

**INSIDE/OUTSIDE: REPRESENTATIONS OF INVISIBLE ILLNESS IN
THE WHO'S *QUADROPHENIA***

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ABSTRACT

In The Who's second rock opera *Quadrophenia*, a fictitious teenager suffers from a mental illness that gives him four distinct personalities. Its main songwriter, Pete Townshend, uses the disorder and the four personalities as a means to represent the four members of The Who through the teenage protagonist, a young mod named Jimmy. Townshend reveals Jimmy's disposition at the conclusion of a lament written from Jimmy's perspective in *Quadrophenia's* liner notes, in a harrowing confession: "Schizophrenic? I'm bleeding quadrophenic." In this monograph, I will examine *Quadrophenia* for its representations of mental illness through textual, musical, and historical perspectives and how these perspectives provide evidence toward a storyline based around the cultural concept of madness.

Mental illness is an invisible illness, for the inflicted does not present noticeable symptoms to others, making it difficult to perceive and accurately diagnose. That is why within popular culture, schizophrenia is oftentimes used interchangeably with multiple personality disorder (now known as dissociative identity disorder), as is the case with Jimmy in *Quadrophenia*. Although these disorders are not at all similar, both are considered under the broader umbrella of madness, a term which historically was of medical and legal significance but gained political and ideological meanings in our modern society. *Quadrophenia* was meant as a tribute and celebration of The Who's beginnings within the mid-60s London mod subculture. The invisible illness aspect of the storyline is worth investigating for its avoidance of treating mental illness within the medical model, in which it is considered to be a deficit of normalcy that is in need of a fix or cure. Though Jimmy struggles with his illness, it is mostly viewed as part of his

adolescent character and then further used as a way of musically and textually representing The Who and the musicians' individual characters. The Who were the epitome of music and madness; their music often spoke in terms of deviance and disobedience, while their live performances were physical and objectionably loud, sometimes concluding with the destruction of instruments.

Treating mental illness, as well as physical and developmental impairments, as difference rather than deficit, is a key principle of current disability studies and its cultural model of disability. This is in opposition to the biological model in the medical field. Society has constructed madness as a binary to sanity, and thus a contrast to normalcy. As this binary is still in practice today, society as a whole continues to stigmatize mental illness and forces it to remain invisible. The Who and their embodiment of mental illness in *Quadrophenia* are meant not merely to arouse sympathy for Jimmy, but also to empower mental illness as a basis of character strength.

The following monograph begins with an introduction to music and disability studies regarding mental illness. The next chapter offers a glimpse into the literature on The Who and *Quadrophenia*, including a survey of a 2013 conference dedicated exclusively to *Quadrophenia*. Finally, a chapter analyzes representations of mental illness in *Quadrophenia* within the music, society, and The Who themselves before a brief concluding chapter.

This monograph is dedicated to my late mother, Susan Hunt Gatti.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The interest in music and disability studies has grown substantially in the past decade.¹ Yet even with this increase in scholarship, my only two recollections of discussion of mental illness in the classroom were of Mussorgsky's dipsomania and Schumann's schizophrenia. Their illnesses were not the same, yet their accounts within the classroom were of their demise as a result of their impairments. The greater contextual discussions of the societal and cultural dimensions of their disorders were ignored, perhaps exacerbated by the stigmatization around mental illness still prevalent today. When discussing my thesis with a professor at my university, a respected and renowned scholar, s/he described the growing interest in music and disability as a "fad." Whether this was a lighthearted remark, it still shocked me and only furthered my realization of how the general population of scholars and educators felt about the discussion of disability in the classroom. As the discourse of social and cultural identity grows through the new musicology movement of the past few decades, it is troubling how, in general, the music classroom avoids the topic of disability. Ignoring disability entirely and the many ways it shapes the lives of musicians and their music, only reinforces the negative attitudes, stigmatization, and fascination (i.e., mad genius) society has with the mentally and physically disabled in the cultural imagination.

¹ Some pioneering publications on music and disability include Carrie Sandahl and Philip Auslander, eds., *Bodies in Commotion: Disability and Performance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Straus, eds., *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Terry Rowden, *The Songs of Blind Folk: African-American Musicians and the Cultures of Blindness* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009); Kendra Leonard, *Shakespeare, Madness, and Music: Scoring Insanity in Cinematic Adaptations* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2009); and Joseph N. Straus, *Extraordinary Measures: Disability in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

In addition to such narratives of composer impairments, music and disability studies bring awareness of performers with disabilities as well as music that is believed to represent the disabled body and mind. The Music and Disability Interest Group of the combined American Musicological Society and Society of Music Theory host a “Musical Representations of Disability” database on their website where anyone can submit works believed to possess representations of visible and invisible disability.² The work submitted must have substantial evidence of such impairments—whether in its title, program note, lyrics, or libretto—of a defined (not metaphorical) disability. The database is limited to works of the Western Art canon and a small number of popular music songs, though it hopes to expand into film music sometime in the future. As of March 2016, the database includes 257 entries, and a majority are visible impairments, such as disfigurement and immobility. While there are works listed with themes of disabilities of the mind—what are also called invisible illnesses, invisible disabilities, madness—there are many more representations not on this list, including The Who’s 1973 album, *Quadrophenia*. The rock opera is about a 1965 London teenager named Jimmy with a fictitious mental disorder called “quadrophenia,” a word-play on schizophrenia with four personalities, as he experiences an identity crisis as a member of the mod subculture.³

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 defines a mental impairment as “any mental or psychological disorder, such as mental retardation [sic], organic brain

² Blake Howe, ed., “Musical Representations of Disability” *Music and Disability at the SMT and AMS*, last modified March 11, 2016, accessed March 3, 2016, <https://www.lsu.edu/faculty/bhowe/disability-representation.html>

³ In reality, Jimmy’s diagnosis would have been dissociative identity disorder (DID) (formerly known as multiple personality disorder). The conflation of DID and schizophrenia are discussed later.

syndrome, emotional or mental illnesses, and specific learning disabilities.”

Paradoxically, people with disability are marginalized yet “make up the largest physical minority in [the United States].”⁴ Disability is complex, involving both congenital and acquired mental and physical impairments; anyone at any time can develop a disability.

Compared to physical disabilities, the lack of visibility with mental illness can be controversial. The Invisible Disabilities Association defines invisible disabilities as “a physical, mental, or neurological condition that limits a person’s movements, senses, or activities that is invisible to the onlooker.”⁵ Besides mental illness, there are many illnesses and disabilities beyond ones occupying the mind that are imperceptible to an onlooker. For instance, wearing contact lenses instead of glasses makes a vision impairment invisible. From “Defining Mental Disability” in *The Disability Studies Reader*, Margaret Price lists the varieties of terms used to define impairments of the mind: *psychiatric disability, mental illness, intellectual disability, mental health service user (or consumer), neurodiversity, neuroatypical, psychiatric system survivor, crazy and mad*.⁶ Indeed, many of these terms are problematic, even offensive, especially “crazy” and “mad.” A term such as “madness” has more historical and social implications than “mental illness,” which implies a terminology more associated with the medical model. This thesis utilizes both “madness” and “mental illness” for their significant roles under

⁴ For further discussion of this paradox, see Lennard J. David, “Chapter 1: The End of Identity Politics and the Beginning of Dismodernism: On Disability as an Unstable Category,” in *Bending Over Backwards: Disability, Dismodernism & Other Difficult Positions*, 2nd ed. (New York: NYU Press, 2002), 9–32.

⁵ “How Do You Define Invisible Disability?” Invisible Disabilities Association, accessed August 17, 2017, <https://invisibledisabilities.org/what-is-an-invisible-disability/>.

⁶ Margaret Price, “Chapter 22: Defining Mental Disability,” in *The Disability Studies Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Lennard J. Davis (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), 298.

the social and medical models. If we avoid the use of terms such as “madness” altogether we only reinforce the assumption that it is an abnormality—as if these afflicted performers/musicians are inferior to those who are not afflicted, rather than being different, without attaching a quality judgment. It is important to remember: disabilities possess variety and difference, not “yes/no” diagnosis.

One may think of madness as a performance; something one *does*, not what one *is*. This sentiment is echoed by Carrie Sandahl and Philip Auslander who wrote: “To think of disability not as a physical condition but as a way of interacting with a world that is frequently inhospitable is to think of disability in performative terms—as something one *does* rather than something one *is*.”⁷ Madness as a performance was part of the anti-psychiatry movement, and mainly by the psychiatrist Thomas Szasz. Szasz questioned and challenged the biological model of mental illness with social constructivism. He writes in *The Myth of Madness*:

If blindness or the paralysis of a leg are diseases—to take the simplest cases—then we must be prepared to deal, epistemologically, medically, and politically, with imitations of blindness and paralysis and with the persons who perform these imitations.... I regard bodily diseases as ‘real’ or literal, and consider mental diseases as ‘counterfeit’ or metaphorical illnesses.⁸

This concept of madness as metaphorical illness proposed by Szasz is what Nicola Spelman uses as the basis of her analysis of madness and rock music in *Popular Music and the Myth of Madness*. Spelman’s in-depth analysis is limited to a select group of songs and albums by white male musicians from around the late 1960s to the early 1970s:

⁷ Carrie Sandahl and Philip Auslander, *Bodies in Commotion*, 10.

⁸ Thomas Szasz, *The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 34.

David Bowie's "All the Madmen," Lou Reed's "Kill Your Sons," Pink Floyd's *Dark Side of the Moon*, Alice Cooper's "The Ballad of Dwight Fry," The Beatles' "Fool on the Hill," and Elton John's "Madman Across the Water."⁹ Spelman intentionally avoids discussing artistic intent, allowing her to compare the songs through musical analysis and the writings of those involved with the anti-psychiatry movement—Szasz, R.D. Laing, David Cooper, Irving Goffman, and Michel Foucault.¹⁰ Additionally, Spelman is influenced by music scholars Susan McClary, Robert Walser, and Derek Scott whose writings she argues emphasize "a belief that musical conventions, ideals and meanings are linked to specific social and cultural contexts."¹¹ Spelman's avoidance of artistic intent may permit for exploring symbols and representations beyond the realm of songwriters and performers; however, I will not disregard the artistic intentions for my analysis. What I believe represents mental illness in *Quadrophenia* may not align with Townshend's original intentions, but it still adds to the tapestry of potential interpretations regardless of whether it contrasts with Townshend's original intention.

In his book, *Extraordinary Measures: Disability in Music*, Straus describes madness as encompassing three historical phases, as if the perceptions of madness can be compartmentalized into three distinct periods: superstition, scientific thinking, and

⁹ Nicolai Spelman, *Popular Music and the Myths of Madness* (London: Ashgate, 2012).

¹⁰ Spelman, *Popular Music and the Myths of Madness*, 16.

¹¹ Ibid. The particular research of Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993); and Derek Scott, *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

accommodation and acceptance.¹² These three perspectives may have been the prominent thinking at roughly three points in history, however, they all still exist in the modern day. Some of the earliest known literature on madness occurred with the Ancient Greeks. Hippocrates discusses the balance of fire and water in his *On Regimen*, and how this balance must remain in equilibrium to keep sane. If water is greater than fire in an individual, they become melancholic and madness prevails.¹³ Hippocrates claimed that the treatment for this imbalance is diet and exercise.¹⁴ Around the time of the seventeenth century in Europe, mental disease, as well as other disorders of the mind such as epilepsy, were seen as a demonic or supernatural possession. In other words, society believed mental illness to be a punishment from God. Regardless of whether an individual with mental illness posed a threat to others, just the mere deviance from societal norms would allow powers (i.e., religious, government, or medical) the rights to intervene. After removal from society, these individuals would be shocked, starved, and receive various types of surgery including trepanning, in order to attempt to remove their demons.¹⁵ With the rise in humanism brought by the Reformation during the seventeenth century, madness as demonic possession evolved into madness as a biological predicament.

¹² Straus, *Extraordinary Measures*, 33.

¹³ Allen Thither, *Revels in Madness: Insanity in Medicine and Literature* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 18.

¹⁴ Thither, *Revels in Madness*, 19.

¹⁵ Shannon Bierma, Samantha J. Lookatch, Kathrin Ritter, and Todd M. Moore, "Mental Illness Defined: Historical Perspectives," in *Cultural Sociology of Mental Illness: An A-to-Z Guide*, ed. Andrew Scull (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2014), 514.

Humanist philosophers realized the importance of human emotions in guiding intellectual thought, and theories about mental illness began a path toward refinement.¹⁶

The medical model of curing or provoking madness has roots in the early age of the modern era. Samantha Bassler mentions Humoral theory within her paper on music and madness in sixteenth/seventeenth century England; how it was believed that harmonious music (as opposed music with discord) performed by skilled musicians could provoke or rehabilitate disorder of the mind through mystical properties.¹⁷ English thinkers believed harmonious music could balance the four humors, the ancient concept based on the human body consisting of four basic fluids: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile.¹⁸

While treatment and curing still remained the objective for those interested in the organicism of mental illness, the rise in humanism led to more attention toward understanding the feelings and emotions of those with mental illnesses and creating ways to cope with them. The care for madness generally involved the family, meaning those individuals without family either roamed freely or ended up in public workhouses or jails (See Figure 1). As such spaces were not ideal, since the mad had usually not committed crimes, asylums and madhouses started to appear as an option of caring for the mentally ill.¹⁹

¹⁶ Bierma et al, "Mental Illness Defined," 515.

