HARD ROCKIN' MAMAS: FEMALE ROCKABILLY ARTISTS OF
ROCK'N'ROLL'S FIRST GENERATION, 1953-1960

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in
the Graduate School at the Ohio State University

By
Jacki Lynn Della Rosa, B.A.

The Ohio State University
2005

Master's Examination Committee:
Dr. Susan Hartmann, Adviser
Dr. Birgette Søland
Dr. Barry Shank

Approved by:

[Signature]
Adviser
Graduate Program in History
ABSTRACT

During the twentieth century, female artists were featured prominently in American popular music, and at times, even dominated radio play and record sales. At mid-century, female artists were highly marketable and profitable acts for small and large labels and were largely represented in all of the musical genres that contributed to the emergence of rock'n'roll music in the early 1950s. But during the early years of rock'n'roll itself, they were surprisingly underrepresented. This thesis explores women's roles in popular music during rock'n'roll's first generation to reveal the obstacles that prevented female artists from achieving greater commercial success and critical recognition from musicologists and historians alike. At the same time, it demonstrates the ways in which female artists were able to defy convention and serve as counter-examples to the postwar domestic paradigm before the advent of second-wave feminism.

This thesis offers a close examination of one of the most influential contributing genres to rock'n'roll, rockabilly, and three of its female acts who performed and recorded during the early years of rock'n'roll. It examines the most respected trade paper in the entertainment industry, The Billboard, between 1953 and 1960 to ascertain how often and what kinds of female artists were featured in articles, record reviews and promotional advertisements, or listed on the play and sales charts. The way in which the music industry conceptualized genres of popular music is also analyzed - in this case Pop,
Country & Western, and Rhythm & Blues - to see how women, and rock'n'roll artists in general, were represented.

The thesis focuses on rockabilly music and three of its female greats; Lorrie Collins, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martin. These three artists were able to achieve success in both country and pop markets, and their experiences detail the complex struggle for legitimacy female artists faced in the 1950s. These artists changed the way the music sounded and was performed, and also the way in which their audiences conceptualized women and women's work in the postwar era. The popular success of women such as Collins, Jackson, and Martin, provides further evidence that young American women were more resistant to the postwar domestic paradigm and were drawn to cultural counterexamples that displayed feminist nuances, including the bold, sexual, and assertive female personas of rock'n'roll's first generation. As such, these women forced a dramatic reconsideration of gender categorization and women's agency that directly challenged what was considered normal and appropriate for women of the postwar era.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project required more patience, time, and consultation than I ever could have imagined and I owe a great deal of gratitude and appreciation to many individuals who contributed to its completion. First, I would like to thank Jennifer Kuehn and Jody Faught at the Ohio State University Library who searched for a lending institution willing to send eight years worth of *Billboard* magazine for my perusal and the libraries at the University of Iowa and Bowling Green State University for graciously lending their collections. I would also like to thank Bonna Boettcher, head librarian at the Music Library and Sound Recordings Archive at Bowling Green, who allowed me access to her collection and even photocopied articles I could take back to Columbus.

A considerable amount of this project was conceptualized in conversations I had with several individuals who know and understand rockabilly far better than I. I would like to thank Jay Brakefield for sharing his ideas and sources on Charline Arthur and the women of country music in the 1940s and 1950s, and Jan Thompson for detailing her life-long love affair with rockabilly music, her thoughts on women in the genre, and her great admiration for Wanda Jackson. Film producer, Beth Harrington shared her insights and ideas on women in rockabilly and her experience making, “Welcome to the Club; the Women of Rockabilly,” an outstanding documentary on women in the genre. Rockabilly legend, Sleepy LaBeef also sat for an interview and let me pick his brain about rockabilly
music for nearly an hour before taking the stage at one of his regular appearances at the Hey Hey in German Village; the proprietors graciously set up the interview and invited me to stay for the show. I have returned on a number of occasions when Sleepy rolls into town and he never failed to ask about the project and how it was going.

Lorrie Collins, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martin, each made themselves available for interviews and shared their stories and recollections about their lives and careers in the music industry. It was my privilege to talk with these artists and it is no understatement to say that this project would not have been possible without their willingness to share their stories. I admire each greatly and came away from this project all the more convinced that it is time these artists receive historical recognition and as much popular adulation as their male contemporaries. It is to Lorrie, Wanda, and Janis, that this project is fondly dedicated.

Lastly, I have several professional and personal debts that need to be acknowledged. I have had the fortunate opportunity to work with some of the most amazing historians at the Ohio State University who have challenged my thoughts about history and women’s place in it, and bettered my scholarship in immeasurable ways. I would like to thank Dr. William Childs for reading an entire draft of the manuscript and offering a particularly helpful set of notes. I would also like to thank the members of my examination committee, Dr. Birgette Søland, Dr. Barry Shank, and Dr. Susan Hartmann, for taking the time to read many, many drafts of the paper, and discussing the critical importance of my work. Barry Shenk offered overwhelming enthusiasm and support for the project from the beginning and helped me frame my discussion of women in rock’n’roll into a tangible thesis project; he is one of the most brilliant writers I know and
I am forever grateful for his help and encouragement. My advisor, Susan Hartmann deserves the biggest thanks, since she read more drafts of the paper, talked most frequently about my progress on the project, and provided me with the most detailed and helpful comments on my writing and organization than anyone else. Dr. Hartmann was patient and supportive when I couldn’t get out of my own way to finish the project, and I appreciate her willingness to stick with a project that fell outside her own research interests.

Several colleagues at the Ohio State University also read the entire manuscript and offered help and advise whenever I made the frantic call. Jane Berger showed great excitement for the project and deserves all the credit for helping tie together the disparate elements of this project, and Heather Miller copyedited the entire manuscript when she should have been spending time with her husband and daughters and helped me avoid many of the grammatical and stylistic errors that unfortunately, are all too common in my academic writing. More importantly, Jane and Heather offered true friendship, personal support, and encouragement when I struggled with the project and the stresses of graduate school. Anne Collinson also offered her editing expertise to help fine-tune my endnotes and bibliography and saved me literally hours of work.

In order to make all this possible, I had to leave behind my friends and family and come out to the Midwest to study and write. It is with the deepest gratitude that I thank my Dad, my sister and extended families, my closest friends, and my colleagues at Clayton Valley High School. Never once did anybody say, “don’t go,” and never once has anyone complained about how hard it has been to adjust to not having me around; I would never have been able to do any of this without their support and, quite honestly, I
probably never would have left if anyone had asked me to stay. My best friends, Claudine Bouchard and Krys Chivens, continue to serve as my greatest source of love and support even though we are further away from each other than ever; they are my role models, they are my touchstones, they are my family. And lastly, a special thank you to Nick, who has been more patient than anyone else when work on this project consumed so much of my thought and time. He accompanied me to rockabilly shows, read drafts of the paper, and busied himself without complaint when I needed to spend nights and weekends working on the paper. But mostly though, I want to thank him for giving me a reason to not let my work consume me, to put down the books and think about something else for awhile, and enjoy more parts of my life than I have in years.
VITA

November 22, 1969 -- born - Martinez, California

1992 --------------------------------------------- B.A. History,
California Polytechnic State University
San Luis Obispo, California

2003-2005 ---------------------------------------- Graduate Teaching Associate
Department of History
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

2005-present -------------------------------------- Adjunct Instructor
Humanities Department
Columbus State Community College
Columbus, Ohio

PUBLICATIONS

Research Publications

1. Jacki L. Della Rosa, review of Rock’n’Roll and the Cleveland Connection by Deanna R. Adams and Radio Daze: Stories from the Front in Cleveland’s FM Air Wars by Mike Olszewski, Ohio History 114 (Summer/Autumn 2004).

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: History
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapters:**

1. Introduction  
   First Generation Rock’n’Roll and Female Artists  1

2. Gals with the Right Talents; Female Artists in *The Billboard*, 1953-1960  16
   2.1 One of the Trades; *The Billboard* in the Postwar Era  17
   2.2 Women and *Billboard* during the Postwar Era  25
   2.3 Headline Ladies: a Woman’s Place in *Billboard* articles  28
   2.4 Thrushes and Canaries Make for Good Wax;  
    Women on *The Billboard* charts  33

3. “Rip It Up”, Female Rockabillies of the Classic Rock’n’Roll Scene  52
   3.1 Just a Convenience? Rockabilly as Music and Culture  53
   3.2 The Vocal in Rockabilly Song  62
   3.3 From Singing Ingénues to Cultural Vanguards;  
    An Emergent Possibility  67
   3.4 The Coy Contender  75
   3.5 The Threat Apparent  86

4. Conclusion  
   Woman Walk Out the Door  102
Appendix A
One Hundred Most Frequently Appearing Female Artists in *Billboard*, 1953-1960 ————110

Appendix B
Most Frequent Singles by Female Acts Reviewed by *Billboard*, 1953-1960 ————113

Appendix C
Female Acts to Appear on the Singles Charts, 1953-1960 ————116

Endnotes ————118

Bibliography ————131
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Appearances in <em>the Billboard</em>, 1953-1960</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.1</td>
<td>One Hundred Most Frequently Appearing Female Artists in <em>the Billboard</em>, 1953-1960</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1</td>
<td>Most Frequent Singles by Female Acts Reviewed in <em>the Billboard</em>, 1953-1960</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.2</td>
<td>Most Frequent Country &amp; Western Singles by a Female Act Reviewed by <em>the Billboard</em>, 1953-1960</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.3</td>
<td>Most Frequent R&amp;B Singles by a Female Act Reviewed by <em>the Billboard</em>, 1953-1960</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.1</td>
<td>Female Acts to Appear on the Pop Singles Charts, 1953-1960</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2</td>
<td>Female Acts to Appear on the Country &amp; Western Charts, 1953-1960</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.3</td>
<td>Female Acts to Appear on the R&amp;B Charts, 1953-1960</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
FIRST GENERATION ROCK'N'ROLL AND FEMALE ARTISTS

After acquiring Elvis Presley's contract from Sun Records in November 1955, Steve Sholes, head of both country and r&b recording for RCA Victor, hoped to catch lightning in a bottle by replicating Presley's inventive style with other artists eager to sign with the label. Sholes sifted through tapes sent to him by various managers and producers looking for an artist who possessed precisely those elements he believed were key to Presley's success: southern country & western musical roots, a dynamic approach to live performance, and an unrestrained vocal style often associated with black artists. He eventually happened upon a demo tape sent to him by Carl Stutz, a songwriter who was looking to sell Sholes one of his latest songs. Sholes liked the song but was captivated by the female vocalist who recorded the demo; the vocal similarities between the woman on the tape and Presley were remarkable and Sholes became exhilarated by the possibility of replicating Presley's style with a female artist. Sholes picked up the phone and called Stutz, asking excitedly, "who is that girl??" Stutz gave him the contact number for sixteen year-old Janis Martin from Martinsville, Virginia and within a month, Shoals had convinced the young girl's parents to sign with RCA and brought her to Nashville to record under his direct supervision.¹
In many ways, Martin was a typical teenage girl in 1956. She was a pretty teen with a bubbly personality who enjoyed spending time with her friends and listening to music more than she did staying at home with her parents. But Martin was also a bit strong-headed and rebellious by her own account, often defying her parent’s wishes and doing whatever she pleased. Martin had been singing professionally since the age of eight and believed that the contributions she made to the family income warranted her a bit more autonomy than other teens. While many children did in fact hold jobs during the postwar era, Martin’s put her in public view and kept her in the company of other musicians, nearly all of whom were adult males. Her strong voice and passionate delivery attracted the attention of more than just Sholes; as interest escalated within the industry and among young fans, Martin was catapulted out of Virginia and onto the national scene. But her career would fall far short of RCA’s expectation that Janis Martin would be ‘the Female Elvis.’

She possessed all the talent and ambition of her male contemporaries and even a bit of the bravado and swagger that would become synonymous with rock’n’roll by decade’s end, but somehow, someway, she was unable to take the same meteoric rise through popular music as many of her male contemporaries did.

Many Americans recognize the names Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry, and Buddy Holly. Similarly, many Americans can imitate the sound of an electric guitar doing a simple chord progression or the driving, rhythmic beat of a snare drum. Rock n’ roll, which was once deemed antisocial and counterproductive, has become a part of our cultural landscape, a defining element in the American experience. While many scholars, performers and listeners alike might struggle to articulate what makes rock’n’roll distinct
from other forms of popular music, few would disagree that the genre has an unmistakable masculine quality.² Rock’n’roll, a form of popular music that combines elements of country, swing, and rhythm & blues, has always been aggressive music played in an aggressive way, overtly sexual in its performance, its symbols, the instruments of the genre, some have portrayed as extensions of the male body.³ Rock’n’roll’s most revered artists and performers have been nearly all men, many of whom exhibit qualities and characteristics that embody the American masculine ideal.⁴ Scholars of popular culture have often pointed to this gender specificity as a primary reason why few female artists broke into the genre in the early years and why the contributions of those who did have been largely undervalued.⁵

But female artists were there. They were among the first vocalists, pianists, guitar players, percussionists and songwriters to traverse the tenuous borders between musical genres in the early 1950s. They recorded tracks, played in small clubs, performed in large cross-country package tours, and often were featured artists on popular radio and television programs. Musicologists and historians of popular culture recognize women’s presence but few detail the extent to which female artists participated in the music being produced during the decade. Scholars have also insufficiently explored the role women played in the creation of rock’n’roll as a separate musical genre and their participation in the youth culture that would come to identify with it.⁶ A few scholars, including Gerri Hirshey, Simon Reynolds and Joy Press, and Susan McClary have noted that female artists were paramount to the creation of rock’n’roll as a musical style and culture. They have gone further to note that traditional narratives of women in the genre have neglected to record fully the importance of women’s contributions. While their studies
acknowledge that female artists were active during rock’n’roll’s early years, these scholars focus more intently on women during the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Contemporary scholarship leads one to believe that female artists came late to rock’n’roll, and when they finally did arrive, their roles were marginal at best.\(^8\)

Several scholars have explored the distinctiveness of rockabilly, a contributing genre to rock’n’roll in which both Presley and Martin made their mark, yet few fully address the women who played and performed its music.\(^9\) No full-length monograph deals exclusively with rockabilly women, though several articles have been written on the subject and scholars of rockabilly have taken care to offer a brief discussion of women in each of their works.\(^10\) As is the case with many of the books written on women in rock’n’roll though, these scholars do little more than offer brief biographical sketches of these women who did record rockabilly music and detail their discography in the genre. Some scholars, including Billy Poore and Randy McNutt, note the merit of female artists in rockabilly, but do not suggest that female rockabillies were as inventive or critical to the genre as their male contemporaries.\(^11\)

Two studies in particular, David Sanjek’s “The Wild, Wild Women of Rockabilly,” and Mary Bufwack and Robert K. Oermann’s chapter “Rockabilly Women” in their book, *Finding Her Voice*, give greater weight to the women of rockabilly, especially those of its first generation, have been are of great use to this study.\(^12\) Both discuss a larger number of women who recorded rockabilly music during the postwar era, and more importantly, how their music and performances differed from their male contemporaries. Sanjek, and Bufwack and Oermann count many female rockabillies, though not all, as originators of the genre and innovators in popular music. Sanjek
argues that female rockabilly are comparable in play and performance to their male contemporaries and suggest that these women promoted a direct challenge to popular representations of gender and femininity in the postwar era; while Bufwack and Oermann agree with Sanjek's contention, they depict female rockabilly as a blatant attempt by country artists to reach mainstream pop audiences during the postwar era. Unfortunately, neither study attempts to place these women within the larger context of popular music or American society during the postwar era and neither is a full-length monograph but appears in books written on topics other than rockabilly that are not widely read or cited by other musicologists.\(^{13}\)

Part of the reason we fail to appreciate the role of women in early rock'n'roll is that the music industry marginalized them, along with African Americans and Latinos, during the 1930s and 1940s. As music journalist Lucy O'Brien has stated, this oversight is remarkable given women's traditionally prominent role promoting new cultural formats and their position at the nexus of fringe and mass markets.\(^{14}\) Young women represented a considerable portion of the record-buying public during the postwar era and their purchasing power was unmistakable. In fact, some of The Billboard and Cash Box's biggest selling disks at this time were recorded by acts designed for a young female market, such as Ricky Nelson, Connie Francis, and Pat Boone. However, women's creative expression within rock'n'roll and the ways in which they influenced music and culture has remained unspecified.

Locating influential women is not as difficult as one might assume, as contemporary scholars have already attested to the fact that women were actively involved in rock'n'roll's early years. However, two factors complicate the identification
of women rock’n’roll artists. First, rock’n’roll has always been an amorphous musical
genre with no universal definition of the culture it produced. In The Sound of the City,
Charlie Gillett, disk jockey and CEO of a London-based record label and publishing
company, characterizes rock’n’roll as an improbable cultural mix of five different
musical styles: northern band rock’n’roll (exemplified by Bill Haley and his Comets),
New Orleans dance blues (characterized by the styles of Fats Domino), Memphis country
rock or rockabilly (with Elvis as its chief archetype), Chicago rhythm and blues
(pioneered by Chuck Berry and Bo Diddley), and vocal group rock’n’roll (embodied in
such groups as the Penguins and Platters). All of these musical styles developed
independently of one another and were dependent on “Negro” dance rhythms; in the late
1940s and early 1950s, artists began to cross-pollinate the styles, producing a distinctly
new, yet somewhat familiar sound. In this study, I use Gillett’s description of
rock’n’roll as a blend of several different musical forms in which variations of
performance and a variety of artists were welcomed. Rock’n’roll’s permeable
construction allowed for marginal influences outside of mainstream popular music and
ultimately, I argue, feminist agency. The dynamic, novel style of postwar rock’n’roll
makes it hard to differentiate between rock’n’roll and pop music. However, it is clear
that rock’n’roll sounded different from the mainstream popular music that preceded it.
And it was in these sonic differences that women expressed themselves artistically as
they had not been able to do before.

Singling out which women can be called “rock’n’roll pioneers” is challenging
because many were already stars in one of the contributing genres mentioned by Gillett
before they began to experiment with rock’n’roll. Gospel-great Mahalia Jackson and the
crooning McGuire Sisters, for example, temporarily added rock'n'roll elements to their songs and infused youth-oriented ideas into their lyrics but some returned to the musical tradition in which they first made their mark. Others changed the sound and performance of their music permanently and, in the process, became clearly identifiable as artists of the genre.¹⁷

As musicologist Paul Friedlander has pointed out, rock'n'roll was conceived in opposition to popular music, and the genres of rock and pop have featured a transcendent theme of rebellion, whether conscious or unconscious, in their lyrical content, syncopated rhythms and beats, performance behavior, and dress. Friedlander emphasizes the importance of understanding the social context in which the music was produced in order to understand what was considered “normal” for the period.¹⁸ Rock'n'roll was a genre virtually created during the postwar era, a cultural period dominated by Cold War tension, fresh memories of the horror of world war, and the hysteria of McCarthyism. Rock'n'roll artists resisted the play-by-the-rules conformist logic of postwar American culture and much of the public hoped the musical genre and its fans would quickly disappear.¹⁹ As scholars and contemporary critics have made plain, rock'n'roll was deemed overtly sexual, due mostly to its steady, rhythmic percussion beats and evolution from the exoticism racialized rhythm and blues exemplified.²⁰

If one is to believe the paradigm put forth by historians such as Elaine Tyler May, which suggests that many American women identified with the middle-class ideal that emphasized domestic fulfillment and motherhood above personal satisfaction, little evidence would show women of the era as anything but content with life inside the home.²¹ Popular magazines of the day such as Life, Look, and Ladies Home Journal may
have touted the virtues of the suburban housewife and foretold tales of the continual bliss and tranquility experienced by American women who chose to devote themselves to home and family, but recent scholarship reveals that American women of the postwar era exhibited feminist agency in various ways well before the advent of the women’s liberation movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s.22

Historical scholarship published in Joanne Meyerowitz’ important edited collection, Not June Cleaver, have suggested that most American women of the postwar era not only lived outside the boundaries of the domestic paradigm but that more women than not also were actively engaged in the public sphere.23 Media critic Susan Douglas concurs, demonstrating that postwar culture was not as inextricably bound to the domestic ideal as some historians previously suggested.24 Douglas cites evidence from popular culture in the 1950s and 1960s that shows women’s changing roles and an evolution away from the rigid confines of domesticity: the popularity of the androgynous fashions worn by Twiggy and Mia Farrow, fictional characters in movies and television, such as Holly Golightly in Breakfast at Tiffany’s (1961) and Cricket Blake on Hawaiian Eye (1959); and the widespread popularity of early 1960s girl groups such as the Chiffons, Shangri-Las, and Shirelles.25

Conflicting messages found in lyrics and in the female singers’ transgressive personas of popular female singers such as Ronnie Spector and Darlene Love made rebelliousness acceptable for mainstream American girls in much the same way that Elvis Presley and rock’n’roll had for boys, and, as Douglas puts it, “planted the tiniest seed of a social movement.”26 While the only female musicians Douglas examines are girl groups of the mid- to late 1960s, Douglas draws the connection between feminist agency and
women's foray into rock'n'roll and concludes that the existence of such contradictory images within mainstream popular culture made the reemergence of feminism inevitable in the postwar era.

Just as historians have established that postwar American women displayed feminist agency through nontraditional means, musicologists have traced links among feminism, gender roles, and popular music that suggest women's participation in the creation and performance of rock'n'roll has unmistakable social relevance.27 Sheila Whiteley, for example, analyzes pioneering female performers from the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, and asserts that women did in fact alter the terrain of popular music. Female artists' struggles in the arguably male-dominated rock'n'roll industry paralleled the broader struggles against sexism that characterized second wave feminism. The fact that female artists were actively involved in the early days of rock'n'roll is also of significance. Even though women did not experience as much commercial success as men and have been largely neglected in the historical record, this paper will argue that they affected the genre and influenced large numbers of the young listeners who purchased their records two decades before the women's social and political movement of the 1970s emerged.

Still, it is hard to conceive that many female artists of the postwar era could be viewed as proto-feminists, since most were imaged to mirror postwar gender norms. The women who outsold other female artists during this era, such as Connie Francis, Patti Page, Teresa Brewer, the Fontane Sisters, and Dinah Shore, were decidedly conformist and highly conservative in their imaging: they appeared week after week on Billboard's charts and were arguably prototypical examples of respectable, suburban women, other
than the fact that they had thriving professional careers. They sang melodic songs with titles such as “A Sweet Old Fashioned Girl,” “Eddie My Love,” “Stupid Cupid,” and “Love and Marriage,” and on album sleeves and promotional ads, these women were dressed in layers of crinoline and chiffon, sported perfectly coiffed, soft-to-the-touch hairdos while they smiled innocently at record buyers, assuring them that nothing harmful or offensive was to be found on their records. Although these were the mainstream commercial successes, darlings of the major labels, there were other women, recording mostly on smaller, independent labels, who had large regional followings and a handful of hits. These lesser known artists, such as Ruth Brown, JoAnn Campbell, and Rose Maddox, simultaneously worked the fringes of several musical genres and had a marked influence on the style and sound of what was to become rock’n’roll.

In 1950, sociologist David Riesman identified two types of audiences of American popular music. One was the majority audience that accepted the range of choices the music industry presented and purchased recordings from this range without considering anything outside it; listeners within the majority preferred the highly-stylized artists and polished sounds put out by the major record labels. In contrast, the minority audience contained more active listeners who developed elaborate standards of listening and tended to dislike the commercialized artistry that the more mainstream labels and musicians produced. This group had more discerning musical tastes, which reflected egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles and sexuality, a passion for “Negro” music, and appreciation of an international amalgamation of musical rhythms. Riesman concluded that in choosing music different from the majority, minority listeners defined themselves
as “radical” and were likely to favor music that offered some element of social criticism or comment.31

Rock’n’roll music first took hold within this smaller group, finding an audience that was more willing to tolerate women’s participation as inventive musicians, assertive performers, and discerning consumers. Later, when rock’n’roll finally gained favor with the majority audience, the artists who had gained commercial successes and notable artistic recognition within these smaller markets tumbled along with the new musical styles and lyrical themes into mainstream American culture becoming sources of identification and emulation for new listeners across the nation. In this way, female rock’n’roll artists, however marginal their mainstream commercial successes and insignificant their historical place, became cultural vanguards for late twentieth century American feminism by pursuing careers in a very public, male-dominated industry and in promoting transgressive representations of gender and sexuality.

This study will discuss women’s roles in popular music during the critical years of rock’n’roll’s inception. Precisely when that first generation of rock’n’roll music emerged as a separate genre and when it was replaced by the second generation is something that musicologists and scholars have yet to agree upon. Most musicologists concur that 1953 marked the advent of rock’n’roll when Bill Haley’s “Crazy Man Crazy,” made Billboard’s top ten list. Though scholars debate the timing of the end of the “classic” or first generation of rock’n’roll, this study uses 1960 as the end date for several reasons.32 First, many of rock’n’roll’s first generation had ceased recording or taken a respite by 1960: Elvis Presley had been inducted into the Army for a two-year
stint beginning in 1958, Jerry Lee Lewis faced a public relations quagmire that same year after news reports revealed he had married his fifteen-year-old cousin. Buddy Holly died in a plane crash in 1959 and Chuck Berry, arrested for transporting a minor across state lines for immoral purposes, was effectively silenced until the case was resolved. In 1960, Eddie Cochran was killed in a car crash that also seriously injured Gene Vincent. When those who could returned to the studio, their sound and the music had changed. Second, a notable style shift in the music occurred in the early 1960s spurred by the original success of British artists, particularly the Beatles, and the introduction of the unique California stylings of the Beach Boys. This second generation of rock’n’roll was more stylized and relied on studio engineering and electrified instrumentation, especially the solid body guitar, to create their innovative sounds. Lastly, 1960 marks the end of the “classic” rockabilly era, a contributing genre which I discuss in detail and whose female artists are the focus of the second half of this study.

