect 'Ready Steady Go' was the ideal platform from which to sell an image.

According to Keith Moon, 'Ready Steady Go' and 'Top of the Pops' were the only two music programmes that treated "the band as a whole". Most of the TV shows in those days were only a couple of cameras, one trained on the front of the singer and the other getting a side shot of him, rarely was the rest of the band included in the coverage. The camera men must have found it rather difficult to ignore Townshend and Moon destroying their instruments.

Vicki Wickham, the producer of 'Ready Steady Go' said, "Of all the groups on 'RSG' the Who most typified what the show was all about. 'RSG' was instant pop music. It was every trend before it happened, and things came and went super-fast. It was about youth and their dreams and aspirations and had nothing to do with thinking about tomorrow...the Who was all of that".

Joining the army of British groups that invaded the American market - opened up by the Beatles - the Who failed to make any real impression on this, their first venture to the States. Charlesworth wrote that the band's image was wrong for America. "There were no mods in America and the teenage girls that screamed for the Dave Clarke Five saw few aesthetic attractions in a blonde thug, a scrawny guitarist with a big nose, a deadpan bass player and a bug-eyed drummer who was plainly off his rocker".

The indifference of their American record company, Decca, to the band's image and music did not further the band's cause. Realising that there was a craze for British bands, Decca decided that the excellent Dave Wedgebury photograph, on the cover of the



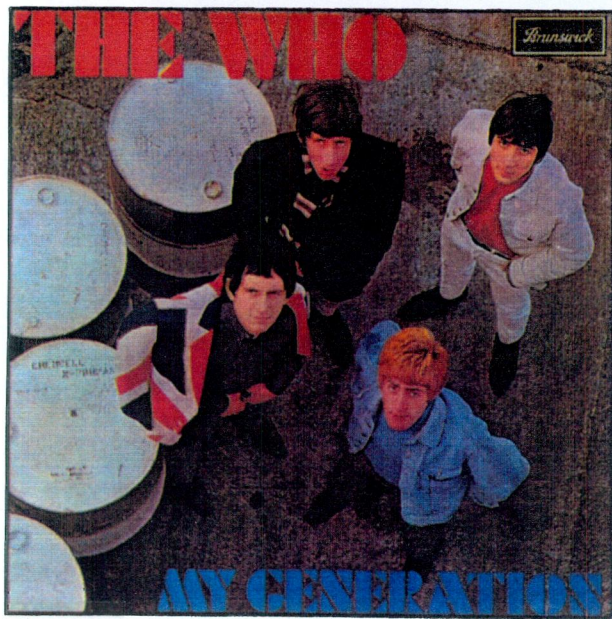


Fig I.17

Above:
'My Generation' (1965).

Right:
The Who (1965).



Fig I.18



Fig I.19

Above:
The different design for the American release.
'The Who Sings My Generation' (1966).

Right:
The on-stage destruction inspired
many of their poster designs of the seventies.

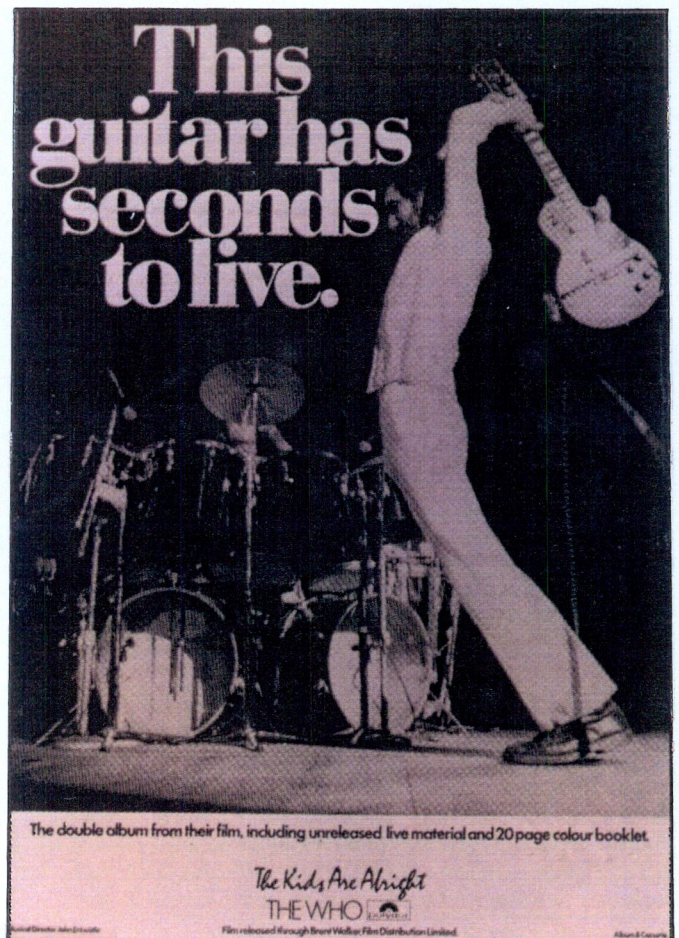
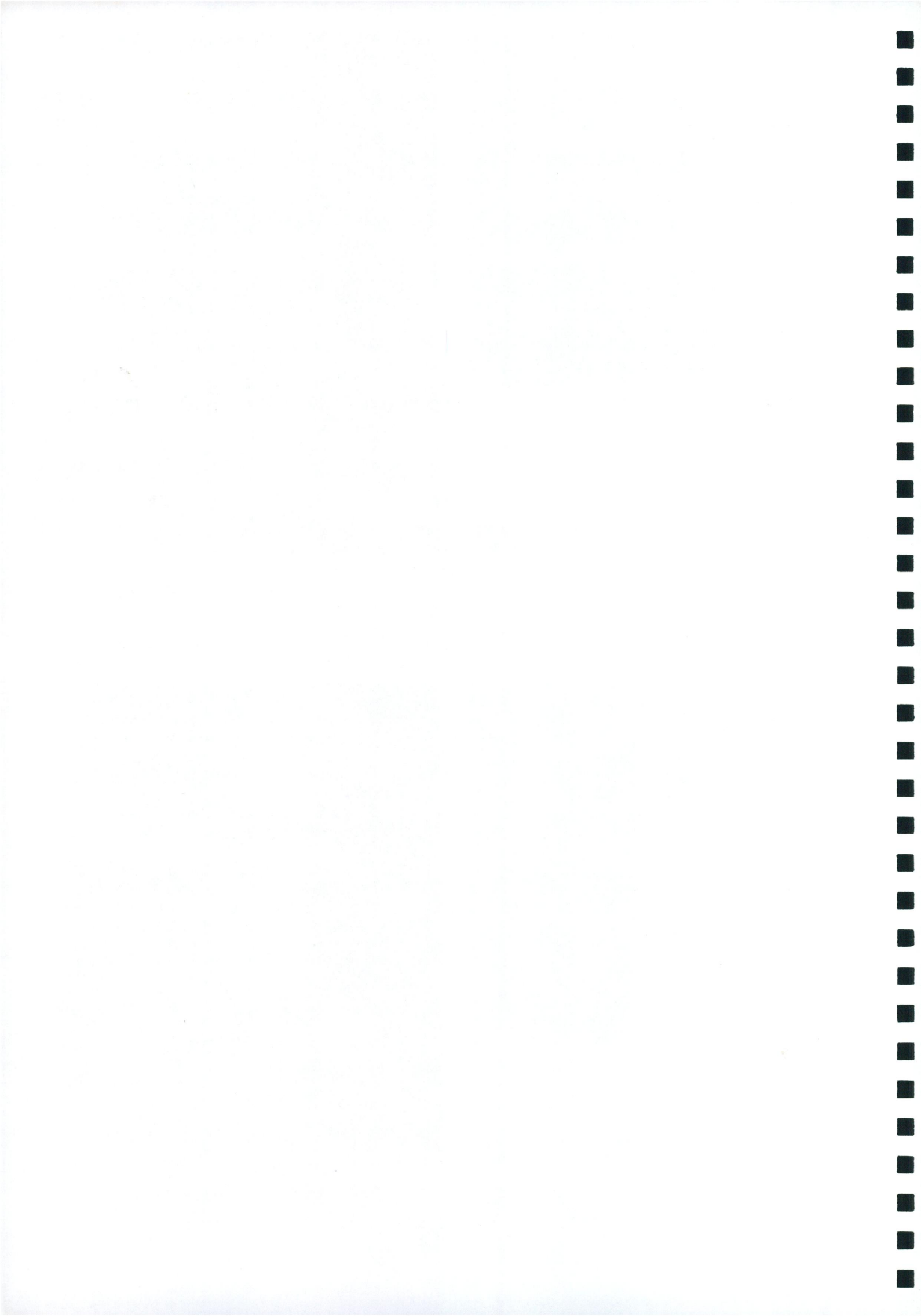


Fig I.20



'My Generation' album was not suitably British looking, they changed the design by using a photograph of the group standing below Big Ben. Also believing that there could be some confusion over the name of the band, they changed the title of the album to 'The Who Sings My Generation'.

The importance of this stage on the development of the Who's image was to be seen years later. Much of the group's paraphernalia marketed in the seventies and eighties was definitely inspired by the group's pop art phase. Although the transition period between the strict mod image to a pop art one was relatively short, the Who were reluctant to leave their pop art image behind as they progressed into the maturing late sixties, when the music of a band was considered more important than its appearance.

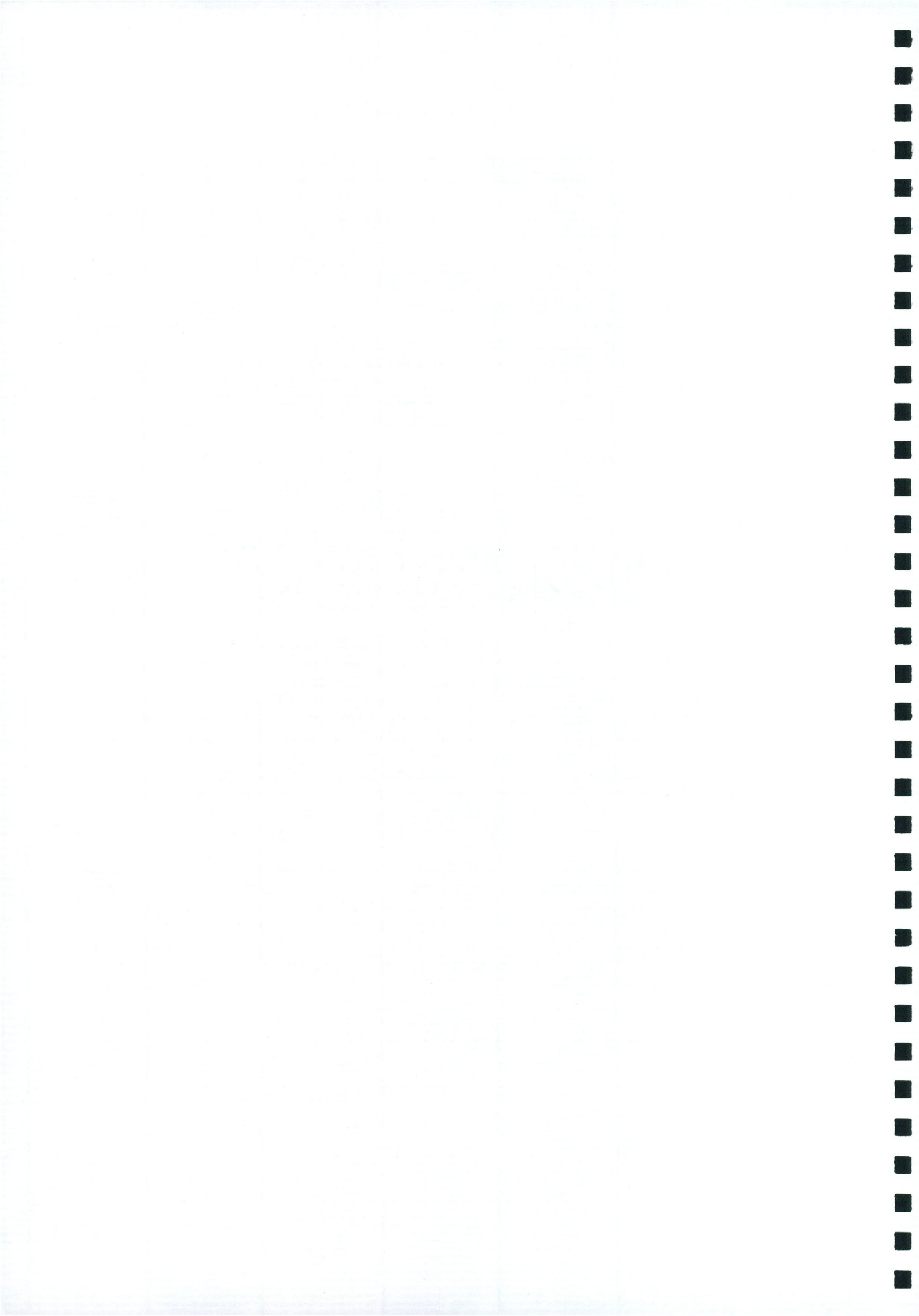
(D) The Who (1967)

By 1967, the Who was in a rut. 'Ready Steady Go' was gone from the air and the mod movement had collapsed. The band suddenly found itself without a concrete image and a musical direction to follow. The biggest single factor that determined the Who's radical move away from their pop art image, was the shift in attitudes of the entire pop music industry. Almost overnight, what was considered trivial pop music became serious rock music.

