

Notes

Preface

1. Ben Fong-Torres, “Knockin’ on Bob Dylan’s Door,” *Rolling Stone*, February 14, 1974.
2. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Conversation between Nat Hentoff and JT, June 9, 2014.

1 Bob Dylan’s Roots and Traditional World

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2. Daniel Elazar, *Cities of the Prairie: The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 262–64.
3. Daniel Elazar, *Minnesota Politics and Government* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), xxv–xxvi.
4. Woodward, *American Nations*, 59.
5. *Ibid.*, 62.
6. Steve Berg, “The Scratching of Heads in Hibbing,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, December 7, 1979.
7. John Sirjamaki, “The People of the Mesabi Range,” in Rhoda R. Gilman and June Drenning Holmquist, eds., *Selections from “Minnesota History”: A Fiftieth Anniversary Anthology* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1965), 262.
8. Hyman Berman and Linda Mack Schloff, *Jews in Minnesota: The People of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, Press, 2002), 2.
9. Bruce M. White et al., *Minnesota Votes: Election Returns by County for Presidents, Senators, Congressmen, and Governors, 1857–1977* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1977), 15, 20.
10. *Ibid.*, 191–196.
11. Aaron Brown, *Overburden: Modern Life on the Iron Range* (Duluth, MN: Red Step Press, 2008), 124.

12. White et al., *Minnesota Votes*, 29–30.
13. *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1988.
14. Mikal Gilmore, “Bob Dylan: The Rolling Stone Interview,” *Rolling Stone*, September 27, 2012, 45; *60 Minutes*, CBS Network, December 5, 2004.
15. Brown, *Overburden*, 124.
16. “Mayfair Hotel Press Conference,” May 3, 1966. Contained in: Carl Benson, ed., *The Bob Dylan Companion: Four Decades of Commentary* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998), 81.
17. Brown, *Overburden*, 5.
18. Bob Dylan, *Chronicles, Volume One* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 271.
19. Toby Thompson, *Positively Main Street: Bob Dylan’s Minnesota*, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c1971, 2008), 136.
20. *A&E Biography: Bob Dylan*. A&E Television Networks, DVD, 2000.
21. Jules Siegel, “Well What Have We Here?” *Saturday Evening Post*, July 30, 1966, 34.
22. Joan Baez, *And a Voice to Sing With* (New York: Summit Books, 1987), 85.
23. Siegel, *Saturday Evening Post*, 34.
24. Dave Engel, *Just Like Bob Zimmerman’s Blues: Dylan in Minnesota* (Rudolph, WI: River City Memoirs, 1997), 122.
25. Marvin G. Lappa, *Minnesota’s Iron Country: Rich Ore, Rich Lives* (Duluth, MN: Lake Superior Port Cities Inc., 2004), 217.
26. Anthony Scaduto, *Bob Dylan: An Intimate Biography* (New York: Signet, c1971, 1979), 11.
27. Berg, “The Scratching of Heads.”
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1988.
30. *60 Minutes*, December 5, 2004.
31. *Hibbing Daily Tribune*, July 29, 1964, and November 11, 1964.
32. *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1988.
33. “I Am My Words,” *Newsweek*, November 4, 1963, 94–95.
34. *60 Minutes*, December 5, 2004.
35. Will Jones, “After Last Night,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, May 24, 1964.
36. Bob Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985* (New York: Knopf, 2004), 70–72, 106.
37. Paul J. Robbins, “Bob Dylan in His Own Words,” originally *Los Angeles Free Press*, September 17 and 24, 1965. Contained in: *Bob Dylan Companion*, 54.
38. *60 Minutes*, December 5, 2004.
39. Pam Coyle, “Exclusive: An Interview with Bob Dylan,” *Hibbing High Times*, Vol. 46, No. 2, October 18, 1978. Reprinted in *Hibbing Daily Times*.
40. Douglas Brinkley, “Bob Dylan’s America,” *Rolling Stone*, May 14, 2009, 49, 76.
41. Gilmore, “Bob Dylan” (2012), 45–46.
42. *No Direction Home*, DVD, directed by Martin Scorsese, Paramount Pictures, 2005.