The following pages present a narrative of women’s role in popular music during the year’s of rock’n’roll’s first generation, the obstacles that prevented female artists from achieving greater commercial success and historical recognition, and the ways in which female artists were able to defy convention and serve as counterexamples to the postwar domestic paradigm. Chapter two examines the most respected trade paper in the entertainment industry, The Billboard, between 1953 and 1960 to ascertain how often and what kinds of female artists were featured in articles, record reviews and promotional advertisements or listed on the play and sales charts. Because many artists of the 1950s and 1960s did not categorize themselves as rock’n’roll performers, and because musicologists disagree on how to label artists who transcended musical categorization,
identifying women who were rock’n’roll artists, as opposed to those who experimented with the style temporarily, is challenging. Consequently, when and how often women appeared in the magazine is examined as are the types of musical genres in which they recorded, and where female rock’n’rollers were listed on the charts and promoted within the issues. The way in which the music industry conceptualized genres of popular music will also be analyzed - in this case Pop, Country & Western, and Rhythm & Blues - to see how women, and rock’n’roll artists in general, were represented. By examining primary sources in this way, the institutional obstacles female artists faced within the music industry can be identified and the sexist tendencies of the industry revealed. By considering The Billboard in this way, women’s contributions to rock’n’roll during these pivotal years become more apparent and can ultimately be better understood.

Chapter three focuses on rockabilly music and three of its female greats: Lorrie Collins, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martin. Rockabilly music has often been cited as second only to rhythm and blues in its contribution to rock’n’roll, yet far fewer studies have examined the role and influence of rockabilly music. Additionally, female rockabilly artists had far greater success in rock’n’roll than women from any other contributing genre. For these reasons, women’s roles in rockabilly music, rather than each of the contributing genres of rock’n’roll will be examined along with the musical careers and personal experiences of Collins, Jackson, and Martin, particularly during the period in which they made the transition to rock’n’roll. Collins, Jackson, and Martin were able to achieve success in both country (which is where the rockabilly tradition hailed from, an issue which will be discussed further in chapter three) and pop markets, and they were the only three women who truly embraced the rockabilly sound and style.
to achieve marginal sales success. Their experiences detail the complex struggle for legitimacy female artists faced in the 1950s and the social obstacles these women had to overcome to achieve professional successes comparable to their male contemporaries.

As journalist Gillian Gaar observes, women’s involvement in rock’n’roll has helped them not only find their voices as entertainers but also to use their voices as a force in creating social and political change. In fact there were female performers of commendable artistic merit during rock’n’roll’s early years who earned a level of public recognition and acclaim that preceded the advent of second wave feminism; documenting the production of these women will provide further evidence that young American women were more resistant to the postwar domestic paradigm and were drawn to cultural counterexamples that displayed feminist nuances, including the bold, sexual, and assertive female personas of rock’n’roll’s first generation. While the most recognizable artists from rock’n’roll’s heyday may have been such men as Presley, Berry, and Holly, the music and culture that was produced during those years was heavily influenced by the women who rattled and holiered right along with them. I will argue that in the process, these women forced a dramatic reconsideration of gender categorization and women’s agency that directly challenged what was considered normal and appropriate for women of the postwar era.

In an interview with film producer Beth Herrington, country music historian Mary Bufwack asserts that female rockabillies filled both a political and social void in the late 1950s, somewhere between the iconic cultural figures of the female war industry laborer of the late 30s and early 40s and the young feminists of the women’s liberation
movement of the 1960s and 70s. When considering the importance of women like Collins, Jackson, and Martin, Bufwack concluded,

I do think you see change in culture before you see change in politics and I think rockabilly is a perfect example of how there were cultural attempts to break out of roles, how there were adoptions of different roles within the culture. And that was much before we began to articulate issues of feminism, or inequality, or injustice - which really doesn't come until we are impacted by the civil rights movement. Betty Freidan does come after Wanda Jackson.38

Rock’n’roll’s first generation included a significant number of talented female performers, who changed not only the way in which the music sounded and was performed, but also the way in which their audiences conceptualized women and women’s work in the postwar era.
CHAPTER 2

GALS WITH THE RIGH'T TALENTS: FEMALE ARTISTS IN THE BILLBOARD, 1953-1960

In the 1940s and 1950s, *The Billboard* was quickly becoming an influential source within the entertainment industry, particularly in the record and radio businesses. By offering paid promotional advertisements for artists and labels in addition to featuring sales and radio play data, *The Billboard* introduced its readers to artists trying to break into the industry while it kept well-established artists constantly in the public eye. As a result, *The Billboard* is a useful source for examining some aspects of female artists' place in popular music during the postwar era. This chapter will examine *The Billboard* between 1953 and 1960 to show how the industry treated women and how women's records were received by the record-buying public during the pivotal years of rock 'n' roll's emergence into popular music. First, *Billboard*’s history and design will be detailed, as will the state of female artists in popular music during the postwar era. Second, the way *Billboard* covered female artists in their news stories will be explored and lastly, women’s presence on *Billboard*’s sales charts will be examined in greater detail to reveal where and how frequently women appear on the charts. By exploring *Billboard* in this way, one can ascertain how the magazine shaped the way the genres of popular music were categorized, selected artists for promotion within its pages, and created obstacles for female artists, including those of rockabilly’s first generation, who challenged those categorizations.
One of the Trades; The Billboard in the Postwar Era

When first published in 1894, The Billboard was one of a handful of trade publications to serve the burgeoning entertainment industry. These weekly papers reported on artists within the industry, promoted future projects, advertised new products and/or technology, and informed industry executives of the commercial successes and failures of projects in current release. Some periodicals focused on a singular aspect of the industry, such as Variety, founded in Los Angeles in 1905 to cover the motion picture industry, and The Cash Box, founded in 1942 in New York City to cover radio and coin-machine entertainment (which included all forms of arcade games and juke boxes). Others, such as The Billboard had a broader focus, detailing such entertainments as radio, vaudeville, musical performance and recording, fairs, carnivals, rodeos, coin-operated machines, and, later, movies and television. Though written in an easy-to-read style that did not employ jargon exclusively familiar to industry insiders, The Billboard was a publication designed and consistently read by music executives, radio station owners, managers and programmers, and juke box operators. The average music consumer would often buy the magazine and most certainly find its reporting useful, but it was those who worked within the music industry who took out subscriptions and purchased advertisements and, consequently kept The Billboard profitable.

Headquartered on the east coast, Billboard, as it is known to music enthusiasts, had easy access to the music and recording industry of the early twentieth century. The major radio networks produced many of their musical and dramatic shows out of New York City and much of the popular music was written and produced in the section of the city known as Tin Pan Alley. While other cities such as Memphis, Los Angeles,
Cincinnati, and Detroit would become important music scenes in the later 1950s and 1960s, *Billboard* dominated the east coast market and consequently maintained high circulation rates across the nation in the immediate postwar years.¹

*Billboard* was highly competitive with *Cash Box* by mid-century and sustained a near equal share of the market. Large and small record labels viewed the two trade papers as equal in importance, advertising liberally in both and consulting each for industry news and sales information. Large record labels often made reference to their artists' rank on the charts of one magazine in the advertisements they placed in the other. MGM, for example, launched a promotion in *Billboard* in June 1954 for one of their best-selling recording artists, Joni James. Heralding the push, "June is Joni James Month," the label purchased a series of full and double-paged ads promoting James' most recent collection of singles noting in the upper left corner of the ads that the album was "breaking wide on *The Cash Box* charts!"² Although nearly all the major labels cross-referenced the trades in their paid advertisements, smaller labels seldom did. Due to the high cost of full-page advertisements, small labels relied on eighth- or quarter-page ads that had little room for extra bylines or promotional phrases other than to identify the artist's name, song title, item number, and label.

*Billboard* was always an expansive publication; weekly issues ranged from 80-100 pages in length and often ran longer when special sections were added.³ Consequently, the magazine offered plenty of advertisement space and generated greater revenue than some of the smaller periodicals. The variety of entertainment fields it featured coupled with advertising opportunities in each of those markets enabled
*Billboard* to gain a wide circulation and soon became the important entertainment industry publication.

During the 1950s and 1960s, *Billboard* transformed its layout and feature departments regularly as technology changed and forms of entertainment shifted, but retained its subdivision into regular sections devoted to different genres. During the magazine's early years, feature sections reported on radio programs, night club-vaudeville shows, and coin-operated machines; during the 1930s and 1940s, the Radio department became Television-Radio, and new sections were added. TV Film reported on the motion picture industry and Music covered the recording industry.4

As television became more ubiquitous and vaudeville and radio declined in popularity, *Billboard* devoted fewer pages to those beats. Instead, the Music section covered live music shows and newsworthy radio programs that played recorded music. The Music section also increasingly featured articles about the recording industry, the publication of songs and lyrics, the promotions of artists and/or records, recent trends in sales and/or distribution, which artists were signing to what labels, which executives were taking new positions at record labels and publishing houses, key tours or shows in the United States and Europe, technological advancements in recording and distribution, and legal news within the industry dealing mostly with publishing rights and copyright.5

Record reviews and the series of popularity charts compiled by the magazine comprised nearly three-quarters of the Music section. Extensive paid advertisements appeared throughout the section. The reviews were divided between singles and albums and categorized by the following genres: Pop, Jazz, Classical, Country & Western, and Rhythm & Blues. Singles and albums were reviewed from other genres, such as Spiritual
or Polka, but they were not weekly features. During the postwar era most labels produced and released singles — a disk containing two tunes, the “single” on the front side packaged with a bonus tune on the back; fewer than twenty percent of the reviews in any given issue were of albums. Each review listed the artist, name of the single or album, label and item number (used for purchase by disk jockeys, operators, and programmers), two to four lines describing the tune, and a raw score meant to reflect the quality of the tune. Review sections also featured the magazine’s top choices of the week; these disks were noted as “Best Buys” or “Records to Watch,” or they appeared in a text box titled “Review Spotlight On...” Singles released during the week but not reviewed were listed at the end of the reviews.

*Billboard* continued to share the market throughout the 1950s but not without substantial efforts on the part of the editorial staff to increase readership within the music industry by continually tinkering with the layout of the Music section. The magazine first began publishing a weekly national pop singles chart in 1940 and the chart fluctuated in size from ten to thirty positions until 1955 when *Billboard* introduced its first Top 100 chart; it also ran a series of charts that listed singles most played by jockeys and in juke boxes, best-selling albums, and best-selling classical, country & western and rhythm & blues singles. For a time the magazine also featured the “Honor Roll of Hits,” a trademarked feature which, according to the editorial note that appeared just above it, “was compiled by a statistical formula which automatically measures the comparative popularity of each tune based on the results of the applicable music popularity charts in this issue.” The Honor Roll was an editorial precursor of sorts to the Top 100 in which the magazine attempted to identify the top twenty singles of the week by comparing the
data found on all their various charts and lists. It was a highly effective way in which the editors at Billboard could promote the artists and the music they favored over those preferred by the record-buying public.\textsuperscript{11}

In August 1958, Billboard created the “Hot 100,” a definitive singles chart that phased out the best-selling pop singles and “most played” lists, and eventually the “Honor Roll of Hits.” This chart became a standard feature in the magazine, listing the highest selling singles, their current and previous week’s positions, weeks charted, titles, artists, labels, and numbers. Additionally, Billboard also ran a succession of articles following each modification to their charting system praising the benefits of their popularity charts. Feature articles appeared on the front page of the Music section in early 1954, and again in November 1955, and August 1958, instructing readers on the purpose and usefulness of the new charts, how to determine a disk’s potential, and the applicability of the data for juke box operators, station program directors, and disk jockeys.\textsuperscript{12} Most readers of the magazine worked in the entertainment field, thus modifying the Music section and conveying the functionality of the charts was undoubtedly a marketing strategy designed to increase circulation among industry executives and insiders and Billboard’s status within the music industry as a whole. The new Hot 100 was designed to provide more information about each single and the disk’s sales and be more user-friendly than the listings in Cash Box, which also tinkered quite a bit with its list format.\textsuperscript{13} Cash Box did not choose to streamline their record charts as Billboard had with the Hot 100 until 1976; Billboard’s emphasis on record and sales data helped it become the definitive source for record chart data throughout the 1950s, 60s, and 70s.
While all of *Billboard*’s sales charts (Pop - later the Hot 100, Rhythm & Blues, and Country & Western) were based on sales data, the artists and singles listed on the charts were just as open to editorial interpretation as the Honor Roll of Hits, Review Spotlight, and Best Buys. First, *Billboard* calculated sales data by looking at total units sold, without consideration of how many units were produced, how many were ordered, or how many outlets the disks were sold in. Big labels could produce, package and distribute larger quantities of a particular record at a lower cost than small labels; a big promotional push for a new artist would consume only a percentage of a large label’s production capacity, whereas the production of the same number of units by a small label could meet or exceed their production capabilities. Not only did they have more limited production abilities, small labels also sold their records in far fewer retail outlets; when a small label such as Atlantic Records got a Ruth Brown single on the charts, that was an impressive feat for a small company. Meeting high sales demands for more than one artist over an extended period of time, as when Sun Records placed both Elvis and Carl Perkins on the charts for more than fifty weeks in 1954 and 1955, could provide great profits for a small label but also exceed their ability to meet demands. Looking at the number of units sold does not reveal any information about how many of the total units produced were in fact sold, how well units were selling in particular retail markets, or if units had sold out or been backordered; therefore, *Billboard*’s sales charts did not necessarily measure consumer demand or likability of artists or disks.

Secondly, the musical genres represented on *Billboard*’s charts are not fixed categories, but rather remain noticeably fluid. Popular music is a term that has been used for centuries to denote music written for the general public; the term is chronologically-
and culturally-bound, as what the general public finds appealing differs from one culture or region to another and from one point in time to another. If one looks exclusively at popular music in twentieth century America, pop music is its mainstay, a form Simon Firth describes as music separate from classical, art, or folk music, but may otherwise include every sort of style. “It is music produced commercially, for profit, as a matter of enterprise not art,” Firth writes, “defined as much by what it isn’t as by what it is.”

In the first four decades of the 20th century, the music industry had its own efficient way categorizing pop music, it was popular music produced for mainstream white audiences. As professor of American Studies Barry Shank, points out, the music industry at that time was racially segregated and had developed separate and unequal branches to cater to racially segregated markets. The mainstream pop audience was served by an organized network of retailers and distributors while the specialty markets relied on a less cohesive system based on mail orders and retail sales in outlets such as barber shops and furniture stores. The specialty markets of the early twentieth century, Race and Hillbilly music, were cleaved from mainstream popular music as much for their distinguishing musical signatures as for the social and cultural functions of each of the genres. Race music was popular music performed by black artists and produced for a black audience. Hillbilly music was developed to market music to southern whites, a group culturally separated from the mainstream by their anti-modernism, nostalgia for the ‘Old South,’ and resistance to the cultural consequences of urban industrial development. The cultural aspects of both Race and Hillbilly music were heavily influenced by notions of race and race relations in the United States and shaped the way music executives and music consumers perceived performers of each style of music. In 1948, the music
industry and trade papers discontinued the use of the terms ‘Race’ and ‘Hillbilly’—mostly as a result of pressure black artists had been exerting on labels to change unfair distribution practices—and replaced them with ‘Rhythm and Blues’ and ‘Country and Western.’ Consequently, the two specialty genres, as well as mainstream pop music, were encoded with racial significance that was not subject to change, even though the musical sounds of each genre were; this would become all the more evident in the 1950s when rock’n’roll came onto the scene and began to deliberately blur those boundaries.19

While the magazine’s ascendancy in the music trades makes it a noteworthy periodical to study, Billboard’s prestige and regard as the source for popular record data is not the only reason its volumes serve as an excellent archive. First, as sales figures and advertising revenue grew throughout the 1950s and 1960s, record labels redirected much of their print advertisement expenditures away from the other trade magazines so that bigger, more creative and eye-catching ads appeared consistently in Billboard. Secondly, as noted above, Billboard modified its charts in the mid- to late-1950s to include quantitative sales and play data, making them more useful for comparative analysis. Thirdly, Billboard compiled sales charts for genres other than popular music, several of which were contributors to rock’n’roll. Many early rock’n’roll pioneers, especially the women, never appeared on the pop charts but were instead found on the rhythm & blues (r&b) or country & western charts. Bill Haley and His Comets, for example, were listed by Billboard as an orchestra and later an r&b act when their first singles were released in 1953. Aretha Franklin, Martha Reeves, and the Ronettes appeared on the r&b charts as early as 1960, while all the women in this study appeared on the country & western charts well before any of their records made the pop charts. By comparing the
supplementary charts found only in *Billboard* with the pop charts, it is possible to trace
the ascendancy of rock’n’roll music to prominence within popular music and to discover
the women who achieved commercial success during the early years.

Lastly, since *Billboard* covered all facets of the entertainment industry, the
magazine had journalists in several cities around the nation and satellite offices in other
industry hubs such as Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. When rock’n’roll
began to take off in the mid-1950s, much of that music was produced and recorded in
areas outside New York City. *Billboard* was better able to report on the emergence of
these scenes and record regional differences in music production and audience taste than
were other trades. The magazine covered rock’n’roll scenes as regular beats, and its
reporters wrote from a position of familiarity with the artists and audiences that those on
special assignment could only aspire to; as a result, *Billboard*’s reviews and articles are
the most complete accounts of rock’n’roll’s evolution and of women’s contributions to
the new genre.

**Women and *Billboard* during the Postwar Era**

In the 1950s and 1960s, *Billboard* magazine was designed to serve entertainment
executives who were almost entirely male, and the tone of the articles and layout of many
of the advertisements reflected what the editorial staff assumed to be the “tastes” of its
target audience. As a result, *Billboard*’s tone was not entirely friendly to female artists or
businesswomen during the postwar era. Sexist language was used when women were
written about in articles and reviews, and writers routinely addressed women by their
married surnames or a series of terms such as, “canary,” “lovely,” or “thrush” so the
reader could easily identify the artist as female. Though some terms appear such as “crooner” and “warbler” appear to describe male artists, it was never with the frequency and regularity in which they were used for women.

*Billboard’s* journalists often discussed the physical appearance and dress of female artists in their stories; some openly debated the marketability of female singers. One article in 1954 entitled “Wax Pact Snap For Gal With The Right Talents,” used former rodeo-queen-turned-country-recording artist Mimi Roman as an example, suggesting for the reader, “it takes more than just a good voice” to get a record deal. An article in that same issue detailed a recent spike in sales for records that featured the female form in its cover art. This new “girly approach” to cover art was credited with boosting the sales of previously blasé forms of instrumental music and the reporter was hopeful that regardless of the higher costs involved in printing these images, other genres of music would eventually adopt the trend. He concluded, “what attracts more attention than a beautiful woman?”

Advertisements found in *Billboard* were styled with the male reader in mind. Promotional shots of women were more likely to feature the head and torso if not their whole body, while ads for male artists more often than not featured just a head shot. Male and female artists usually wore formal wear, figure-displaying dresses for the ladies, suits and tuxedos for the gentlemen. Product advertisements in the Music section also featured female models or cartoon drawings of women to help boost sales. One eye-catching series of ads for Capitol Records appeared weekly in late 1954 and early 1955. Each advertisement featured a photograph of a woman suggestively dressed in a bathing suit, negligee, short pants, or a skirt, looking directly at the camera with the same slogan
printed directly below the woman reading, "Now that we have your attention..." The script on the bottom of the ad detailed the advantages of the skilled customer service associates at the label and how they could help the manager/promoter/producer better serve his customer base.22

Given the prevalence of ads featuring women as sexualized adornments, promotional shots highlighting female artists’ bodies, and the sexist language commonly used when in reportage about women in its articles, it seems clear that Billboard presented obstacles to female artists who sought equitable publicity in the magazine, especially those who challenged traditional gender norms. Whether this chauvinistic tone was intended to denigrate women, was marketing savvy, or was simply a reflection of contemporary gendered linguistic convention, what remains clear is that female artists played important symbolic roles in both the discourse and economics of the recording industry. What is less clear is how this role allowed women space for challenging traditional gender norms.

To determine female artists’ importance as icons and artists in music during the early rock’n’roll era, I focused on two features in which they appeared in Billboard. First, I looked at all front-page and music section articles written about female artists to gain insight into the industry’s views of female artists. Second, I examined quantitative data regarding record releases and sales to shed light on how the views of the record-buying public differed, and how those sales figures compared to recommendations by the editorial staff. Promotional efforts by labels to increase their artists’ sales were also explored. In compiling the quantitative data, I focused on three features of the Music section; record reviews for popular, country & western, and r&b singles, including the
editorial staff’s “Best Buys” and “Review Spotlight,” quarter-, half- and full-page advertisements for all female artists; and listings of female artists on the popular, country & western and r&b charts, and the “Honor Roll of Hits.” In this way, one can better ascertain the perceived economic viability female acts were accorded within the industry by taking note of what role the magazine assigned to these artists and the force with which labels chose to promote them, it becomes clearer how much respect the industry accorded female acts. At the same time, identifying whether or not female artists were popular with the buying public can demonstrate whether or not fan preferences differed in significant ways from those of people who worked within the industry and from the staff of Billboard magazine. While many of the female artists who appeared on the charts were heavily promoted throughout the magazine, several who were not still sold a great deal of records. In this discernable gap between industry recognition and popular acclaim as demonstrated through high sales, many female rock’n’roll artists can be found.

Headline Ladies: a Woman’s Place in Billboard articles

The women who appeared in Billboard’s articles in the 1950s fit the postwar gender paradigm, but what may be surprising is the frequency with which women appeared in the magazine at all. While articles rarely featured women, female popular singers inundated the charts from 1953 to 1960, sometimes occupying more than half of the top sales positions. Ironically, the editorial staff at Billboard apparently did not find women’s success as artists or in the industry to be particularly newsworthy. Although there was a regular column that reported on executives at record labels, management companies, and radio networks and affiliates, articles rarely covered women in such
rules. Granted that few females were employed in high level positions during these early years, female executives were featured only twice: one article appeared in 1953 detailing manager Julie Stearns' trip to Hollywood to solicit movie deals for her recording stars and another in 1954 reporting on agent Kappi Jordan's annual picnic in New York's Central Park. One other article on a non-artist appeared in October 1954; while the article focused on a popular non-fiction author who had penned a single based on her best-selling book, it was the artist who recorded the single, Kaye Ballard, whose name appeared in its headline.

Several articles also detailed the legal struggles of artists' wives and ex-wives, particularly in regards to royalty rights of a deceased spouse. The most frequently cited case in *Billboard* was that of Hank Williams, who had remarried shortly before his death in December 1952 but had not revised his will since filing for divorce from his first wife. *Billboard* ran a series of articles between January and August of 1953 describing the legal battle between Williams' first and second wives over creative control of his material and the professional use of the name, "Mrs. Hank Williams." *Billboard* detailed a handful of similar cases, but none to the extent of the Williams case. Interestingly, these articles coincided with a series of articles that debated the short-comings of copyright laws on song lyrics and sheet music and issues regarding the payment of royalties to songwriters; while articles such as these continued to appear over the next decade, none of these issues would be resolved until the late 1960s.

The large majority of articles, 130 in all, featured the professional activities of female recording artists at large record labels. Typically brief, these articles sometimes described the promotion or sales of a new disk, a review of the artist at a New York
venue, or the booking of the artists’ latest tour. Mostly, they detailed the contractual obligations of the artists and were meant to identify for readers those artists who were free to sign with new record labels and management agencies. Fewer pieces dealt with contractual disputes, either a label’s failure of payment or an artist’s refusal to record or perform. One such example was a pair of articles appearing in March and April 1953 that described the efforts of Joni James to get out of what she called an “unconscionable” deal with her manager in which he received fifty percent of all her earnings. Contracts in which managers received a significant proportion of an artists’ earnings were not unusual at the time for either male or female artists, especially popular singers such as James who did not write or play their own material, but what was unusual in this circumstance was that James was one of MGM’s biggest stars and still had such an unfavorable deal.

More typically, contractual disputes for female artists did not involve such an auspicious outcome; even when artists were large draws for the label, women were often unable to secure and maintain lucrative contracts. Such was the case with major recording artist Georgia Gibbs who was shelved by Mercury Records in 1955 because, as Billboard reported, the label had decided r&b was, “on its way down.” Gibbs, who appeared consistently on the pop and r&b charts, had just had her latest disk featured as both a Best Buy and in the Review Spotlight of the magazine and gained the #1 spot on the charts two weeks later with “Dance With Me Henry.” She struggled to maintain her deal with Mercury and later signed with a new label when her contract expired the following year. No matter what the job, employers, reflecting gender stereotypes of the time, often assumed that women were merely temporary laborers who sought work
before marriage or in times of economic necessity; clearly, most women in the music industry fared no better than female workers in any other sector of the postwar economy.  

As the case of Gibbs demonstrates, even successful female artists struggled for job security and career longevity.