It was the release of the Beatles' "Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band" album that led the way for the new underground groups such as Pink Floyd, Cream and the Jimi Hendrix Experience, to prove that rock could be taken seriously as art. The Who's image, such as it was, fitted into no obvious category. They were neither pop nor underground. Marsh wrote that the Who found it hard to compete with the new underground groups, like Cream and Hendrix. According to Marsh, Cream and Hendrix, "were associated with two things at which the Who were never very proficient: the blues and psychedelic drugs", which were the rage of London's underground for the next few years.

The Who was not handled in a way that ensured that their image matured along with their music. For the best part of 1967, the Who's management spread rumours pertaining to plans for a Who TV show, a weekly comic, dolls, breakable guitars and toffee crunch bars. This kind of exploitation hurt the band's credentials when the better represented underground bands avoided such crassly commercial associations.

Marsh wrote that the group paid a price for all its brashness and humour at a time when musicians had to be, or at least, appear



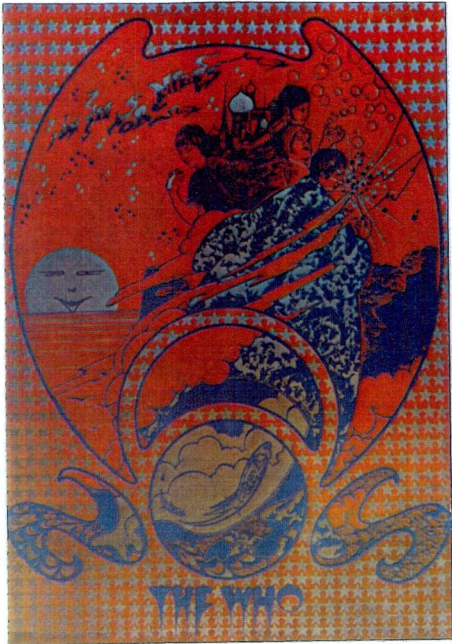


Fig I.21



Fig I.22

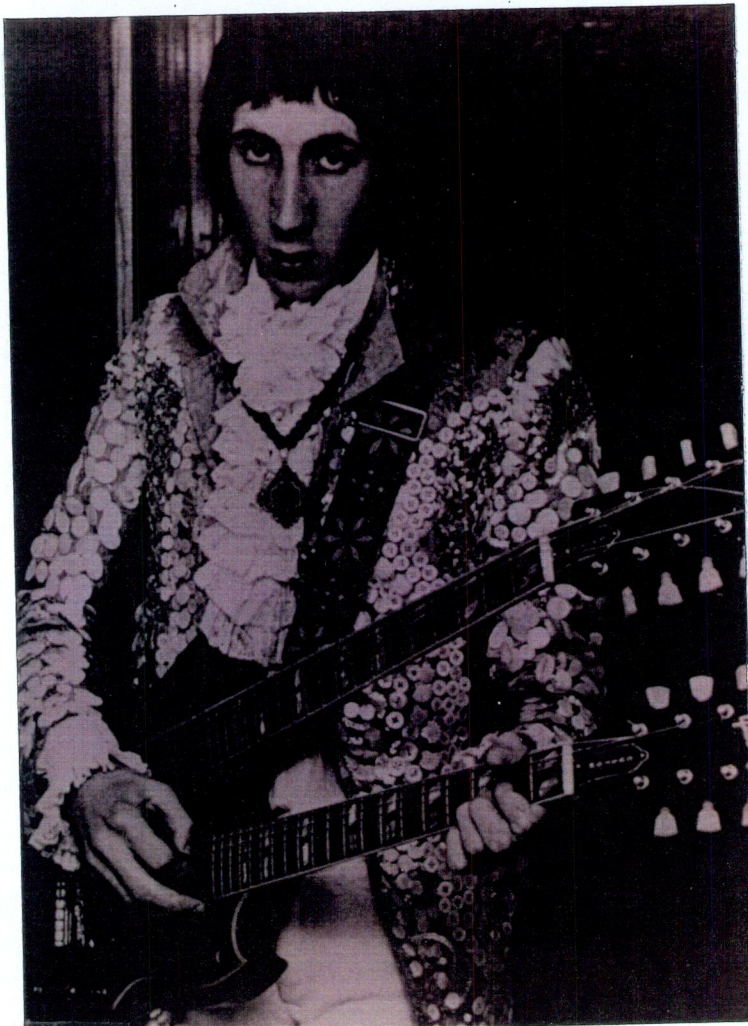


Fig I.23

Above left: Promotional poster for 'I Can See For Miles' (1967) .

Above right: The Who (1967) .

Left: Pete Townshend (1967) .



o to be sincere. "The pop press and the rock audience grew more sophisticated but still saw image-mongering as gross, without much sense of the nuance and subtlety that were the Who's greatest virtues. This led to a distorted impression of the band as go-for-the-bucks lightweights, especially in England. The distorted impression that such a frivolous group could not possibly create anything resembling art is a problem that obviously stems from a general misapprehension of what art is. Still, being treated as a toy by their business representatives did the Who no good".

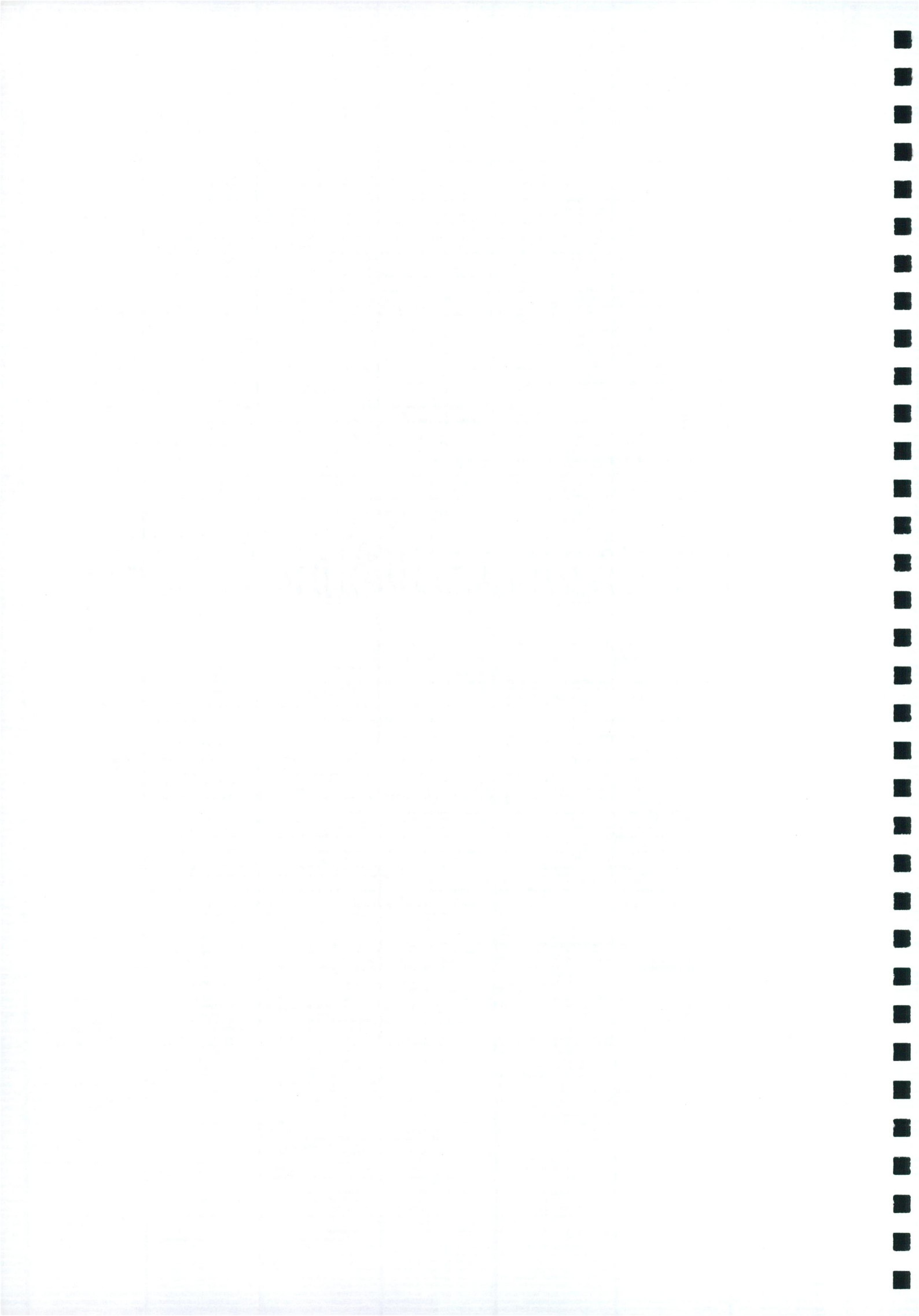
The obvious question is, how did this new climate effect the Who's image? It was almost a case of peer-pressure that pushed the band into it's brief psychedelic look. In the promotional photographs that followed, the band looked suitably uncomfortable wearing lace ruffles, silk ponchos, Indian shirts and fringed capes. Townshend, who was fascinated by the San Francisco flower-power scene, had written a LSD inspired song called 'I Can See For Miles' in 1966. Barnes argues that the band could have released this song before, and not during the psychedelic era.

II "I'd thought how the Who would have had an early psychedelic record and been ahead of the growing trend. When it didn't come out until late 1967, I was surprised. It was as though they had followed the movement in Britain for psychedelic-sounding singles".

(E) The Who (1967 - 1969)

Believing that there was no point in competing with the other psychedelic groups, who did seem to have a better understanding of the trend, the Who reverted back to their pop art image. 1967 was the year of the 'concept' album with releases from the Beatles, Jimi Hendrix and Pink Floyd. The Who's first serious venture into this field came with the release of 'The Who Sell Out'. Although the band had disowned pop art the previous year, they produced a truly pop art album. The songs, a strange mix of ballads and melodies, are all linked together by advertising jingles used by the pirate commercial radio station, Radio London. It was an admirable tribute to the important pirate radio stations that were outlawed by the government in 1967, it also gave the Who back some of it's lost credibility.

Shedding their medals and targets, the Who had now a more refined image. The band wore simple shirts and jeans as they concentrated on their live act, rather than on their image. It was through this tough, gruelling tour of America and Australia that the Who gained back it's confidence. They won praise from the music press by releasing the Rolling Stones' song 'The Last





Right:
The Who (1967) .

Middle:
The Who on Australian TV (1968) .

Bottom:
Performing 'Pinball
Wizard' on 'Top of the Pops' (1969) .