¹⁷ Samantha Bassler, "Madness and Music as (Dis)ability in Early Modern England," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies*, eds. Blake Howe, Stephanie Jensen-Moulton, Neil Lerner, and Joseph Straus (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 529.

¹⁸ Bassler, "Madness and Music," 529.

¹⁹ Barbara Taylor, *The Last Asylum: A Memoir of Madness in Our Times* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 107.

No.	NAMES.	Age.	No. of times Committed.	Crimes as stated in Committed.	When Committed.
382	Sarah O'Sullivan	45		1 st Dublin Gaol L. D. 5.0	3 rd Mar
383	Honora Hamilton	25		Breach of the peace	3 rd Mar
384	Anastasia Maddeu	26	1 st	Dangerous Lunatic	1 st Mar
385	Mary Kinsella	38	1 st	Stealing a Dressing Case Containing £100.00	1 st Mar
386	Robert Burns	17	$\frac{375}{45}$	Willfully Breaking a pane of Glass	1 st Mar
387	Edward Fitzsimon	17	1 st	Rogue and Vagabond	1 st Mar
388	Joseph Carroll	16	1 st	Same	1 st Mar

Figure 1. 19th century prison registry from the Kilmainham Gaol Prison in Dublin. Notice the crime of prisoner no. 384, Anastasia Maddeu, and their committed crime of “dangerous lunatic.” Photograph taken by the author.

There are no objective means of diagnosing a mental disorder, and no medical testing (blood samples or MRI imaging) will determine the presence of a psychological impairment in an individual. This makes mental disorders an invisible disorder, revealing itself only through behavioral, gestural, and communicative observations of others. These others are the medical professions of the psychiatric discipline, who are expected to utilize the latest guidelines and research in determining if an individual truly has a mental disorder. Two of the primary references in modern medical care for diagnosing individuals are *The International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems* (ICD) and *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder* (DSM). These two guidebooks have been the primary sources for diagnoses since their first publications in 1949 and 1952, respectively.²⁰ The constant revisions and updating

²⁰ Though the ICD was first published in 1893, it did not include mental disorder classifications and statistics until its 6th edition in 1949.

of the DSM and ICD demonstrate the changing in society of what constitutes a mental disorder. For instance, a recent article proposes for the inclusion of nomophobia (a word blending of “no mobile phone” and “phobia”) in the latest edition of the DSM.²¹

Schizophrenia could be one of the most recognizable labels of mental disorder, and this is perhaps due to its history and later usage in popular culture. The term *schizophrenia* was first coined in public by the German psychiatrist Eugene Bleaker (1857–1939) during a 1908 meeting in Berlin of the German Psychiatric Association. Its Greek meaning is literally “splitting of the mind.”²² Even after the release of the DSM-1, *schizophrenia* was not a common word in the medical vernacular and was instead known as *dementia praecox* (“premature dementia”). Though this term was first developed by French physician Bénédict Augustin Morel in 1852 to describe his adolescent psychiatric patients who expressed a “mental weakness” that produced actions contrary to those of societal standards, *dementia praecox* became popularized by psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin at the turn of the twentieth century in his classification textbooks, *Psychiatry*. Later in 1952, Kraepelin’s text would greatly influence the structure and classification of mental disorders found in the DSM-1.²³ As *dementia* on its own was, and still is to this day, associated with the elderly, the prefix *praecox* (“precocious;” in other words, possessing abilities at an early age) meant the afflicted individual could be as young as an

²¹ Nicola L. Bragazzi and Giovanni Del Puente. “A Proposal for Including Nomophobia in the New DSM-V,” *Psychology Research and Behavior Management* 7 (May 16, 2015):155–160.

²² Tanya M. Cassidy, “Schizophrenia,” in *Cultural Sociology of Mental Illness: An A-to-Z Guide*, ed. Andrew Scull (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2014): 175.

²³ Christine M. Sarteschi, “Dementia Praecox,” in *Cultural Sociology of Mental Illness: An A-to-Z Guide*, ed. Andrew Scull (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2014): 188.

adolescent.²⁴ A more natural way of thinking about the differences between schizophrenia and dissociative identity disorder (DID) is to think of the former as a splitting of the psyche and the latter as a splitting of the personality. By the 1960s, schizophrenia was the most common diagnosis for severe mental illness. Because of this increased diagnosis, schizophrenia evolved into a word synonymous with mental illness and what Wahl describes as “classical madness.”²⁵

There is a fascination in the popular imagination with madness and music. In *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, the seedy character Riff Raff sardonically sings how “madness takes control” as one loses their sense of temporal reality while partaking in the “Time Warp” dance. In *West Side Story* the Jets gang, while heckling Officer Krupke, defend their delinquency as a product of their home lives; their communist, abusive, drug dealing, and cross-dressing family members are causing them all to be “psychologically disturbed.” The Beatles even had many songs with themes of mental illness.²⁶ These references could be considered demoralizing yet are treated as entertainment and important characterizations to understand the respective characters’ motivation within the greater narrative of the story.

Literary scholars have examined the representation of disabled characters in literature, including the concept of “narrative prosthesis” developed by David Mitchell

²⁴ Sarteschi, “Dementia Praecox,” 188.

²⁵ Otto F. Wahl, *Media Madness: Public Images of Mental Illness* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 14.

²⁶ Annette Hames, “‘And I Will Lose My Mind...’ Images of Mental Illness in the Songs of the Beatles,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 30, no. 2 (December 1999): 173–88.

and Sharon Snyder.²⁷ For Mitchell and Snyder, characters with disabilities caused by nontraditional bodies (and, I would add, minds) oftentimes mark the “sites of moral failing, pity, or sexual panic” in a narrative.²⁸ Also, the disabled character typically develops within a plot that features individual isolation as the major aspect of a disabled life.²⁹ For example, in the canonical Homeric poem the *Iliad* (from the eighth century B.C.E.), Thersites, a bow-legged, facially deformed character, is described by Homer as *aischistos*, in other words “the ugliest man” in all of Troy.³⁰ What we find in this and most treatments of disability representation in the arts (whether film, music, theater, or art) is an emphasis on the inflicted as inferior to those who are considered as normal or ideal, within their respective cultural and societal context.

Mitchell and Snyder devote a brief section of their book to the representation of mental illness, especially within the context of madness pushing accepted boundaries, stating that “the transgressive potential of ‘madness’ [has] a shared fascination for literature and madness alike.”³¹ They note the pervasiveness of madness in mainstream television and film, referencing *Media Madness: Public Images of Mental Illness* by Otto F. Wahl as exemplifying this trend.³² The stigmatized image of madness is certainly

²⁷ David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis: Disability and the Dependencies of Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

²⁸ Michael Davis, *Concerto for Left Hand: Disability in the Defamiliar Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 176.

²⁹ Mitchell and Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis*, 19.

³⁰ Kristina Chew, “The Meaning of *Kakos*: Disability in Homer’s *Iliad*,” September 4, 2006, accessed on March 17, 2017, <http://www.blisstree.com/2006/09/04/mental-health-well-being/the-meaning-of-kakos-disability-in-homers-iliad/>

³¹ Mitchell and Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis*, 39.

³² Wahl, *Media Madness*.

apparent in popular culture. Writings about this “shared fascination for literature and madness alike” are exemplified in scholarship regarding madness in the media, such as Media Studies Researcher Stephen Harper’s *Madness, Power, and the Media*. The approach Harper takes to expose the depiction of madness in mainstream media such as film and television is through what Mitchell and Snyder label as a “social realist methodology.”³³ An example of this qualitative methodology is when Harper discusses schizophrenia and mass media and compares how “schizophrenia” is used in the titles of current articles in newspapers, films, and television shows, and how this perversion produces a misrepresentation of mental illness.³⁴

Samantha Bassler relates music and narrative prosthesis in the narratives of the early modern era; “harmful music, or discord of harmony or meter, exists as a foil for establishing the healthful, curative properties of accepted and normalized music styles.”³⁵ Bassler’s definition may be within the context of Shakespeare and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but it is still applicable to the ways that music is utilized as a characterization and metaphorical device in depicting madness.

Cultural historian Andrew Scull describes madness as “massive and lasting disturbances of reason, intellect, and emotions.”³⁶ Madness, and its relatives such as insanity, lunacy, hysteria, and mania, have always had a presence in history. This family of perceived “disturbances” share a common challenge to the social norms of the time.

³³ Mitchell and Snyder, *Narrative Prosthesis*, 39.

³⁴ Wahl, *Media Madness: Public*, 14–16.

³⁵ Bassler, “Music and Madness,” 530.

³⁶ Andrew Scull, *Madness in Civilization: A Cultural History of Insanity, from the Bible to Freud, from the Madhouse to Modern Medicine* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 21.

These states evoke as powerful a stigma now as it ever was in the days of ancient Greece or Rome. However, madness as not normal is under the lens of a medical model, in which one tries to cure the patient of a disease or illness. It may be best to think of madness in this monograph as a human embodiment, not as an abnormality in need of a fix. Madness as unnormal and deviant is where popular music comes in, especially from the late 1960s, after the psychedelic fad when the mind and consciousness began to become themes of significant artists and thus the popular imagination.

Even in our present age of increased awareness, advocacy, and support for the civil rights of all humanity regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, modern society still strives for unattainable “perfectly proportioned human body.” As with most disability studies scholarship, there is a lack of discussion of mental disability. Perhaps because physical, visual, and hearing disabilities are perceivable impairments, this is what makes discourse on mental disability so rare. We have not yet found accurate ways in modern medicine to diagnose individuals with a mental disability.

It was The Who that embodied madness from their earlier days as a mod band in West London performing at social clubs, dance halls, and pubs in a performance that was unreal and unnecessary: they were playing loud and destroying their instruments (at least Pete and Keith were). In his book, *All the Madmen*, Clinton Heylin recognizes the increased interest in the subject of madness by rock performers, especially in the early years of the 1970s:

For in the years 1971–73, a period when English rock dominated the airwaves, band after band, songwriter after songwriter produced fully conceived works from either side of what was almost a communal nervous

breakdown, a psychic aftershock in the collective unconscious of this sceptered isle.³⁷

An early discussion of representations of madness in popular music was Sheila Whiteley and her analysis of Pink Floyd's *The Dark Side of the Moon* in *The Space Between the Notes: Rock and the Counter-Culture*.³⁸ *The Dark Side of the Moon* and *Quadrophenia* both were released in 1973 (March and November, respectively) and share similar themes of contemporary problems, which Whiteley notes as work, money, growing old, and going mad.³⁹ Sheila Whiteley's description of the primary theme of *The Dark Side of the Moon* resonates as well in *Quadrophenia*: "contemporary society's threats and disillusionment, its pressures and hypercritical values which can ultimately lead to madness."⁴⁰ For Jimmy, it may not be a disease that is causing his issues but society and its norms.

The Who were a part of the London mod scene, a subculture known for their short haircuts and fine tailored European suits and clothing. The mod's musical tastes included rhythm and blues and Motown; genres of the Black American music that bands such as The Who were appropriating at the time.⁴¹ The Who in performance could easily be described as madness; guitar destruction, loud volumes, and Townshend's dramatic arm

³⁷ Clinton Heylin, *All The Madmen: Barrett, Bowie, Drake, Pink Floyd, The Kinks, The Who and A Journey To The Dark Side of English Rock* (London: Constable, 2012), 10.

³⁸ Sheila Whiteley, *The Space Between the Notes: Rock and the Counter-Culture* (London: Routledge, 1992), 110–116.

³⁹ Whiteley, *The Space Between the Notes*, 104.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 110.

⁴¹ For a discussion on British subcultures and race, see chapter four of Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1979).

rotations known as “windmilling” are indeed aspects of The Who’s live persona. In the beginning, these overthetop theatrics were a means for developing popularity.⁴² However, despite the success it brought to them, Pete Townshend became concerned that their theatrics seemed like gimmickry rather than an accurate representation of their collective musicality. As David Pattie argues in *Rock Music in Performance*, Townshend was the only member of The Who troubled by this paradox. The rest of the band was content with their live identities: Keith Moon with his clown show drumming, John Entwistle with his stationary position and mundane expression, and Roger Daltrey with his habitual microphone swinging and inability to stand still.⁴³ The Who’s theatrics remained a part of their live identities once they transitioned beyond the successful years following *Tommy*; only their gimmickry of instrument destruction would subside. As Dave Marsh argues, The Who no longer felt the need to destroy their equipment because the audience was reacting so well to the music.⁴⁴

This monograph makes a close reading of The Who and *Quadrophenia*. This album has been on constant rotation either on CD, LP, or digital since I first heard it as a young teenager in the eighth grade. I had a connection with Jimmy that I am fairly sure many other fans of the album shared, with his search for an identity that is unattainable. The only differences between Jimmy and myself are that my life is not shaped by a

⁴² “Windmilling” is a theatrical technique used by guitarists where one extends their strumming arm straight out and, either with a downward or upwards stroke, strike the guitar.