A handful of additional articles on female artists touched on a variety of unconnected issues, including scheduled television appearances, an artist’s appearance in an noteworthy periodical, such as Life or Time, and a statement of some political importance, such as Marion Anderson’s performance at Constitutional Hall in violation of the Daughters of the American Revolution ban on “Negro” performers or LaVern Baker’s meeting with Rep. Charles Diggs Jr. to discuss revision the Copyright Act of 1909. At the same time, a series of articles appeared in Billboard that covered the growing controversy over obscene song lyrics in which female artists featured prominently. In 1954, Billboard had begun writing about mounting concerns over the obscenity and overt sexual suggestion found in many songs, especially r&b tunes making their way onto the pop charts. Articles detailed the flack some artists such as Lena Horne, Eartha Kitt and Sarah Vaughan – all black artists - faced when their songs were banned by radio affiliates in the United States or Britain for content that was deemed too suggestive. While there is an undeniable racial component to the controversy over obscene records, as nearly all of the female artists whose records were banned and were written up in Billboard were black, some white artists also faced the wrath of censorship. Rosemary Clooney and Denise Lor had songs removed from playlists and record store shelves; Clooney’s record was deemed to have ethnically-offensive lyrics while Lor’s pined for a married Hollywood star. Yet other white singers who did sing more racy,
suggestive songs such as Teresa Brewer and Janis Martin, were not reprimanded or banned or criticized by the editors of the magazine for the same kind of sexual content that brought black artists under so much scrutiny.35

What Billboard did not openly discuss in the pages of its magazine was that what many listeners and radio programmers found offensive was white artists covering black tunes; instead, reporters focused on the latent sexual references found in the lyric or the vocalist's interpretation of the song, ignoring the fact that the lyric remained unchanged regardless of who sang the tune or that other white artists were also recording original material that was equally suggestive. Performers who once would have been relegated to r&b markets were now finding their way into the mainstream and the cultural signifiers of what was once 'race' music—different styles of vocal delivery, instrumentation, dress, and movement—were being embraced by consumers and performers of popular music. Arguably, this was the underlying issue: white artists were performing black music or adopting black stylings and the mainstream music industry, and American society as a whole was not ready for that change. Concerns regarding obscene content in pop records at this time mirrored those voiced later in the decade about rock'n'roll music in general; it possessed too much of the cultural function of r&b, or black, music and, music executives, parents, and cultural sentries were worried that it would corrupt mainstream white audiences. What is striking at this point is that while Billboard reported on the growing controversy, no distinctions were made between standards of acceptability for black or white artists, or male and female performers, yet most racy records they were condemning were those made by black female artists. Clearly a double standard existed, not only for creative expression but also in the way in which the magazine chose to cover
women in the music industry. Female artists did not receive equitable press coverage. However, that was not to be the case with other features in the magazine.

**Thrushes and Canaries Make for Good Wax; Women on The Billboard charts**

During the early 1950s, the music industry was dominated by the sounds of big band orchestras and crooners and songstresses such as Perry Como and Rosemary Clooney, who sang melodic songs of love and longing presented in neat, sweet, clean-cut performances. Much of mainstream music sold in stores and played on radio and juke boxes was released by the major labels and reflected the conservative, conformative nature of the cold war era. Major labels were doing more than just responding to cultural trends of the time; promoting conservative artists was also cost effective. Unlike smaller labels who hired out record manufacturers, major labels pressed and distributed most of their disks themselves and needed to be able to cover costs involved in recording and releasing a record; promoting artists who were easily palatable and had mass consumer appeal was necessary to keep large labels profitable and, consequently, promoting the innovative, genre-blending artists was not a primary concern. For small labels looking to carve out a niche in the consumer market, inventive and original artists who offered up a distinctive sound were their bread and butter. In the music industry in the 1950s, female artists who did not pose direct challenges to postwar gender stereotypes plain and simply sold more records, and labels looking to make a profit sought out acts who represented the existing paradigm.36
When one looks at the kinds of women who appeared in *Billboard* during the years of rock ‘n’ roll and rockabilly’s classical period, this fact is easily apparent. From the years 1953 through 1960, 1,780 female acts were reported in the magazine appearing a total of 10,969 times. The lion’s share of appearances were made by a fraction of those artists that appear in the magazine. The top twenty artists alone appeared a combined 3,059 times, while the second twenty appeared a total of 1,342 times [see Appendix A]. Fifteen acts appeared more than one hundred times over the course of eight years, while 1,155 artists appeared two times during those same years.

Who were those fifteen female acts? Ten released mostly popular singles and thirteen recorded for major labels. Only Kitty Wells and Jean Shepard were country & western acts and three, the Platters, Sarah Vaughan, and Ruth Brown, were rhythm & blues, though each also released pop singles. Zola Taylor of the Platters, Dinah Washington, Lavern Baker, Georgia Gibbs, Sarah Vaughan, and Ruth Brown were women of color, but all, with the exception of Brown, performed traditional pop standards or orchestral blues. Thirteen of the fifteen acts were among the top ten most frequently appearing female acts chosen by the editorial staff to appear in either the Spotlight Review, Best Buy, or Honor Roll of Hits; among the fourteen, Patti Page, Joni James, Teresa Brewer, and the McGuire Sisters were in the top ten of each of these editorial selections. Only six had singles reach the pop charts, and only three – Connie Francis, Dinah Washington, and Brenda Lee – stayed on the charts more than four weeks. The female artist reviewed most often, Rosemary Clooney, was among the top fifteen even though she never appeared on any of the sales charts during the years of this study. Overwhelmingly what these fifteen acts had in common was that they were imaged and
marketed as financially-secure suburban women who seemed approachable, attainable and their appeal not beyond the scope of what any young girl could hope to attain if she tried hard enough.

Popular artists of the day, including those who appeared most frequently in *Billboard*, such as the McGuire Sisters, Patti Page and Dinah Shore, were serenely pretty and dressed in the same glamorous fashions that a local Junior League president might wear, not necessarily a Hollywood starlet. These fashions were not the everyday fashions worn by postwar consumers but instead were a bit more glamorous, luxurious and sometimes evocative garments. Pop artists would often appear on stage and in publicity stills in formal attire – men in suits or tuxedos, women in ball gowns or party dresses. These artists were styled to look as if they were born of the upper class and their work demanded such a sophisticated wardrobe.\(^3^9\) These clothes were priced beyond what middle-class Americans could afford to pay and they were too formal for standard social occasions; the elegant clothes were used to convey the impression that the singer’s lifestyle, while seemingly more affluent and regal, was not beyond what consumers hoped to attain for themselves.

In contrast, country acts were styled in a way that reflected their working-class roots, yet these artists also favored more formal clothing when sitting for photos or making public appearances. Western-style suits and dresses made of simpler, often natural fabrics, something a well-to-do rural farmer and his wife might have worn to church, were the typical costuming worn by country artists.\(^4^0\) Stage costumes were a bit fancier, sometimes adorned with rivets, rhinestones or embroidery to give the artist a bit of flare and accessories such as hats, kerchiefs, boots and gloves were standard,
particularly for photo shoots. Female country & western acts who appeared most frequently in *Billboard*, including Kitty Wells, Jean Shepard, and Wilma Lee, were styled in this manner to help create an air of respectability for entertainers and remind audiences that these artists were of a slightly superior social stature, but one not too far beyond the reach of the middle class for popular music fans and the working class for country fans.\(^{41}\)

Above all, the fifteen female acts who appeared most frequently in *Billboard* included women who reflected the domestic postwar paradigm that was so widely accepted at the time.\(^ {42}\) In areas in which these women may have presented obviously challenges to the domestic paradigm, whether by pursuing a career outside the home, delaying the age of marriage and childbirth, or being something other than white, suburban and middle class, managers, producers, and executives at the labels sought to down-play those transgressions so they could more easily market these artists to the mainstream record-buying public.\(^ {43}\)

The records released during the eight years of this study reinforce the notion that labels preferred female acts who typified the postwar paradigm. 1,421 female acts released 4,106 popular singles, 277 country & western acts released 640 singles, and 240 r&b acts released 499 singles that were reviewed by *Billboard*.\(^ {44}\) Of the thirty female acts who released the most pop singles during the years of this study, nine had more than 100 total appearances in the magazine and none had fewer than twenty-six. When looking at the same data for female country & western and r&b acts, one sees that only two country & western acts and three r&b acts had more than 100 total appearances, while more than half of the top thirty female acts in both music genres recorded less than twenty singles over eight years [see Appendix B]. While it is true that county & western
and r&b artists in general had less public appeal and less financial success than popular artists, male country & western and r&b artists were able to cross over into popular music with greater success, especially when rock'n'roll music was just beginning to make its mark. Nearly all of the female popular acts who released the most singles during the years of this study were modeled after the best sellers in the industry who had perfected the smooth, pop standard and finely-groomed image of a dainty, attractive, non-threatening recording artist. Only three of these acts - the McGuire Sisters, Mindy Carson, and Roberta Lee - ventured outside of this successful formula and cut singles in other genres.45

The female acts whose country & western and r&b singles were reviewed most in <i>Billboard</i> were a diverse and eclectic bunch. More than three-quarters of them also had pop singles out at the same time. Among those releasing country & western singles were a variety of honky tonk, hillbilly boogie, and rockabilly acts – all subgenres of country & western that contributed to the birth of rock'n'roll. Two progressive hillbilly boogie acts who figured prominently into the scholarship regarding early influences on rockabilly, the Maddox Brothers & Rose and Charline Arthur both appeared in the top thirty, as did Patsy Cline and June and Anita Carter who brought more blues elements into the traditional country & western sound. While some of the female country & western acts who released the most singles during this time did hold fast to the standard set by the likes of Kitty Wells and Jean Shepard, there were no standard music format followed by these acts, nor were they marketed in a similar fashion. In fact, nine of these female acts never appeared in a print advertisement during the years of this study.
The top thirty female r&b acts also reflect greater musical and marketing diversity than their pop contemporaries. Luminaries of the blues, such as Willie Mae Thornton, Etta James, and Big Maybelle, were among these female acts, as were doo wop groups such as Gene & Eunice, and Shirley & Lee, alongside pop songstresses such as Ethel Smith, Ann Cole, and Dinah Washington. More so than country & western, r&b releases during these years displayed diverse musical styles that reflected more than just the continual development of musical styles. In 1949, the recording industry stopped using the term ‘race records’ to denote music made by black artists for black audiences in favor of the term ‘rhythm & blues;’ rhythm & blues became a blanket term for music made by black artists for black consumers and it included all the musical styles performed primarily by black artists.46 When rock’n’roll hit the scene in 1953, it was obvious that labels had no idea how to market it, and publications like The Billboard had no idea how to categorize it; as a result, many progressive-sounding songs that did not fit the standard structure for a pop song (e.g. Peggy Lee’s “Fever,” released July 1958) and many early rock’n’roll songs (e.g. Ike Turner Review’s “A Fool in Love,” released October, 1960) were produced as r&b singles, the most tolerant and malleable of the three big genres.47

While noting the kinds of releases may provide insight into which female artists the labels preferred, looking at the recommendations made by Billboard’s editorial staff allows us to see which artists the magazine favored and whose promotion was deemed profitable. Billboard had three areas within the Music section in which it could offer recommendations to the reader on musical selections: the Review Spotlight and Best Buy offerings that accompanied the weekly single reviews and the Honor Roll of Hits. Each of these sections appeared in a text box that was almost always placed in the upper
left or right hand corner of the page, its font type different from the standard used throughout the magazine and either bolded or enlarged so that these areas jumped easily from the page. The Honor Roll of Hits often took up one quarter of a page, with the pop sales and radio airplay charts occupying the opposite quadrant and ads or reviews filling the bottom half of the page; country & western and r&b charts were usually found near the back of the Music section. For someone unfamiliar with the information presented in Billboard, it would be relatively easy to assume that the Review Spotlight, Best Buys, and especially the Honor Roll of Hits contained the most important purchasing information for would-be consumers; for those familiar with the publication - particularly juke operators and radio programmers - these lists were received as the industry’s recommendations of the public’s preferences. What these preferred areas actually did was steer the reader toward the artists that helped the magazine sell further units and ad space within the pages of the magazine.

Several female pop artists appeared time and again in these three sections and received what amounted to free publicity from the magazine on a near weekly basis. Three hundred and fifty-two female acts appeared a total of 984 times in the Review Spotlight, announcing the magazine’s choices for the best releases of the week. The Review Spotlight appeared directly above the long list of weekly reviews, and usually, but not always, featured the highest scoring single of the week. Thirty-nine percent of the female acts made only one appearance here, but 6% appeared in the Spotlight ten or more times during the years of this study. Each of the top ten female acts who logged the most appearances on the Honor Roll are also among the top two percent of female acts with the greatest number of total appearances in the magazine. Of those ten acts, only
three — Dinah Washington, Ruth Brown, and Jo Stafford — ever appeared on the pop charts; Washington had twenty-one singles in the Spotlight that spent a combined twenty weeks on the sales charts, Brown and Stafford each had nineteen singles in the Spotlight and had only one reach the charts for a single week. The two female acts with the most Spotlight Reviews, Mercury’s Patti Page and Decca’s Kitty Wells, never had a single on the pop chart. Obviously there is little or no connection between the top-selling female artists and those Billboard chose to promote on their editorialized lists; high sales were clearly not part of the consideration for selection to the lists, nor did selection increase sales in any significant way. If this were true, then the female artists who were chosen most often to appear in the Spotlight Review, Honor Roll, and Best Buy sections would also have logged the most appearances on the sales charts.

The Best Buys were also listed with the weekly singles releases but did not always recommend new releases; these singles were exactly what the name implies, Billboard’s advice to readers of the magazine as to where their money would be best spent. Judging by the text that accompanied these recommendations, Best Buys were designed to best serve radio programmers and juke operators who made purchases based on public rather than personal musical preference. One hundred and fifty-one female acts had 515 singles listed as Best Buys, with fifty-one percent having only one single so honored. The top ten female acts to earn the greatest number of Best Buys are nearly identical to the Spotlight top ten with the exceptions of Debbie Reynolds, Georgia Gibbs, and Doris Day. Gibbs and Day were both in the Spotlight top twenty and among the top two percent of female acts with the greatest number of total appearances; Reynolds is the only peculiarity here, ranked forty-fifth in Spotlight appearances and fortieth overall.
Dinah Washington, who had the third most Best Buy singles with twenty-one, was the only female act among the Best Buy top ten to make the pop charts.

With the exception of reviewed singles (37.4% of total appearances), Spotlight Reviews (8.9%), and paid advertisements (14.5%), no area of the Music section logged more appearances by female artists than the Honor Roll of Hits (8.6%). This fact is all the more astonishing when one considers that only sixty-six female acts appeared on the Honor Roll and the large majority, fifty-three percent of those appeared at least once a year. The top ten female acts to accumulate the greatest number of Honor Roll listings appeared a combined total of 443 times, with the greatest, the Platters, appearing on the list for seventy-six weeks. What is probably most telling about the female acts in the Honor Roll top ten is that only three had chart successes of any type during the years of this study.49 The Honor Roll is the area in the Music section where female artists were most likely to appear outside of record reviews and paid advertisements and it was the only place where women far exceeded their male contemporaries, yet it had no positive influence on the total sales figures of female artists.

One would expect that those acts who appeared most often in the editorial recommendation areas of the Music section would have sold the most records of any of the other female acts, but that simply is not the case; when one looks at the sales charts, an entirely different assemblage of women enters into the picture.50 What is surprising to find is that with all of the singles released during the years of this study and the frequency of editorial recommendations female acts received, relatively few female acts appear on the pop, country & western, and r&b sales charts. Fifty-one female acts appeared on the r&b charts, twenty-six on the country & western charts, and only eighteen appeared on
the pop charts during the eight years of this study [see Appendix C]. Though the numbers are greater for acts on the country & western and r&b charts, many female acts who made these sales charts either performed duets with successful established male stars (such as country & western artists Kitty Wells, Wilma Lee, Goldie Hill, and Betty Foley) or were a part of a coed act (such as r&b acts the Platters, Shirley & Lee, and Mickey & Sylvia, and pop greats Mary Ford and Les Paul). One would have to assume that a substantial portion of the sales success of such female acts was due in part to the fan base brought to the single by the male artists with whom they recorded.

More female acts were able to ascend the r&b charts for three reasons. First, r&b music in the postwar era included to a large extent modern incarnations of jazz and blues which had always maintained a more equitable number of male and female vocalists. Whether fronting a classic blues ensemble or performing as a solo recording artist, female artists had been more widely used and consequently, better received in African American recorded music. Second, postwar r&b music maintained the call-and-response pattern found in 12-bar blues in which a vocalist sings the first two measures followed by an instrumental or vocal 2-measure response; call and response songs were perfectly suited for a lyric that chronicled a conversation between a man and a woman. In the postwar era, the response was much more likely to be vocal, which allowed for two vocalists to carry on a dialogue within the text of the lyric. Mickey & Sylvia’s “Love Is Strange” is an excellent example of this form in which the female vocalist attempts to charm her lover in the call portion and her lover responds to her advances in the response. And lastly, rhythm & blues was a genre dominated by African American artists and preferred by African American consumers; though this was beginning to change by the end of the
1950s, African American consumers were more willing to accept female performers as legitimate artists as the sales data clearly demonstrates.\textsuperscript{52}

Female acts have maintained a longer history in country & western musicology, and they are among some of the pioneers of the earliest forms of the genre, hillbilly and country gospel music. In their book Finding Her Voice, Bufwack and Oermann outline the important role female artists have always played in country & western music. Female vocalists have often been used to accompany western swing bands, or more importantly, to provide high harmony in vocal ensembles. Country & western also had its fair share of brother/sister and husband/wife acts, including the Carlisle, Carter, and Brown families, and spouses Hank and Audrey Williams. For many of the female artists on the country & western charts, their career successes were an extension of their family life, and their family life was often one of the key values espoused in the lyrics of the songs they sang. In other words, the fact that they were simultaneously career women and family matrons did not create dissonance for country & music consumers, but rather reinforced the values they shared with these artists.\textsuperscript{53}

Looking closely at the female acts who made the r&b and country & western charts during the years of this study, one sees a concentration of success by a relatively small number of women. Among the women who often received editorial recommendations for r&b releases were Dinah Washington, LaVern Baker, the Platters, Connie Francis, Sarah Vaughan, and Peggy Lee. But there were also artists who made little headway with the Billboard staff, including Maxine Brown, Ike & Tina Turner, Willie Mae Thornton, and Nina Simone. The 51 female r&b acts that hit the charts did so an average of 17.5 times over the course of eight years with the 5 acts with the highest

43
frequency on the chart placing singles an average of 81.8 times. By way of comparison, female acts who made the country & western charts included *Billboard* favorites Kitty Wells and Jean Shepard, but also included those who were largely ignored by the magazine, including Wilma Lee, Marion Worth, and Ginny Wright. The 26 female country & western acts to make the charts did so an average of 24.3 times, with the 5 top acts charting an average of 86.4 times over eight years.

Female recording acts had the least amount of success cracking the pop charts during the eight years of this study. Eighteen female recording acts reached the top ten on the pop charts only half the years in this study, for an average of 8.5 times apiece; the top three acts, Connie Francis, Brenda Lee, and Dinah Washington respectively, earned fifty-nine percent of those spots. These are staggering statistics, especially when one considers how often the magazine recommended popular female acts and how frequently managers and labels placed paid advertisements in *Billboard*. If *Billboard* readers followed the recommendations of the editorial staff, then the same female acts who appeared with the greatest frequency in the Spotlight Review, Best Buy, and Honor Roll would be the same female acts to make the sales charts. But sales data favored different female acts, which means that *Billboard* had sporadic success promoting artists, and more importantly, that the magazine's reviews and recommendations did not always correspond with the tastes of the record buying public.

What the sales data does show is a gradual shift in the kinds of female acts appearing on the sales and popularity charts that coincided with the emergence of rock’n’roll. During rock’n’roll's first years from 1953 to 1955, female recording artists dominated *Billboard*’s Honor Roll with forty-seven acts appearing an average of 10.4
weeks a year. In the last three years of the decade, when rock’n’roll’s first generation
gave way to its second and rock’n’roll artists appeared liberally on both the pop and r&b
charts, forty-three female acts appeared an average of 5.8 weeks a year. In 1960, Connie
Francis and Brenda Lee were the only female acts who had singles on the Honor Roll for
more than eight weeks; in 1953 seven women reached that same feat – Teresa Brewer,
Joni James, Mary Ford, Patti Page, Jo Stafford, June Valli, Kay Starr, and Karen
Chandler. When looking at the pop charts, only three female acts charted in the top ten
during rock’n’roll’s first years; each appeared only one week. Again, in the last year of
the decade ten female acts reached the pop top ten, eight of the ten remained on the chart
for over four weeks.

On the country & western charts, the frequency of female acts remained nearly
steady over the years of this study. An average of 5.7 female acts appeared on the chart
every year and stayed an average of 13.6 weeks. In 1953, eight female acts appeared on
the country & western chart an average of 11.6 weeks; Jean Shepard and the Davis
Sisters appeared the most, staying twenty-seven and twenty weeks respectively. In 1960,
eight female acts made the country & western charts an average of 13.2 weeks; seven
years later, Kitty Wells and Marion Worth charted most often- Wells for thirty-nine
weeks, Worth for twenty-four. The greatest number of female acts appeared in 1954 and
again in 1960, though the eight acts in 1954 stayed on the chart 4.6 weeks less on
average.

The same conditions existed on the r&b charts where an average of 9.7 female
acts appeared each year and logged 13.2 weeks on the chart; though female r&b acts
stayed on the chart nearly as long as their country & western counterparts, seventy
percent more female acts made the r&b charts during the same period of time. In 1953, Ruth Brown and Faye Adams appeared most often on the r&b charts (twenty-five and twenty weeks); in 1960, Dinah Washington, Etta James, and rock’n’roller Brenda Lee topped all other female acts on the r&b chart. By decade’s end, female acts had more than doubled their presence on the r&b charts jumping from ten to twenty-two acts, including four decidedly rock’n’roll acts – Brenda Lee, the Ike Turner Review featuring Tina Turner, Aretha Franklin, and the Shirelles all charted in the last year of the decade.

Two female artists considered to be early rock’n’rollers by most musicologists appeared on the pop charts during the years of this study; Ruth Brown charted for one week in 1953 and Brenda Lee appeared for twenty-seven weeks in 1960. Country & western music also placed two female acts on the charts during this time; the Davis’ Sisters hit the charts in 1953 and 1954 and Wanda Jackson scored a modest country & western hit with Billy Gray in 1954. While female acts who made the r&b charts had marginal success making the pop charts (thirteen of fifty-one did just this), only one country & western female act was able to make that transition: Jeanne Black somehow managed to get “He’ll Have to Stay” on the country & western, r&b, and pop charts for seven weeks in 1960.

For country & western artists to make the transition into rock’n’roll meant going from the fringe to the mainstream. In practical terms, that meant country artists with rock’n’roll ambitions had to appeal not to pop audiences but to r&b audiences, since that was the genre in which rock’n’roll saw its first commercial successes. Country & western acts could barely get on the pop charts, so it is no surprise that next to none, save a few men such as Elvis and Johnny Cash, appeared on the r&b charts with other early
rock'n'rollers. While early female rock'n'roll acts such as Brenda Lee, the Shirelles, Aretha Franklin, and Tina Turner were able to achieve high sales in both the pop and r&b markets, female country & western acts with the same ambitions, including the Collins Kids, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martin, were unable to jump the chasm between country & western and r&b to reach that same consumer market.

The transition between pop and r&b had become quite fluid by decade’s end and both pop and r&b artists had become quite successful at straddling the two genres. In contrast, movement between the genres of country & western and pop happened infrequently, with pop acts having greater success crossing over into country & western than country & western artists did into pop; relatively few artists were able to maintain a degree of success in both genres simultaneously. But the communion of country & western music with rhythm & blues did not take place as it did for pop music, and country & western artists who wanted to rock had greater difficulty reaching the youth consumer market that r&b had been able to tap into. When one considers that these two genres of music had once been separated in racially segregated markets, this difficulty in reaching new markets should come as no surprise. However, one must also remember that country & western and r&b music were racially-defined cultural constructs; country & western was ‘white’ southern music that embraced the cultural traditions of the ‘old south,’ while r&b was ‘black’ music that promoted group cohesion and identity between black artists and audiences. Country & western and r&b artists looked and sounded different. If pop music occupied the consumer mainstream then country & western and r&b audiences lay on opposite ends of that spectrum; for a country artist to crossover to r&b or visa versa, would require an artist to appeal to an audience equally as far from the
mainstream but with an inverse racial identity. It was a much easier feat for country &
western and r&b artists to crossover to mainstream pop music where aspects of each
genres sound and cultural construction had already been absorbed. As a result, country
artists’ contributions to rock’n’roll have not received the same degree of consideration
from musicologists, and female acts such as the Collins Kids, Wanda Jackson, and Janis
Martin, who struggled to get equitable professional consideration in an industry heavy
with a chauvinistic undercurrent, are often the most underrated.

While the frequency of appearances these three acts made in *Billboard* during the
fundamental years of rock’n’roll’s development were not great, they are of note. Janis
Martin released six pop singles over the course of this study – the only one not to issue a
country release, likely the result of her label’s choice to market her as ‘the female Elvis
Presley.’ The Collins Kids released a total of eleven, and Wanda Jackson released
eighteen. None of these acts were heavily promoted in the magazine, though each
received more than one editorial recommendation early in their careers. The Collins Kids
and Janis Martin are among the top ten percent of female acts with the highest frequency
of appearances in *Billboard*, while Jackson is in the top three percent. In comparison to
many of the other female acts who released singles during this time, the Collins’s,
Jackson, and Martin were very competitive acts who had name recognition within the
industry and satisfactory sales and play figures.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>artists</th>
<th>ads</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>c&amp;w reviews</th>
<th>r&amp;b reviews</th>
<th>Review Spotlight</th>
<th>Honor Roll</th>
<th>Best Buy</th>
<th>c&amp;w chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop charts</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wanda Jackson</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collins Kids</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janis Martin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Appearances in the Billboard, 1953-1960

The fact that these three artists came from a country & western background is very important. Each act played country & western music first and performed on country & western radio, television, and package tours well before they recorded their first singles. These acts were already familiar to country & western audiences as established country & western artists. Country & western consumers showed little interest in purchasing music from other genres; the Collins', Jackson, and Martin, like Elvis Presley and Carl Perkins before them, needed to cross over into the r&b scene if they wanted to gain greater success and reach a wider audience as rockabilly artists.