Fig I.24

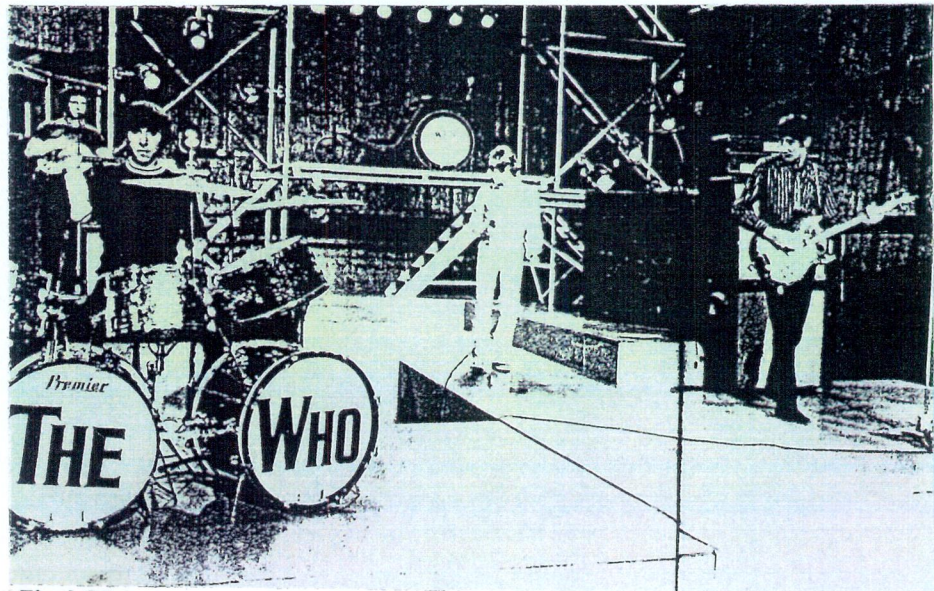
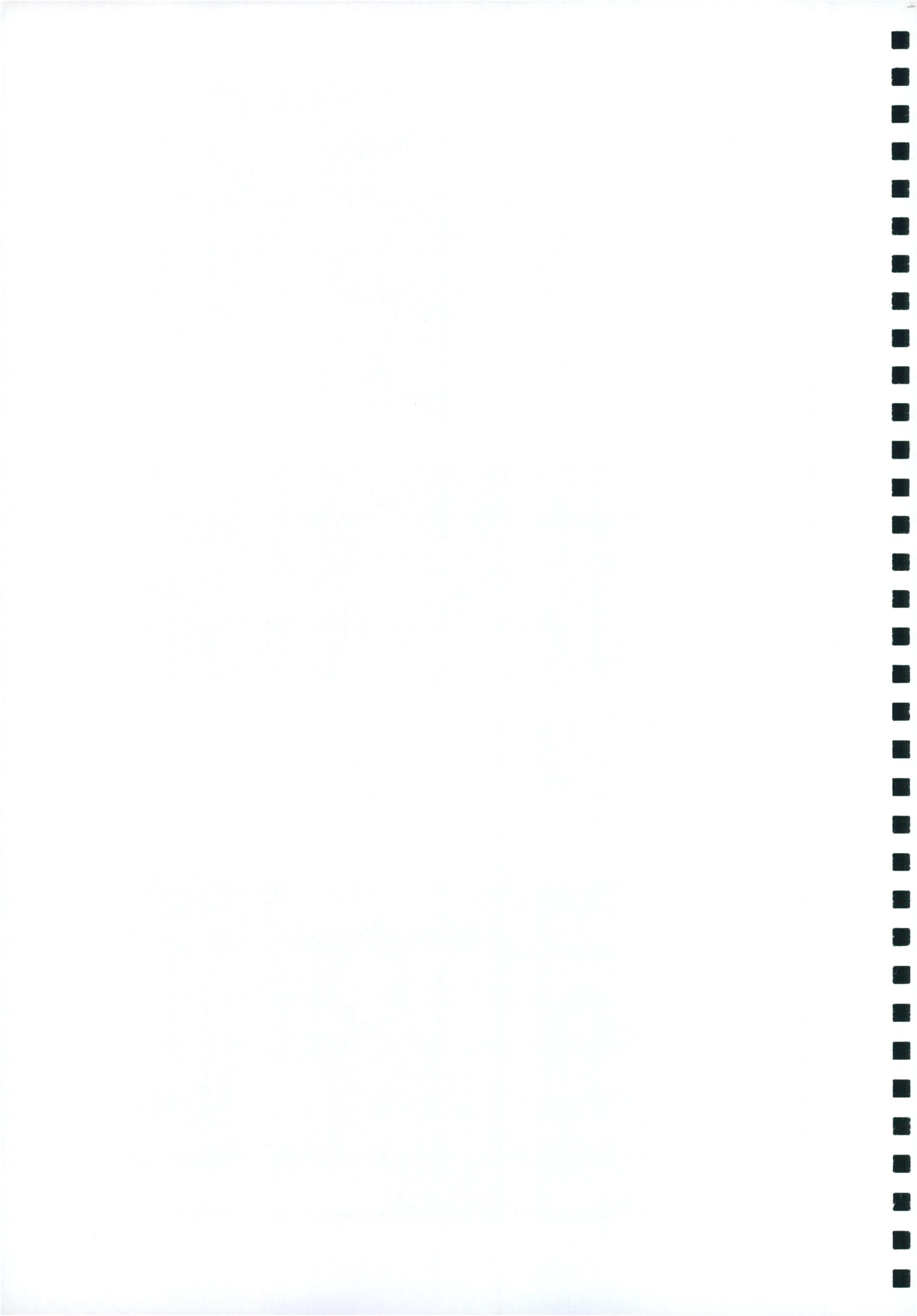


Fig I.25



Fig I.26



Time' as a gesture of support for the incarcerated Mick Jagger and Keith Richard, both arrested for drug offences.

Not only did the song reflect the growing camaraderie within London's rock community, it was the last in a series of controversial singles that helped keep the Who in the news. Dealing with such taboo subjects as tranvestisism ('I'm a Boy') and masturbation ('Pictures of Lily'), the Who had moved past the ranks of gimmicky pop groups, and began to foster an image as one of the most successfully adventurous groups on the rock scene.

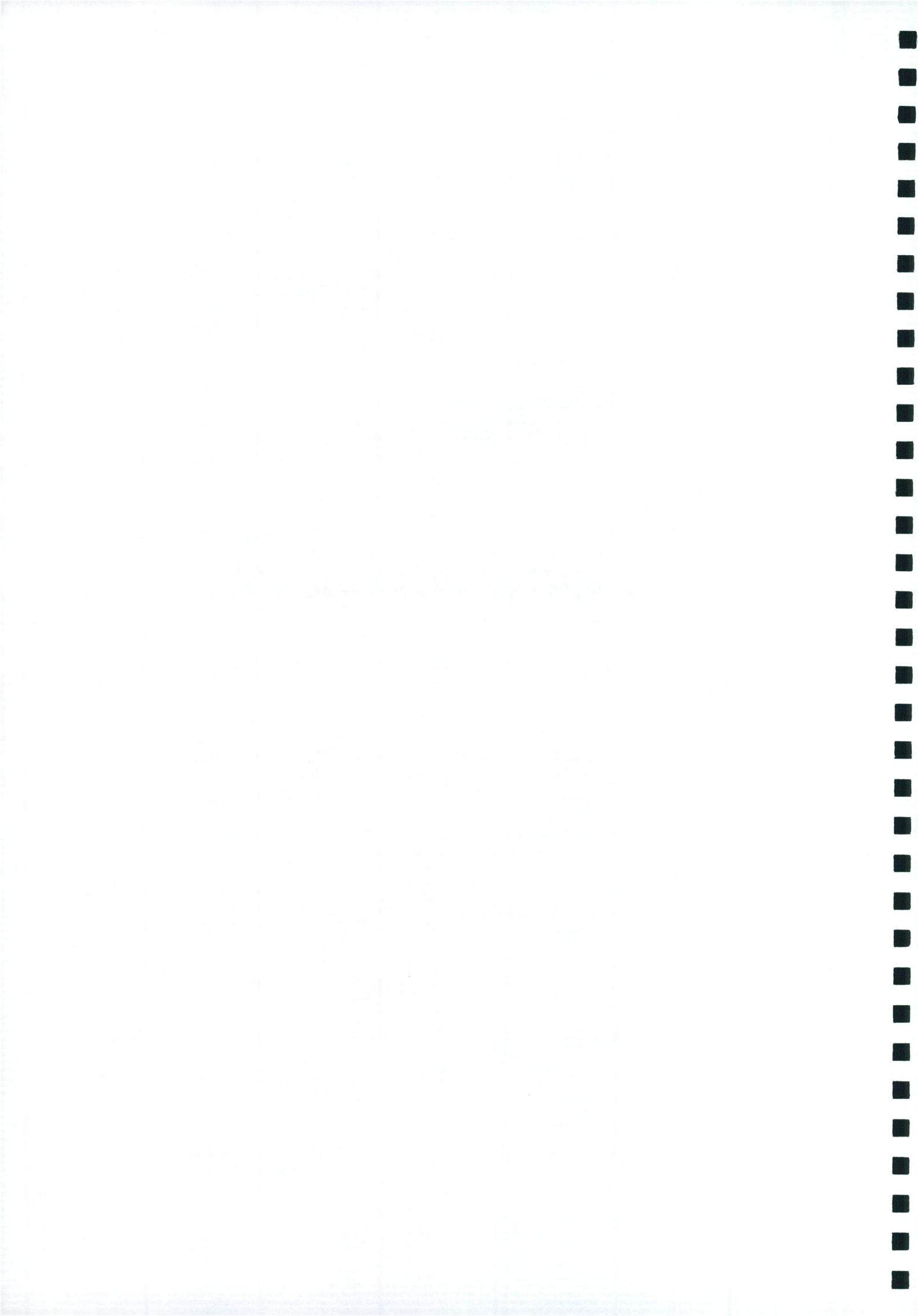
(F) The Who (1969 - 1978)

As we have seen, up until the advent of 'Tommy', the image of the group depended entirely on what trend they decided to follow. From the Beatles-like uniformity of their dance band look to the confused flamboyance of their psychedelic phase the Who relied on an image or a trend that was, ultimately, created by someone else. It could be argued that they created the 'pop art' look but, as we know, they did not play any part in the creation of the pop art movement. On the other hand, the Who were remarkably successful in concealing the origins of many of the trends that they followed, and hoodwinked many into believing that they themselves were the sole originators of many of their styles. It was the Who's instinctive understanding of the necessity to establish a distinct personae in post-Beatles rock that kept them from falling by the wayside. Their individual quirks were only effective if they added up to one fascinating whole - and this came with 'Tommy'.

Inspired by the spiritual teachings of Meher Baba, the Indian guru, Townshend set about writing a 'rock opera'. 'Tommy' was Townshend's most ambitious work to date. The strength of the music made up for the vague storyline concerning a deaf, dumb and blind boy who communicates through vibrations. He becomes a pinball champion and eventually a spiritual leader. It was hailed as a masterpiece on it's release in 1969 and catapulted the Who into instant stardom.

For 'Tommy', the Who radically changed it's visual image. When they performed their ninety minute set Daltrey became 'Tommy'. Wearing a fringed buckskin jacket and with his long curly blonde hair Daltrey created the archetypal macho rock singer much copied during the seventies. His stage personality was compared to the Doors' Jim Morrison as it was easily identifiable, and most aggressively sexual.

Townshend, whose stage gymnastics became a vital part of the



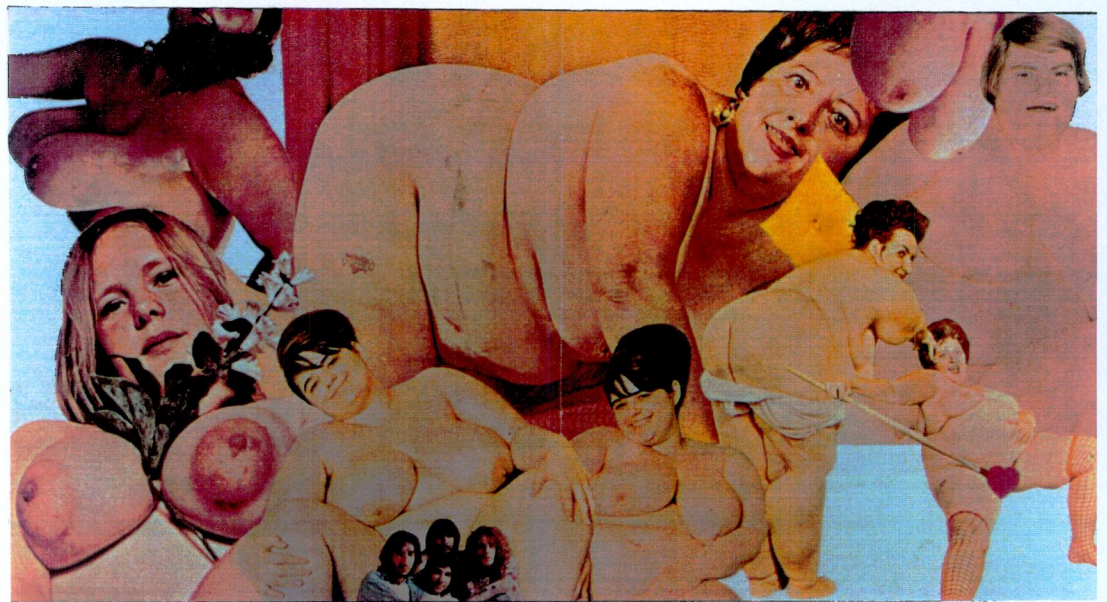


Fig 1.27

The Who's deliberate use of controversial, and shocking imagery ensured that they were never far from the headlines in the music press .