⁴³ David Pattie, *Rock Music in Performance* (New York: Partridge Macmillan, 2007), 64–65.

⁴⁴ Marsh, *Before I Get Old: The Story of the Who* (London: Plexus, 1983), 343.

mental illness, and I did not ride scooters or take street drugs to alter my state of consciousness and experience.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE ON *QUADROPHENIA*

Scholarship on The Who remains mostly unexplored. However, their presence in academia has increased over the past several years. Including an academic conference exclusively on *Quadrophenia* in the summer of 2013.

From the stuttered lyrics in “My Generation” to the “deaf, dumb, and blind boy” of *Tommy*, The Who’s music has received attention at the intersections of disability studies and musicology.⁴⁵ George McKay discusses The Who’s “My Generation” and its representative of “inarticulate articulacy” with its stuttered lyrics. McKay credits Simon Frith who believes that stuttering is often used in popular music to evoke extreme feelings—in the case of “My Generation,” anger and frustration—that goes beyond conscious control.⁴⁶ Raymond Knapp recently wrote about The Who’s *Tommy* and its depiction of childhood mental trauma for *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies*; though it is more about *Tommy* in its Broadway musical form, it is still relevant in regards to disability and performance.⁴⁷ Themes such as these involving popular music and disability are imperative to disability studies aim of expanding the discourse of disability through a cultural and societal model. Most disability scholarship on The Who and disability narratives deal with visible impairments, such as the examples of stuttering

⁴⁵ George McKay, “*Vox cripus: Voicing the Disabled Body*” in *Shakin’ All Over: Popular Music and Disability* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), 84–85.

⁴⁶ Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 192.

⁴⁷ Raymond Knapp, “Chapter 40: ‘Waitin’ for the Light to Shine:’ Musicals and Disability,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies*, eds. Blake Howe, Stephanie Jensen-Moulton, Neil Lerner, and Joseph Straus (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 819–820.

and trauma, and not of the internal disabilities of the mind, which is the hallmark of *Quadrophenia*.

In contrast, other social sciences have examined The Who through their lyrics, image, and historical influences. An example of this is Gary Herman's *The Who* (1971).⁴⁸ As a mainstream rock group, there is still a lack of investigation into how the *music* in *Quadrophenia* reflected its mentally and emotionally unstable protagonist Jimmy and his experiences living in 1964 postwar "Swinging London" among the then-prevalent mod subculture. The most substantial musicology writings involving *Quadrophenia* are by David Nicholls, and even these articles do little to interrelate music and society as posed by McClary and Walser.

Biographies, magazine articles, film and television documentaries, and newspaper reviews form the largest body of work about The Who. David Marsh's *Before I Get Old* (1983), John Atkins' *The Who on Record* (2000), and Andy Neil and Matt Kent's *Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere* (2007) are comprehensive biographies, which are testaments to individuals who are both Who fans and rock critics.⁴⁹ David Marsh, a noted rock critic, was the first biographer to publish an authorized biography of The Who. It contains the standard mainstream rock biographical style of "behind the scenes" anecdotes and, although it presents a history up until 1982, Marsh primarily focuses on the earlier years and the individuals other than the band members themselves that helped define The Who. Marsh is not shy in using his rock journalist vernacular to explain albums and events. For

⁴⁸ Gary Herman, *The Who* (New York: Collier, 1971).

⁴⁹ See Dave Marsh, *Before I Get Old: The Story of The Who* (London: Plexus, 1983); John Atkins, *The Who on Record: A Critical History, 1963-1998* (London: McFarland, 2000).

as sociologist Simon Frith noted, rock journalism acts as a “gatekeeper,” arbitrating what should and should not be consumed by its listeners.⁵⁰ Present throughout are Marsh’s opinions without constructive reasoning, for example: “*Quadrophenia* is not a great album (though it has great moments).”⁵¹ Marsh also writes about Keith Moon and his alcoholism and drug abuse as affecting his playing on the album, stating “Keith stumbled through the sessions, but for the first time, he played without the fire and inspiration that had always been the driving force of The Who.”⁵²

Andy Neil and Matt Kent’s *Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere* believe *Quadrophenia* is focused on three types of violence: physical (the skirmishes between mods and rockers in August 1964 at the Brighton Aquarium); emotional (Jimmy’s love interest); and psychological (Jimmy’s four conflicting personalities).⁵³ They bring up the consistent themes of water in *Quadrophenia*’s texts (lyrics and song titles, such as “Sea and Sand” and “Drowned”) and background sound effects (waves crashing and seagulls), as well as the several photographs in the album packaging of the beach and ocean. Water is an obvious ode to Townshend’s spiritual guru, Baba Meher, and his philosophies on water as a symbol for salvation.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock ‘n’ Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 92.

⁵¹ Marsh, *Before I Get Old*, 423.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 413.

⁵³ Andy Neil and Matt Kent, *Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere: The Complete Chronicle of The Who 1958-1978* (London: Virgin, 2007), 317.

⁵⁴ Neil and Kent, *Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere*, 317.

Atkins' *The Who on Record* also discusses how the Baba symbolism coincides with the mod scenes occupation at the seaside on the English Channel, though on the other hand, the constant aggression towards a rival subculture, the rockers, contrasts Baba's clear calling of universal love and peace.⁵⁵ Marsh has an issue with Jimmy's mental struggle in *Quadrophenia's* plot, believing it generates discontinuities in the overarching narrative of the storyline of the mod subculture, which he feels is the principal theme of *Quadrophenia*.⁵⁶ On the contrary, Atkins believes the idea that *Quadrophenia* is exclusively about mods is peripheral, and that *Quadrophenia* is really about Jimmy's struggles as an individual. Atkins even writes that lyrically, only four songs make specific mod references: "Cut My Hair," "I've Had Enough," "Sea and Sand," and "Bell Boy."⁵⁷ Either way, the symbolism found in the lyrics (even if just a few), liner notes, and album photos has led *Quadrophenia* and its superficial depictions of the mods and "swinging London" as a platform for social discourses of Britain in the 1960s.

A book by social historian Casey Harison entitled *Feedback: The Who and Their Generation* was a first of its kind to examine The Who from a sociological perspective.⁵⁸

As a prominent sixties British rock band, The Who has been subjected to a plethora of periodical writing, from concert reviews and interviews to special-interest pieces. Townshend used meetings as an opportunity to discuss his projects out loud away

⁵⁵ John Atkins, *The Who on Record*, 187.

⁵⁶ Marsh, *Before I Get Old*, 420.

⁵⁷ John Atkins, *The Who on Record*, 186,

⁵⁸ Casey Harison, *Feedback: The Who and their Generation* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).

from the other band members and production staff. As social historian Casey Harrison states: “If there was a rock-and-roll intelligentsia in the sixties, Townshend belonged to it.”⁵⁹ His willingness to converse freely and openly with writers served a dual purpose in the early stages of rock; on one hand, writers could use Townshend's sophistication to expand upon developing the intellectual purpose of rock writing to the mass media, and on the other hand, Townshend could test his compositional ideas with people he felt would give him direct criticism about his projects.⁶⁰ Townshend once wrote:

We artists on the other hand, live in narrow corridors, only exposed to other artists at festivals or as fans ourselves, going to concerts on rare days off. We are necessarily narcissistic, and even if we have good hearts, we eventually become stratified by the celebrity machine that separates performers from audience and sets up journalists and critics as the lone arbiters of balance and perspective.⁶¹

The Who’s presence in music academic writing as a primary feature is very dismal, often focusing on authenticity and popular music. An article by Tim Quirk and Jason Toynbee for *Popular Music* examines Pete Townshend’s windmilling.⁶² A recent publication by Kathryn Hill for *Popular Music History* analyzes the influence of popular music history, specifically country blues, on Townshend and his songwriting, specifically in 1965 with the song, “My Generation.”⁶³

⁵⁹ Harrison, *Feedback*, 62.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Pete Townshend, “Two Stormy Summers,” from the liner notes to *Quadrophenia*, super deluxe edition. Geffen B005D9B26E, 2011, compact disc, 19.

⁶² Tim Quirk and Jason Toynbee, “Going Through the Motions: Popular Music Performance in Journalism and in Academic Discourse,” *Popular Music* 24, No. 3 (October 2005): 399–413.

⁶³ Kathryn Hill, “‘To F-f-f-ade Away?:’ The Blues Influence in Pete Townshend’s Search for an Authentic Voice in ‘My Generation,’” *Popular Music History* 9, no. 2 (2014): 111–135.

From a musicological perspective, David Nicholls' "Virtual Opera, or Opera between the Ears" in the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* in 2004, which compares rock concept albums to formal structures normally found in "serious" art music. He cites Edward Macan's rock and classical comparative *Rocking the Classics* (1997) as a major influence on the methodologies found throughout this article.⁶⁴

Nicholls states:

What particularly interests me in the present article is demonstrating the multiple ways in which certain works intended initially for purely aural consumption—by virtue of their creation as recordings rather than live performances—define for themselves a virtual dramatic space.⁶⁵

Nicholls deems this virtual dramatic space as "virtual opera" and utilizes concepts traditionally found in classical opera (narrative plot, scenes/acts) within the confines of listening to a rock album, which he labels as sonic "performances in the mind."⁶⁶ Within the context of the four albums Nicholls examines in his article, he confesses that *Quadrophenia* is an outlier, for its storyline is not as apparent without the album's liner notes, written from Jimmy, and the 33 photographs depicting the various songs.⁶⁷ Virtual opera is also a means to give worth to such albums as *Quadrophenia* through comparing it to the classical canon, specifically Schoenberg's *Erwartung* (1909), as "both works are concerned with the mental morass of a single character."⁶⁸ However, if Nicholls wants to

⁶⁴ David Nicholls, "Virtual Opera, or Opera between the Ears," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129, no. 1 (2004): 101.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁶⁶ Besides *Quadrophenia*, Nicholls also examines The Who's other rock opera, *Tommy* (1969) as well as Genesis' *The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway* (1974) and Frank Zappa's *Joe's Garage* (1979).

⁶⁷ Nicholls, "Virtual Opera," 114.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

label *Quadrophenia* within classical terminology, “monomelodrama” would be more appropriate, for there is more than one character besides the protagonist Jimmy: the Punk, the Godfather, and Bell Boy. Even this does not take into account Jimmy’s four distinct personalities; technically it should be a “monomeloschizodrama.”

Nicholls’ second article containing *Quadrophenia* was written for *Music & Letters* back in 2007. In it, he argues for narrative theory as a methodology for analyzing popular music, particularly through its texts—song lyrics, musical structures, liner notes, and artwork—the same primary sources in “Virtual Opera.”⁶⁹ Nicholls writes how three-minute pop songs possess relatively next to nothing in regards to narrativity and how extended albums, such as *Quadrophenia* and Genesis’ *The Lamb Lies Down on Broadway* (1974), are the epitome of complex narrative discourse.⁷⁰ Also, just as with “Virtual Opera,” Nicholls relies principally on the music itself to defend his arguments. In an article entitled “Narrative, Interpretation, and the Popular Song,” Keith Negus criticizes Nicholls, arguing that narrative methodologies exclusive to the text are limiting, that “narrative ineluctably leads from the text to the historical circumstances through which the meanings of texts are mediated, interpreted, and contested.”⁷¹ Negus believes “songs do not convey narrative meanings as texts along or about the supporting

⁶⁹ David Nicholls, “Narrative Theory as an Analytical Tool in the Study of Popular Music Texts,” *Music & Letters* 88, no. 2 (2007): 297-315.

⁷⁰ Nicholls, “Narrative Theory,” 301.

⁷¹ Keith Negus, “Narrative, Interpretation, and the Popular Song,” *The Musical Quarterly* 95, no. 2-3 (June 2012): 370.

conceptual package[, and that] songs exist about other songs,” embedded explicitly or unconsciously “within the grids of intertextuality.”⁷²

Scholars explored the interrelationship of *Quadrophenia* to cultural, literary, and historical perspectives at a 2014 conference at the University of Sussex: “Here by the Sea and Sand: A Symposium on *Quadrophenia*” (July 10–11, 2014). Organized by English professor Pam Thurschwell, it was intended to be an interdisciplinary conference exclusively on The Who’s *Quadrophenia*.⁷³ Scholars who presented at the conference examined the album through its texts, but its later film adaptation and novel (both released in 1979) were also discussed throughout the two-day conference. In a session entitled “Reading *Quadrophenia*,” three papers discussed *Quadrophenia*’s symbolism. In his paper, “The Drowning Machine: the sea and scooter in *Quadrophenia*,” Brian Baker argued how Jimmy’s scooter—a primary source of transportation for a mod—represented mod masculinity. Conference host Pam Thurschwell also presented a paper entitled “‘You were under the impression that when you were walking forward, you’d end up further onward, but things ain’t quite that simple:’ *Quadrophenia*’s segues and historical impasse.” Thurschwell argues about how the songs, lyrically though a little musically as well, represent clashes between historical moments in The Who’s history: between the height of the mod scene in 1964 and the “rock star Who” of the 1970s, when the band was both recording the album and was at the height of its fame and fortune. But the final paper presented at the session by Tom Wright, entitled “5:15: Mods, Mobility and the

⁷² Negus, “Narrative,” 370.