The data collected from Billboard has shown that women during rock’n’roll’s first generation were imagined in a very narrow and gendered manner which hindered female artists from redefining their image while simultaneously maintaining professional success. The women who were most heavily promoted by the magazine were those artists who adhered to the postwar domestic paradigm and shied away from performing music outside the standard pop fare. Since pop music, like country & western and r&b, was also a cultural construction, artists were styled to reflect the preferences of their audiences; in the case of pop music, this meant mainstream American society. The music industry was constructed in a biased, sexist manner which encumbered female artists from gaining equitable publicity in its major trade and production, distribution, and
promotion from major labels. In order to gain financial success, female pop artists had to abide by postwar gender norms, at least in their stage personas.

Unfortunately, these institutional obstacles proved to be long-lasting and though many more female rock’n’roll acts were able to break through in the 1960s, women’s contribution to rock’s first generation has largely been marginalized. According to David Sanjek, continued sexism within the music industry has aided that problem, noting that the inaccessibility of recordings by many if not most female rockabilly singers has constituted a more effective silencing than the truncated careers of many such artists.55 His point is quite valid, as nearly all the original recordings by early female rockabilly are no longer distributed by the labels for which they recorded and are subsequently hard to find for the average consumer. Many recordings of early female rockers, including those of Collins and Martin, were not readily accessible after their initial pressing and were not made available again until late 1980s after a German label acquired the master recordings and began selling their collections through select small retailers.56

Though the women who dominated postwar pop music and were able to garner a great deal of publicity and promotion as well as considerable radio and juke plays did so by reinforcing postwar gender norms, their professional successes are worthy of further study. Pop artists such as Teresa Brewer, Doris Day, Joni James, and Patti Page were widely known to consumers of the day; the fact that these women were considered to be sound investments by their labels, industry journalists, and station promoters suggests that female acts were of greater importance to pop music than scholars have already noted. Moreover, the handful of female acts who were able to carve a substantial niche in popular music at precisely the same time that women were encouraged to redirect all their
professional aspirations into domestic fulfillment needs to be better understood. Though female artists such as Dinah Washington and Joni James were imaged in the domesticate feminine manner that typified the postwar era, these women were also ambitious, hard-working, busy career women many of whom were also wives and mothers. How pop artists like Patti Page and Jo Stafford were able to maintain both a thriving professional and family life while female rock and r&b artists of the day were not merits further study.

Lorrie Collins, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martin are just three female artists who were held at the fringes of rock’n’roll’s first generation, and though their early careers were marked with only modest successes, their influence on their rock’n’roll contemporaries, and more importantly, the young audiences who heard their music or saw them perform, is worthy of consideration. The chapter that follows will offer a greater examination of the significance of rockabilly music and the careers of these three female greats who helped lay the foundation of rock’n’roll music. It will also highlight the social obstacles female artists faced when attempted to forge a professional music career.
CHAPTER 3

"RIP IT UP"; FEMALE ROCKABILLIES OF THE CLASSIC ROCK'N'ROLL SCENE

Rockabilly music, like all the contributing genres of rock’n’roll, was played and performed by both male and female artists. But while many of rockabilly’s male originators, including Carl Perkins and Elvis Presley, were able to achieve sustained mainstream success in the country & western, pop, and r&b markets, relatively few of rockabilly’s first female stars were able to accomplish such a feat. While the previous chapter looked at how institutional obstacles within the music industry made it increasingly difficult for female artists to transcend existing musical categorizations of both genre and gender, this chapter will examine how female artists, particularly rockabilly performers, confronted social obstacles that made professional success exceedingly difficult. First, I will examine rockabilly music and its relationship to rock’n’roll and the role of the vocal in popular music in an effort to uncover the role female artists played in each genre and how rockabilly created a space for feminist agency. Second, I will examine the early careers of Lorrie Collins, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martin, in an effort to demonstrate the critical role female artists played in the formative years of both rockabilly and rock’n’roll, and to show how social obstacles forced female artists exclusively to make personal choices that greatly influenced the course of their careers.
Just a Convenience? Rockabilly as Music and Culture

The parameters and characteristics of rockabilly music have been challenging for historians and musicologists alike to identify, but while rock’n’roll has a noticeable familiarity for most Americans the sound and style of rockabilly has remained far more elusive. What then is rockabilly? John Morthland describes it as "the young white Southerner’s every Saturday night blowout wrapped up in about two minutes of explosive music."¹ David Sanjek characterizes the genre as a period "of wild boys at play, a brief moment when the grey-flannelled consciousness of American masculinity bordered on mania."² Though some cynics, such as Terry Gordon of the Country Music Hall of Fame Library, believe rockabilly was merely a term of convenience to distinguish rock’n’roll performed by a country singer, clearly rockabilly was and is a unique musical style; but it is also a scene in which artists and admirers identify with the bold attitude that the radical music form embodies.³ To define rockabilly and the nature of the relationship between performers and devotees so that both can be fully understood, one must first break it down into its musical and sociological components.

Most musicologists would concur that rockabilly is a blending of two southern musical traditions – blues and country – played with heightened levels of emotion and intensity.⁴ In his book Go Cat Go!, musicologist Craig Morrison identifies several additional elements of rockabilly including blues structures, use of echo effect, strong rhythm and beat, a moderate to fast tempo, an energetic, blues-influenced electric guitar solo, and a wild or extreme vocal style.⁵ Recorded songs are short and simple with the musicians playing in a cooperative style in order to achieve an overall sound. Rockabilly music has most often been played by performers with a country music background and as
such, traditional country instruments such as piano and upright bass are sometimes used, although instrumentation itself is far less central to rockabilly than it is to such styles as bluegrass or Dixieland. Instruments provide a propulsive rhythm in rockabilly tunes, and playing styles (rather than the instruments themselves) vary considerably as instrumentalists and vocalists respond to unpredictable shifts and inflections within a song. Rockabilly music is often noted as being faster and more aggressive than rock’n’roll, with looser rhythms and more dynamic vocal stylings.

With up tempo beats and aggressive rhythms, it follows that when played live rockabilly becomes a highly visual, energetic musical performance. With musicians playing all at once, a live performance features boundless activity on stage at any given moment, rising and falling as musicians and vocalists emerge for their featured moments and then return again to their supportive role within the ensemble. Such a lively musical show may seem par for the course in today’s popular music landscape but juxtaposed against torch singers such as Perry Como and Kay Starr who dominated the scene during the postwar era, performances by rockabilly such as Jerry Lee Lewis or Jo Ann Campbell must have been electrifying for a rapt teenage audience who probably had little exposure to up-tempo, energetic, danceable music, especially one starving for a sound they could embrace as their own. As Richard Jandrow so aptly put it, rockabilly was then and remains now “a reflection of the restlessness of youth coupled with the desire for something [that was] theirs and only theirs.”

While rockabilly was itself a key influence in the development of rock’n’roll, several musical styles and influences played a part in the birth of its musical form in the early 1950s. Again, as is the case with rock’n’roll, much debate surrounds the
particularities of rockabilly's inception, but a simple chronology can be gleaned from secondary sources. Hailing from southern scenes, especially Memphis, Dallas-Fort Worth, Muscle Shoals and Nashville, rockabilly took many musical cues from the country styles of western swing, bluegrass, country boogie and honky-tonk. Additionally, black musical styles particularly the blues, rhythm & blues and gospel had an equal influence, both directly and indirectly on rockabilly's originators - all of whom were white - as many of them hailed from integrated neighborhoods in the urban south and had personal contact with black musicians. Several artists experimented with this fusion early on in the 1930s and 1940s including country greats Hank Williams, Red Foley, Arthur Smith, Moon Mullican, the Maddox Brothers and Rose, and Charline Arthur. Blues legends, including Jimmy Yancy, Pete Johnson, Muddy Waters, Wynonie Harris, and John Lee Hooker, also served as innovators in the genre and mentors to some of rockabilly's originators. The exact moment all these elements melded together into a distinctively novel musical form is unclear, but nearly all musicologists and music historians note 1953 or 1954 as the origination point of the genre.

The quixotic figure in rockabilly is the same noteworthy character of rock’n’roll - Elvis Presley - and many musicologists concur with Paul Friedlander in crediting his first commercial recording, “That’s All Right Mama” released in July 1954, for instigating the birth of a new genre. Upon release of the single, Presley’s manager Bob Neal got him booked on a country & western package tour featuring Slim Whitman, and the rockabilly sound as captured on tape in a Memphis recording studio soon gained national exposure. In fact, some musicologists, including Paul Friedlander and Billy Poore, would go so far as to say that Presley created the rockabilly style, but if one wants to identify the
individual most responsible for the style then credit should more appropriately be given to Sam Phillips, president and chief producer at Sun Records. It was Phillips who brought together country blues with hillbilly boogie, pioneered the use of the slap-back echo effect, and famously recorded many of rockabilly’s greatest tunes including Presley’s first ten sides.¹²

Greater disagreement exists over the length of rockabilly’s heyday. Though its rise parallels rock’n’roll’s first generation, scholars have drawn important distinctions between the two genres. Cited as a mere four years by Gillett, six and seven respectively by McNutt and Morrison, and ten according to Bufwack and Oermann, nearly all musicologists agree that the genre’s peak began in 1953 or 1954 and that musical tastes shifted and stylistic changes occurred sometime in the late 1950s and early 1960s heralding an end to the classic era.¹³ In the early 1960s, the large record labels realized there was money to be made in rockabilly and repackaged the sound in a highly-commercialized form. Also, several rockabilly originators temporarily ceased recording original material, while others stopped altogether; for those who did return, most would record in a different style of music than they had previously.¹⁴ Finally, technological changes and the introduction of British rock’n’roll to the American market would shift musical production away from singles, which rockabilly artists had favored, to the full album format, and many rockabillies consequently adapted their play to fit more popular styles. Collectively or individually these factors lessened the production of rockabilly music and though many rockabillies continued to perform and record, the sound would not reach that same pinnacle of popularity again. For the purposes of this study, the years 1953-1958 will be regarded as the peak years of rockabilly as those years include the
highest chart successes for rockabilly artists and the highest sales figures for rockabilly records and rockabilly shows that generated the most publicity during this time. Rockabilly would experience a revival of interest in the 1970s and 1980s when many original artists and several new bands inspired by the genre recorded new music and toured internationally, but with much less fanfare and aplomb than artists received in the 1950s.

Unlike rock'n'roll, the term 'rockabilly' was seldom used to classify the style during the genre's heyday. It was first used with regular familiarity during the revival of the late 1970s.¹⁵ The term was sometimes used in the 1950s and 1960s by music journalists and critics to describe an artist's technique or the beat of a song, but not to denote a separate and distinct form of popular music. The term itself – a blending of the two words rock'n'roll and hillbilly – had strong social and professional connotations and artists of the era were wary of assuming that categorization. 'Hillbilly' was used with some regularity in the 1950s and 1960s in reference to some variations of country & western music and the artists who played it; it was a pejorative term that for many had an unsavory back-woods connotation that producers and artists alike shied away from using. Rockabilly artist Johnny Carroll remembers he and his bandmates purposefully calling their music "country rhythm'n'blues" after hearing established country stars like Hank Snow and Faron Young use the term as an insult when referencing young rockabilly acts.¹⁶ Many of these artists, although seeped in the country & western tradition, saw their own music as an evolution from that base and resisted any association with standard, old-fashioned country music. Many rockabillies were poor, southern, white men; their pedigree did in fact resemble the stereotypical hillbilly type and that image
conflicted with the rebellious, aggressive allure of the rockabilly attitude they were trying to convey. In the postwar era, rockabilly was not considered to be a progressive tradition. Instead, it harkened back to the folk traditions of country & western culture; in its place, many artists would choose to identify with the burgeoning spectacle of rock'n'roll.

In addition to testing the boundaries of contemporary music, rockabilly also challenged postwar societal norms. Morrison describes rockabilly as an attitude born of underlying musical, racial and social tensions as experienced by its first practitioners. He notes that the style became a magnet for rebellious white southern youths who were part of the emerging consumer-oriented postwar culture, and the sound and the attitude associated with the new genre reflected the emotionality of their struggles. Gillett acknowledged that fundamental nature of the genre noting, “what made rockabilly such a drastic new music was its spirit, a thing that bordered on mania.” It was a musical form of great emotional expression in both play and performance; the energy artists displayed and their audiences reverberated expressed an undeniable resistance to postwar complacency. Rockabilly music begged its listeners to get up and move, rockabilly performers dressed, played, and sang with greater enthusiasm and personal expression than many audiences had seen before. In that way, rockabilly scenes were sites of social rebellion, as they offered public space for transgressive behavior, for both the artist and the enthusiast.

Rockabilly shows were much like their rock'n'roll successors in that performances were more lively, and aggressively and extraordinarily interactive. Bufwack and Oermann note that what was rockabilly in the south was merely identified
as flamboyant r&b or rock’n’roll in the north, as both radiated a similar kind of wild emotionalism and infernal beat.\textsuperscript{20} Listeners could not ignore “the beat, the beat, the beat” that Reverend Jimmy Snow, evangelical minister and son of Grand Ole Opry star Hank Snow, so often criticized from his pulpit but were in fact driven to bodily movements and gyrations that many social critics feared would lead to a social revolution.\textsuperscript{21} At rockabilly shows a revolution of sorts did occur; young audiences jumped out of their seats and danced unrestrained in the aisles, men and women together in close proximity. While this behavior had been typical since the early days of jazz in the 1920s, at rockabilly shows, both the bands and the crowds they drew, were racially mixed. Though some jazz ensembles and big bands were integrated in the 30s and 40s, band leaders dictated the creative flow of the music and more often than not, bands played to segregated audiences who listened somewhat passively.\textsuperscript{22} Just as rockabilly music blended black and white styles, black and white musicians were drawn together in creative expression, lyrics captured white euphemisms and black vernacular, and the rhythmic boogie of the artists contained instantly recognizable dance elements of white country and black rhythm and blues. It was a more thorough amalgamation of black and white inspiration than American popular music had ever seen. As Jandrow put it, black mixed with white on the music charts and in the concert halls years before the Supreme Court and Congress would insist it be so throughout the nation. Rockabilly and rock’n’roll would serve as cultural models for what was to come in the decades to follow.\textsuperscript{23}

Rockabilly performers further challenged postwar norms by adopting fashions that were often androgynous and titillating. Male rockabilly wore their hair longer,
sometimes with heavy pomade, but almost always shaken loose during a performance. Their freshly-shaved faces emphasized their youth and together with the flowing hair, they made many male artists appear decidedly feminine. Male rockabillyes wore flashy clothing, jackets with heavily-padded shoulders made of highly reflective or pastel-colored textiles. Their pants made of light-weight fabric, moved easily around the leg and hip, allowing for some indication of the body concealed beneath. Rather than the more androgynous styles favored by their male contemporaries, female rockabillyes accentuated the norms of femininity in a style of dress that was sexier and more provocative than the average American woman would have worn or deemed appropriate during the postwar era. Most female rockabillyes wore either dresses that were form-fitted to accentuate the bust, waist and hips or tight, slim capri length pants that showed the entire calf. Necklines were cut low to display as much of the shoulders, back and bust as promoters, managers or parents would allow, and ladies would pair any outfit with high-heeled shoes to elongate the leg and sway the lower back. While women’s fashions of the postwar era were cut and styled in a similar manner, more often then not, these stage costumes were made of fine, thinly-textured fabrics that gave the garment greater movement when the artist shimmied on stage, and highlighted the natural silhouette of the female rather than the cut of the clothes. And whenever possible, stage costumers were worn tighter than everyday wear. Hair and make-up were always styled to highlight a performers’ femininity.24

Style and fashion were not the only ways in which rockabillyes challenged constructs of gender during the postwar era. As was the case with rhythm & blues, rockabilly served as a site for men and women to challenge social understanding and
implications of gender identity and status. While rockabilly and rock’n’roll would eventually take on a decidedly masculine character, in the early and mid-fifties these genres were still heavily influenced by the varied styles that made up their base composition, several of which offered a more favorable reception to female artists than did mainstream popular music. Certainly not large in numbers, female rockabiliaies wrote songs and penned lyrics, they recorded and performed across the country, and a few such as Wanda Jackson and Brenda Lee would make a life’s career out of their musical passions. But many other female musicians also managed to forge successful careers in the music business during these years invalidating the notion that all postwar women were fundamentally dedicated to raising a family and didn’t want to work outside the home. Some, such as Dinah Shore and Kay Starr, were prototypes of what would be called a ‘supermom’ in the 1980s: renaissance women who found a way to have it all – a successful career, marriage and family. What set rockabilly women apart from female artists of other genres is that rockabilly music was by definition confrontational, sensual, and rebellious. Unlike, say, jazz or northern band rock’n’roll which were often recorded and performed in a much more stylized and polished form, rockabilly was instead equated with a desire to make a lot of noise and with expressions of arrogance, experimentation, and aggression – none of which would be considered appropriate behavior for a young woman in the 1950s. Rockabilly women, along with rockabilly men, aggravated the parameters of social respectability leaving their audiences to question and toy with those same boundaries themselves; within the rockabilly scene, alternatives to traditional gender norms were to be found among performers and fans of the genre.
The Vocal in Rockabilly Song

The vocal has played a significant role in American popular music since original compositions were first identified with the new nation. As Starr and Waterman note in their survey of the genre, popular songs may be analyzed as composed works of art with their own internal characteristics, but also as interpretations by particular artists and performers. More simply put, one must understand the singing in addition to the song.\textsuperscript{26} A series of musicologists have further noted the depth and context that a voice lends to a melody or rhythm and the significance a vocal performance can give to the lyric, oftentimes changing the tone of a song.\textsuperscript{27} Some, including Roland Barthes, even suggest that the vocal is fundamental in ascribing value to music and musical performance. Identified in his essay of the same name, Barthes affirms the significance of “the grain of the voice” - the shared space in which language and music intersect - stating that simple consideration of “grain” in music could lead to an entirely different understanding of the history of music.\textsuperscript{28} Simon Firth has gone further to argue that the human voice is the centerpiece of popular music because, unlike any played instrument, “it stands for the person more directly... [it] is a sound produced physically by the movement of the muscles and breathe in the chest and throat and mouth; to listen to the voice is to listen to a physical event, to the sound of a body.”\textsuperscript{29} As a direct production of the body, the vocal is more closely identified with the vocalist than a guitar or drum is with an instrumentalist.

During the twentieth century the vocal became even more important as the major record labels recorded increasing numbers of previously recorded material, or cover versions, in an attempt to capitalize on the original talents being cultivated at small
independent labels. The majors would purchase the rights to the same song, rearrange the accompaniment, and record the tune using one of their tried-and-true pop singers, oftentimes altering the lyric to tone down sexual innuendo or otherwise offensive material.\textsuperscript{30} It was not uncommon in the 1940s and 50s to find several versions of the same song appearing simultaneously on the \textit{Billboard} charts, offering contrasting vocal performances that effectively altered the meaning and quality of the song.\textsuperscript{31} In this way, the major labels could tap into the musical sound that appealed to the growing teenage consumer base while continuing to produce records that satisfied existing customers hence increasing the marketability of their contracted artists.\textsuperscript{32}

Nearly all musicologists point out that vocal presentation is one of the defining characteristics of a rockabilly song or performance.\textsuperscript{33} What identifies the rockabilly vocal is the emotional expression of the singer and the flair in which he or she uses in delivering the lyric. Unlike the vocal delivery of the average postwar pop tune, the rockabilly vocal was neither fluid nor smooth. Rather, it fluctuated wildly, rising and falling in tone and volume, jumping in and out of the musical accompaniment giving greater emphasis to the singer \textit{in front of} the ensemble. Most rockabilly pieces feature a single vocalist who sings in an assertive, confident manner; vocal delivery is not set or distinct as many performers slur their words, inserting additional vowel sounds to elongate words or phrases and sometimes using scat or slang to keep time with the rhythmic beat of the song. Much like variations of blues music, in rockabilly the vocal is used to emphasize the intense feelings of the singer and the passion of the song.\textsuperscript{34} As John Mortland recounts, rockabilly vocalists of the postwar era, “swaggered through songs using a variety of exaggerated hiccups, stutters and slurs,” and together with a
piercing guitar, produced a sound that was “the musical equivalent of a switchblade snapping open.”

Like the other contributing genres of rock’n’roll, rockabilly appealed to a smaller, marginal audience and the music was mostly recorded and released on independent labels that had limited production and distribution capabilities. These labels did not have the capacity to mass produce disks or promote artists on the grand scale that the majors could and instead were quite satisfied to market their artists locally, generating regional hits whose sales demands could be more easily met. Thus, the music retained much of its confrontational flair since it appealed to a much smaller, more homogeneous market that was not too dissimilar from the artists themselves. Again, as with other antecedents of rock’n’roll, rockabilly thrived in these smaller markets as a more aggressive, more sexually-charged, more rebellious form of popular music, and the vocal performances of these artists were essentially different from those found in popular song.

Just how many rockabilly recorded and performed during the genre’s heyday is contingent on how one chooses to define a rockabilly artist, but existing scholarship on the history of American popular music does not suggest that there were many pure rockabilly performers during the postwar era. A few musicologists believe, as does Paul Friedlander, that rockabilly was merely a transitional genre for some white performers, such as Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis; artists who came from country & western and blues backgrounds then made the leap to rock’n’roll. But most scholars are in agreement that the difficulty in identifying a class of artists who could be deemed ‘rockabilly’ is complicated by the fact that most of its artists performed other kinds of music before, during, and after the golden years of the genre; so when one considers a
looser application of the moniker ‘rockabilly,’ one can allow for the inclusion of far more artists than history has traditionally noted.

Other than Elvis, Jerry Lee, Buddy Holly and Carl Perkins, who were rockabilly’s pioneers? If we were to look at artists between 1953 and 1958, there would be over one hundred recording artists and countless other musicians who performed rockabilly music who fit the description, several of whom were female. Nearly all female rockabillyies hailed from the south, and the greatest number recorded with small labels in Nashville or Memphis in the years immediately following Presley’s huge break-out. Many small labels searched frantically to find a woman who embodied that lusty, unrestrained enthusiasm of the young kid, none more so than the one that discovered him — Sun Records. In addition to noted rockabilly gems Barbara Pittman and Jean Chapel, Sam Phillips would record ten other female acts at Sun before shutting its doors in 1968. RCA, the label that lured Presley away from Sun, also recorded its fair share of female rockabillyies including the pioneering Charline Arthur, the Davis Sisters, and the irrepressible Janis Martín. Still others, including Columbia, Decca and Capitol, would record many greats such as Rose Maddox, Brenda Lee and Barbara Allen, in addition to several other noteworthy artists. Clearly, there were more women active in the genre, nearly all of whom were vocalists, than one might initially assume.

The fact that more female rockabillyies than popular musicology has accounted for, were singing and shaking in the postwar era is not so surprising. What might be more surprising is the number of these performers who also wrote their own music and played a number of instruments along with their bands. The image of a young woman wielding a guitar on stage, moving along with a rockin’ beat, paints a startling contrast to
the more demure delivery favored by country sweethearts and torch singers of popular song. Just like big band singers who came before, rockabilly singers were active participants in the music created. Their artistry was essential to the overall sound of the music and their stage performance key to conveying the raucous attitude of that subversive scene. The fact that women assumed this crucial position in a recording or performance is striking – musically, culturally, and historically.

Fewer in numbers than their male counterparts, a handful of female artists achieved moderate chart success and artistic commendation during the golden years of rockabilly. Their names – Lorrie Collins, Wanda Jackson, Brenda Lee, Janis Martin – will sound somewhat familiar to many rockabilly and country fans, but not so much so to general music enthusiasts. Of those women who garnered hits in the 1950s, the name most novices can readily identify is that of Brenda Lee, a child prodigy with a big-girl voice who gained more publicity for her mature vocal stylings at such an unusually early age than for her sheer talent as an artist. While Lee was and is a phenomenal rockabilly vocalist, many audiences could not reconcile her sexy, energetic delivery with her youthful, pint-sized appearance. Further dulling her rockabilly edge, promoters and managers often dressed her in “cute” outfits that played up the child angle (which became all the more complicated when Lee married in 1963 at the age of 18) and although she would have numerous hits over the course of her career and still continues to perform regularly both in the United States and abroad, her style of performance was noticeably different from other female rockabilly in the 1950s, and, I would argue, more subdued than the other three women.\footnote{Collins, Jackson, and Martin represent the full, bold rockabilly package. Each possess extraordinary vocal ability, each has written and}
performed their own original material, and each put on one hell of a rockabilly show. Filled with blazing talent, raw sexuality, and boundless energy, these women stood shoulder to shoulder with their male contemporaries and helped disengage postwar American society from its puritanical constructs.