Above: The original design for the album sleeve of 'Who's Next' (1971) , it was dropped after one use in an advertisement .

Below left: The advertisement for 'Pictures Of Lily' (1967) caused some controversy .

Below right: Daltrey poses for the infamous 'The Who Sell Out' (1967) album sleeve . WMCA Radio in New York banned the album .



Fig 1.28



Fig 1.29



visual presentation of the group, opted to wear a white boiler suit and Dr. Martin boots for practical reasons (the loose fit hid the protective knee pads). Enwistle, the stolid bassist, had a number of leather outfits made for him, while Moon adopted the athletic all-white look which, in years to come, hid the truth of his deteriorating physical condition

It became fashionable amongst the avant-garde, and the young pseudo-intelligentsia of the day to be able to talk about 'Tommy'. Ultimately, 'Tommy' was regarded as a quasi-cultural event, much like the arrival of 'Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band'. The commercial success of the album did, however, divide the press. The serious press to the opera line too far, while others accused the Who of losing the spirit of it's music through ostentitious marketing.

Nevertheless, 'Tommy' had enabled the Who to find itself. Freed from the constraints of an adopted style, the Who was in the enviable position of having it's own distinct image, enabling the group to progress creatively at it's own set pace. During the seventies, the group developed two different images, one for their record releases and the other for their live act.

'Live at Leeds' (1970) was deliberately designed to resemble a bootlegged album. Printed in plain brown paper, it gave the fans the impression that they were getting something that they should not be getting. 'Who's Next' (1971) depicted the band urinating up against a giant plinth, not unlike the one used in Stanley Kubrick's 1968 film, '2001: A Space Odyssey'. It was as if the Who was ridiculing the pretentiousness and pompousness of high art, and their own venture into that field, i.e. 'Tommy'.

'Quadrophenia' (1973) was Townshend's second rock opera. It was an ambitious attempt to kill the Who's links with the mod cult and, at the same time, say something about the four personalities that existed within the band. Instead of distancing the group from the mod stigma, it enhanced and confirmed the fact. The cover, depicting the hero, Jimmy, sitting moodily on his Vespa, caught the imagination of ex-mods, and reinforced the group's image - as a serious, conceptual rock band.

'Odds and Sods' (1974) and 'The Who by Numbers' (1975) were standard rock albums, typical of the period. In hindsight, the covers of both records represented the blandness and unimaginative nature of a maturing rock band in the mid seventies. 'Odds and Sods' had the band wearing American football helmets that spelt 'ROCK'. The band's bass player, John

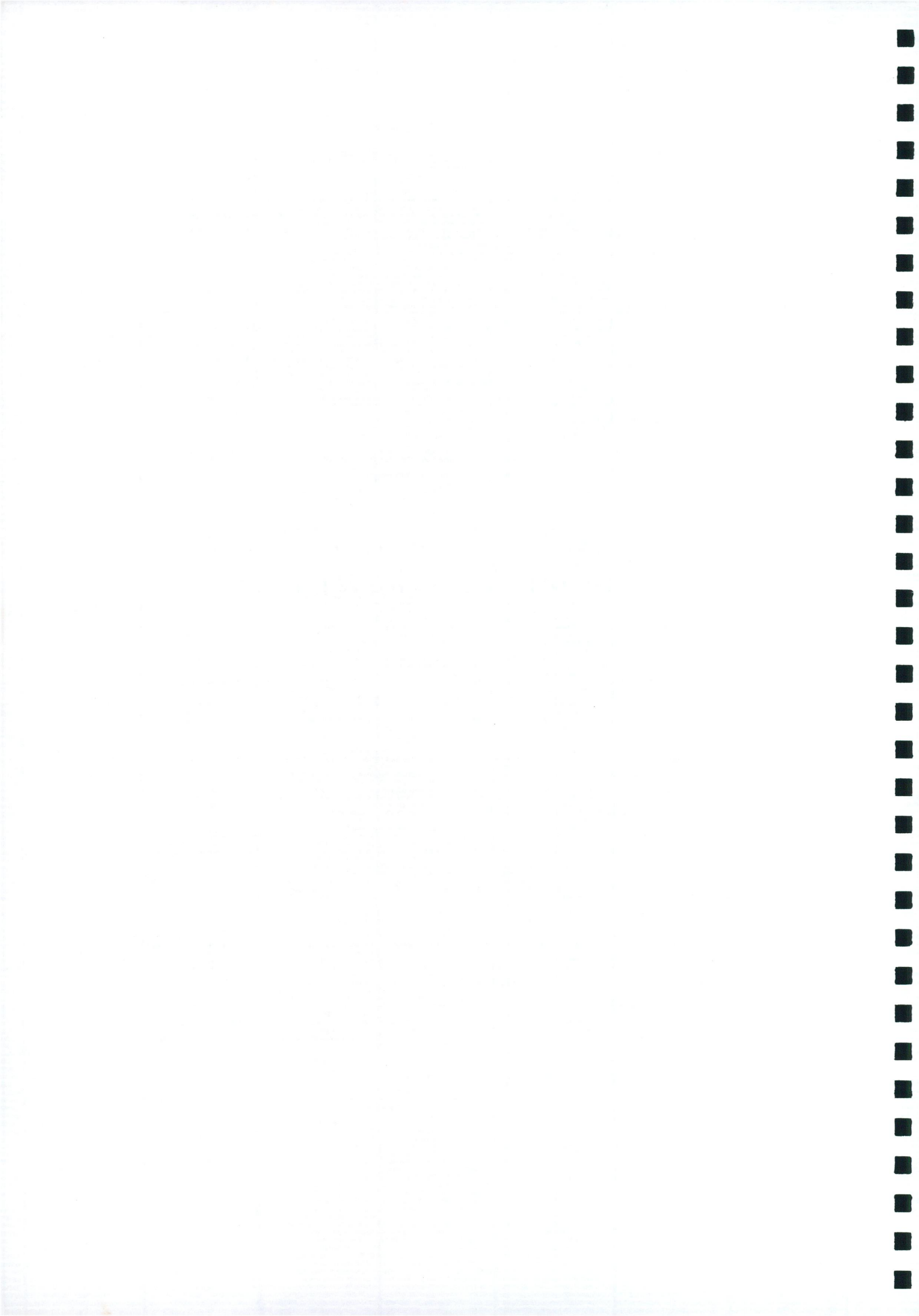




Fig I.30

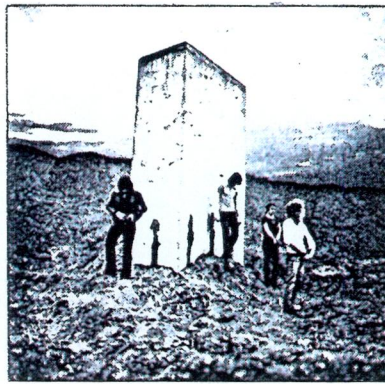


Fig I.31



Fig I.32

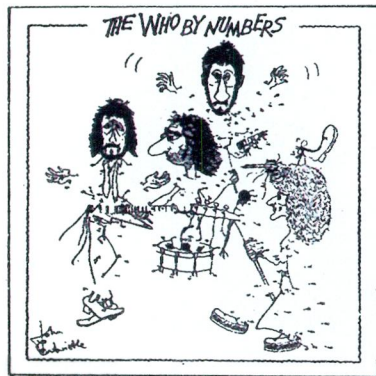


Fig I.33



Fig I.34

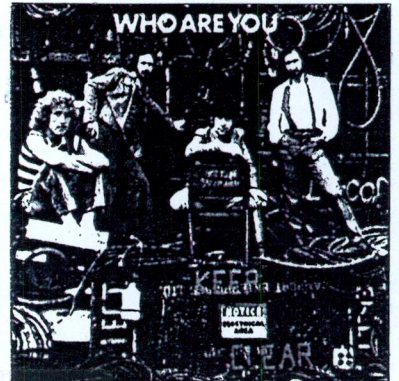


Fig I.35

Top row (from left to right) : 'Live At Leeds' (1970) ,
'Who's Next' (1971) , 'Quadrophenia' (1973) .

Middle row (from left to right) : 'The Who By Numbers' (1975) ,
'Odds And Sods' (1974) , 'Who Are You' (1978) .

Below: Promotional poster for 'Tommy' (1968) .

12 page book in colour

TOMMY **24** twenty four tracks

Written by **PETE TOWNSHEND**

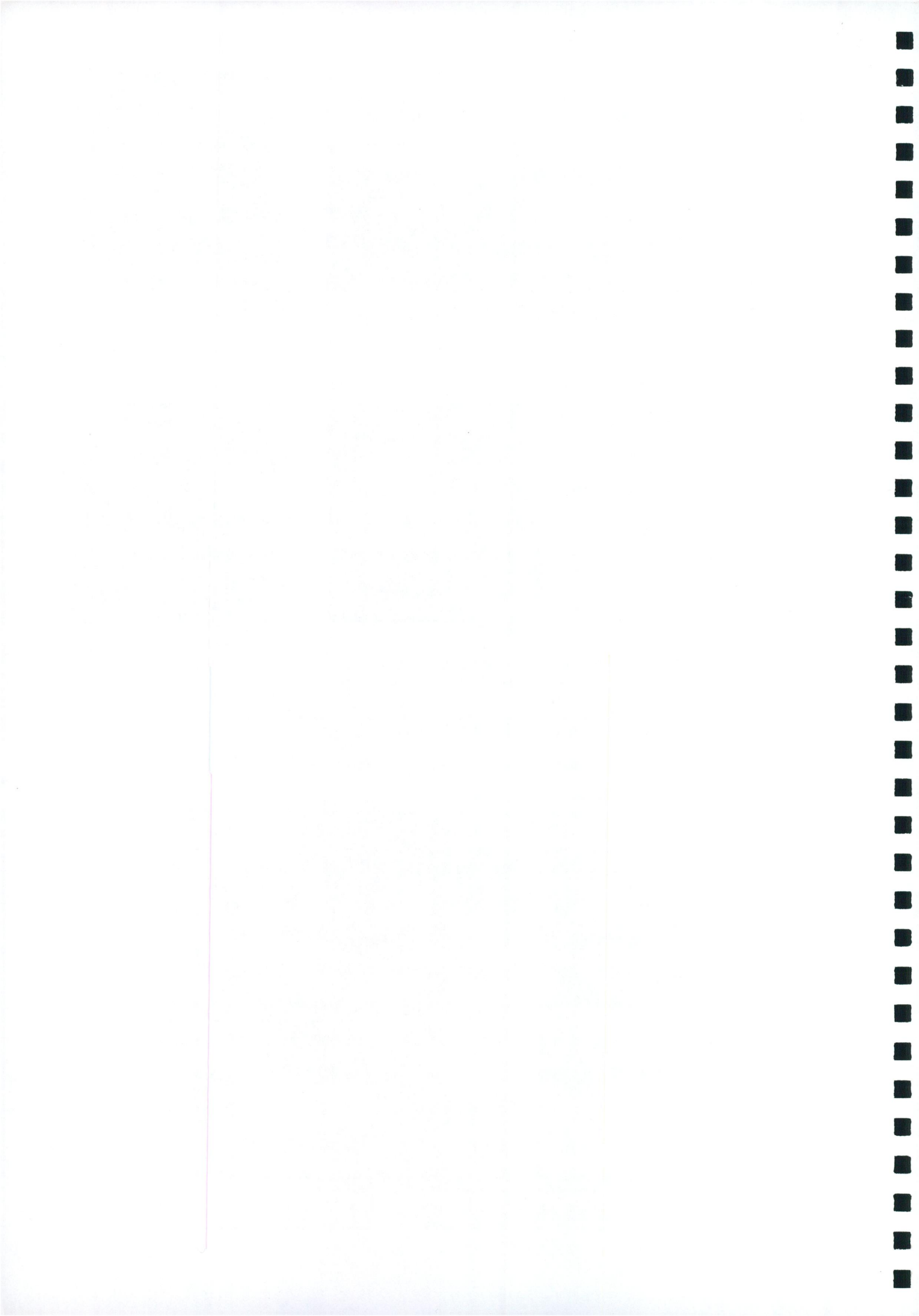
TRIPTYCH COVER BY **THE WHO** COUNT THEM

Deaf Dumb and blind boy
He's in a quiet vibration land
Strange as it seems his musical
Ain't quite so bad. dreams

Sickness will surely take the
Where minds can't usually go.
Come on the amazing journey
And learn all you should know.

A DOUBLE ALBUM **ON TRACK RECORDS**

Fig I.36



Entwistle, supplied the rather simple caricatures for the sleeve of 'The Who By Numbers'.