43. Brown, *Overburden*, 125.
44. Lamppa, *Minnesota's Iron Country*, 204.
45. *Ibid.*, 207–208.
46. *Ibid.*, 211, 214–17.
47. *Ibid.*, 210.
48. G. Theodore Mitau, “The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Schism of 1948,” in Anne J. Aby, ed., *The North Star State: A Minnesota History Reader* (St. Paul: Minnesota History, 2002), 272–73.
49. *Ibid.*, 273.
50. Lamppa, *Minnesota's Iron Country*, 222–23.
51. *Ibid.*, 225–26, 240.
52. Chris Welles, “The Angry Young Folk Singer,” *Life*, April 10, 1964, 114.
53. Dylan, *The Times They Are A-Changin'* (1964).
54. *Ibid.*
55. Lawrence W. Levine, *Defender of the Faith: William Jennings Bryan: The Last Decade, 1915–1925* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 322.
56. Brown, *Overburden*, 183.
57. *Ibid.*, 130.
58. Clinton Heylin, *Bob Dylan Behind the Shades Revisited* (New York: William Morrow, 2001), 553.
59. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983).
60. Kurt Loder, “The Bob Dylan Interview,” *Rolling Stone*, June 21, 1984, 18.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Edna Gundersen, “Dylan on Dylan: Folk’s Hero Faces the ‘90s in a Rare Interview,” *USA Today*, September 21, 1989.
63. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983).
64. Sergei Petrov and Rene Fontaine, *Masked and Anonymous*, directed by Larry Charles (Culver City, CA: Sony Pictures Classics, 2003), DVD.
65. Robert Hilburn, “Bob Dylan: Still A-Changin’,” originally *Los Angeles Times*, November 17, 1985. Contained in: *Bob Dylan Companion*, 206.
66. Dylan, *Saved* (1980).
67. Dylan, *Modern Times* (2006).
68. *Ibid.*
69. Jack A. Smith, “A World of His Own,” *National Guardian*, August 22, 1963. Contained in: *Broadside* #31, September 1963, 7.
70. Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985*, 68–69.
71. Dylan, *Blonde on Blonde* (1966).
72. Dylan, *Together Through Life* (2009).
73. Brinkley, “Bob Dylan’s America,” 47.
74. Brown, *Overburden*, 186–87.
75. Jon Bream, “Musical Maverick, Revisited,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, October 31, 2002. Ethnic Jews—Rudy Boschwitz, Paul Wellstone, Norm Coleman, and Al Franken—have won this Senate seat in every election since 1978.

76. Laura E. Weber, "Gentiles Preferred': Minneapolis Jews and Employment, 1920–1950," in Aby, *North Star State*, 397.
77. Ibid., 394–96.
78. Hasia R. Diner, *The Jews of the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 238.
79. Jonathan Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 274.
80. Jerry Waldman (Major Gifts Officer, Herzl Camp), interviewed by Chad Israelson, November 13, 2014. Waldman also related a story about a role reversal day held in Herzl Camp, where the oldest campers would assume the duties of the counselors. Dylan became the music director for a day. Waldman also commented on the overwhelming support for Democratic candidates among the Jewish community in the Twin Cities.
81. Sarna, *American Judaism*, 296.
82. Jerry Waldman, interview.
83. Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 261–62.
84. Ibid., 265–66.
85. Ibid., 269.
86. Ron Rosenbaum, "The Playboy Interview, March 1978." Contained in: *Younger Than That Now: The Collected Interviews with Bob Dylan* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2004), 156.
87. Jerry Waldman, interview.
88. Berman and Schloff, *Jews in Minnesota*, 47.
89. Thompson, *Positively Main Street*, 66–67.
90. Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985*, 163.
91. Dylan's Jewish heritage may have also influenced his interest in music. Referring to rabbinic Judaism, a theologian explains, "Intimately connected with the custom of reading and repeating aloud was the practice of reading the written Torah and repeating the oral with a rhythmical melody... In ancient Judaism the sacred texts were recited with cantillation [chant-singing], as is still done today in Jewish synagogues." Al Jolson (Asa Yoelson), the first Jewish American music superstar and a man whose talent is appreciated by Dylan, was the son of a cantor. Like Dylan's maternal grandparents, Jolson was born in Lithuania (Russian Empire). Jolson's movie *The Jazz Singer* (1927) was autobiographical.—Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans/Livonia, MI: Dove Booksellers, c1961, 1998), 166; Dylan, *Biograph* (1985), interview with Cameron Crowe.
92. Fred Bernstein, *The Jewish Mother's Hall of Fame* (New York: Knopf/Doubleday, 1986), 169.
93. Linda Mack Schloff, "Kosher with a Modern Tinge: Two Generations of Jewish Women in Virginia, Minnesota 1894–1945," in Annette Atkins and Deborah L. Miller, eds., *The State We're In: Reflections on Minnesota History* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press), 105.