**From Singing Ingénues to Cultural Vanguards**

*An Emergent Possibility*

Vocal duets are atypical to rockabilly music and of those recorded, nearly all are in the brother duet harmony signing tradition found in country music. Female duets are even less prevalent and the male-female duet nearly nonexistent, aside from one exceptional and commercially successful brother-sister act. When they came onto the scene in the early 1950s, the Collins Kids were remarkable not only for their prodigious talent but also for the paradoxical fact that they were preteen siblings singing lyrics largely about male-female romantic relationships while portraying the sensuality and confrontational character of rockabilly music with seemingly no public outcry or backlash. From the outset of their career, the Collins Kids embodied the sound and attitude of rockabilly music just as much as the genre’s male stars, but the added attraction of a young, pretty female vocalist added an exciting nuance that challenged the gendered meaning of their songs. Female artists had already made a name for themselves in rockabilly by the time the Collins’ began recording and performing, but Lorrèe Collins would bring a style of performance that possessed a subtle sexuality and a powerful, assertive delivery that had not been seen before. When coupled with her brother’s high harmony and unmistakably youthful, energetic playing style, Lorrèe’s vocal and her alluringly demure performance were a striking contrast to the contemporary female artists.
of the era that proposed a cultural and musical dilemma audiences found engrossing yet increasingly difficult to resolve.⁴³

Lorrie Collins was born the second of four children in Tahlequah, Oklahoma in 1942. Her brother and musical partner Larry, was born two years later and the family would spend the next six years living in small rural towns within the state while their father eked out a living as a dairy farmer and then crane operator. The two children loved music and seemed to have a natural aptitude for it. Lorrie frequently performed and entered small talent competitions and after winning one such contest in 1950, it was suggested to her parents that they move the family out to California in order to get the young girl a recording contract. Lorrie’s mother Hazel took the child around to talent scouts and managers in Los Angeles in 1952 and the whole family moved out to the sunshine state the following year. It was in those two years that Lorrie and Larry began playing and singing together at the prodding of their parents and it was as a duo that the youngsters performed on Town Hall Party’s talent contest in February 1954. The two were well received by the audience and the show’s producers and were immediately hired to appear as regulars on the Compton-based television program where they performed weekly spots for the next two years.⁴⁴

The two often sang and performed their own material on the show, Larry playing a double-necked guitar, Lorrie accompanying him on her own acoustical guitar. The lyrics were simple tales of infatuation, dating under the watchful eyes of parents, and unrequited love in which Lorrie sang lead and Larry provided high harmony in the chorus. Morrison notes that with the shrill sound of Larry’s undeveloped voice, the Collins’ harmonies were “equivalent to a female version of the Everly Brothers,” but
visually there was no mistaking that the duo were a boy and girl who shared an unmistakable if not ambiguous chemistry.\footnote{45}

The Kids were eleven and nine when they began performing on television; Lorrie was already tall and sinewy, Larry was much shorter than his sister. His child’s body looked overwhelmed by the size of his favored instrument, a double-neck Mosrite guitar. Lorrie’s play was controlled, her performance more charming and mature for a girl of her age; Larry on the other hand, played as you would expect a nine year old boy appearing on stage in the company of his beautiful, more graceful older sister – very enthused and raucous, totally devoid of any self-consciousness.\footnote{46} When asked if she was aware of the differences between herself and her brother in regards to visual appearance and style of play, Lorrie replied, “Oh sure. That was one of the things that made us successful.”\footnote{47} The Kids had an undeniable affection for each other and on stage it was instantly apparent to their audiences that they loved performing together.\footnote{48}

The Collins Kids had a clear country & western influence, but in making a name for themselves in southern California, the Kids assumed a more polished pop sound than other rockabilly acts of the time, nearly all of whom recorded in the south or southwest. Lorrie claimed Teresa Brewer and Kay Starr as vocal influences, and states that she and Larry gravitated more toward songs “with the beat and a vocal that was loud and powerful. That’s the music that we loved.” Though their music was always different from the more stylized genres of pop and country, it predated much of the rockabilly that would break out of Memphis in 1954 and 1955. Lorrie recalls, “Oh, we knew we were doing music differently. It kinda put us on a different level.”\footnote{49} The Kids played a hopped-up style of country & western to eager, young audiences; their music was more
beat-driven and danceable than most songs heard on the radio or found in juke boxes, and with the absence of a strong country & western or blues market, the Collins Kids were one of the first acts to incorporate the rock-'n-roll sound on the west coast. When asked by Colin Escott about their first recording sessions, Larry's observations about their music parallel his sister's: "Rock-'n-roll was what we were doing. All the material was high energy. Our approach was always: Let's make this a little faster."

And in the center of Los Angeles' emerging television industry, the Kids and their novel approach to music became instant favorites with their fresh faces, innovative musicianship and exciting stage personas.

In 1955, Columbia offered the Collins' a recording contract for the Kids to record as a duo and also for Lorrie to record as a solo act. Within the first year at the label, the Kids recorded and released five sides, most of which were their own compositions. The following year Goddard Lieberson was promoted to president at the label and he initiated a succession of creative changes that made Columbia the most successful of all the major labels and refashioned many contracted artists for the contemporary market, including the Collins Kids. The Kids' agent, Mitchell Hamilburg, and their recording directors at the label assumed responsibility for selecting songs for the two to record, material with more of a pop flair that Lorrie remembers, "wasn't us period." Columbia wanted to maintain the teen audience that was drawn in by the novel sound of the Collins' music, but they also wanted to appeal to the adult market that was apprehensive about the rebelliousness and latent sexuality common to rockabilly and rock-'n-roll music. Buoyed from the popularity of their performances on Town Hall Party, Hamilburg began booking the act on mainstream television programs such as Steve Allen, Dean Martin, and Ed Sullivan.
and changed Lorrie’s costuming to make the teen appear older and more affluent. Unfamiliar with the operation of the entertainment industry and eager to maintain the family’s chief source of income, the children’s parents encouraged Lorrie and Larry to roll with the changes and follow the suggestions put forth by the label. Lorrie soon became a media darling, and as she matured, her budding sexuality became even more difficult for her handlers to restrain.54

Once at Columbia, their music did become a bit more tepid, smooth and rhythmic and hence more palatable for an audience broader than the west coast teenage market. However, on stage the Kids continued to play the same aggressive, spirited, rockabilly show. While their material was often determined by the label for major television appearances, the Kids could choose their own set lists for live shows and smaller regional broadcasts and were able to perform in the style they most preferred. The Collins’ regularly toured in support of other more established artists, such as Carl Perkins and Johnny Cash, where they would not have been expected to fill the venue or perform only their current releases. As a result, their live performances were looser and more improvisational than those found on their records or in view on primetime television, and both Lorrie and Larry often took advantage of those opportunities to showcase their artistic expression and perform with greater abandon. Larry believed that the timbre of their voices didn’t work well on radio or records and that their sound was better suited for live performance; the young lad had boundless energy that translated into an exuberant, sometimes frantic playing style and it’s fair to say that he preferred the exchange of energy that comes from singing and playing in front of an audience.55 Lorrie’s performances were dominated by the sheer force of her voice; it holds a sweet, feminine
tone but is strong and flexible in range. She did not move much while on stage, focusing instead on her singing and playing. She was a striking young girl with an expressive face; the juxtaposition between the temperament of the music and the appearance of the young ingénue was startling.56

Without a doubt, the young girl possessed an unselfconscious flirtatiousness that disregarded the familiar, worn-out parameters of social behavior that was just as confrontational as the sensuality exuded by her male contemporaries. But in those earliest years, Lorrie’s sexuality was tempered by her youth, the simplicity of the lyrics and the vocal pairing with her brother; it was nearly impossible to conceive of the demure brunette suggesting that the adolescent dilemmas and conundrums of which she sang were not as innocuous as they seemed. It had to be so; to believe that their music did in fact contain a layer of sexual suggestion would have confused the nature of the relationship between the Kids. However, Lorrie’s appeal was undeniably effective, a fact that became quite apparent after her marriage at age seventeen. Now that she was a married woman Columbia was no longer able to capitalize on Lorrie’s fresh-faced appeal and struggled to find a way to continue to promote the Kids as a teen act. Their music and the market clearly had not changed, but Lorrie’s marital status had a significant impact on the way in which she was perceived by the public. Looking back on that point in their career, Lorrie notes, “a lot of people felt I had this innocence about me...I think our age made a difference in some ways.”57 She had married a man nineteen years her senior, the subtleties and innuendos in the Kids’ music took on a new meaning at this point, and Lorrie was no longer able to rely on her girlish naïveté to dilute its sensuality.58
Eventually, their sales began to slide and offers for personal appearances began to diminish. In 1961, Lorrie gave birth to her first child and chose to allocate the bulk of her time to her family. By the summer of 1963, the Collins Kids had been dropped from Columbia. The Kids performed on a handful of occasions during the next decade, and worked regular stints at several Nevada casinos during the 1970s. The Collins Kids, like many of rockabilly’s originators, have had a rebirth of sorts in the past two decades in the rockabilly revival that has taken fire in Europe, Canada, and to a lesser degree in the United States; the Kids continue to play a handful of dates each year.59 Now, as in the heyday of their career, the Kids are widely popular on the rockabilly scene and are cited by countless artists and musicologists as highly influential to the genre.60 As Colin Escott puts it, what is most remarkable and indeed ironic is that, “they were one of the best-known acts of the era, but didn’t have any hits.”61 When looking back, both Lorrie and Larry acknowledge the toll her marriage took on their family and their early career, but neither places blame for the Kids’ inability to make it big on Lorrie’s decision to marry.62 Some have suggested that the Kids had become too visual, that their high visibility on television diminished their ability to sell records; others believed the Kids should have steered clear of the teen novelty sounds and demanded more regular, adult-like material; still others suggest that the Kids received inadequate promotion that pigeon-holed them into the teenage market making it impossible to modify their image as Lorrie and Larry matured. All the early rock’n’roll and rockabilly pioneers experienced frustration with the ways in which their record labels and managers chose to promote them, but while the latent sexuality of artists such as Jerry Lee Lewis and Elvis Presley
made them difficult to promote, it also increased their sales totals; the difficulty the Collins Kids experienced translated into a net sales loss and ultimately no contract.

As with many female artists in the postwar era, Lorrie clearly felt the pressure to conform to traditional gender norms. While managers encouraged her brother's unbridled enthusiasm on stage, Lorrie was sent to charm school and told to put her new skills to practice in her personal appearances. She found her schooling as unpleasant as the canned songs the label wanted her and Larry to sing, and as artists do, she took the liberty to perform as she wished whenever she could. When asked about pressure to prescribe to the postwar paradigm, Lorrie recounted how surprised she was to learn that KTTV routinely fielded complaints about her performances on Town Hall Party. "It never crossed my mind that I was doing anything offensive," she stated. Pausing for a moment, she continued:

At that time women were kinda looked down upon if they wiggled their hips or raised their eyebrows...it wasn't the thing to do. Especially with Larry and I, because we were young kids and we had this fresh wonderful image and you know, god forbid you do something a little risqué. But, we did it anyway. While there were some trail-blazing women in country music and the blues at this time, there were no other female artists in the west coast, youth-oriented pop scene in which Lorrie and Larry made their mark. While Lorrie recalls knowing of Brenda Lee, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martin, she never crossed musical paths with these women or any others who performed in a rockabilly style during those early years. As a child performer, Lorrie had always viewed herself as a bit of an outsider, and she and Larry never played music that could be easily categorized into any mainstream genre. Consequently, she never paid much attention to the fact that there weren't very many
other women like herself in the business. Today she sees it quite differently noting, “I think until recently there was no recognition [for women’s contributions to rock’n’roll] at all...we really are the pioneers for all the women in music today, like Madonna and Cher.”65 Many artists never have a top-selling record or sustain a recording and performing career throughout their adult life; Big Mama Thornton and Junior Parker never had a chart hit, and neither Carl Perkins nor Janis Joplin recorded for more than five years. These indicators can’t measure success, or more importantly, influence.

Few female rockabilly were able to write or record their own songs, but regardless of the origins of the material, the fact that female rockabilly singers, much like blues singers before them, had the opportunity to “go public” is quite significant.66 As Sanjek notes, “the opportunity to place their personal signature upon a song that implied if not endorsed individual liberation remains a rare opportunity not to be denied.”67 The Collins’ exhilarating performances were socially meaningful because they disregarded the familiar postwar social behavior in the same way as other rockabilly artists and served as models of the new rearticulated tastes of the teenage set.68 Others would come after the Kids and challenge social norms in a much more profound and confrontational way, but the avenue of resistance was first laid clear by marginally successful artists, such as Lorrie and Larry.

*The Coy Contender*

Born five years before Lorrie in Maud, Oklahoma and taking a similar path through talent shows and live radio shows, was a polite, vivacious, equally striking young woman who favored country & western songs. Like Lorrie, Wanda Jackson never aspired to do anything professionally other than music and was fortunate enough to have
parents who encouraged their daughter’s aspirations. Her father was a working musician in and around Maud when Wanda was a toddler but was forced to find a more profitable trade once the Depression hit. Tom moved the family out to Los Angeles in 1941 so that he could attend barber school and after a few months training, he settled the family in Bakersfield just one hundred miles to the north.69

An oil and cotton center in the San Joaquin Valley, Bakersfield absorbed a heavy migration of Okies in the 1930s who brought their love of rural music to the west coast. These transplants filled thousands of jobs created by the nation’s war mobilization effort and Bakersfield quickly developed as a wide open town that produced some of most aggressive, danceable, cut-loose music on the country & western scene. “The Bakersfield Sound” was a revved-up, danceable version of country music that included fiddle and high harmony voices as opposed to the string sections and vocal choirs favored by producers in Nashville. Bakersfield singers had to shout to be heard above the clatter of their bands, giving them a decidedly more energetic and emotional delivery than traditional country singers.70 During the 1940s and 1950s, all of country music’s best-know artists came and went frequently through Bakersfield; thus, locals got to see some of the genre’s best-known artists in addition to their own homegrown talent. For a brief time, Bakersfield stood to challenge Nashville’s hegemony in country & western music.

On Friday and Saturday nights, Tom and Nellie Jackson would head to the local dances to hear this lively music with their only child in tow. The couple had introduced Wanda to music at an early age; she could sing and play guitar by age six and loved to go along so she could stand by the stage and watch the band play while her parents cut loose. Wanda witnessed the Bakersfield sound first hand, in addition to her personal favorites
the Maddox Brothers and Rose, who had literally ridden the rails to California from Alabama in 1933 and played the valley frequently during the forties.\textsuperscript{71} Rose Maddox was just a teenager then but had a raucous, roaring voice that just dazed audiences; she and her brothers put on an incredibly lively and infectious show that was filled with aggressive song-playing and a high degree of fun and humility. The family was open to including anything in the act that would make the show more entertaining and adopted a style of dress that Bufwack and Oermann refer to as, “fabulously gaudy, flower-encrusted cowboy/Mexican outfits [that] defined the country music look for a generation to come.”\textsuperscript{72} Like many who experienced their shows first-hand, Wanda was captivated by Rose’s vocals and inspired by her stage performance; though she didn’t even know it was possible to become a professional entertainer, Wanda knew for certain that, like Rose Maddox, she wanted a career in music. Tom eagerly fed his daughter’s aspirations to perform and instructed Wanda on the guitar and also signed her up for piano lessons and formal music instruction.\textsuperscript{73}

The Jackson family moved east to Oklahoma City in 1949 and within a year, Wanda began singing in the Baptist church, as she had done in Bakersfield, and had entered a handful of talent contests, one of which earned her a daily fifteen minute slot on KLPR, a local country & western radio station just down the street from her high school. Through her radio program she came to the attention of country legend Hank Thompson, who recorded Wanda with his own band, the Brazos Valley Boys, in 1954. Thompson gave Jackson the kick-start she needed, and by year’s end the young singer had inked her first contract with Decca Records.\textsuperscript{74} Looking back, Wanda recalled the decision to
pursue music as a rather seamless process; "I didn’t prepare for anything else," she said, "there weren’t many professional choices for women [at that time]."75

Other than the typing classes all the girls were required to take in high school, Wanda had no marketable job skills and additionally, she felt the pressure of knowing her family was banking on her success as a performing artist. Her father had taken work as a car salesman and her mother had found work at Tinker Air Force Base, but both were dedicated to promoting Wanda’s career. Tom worked as her manager and chaperone and her mother, who had also worked as a professional seamstress, created all of Wanda’s stage costumes.76 “My career was like a family, everyone was in it,” Wanda recalls. Her father once held his own professional aspirations before Wanda came along and Nellie had always worked. Wanda remembers that her mother had felt an obligation to contribute to the family and “wanted to help Daddy make a living.” They were a unit, working together, playing together, dreaming together and Wanda, sharing her mother’s sense of obligation, felt a responsibility to succeed so that she too could help the family get by. “I had to make it,” she recalls, “…I never thought I’d fail at this.”77

By the time Jackson graduated from high school, she had already cut eleven sides and appeared in *Billboard* magazine on six separate occasions. Though Wanda had a couple of local hits and one national hit with, “You Can’t Have My Love,” a duet with Thompson’s band leader Billy Gray, it was important to both her and her parents that she finish her education before pursuing a career full-time. That fall, Wanda joined ABC TV’s *Ozark Jubilee* as a regular performer and in October she set out on her first national tour, which featured Johnny Cash, Jean Sheppard, and another young up-and-comer, Elvis Presley. Jackson and Presley took an immediate liking to each other, both as
musicians and as friends; the two had much in common, including being only children and sharing a love of gospel music, and dated for nearly two years. Tom Jackson was equally taken by Presley and was impressed by the reception the young singer received on tour. He encouraged his daughter to study and adopt Presley’s style, thoroughly convinced that the kid was on to something big. Presley also encouraged Jackson to sing more upbeat, rockin’ songs, telling her that her voice was perfect for the new material. Wanda had her doubts; she loved singing country & western songs and had no female models to emulate in this new style. Material like that was not written for women and she was worried about being able to preserve her reputation if she adopted a more rambunctious, assertive style of performance. While many musicologists have overstated the influence Presley had on her career, Jackson recalls, “I doubt I would’ve had the courage to try the material if it hadn’t been for Elvis’ insistence. He really thought I should do it.”

In 1957, Jackson signed with Capitol records and was ready to try a few rockabilly numbers. Since there were no rockabilly songs written for a female singer, Jackson wrote her own compositions and those were among the first she recorded in her first Capitol sessions. Unwilling to dispense with Jackson’s popularity as a country & western artist, they packaged her rockabilly singles with a country single in order to continue to appeal to her existing fan base. While this strategy was not completely novel at the time, it did work for a time and Jackson continued to produce hits on the country charts while placing three top 40 hits on the pop charts during 1960 and 1961.

Capitol promoted her country sides quite heavily during her first few years with the label, but after her third single “Baby Loves Him” penned by Jackson herself,
producers realized she could easily be marketed as a crossover rather than a straight
country artist and began seriously to promote her in the pop market as a pop vocalist
along the same lines as Patty Page and Teresa Brewer. Capitol’s chief country A&R man
Ken Nelson had been at the label since 1951 and went to considerable lengths to “find an
Elvis” for the label. He served as Jackson’s producer up to 1965, and though he was
attracted by Jackson’s prodigious talent and her exposure to Presley’s early style, Nelson
failed to recognize that Jackson could have been just the kind of artist he was looking to
promote. Jackson remembers her Capitol years as being very tumultuous and
confusing, feeling as Janis Martin also did, that the label was noticeably confused about
how to promote this new kind of music and the female artist who recorded it. Jackson
recalls, “Capitol Records didn’t know what to do with me. They didn’t know how to
market me.”

Jackson continued to record rockabilly and country tunes at Capitol through 1962,
including the noteworthy “Fujiyama Mama” (1957), “Let’s Have a Party,” “Mean, Mean
Man” (1958), and “Riot in Cell Block No. 9” (1960), all of which featured dynamic
lyrical stylings that included hiccupped vocals, and the simple guitar, bass, and drum
backing that was characteristic of rockabilly tunes of the era. Jackson had an innate sense
of the new material and her voice, deep and husky, laid a level of suggestion onto the
simplest of lyrics. While Bufwack and Oermann describe her vocal delivery as “almost
frightening savagery,” Nick Tosches describes her voice on her rockabilly tracks as, “a
wild-fluttering thing of sexy subtleties and sudden harshness, feral feline purrings and
raving banshee shriekings.” Jackson herself thought rockabilly tunes were “pretty

RID
innocent stuff” with a simple three-chord progression, and much preferred singing a
country song because “there was more to it.”84

But Jackson readily admits to spicing things up by pushing the envelope with her
stage performances. Jackson returned to the road in 1958, hiring a rock’n’roll band to
back her that included Vernon Sandusky on guitar and Big Al Downing on piano. On
stage, Jackson growled and hollered while strumming her guitar and swaying her hips,
just like her male contemporaries, and flirted with the audience in a slightly self-
conscious and coy manner.85 How Jackson was able to get away with this type of
suggestiveness that hinted at sexual innuendo is uncertain; maybe it was due to her
immense talent or her great sense of humor, or possibly because her mother and father
were always just off stage. Coming from a country & western background, Jackson
always performed alongside more wholesome acts, and possibly the confusion at Capitol
with how to promote Jackson worked in her favor as her album sleeves and promotion
materials were always styled to make her look more girl-next-door than rock’n’roll
fireball.

By nearly all accounts, Jackson’s stage costumes were a revolution. Most were
hand-made by her mother to Jackson’s specifications and blended a flair for fashion with
a budding self-awareness of her femininity and sexuality. Jackson recalls, “I loved
Marilyn Monroe and I had a pretty good figure and wanted to show it off.”86 So her
mother created tight-fitting sheaths and low-cut fish-tail gowns, some with rhinestones,
some with silk fringe, but all designed to make Jackson look both sexy and ladylike, not
vulgar or crass. Jackson had long, dark, wavy hair that she would pin-curl and lay loose
along her shoulders, often wearing rhinestone or hoop earrings, and favored make-up that
highlighted her eyes and lips in bold, vibrant colors. Though female country artists such as Dottie West and Tammy Wynette would embrace this form of dress years later, Jackson was among the first to add a hint of glamour and sex appeal to the country stage performance and received both acclaim and criticism in the process.87

Jackson’s biggest hit during these years was “Right or Wrong,” a self-penned country weeper released in 1961. The phenomenal success of that record coupled with her marriage to IBM executive Wendell Goodman, marked a shift in Jackson’s career that returned her to country music almost exclusively. Jackson recalls:

I love singing the rock songs...but I didn’t like that rock’n’roll scene that all of a sudden I was thrown into workin’ with. That whole scene -- those little teenyboppers...the bubble-gum set -- of course, I wasn’t much older myself, but I thought I was all grown up...Then country music began comin’ back, and I think when I went back to country, I lost my rock’n’roll fans.88

Goodman quit his job soon after their wedding to manage his wife’s career full-time and Jackson continued to record country music and tour throughout the 1960s, giving birth to the couples’ two children and scoring several country hits along the way including “In the Middle of a Heartache” and “A Girl Don’t Have to Drink to Have Fun.” Ironically enough, the first decade of the Goodman’s marriage was marked by constant touring and heavy alcohol abuse; at the urging of their children, the two cleaned up their act and became born-again Christians in 1971, and Wanda would devote herself to sacred music for the next fifteen years. Jackson was granted release from the last five years of her Capitol contract and signed with Word and then Gusto Records, recording more than five gospel albums before returning to secular music in 1986. Since that time, Jackson has continued to record a mixture of rockabilly, country, and gospel selections on the Amathyst label.89

82
Unquestionably, Wanda Jackson has had a longer and more successful career than nearly all other female rockabilly artists, and though her greatest musical successes have come in the country industry, Jackson has remained a committed and vital performer of rockabilly music. Many rockabilly artists, including the other two women discussed in this chapter, also experienced success in country and pop music, but Jackson’s career is remarkable for several reasons. First, Jackson is one of very few female artists of the era whose career was not stalled or interrupted when she married and started her family. It was far more common to see female artists take a break to acclimate to marital life, spend time with their children while they were young, or in many such cases, just walk away from the business entirely to become a full-time housewife. The fact that Jackson’s husband served as her manager was not unusual, as many female artists had husbands that served double-duty as their managers or agents, but Wendell Goodman was not of the industry and gave up his career as a computer engineer to support Jackson in hers and, more importantly, prevent the family from spending long periods of time apart. Goodman played a critical role in keeping his wife in the studio and on the road for over four decades and has been able to successfully promote Jackson in three different genres of music. Though some of her contemporaries might argue that Goodman has often overexposed Jackson’s talent, her longevity as an artist and her continued popularity among rockabilly enthusiasts is unparalleled.

Second, unlike many of the other female rockabilly artists, Jackson’s foray into rock’n’roll music was accepted as imaginative and legitimate. Jackson had little difficulty finding representation, songs to record, or venues to perform in. Unlike artists such as Laura Lee Perkins and Janis Martin, Jackson encountered little opposition from
other artists she performed and recorded with and was in fact well-liked throughout the music industry. She was able to record her own compositions throughout her career personifying rockabilly for the female audience, and received airplay for her records on both rock and country radio. While Jackson’s rockabilly tunes often asserted a sense of individual liberation, such as “Rip It Up” and “I Gotta Know,” and her stage performances exhibited overt sexual aggression, Jackson was seldom viewed as a threat to the unyielding gender norms of the postwar era. Much as Dolly Parton would years later, Jackson was able to promote a highly-feminized, hyper-sexualized artistic persona with seemingly little backlash from the industry or the consumer public.

What enabled Jackson to accomplish this is anyone’s guess; maybe it was her classical beauty, her confident sense of humor, the close supervision first by her parents and then by her husband, her background as a wholesome country ingénue, or her self-proclaimed Christian conversion. Craig Morrison believes that because most of the female rockabillies were so young, they were able to act wilder without worry of offending the record-buying public. Bufwack and Oermann believe that unlike their male counterparts, female rockabilly singers such as Jackson presented no real threatening or radically different image to country audiences and were often presented as performers of novelty songs who performed but did not live the musical lifestyle of open sexuality and rebellion. Certainly this was the case with Jackson who lived the very ordinary life of a southern, god-fearing teenager. Likely it was a combination of these factors that made her rebellious elements less threatening and made her challenges to both social and gender norms less frightening to music insiders and more palatable to the general public.
Wanda Jackson's place in country music and gospel history has been affirmed over the years. She has twice been nominated for the Grammy Award for best female vocalist, has been inducted into the International Gospel Music, Oklahoma Country Music, and Oklahoma Music Hall of Fames, and was recognized last year by Country Music Television (CMT) as one of the 40 Greatest Women of Country Music. Many contemporary artists, including country greats k.d. lang and Reba McIntire, and rockabilly's Rosie Flores, who has both recorded and toured with her idol, cite Jackson as a significant influence on their musical careers.\textsuperscript{94} Jackson has steadily been gaining recognition within the rockabilly scene and was welcomed into the Rockabilly Hall of Fame in 1997 and International Rockabilly Hall of Fame in 2000. In his book chronicling early unknown artists of rock'n'roll, Nick Tosches refers to Wanda Jackson as, "one of the most exceptional rock'n'roll stylists of her or any other day," and Bufwack and Oermann echoed his comments stating, "her songs and performances came closer to the independent, aggressive, rebellious, and sexual male stance" than nearly all other female performers of her day.\textsuperscript{95} Clearly, Jackson is an exceptional country artist and has always been one the precious few female rockabilities who have garnered mention in most assessments of the rockabilly era.