'Who Are You' (1978) continued the trend of the Who's mediocre album cover design. It was Keith Moon's last album with the Who, and much was made of the fact that he was sitting of a chair, marked 'not to be taken away'. Undoubtedly, from a graphic design standpoint, the album covers definitely deteriorated but, this was hardly surprising at a time when big rock bands like the Who tended to sell concert tickets in far greater numbers than records.

The Who's image changed greatly on their tour posters from the same period. The posters designs from the early seventies were very striking in design and colour. The Who used such strong imagery as electrical symbols, demons and skulls, Roy Lichtenstein prints and imaginary beasts to portray the dynamism and aggressive power of their stage act.

The recurrence of targets and arrows reflected the growing interest in the Who's past and, as a reaction to the mod revival in 1979. The Who were sold as an aggressive, masculine rock band, with a sense of purpose and humour.

(G) The Who (1979 -)

The death of Keith Moon was the turning point in the history of the band. Charlesworth wrote that Moon's death "opened the door to the Who's future by allowing them a freedom to experiment which might have not otherwise been possible". Although Kenny Jones, the replacement drummer, was a competent musician, the Who were no longer the band that people had grown to know. Realising that the band would have to make a fresh start, the promotional men behind the scenes set about selling the 'new' Who.

The group realised that they needed a hit record to prove that the spirit of the Who was still intact. For 'Face Dances' (1981), the group commissioned sixteen artists, including David Hockney, Peter Blake and Bill Jacklin, to paint portraits for the album's sleeve. Not only did it demonstrate the financial wealth of the group, it showed the desperation of the marketing men in getting the new image across. Unfortunately, the record did not achieve the same level of success of previous Who albums.

o Marsh wrote that the Who was "split between it's two incarnations - with Moon and without him, with ideals and without them - the new version of the band was musically schizoid, presenting one sound onstage, where the old repertoire dominated,



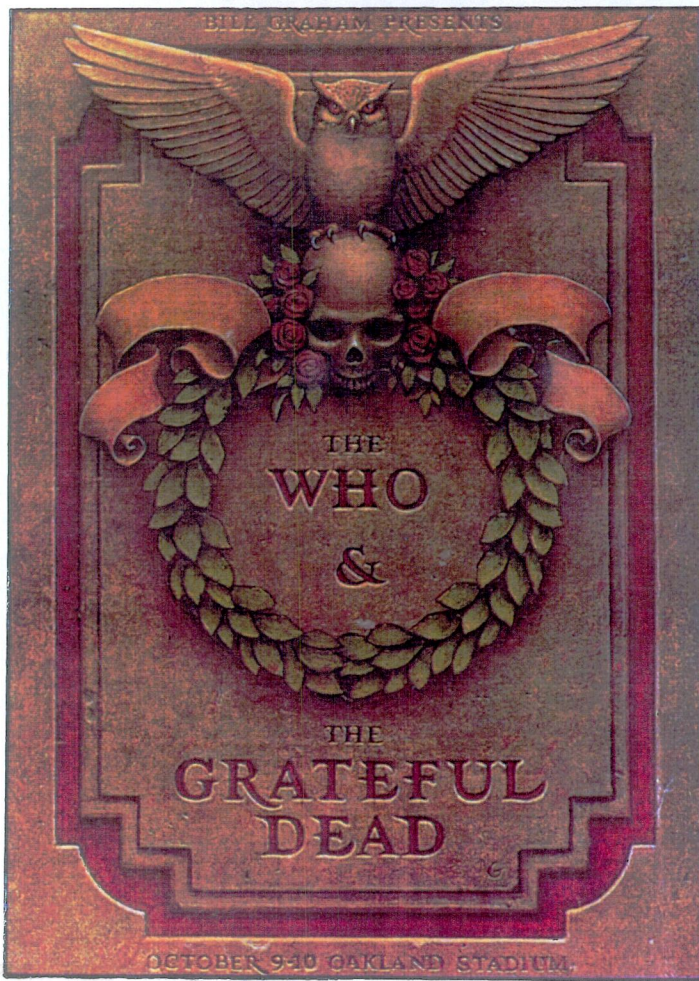


Fig 1.37

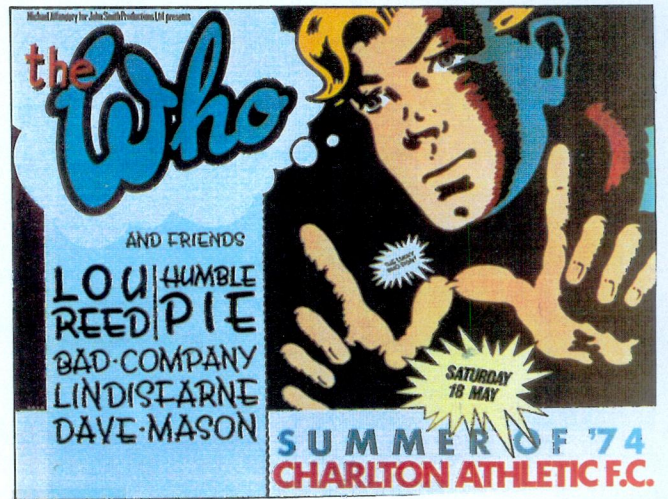


Fig 1.38

This page: A selection of tour posters from the seventies .

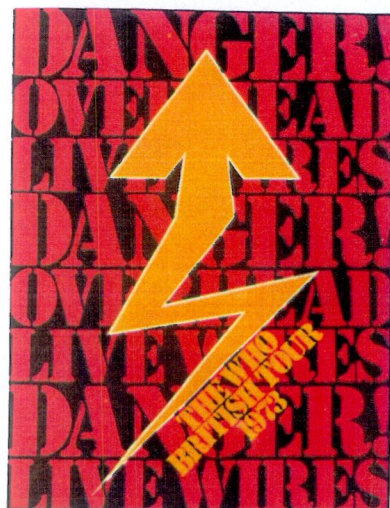


Fig 1.39

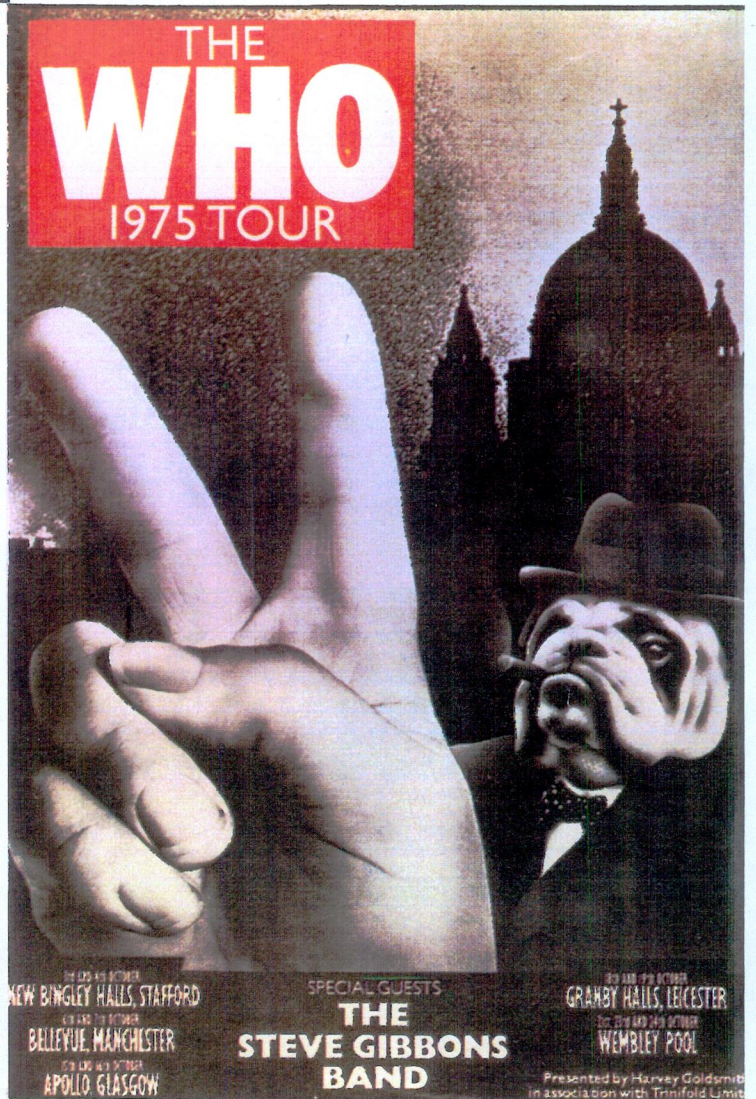
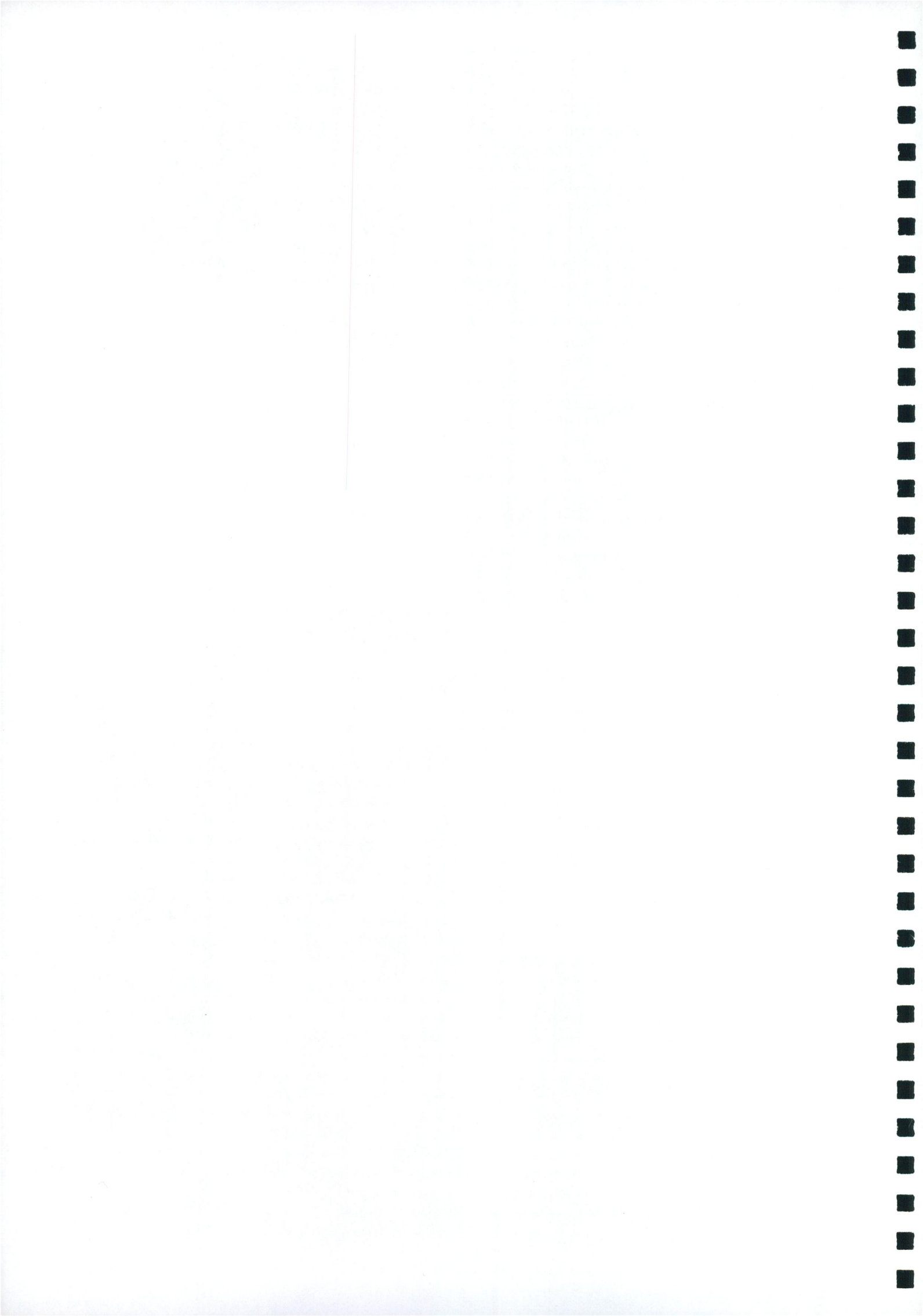
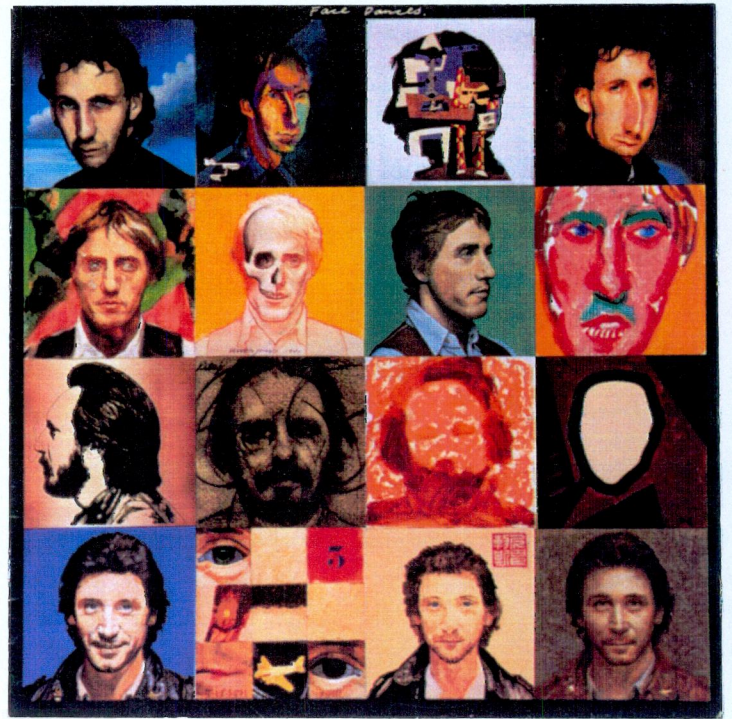


Fig 1.40





Right:
'Face Dances' (1980) .