94. Engel, *Bob Zimmerman's Blues*, 88.
95. Berg, "The Scratching of Heads."
96. *No Direction Home*, DVD.
97. Thompson, *Positively Main Street*, 161; emphases in the original.
98. Kathleen Mackay, *Bob Dylan: Intimate Insights from Friends and Fellow Musicians* (New York: Omnibus Press, 2007), 13–14.
99. John Bream, "The Many Faces of Bob Dylan," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, June 22, 1986.
100. Neil Hickey, "Bob Dylan," *TV Guide*, September 11, 1976, 5.
101. Stephen H. Webb, *Dylan Redeemed: From Highway 61 to Saved* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 35.
102. Dylan, *New Morning* (1970).
103. Numbers 6:24–26.
104. Dylan, *Slow Train Coming* (1979).
105. Jim Jerome, "Bob Dylan: A Myth Materializes with a New Protest Record and a New Tour," *People Weekly*, November 10, 1975, 26.
106. *Ibid.*, 29.
107. Hickey, "Bob Dylan," 6.
108. Gilmore, "Bob Dylan" (2012), 51.
109. *60 Minutes*, December 5, 2004.
110. Abraham J. Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), xiv.
111. *Ibid.*, xiv.
112. Allan Kozinn, "Sotheby's to Auction Bob Dylan Manuscripts," *New York Times*, May 1, 2014, C3; Michael Goldberg, "Audio: Manuscript Shows the Hard Truth about Bob Dylan's 'A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall,'" *Days Of The Crazy-Wild.com*, May 4, 2014, <http://www.daysofthecrazy-wild.com/audio-the-hard-truth-about-bob-dylans-a-hard-rains-a-gonna-fall>. Jeremiah 1:5 is often used by prolife advocates in arguing against abortion but that has mostly been in the post–*Roe v. Wade* (1973) context.
113. Dylan, *No Direction Home: The Bootleg Series Vol. 7* (2005).
114. Dylan, *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* (1963).
115. Heylin, *Behind the Shades Revisited*, 328.
116. Rosenbaum, "Interview," in *Younger Than That Now*, 154.
117. *Ibid.*, 548–49.
118. Martin Keller, "Dylan Speaks," *US*, January 2, 1984, c1983, 59.
119. Heylin, *Behind the Shades Revisited*, 549.
120. *60 Minutes*, December 5, 2004.
121. Jeff Taylor, *Politics on a Human Scale: The American Tradition of Decentralism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2013), 273.
122. Conversation between Robert Dean Lurie and JT, September 28, 2014.
123. Mark 6:4.
124. Greil Marcus, *Invisible Republic: Bob Dylan's Basement Tapes* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997); Michael Gray, *Song and Dance Man III: The Art of Bob Dylan* (London: Cassell, 2000).

125. Harry Smith, comp., *Anthology of American Folk Music* [sound recording] (Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, c1952, 1997).
126. Dylan, *Together Through Life* (2009).
127. *Bootleg Series 1–3*, booklet, 4.
128. Dylan, *Bringing It All Back Home* (1965).
129. Howard Sounes, *Down the Highway: The Life of Bob Dylan* (New York: Grove Press, 2001), 370–76. In the early 1960s, Dylan asked gospel-folk singer Mavis Staples to marry him. She declined but the two have remained friends.—Graham Rockingham, “Mavis Staples Recalls Her Lost Love,” *The Hamilton Spectator*, January 21, 2012, <http://www.thespec.com/whatson-story/2149883-mavis-staples-recalls-her-lost-love>; Robert Love, “Bob Dylan Does the American Songbook His Way,” *AARP The Magazine*, February/March 2015, 24, 26.
130. David Gates, “Dylan Revisited,” *Newsweek*, October 6, 1997, 64; Robert Hilburn interview, West Berlin, June 1984. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word: Assorted Bob Dylan Utterances* (Don’t Ya Tell Henry Publications, 2006), <http://content.yudu.com/Library/A1plqd/BobDylanEveryMindPol/resources/794.htm>, 794; Dylan, *Biograph* (1985).
131. Clinton Heylin, *Bob Dylan: A Life in Stolen Moments, Day by Day: 1941–1995* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), 339; Robert Hilburn, “Rock’s Enigmatic Poet Opens a Long-Private Door,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 2004.
132. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 109.
133. *Ibid.*, 115.
134. *Ibid.*, 89.
135. Mackay, *Intimate Insights*, 9.
136. Greil Marcus, “Self Portrait No. 25,” *Rolling Stone*, July 23, 1970, 19.
137. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 34–35.
138. R. Gilbert, “Tomorrow’s Top Twenty?” Scene No. 17, January 26, 1963. Contained in: *Bob Dylan Companion*, 16.
139. “Mayfair Hotel Press Conference,” *Bob Dylan Companion*, 81.
140. Joseph Tirella, *Tomorrow-Land: The 1964–65 World’s Fair and the Transformation of America* (New York: Lyons Press, 2014), 280.
141. Ralph Gleason, “A Folk Singing Social Critic,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 24, 1964. Reprinted in *Broadside* #44, Late April 1964, 12.
142. Thomas Jefferson letter to William Branch Giles, December 26, 1825. Cited in: Charles A. Lindbergh [Sr.], *Why Is Your Country at War, and What Happens to You after the War, and Related Subjects* (Washington, DC: Lindbergh, 1917), 83.
143. Hickey, “Bob Dylan,” 5. In comparison to fellow Founding Fathers, Franklin and Jefferson were more democratic (populist).—Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Literature: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, c1927, 1930), 1:164–78, 342–56, 2:10–19.