⁷³ Pam Thurschwell, “Here by the Sea and Sand: A Symposium on *Quadrophenia*,” The University of Sussex, last modified October 30, 2014. <https://herebytheseaandsand.wordpress.com/programme/>

Brighton Train,” was noteworthy in its discussion of the album’s song, “5:15,” and its later scene in the 1979 film. The train is symbolic in *Quadrophenia* of mobility, and not just for the practical reason of transportation. The train also symbolizes the mobility of class and gender of the mods. Their fine tailored Italian suits and other clothing were the outfits of the middle and upper classes. mod’s haircuts were short, and eyeliner was also prevalent, regardless of gender. Wright cites the lyrics from “5:15,” “he-man drag, in a glittering ballroom, gravely outrageous, in my high heel shoes,” as a signifier to the mod’s gender mobility, for their valuing of femininity was a way to distinguish themselves from rival subcultures, such as rockers.⁷⁴

As Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie write in their 1978 article “Rock and Sexuality”:

The mods from this period turned out to be the most interesting of Britain’s postwar youth groups, offering girls a more visible, active, and collective role [...] than had previous or subsequent groups and allowing boys the vanity, the petulance, the soft sharpness that are usually regarded as sissy.⁷⁵

Though in general an extremely essentializing article (Frith later admits this in a 1985 “Afterthought” to the article) Frith and McRobbie’s statement on mods and femininity, along with Wright’s mobility symbolism, raise important questions in regards to *Quadrophenia* and femininity, which have yet to be answered from a musicologist’s viewpoint. Perhaps methodologies examining the distinctive vocalities implied in the music would create meaningful interpretations. While The Who are notorious for their

⁷⁴ “(Session 4) Reading Quadrophenia,” August 2, 1014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SdiJnXFXCq0> (accessed December 15, 2015), 28:02.

⁷⁵ Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie, “Rock and Sexuality” and “Afterthoughts,” in *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word*, eds. Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (New York: Routledge, 1990), 383.

loudness, violence, and rebellion—three traits commonly associated with masculinity—maybe it is time to finally examine *Quadrophenia*'s less superficial qualities, such as the lyrics expressing sincerity and emotion (“Cut My Hair,” and “I’m One”).

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS

This chapter analyzes the various ways madness and mental illness are represented within the music of *Quadrophenia* and The Who themselves. These representations include the performance of madness; a discussion of the anti-psychiatry movement; Townshend's coping with mental illness; themes of isolation and alienation; and alcohol and drugs as a means of self-medication.

During the 1960s bands were first introduced to listeners during live performances at halls, pubs, and clubs. They hoped that their live performances would attract the scouting of potential managers, who would provide them with opportunities for record contracts and more significant fame. Brian Epstein took an interest in The Beatles' comic and comfortable onstage collective persona and competence on their respected instruments during weekly stints at the Cavern Club. Their contemporaries, The Rolling Stones, in their residency at the Crawdaddy Club in London, bestowed mannerisms of rebellion and sex to their audiences—a contrast to the ostensibly polite and good-natured Beatles—through fervent covers of American R&B. Their impressive and unique live act would lead to their signing with Decca's Richard Rowe, an eager producer desperate for a band who could compete with The Beatles since Rowe regretfully rejected them before their success with George Martin and Parlophone.

The Who's fame began on a slightly different path than The Beatles and Rolling Stones. Amateur filmmakers Kit Lambert and Chris Stamp aspired to produce a behind-the-scenes documentary in the style of a French new-wave film about an aspiring band around their hometown of London; that is when they discovered The Who. The filmmakers were attracted to the band's outrageous showmanship and R&B covers that

spoke more about teenage angst and frustration than love and yearning. Lambert and Stamp's ultimate decision to choose The Who for their documentary occurred because of a violent outburst by Townshend. In a fit of rage after unintentionally breaking the head of his guitar on the low ceiling of the venue, Townshend began to violently smash his guitar into pieces on the stage, much to the delight of the audience.⁷⁶ Lambert and Stamp later abandoned their film project and instead, with no experience, offered to manage The Who. What attracted Lambert and Stamp was less their collective musical abilities (though this was important) than their unique showmanship. Besides the “auto-destruction” of their instruments, theatricality played a substantial role in defining The Who.⁷⁷ In addition to appreciating their theatricality, Lambert and Stamp realized their audiences was full of teenagers of the youth subculture, the modernists. The modernists, more commonly known as mods, had their roots in the mid-1950s. The sudden rise in youth leisurely activities and income following World War II, found young people frequenting jazz clubs and coffee shops around London (such as Bar Italia, see Figure 1), especially in its Soho district. What set mods apart visually was their fashion of Edwardian suits and colorful dresses, and their preference for modern jazz, Motown, and rhythm and blues.⁷⁸ Sociologist Stuart Hall describes the early mod image in a 1959 article:

Suits are dark, sober and casual-formal, severely cut and narrow on the Italian pattern. Haircuts are ‘modern’—a brisk, flat-topped French version

⁷⁶ Gary Herman, *The Who* (New York: Collier, 1971), 40. Townshend also confirms this event in his autobiography. See Townshend, *Who I Am* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers), 3–4.

⁷⁷ Townshend was influenced by Gustav Metzger who pioneered the auto-destructive art movement in Britain. See Townshend, *Who I Am*, 64.

⁷⁸ Terry Rawlings, *Mods: A Very British Phenomenon* (London: Omnibus Press, 2001), 11.

of the now-juvenile American crew cut, modestly called “College style.” Shirts are either white-still or solid colour close-knit wool in the Continental manner. Jeans are *di rigour* [sic], less blue-denim American, striped narrowly or black or khaki. The girls are short-skirted, sleekly groomed, pin-pointed on stiletto heels, with set hair and Paris-boutique dead-pan make-up and mascara. Italian pointed shoes are absolute and universal.⁷⁹

The mod’s high fashion blurred their social class standings, although a majority were from working and lower-middle class families. What also defined mods was their choice of transportation, which was Italian scooters that they rode around while adorning military parkas to protect their expensive suits from inclement weather.



**Figure 2: A popular mod hangout, Bar Italia in London’s Soho District.
Photograph taken by author.**

The Who were not diehard mods; their collective persona could have easily been described as what sociologist Simon Frith calls “mids: musical tastes and qualities of

⁷⁹ Stuart Hall, “Absolute Beginnings: Reflections on the Secondary Modern Generation,” *Universities and Left Review* (Autumn 1959): 23.

both the mod and their rivals, the rockers.⁸⁰ They also incorporated the sensitivities the rockers. Rocker aesthetic was almost the antithesis to the mod. With longer hair styles, fine tailored clothes, and occasional eyeliner and foundation, mods were effeminate compared to the hypermasculine rockers. There was also an element of androgyny between male and female mods, as exemplified in a photograph from the liner notes of *Quadrophenia* (see Figure 3 below).



Figure 3. A photograph from the *Quadrophenia* liner notes of male and female mods.

A typical rocker wore American-made jeans, especially Levi's, a leather jacket, and greased-back hair. Their mode of transportation was not the urban centric sluggish scooter but the made-for-highway motorcycle. Their musical choices were original rock

⁸⁰ Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 216.

and roll, especially Elvis Presley. Townshend realized this lack of complete conformity to the mods and even wrote about it in the liner notes to *Quadrophenia*. Jimmy's account of just seeing The Who live and their lack of authenticity towards the mods is apparent in Townshend's writing: "The guitar player was a skinny geezer with a big nose who twirled his arm like a windmill. He wrote some good songs about mods but he didn't quite look like one."⁸¹

The Who deliberately adopted the mod persona at the suggestion of their previous manager, Pete Meaden, in order to gain popularity. Meaden even had The Who temporarily change their name to "The High Numbers" for greater mod recognition.⁸² R&B style music of The Who evoked the mod aesthetic toward group dancing and not the partnered gender-based style of the big band era. As Gary Herman mentions, their songs such as "The Kids Are Alright" evoke a derogatory attitude towards gender-based activities, in favor of group-based participation.⁸³ Once Townshend began writing more original material, he strived to write about offensive subjects, writing later in his memoir:

My songs were pop curious about subjects as wide-ranging as soft pornography and masturbation, gender-identity crisis, the way we misunderstood the isolating factors of mental illness, and—by now the well established—teenage-identity crisis and low self-esteem issues.⁸⁴

The early Who singles, "I'm a Boy" (1966) and "Pictures of Lily" (1967), are what Townshend refers to as referencing such subjects as gender-identity crisis (though the

⁸¹ As the fictional prose of Jimmy is frequently referenced, I have provided his entire account in the appendix of this monograph. Townshend meant for this to summarize and connect the songs and storyline of *Quadrophenia*.

⁸² David Marsh, *Before I Get Old: The Story of The Who* (London: Plexus, 1983), 74–75.

⁸³ Herman, *The Who*, 41.

⁸⁴ Townshend, *Who I Am*, 112.

song portrays parental abuse and not a diagnosable disorder) and soft pornography and masturbation, respectively. The protagonists in both songs are young males; however, “I’m a Boy” is about a boy named Bill and the abuse of his parents who force him to act like a girl, because of their desire for four daughters, instead of three daughters and a son. Following angelically sung “ohs” by Townshend and Entwistle over slowly-strummed suspension chords by the guitar, a wall of fills by the drums, and a verse also sung by Townshend detailing each of the three daughters, we soon learn of Bill. Bill, sung by Daltrey, states sneeringly: “My name is Bill and I’m a headcase.” The music follows each subsequent line with cymbal crashes and scale degrees 7 to 5 (“Oom-pah”) motion in the bass guitar on each down beat. It is not Bill who is the “headcase,” it is his parents after all who force him to dress in wigs and dresses. As we learn in the concluding verse, all Bill really wants is to play cricket, ride his bike in the rain, and get covered in mud—presumably young masculine activities. In the quote above, Townshend points out the problems with how one handles their identity—that is, being forced to pretend to be someone you are not.⁸⁵

In regards to live performing, The Who were known for their showiness for instrument destruction and deafeningly loud volumes (literally deafening for Pete Townshend and John Entwistle). While these anecdotes are indeed factual, they are also superficial compared to the much more extensive live aesthetic. The Who developed their musicality by performing in concerts. This aesthetic was not solely about instrumental or vocal virtuosity but about a performance that could be interpreted musically to their

⁸⁵ Greg Littmann, “Chapter Four: Who’s That Outside? The Who and the Problem of Alienation,” in *The Who and Philosophy*, eds. Rocco J. Gennaro and Casey Harison (London: Lexington Books, 2016), 50.

audiences of young adults who were struggling with their own identities and acceptance in a world full of nuclear annihilation threats, low social status, and meaningless military conflicts. Some bands of the time responded to this scenario with themes of peace and love, but not The Who, who used aggression and self-importance.

The Who interpreted the frustrations and troubles of their young effeminate and predominately white male audiences not just through their lyrics and music, but through their radical and violent behavior on stage—what could be called the performance of madness. Moon was so physical with his playing that his drum set was often nailed to the floor of the stage. He purposefully neglected the traditional role of a drummer—that of keeping time and establishing rhythm. Instead, Moon’s approach was as close to the role of supporting the melody and harmony (primarily shared between the guitar and bass guitar) as an unpitched percussion instrument could accomplish. Townshend, as the sole guitarist, covered the role of both lead and rhythm guitar. His solos are rhythmic, dependent on chords as opposed to single pitches. Perhaps due to a lack of proficiency as a lead guitarist, especially compared to his contemporaries Eric Clapton and the late Jimi Hendrix, Townshend applied other means of creating virtuosic sounds on the guitar.

Describing their experience seeing The Who in a June 1965 article for *Melody Maker*,

Cathy McGowan and Vicki Whickham write:

Townshend swings full circle with his right arm. He bangs out Morse code by switching the guitar pick-ups on and off. Notes bend and whine. Pete turns suddenly and rams the end of his guitar into the speaker. A chord shudders on the impact. The speaker rocks. Townshend strikes again on the rebound. He rips the canvas covering, tears into the speaker cone, and

the distorted solo splutters from a demolished speaker. The crowds watch this violent display spellbound.⁸⁶

As lead singer, Daltrey sang in a style in common with a lot of British rock singers in the 1960s, mimicking the voices of Black American rhythm and blues singers. Without an instrument to violently thrust around, Daltrey would instead throw his microphone through the air and spin it in circles. He was also constantly in motion, strutting back and forth from the front to the back of the stage. While Moon, Townshend, and Daltrey moved around the stage violently, Entwistle stood still off to stage right maintaining the roles of rhythm and bass guitar, and occasionally singing backups into a microphone.