But Jackson has yet to be recognized in the same vein with rockabilly's male originators who helped shape and define the genre, nor is she routinely mentioned as one of the early important artists to bring together elements of black and white music with heightened energy and raw sexuality into quick-tempo danceable pop songs. Jackson was young and enthusiastic and an unquestionable triple-threat as a songwriter, musician, and performer, melding into what Tosches calls "too hot a package to sell over the
counter. Jackson is an immensely important female artist of the postwar era not only for her musical talent, but also for the fact that she was among a handful of female performers who defied the conventional expectations of the 1950s that women should seek personal fulfillment only in marriage and motherhood. But others would be more steadfast in their defiance, and though Jackson's boldness would reach the mainstream, she would not be the girl who unsettled the music industry with the most riotous and titillating manifestation of rock 'n' roll music.

_The Threat Apparent_

Born in Southerlin, Virginia, in 1940, Janis Martin shares few things in common with Collins and Jackson outside of her southern roots. Martin was raised in a musical family in which both her father and uncle were amateur musicians; her mother was an aspiring actress and singer who stoked her daughter's talent and lived out her own ambitions for stardom once the child began to demonstrate an aptitude for music at a very young age. The family moved for a time to Akron, Ohio and Martin mastered the guitar and performed on radio station WCUE singing traditional country fare by the age of six. Upon the family's return to Virginia when Martin was eight years old, her mother began entering her in many talent contests in the mid-Atlantic region; before Martin was 10 years old, she had lost only one contest and had been asked to join the Radio Barndance on WDVA in Danville, Virginia, marking the start of her professional career. Martin performed at drive-ins, fairs and tent shows around Virginia and eventually came to the attention of a local studio band of some note, Jim Eanes and his Shenandoah Valley Boys, with whom Martin would perform on and off for two years. In 1954, Martin was
invited to join the Old Dominion Barndance broadcast out of Richmond, a large country show that was ranked third in the nation.97

It was around the time the Martins returned to the south that she began listening to the black artists recording on the Atlantic label, particularly LaVern Baker and Ruth Brown. Martin loved the energy and beat of gospel music that she heard around Martinsville's black churches on Sunday afternoons, and the Atlantic artists struck the same kind of chord for her.98 Soon Martin was rehearsing and performing many of the tunes she loved recalling, "it was my soul. That was it; I had found my niche." She began playing R&B songs on both Radio Barndance and then Old Dominion to the delight of the show's audiences. "People absolutely loved it," remarked Martin, "because it was so different."99

Martin's non-standard song selections, coupled with her youth and her popularity as a local talent soon gained the attention of two staff announcers at SRVA who happened to be part-time songwriters. Carl Barefoot and Carl Stutz had already had moderate success with "Little Things Mean a Lot," a tune Kitty Kallen turned into a number one hit in 1954. Attempting to jump on the new sound pioneered by Sam Phillips at Sun Records, the pair wrote "Will You Willyum" in late 1955 and asked Martin to cut the demo live with the Barndance band. Stutz sent the song to their publisher in New York who promptly contacted Steve Sholes, Artists & Repertoire (A&R) man for RCA Victor's country division, to inquire about artists in his repertoire who could handle the song, to which Sholes famously replied "well, who is the girl on the demo?"100 Martin was tapped to do the song and in January 1956, the sixteen year-old was signed to RCA Victor.
Within a few months Sholes brought Martin to Nashville for her first recording sessions. Believing that Martin held a great deal of promise, Sholes decided to team her with some of the musicians, including Chet Atkins and Floyd Cramer, who had played on Presley’s sessions. The first songs recorded were “Will You Willyum” and “Drugstore Rock’n’Roll,” a song written by Martin at the insistence of her mother who was adamant that the teen learn to write her own songs in order to make herself more viable as an artist. The two singles were packaged together and sold 750,000 copies in their first pressing and made a singular appearance on the pop charts. The surge from the first single resounded and Martin was voted Most Promising Female Artist in Billboard’s annual disk jockey poll later that year, Wanda Jackson ranked 4th in the same poll in 1959.101 Within the next fifteen months, Martin recorded thirty songs for RCA and became a force to be reckoned with in the surging national pop scene. “It happened so fast that I was right in the middle of it before I really realized what was happening,” Martin recalls.102

Her voice on those early recordings was unparalleled in the music scene at that time. When assessing her vocal talent, John Morthland recalls “her deep, sassy voice was definitely the female counterpart to male rockabilly surliness,” qualities that RCA had also singled out when promoting Martin’s records. Martin had a smooth-sounding, natural cadence when singing, and as Morthland noted, she “phrased like running a line of jive came pretty natural to her.”103 The influences of gospel music were clearly apparent in her performances, much like Presley’s and Lewis’, especially the frequency of blues structures and the familiar rhythm found in the vocal. Filtered through her own soft, charming Virginian dialect, Martin’s vocals sounded more similar to the Memphis
sound than the staid parlance of country music coming out of Nashville. In this way, Martin’s vocals were much more characteristic of rockabilly and later rock’n’roll than those of Collins and Jackson, whose vocals retained that recognizable Nashville sound.

Though Martin’s voice is strong and assertive, it was most likely her delivery that reminded audiences of Presley. Like Elvis, Janis was a dynamic performer who danced and played guitar while singing. Often she kicked off her shoes and shimmied and swayed across the stage. Relatively few acts exhibited such movement and enthusiasm in their stage performances save some of the honky tonk and r&b acts, certainly not the more stolid country artists that Martin most often toured with. She was an aberration, a highly energized and engaging performer, who hailed from a country background but clearly possessed the rhythm of black music; her upbeat numbers enlivened a crowd and usually got the kids up on their feet.

Early in 1955, RCA had sent Martin out on a short promotional tour for her first single. She was accompanied by a press man who reported back to Steven Sholes that their new artist exhibited the exact same energy and intensity as Presley, who had signed with the label just two months earlier than Martin. Realizing he had a unique opportunity to cross-promote both of his artists, Sholes immediately contacted Colonel Tom Parker, Presley’s manager, and asked for approval to bill Martin ‘the female Elvis Presley.’ After hearing her recordings, Parker not only approved of the promotion, but asked Sholes to arrange a meeting with Martin’s parents so he could inquire about representing the young girl. With Elvis’ blessing, RCA began a full-scale publicity endorsement of Martin with her new moniker. While the new billing identified Martin as a lively and rebellious artist more similar to Presley and Carl Perkins than Kitty Wells or Jean
Sheppard, it also put her in the awkward position of being expected to ape a performer who, at this point in her career, she had never even seen perform. Martin recalls, "it was hard for me to go out and do public appearances after that, because I think the public expected me to gyrate and you know, do shows similar to what he did, and of course, I didn’t."107

But the association with Presley did benefit Martin in that it identified her as a different kind of artist, separate from country and popular music and other female vocalists, even those who performed rockabilly music. Presley’s first recordings for Sun Records were reviewed and charted in the country field and he toured the south playing country venues; by the time Presley had signed with RCA, Colonel Parker had begun placing him in what Craig Morrison calls “distinctively noncountry settings,” most importantly on primetime national television.108 Presley had already performed on more than a dozen occasions before his first of three now legendary appearances on the Ed Sullivan Show in September 1956. He was already identified with a type of music that was sexy and rebellious and had sparked the beginning of what would become a national hysteria by the time RCA sought to associate his artistry with Martin’s. The publicity worked phenomenally well and even though she wasn’t topping the Billboard pop or country charts, Martin had outsold every top country artist in Nashville in 1956 and 1957.109 Many of Martin’s new fans came to know the artist and her music through a widely accepted set of characteristics that identified her with the best musicianship, bravado, and rebelliousness that rockabilly had to offer.110

Martin seemed primed for commercial success and RCA began to align her career along the same trajectory as Presley’s. As a young fresh-faced, ponytailed teen, Janis
lacked the mature sensuality of Wanda Jackson or the childlike kitschiness of Brenda Lee; she possessed a bubbly personality and a sense of rambunctiousness that many teenagers in the postwar era could identify with. Martin made several appearances on national television, including American Bandstand, The Tonight Show, and The Today Show, and had even been screen-tested by MGM. Though she was still receiving routine coverage in country music magazines and her sales were relatively high for a new artist, not one of Martin’s singles had hit the charts. As a result Sholes chose to book Janis with some of the biggest stars in country music over the next two years.

During that time, Martin toured almost constantly appearing with Jim Brown, Faron Young, Carl Perkins, Johnny Cash, and Porter Wagoner among others. With her parents’ approval, Martin dropped out of high school and finished her education on the road, traveling either with a chaperone or her father when he could get the time off. Martin’s popularity continued to rise, particularly after her single “My Boy Elvis” was released in May 1956. Martin was usually given a thirty minute set in which she routinely sang four or five of her records and then filled the rest of the slot with her own favorites. The label expected Martin to perform all of her own material, but she, like Jackson, had little input on song selection in the studio and used her time on stage to sing precisely the material that she liked best. Martin put on a spirited rock’n’roll show, filled with enthusiasm and sensuality that, while it revved up the audiences, it went against the grain of a traditional country show. Concert promoters and fellow performers soon became annoyed by the reception Martin was receiving.

Though vocalists who were major stars maintained their own bands for touring and recording, it was common practice at the time for less-established singers to use
whomever was made available to them by the label or concert promoter. On package tours, it was up to the label to make arrangements with the major act to ‘lend’ their bands to vocalists during live performances. Though Martín was an accomplished guitarist, she relied on studio musicians to complete her recordings and house bands to back her when performing live; consequently, it was necessary for her to sustain good professional relationships with the other musicians on tour, especially those who were required to back her on stage.

As her tastes in music swung more toward r&b and rock’n’roll music and further away from the country & western she had come up with, she found herself at odds with performers on the showcase and sometimes with audiences at the venues. Martín recalls shows in which the band would play flat or make repeated errors during her performance in a purposeful effort, she felt, to throw her off. “That was my nature, my way of performing,” she said, “they didn’t like it at all.” Sometimes the shows went so well that crowds screamed and carried on in such a way after Martín ended her set that it made it extremely difficult for the main acts to regain the crowd’s focus once they took the stage. After one such performance in late 1956, a particularly youthful audience continued to chant and holler for Janis all the way through headliner Porter Wagoner’s first song. Wagoner was so furious with Martín that he refused to provide her transport for the remainder of the tour, forcing the young girl to call her father so he could drive her to the rest of the bookings. “I was just a young kid,” Martín recalls, “I knew a lot of ‘em down there [in Nashville] felt the same way as Porter, but I didn’t give a damn what they thought about me, and I just kept doin’ what I loved to do.”
By 1957, Martin had formed her own band so that she could have proper backing on the road and she was invited to become a regular member on Jim Reeves' Big Show of Country Stars. In early spring the showcase toured Army bases in England and Germany, where unbeknownst to the promoters or to RCA, Janis' husband, a US paratrooper she had secretly married at the age of 15, accompanied the showcase while on a thirty day leave. Martin's parents and manager were aware of the marriage though not particularly pleased, and insisted it be kept quiet for the sake of her career; Martin's husband was shipped overseas eight days after their wedding, so still forced to live with her parents, she had little choice other than to oblige. But Martin returned from Europe pregnant and when it became apparent to RCA that she intended to keep the child, executives knew they had a publicity quagmire on their hands.\textsuperscript{119} Martin's image rested on her youthful innocence and her ability to restrain her sexuality. RCA and arguably the American record-buying public were not ready for a rockabilly female who talked the talk \textit{and} walked the walk, and the label unceremoniously dropped her shortly after the birth of her son Kevin in 1958.\textsuperscript{120}

One can certainly say that RCA knew her career was finished. While marrying and starting a family was not a death knell for male artists, it certainly possessed a problem for the ability of a female artist to tour for long periods of time. Martin could and did continue to record, cutting eight more sides with RCA before her release, including "Cracker Jack" and "Bang Bang," but that could be done in close proximity to her home and to her mother who watched Kevin while she worked.\textsuperscript{121} But Martin's greatest success had always been as a live performer not as a recording artist, and RCA knew that in order to keep her profitable, they needed to keep her on the road. Though
Janis continued to tour after Kevin’s birth, she cut down considerably on the frequency of shows and the amount of time spent away from home and quit touring altogether when the child was ready to start school.\textsuperscript{122}

More than being able to keep their artist on the road and in the public eye, RCA knew that it would be impossible to continue promoting Martin’s clean-cut image once it became known that she was a teenage wife and mother. Many female entertainers tried to keep their personal lives hush-hush during this era, but in the music industry where performers were often of a young age, this practice was encouraged in order to promote an image of respectability for the industry. Labels did not want to be perceived as exploiting young talent, nor did they want to be unable to craft an image of their artists as well-mannered, wholesome, model teenagers.\textsuperscript{123} Gender norms were still considerably different in the postwar era and, while a little bit of mischief and rebellion were acceptable for a young man coming of age, it certainly was not so for a young woman. Patrick B. Mullen notes this in his work comparing rockabilly and beatnik cultures of the 1950s observing, “the security of a steady income, a home, and wife, however, did not necessarily mean that they [male rockabillies] had to give up their hedonistic pleasures; the middle-class American value system allows the man periodic escape to adolescent behaviors.”\textsuperscript{124} Male artists were given a little more flexibility to make social blunders while continuing to maintain a respectable public image, but female artists were often unable to bounce back after stepping outside socially-accepted standards.

It was also more difficult from the outset to promote young country and later, rockabilly and rock’n’roll artists. Touring the local circuit meant that artists had to perform in bars and dancehalls among other places, rowdy venues where crowds were
older, liquor was served and dancing and debauchery were regularly encouraged. While labels courted the respectability that came with artists who had honed their craft in these scenes, they needed to be able to distance their artists from the salaciousness of those environments in order to promote them in a more national, mainstream market.\textsuperscript{125} Rockabilly acts like Collins, Jackson, and Martin might have played rural honkytonks, but labels didn’t want them promoted as such; as a result, the label imaged them as pop artists rather than country artists and the same was true of their male contemporaries. The problem was that the wholesome image always belied the spirit of the music rockabillies performed, and labels could control artists’ persona only to a certain extent. RCA was unable to reconcile their image of Martin as an average teenager with the reality of who she was – a strong-headed, often rebellious youngster who did as she pleased, even marrying and conceiving a child without consideration to her parents or her career.

While the label knew the consequences of this choice would be fixed, one might question whether or not Martin fully understood how her behavior would influence her career. Martin willingly admits that she was a rebellious teenager, raised by a domineering mother who made the lion’s share of the family’s decisions, including those that involved her daughter’s professional career. “I just couldn’t see someone telling me what to do,” Martin said about her formative years, “I just didn’t think it was right. And my mother was the same way... she ruled my daddy.”\textsuperscript{126} Clearly her mother’s example had a big influence on Martin who had difficulty doing what was expected of her professionally. Martin fussed about the songs that were selected for her to record, she balked at the outfits chosen for her to wear at photo shoots, and she questioned the
general direction Sholes was steering her career. Unlike Collins and Jackson, Martin
developed a reputation within the industry of being difficult to work with and regardless
of her professionalism, enthusiasm, and pure talent, many industry executives were not
inclined to work with her.\textsuperscript{127} When asked if female artists were given the same creative
liberties as their male contemporaries Martin replied, “Ah no, women weren’t
accepted. (laughs) We were supposed to be little shy, innocent-faced little girls….you did
what you were told, and, I never could do that.”\textsuperscript{128}

Martin had difficulty meeting expectations in her personal life as well. Like
Jackson, Martin began working professionally at an early age and was very aware that
her income helped sustain the family. While she loved to sing, she did not enjoy
performing and had gotten bored with country music and the tour circuit in her early
teens. Martin was conscious of the fact that she could make a career for herself in music,
and that was what her parents wanted her to do, but was conflicted by society’s
expectation that it was appropriate for young girls her age to aspire to be wives and
mothers, and really not much else. “Really, back in my teenage years, that was the
aspiration of most teenage girls,” Martin remembers, “college wasn’t that important at the
time. You got married and raised a family.”\textsuperscript{129} Resentful toward her parents for pushing
her into the business and making her bear an adult sense of responsibility at such an early
age and angry at RCA for pushing her into the national spotlight, Martin responded in a
manner typical of a young teen – she rebelled. While music was, as Martin puts it, “her
soul,” she also desired to be a wife and mother; shortly after RCA cut her, she announced
her retirement and settled down with her family.\textsuperscript{130}
By her own accounts, Martin was not satisfied being the housewife type, and by 1960 she had divorced her first husband and signed with Palette Records. Now dependent on her parents to help her balance career and motherhood, Martin toured on and off for the next couple of years. By that time, Martin had remarried and after a six month stint on the road, Janis’ husband issued her an ultimatum – the career or the marriage. With her son getting ready to start school, Martin retired once again so she could be home fulltime for her son and preserve the marriage. Martin found domestic life just as unsettling the second time around. Married this time to a man who would not permit his wife to sing or perform, even in her own home, Janis experienced a nervous breakdown in 1968. Understanding clearly that she did want and need music in her life, Martin got back on her feet and once again formed a band in 1970; when her husband issued her another ultimatum three years later, Martin cut him loose and kept her band. She worked full-time during the week to support her children and performed Friday and Saturday nights in and around her home in Danville, Virginia.¹³¹

Martin continued to book gigs and recorded occasionally in the mid-1970s, when in 1982 the rockabilly revival came for her, and she began performing at showcases throughout Europe and the United States. Happily married to her third husband, Bill Whitt, Martin manages a country club and is thrilled to perform a handful of shows each year. In October 2004, Martin fulfilled a life-long dream when she was asked to perform alongside her idol Ruth Brown.¹³² To enthusiasts of rockabilly music, Martin is widely considered to be one of the pioneers of the genre. Contemporary rockabilly artist Rosie Flores, who has recorded and performed with Martin, recalls how she first came to know Janis’ music:

97
I would tell people I had a rockabilly band, and they would ask me if I did Janis Martin songs. I'd say 'Who?' And they'd say, 'Well, you're not really rockabilly if you don't know Janis Martin.' I went to a record store and bought one of the Bear Family albums. I couldn't believe how great the songs were...She became my main singing idol next to Tammy Wynette.

Martin has been inducted into the Rockabilly and International Rockabilly Halls and is asked routinely to perform with both contemporary artists and first generation rockabillies. She is content though to play only a few shows a year, performing with a band that now includes her son and granddaughter. Martin is proud of the contributions she has made to rockabilly music and is cognizant of the role she and other female rockabillies have played. “There were a lot of copy cats,” recalls Martin, “But when I went out there, and Wanda went out there, we rocked!”

Of the three women featured in this chapter, Martin had the shortest career as a recording artist and has stayed out of the industry longer. The brevity of her career along with the fact that she did not have a hit record, probably accounts for the fact that Martin is not mentioned by scholars and enthusiasts as often as Lorrie Collins, Brenda Lee, or Wanda Jackson. But Martin’s influence on the music industry and on young fans of rock’n’roll music in the postwar era can surely be appreciated. Martin is correct when she asserts that she was the first white woman to record what is now considered rockabilly and she is also correct in stating that her novel approach and delivery of the music was groundbreaking. The fact that Martin’s comparison to Presley was never questioned as inappropriate or illegitimate is significant. Industry executives and music critics may have debated which of the female rockers was the true female Elvis, but at no time was it suggested that a woman simply couldn’t possess the same talent and energy as the Memphis Flash. Presley was arguably the single most important rock’n’roll artist
of the 1950s, and even though Martin felt the label hamstrung her career, the fact that the industry, its fans, and even the King accepted the comparison as valid demonstrates the significance of Martin’s artistry.

But it would be untruthful to say that Martin’s gender did not impede her career. As a young woman, Janis was expected to tour with a chaperone. It was difficult for Martin’s parents to be away from their own responsibilities for long periods of time and as a result, their daughter stayed on the road less often than her male contemporaries. Also, as a teenage girl, Martin was unable to perform in some venues since liquor was served or they were simply too seedy a place for a young lady to be seen. Female artists were expected to maintain the same level of decorum and respectability as any other young women at that time, even when playing not-so-dignified music in a not-so-ladylike place. Martin remembers, “back in the 50s, you know, a girl wasn’t supposed to do anything that would give her a bad character.” For rockabilly performers, playing music was a form of unbridled expression that was often aggressive and sexual; female rockabilly performers, such as Martin, were very aware that they needed to exhibit more restraint than their male counterparts.

Several scholars have also noted how gender shaped Martin’s career and ultimately her legacy. Music critic Bruce Eder has said that Martin’s gender prevented her from sustaining her career in the late 1950s. He adds, “her stage moves and lusty delivery appeared unseemly in a girl, [and] once the initial furor and enthusiasm for rock & roll quieted down...Martin found herself caught between conflicting currents.” Though many scholars have noted that rockabilly music died down and many first-generation rock’n’roll and rockabilly artists either stepped back or were removed from
the limelight in one fashion or another between 1957 and 1959, many of the male artists were able to preserve their image and their careers in changing times. For instance, Elvis began working in films and recording decidedly pop music after his stint in the army, Jerry Lee Lewis continued to record and tour after marrying his young cousin, and Chuck Berry resumed recording and performing after serving three years in state prison. Martin was not given similar reprieve from the industry after her marriage and pregnancy became public, nor did her first and second husbands allow her to continue her professional career. More importantly, Martin has largely been ignored as one of the important contributing artists to both rockabilly and rock’n’roll. When asked to comment on women’s ability to make it in rock’n’roll, Wanda Jackson observed, “the American people in the 50s weren’t ready for a female rocker. They had kind of accepted the boys... [but] they sure weren’t ready to accept a girl screaming and rocking and rolling.” Martin is willing to assert the truth a little move firmly, stating for the record, “they blacklisted us.”

Janis Martin was an anomaly in the music industry during the late 1950s. She was young, pretty, and well-mannered just like so many of the other female artists offered by the major record labels, but she was also a fiercely-independent and strong-willed young woman who was passionate about the type of music she wanted to play. In a time in which the major labels sought to promote female artists who embodied the middle class, feminine, domestic ideal that young record buyers aspired to be like, Martin was just a little out of step, even though her music was as relevant as that of her male contemporaries. Her edges were a little more difficult to smooth out, and unlike Collins and Jackson, Martin fought industry pressure to tone her act down. The music industry
pushed right back, as Martin rightly suspected, and unable to promote her as a mainstream pop princess, they lost interest in her music and left her to find distribution through the smaller labels which had great success with fringe artists, but lacked the distribution capable of supporting a break-out star. This was fine with Martin, who never aspired to be a big star but did crave the respect and reverence deserving of an important artist. In 1977, Martin co-wrote a new song, “Hard Rocking Mama” with an old friend, Ed Bayes. The throbbing beat and throaty, powerful vocal proved she was still as dedicated to the rockabilly sound as she was twenty years earlier and the lyric serves as testament to her own understanding of her place in rock’n’roll history:

Mama came along long before her time,  
took a lot of livin’ to put me in her prime.  
When I tried to rock they didn’t understand,  
a woman don’t shake, at least not like that man.

Time is the answer, I came from the past.  
Forty years later, they said it wouldn’t last.  
Cooled it for awhile, but it just wouldn’t lay,  
now mama’s here to tell you that I’m back to stay.140

Positive and upbeat at sixty-four years of age, Martin couldn’t be happier today with how her life turned out. Looking back on those early years of rockabilly, Martin livens up thinking about women such as herself, Jackson, and Charline Arthur; laughing, she concluded, “we weren’t supposed to [rock], but we did!”141
CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION
WOMAN WALK OUT THE DOOR

Since the late 1970s, feminist scholars have offered a new gendered analysis of rock’n’roll music that dares to suggest that there is nothing natural or permanent about the masculine identity of rock music. Scholars such as Sheila Whitely and Susan McClary have argued that sexuality and gender have been reconstructed in popular music and are informed by the prevalent attitudes of their time.¹ According to Mimi Schippers, from its beginning rock music has consistently defined itself in opposition to middle-class values; rock’n’roll’s approach to gender and sexuality is simply an exaggeration and public display of already existing forms of sexuality prevalent outside of the mainstream.² Rock’n’roll music, from its earliest incarnation reflected the values and ideals of a young, subordinate and rebellious culture, one in which alternative expressions of gender and sexuality were often embraced, and one in which female artists were successfully able to transgress the domestic paradigm of the postwar era.³ The emergence of female rockabillies in the late 1950s did not happen by chance; rather, these were women who sought to carve out a public space in which they could vocalize their experiences to an audience eager to hear a message they could identify with.
Female rockabillies had to confront the obstacle of institutional sexism within the industry aimed at women attempting to forge a professional music career. Many musicologists including Susan McClary have noted that the music industry was male-dominated during the postwar era and argued that conditions within the industry consistently served to exclude or marginalize female participation. As this study of *Billboard* has shown, female country & western and r&b artists had greater difficulty receiving parity in press coverage than their contemporaries in the pop field, and as a result, were not able to reach a wider market. The fact that more country & western and r&b artists – both male and female – were signed to small labels who could not meet the production volume and promotional efforts of large labels also made it difficult for early rock’n’rollers to make the transition to mainstream commercial success. Those female artists who were able to accomplish that feat, and *Billboard* shows that women were bankable stars in the postwar era, needed to market themselves and their music for the mainstream pop market, largely by choosing not to directly challenge traditional gender roles in their recordings or stage performances. Whether this was a conscious choice on the part of the artist or an executive decision made by managers and label executives is not entirely clear, though most likely it is a combination of both; however, it does show that artists and executives alike believed that it was necessary for female artists to conform to postwar gender norms in order to achieve commercial success.