Bottom left:
Time magazine (1979) .

Bottom right:
The first photo session
of the 'new Who' (1979) .

Fig I.41

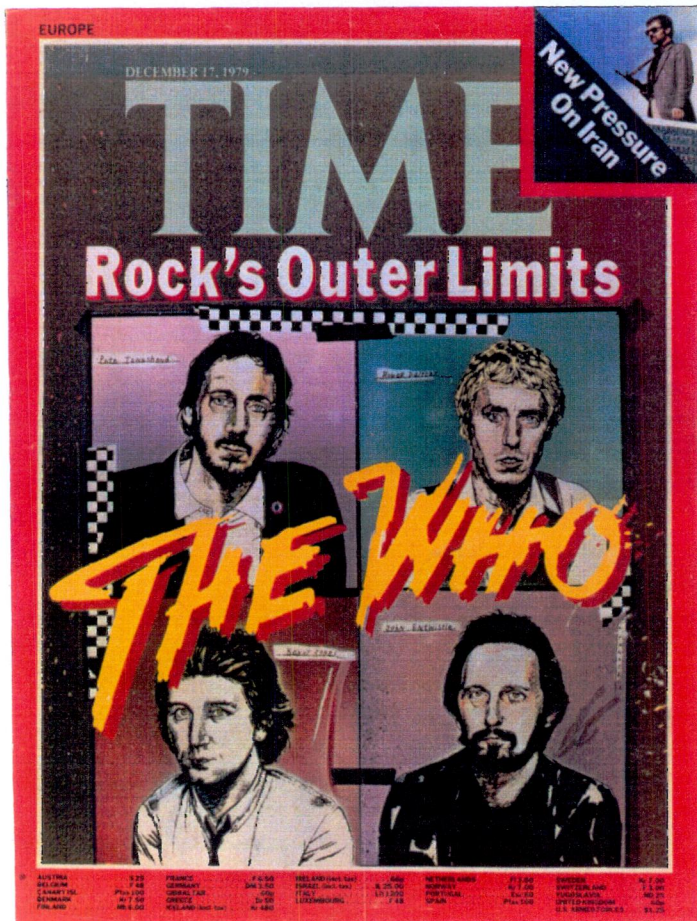
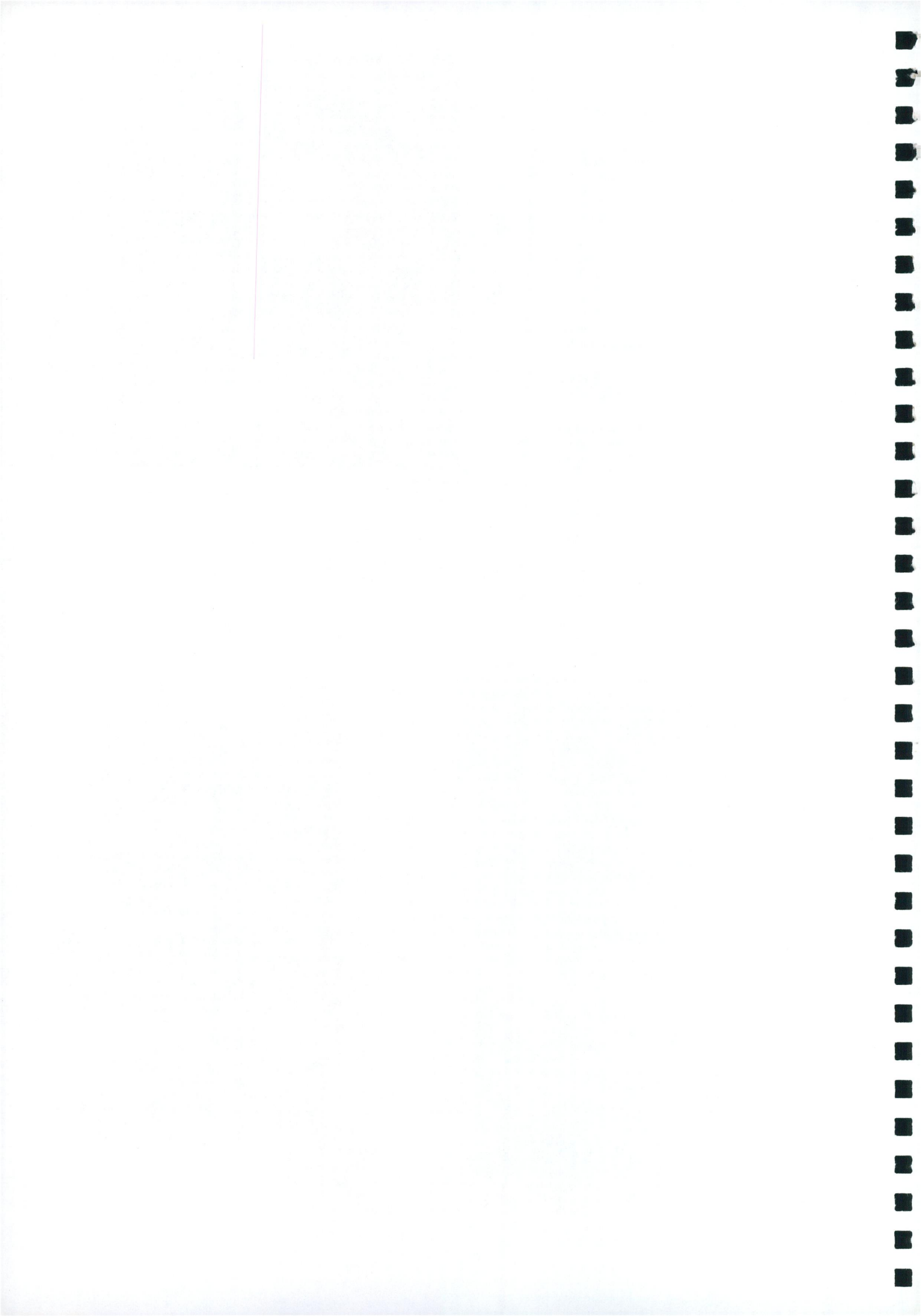


Fig I.42



Fig I.43



but quite another on record".

It was with these problems that the Who embarked on it's 1982 Farewell Tour. The audience wanted to see the Who as they remembered them from the sixties and seventies. The band had lost itself and, with that, it's image. It had gotten to the stage when the band no longer functioned as a group but more like an old record trying to sound fresh. The image of the Who no longer mattered as the group had become a living memory.

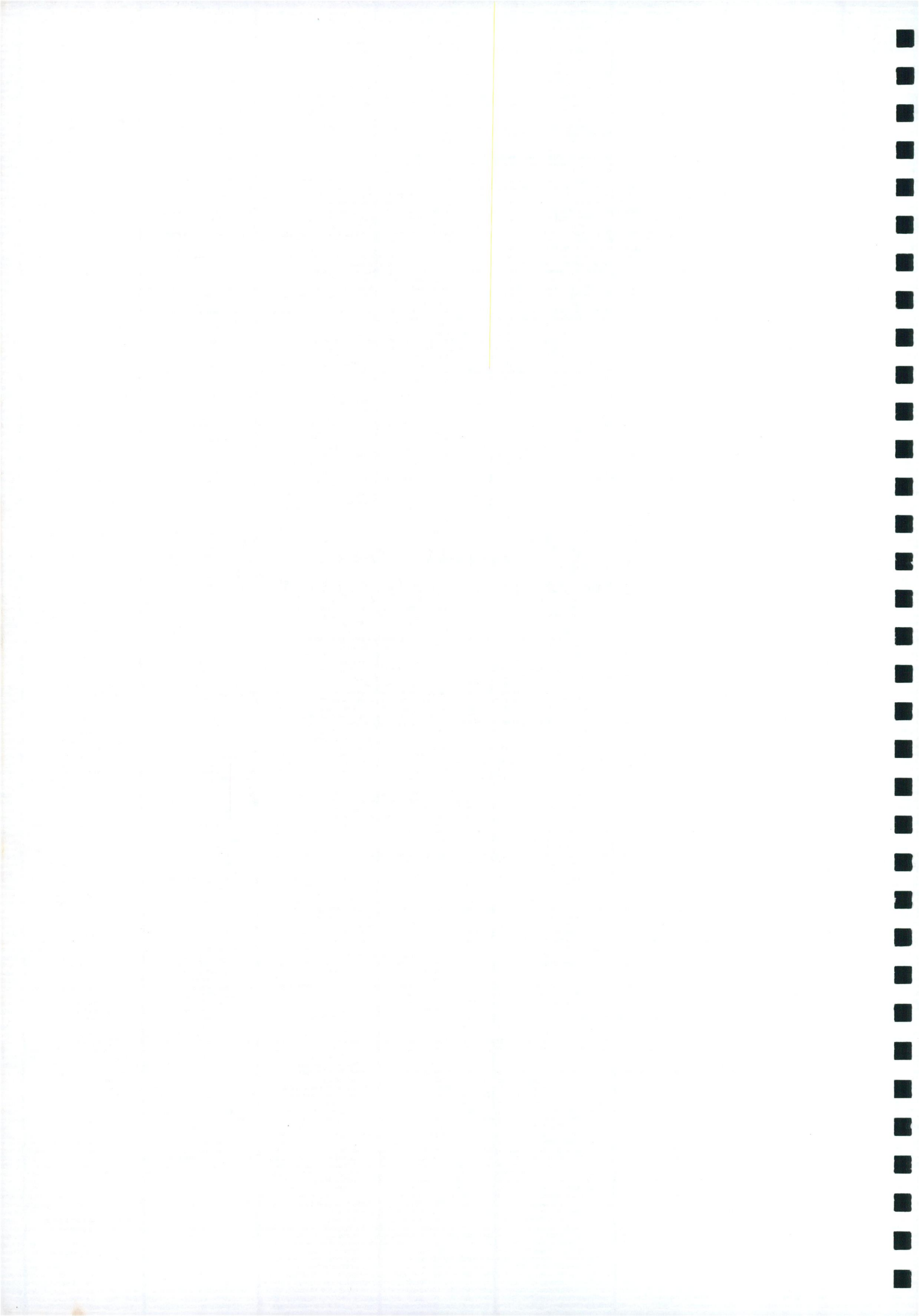




Fig 1.44

Above: A press conference during their 1982 Farewell Tour (note the beer company who sponsored the tour).

Below: New York (1982).