Besides their theatrical performances, The Who are also known for expanding pop songs beyond the confines of two-and-a-half minutes. A potential reason for this was the admiration Townshend developed after Lambert exposed him to opera recordings. Kit Lambert, son of the composer and conductor Constant Lambert, introduced Townshend to classical music through a record entitled *Masters of the Baroque*. The record included selections from Henry Purcell's chamber suite, *Gordian Knot Untied*. Townshend found the performance "passionate, tragic, and deeply moving," especially the Chaconne movement, which utilizes the suspension chord.⁸⁷ Suspension chords became a hallmark of Townshend's songwriting early on, especially with songs like "The Kids Are Alright,"

⁸⁶ Cathy McGowan and Nicki Whickham, "Ever so often, a group is poised on the brink of a breakthrough. Word has it it's...THE WHO," *Melody Maker* (June 5, 1965).

⁸⁷ Townshend, *Who I Am*, 83.

“Substitute,” and “Happy Jack.” In 1964, he started listening to a lot of dramatic works, particularly Stockhausen’s *Gesang der Jünglinge* and various operas by Wagner.⁸⁸

Peter Wilton defines “rock opera” as an “operatic work or stage show using songs written in the idiom of rock music.”⁸⁹ John Rockwell expands upon Wilton’s definition by explaining how the rock idiom does not follow the conventions of classical music:

Such works have little direct connection to the opera as traditionally understood. They do not use operatically trained singers; the sound is amplified; some of the more interesting examples were never intended for live performance.⁹⁰

Both authors emphasize “opera,” although the term has little to no importance whatsoever when describing rock opera. Rock opera is sometimes used synonymously with the term “concept album,” although with a “concept album” there is more regard to an overarching theme or storyline, whereas rock opera additionally has reoccurring musical themes. In both the Wilton and Rockwell definitions of “rock opera,” “rock” is treated as inferior to “opera.”

Martina Elicker proposes two different ways to define rock opera. One definition views rock opera as an extension of the nineteenth-century operetta, English ballad opera, vaudeville/music hall, revue, melodrama, minstrel show and traditional opera. The other, a much narrower definition, does not view it as a successor of classical opera, but as song

⁸⁸ Ibid, 85.

⁸⁹ Peter Wilton, “Rock Opera,” in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, accessed October 2, 2017, <http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.temple.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199579037.001.0001/acref-9780199579037-e-5705>.

⁹⁰ John Rockwell, “Rock Opera,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, accessed October 8, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.temple.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/O008572>.

cycles within the mold of the popular music concept album.⁹¹ ⁹² Rock opera was not a part of the popular music vernacular until after The Who's *Tommy* (1969). Critics called Townshend pretentious for writing a song cycle that aims to bring to mind the high art of Classical music. When Townshend and the other songwriters of that time were writing these extended songs beyond the typical three-minute pop-rock format, they used the term "rock opera" tongue-in-cheek.⁹³ While most credit Townshend for writing the first rock opera, he himself knew that he was not. The Pretty Thing's *S.F. Sorrow*, Keith West's *Excerpts from a Teenage Opera*, Nirvana's (not the nineties grunge band) *The Story of Simon Simopath*, and the Kinks's *Arthur* were all self-described as either rock operas or concept albums and were also released before or right around the time of *Tommy*'s release in May of 1969. Townshend's first idea for an opera was called *Rael* and was based on plots relating to Red China overtaking Israel. He intended *Rael* as a full-length album, however, it never fully materialized and instead was made into a series of songs heard on the 1968 album *The Who Sell Out*. Two beneficial influences on Townshend's later successful attempts at rock opera were: (1) he started to compose at the piano, and (2) he studied Walter Piston's treatise, *Orchestration*.⁹⁴

The inception of *Quadrophenia* comes out of the disappointment of what was to be The Who's second rock opera, *Lifhouse* in 1971, following the commercial success

⁹¹ Martina Elicker, "Rock Opera: Opera on the Rocks?" in *Word and Music Studies* 4 (2002): 299.

⁹² Roy Shuker defines concept albums and rock operas under the same definition, which is an album or series of songs unified instrumentally, compositionally, narratively, or lyrically through a theme. Shuker also argues that because some rock musicians (such as Pete Townshend) wanted to create music that aspired to the same status as art, the term "rock opera" was used for its emphasis on classical music, a high culture genre. See Roy Shuker, *Popular Music: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 7–8.

⁹³ Townshend, *Who I Am*, 163.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 99.

of their first rock opera, *Tommy* (1969). Pete Townshend described the story of *Lifehouse* as taking place in a futuristic dystopia, where its inhabitants connect to each other through a hub called the Lifehouse. While its general narrative was straightforward, the minor details of the story became complex, and Townshend had great difficulty in articulating the underlining meanings of *Lifehouse*. Perhaps this is why instead of focusing on the development of a series of separate characters all fighting to survive in a world of authoritative mind control, he chose to focus on a single character with *Quadrophenia*, albeit one with four distinct personalities meant to represent each member of The Who. Townshend was not the first in developing a centralized character based on the four members of the band. Nik Cohn, a noted rock journalist, followed The Who for a few months during their 1971 U.S. tour to develop a film, called *Rock is Dead (Rock Lives)* about their live performances.⁹⁵ The film never materialized, but would have been a documentary-drama telling the story of The Who through each one of its members from childhood to present. Like *Quadrophenia*, *Rock is Dead (Rock Lives)* would have feature each member of the band as a representation of The Who as a whole.⁹⁶

Townshend always attempted to include themes in his songs relevant to The Who's fandom. Following the success of *Tommy*, the venues grew from clubs, college field houses, and theaters to stadiums, arenas, and large festivals, including Woodstock Music and Art Festival and both the 1969 and 1970 Isle of Wight Festivals (all three festivals totaling in attendance of over 200,000 people). Even as the venues and

⁹⁵ John Atkins, *The Who on Record: A Critical History, 1963-1998* (London: McFarland, 2000), 177.

⁹⁶ Pete Townshend, "Two Stormy Summers," from the liner notes to *Quadrophenia*, super deluxe edition. Geffen B005D9B26E, 2011, compact disc, 7.

audiences grew, Townshend was cognizant of the demographic of Who fans: white, working or middle class, and male. It was to these individuals that Townshend believed The Who should serve in their music and live performances. Perhaps that explains why songs Townshend wrote and the band covered live, such as “Young Man Blues” by Mose Allison, were themed around what society labels as masculine characteristics: aggression, chauvinism, violence, and anger. Townshend commented in the liner notes to the 2011 re-release of *Quadrophenia* about the relationship between The Who and their fans:

I became convinced that there was something a little different about the way The Who’s audience used them, different that is from the way the fans of The Rolling Stones or Led Zeppelin used them. There had to be because, as a collection of disparate souls, we were weird. For a while I used the term ‘mirroring’ to describe the transaction between The Who and their fans. The Who, I mused, merely mirrored their audience, they reflected them. 80 to 90 percent of our fans seemed to be male, so the aggressive stage show fitted this thesis. Not much else seemed to fit.⁹⁷

What Townshend meant by the weirdness of The Who and their audiences is unclear by this statement. It was almost as if Townshend was trying to incorporate this aggression portrayed by The Who’s primarily male audiences when he began *Quadrophenia* around November of 1971. The first interview regarding *Quadrophenia* is believed to be an August 1972 article with reporter Michael Watts, called the “The Eternal Mod.”⁹⁸ During the interview, Townshend discussed his latest rock opera project as a historical retrospective and a representation of The Who members “[joining] together and [becoming] one piece of music.”⁹⁹ Townshend desired to create “a kind of movie without

⁹⁷ Townshend, “Two Stormy Summers,” 20.

⁹⁸ Atkins, *The Who on Record*, 177.

⁹⁹ Michael Watts, “The Eternal Mod,” *Melody Maker*, August 19, 1972.

pictures” based on a young protagonist named Jimmy with “the four guys in the band as four facets of [Jimmy’s] personality. It’s obviously a kind of schizophrenic thing...”¹⁰⁰ This “schizophrenic thing” is represented by the constant development of the four musical themes (see Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7 below). Townshend uses these themes and particular songs to personify each band member: Roger Daltrey (a tough guy; “Helpless Dancer”), John Entwistle (a romantic; “Is it me?”), Keith Moon (a bloody lunatic; “Bell Boy”), and Pete Townshend himself (a hypocrite; “Love Reign O’er Me”). The constant return of these themes throughout *Quadrophenia* is, in part, what makes it musically cohesive and worthy of the label of rock opera.



Figure 4. “Helpless Dancer” Theme.



Is it me_____ for a mo-ment?

Figure 5. “Is It Me?” Theme.



Bell Boy!_____

Figure 6. “Bell Boy” Theme.



Love_____ reign o'er me!_____

Figure 7. “Reign O’er Me” Theme.

Schizophrenia could be one of the most recognizable labels of mental disorder, and this is perhaps due to its history and later usage in popular culture. The term

¹⁰⁰ Charles Shaar Murray, “Who’s Jimmy?” *New Musical Express* (November 3, 1973).

schizophrenia was first coined in public by the German psychiatrist Eugene Bleaker (1857–1939) during a 1908 meeting in Berlin of the German Psychiatric Association. Its Greek meaning is literally “splitting of the mind.”¹⁰¹ Even after the release of the DSM-1, *schizophrenia* was not a common word in the medical vernacular and was instead known as *dementia praecox* (“premature dementia”). Though this term was first developed by French physician Bénédict Augustin Morel in 1852 to describe his adolescent psychiatric patients who expressed a “mental weakness” that produced actions contrary to those of societal standards, *dementia praecox* became popularized by psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin at the turn of the twentieth century in his classification textbooks, *Psychiatry*. Later in 1952, Kraepelin’s text would greatly influence the structure and classification of mental disorders found in the DSM-1.¹⁰² As *dementia* on its own was, and still is to this day, associated with the elderly, the prefix *praecox* (“precocious;” in other words, possessing abilities at an early age) meant the afflicted individual could be as young as an adolescent.¹⁰³ A more natural way of thinking about the differences between schizophrenia and dissociative identity disorder (DID) is to think of the former as a splitting of the psyche and the latter as a splitting of the personality. By the 1960s, schizophrenia was the most common diagnosis for severe mental illness. Because of this

¹⁰¹ Tanya M. Cassidy, "Schizophrenia," in *Cultural Sociology of Mental Illness: An A-to-Z Guide*, ed. Andrew Scull (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2014): 175.

¹⁰² Christine M. Sarteschi, "Dementia Praecox," in *Cultural Sociology of Mental Illness: An A-to-Z Guide*, ed. Andrew Scull (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2014): 188.

¹⁰³ Sarteschi, "Dementia Praecox," 188.

increased diagnosis, schizophrenia evolved into a word synonymous with mental illness and what Wahl describes as “classical madness.”¹⁰⁴

The popular conception of schizophrenia during the 20th century was of someone possessing a “split personality.” The release in 1886 of Robert Louis Stevenson’s *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* helped further a metaphor of splitting with the “Jekyll and Hyde personality.” In the novel, Stevenson examines Victorian morality and humanity’s primitive capacity for good, represented by Dr. Jekyll, and bad, represented by Mr. Hyde.¹⁰⁵ When the Jekyll and Hyde personality developed in the popular imagination, the term schizophrenia had yet to be coined. In fact, most were only familiar with multiple personality disorder (now known as dissociative identity disorder).¹⁰⁶

Townshend wrote many demo songs for *Quadrophenia* alone within the intimacy of his home studio in 1972. When the final demos were selected, the rest of the band embellished and expanded upon the demos in the recording studio in early 1973. Even after the rest of The Who joined the recording process, the lyrics and feelings reminiscent of loneliness and vulnerability in the original demos remained, especially in “I’m One” and “Sea and Sand.” Vulnerability had been the subject of earlier Who songs, particularly “Behind Blue Eyes” from *Who’s Next*, but loneliness was a new area of self-expression Townshend depicted through Jimmy in *Quadrophenia*. Whether the loneliness

¹⁰⁴ Otto F. Wahl, *Media Madness: Public Images of Mental Illness* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 14.

¹⁰⁵ Kieran McNally, *A Critical History of Schizophrenia* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 21.

¹⁰⁶ McNally, *A Critical History of Schizophrenia*, 28.

Townshend experienced came from the pressures of composing a follow-up rock opera to *Tommy* or was a sign of mental illness is unclear.

It has become quite common for scholars in disability studies to diagnose, usually posthumously, composers and performers with mental and intellectual disabilities. Recently, S. Timothy Maloney informally diagnosed Glenn Gould with autism, all based on secondhand recollections of his personality and behaviors.¹⁰⁷ Another article by a different author informally diagnosed Erik Satie with Asperger's syndrome.¹⁰⁸ Regarding The Who, Keith Moon was informally diagnosed with Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD), as the author alleged Moon exhibited all nine characteristics of BPD listed in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM).¹⁰⁹ The ethics regarding such declarations remains unclear in the disability studies community as scholars continue to make informal diagnoses; it could be seen that such research is necessary in order to fully scrutinize the personal and social dimensions of a subject. Yet even with increased awareness regarding mental and intellectual disabilities, the popular imagination continues to associate certain disabilities of the mind and brain with violence. It could be viewed that perhaps more research into the potential disabilities of noted individuals leads to greater realization of the commonality of invisible disabilities.