In comparison, first generation female rock’n’roll artists proposed a marketing quandary, both for record labels and trade publications within the industry. Not only were these women already outside of the mainstream – the industry had deemed country & western and r&b artists as specialty artists appealing to smaller markets on the fringes
of mainstream white audiences – they also viewed the music they played and the way they presented themselves on stage as original and innovative. The experiences of Collins, Jackson, and Martín affirm this; each woman took exception to promotional materials put out by their labels that characterized them as demure popular artists, objected to conservative costuming suggestions by managers, label representatives and booking agents, and fought their labels efforts to categorize their sound as teenage pop music.

Rockabilly was actively engaged in the creation of the image that would come to personify rock’n’roll, and though nearly all the pioneers of the genre would not make the transition into rock’n’roll’s second generation, they established the prototype for artists drawn into the emerging genre. As Gillett concluded, “rockabilly fixed the crucial image of rock’n’roll: the sexy, half-crazed fool standing on stage singing his heart out.”

Yet there were more than just men playing and performing rockabilly, and the women who performed rockabilly during its heyday equally influenced the style and sound of the genre. Each of the women discussed in this study had admirers among their male contemporaries and each recalled working with important male artists of the day who held the work of their female colleagues in high regard. Their contributions to both rockabilly and rock’n’roll, along with other female artists whose work has yet to be studied, were just as influential in setting the sound and performance style of rock music.

Lorrie Collins, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martín represent just three of the women who were actively engaged in rock’n’roll’s first generation, and as singers, they are among the easiest to identify. Further studies need to be conducted to document other women who wrote, performed, and played rock’n’roll music so that a greater
understanding of women’s participation in the music industry can be more fully realized. Many female artists played and performed at the local level during the postwar era and greater effort needs to be undertaken to see how many women were working as paid professionals and their contributions added to the historiography. Among these neglected artists are several African American women who have been noted more often for the contribution to rhythm & blues than rock’n’roll; clearly women such as LaVern Baker and Ruth Brown, who achieved a modest degree of critical and financial success, had great influence on rock’n’roll music and need to be recognized for this. Beyond warranting critical acclaim for their musical aptitude and inventive style, the women of rock’s first generation also need to be recognized as counterexamples of the postwar domestic paradigm. Collins, Jackson, and Martin were women actively engaged in the creation and performance of an innovative, antagonistic form of popular music that served as a site of rebellion for young American consumers. They performed their kind of music in public and in so doing displayed an alternative rendering of femininity and gender that included an assertive, rambunctious sexuality that young audiences could identify with. These women were embraced by their male contemporaries and revered by their young fans; the women of rock’s first generation may have faced hurdles within a sexist music industry, but among the community of musicians and fans, female rockers were accepted as legitimate. Their presence in that first generation not only shaped the style and performance of rock’n’roll music, but also provided public examples of alternative performances of gender to young American men and women at a very critical time in American social history.
As Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel point out, the way in which teenage culture responds to a society at large can promote a radical shift in social habits, noting "the younger generation have acted as a creative minority, pioneering ahead of the puritan restraints so deeply built into bourgeois morality, toward a code of behavior...more humane and civilized." While rockabilly and later rock'n'roll started on the fringes of mainstream society, this teenage response to postwar American society would overtake mainstream popular music and culture in the decades to come. Both Sheila Whitely and Lucy O'Brien have argued that music's most important mass application is a political issue because it allows songwriters and artists to speak to a large population transmitting a message with great ease and efficiency. But music also has the ability to stir the souls of individuals through rhythm and melody and build communities through shared awareness and common experience. Thus, popular artists serve as figures of authority and influence within their society of listeners and can serve as examples to others who might not be so willing to go public with their own thoughts and feelings. In performing their music in public sites during the postwar era, Lorrie Collins, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martin provided alternative models of permissible gender performance in the critical years preceding second wave feminism.

But what happened to the female rockabilly of the postwar era, artists such as Lorrie Collins, Wanda Jackson, and Janis Martin who presented a cultural alternative to domesticated femininity? Why didn't they continue to have career success in the decades to come? First, as was the case for their male contemporaries, female rockabillyies lost much of their appeal as the wave of rock'n'roll's first generation crested and rockabilly struggled to remain relevant in the new consumer market. Jackson returned to country
music, touring again with big name acts such as Hank Snow and continued to have moderate success on the country & western charts. Collins and Martin also found occasional work on country package tours, but the opportunity for large-scale success in mainstream popular music had clearly passed by the end of the decade. Secondly, like many young women of their generation, Collins, Jackson, and Martin heeded societal and family pressure to marry and start a family at an early age. Collins and Martin were wives and mothers before their twentieth birthdays, and Jackson, the oldest of the three, married at twenty-four and had her first child before her second wedding anniversary. Their responsibilities as wives and mothers made it extremely difficult to devote a great deal of time to their music careers, particularly in an era in which women were expected to find personal happiness in domestic pursuits. And as rock’n’roll artists, the sexy, assertive personas they assumed on stage were too sharp a contrast to the realities of married life.

In her most recent album Heart Trouble, released in 2003, Wanda Jackson rerecorded several of her biggest rockabilly and gospel hits and a handful of new rockabilly ones, accompanied by contemporary rockabilly artists Lee Rocker and Rosie Flores and her ever-faithful band. At the age of 66, Jackson’s voice is as strong and expressive as ever and her rockabilly songs remain true in form and content to those she recorded in the late 1950s. One song in particular, “Woman Walk Out the Door,” invokes the spirit a young Jackson, fresh on the rockabilly scene at the urging of her then-boyfriend who was also ‘doing’ the new music. With a simple 2-beat rhythm and a creeping bass line, “Woman Walk Out the Door” is a classic rockabilly tune; even the lyrics express the typical angst of the young postwar generation, only in this case, it is
voiced by a female. Whether it was the result of her parent’s raising her to think for herself, the irritation of a young woman frustrated in a restrictive postwar culture, or simply the aping of one artist by another, Jackson’s lyrics reveal the story of a woman not so inclined to abide by the expected norms of her day. Offering support and counsel directly to her audience, Jackson encourages a different sort of commotion:

Woman walk out the door
Woman, don’t take no more
The trouble with lovin’ is the trouble with men,
so get yourself together and get over him
Woman! Woman! Walk out the door.9

On September 13, 2004, the Rock’n’Roll Hall of Fame Foundation announced its nominees for the 2005 induction class. Among the fourteen acts on the ballot is first-time nominee, Wanda Jackson. Approximately 1000 international music experts voted and the nominees receiving the highest number of votes and more than 50 percent will be inducted in the spring of 2005. Though Jackson was not one of the acts to receive the highest number of votes, she remains eligible for nomination in the coming year.
APPENDIX A
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>artists</th>
<th>ads</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>c&amp;w rev</th>
<th>r&amp;b rev</th>
<th>rev split</th>
<th>honor roll</th>
<th>best buy</th>
<th>c&amp;w chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop chart</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wells, k</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>199</td>
<td></td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>platters</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>244</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>page, p</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>227</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>francis, c</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>206</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>washington, d</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jones, j</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brewer, t</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mcguire</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baker, l</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaughan, s</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown, r</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shepard, j</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clooney, r</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, brenda</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibbs, g</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day, d</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stafford, j</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>starr, k</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, w</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shirley/lee</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fontanes</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morgan, jp</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kallen, k</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adams, f</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reese, d</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chordettes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>james, e</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ford, m</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shore, d</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valli, j</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, p</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fitzgerald, e</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chandler, k</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lou, bonnie</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>storm, g</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>london, j</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carlisle</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reynolds, d</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grant, g</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill, g</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carson, m</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gomer, e</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A1: One Hundred Most Frequently Appearing Female Acts in The Billboard, 1953-1960

110
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>artist</th>
<th>ads</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>r&amp;b rev</th>
<th>rev</th>
<th>sptht</th>
<th>honor roll</th>
<th>best buy</th>
<th>c&amp;w chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop chart</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>collins, d</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>johnson, b</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morgan, j</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corey, j</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bryant, a</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forrest, h</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowes, m</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davis, d</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carr, c</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chantels</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arden, t</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jackson, wanda</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mackenzie, g</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kift, c</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wright, g</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maddox, r (&amp; bros)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sylvia &amp; mickey</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'ecastros</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gale, s</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madigan, b</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maybelle, big</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simone, n</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown, m</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cline, p</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whiting, m</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young, v</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black, j</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worth, m</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annette</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>browns</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smith, k</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stevens, c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barton, c</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day, m</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foley, b</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lynn, v</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mcafe, c</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modernaire</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teen queens</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valente, c</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guitar, b</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A1: One Hundred Most Frequently Appearing Female Acts in *The Billboard* (continued)

111
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>artists</th>
<th>ads</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>c&amp;w rev</th>
<th>r&amp;b rev</th>
<th>rev splgh</th>
<th>horror roll</th>
<th>best buy</th>
<th>c&amp;w chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop chart</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>todd d</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eunice &amp; gene</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dillard v</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayes l</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rayburn m</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stevens d</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teddy bears</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weber j</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young k</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davis s</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dejohns</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laurie a</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thornton wm</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turner t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(w/ke)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andrews</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulcays</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A1: One Hundred Most Frequently Appearing Female Artists in The Billboard (continued)
### APPENDIX B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artists</th>
<th>ads</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>c&amp;w rev</th>
<th>r&amp;b rev</th>
<th>rev split</th>
<th>honor</th>
<th>best buy</th>
<th>c&amp;w chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop charts</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cline, r</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morgan, j</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stafford, j</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shore, d</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaughan, s</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cryer, j</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>james, j</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brewer, t</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valli, j</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chandler, k</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kallen, k</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorme, e</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ardén, t</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gale, s</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madigan, b</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fitzgerald, e</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day, d</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mcrae, c</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collins, d</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mcguire, s</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, s</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carson, m</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ford, m (w/l pau)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>page, p</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vitt, e</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young, v</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lynn, v</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lea, r</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulcahy, s</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>southern, j</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanders, f</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simms, l</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dejohns, j</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reese, d</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lous, b</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andrews, c</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>russell, c</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morse, ella mae</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibbs, g</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B.1: Most Frequent Singles by Female Acts Reviewed by *Billboard*, 1953-1960

113
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>artists</th>
<th>ads</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>c&amp;w rev</th>
<th>r&amp;b rev</th>
<th>rev spot</th>
<th>honor roll</th>
<th>best buy</th>
<th>c&amp;w chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop charts</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mackmack, r. (&amp; brothers)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jackson, wanda</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carisses</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lans, w</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wells, k</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shepherd, j</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arthur, charline</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hall, g</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wright, g</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west, l</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davis'</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lou, bonnie</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carter, a</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clark, m</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruby, sunshine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robbins, r</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carters</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carter, j</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roman, m</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>funder, j</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thompson, s</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amos, b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davis, d</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cody, b</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singleton, m</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lorne, m</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hicks, j</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hall, c</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silean, b</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuttle, m</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faye, r</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, r</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B.1: Most Frequent Country & Western Singles by a Female Act Reviewed by Billboard, 1953-1960

114
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>artists</th>
<th>ada</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>c&amp;w rev</th>
<th>r&amp;b rev</th>
<th>rev split</th>
<th>honor roll</th>
<th>beat</th>
<th>c&amp;w chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop charts</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>harris, w</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown, r</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maybell, big</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adams, f</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayes, l</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eurico, &amp; gene</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reed, l</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shirley &amp; l.e</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baker, f</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thornton, w.m</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dillard, v</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laurie, e</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taylor, c</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allen, a</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>johnson, e</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flattrell, c</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>james, a</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hope, f</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooper, d</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robin, r</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>millers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>howard, c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cole, a</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smith, e</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allen, s</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>casser, little</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day, m</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reese, d</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sylvia, mickey &amp;</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B.3: Most Frequent R&B Singles by a Female Act Reviewed by Billboard, 1953-1960
## APPENDIX C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>artists</th>
<th>ads</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>c&amp;b rev</th>
<th>r&amp;b rev</th>
<th>rev split</th>
<th>honor roll</th>
<th>best buy</th>
<th>c&amp;b chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop charts</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>francis, c</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, brenda</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>washington, d</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nessie, d</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young, k</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fisher, t</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byers, a</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black, j</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stevens, c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaughan, s</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lolita</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baker, l</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, p</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annette</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown, r</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>109</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stafford, j</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rose &amp; the originals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest, h</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C.1: Female Acts to Appear on the Pop Singles Charts, 1953-1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>artists</th>
<th>ads</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>c&amp;b rev</th>
<th>r&amp;b rev</th>
<th>rev split</th>
<th>honor roll</th>
<th>best buy</th>
<th>c&amp;b chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop charts</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wells, k</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>353</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, w</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaw, j</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worth, m</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill, g</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wright, g</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowes, m</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyce, b</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>davis, d</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carter, s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lorraine, p</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>browns</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixteens</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black, j</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weaver, j</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conway, j</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singleton, m</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>johnson, e</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lynne, l</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moss, m</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reynolds, d</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laine, m</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belle, lillie (wilscott)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| davis, s   | 1   | 1       | 1       | 1       | 1          | 6          | 116
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>artists</th>
<th>acts</th>
<th>reviews</th>
<th>r&amp;b rev</th>
<th>c&amp;b rev</th>
<th>r&amp;b sp s</th>
<th>c&amp;b sp s</th>
<th>honor roll</th>
<th>best buy</th>
<th>c&amp;b chart</th>
<th>r&amp;b chart</th>
<th>pop charts</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shakespeare</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jade, a</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lynn, m</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teddy bear</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elaine, &amp; gern</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bobbetts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billie &amp; elle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desanto, sp</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimmes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allard, v</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, p</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xod, d</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayes, j</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young, k</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stevens, c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stevens, d</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>franklin, a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jones, e</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lee, w</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fitzgerald, e</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponti, s</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skyliner, a</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raydor, d</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bryon, a</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drake, j</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shirling, a</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fischer, t</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allen, a</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo, d</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C.3: Female Acts to Appear on the R&B Charts, 1953-1960
ENDNOTES

Chapter 1


2 Janis Martin, interviewed by the author, tape recording, Columbus, Ohio, 27 July 2003 (hereafter cited as Martin interview, 2003).


4 See Mavis Bayton, “Women and the Electric Guitar,” for a discussion of male sexuality in rock’n’roll music; Sexing the Groove, pp.37-49. The term “rock’n’roll” previously had been used as a colloquialism for sexual activity and unrestrained dancing among young African Americans; as such, it’s use to describe this genre of music comes with heavy racial and sexual connotations. Please see Charlie Gillett, The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll (New York: Da Capo Press, 1996), and Paul Friedlander, Rock and Roll: a Social History (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996).

5 Of the 213 inductees in the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame (an ‘inductee’ can be a solo artist, a band or duo, or a non-performer such as a songwriter, manager or producer) only 28 include female musicians and/or writers. In the first two years alone, 31 acts were inducted including decided-masculine artists such as Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, James Brown, Marvin Gaye and Hank Williams. Only one was a female act – solo artist, Aretha Franklin, the Queen of Soul. Information taken from the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame & Museum website: www.rockhall.com.


9 Please see notes, 6 and 8 above, and the scholars listed in note 12 for sources on women in rock’n’roll and popular music.
All sources include a brief discussion of women in the genre.
13 Sanjek’s essay appears in a volume of essays on popular music and gender and Bufwaick and Oerrmann’s book focuses on the women of country music.
15 Gillett, ch. 2.
16 The term “Negro” was used at the time to delineate between music produced by and for a black, urban audience (these disks were referred to as “race records”) and white, suburban and rural mainstream audiences. Gillett, p. 21-23.
17 Jackson, an artist noted for her gospel and sacred recordings and cited often as an influence by rock’n’roll artists who succeeded her, recorded several secular tunes during her career including Hot 100 hit, “He’s Got the Whole World (in His Hands)” in 1958; she was inducted into the Rock’n’Roll Hall of Fame as an “early influence” in 1997. The McGuire Sisters, a vocal trio from Marion, Ohio, began recording pop tunes in 1952 and had 14 Top 40 hits, two of which were covers of rock’n’roll records. “Sincerely” reached #1 in 1955 and “Goodnight, Sweetheart, Goodnight” peaked at #3 in 1956.
18 Friedlander, Rock and Roll. Friedlander worked in the industry for many years playing bass with several musical acts.
20 See George Lipsitz, Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place (London: Verso, 1994), esp. chap. 3. See also Willis, Beginning To See the Light; McClary, Feminine Endings; and Norma Coates in Whitley, Sexing the Groove.


29 Douglas, p.11.


31 See Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, eds., Cecilia Reclaimed: Perspectives on Gender and Music (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1994); Sally Macarthur, Feminist Aesthetics in Music (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002); and McClary, Feminine Endings.


33 There were six major record labels in the postwar era – Capitol, Columbia, Decca, Mercury, MGM, and RCA-Victor - and a profusion of small, independents (nearly 100 altogether) who were primarily responsible for the cultivation of rock’n’roll music. For a thorough discussion of the role of major and independent labels, see Gillett chapters 3-5.


35 Riesman does not include a class, race, or gender analysis of either of the audiences he identifies.

36 Gillett notes the start date at Haley’s first hit in 1953 but other musicologists have marked different start dates such as Ward et. al. who pinpoint 1951 when Columbia disc jockey Alan Freed renamed his late night radio program, “Moonzog’s Rock and Roll Party” while Barbara O’Dair traces it back even further to the 1920s when Mamie Smith recorded some of the first Delta blues tracks. Similarly, different end dates have been assigned: Gillett dates it 1957 when the major record labels began to corner the market by rerecording original rock’n’roll tunes with their stable of popular musicians who were mostly white, pop artists, Friedlander denotes 1963 and the first British invasion as the beginning of rock, while James Miller starts at 1956 when the electric guitar first began dominating song melodies. The term ‘rock’ is used in musicology to represent all subsequent styles with musical and lyrical roots derived from the classic rock’n’roll era (see Friedlander).

37 See Friedlander, chapter 1.


39 Please see note 10 in this chapter.

40 See Bufwack and Oermann, Morrison, and Sanjek in Whiteley’s Sexing the Groove.

41 Gillian Gaar, She’s a Rebel: the History of Women in Rock & Roll (Seattle: Seal Press, 1992).

Chapter 2

1 In "Men Making a Scene," Sara Cohen defines a scene as a site that "promotes collaboration and the sharing of resources, connections and training;" they are sites of artistic innovation and exploration that oftentimes take on the characteristics of a region. Cohen's essay appears in Whitley's, Sexing the Groove. For information on scenes see, Barry Shank, Dissonant Identities: The Rock 'n' Roll Scene in Austin, Texas (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); The Subcultures Reader, Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton eds. (London: Routledge, 1997); and Will Straw, "Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music," *Popular Music* 5:3 (1991): 270-290.

2 For Joni James ads see *The Billboard*, vol. 66, 5 & 12 June 1954.

3 Several times a year, *Billboard* would run sections that were annual features such as the "Music-Record Programming Guide", "TV Film Program Guide and Market Report", "Summer Special", or the "Christmas Merchandise Section." Often the magazine would feature once-only sections such as the "65th Anniversary of the Music Machine Industry", "Decca Records 20th Anniversary", "Country and Western Jubilee", or the "Rhythm and Blues Records, Talent and Tunes."

4 During the years of this study, *Billboard* had fourteen regular sections: Television-Radio, TV Film, Music, Talent Review, Outdoor, Fairs-Expositions, Parks-Resorts-Pools, Carnivals, Rinks & Skaters, Circuses, Merchandise, Vending Machines, Music Machines, and Coin Machines. They did not always appear in the same order and as mentioned, sometimes additional sections were included.

5 A sampling of headlines from the Music section, dated July 5, 1954: "Diskers to Ship 325,000 Free 45s to Disk Jockeys"; "Decca Pacts C&W Artists"; "Kinsey Trio to Attempt U.S. Jazz Appearance"; "Kay Starr Won't Quit Capitol Fold After All"; "Templeton Fills 3 Jobs for Atlantic"; and "Ward & King Still at Odds Over Contract."

6 The most common of these were Spiritual and Sacred records; Polka, Latin, Children's, and Christmas disks were also reviewed occasionally.


8 Scores ranged from 100 to 0 and were supposed to reflect the commercial potential of a disk. Reviews appeared in the magazine in descending order based on their score.

9 *Billboard* still runs several charts listing best-selling songs and albums in a variety of musical genres. On November 6, 2004, the magazine launched their newest top-seller list, cell phone ring tones, compiled with data provided by the major ring tone distributors and wireless carriers. Please see, "Billboard Magazine to Chart Cell Phone Ring Tones," *Chicago Sun Times*, 28 October 2004. All historical information on *Billboard* charts taken from Whitburn's *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits*.

10 The descriptive statement appeared in every issue along with the Honor Roll which ran in the magazine for all the years of this study. I was unable to find out when and why *Billboard* stopped running this feature.

11 Artists most frequently on the Honor Roll differ from those most frequently on the sales charts, though Honor Roll stand-outs tended to have the highest number of paid ads. Please see Appendix A for more detailed information.


13 *Cash Box* published only juke box and best selling singles charts from the late 1940s through the early 1960s. Their list format varied quite a bit, beginning with 40 positions and finally settling at 100 in September 1958; *Cash Box* did not make any major modifications to their charts until 1976, when they chose to include basic features similar to those on the Hot 100. Historical information on *The Cash Box* charts found in: Frank Hoffmann and George Albert, *The Cash Box Album Charts, 1955-1974* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1988).

14 For information on the differences in production, distribution, and sales between big and small labels, please see Gillett's *Sound in the City*, Kennedy and McNutt's *Little Label, Big Sound*, and Simon Firth's "The Popular Music Industry," in *The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock*, Simon Firth, Will Straw, and John Street, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For Sun Records please see, Colin

15 George Lipsitz has written extensively about popular music and the significance of site; see his book, Dangerous Crossroads. See also Donald Clarke’s, The Rise and Fall of Popular Music.

16 The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock, p.94-95.


18 Small, p. 385.


20 A “scene” is defined by Sara Cohen as a site that “promotes collaboration and the sharing of resources, connections and training” (“Men Making a Scene,” Sexing the Groove, Whitely, ed.). Scenes are often regional and display distinctly different styles of play and performance, as they did in the early years of rock’n’roll. For a thorough discussion of music scenes in the 1950s and 1960s see Gillett or Randy McNutt’s Guitar Towns: A Journey to the Crossroads of Rock’n’Roll (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).


22 Ads appear consistently from 23 October 1954 through 5 February 1955, though they also appear sporadically after. Please see Billboard 13 November 1954 and 8 January 1955 for examples of the Capitool ad.

23 It is within these three musical categorizations that Billboard first began to feature rock’n’roll and rockabilly artists, so for this reason female acts who appeared in other review categories and chart listings or were featured in album reviews were not considered for this study. In addition to all album reviews, singles review categories that did not appear weekly, jazz and classical reviews, and the best selling classical record charts were not included in this study.

24 Jordan promoted for marquee artists such as Patty Page and Julius La Rosa and was apparently well-connected within the industry as the guests reported to have attended her fete attest. Billboard heralded the party, “Kappi Jordan’s conquest of the music business,” but strangely enough, this is the only instance in which I found mention of Jordan in the magazine and nothing in the piece alluded to her professional accomplishments or even noted the management company for which she worked. Stearns article appeared 31 January 1953, and Jordan article on 3 July 1954.

25 Author Leona Brucker wrote “Triumph of Love” for Kaye Ballard; it was the same name given to the book which detailed her son’s experiences with a life-threatening illness. See Billboard, 39 October 1954.

26 The most detailed of these articles appeared on 4 April 1953. The others, included those in 1954 when the case was finally settled, were quite short in length.

27 During the 1940s and 1950s it was not uncommon to have more than one version of the same song released at the same time. Since few singer-songwriters existed in popular music and labels often relied on third parties to write songs and lyrics. Fees and royalty rights for songs were not always well-negotiated, hence the prominence of legal cases at the time. An interesting strand in all of these articles is the rights of widows to their husband’s creative property, or apparent lack thereof. These articles and the efforts of the industry to gain adequate copyright protection could be a study until itself.

28 Billboard, 7 March 1953; Billboard, 4 April 1953.

29 The issue was resolved a few weeks later when James paid an undisclosed cash settlement to his manager freeing herself to sign with a new agency. Billboard, 7 March and 14 April 1953.

30 It was not uncommon for labels, especially large labels, to sign female artists to short-term contracts that could be easily terminated. Many female artists, including the three women featured in this study, were dropped from their labels and forced to find new distribution deals with smaller labels in order to remain in the recording business. For further information on female artists and labels please see Gillian Gaar, She’s a Rebel.