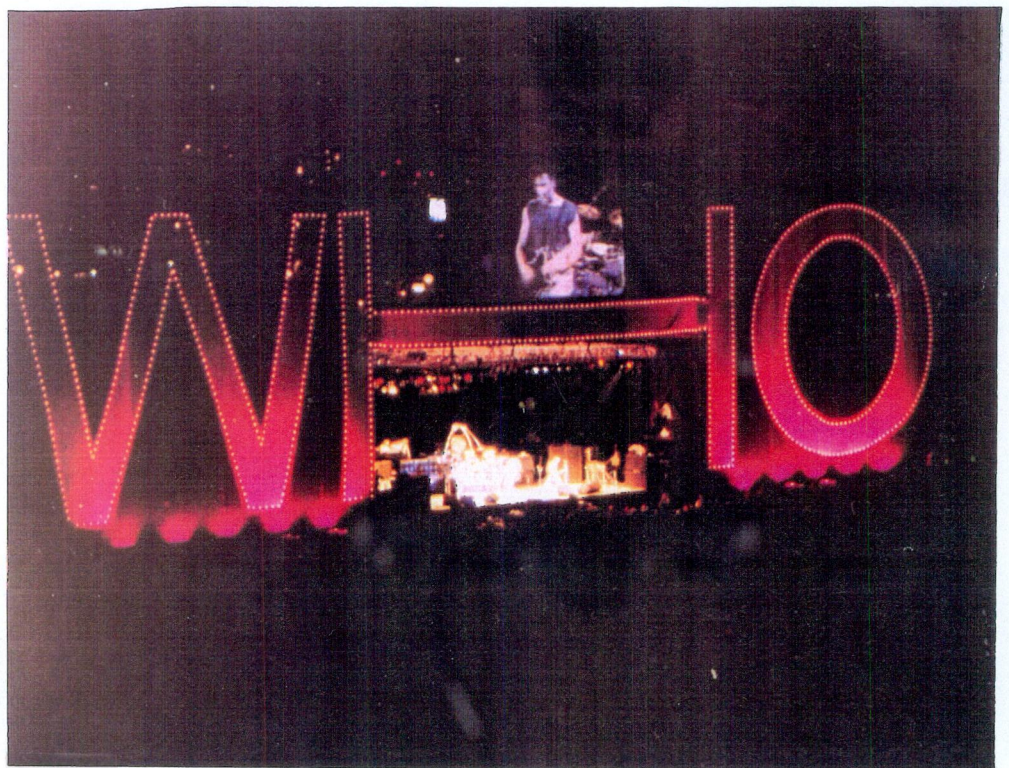
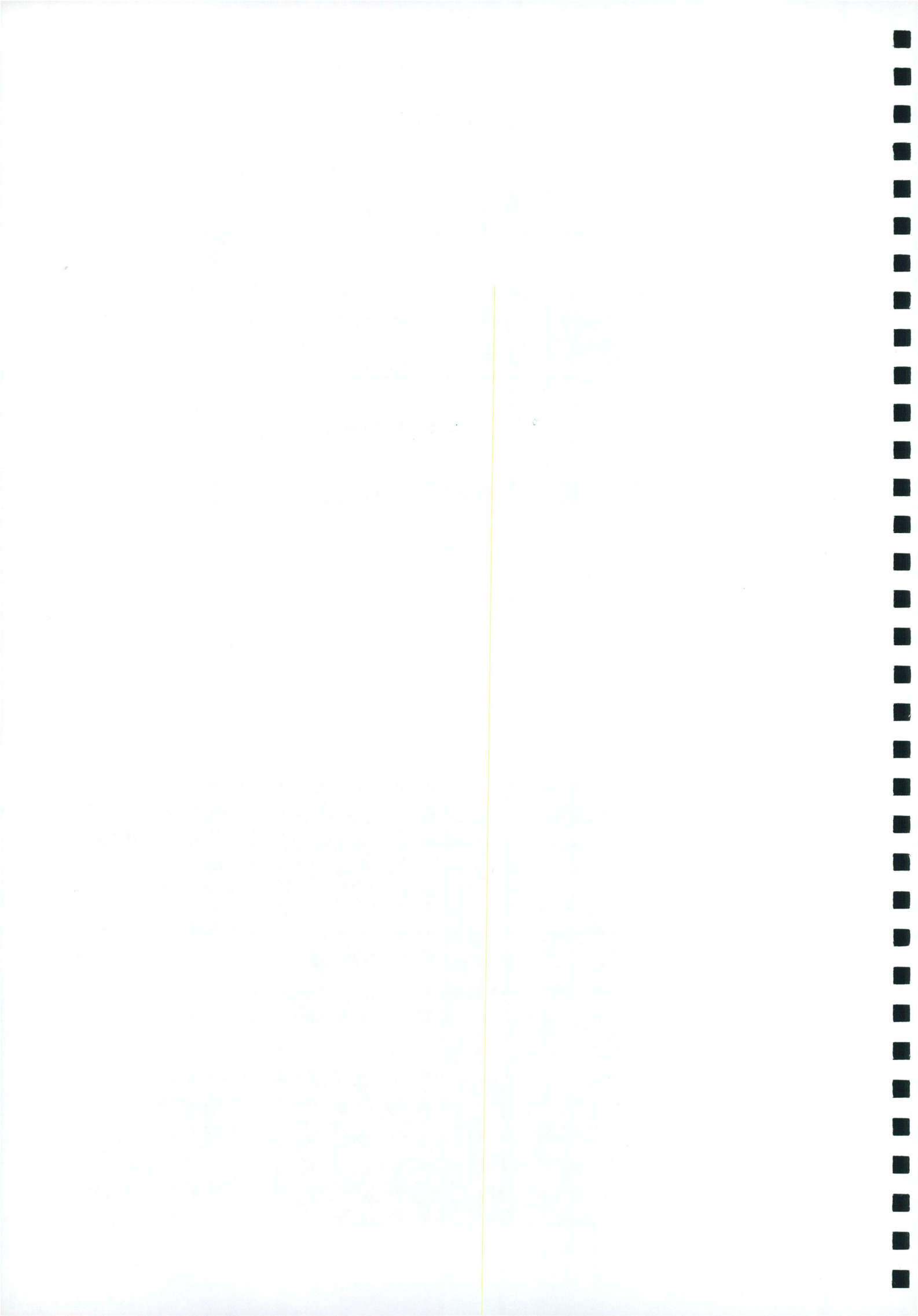
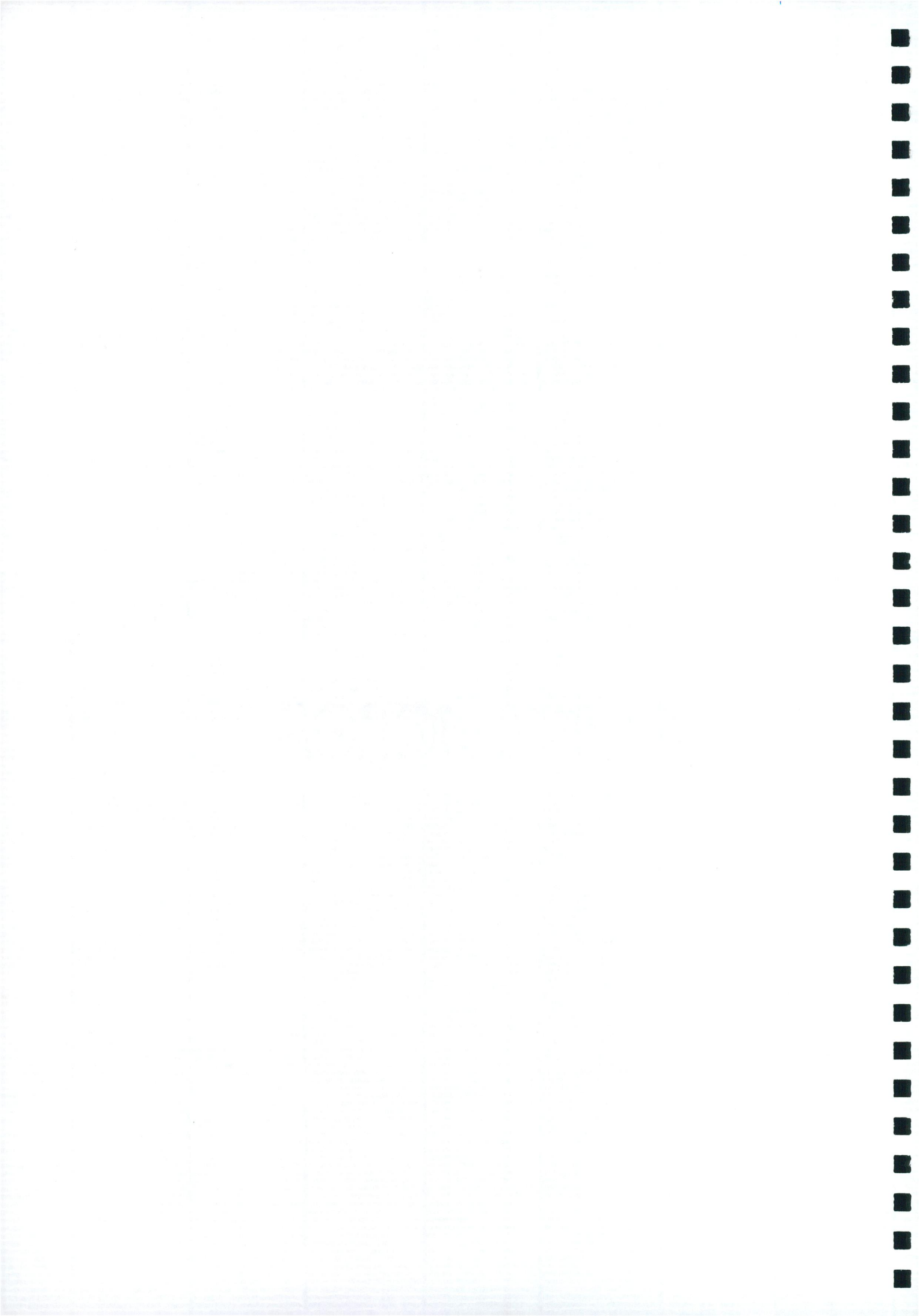


Fig 1.45



conclusion



Overall, we can see that there were a number of basic factors which played important roles in the moulding of the band's perpetual image of an exciting, aggressive and inventive rock band. Most importantly, it was their willingness to take risks from the very start that kept the band's determination alive. They displayed their adventurous nature in dropping the potential of their pop art persona, and in taking on the daunting challenge of a rock opera. On both occasions, it was a combination of luck and ambition, coupled with precision timing that accounted for the band's success.

Of course it could be argued that it was their vibrant stage act that played the biggest part in the construction of the Who's image. Their stage act was a gimmick, but it worked. Although some believed Townshend's explanations that it was all about art, the establishment saw them as mindless acts of violence that should not be encouraged. The Who won the support of rebelliously minded teenagers and similarly minded members of the avant-garde. They became household names, creating an indelible image in the minds of those who witness~~ed~~ their savage acts of aggression on expensive musical instruments.

There are other less immediate factors. Townshend's spell at art college where he was exposed to pop art and auto destructive art and, of course, his gifted songwriting ability had the greatest influence on the band's visual and musical direction.

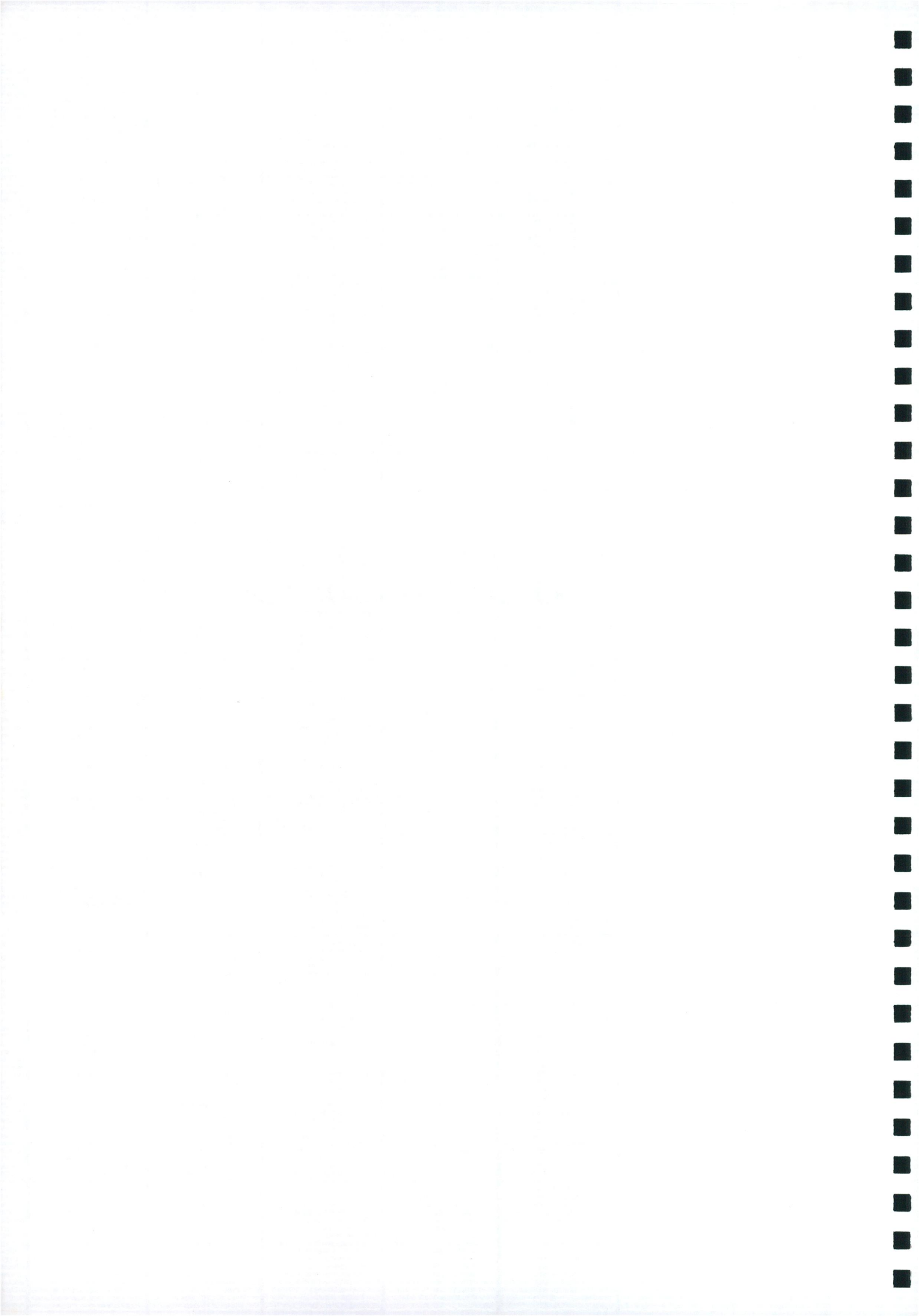
As we have seen, the three most influential individuals who inspired, encouraged and shaped the band, were all managers of the Who. Pete Meaden's role in introducing the band to the transcendental world of mods had the immediate effect of making the Who conscious of their image. It also inspired a lot of the artwork of the band's promotional products in the late seventies, during the mod revival.