My approach when discussing mental illness in Pete Townshend relies on his acknowledgement of receiving or discussing treatment for mental illness, as he did

¹⁰⁷ S. Timothy Maloney, "Glenn Gould, Autistic Savant," in *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music*, eds. Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Straus (New York: Routledge, 2006), 121–135.

¹⁰⁸ Catherine H.M. Fung, "Asperger's and Musical Creativity: The Case of Erik Satie," *Personality and Individual Differences* no. 46 (2009): 775–783.

¹⁰⁹ Tony Fletcher, *Dear Boy: The Life of Keith Moon* (London: Omnibus Press, 2010), 659.

extensively in his autobiography, *Who I Am*. For instance, Townshend mentions receiving NeuroElectric Therapy (NET) in the early 1970s after witnessing its profound effects on Eric Clapton, who reduced his withdrawal symptoms while recovering from drug addiction.¹¹⁰ He also received psychotherapy twice a week for five years starting in March 1982 as a means of treating issues regarding childhood trauma.¹¹¹ Townshend also makes references to manic-depressive episodes in *Who I Am*, writing that there “was a manic-depressive element to my personality,” and that “a seasonal swing in my psyche between periods of emotional bleakness[...]and[...]dynamic creative activity[...]served to pull me out of the void” of various mental states.¹¹²

One of these “seasonal swings” occurred around the autumn and winter of 1970 following the exhausting year-and-a-half tour in support of *Tommy*. As is common with individuals suffering with mental illness, Townshend used alcohol as a means of coping with manic episodes.¹¹³ When Townshend was depressed he consumed amyl nitrate (slang term “poppers”), a form of speed he was introduced to in early 1973, around the

¹¹⁰ Townshend, *Who I Am*, 263.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 386.

¹¹² *Ibid*.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, 2010. From May 1969 until December 1970, *Tommy* became a staple of The Who’s setlist, only adding more physical and emotional demands to a band with only four musicians. Unlike a lot of their contemporaries, The Who sets were not three-minute songs with breaks in-between for instrumental and personal [personel] changes. A staple of The Who sets around this time was the performance without any breaks of “Happy Jack,” “I’m a Boy,” and “Substitute,” and their mini-rock opera, “A Quick One While He’s Away.” “My Generation” and “Magic Bus,” both originally two and a half minute singles, were developed into fifteen-minute jam sessions. *Tommy*, at nearly fifty-minutes in length and without any breaks, was performed somewhere in the middle of their sets. For a comprehensive and well-researched account of every Who concert—including locations, setlists, personnel, images, and recordings—visit the “The Who Concert Guide” at <http://www.thewholive.net/>.

time he started working on *Quadrophenia*.¹¹⁴ Coming off of speed leads to a “come down” that could lead to either aggressive behavior or depression.¹¹⁵ Jimmy experiences a come down after consuming uppers in “I’m One.” Townshend sings and accompanies himself with only a fingerpicked acoustic guitar and faint electric guitar murmurs. Townshend’s vocality is strained and resonant, in contrast to Daltrey’s machismo screaming. Instead of the outright frustration first heard in “The Real Me,” Jimmy’s loneliness and vulnerability permeates the song, with the opening lines to the first verse: “Every year it’s the same, and I feel it again, I’m a loser, no chance to win.”

Regarding the storyline of *Quadrophenia*, Townshend wrote in his autobiography, there “isn’t a straight narrative, but rather a kind of distorted dream-view.” Furthermore, he “wanted everyone who listened to the album to find themselves and their own story in it.”¹¹⁶ Some critics even stated that the narrative seemed underdeveloped, that its storyline was difficult for the listeners to follow. For example, Critic Lenny Kaye in his December 1973 review of *Quadrophenia* for *Rolling Stone* magazine commented:

Pete, for better or worse, is possessed of a logic riveting in its linearity, and if in effect we are being placed in the mind of an emotionally distressed adolescent, neither the texture of the music nor the album’s outlook is able to rise to this challenge of portraiture.¹¹⁷

Whether one believes *Quadrophenia*’s lack of overarching plot is detrimental to listeners’ understanding, it does help to create delusion, perhaps even a proto-psychosis, a primary

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 245.

¹¹⁵ Eric Clark, “DRUGS,” *The Observer* (February 12, 1967): 27.

¹¹⁶ Pete Townshend, *Who I Am*, 241.

¹¹⁷ Lenny Kaye, “The Who: Quadrophenia,” *Rolling Stone Website*, originally published on December 20, 1973, accessed on March 7, 2017, <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/albumreviews/quadrophenia-19731220>

symptom associated with schizophrenic disorders. The complicated storyline works well interpreted through the lens of madness. What we can put together regarding the story is it takes place around 1965 in London during the decline of the mod subculture. At various points we find Jimmy passed out on a beach, singing on stage in a rock band, contemplating suicide, riding a train on drugs, and witnessing an old leader of the mods working as a bellhop at a hotel.

Our contemporary interpretations of mental illness are profoundly influenced by our exposure to its depictions in the media, especially through the medium of film. The soundtracks to these films provide an auditory representation to the visual representation seen on the screen. Some examples are the film adaptations of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), *The Shining* (1980), and especially Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* (1960). The confluence of musical and visual representations of madness in *Psycho* are through its infamous scene as Norman Bates murders Marion Crane in the shower at the Bates Motel. We are meant to understand Bates's psychosis as the height of his obsession and desire for Crane. The visualization of Bates descending upon the unsuspecting Crane is powerful in its own right but the surprise musical cue of repeated shrill note in the extreme high range of the strings certainly enhances the suspense and horror of the scene.¹¹⁸

Quadrophenia's adaptation as a motion picture in 1979 became more about exposing audiences to the mod subculture. In fact, the film even spawned a mod revival

¹¹⁸ A recent dissertation analyzes the representations of disability in the films of Alfred Hitchcock, with one chapter in particular dedicated to *Psycho* and what the author describes as "the sound of insanity." See John T. Dunn, "The Representation of Disability in the Music of Alfred Hitchcock Films" (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 2016), 85–114.

of music and fashion. Mental illness is certainly part of the film’s narrative; the original double album allows us to experience mental illness sonically. When listening to *Quadrophenia*, we are temporarily embodying Jimmy and his inner conflict. The embodiment is furthered by lyrics in the first person. Its capability in producing a sonic experience of Jimmy’s psychoses that is equally somatic and visceral is of real value in this interpretive analysis. For example, as Jimmy’s psychotic odyssey concludes in the closing “Reign O’er Me” we are still unsure about his fate (see Figure 8). Roger Daltrey, as Jimmy, screams and holds the last line for an extended time, singing “love” on a high E-flat without once slipping into a falsetto that would undoubtedly be easier. However, this cracking and straining is Jimmy’s outer voice as it struggles to compete with his inner conflict of the four themes and the cacophony of crashing cymbals, live brass instruments, and synthesizers. While *Quadrophenia* ends enigmatically, we are at least aware of the torture that plagues his mind.

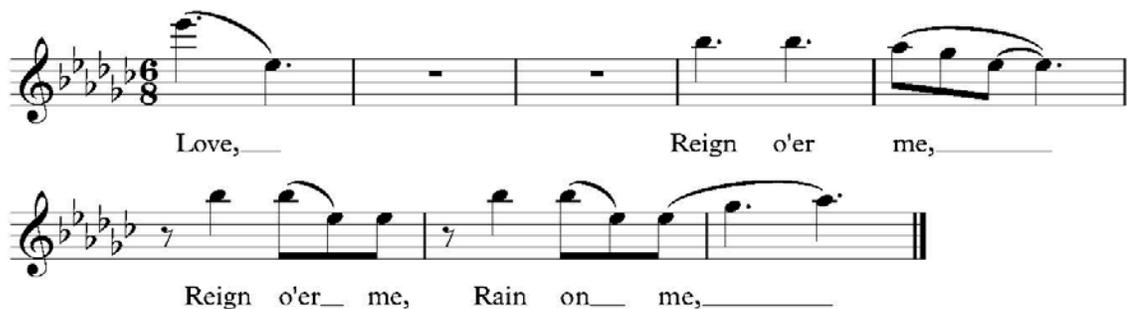


Figure 8. High E-flat in the chorus of “Reign O’er Me.”

In addition to synthesizing the band into a single character through music, The Who used photographs in the liner notes as well as the album cover to depict Jimmy’s four-way split personality. Jimmy sits atop a scooter with his back turned to the camera (see Figure 9). We cannot directly see Jimmy’s face. He peers into four rearview mirrors on his scooter, which each reflect the faces of a different members of the Who, thus

representing the four personalities that occupy his mind. Most of the songs of *Quadrophenia* are from Jimmy's perspective; only "The Punk Meets the Godfather" and "Bell Boy" introduce different characters outside of the realm of Jimmy's mind.

Quadrophenia is very much a mixed medium album, meaning it is dependent on more than just sound. One may choose to just listen to the album; however, if one wants to understand the full picture of Jimmy the mod, they need to read the essay written from the perspective of Jimmy and view the thirty black-and-white photographs contained in the liner notes. One reviewer even complained about how *Quadrophenia* was not a singles album or something one could passively listen to at a party due to its requirement that listeners also view the photographs and read the liner notes to truly understand its storyline.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Charles Shaar Murray, "Four-way Pete," *New Music Express* (October 27, 1973).



Figure 9. Cover Art to Quadrophonia.

In 1965, British reporters Jane Deveron and Charles Hamblett published a compilation of interviews, essays, and poetry of teenage mods in a book titled, *Generation X*.¹²⁰ Within the pages of this first-person account of British youths in the early 1960s is a poem with the same title as the book. The author is a twenty-year-old with depression and neurosis who composed the poem “within the peace and tranquility of the trees and gardens of a psychiatric hospital,” and it is troubling how the subject matter parallels Jimmy and his misery.¹²¹ In the poem, the author contemplates suicide (“Why shouldn’t I commit suicide?”), materialism (“money, time: these are substitutes for real happiness”), and nihilism about society (“I hate this world”). Pete Townshend

¹²⁰ Jane Deveron and Charles Hamblett, *Generation X* (United Kingdom: Tandem Books, 1965), 58–59.

¹²¹ Deveron and Hamblett, *Generation X*, 58–59.

was cognizant of such a mindset, believing there was suffering amongst his fellow mods during the time around 1963 to 1965. He later mentioned in his 2012 autobiography: “The angst of those teenage years in which we all feel misunderstood is easy to make fun of, but it’s real, and it brings my hero Jimmy to the brink of suicide.”¹²² Jimmy, just like the “Generation X” poet, questions existence, but what makes Jimmy’s situation different is that the audience needs to discern which of the four personae are part of his actual self. *Quadrophenia* commences with the ocean soundscape, “I am the Sea,” of crashing waves, ocean breezes, rain, piano embellishments, and manipulated vocal sounds (see Figure 10 below). Jimmy’s four themes are introduced throughout “I am the Sea,” evoking a sense of delusion, clashing like waves before the soundscape transitions into the first song, “The Real Me.”

Time	Event
0:00	Waves and Wind Soundscape
0:07	Piano Vamping
0:10	Whispering of “I am the Sea”
0:37	Waves and Wind transitions to Rain and Thunder Soundscape
0:58	“Helpless Dancer” Theme
1:12	“Is It Me?” Theme
1:29	“Bell Boy” Theme
1:40	“Love Reign O’er Me” Theme
2:03	Segue to “The Real Me”

Figure 10. Events during “I Am the Sea”

“The Real Me” interrupts the “I am the Sea” soundscape. Townshend plays a C power chord, stacked in fifths and fourths, absent of its major/minor determining third, with a razor-sharp distorted timbre on the electric guitar. Under this, Entwistle takes on the leading role with the bass guitar, playing melodic lines in a high tessitura while Moon provides a constant eighth-note subdivision on an open high hat (see Figure 11 below).

¹²² Townshend, *Who I Am*, 250.

Apart from overdubbed brass in the repeated chorus, “The Real Me” is stripped down instrumentally to one electric guitar, one bass guitar, drums, and vocalist. It is archetypal Who style once described as “a sound that’s simultaneously as uncompromisingly violent as a boot disintegrating a plate glass window at 4am, and as smooth as a night flight by a 747.”¹²³ Jimmy, voiced by Daltrey in a penetrating shrill vocality, spills out his frustrations about a society unable to understand him and Jimmy’s inability to understand himself.

The musical score for the introduction of "The Real Me" is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a guitar staff (top) and a bass staff (bottom). The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 4/4. The guitar part begins with a series of chords, some of which are marked with "8va" (octave up) and a dashed line. The bass part starts with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and quarter notes. The first system shows the initial chords and bass line. The second system continues the chordal progression and bass line. The third system shows a more complex chordal structure, including a chord marked with a circled "8" (octave up), and a bass line that includes a quarter rest.