31 Billboard, 12 March 1954.
32 Alice Kessler-Harris, Out To Work: a History of Wage-Earning in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).
33 Article on Anderson appears 14 March 1953 and Baker’s in 5 March 1955.
34 Horne for “I Love to Love,” Kitt for “I Want To Be Evil,” and Vaughan for “Whatever Lola Wants.” Vaughan’s release in June 1955, “Whatever Lola Wants” from the Broadway musical “Damn Yankees,” was one of two versions out that year; the other by Dinah Shore did not chart as high nor was it banned from any radio affiliate’s play list.
35 Clooney’s “Mambo Italiano” and Lor’s “I Want Eddie Fischer for Christmas” were found to be offensive to some listeners in 1954 – Clooney’s for ethnic stereotyping and Lor’s for sexual innuendo. Brewer’s “How To Be Very, Very Popular,” and Martin’s “Will You Willyum” are just as, if not more suggestive than Lor’s. Martin did reveal in her interview with the author that promoters and other country artists that she often toured with often deemed her performances ‘vulgar.’
37 For the purposes of this study, a female act will include female solo artists and musical groups with at least one female member; an appearance in the magazine includes being reviewed in the pop, country & western, or rhythm & blues categories, earning recommendations in the Spotlight Review, Best Buy, or Honor Roll sections, placing on the pop, country & western, or r&b charts, or appearing in paid advertisements.
38 Some of these female acts did venture outside of the well-tested pop standards, including Connie Francis, Teresa Brewer, Rosemary Clooney, and Sarah Vaughan, but during the years of this study, these acts remained popular artists first and foremost.
39 Consequently, many female artists of this era were required by their managers of labels to attend charm school, as most came from working class backgrounds. Berry Gordy and Phil Spector instituted standard in-house instruction with great success at their labels since so many of the artists they worked with came from the inner cities and were more gritty than glamorous. Lorrie Collins and Janis Martin recalled having been forced to take such instruction early on in their careers.
40 Bill Monroe has written an excellent book on the connection between country & western music, the South, and the working class. Please see Bill C. Malone, Don’t Get Above Your Raisin’: Country Music and the Southern Working Class (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
42 These include the six African American artists, who were styled in the same manner as popular white female acts of the time, to reflect middle class suburban woman.
43 Common ways in which labels would do this was through costuming and charm classes that would teach women how to speak, dress, groom, and carry themselves as well-mannered ladies. Labels also attempted to conceal a female artist’s marriage from the press whenever possible; when this was not possible, an artist’s husband was often extolled as a member of her management team or as a musical collaborator in order to present the woman’s career as part of her marital partnership rather than her personal ambition.
44 It was not uncommon for artists to release country & western or rhythm & blues singles in addition to popular singles; Elvis did this with much success, as did Wanda Jackson. Over the eight year span of this study, 193 artists released singles in more than more genre of music.
The McGuire Sisters had 44 total releases during this period, 2 were r&b singles; Mindy Carson, sister to country & western artist Kit Carson, had 25 releases with 3 in country & western; and Roberta Lee released 24 singles, 4 in country & western. None of these 'outside' releases made the charts.

See Starr and Waterman for industry decision to adopt use of the term rhythm & blues in place of 'race' or 'negro' records.

The magazine noted this difficulty of where to place rock 'n' roll tunes on 23 March 1956; several other articles would appear about how to resolve this issue. Though Billboard might have been sensitive to using racially-motivated categories in its magazine, it was still not entirely open to the idea of giving equal time to black artists. Repeatedly in the news portions of the Music section, Billboard reported on the encroachment of r&b music into the mainstream. See articles in Billboard, 4 February and 3 March 1956. Of the 30 female r&b acts with the highest number of releases during the years of this study, only 2 appeared on the Honor Roll of Hits and less than half were featured in paid advertisements.

Both Washington and Brown had great successes though on the r&b charts, placing singles there for 98 and 54 weeks respectively.

Connie Francis made repeat performances with a handful of hits on the r&b and pop charts for eighty-five weeks, and the Platters placed several hits on the r&b charts for 114 weeks.

Billboard in fact noted the dearth of female singers on the pop charts in an article dated 30 March 1956.

See Starr and Waterman for information on blues structures and call-and-response form.

Freeland's Ladies of Soul offers excellent insight into race and gender in the music business, in addition to Christopher Small's Music of the Common Tongue.

See Bufwack and Oermann and Malone's Country Music, U.S.A for women's contributions to country & western music, common themes in song lyrics, and the importance of family acts.

1,599 advertisements were placed in the magazine for 398 female acts during the years of this study. More than 180 of those acts appeared in at least 2 ads, and the 50 female acts to place the highest frequency of ads did so at an average of 19.2 times. Please see the tables in the appendixes that follow for more detailed statistics.

Sanjek in Sexing the Groove, p. 144.

These collections are somewhat easier to acquire today in small specialty retailers or on the World Wide Web. Based in Hamberg, Germany, Bear Family Records quietly acquired one of the largest collections of American r&b, country, and rock 'n' roll masters from some of the most influential artists in American music history. Bear Family Records has re-released their collections with great reverence to consumer markets around the world, and merits much of the responsibility for the revival of classic rockabilly music in the late 20th century. More telling still, film footage of first generation female rockers is very difficult to find, even though artists such as Charline Arthur, Jo Ann Campbell, Barbara Pittman, and Janis Martin appeared frequently on national and local television. Film footage of rock's first generation of pioneering male acts has been preserved for historical import, including titillating performances by Elvis and Jerry Lee Lewis, and footage of female acts who conveyed a less-than-threatening persona such as Brenda Lee and Wanda Jackson, is relatively easy to find. A variety of Jackson's performances have been preserved for posterity, but most document her performances on country programs. Many of the Collins Kids performances on Town Hall Party can be found in a recently released collection of the shows episodes. Several scholars and enthusiasts of music have recounted their delight in seeing a first generation female rocker for the first time. Aquila, McNutt, Oermann, and Poore, in addition to Collins and Jackson have all noted a shared awareness in the extraordinary nature of these performances.

Chapter 3

3 Morrison, p. 11.
4 See Morrison's, Go Cat Go!; McNutt's We Wanna Boogie; Excott and Hawkins', Good Rockin' Tonight; Cooper and Haney's, Rockabilly; and Jandrow's, What It Was Was Rockabilly. See also Gillett, Bufwack and Oermann, and Morthland.
7 Jandrow, p. vii.
For scenes important to the creation of rockabilly, see Randy McNutt’s Guitar Towns.

9 For styles that served as predecessors to rockabilly see Morrison, chapter 3. For further insight on black influences in rockabilly see Tony Russell Blacks, Whites, and Blues (London: Studio Vista, 1970) and Michael Bane, White Boy Singin’ The Blues: The Black Roots of White Rock (New York: Penguin Books, 1982).

10 Charline Arthur has often been mentioned as one of the earliest pioneers of honky tonk-infused country music; please see Emily Neely’s article, “Up Beat Down South: Charline Arthur, the Unmaking of a Honky-Tonk Star” in Southern Cultures 8:3 (Fall 2002), p.86-96. For early blues influences see Morrison, chapter 3, and for early country influences see Bill C. Malone, Country Music, USA (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), p. 245-247.

11 Although each trace influences back into the 20s, 30s and 40s, Cooper, Friedlander, Gillett, Jandrow, Malone, Morrison, and Poore e.g. 1953-1954 as the birth of rockabilly.

12 Phillips recorded a number of legendary artists including blues greats Joe Hill Louis, Little Junior, and James Coton. In addition to Presley, Phillips worked with other rockabilly artists including Carl Perkins, Jerry Lee Lewis, Johnny Cash, the Miller Sisters, Jean Chapel, Roy Orbison, Barbara Pittman, and Sonny Burgess. The best source for Sam Phillips’ pivotal role in rockabilly is Esco and Hawkins’ Good Rockin’ Tonight. See also Gillett and The Illustrated History of Country Music, Patrick Carr ed. (Garden City, NJ: Delphin Books, 1980).

13 Gillett marks rockabilly’s height from 1954-1957, McNutt from 1953-1958, Morrison from 1954-1960, and Bufwack and Oermann from 1953-1963. Still others such as Poore and Cooper have stretched rockabilly’s halcyon days into the revivals of the 1970s and 1980s.

14 Presley was famously inducted into the Army for a two year stint beginning in 1958, Jerry Lee Lewis faced a public relations quandary that same year after news reports revealed he had married his 15 year-old cousin. Buddy Holly would die in a plane crash in 1959, that same year Chuck Berry was arrested for transporting a minor across state lines for immoral purposes and was effectively silenced until the case was resolved. Eddie Cochran died in a car crash in 1960. Interestingly enough, each of the three vocalists featured in this chapter also took respite during this time period: Janis Martin married in 1957 and gave birth to her son the following year, Lorrie Collins married in 1959 and abruptly retired to raise a family, and Wanda Jackson began recording sporadically in the early 1960s as she too would start a family.


16 Morrison, p.4-5.

17 For information on social demographics of rockabilly originators see Morrison chapter 1, Szatmary chapter 2, and Sanjek’s essay in Sexing The Groove.

18 Morrison, p.4-9.

19 Gillett, p. 28.

20 Bufwack and Oermann, p. 214-216.

21 Bufwack and Oermann, Poole. Morrison and Friedlander all make this point quite implicitly. A musician himself, Reverend Snow performed with the likes of Elvis and Gene Vincent before receiving the call in the late 1950s. Excerpt from Snow’s sermon can be found in Jimmy Snow, I Cannot Go Back (Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1977).

22 In his autobiography, Malcolm X tells of his surprise at seeing white patrons taking in shows at the Roseland Ballroom in Boston where he had moved in 1940. On some nights, X witnessed the ropes that partitioned the white from the black section come down and all would dance together. Starr and Waterman corroborate this separation of black and white audiences at postwar R&B shows. See Malcolm X with Alex Haley, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Random House, 1964) and Larry Starr and Christopher Watermann, American Popular Music: From Minstrelsy to MTV (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

23 Jandrow, p. 1-2. Gillett and Szatmary also make this point about rockabilly and race.

24 For information on gender and imagery in popular music please see Sheila Whiteley, “Little Red Rooster vs. The Honky Tonk Woman” in Sexing the Groove; Simon Firth and Angie McRobbie, “Rock and
Sexuality" in On Record; also see note forty-one in Chapter Two for additional sources on postwar fashion.

Shore and Starr, both married and raising children during the height of their careers, each had multifaceted showbiz professions. Shore recorded and toured regularly, occasionally took acting gigs and appeared in her own weekly television variety program. Starr, a phenomenally successful recording artist, ran a production company with her husband-manager and was one of the first performers to sign a lucrative exclusive appearance deal in Las Vegas.

Starr and Waterman, p. 2.


Many covers were originally written and/or performed by black artists and rerecorded by white pop artists, eliciting many insinuations of racial co-optation. Much has been written about the profitability of cover tunes and the racial aspect of ‘covering’ black music; for further information see, Starr and Waterman, p. 196-204; Clark, chapter 14; Gracyk, chapters 5-8; and Kennedy and McNutt’s Little Labels, Big Sound.

Case in point: in the week of December 2, 1957, the single “You Send Me,” written and recorded by Sam Cooke, peaked at #1 on the Billboard Hot 100; cover versions by Teresa Brewer (who also had a #1 hit with the song), Jesse Belvin, and Pias Johnson were also on the charts that week. Cover versions would become so common by the late 1950s that Billboard began to catalogue chart singles by title and songwriter (in place of recording artist) followed by a list of artists who had versions in current release.

Several scholars have noted the increase in importance of teenage purchasing power in the postwar era. Please see Halberstam, Lizbeth Cohen, A Consumer’s Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America (New York: Vintage Books, 2003); and Landon Y. Jones, Great Expectations: America and the Baby Boom Generation (New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1980).

Aquila, Bufwack and Oermann, Escott and Hawkins, Gillett, Jandrow, McNutt, Morrison, O'Brien and Saniek all emphasize the centrality of the rockabilly vocal.

See Morrison chapter 2 and chapter 4 of Friedlander for excellent descriptions of rockabilly vocals.

Morthland, p. 241.

Friedlander, p.20.

Other names familiar to rockabilly enthusiasts would include Johnny Burnette, Johnny Cash, Charlie Feathers, Sleepy LaBeef, the Maddox Brothers, Ricky Nelson, and Gene Vincent. For additional male rockabilly, see McNutt and Morrison – both have excellent chronicles of artists in the genre.

Those others include Charlotte Smith, Gloria Brady, the Miller Sisters, Bobbie Jean Barton, Linda Gail Lewis, Wanda Ballman, Dusty and Dot Rhodes, the Kirby Sisters, Dotty Abbott, and Patsy Holcomb. A handful of female country artists also recorded at Sun. Artist discographies in Escott and Hawkins.

Bufwack and Oermann chronicle the most thorough assortment of female rockabilly of the postwar era. An incomplete list of others include: Bonnie Lou (King), Jo Ann Campbell (Eldorado), Penny Candy (Flippin’), Jackie Dee[DeShannon] (Liberty), Jackie Johnson (Imperial), Alis Lesley (Era), Linda and the Epics (Blue Moon), Laura Lee Perkins (Liberty), and Sparkle Moore (Fraternity).

Morrison and Garbutt both note this. To be fair, most male rockabilly wrote and played many of their own songs, the notable exception being Elvis who played guitar and piano but penned only a handful of his own songs.

Garbutt offers an excellent bio and discography of Brenda Lee. He believed Lee to be the best of the female rockabilly, calling her “the finest female pop singer, past or present” (p. 54). Lee has recorded literally hundreds of songs in her still-vibrant career, placing 51 songs on the pop charts, 12 of them top ten tunes. She had two #1 singles, “I’m Sorry” and “I Want To Be Wanted,” both released in 1960. She was inducted into the Rock ’n’ Roll Hall of Fame in 2002 – the only female rockabilly to gain that distinction.

126
42 This sound was popularized in rockabilly by such acts as the Everly Brothers, the Maddox Brothers and Rose, and the Miller Sisters. Morrison, p. 17.
43 As with the other two artists discussed in this chapter, Collins' recalls having her label assign her to charm classes and was constantly subject to wardrobe approval from the label and show producers. Collins' experiences are also distinct in that she recorded and performed with her young brother; her served to temper her sexuality merely by being present. Collins made a handful of solo recordings and appearances during her early career, none were received with the enthusiasm of her work with Larry. Lorrie Collins, interviewed by author, tape recording. Columbus, Ohio, 29 July 2003 (hereafter cited as Collins interview, 2003).
44 Biographical information on Collins taken from Morrison's Go Cat Go! and Bufwack and Oermann's Finding Her Voice.
45 Morrison, p. 174.
46 Morrison and Poore both offer descriptions of classic Collins' Kids performances. Several of their regular performances on KTTV-TV's, "Town Hall Party" have just been reissued on DVD by Bear Family Records (2004).
48 ibid.
49 ibid.
50 Taken from Colin Escott, liner notes for The Rockin' est, The Collins Kids (Hamberg ren, Germany: Bear Family Records, 1997).
51 Their original contract was a six-month deal that was renewed for the first time in January 1956. Columbia kept resigning the Kids until July 1963 when Lorrie was virtually out of the business and Larry's solo efforts were selling poorly. Escott, The Rockin' est.
52 Lieberson had worked for Columbia since the early 1930s and was responsible for orchestrating the change over from 78 rpm pressings to 33 1/3 and from monaural to stereo recordings. Lieberson was a phenomenal producer, often cited as one of the best in classical recordings. Please see Gillett, Sound In the City.
54 Escott, The Rockin' est.
55 ibid.
56 Bufwack and Oermann, p. 229.
59 Poore, p. 63-64 and Sanjek, p. 151..
60 Poore, Morrison, Jandrow, Escott, Bufwack and Oermann, and Sanjek all cite the Collins' as innovators of the genre. Other artists, including the two other women discussed in this chapter, cite Lorrie and Larry as influences, from artists as diverse as Mac Davis, Ricky Nelson, Shania Twain, Marshall Crenshaw, and Bette Midler.
61 Escott, The Rockin' est.
62 Collin's The Rockin' est.
64 ibid.
65 ibid.
66 For feminist interpretations of musical performance, please see Cecilia Reclaimed, Cook and Tsou eds.; Macarthur's Feminist Aesthetics in Music; and McClary's Feminine Endings.
67 Sanjek, p. 143. Both Lucy O'Brien and David Freeland also make this point about the significance of female artists performing in public space. See also Jennifer C. Post in Cook and Tsou's Cecilia Reclaimed.
68 Mimi Schippers also makes this point with her concept of cultural gender maneuvering which she defines as, "the actions and interactions taken by a group of people to manipulate the relationship between masculine and feminine as it has been established in the accepted patterns of beliefs and activities in an enduring cultural setting." Rockin' Out of the Box, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press), 2002, p. xiii.

127
Biographical information on Wanda Jackson taken from Bufwack and Oermann, Garbutt, Morrison, and Sanjek. Wanda Jackson, interview with by author, tape recording, Columbus, Ohio, 1 May 2003 (hereafter cited as Jackson interview, 2003).
Bakersfield produced such luminaries as Buck Owens, Bill Woods, Wynn Stewart, and Merle Haggard. For further information on the Bakersfield Sound, please see Northland's, Best of Country Music and Malone's, Country U.S.A.
Garbutt, p.15-6.
Bufwack and Oermann, p.129. The Maddox's feature prominently into country & western musicology and Rose in particular has frequently been cited as an important influence by most of the female rockabilly and country & western artists who have preceded her. For further information on Rose Maddox, please see Bufwack and Oermann, and Morthland.
Rose Maddox has often been noted as a luminary in country music, especially for pushing the boundaries for what was considered to be permissible for a female artist. She has been the subject of several studies and an interesting biography has just been released; please see Jonny Whiteside, Ramblin' Rose: the Life and Career of Rose Maddox (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004).
Garbutt, p.16-17.
Bufwack ad Oermann, p.234.
Jackson's association with Elvis Presley has been well-documented and was retold to the author in their interview. See also Garbutt, p.17, Poore, p.60, Morrison, p.132, and Bufwack and Oermann, p.234-235.
Interview with David Dye, on World Cafe; air date 18 February 2004 (produced for PRI at XPN studios, Philadelphia, PA).
Capitol records packaged several “country rockers” with more traditional country singles for several of their country & western artists, including Faron Young, Ferlin Huskey, and the Louvin Brothers. Bob Garbutt credits Capitol producer Ken Nelson with this marketing device – an effort to “find an Elvis for his label.” Garbutt, p.17. Jackson’s three pop hits were: “Let’s Have a Party,” October 1960; “Right or Wrong,” August 1961; and “In the Middle of a Heartache,” November 1961. An interesting aside, Joe Maphis who would later take a young Larry Collins under his wing, served as session guitarist on many of Jackson’s early Capitol recordings.
When reflecting on the dearth of major female recording artists, Nelson famously remarked to Hank Thompson, “female singers just really won’t sell” (Bufwack and Oermann, p. 185). Kenneth F. Nelson was a music industry luminary and one of the first producers in country music to embrace rock’n’roll early on. He was known as an artist-friendly producer and helped to define the Bakersfield sound. Along with Cliffie Stone and Lee Gillette, his predecessor at Capitol, Nelson founded Central Sounds, a publishing company that specialized in west coast country tunes. Nelson signed and produced such luminaries as Gene Vincent, Merle Haggard, and Buck Owens and was elected into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 2001. Information about Nelson taken from Whiteside's Ramblin' Rose
Jackson interview, 2003; Bufwack and Oermann, p.236.
Poore, p. 61, Sanjek, p. 157-158.
In the liner notes to her album Vintage Collections, Jackson recalls an incident at the Grand Ole Opry in 1954 when Ernest Tubb, an Opry regular, insisted she cover her form-fitting fringed dress with rhinestoned spaghetti straps. Jackson did, performed the song and then left, never to return to the Opry again. Garbutt, Bufwack and Oermann, and Sanjek all emphasize this point about Jackson’s daring costumes, as does Jackson herself in many of the interviews she has granted over the years.
Bufwack and Oermann, p. 236.
While artists such as Loretta Lynn, Kitty Wells, Patty Page, and Rosemary Clooney continued to record and perform as wives and mothers, many others, including Teresa Brewer, Lorrie Collins, and Peggy Lee
walked away from the business to devote themselves to married life. Collins remembers the choice as being an easy one, stating "that was the thing for all girls to do." Several historians have also noted the pressure for women to focus on marriage rather than work during the postwar era; please see note fourteen in Chapter One.

Jackson’s professional accolades are noteworthy; she has been honored and regaled in the United States and abroad in each of the genres of music that she has recorded. Several scholars, including Bufwack and Oermann, Morrison, Malone, Gillett, and Garbutt have written about the respect her contemporaries held for her and her significance to the genres of rock, country, and gospel.

Morrison, p. 128.


Jackson's website lists her accomplishments: <http://www.wandajackson.com/pages/biography.html> December 5, 2004). Bufwack and Oermann (p. 237-238) and Sanjek (p.158-160) discuss Jackson's contributions to country and rock music. Several country artists, including those listed discussed Jackson's influence in CMT's televised special, "40 Greatest Women of Country Music," and Rosie Flores talks about her mentor in Beth Harrington's documentary, "Welcome to the Club."


Tosches, p. 168.


Morthland, p.269; Garbutt, p.28; Martin interview, 2003.

Garbutt, p. 28-9.


Morthland, p. 269.

Poore, p. 54-55; Bufwack and Oermann, p. 223.

Poore, p. 55-56; Sanjek, p.154.

Greg Milewski, “Cat Talkin’ with... Janis Martin,” Cat Tales 20 (1993); Martin interview, 2003. Sholes told Janis’ parents in no uncertain terms that Parker would ruin their daughter’s career, making reference to how he had pushed the young Presley to exhaustion earlier that year in New York City. Martin met the King only twice before he died, though he did send her a dozen red roses after her meeting with Parker, wishing her luck in her career.


Morrison, p.66.

Poore, p. 54.

Much has been written about the musical and social significance of Elvis Presley. For information on the image of Elvis, please see Erica Doss, Elvis Culture: Fans, Faith, and Image (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999); and Greil Marcus, Mystery Train: Images of American in Rock’n’Roll Music (New York: Dutton Obelisk, 1975).

Wini Breines, Greil Marcus, and George Lipsitz have written about this discontent among young postwar Americans. For the importance of popular music to youth discontent please see, Microphone Fiends: Youth Music and Youth Culture, Andrew Ross & Tricia Rose, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1994); James Gilbert, A Cycle of Outrage: America’s Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent on the 1950s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Grace Palladino, Teenagers: an America History (New York: Basic Books, 1996).

Garbutt, p.30-31; Morrison, p.129.


Ibid; Poore, p. 54-55.

Both Gillett and Morthland discuss routine practices on packaged tours. Both Martin and Jackson recounted their personal experiences on tour in conversation with the author.

Poore, p. 54.


Poore, p. 55.
In her interview with Greg Milewski, Martin describes RCA’s initial response to learning she was in a family way: “it was suggested very strongly, I will not call names, that I have an abortion. I was about 3 1/2 months pregnant. I was shocked and indignant. I guess I had always been more mature than most people my age because I had been in the business professionally from age eleven. No way would I do that.”

Martin interview, 2003; Garbutt, p. 32; Poore, p. 55.


Ibid.

Gor promotion of female artists in the music industry, please see Gillett’s *Sound in the City*, and Kennedy and McNutt’s, *Little Labels, Big Sound*.


In *Don’t Get Above Your Raisin*, Bill Malone argues that country music has always been an art form made and sustained by working people and rockabilly music is deeply-rooted in that same southern working class culture. In order for rockabilly musicians to be deemed legitimate by the mainstream, they first needed to be deemed legitimate by country fans.

Martin interview, July 2003.

Bufwack and Oermann, p. 223; Poore, p. 54-55.


Ibid.

Garbutt, 33-34; Poore, p.55; Martin interview, 2003.

Ibid. The identities of Martin’s first two husbands are never mentioned in any printed source. Martin was not forthcoming with the information in her interview and the author chose not to pose the question directly.


Ibid.


Please see note 13 in this chapter.

Fox and Gray, p.21.


Conclusion

1 Whitely, *Sexing the Groove*; McClary, *Feminine Endings*.
3 Rock’n’roll music has also reaffirmed traditional forms of masculinity and heterosexuality, with some styles embracing a whole-hearted misogynist approach. Please see Sara Cohen’s “Pop Music, Gender and Sexuality,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Rock and Pop* and Reynolds and Press’ *The Sex Revolts*.
4 McClary, *Feminine Endings*, p.5.
5 Gillett, p. 135.
6 Collins wrote and performed with rockabilly legend, and one-time boyfriend, Ricky Nelson, and was highly-regarded by country great Johnny Cash; Jackson also worked out material with Nelson, in addition to Elvis, Hank Thompson and Bob Gray ; Martin was highly prized by her producer at RCA, country legend Chet Atkins and as noted before, manager Colonel Tom Parker.
7 Sanjek, Morrison, and Poore each discuss that female rockabilly were not mere novelties within the genre, but were seen as talented musicians and legitimate ambassadors of the rockabilly persona and attitude.
8 Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, “The Young Audience,” *On Record*, p. 27.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Oral Interviews
Lorrne Collins, interviewed by author, tape recording, Columbus, Ohio, 29 July 2003.

Wanda Jackson, interview with by author, tape recording, Columbus, Ohio, 1 May 2003.

Janis Martin, interviewed by the author, tape recording, Columbus, Ohio, 27 July 2003.

Interview with David Dye, on World Café; air date 18 February 2004 (produced for PRI at XPN studios, Philadelphia, PA).

Articles


Milewski, Greg. “Cat Talkin’ with ... Janis Martin,” Cat Tales. 20 1993.


Neely, Emily. “Up Beat Down South; Charline Arthur, the Unmaking of a Honky-Tonk Star” in Southern Cultures 8:3 Fall 2002, 86-96.


“Start of the Hot 100,” *Billboard*, 4 August 1958, 1.


**Books**