Not only did Kit Lambert and Chris Stamp put the band on the world stage, they coached the group on how to handle the media's attention. Without Lambert, many of Townshend's imaginative ideas would never have been realised. Lambert educated the group as regards how rock stars should act, talk and pose. They gave the band confidence, making them believe that the group was bigger than all of them and eventually, that is exactly what happened.

There is no doubt in anyone's mind that the Who's image changed after the death of Keith Moon. After an unsuccessful attempt at a 're-birth', the Who sold their name to an American beer company and began their Farewell Tour. They were no longer a group,



their image was now that of a large, commercial machine called 'THE WHO'. Unable to shake their past, they gave the fans exactly what they wanted to hear - a collection of old hits from the past, confirming that the group had become a nostalgic vehicle, manipulated and exploitatively packaged as a living memory.



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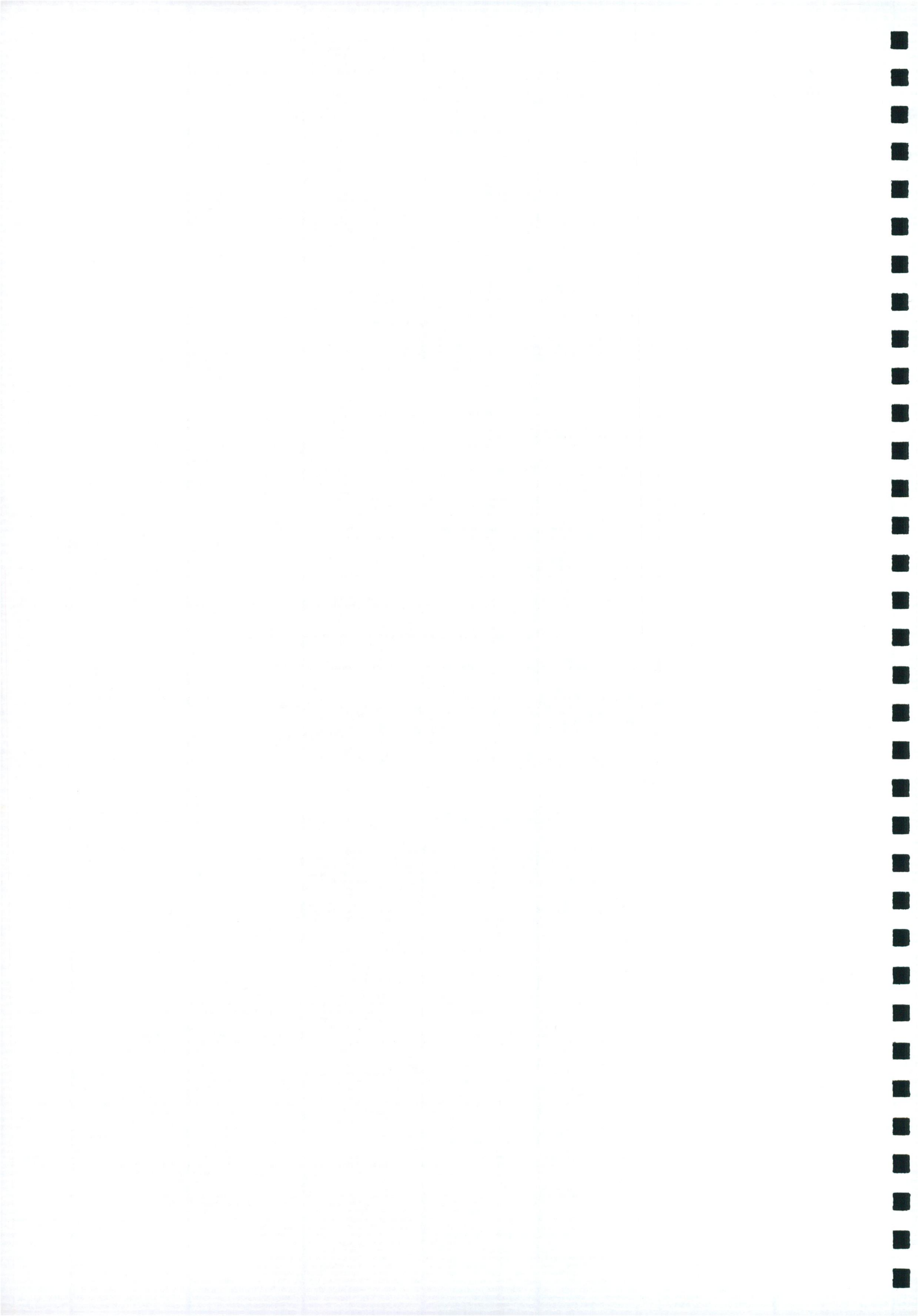
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Π Barnes, Richard. *The Who: Maximum R & B*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1982.

Ó Marsh, Dave. *Before I Get Old: The Story of the Who*. London: Plexus, 1983.

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- (A) P 2: "college...to come". - p 9, 🍏
- (B) P 2: "displayed...Metzke". - p 6, Π
- (C) P 2: "the Beatles...concepts". - p 56-57 Ó
- (D) P 3: "Each member...single". - p 7 Π
- (E) P 3: "wanted to call...crew cut". - p 65 Ó
- (F) P 4: "Meaden...did". - p 9 Π
- (G) P 4: "new name...Melody Maker". p 8 Π
- (H) P 4: "the origins...Southend". - p 10 🍏
- (I) P 6: "it was a simple formula...good". - p 120 Ó
- (J) P 6: "needed...image building". - p 38 Π
- (K) P 6: "encapsulated...salute". - p 129 Ó
- (L) P 7: "the chief...thing". - p 167 Ó
- (M) P 8: "like a total...stage" - p 41 Π
- (N) P 9: "We've never...of us". - p 123-124 Ó
- (O) P 9: "The group's...rock group". - p 124 Ó
- (P) P 10: "accepted...rock". - p 31 🍏
- (Q) P 11: "just...energy". - p 482 Ó

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- (A) P 14: "bloke's band...heartthrob". p 68 Ó
- (B) P 16: "Of all...of that". - p 19 🍏
- (C) P 16: "There were...rocker". - p 24 🍏
- (D) P 17: "were associated...psychedelic drugs". - p 239 Ó
- (E) P 18: "The pop press...no good". - p 252 Ó
- (F) P 18: "I'd thought...singles". - p 47 Π
- (G) P 21: "opened the door...possible". - p 36 🍏
- (H) P 21: "split between...record". - p 517 Ó



list of illustrations

🍏 Charlesworth, Chris. *The Who*. London: Omnibus, 1982.

▭ Barnes, Richard. *The Who: Maximum R & B*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1982.

∅ Barnes, Richard. *Mods!* London: Eel Pie, 1979.

⊠ Goddard, Peter. *The Farewell Tour*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1983.

± Vaisey, Marina. *Peter Blake*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986.

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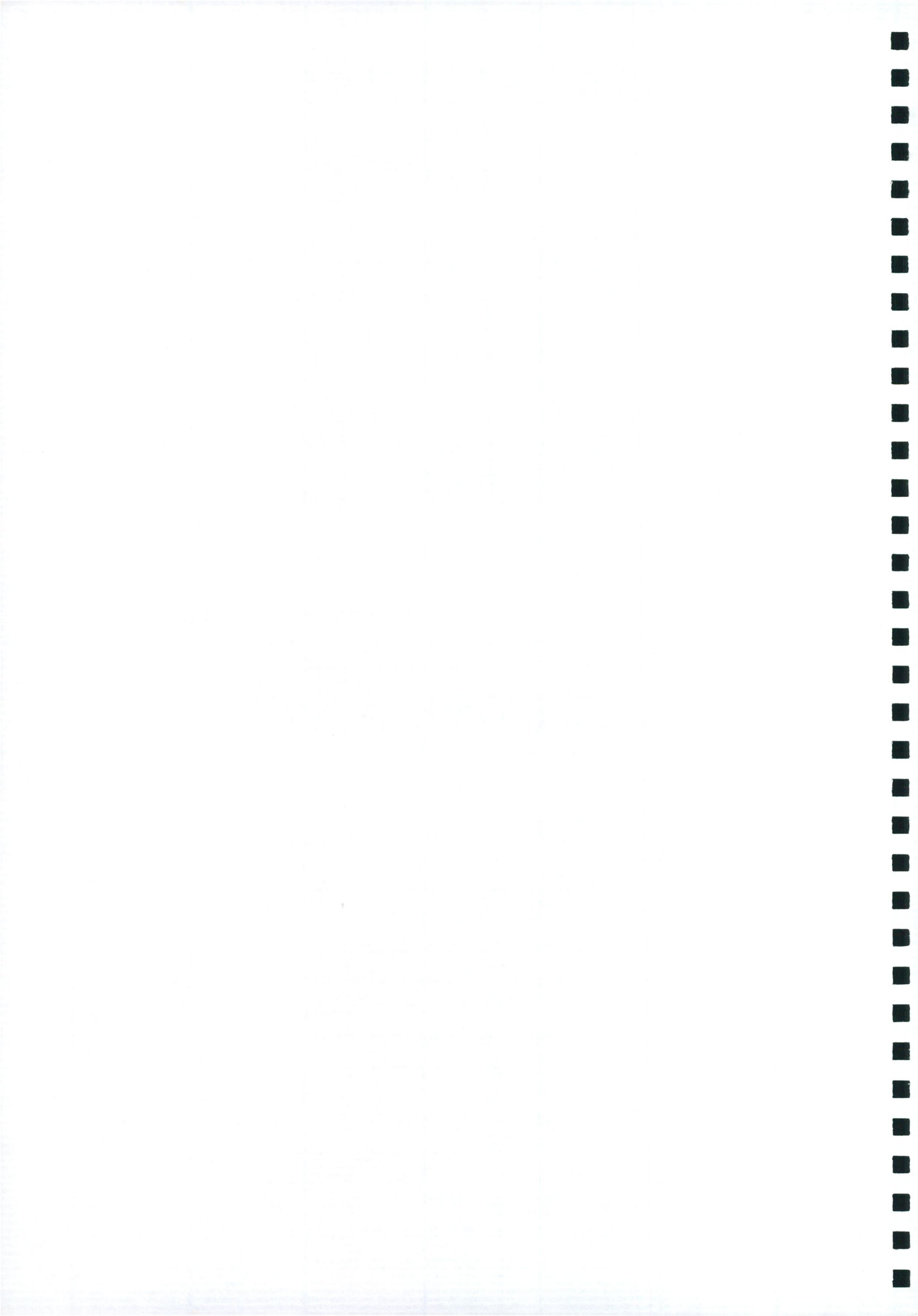
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