Figure 11. Introduction of “The Real Me”

¹²³ Charles Shaar Murray, “Four-way Pete.”

The only reference to medical intervention occurs in the first verse:

I went back to the doctor,
To get another shrink.
I have to tell him about my weekend,
But he never betrays what he thinks.

Jimmy is clearly angry with his doctor, and this is not his first visit regarding his troubles. As the liner notes detail:

I had to go to this psychiatrist every week. Every Monday. He never really knew what was wrong with me. He said I wasn't mad or anything. He said there's no such thing as madness.

As Jimmy next sings in the chorus: "Can you see the real me, doctor? Doctor?"

Jimmy is frustrated about this because he knows there must be something wrong with him if he is unable to keep a consistent personality, unable to provide the world with his real self. If the words themselves, "can you see the real me?" are not enough to convey Jimmy's frustration and confusion then perhaps the way Daltrey performs will. With a pressed articulation on the words "doctor," "mother," and "preacher" during each of the choruses, Daltrey screams out high B-flat's and C's above the treble staff without using falsetto towards the end of the song. Also, a slight delay to the vocal track adds a little confusion to the vocal texture.

Each of the three choruses to "The Real Me" addresses the individual Jimmy addressed in each of the previous verses: "Doctor," "Mother," and "Preacher." The opening line to the chorus, "Can you see the real me?" places a strong emphasis on each "real," as the melody jumps up before going back down to a melismatic "me." In the second verse regarding his mother, there is even more emphasis on the word "crazy" as Daltrey jumps up an octave. Under this textual layer, the rhythmic layer dominated by the

drums adds a level of anxiety to the chorus. Keith Moon provides very little to no stability with drum fills every measure; his pulse is never straightforward.

Jimmy's disability represents a moment in British society when mental disability could have easily resulted in institutionalization, regardless of the severity of the person's condition. The fact that Jimmy must go to his doctor before seeing a shrink is reminiscent of the procedures defined in the Mental Health Act of 1959 that required an individual's general practitioner to refer them to a mental health professional, whether they were a psychiatrist, psychologist, behavioral therapist, or counselor.¹²⁴ Jimmy, who might have been institutionalized for his disorder before the 1959 act, was now a subject of community-based mental health. Instead of isolation within the walls of an asylum, Jimmy faces the invisible walls of stigmatization. The stigma that he faces is the notion that all people with psychiatric disorders are deviant, disturbed, and criminal. The National Health Service (NHS), the free health care system for British citizens, did not provide enough psychotherapeutic services, for it was considered a specialist service.¹²⁵ Even under a welfare-based system of health care, accessibility to psychotherapy for members of the lower class, such as Jimmy's family, would be inconceivable and only available to those who could afford it.¹²⁶

Townshend writes from the perspective of Jimmy in *Quadrophenia's* liner notes about Jimmy's weekly psychiatry appointments, when his doctor assures him there is no

¹²⁴ John Turner et al, "The History of Mental Health Services in Modern England: Practitioner Memories and the Direction of Future Research" *Medical History* 49, no. 4 (2015), 599–624, 606.

¹²⁵ Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 203.

¹²⁶ Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, 252.

such thing as madness. The idea of madness as nonexistent relates strongly to the anti-psychiatry movement. In 1947, philosopher Jacques Lacan published *Propos sur la Casualité psychique*, in which he extolled madness, treating it not as a symptom of disease but as an existential disposition of the individual.¹²⁷ Lacan initiated the confluence of philosophical and medical discourse in order to expand upon the Freudian concepts and practices of psychiatry. It was not until the mid-1960s with psychiatrist R. D. Laing that anti-psychiatry went into the international spotlight. By the time Townshend was working on *Quadrophenia* in 1972, Laing and several other noted writers were influencing the public with a skepticism towards psychiatric treatment and diagnosis. It would be easy to reduce the concept of the anti-psychiatry movement as one that denied the existence of any form of mental illness; however, this was not their primary goal. Activists criticized the inhumane treatment of patients in mental health facilities such as hospitals and asylums, and also questioned the validity of biological causes of mental illness.¹²⁸ Being labeled as mentally ill has the potential to mark an individual as a failure, one who is incapable of conforming to the cultural and societal practices of “normal” people.

As Lennard David points out in his introduction to the *The Disability Studies Reader*, the concept of “normality” only enters the English language in the 1840s.¹²⁹ In Europe, the rise of statistics and the practice of framing individuals based on averages is

¹²⁷ Mervat Nasser, “The Rise and Fall of Anti-Psychiatry,” *Psychiatry Bulletin* 19 (1995): 743.

¹²⁸ Nicolai Spelman, *Popular Music and the Myths of Madness* (London: Ashgate, 2012). 1–3.

¹²⁹ Davis also mentions how prior to its present usage “normal” was synonymous with “perpendicular.” See Lennard J. Davis, “Introduction: Normality, Power, and Culture” in *The Disability Studies Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Lennard J. Davis (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1–2.

what really helped give rise to the concepts of what is normal and ideal. Statisticians at this time—Davis mentions Sir Francis Galton, Karl Pearson, and R.A. Fisher in particular—were also eugenicists, believing in the “selective breeding” of humans to improve the quality of the human population.¹³⁰

Throughout *Quadrophenia* Jimmy is observant and questions the roles of being young and working-class in a society offering very little or no social mobility. This frustration from a traditional medical perspective comes across as symptoms, such as paranoia, neurosis, and dissociation. However, through the lens of anti-psychiatry these symptoms are merely the traits of an individual’s subjective experience through an existential journey.

After the instrumental overture, “Quadrophenia,” Jimmy continues to express his frustrations in “Cut My Hair.” Jimmy sings the opening line, “Why should I care if I have to cut my hair, I’ve got move with the fashion or be outcast,” he is singing about the necessity to conform to the mods. These frustrations are not with the doctor, his parents, or religion, but with his fellow mods. The instrumental introduction to “Cut My Hair” has a descending harmonic progression that also acts as the ground for two of the verses. The piano also is the sole keeper of steady time with a quarter note pulse, as the bass guitar plays syncopated rhythms and the drums roll on the cymbals. The bass guitar provides the tonal foundation of C major through its octave skips on C. Townshend, in his typical mellow sometimes straining head tone, takes lead vocals during the verses of “Cut My Hair,” while Daltrey sings the choruses with his harsh, edgy vocality (see Figure 12).

¹³⁰ Davis, “Introduction,” 3.

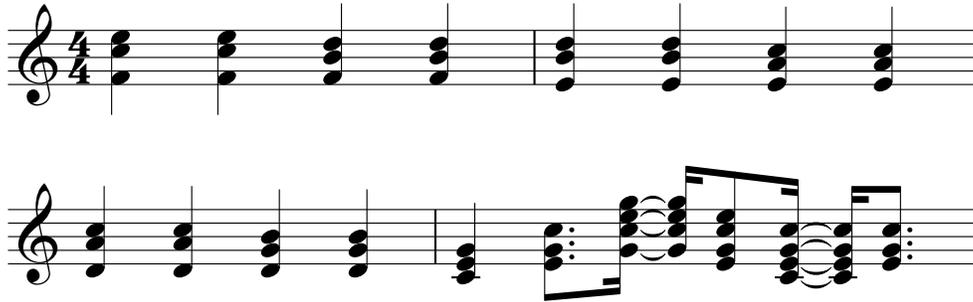


Figure 12. “Cut My Hair” Introduction (Piano)

In the middle section, Townshend sings: “Why do I have to be different to them, just to move with the trends of the dance hall friends.” The frustration Jimmy feels during the middle section is exaggerated rhythmically, with the snare drum accenting the strong beats.¹³¹

“I’ve Had Enough” and “Drowned” are both instances when personal crisis leads to suicidal thinking. Music, novels, and movies often will romanticize suicide as the means for a character to liberate themselves. This treatment of suicide as solution has a long history of influence in society. In the 1770s, *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was blamed for causing a rise in suicides by young people.¹³² It was recently argued that the association of suicides by young people after reading *The Sorrows of Young Werther* in the 1770s was more of a moral panic caused by the media than an actual epidemic. The protagonist, Werther, and his cause for suicide out of the love of a woman, resonated with young readers as their tragic hero. Some young men even took it upon themselves to start dressing like Werther. A moral panic is

¹³¹ The downward voice-leading motion of “Cut My Hair” is an example of a substantial musical motive in *Quadrophenia*, and is heard just as frequently as the four major themes. As “Quadrophenia” acts as an overture, a descending progression is first introduced during the “Love Reign O’er Me” section towards the end of the song. “Cut My Hair,” and “Love Reign O’er Me,” also feature downward motion at the beginning and end of “5:15” and during the verses of “Sea and Sand.”

¹³² Frank Furedi, “Werther: The Media’s First Moral Panic,” *Today’s History* (November 2015): 46.

the sensationalism of topics relating to a loss of morality, usually regarding young people. Obituaries of young people who committed suicide began to mention the presence of *Werther* in their possession.

“Drowned” is only one of many instances in which water is an important theme to *Quadrophenia*; it appears in various forms, such as rain, the ocean and sea, and tears. For as Townshend claims, “The ocean is a symbol of universal unconsciousness, the flowing water in my lyrics represents the individual soul trying to find its way back to infinity.”¹³³ This “flowing water” is evoked in the refrain of “Drowned”:

Oh let me flow back to the ocean,
Let me get back to the sea,
Let me be stormy and let me be calm,
Let the tide in,
And set me free.

Scholars note how Mad individuals can provoke insight about the society around them. As Jimmy jokes in the liner notes: “My shrink used to have a sign on his wall to make you laugh. It said that a paranoiac person is one who has some idea of what is really going on. That was me on leapers.”¹³⁴ Medical historian Roy Porter wrote:

The mad highlight the hypocrisies, double standards and sheer callous obliviousness of sane society. The writings of the mad challenge the discourse of the normal, challenge its right to be the objective mouthpiece of the times. The assumption that there exist definitive and unitary standards of truth and falsehood, reality and delusion, is put to the test...¹³⁵

In “The Dirty Jobs,” we learn Jimmy has a job as a trash collector. Jimmy makes little money, and leaves the job after a short period of time. Besides being disgusted by the low

¹³³ Pete Townshend, “Two Stormy Summers,” 25.

¹³⁴ “Leapers” was a slang term used by mods for amphetamines because the euphoric effect of the medication made them leap around.

¹³⁵ Roy Porter, *A Social History of Madness* (London: Plum, 1989), 3.

pay, Jimmy appears to be more upset about the hypocrisy of fellow workers: how they can fight for their country in war yet not for fair pay, as Jimmy details in the liner notes:

Next day I got a job as a dustman. Now I know why people say
'working?' to one another. Nine quid for a full weeks [*sic*] filthy work.
They stuffed it, I left after two days with two quid in me pocket. Two of
the blokes there were talking about striking for more money, but most of
the geezers there had been working for the council for years. One bloke
has medals for being a war hero and he didn't have the guts to strike for
more pay.

His madness makes him self-absorbed, and in this case a social crusader for better working conditions and pay for him and his fellow workers.¹³⁶ Jimmy share a grim, critical view of the world:

There is a part of me that hates people. Not the actual people but how
useless they are, how stupid. They sit and stew while the whole world gets
worse and worse. Wars and battles. People dying of starvation. Old people
dying because their kids have got their own kids and haven't got the time.
That's what makes me smash things up.

Jimmy is disgusted by the ignorance of those around him. In his mind people are becoming less empathetic to others as starvation and war become normal occurrences around the world.

Alcohol and drugs are often abused specifically to counteract the symptoms of mental illness.¹³⁷ The history of alcohol and drugs to cope with mental illness is not just extensive, it is also gendered. General tiredness and apathy led to many women receiving amphetamine prescriptions as a means to cope with the monotony and stresses of

¹³⁶ This theory of the mad person as bearer of critical opinion is analyzed by Spelman in the songs "Fool on the Hill" by the Beatles. See Spelman, *Popular Music and the Myths of Madness*, 97–98.

¹³⁷ Frederick H. White, "Chapter 5: Leonid Andreev's Construction of Melancholy," in *Depression and Narrative: Telling the Dark*, ed. Hilary Clark (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008): 75.

domesticity.¹³⁸ The trope of “the tired housewife” is exemplified in The Rolling Stones song “Mother’s Little Helper,” with the protagonist needing a “little yellow pill” to get her through the day of taking care of children and cleaning. Part of the opening verse to “Mother’s Little Helper” states:

¹³⁸ Nicolas Rasmussen, *On Speed: From Benzedrine to Adderall* (New York: NYU Press, 2008), 135.

Mother needs something today to calm her down,
And though she's not really ill,
There's a little yellow pill,
She goes running for the shelter of a mother's little helper,
And it helps her on her way,
Gets her through her busy day.

With the stigma of mental health treatment and lack of affordable access to mental health treatment, people often choose to self-medicate through alcohol and drugs. Jimmy copes with his madness with amphetamines and alcohol. The depiction of mods in subculture readings makes it seem as if amphetamines, nicknamed by mods with such names as “purple hearts” and “blue bombers,” were the only drug of choice to help ease the hours of dancing in the London clubs. The dosages were extreme, on average a person would take around 25 pills (sometimes even up to 80) at a time.¹³⁹ The individual quoted in *Generation X* as taking a dosage of 80 amphetamines described the sensation as “when you take them, they make you happy. Anyone can insult you and you don't care. If someone hit you on the nose, you'd just smile at them.”¹⁴⁰

Through *Quadrophenia* the invisibility of Jimmy's fictitious mental illness is exposed. This exposure leads to the realization that madness is both complex and controversial in how it is represented in *Quadrophenia*. Jimmy's mental illness greatly influences the narrative of *Quadrophenia*. For as a narrative prosthesis, his disability motivates him to figure out his place in the world. Townshend purposefully chose *Quadrophenia* to end enigmatically, not knowing whether Jimmy lives or dies. Townshend believed “even as author and composer I realized I had no right to decide

¹³⁹ Hamblett and Deverson, *Generation X*, 71.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

whether or not Jimmy should end his own life. I let Jimmy decide for himself.”¹⁴¹

Regardless of the conclusion, the last song “Love Reign O’er Me” at least implies Jimmy accepts who he is, a person with multiple personalities.

¹⁴¹ Townshend, *Who I Am*, 250–251.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

Quadrophenia demonstrates how the invisibility of mental illness is a powerful representational tool brought on by society continuing to treat mental illness as deviance as opposed to the less stigmatized notion of difference. In the case of Jimmy, we experience the all too common conflation of schizophrenia with Dissociative Identity Disorder. Schizophrenia and Dissociative Identity Disorder are not synonymous and this misrepresentation is dangerous to those diagnosed. The former is characterized by the fracturing of thought, sometimes leading the individual to hallucinate; the latter disorder deals with the dissociation of one's core sense of self, that can come across as multiple personalities. Such misrepresentations through popular idioms also further the stigma of mental illness. What Townshend accomplishes through *Quadrophenia* is helping the listener realize the complexities of madness through Jimmy's first-person perspective.

Aside from representations of invisible illness in their music, there is room for further scrutiny by scholars involving various types of disability within The Who themselves. While avoiding a posthumous diagnosis, George McKay speculates in *Shakin' All Over* about the romantic fetishization of cognitive impairments in the music industry with Keith Moon and his contemporaries, Jim Morrison and Jimi Hendrix.¹⁴² Following the first long-term breakup of The Who in the 1980s, Townshend went so far as to blame the music industry—journalism in particular—for their glorification of the

¹⁴² George McKay, *Shakin' All Over: Popular Music and Disability* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), 164.

reckless behavior of rock musicians.¹⁴³ This glorification of addiction and impairment by the music industry accentuates the dimension of the social construction of disability.

In addition to invisible disabilities, The Who experienced physical impairments caused by their performances. Both Townshend and Entwistle developed hearing problems later in life. While one of the probable reasons includes The Who's excessively loud volumes on stage, Townshend claims his gradual deafness was damage caused overtime by headphones worn in the recording studios.¹⁴⁴ Another physical impairment was Daltrey's vocal cord damage, possibly a consequence of years of singing without the aid of sound monitoring systems. In 2009, Daltrey was diagnosed with dysplasia and underwent surgery to remove the growths in his throat. However, following extensive therapy, and the lowering of keys in certain Who songs for performance, Daltrey was able to overcome his impairment.¹⁴⁵

Susan McClary and Robert Walser wrote in "Start Making Sense! Musicology Wrestles with Rock:"¹⁴⁶

Not only does traditional musicology refuse to acknowledge popular culture, but it also disdains the very questions that scholars of rock want to pursue: How are particular effects achieved in music? How does music produce social meaning? How do music and society interrelate?¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Simon Garfield, "Generation Terrorists," *Observer Music Monthly* 37 (September 2006): 27.

¹⁴⁴ "Who Guitarist's Deafness Warning," *BBC News* (January 4, 2006), <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/4580070.stm>.

¹⁴⁵ John Colapinto, "Giving Voice," *The New Yorker* 89.3 (March 4, 2013): 48.

¹⁴⁶ Their title is perhaps a play on the Talking Heads song and popular movie documentary, "*Stop Making Sense*."

¹⁴⁷ Susan McClary and Robert Walser, "Start Making Sense! Musicology Wrestles with Rock," in *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word*, eds. Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (New York: Routledge, 1990), 280.

The growth in scholarship regarding popular music and musicology has certainly grown since this quote from 1988. Yet the growth is slow in scholarship regarding disability and, in particular, invisible disabilities and popular music from a musicological perspective. I hope that more discourse involving both invisible and visible disabilities will produce greater awareness of such disabilities and how they are a part of our everyday lives. Over time disability studies will likely become a part of the general approach to how we interpret music. I hope that this monograph will help bring about this change in musical interpretation. Perhaps there will be a time when mental health is spoken more freely as with visible disabilities.

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**APPENDIX: JIMMY'S WRITING FROM THE LINER NOTES TO
*QUADROPHENIA***

I had to go to this psychiatrist every week. Every Monday. He never really knew what was wrong with me. He said I wasn't mad or anything. He said there's no such thing as madness. I told him he should try standing in a queue at Brentford football ground on a Saturday morning. I thought it might change his mind. My dad put it another way. He said I changed like the weather. One minute I'd be a tearaway, next minute all sloppy and swoony over some bird. Schizophrenia, he called it. Nutty, my mum called it.

It used to be alright at home. My dad would get pissed out of his brain every single night, and when the telly finished he'd storm out of the house like a lunatic to get to the Eel and Pie shop before it closed. He'd come home with enough for an army. I never liked the eels, just the pies and mash, and the liquor. My friend Dave said that eels live on sewage. My dad must be full of it, he used to eat five bleeding cartons of eels a day. I don't think he ever twigged I was doing five cartons of leapers every day. Each to his own sewage. The rows at home started when I got back from the trouble at Brighton. I'd slept on the beach and me suit was ruined. I really cared about my suit, all my clothes, even though my mother said I didn't care about anything. My mother's terrible when she's had a few Guinnesses. Not that she'll ever settle for a few. As soon as I said I was leaving she started rejoicing like the war had just ended. I was a mountain of paranoia. Coming down off leapers isn't much fun. You can put it off by having more just as you start feeling bad, but it only makes it worse in the end. Pills used to make me see things. They used to make me feel great, like Tarzan. But I think I saw life the way it was. People couldn't hide from me when I was leaping. But I think I saw life the way it was. People didn't hide from me when I was leaping. My shrink used to have a sign on his wall to make you laugh. It said that a paranoiac is a person who has some idea of what is really going on. That was me on leapers.

I pissed off after I'd slept off the come-down. I got me suit cleaned at the automat and spent two hours pressing the pissing thing. It never did look quite right. I took my parka as well, in case I had to sleep rough. I got a couple of nights [*sic*] sleep under

Hammersmith flyover. There only seems to be about five minutes in the night when there ain't some flash bastard in a sportscar going round and round with his tyres screaming and a police car bell coming up behind. On the second night I saw posters going up outside the Odeon for a Who concert. I'd seen them down in Brighton. They were a Mod group. Well, Mods liked them. They weren't exactly mods but Mods did like them. They had a drummer who used to play with his arms waving about like a lunatic. The singer was a tough-looking bloke with really good clothes. If I hadn't have seen him near home I would have said his hair was gold. Real gold I mean, like gold paint. The guitar player was a skinny geezer with a big nose who twirled his arm like a windmill. He wrote some good songs about Mods but he didn't quite look like one. The bass player was a laugh. He never did anything. Nothing. He used to smile sometimes, but the smile would only last half a second then it would switch off again. My friend Dave said he smiled a lot more at his sister, they were engaged I think. His bass sounded like a bleeding VC10.

They played Tamla stuff and R&B. They could have been perfect if they'd played Blue Beat as well. I used to know one of them before they got their record in the charts so I went to see them. They were alright. They smashed up so much gear that nobody believed it was real. When they played down the Marquee they used real gear. I used to have a bit of bass drum to prove it. After the show I hung around outside waiting for them to come out. When they did they never bloody well recognised me. I shouted and one of them turned round and said "How are you doing?", like he remembered me. "Working" he said. I hate it when people say that. Course I wasn't working, I was still at fucking school.

Next day I got a job as a dustman. Now I know why people say "Working?" to one another. Nine quid for a full weeks [sic] filthy work. They stuffed it, I left after two days with two quid in me pocket. Two of the blokes there were talking about striking for more money, but most of the geezers there had been working for the council for years. They looked upon it as some sort of church. The mayor as the Pope. One bloke has medals for being a war hero and he didn't have the guts to strike for more pay. They were all clean though, after hours.

There's a part of me that hates people. Not the actual people but how useless they are, how stupid. They sit and stew while the whole world gets worse and worse. Wars and battles. People dying of starvation. Old people dying because their kids have got their own kids and haven't got the time. That's what makes me smash things up. My shrink says I ain't mad. He should see me when I'm pissed.

I don't know what click inside me, but I got fed up sleeping under the flyover. I really started to fancy going back to Brighton. I still had about two hundred leapers left, kept me company. What was really weird was seeing this bird that I really liked. I even had her on the beach at Brighton. Two in a sleeping bag is really cozy until you're finished. Anyway, she was with my mate Dave. Him! She walked right past me after the dance at the Goldhawk. The girl of my best friend and all that. It did me in. It was the last straw. The real last straw was yet to come. I was so brought down, I smashed me GS up in the pissing rain. I can't bear to think about it. I walked to the station down the railway tracks, across the river. I felt like throwing myself in front of a train, but I didn't. I took about twenty leapers at once, got a first class ticket to Brighton and set off to my land of dreams.

Brighton is a fantastic place. The sea is so gorgeous you want to jump into it and sink. When I was there last time there were about two thousand Mods driving up and down the promenade on scooters. My scooter's seen the last of Brighton bloody promenade now. I know that. I felt really anonymous then, sort of like I was in the army. But everyone was a Mod. Some of them were so well dressed it was sickening. Levis had only come into fashion about a month before and some people had jeans on that looked like they had been born wearing them. There was this bloke there that seemed to be the Ave Face. He was dancing one night in the Aquarium ballroom and everyone was copying him. He kept doing different dances but everyone would copy it and the whole place would be dancing a dance he'd only just made up. That's power for you. He was really heavy too though. When the Mods collected in Brighton, the Rockers would turn up too. There were never as many of them, but this geezer once took two of them on and beat them. That didn't usually happen I can tell you.

I was in a crowd of kids once chasing three Rockers down Brighton Pier. As it seemed they were going to get caught anyway they stopped and turned to meet their fate. All hundred of these kids I was with stopped dead. I was the first to stop, but the rest ran, so I had to follow. There's nothing uglier than a Rocker. This Ace Face geezer wouldn't have run. He smashed the glass doors of this hotel too. He was terrific. He had a sawn-off shotgun under his jacket and he'd be kicking at plate glass and he looks like he was Fred Astaire reborn. Quite funny. I met him earlier today. He ended up working at the same hotel. But he wasn't the manager.

I never ever felt like I blasphemed. You know, in an old fashioned sense. But I was in a pretty blasphemous mood when I left for Brighton. Brighton cheered me up. But then it let me down. Me folks had let me down, rock had let me down, women had let me down, work wasn't worth the effort, school isn't even worth mentioning. But I never ever thought I'd feel let down by being a mod. I pinched this boat, first time I'd ever been on a boat at sea. I had a few more leapers to keep me from coming down and I felt a bit bravado. So [I] headed for this rock out off the coast. It was sticking up very jagged but very peaceful. I didn't know then what I was up to, but I know now.

Schizophrenic! What a laugh. It must be alright to be plain ordinary mad. About halfway over I took a swallow of this Gilbeys gin I bought. Booze never did help me much though. On the boat it did me right in, specially on top of the pills and the come-down. Anyway the sound of the engine turned into this drone, and then the drone turned into sound like pianos or something. Like heavenly choirs or orchestras tuning up. It was really an incredible sound. Like the sort of noise you'd expect to hear in heaven, if there is such a place. I pinched myself and I wasn't really drunk anymore. I was floating. I felt really happy. I must have looked bloody stupid as it happens. I was waving me Gilbeys around in the air and singing in tune with the engine. The sound got better and better, I was nearly delirious when I got to the rock. I switched off the engine and jumped onto it. When the engine stopped so did the music. And when the beautiful music stopped, I remembered the come-down I had. I felt sick from the booze, the sea was splashing all

over the place and there was thunder in the distance. I remembered why I had come to this bastard rock.

So that's why I'm here, the bleeding boat drifted off and I'm stuck here in the pissing rain with my life flashing before me. Only it isn't flashing, it's crawling. Slowly. Now it's just the bare bones of what I am.

A tough guy, a helpless dancer
A romantic, is it me for a moment?
A bloody lunatic, I'll even carry your bags
A beggar, a hypocrite, love reign over me.

Schizophrenic? I'm bleeding quadrophenic.