144. Dylan, *Slow Train Coming* (1979).
145. Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 20.
146. Thompson, *Positively Main Street*, 159.
147. Brinkley, "Bob Dylan's America," 45.
148. Joel Porte, "Introduction: Representing America—the Emerson Legacy," and David Robinson, "Transcendentalism and Its Times," in Joel Porte and Sandra Morris, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9, 13, 17.
149. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 86.
150. *Ibid.*, 40.
151. *Ibid.*, 283.
152. *No Direction Home*, DVD.
153. Christopher Lasch, *The Agony of the American Left* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1969), 6.
154. Gene Clanton, *Congressional Populism and the Crisis of the 1890s* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 5.
155. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 86.
156. Gilmore, "Bob Dylan" (2012), 48.
157. Bill Kauffman, *Look Homeward, America: In Search of Reactionary Radicals and Front-Porch Anarchists* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2006), 167.
158. Dylan, *Love and Theft* (2001).
159. Ian Bell, *Once Upon a Time: The Lives of Bob Dylan* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2012), 117–18.
160. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 235.
161. Jann Wenner, "Country Tradition Goes to Heart of Dylan Songs," *Rolling Stone*, May 25, 1968, 14.
162. Marcus, "Self Portrait No. 25," *Rolling Stone*, July 23, 1970, 16.
163. Paul Williams, *Watching the River Flow: Observations on Bob Dylan's Art in Progress, 1966–1995* (New York: Omnibus Press, 1996), 102.
164. Bill Reed, "Bob Dylan's Nashville Skyline Sessions June 1969," *Rolling Stone*, April 16, 1970, 47.
165. David Gates, "Dylan Revisited," *Newsweek*, October 6, 1997, 65.
166. Bob Dylan, *Together Through Life* (2009).
167. Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind: From Burke to Eliot* (Chicago: Regnery, 1953); William F. Buckley Jr., *God and Man at Yale: The Superstitions of Academic Freedom* (Chicago: Regnery, 1951).
168. Ronald Radosh, *Prophets on the Right: Profiles of Conservative Critics of American Globalism* (New York: Free Life Editions, c1975, 1978), 128, 131, 135.
169. "The Sharon Statement." Contained in: Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines, eds., *Takin' It to the Streets: A Sixties Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, 2003), 290.

170. Smith, "A World of His Own," reprinted in *Broadside* #31, 7.
171. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 283.
172. Robert Dean Lurie, "Unlike a Rolling Stone," *The American Conservative*, May/June 2014, 38. For an interesting book-length examination of Dylan from a conservative perspective, see Webb, *Dylan Redeemed*.
173. Ron Rosenbaum, "Interview." Contained in: *Younger Than That Now*, 152.
174. Barry Goldwater, "Acceptance Speech 1964 Republican National Convention." Contained in: *Takin' it to the Streets*, 291.
175. John A. Andrew III, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 61.
176. This was precisely the critique of organized labor by C. Wright Mills, a father of the New Left. Rick Tilman, *C. Wright Mills: A Native Radical and His American Intellectual Roots* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984), 21–23.
177. *Broadside* #35, November 1963, 8.
178. Kauffman, *Look Homeward*, 134–35.
179. Smith, "A World of His Own," reprinted in *Broadside* #31, 7.
180. Ron Rosenbaum, "Interview," *Younger Than That Now*, 149.
181. Brinkley, "Bob Dylan's America," 47; and Gilmore, "Bob Dylan" (2012), 48.
182. David Yaffe, *Bob Dylan: Like a Complete Unknown* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 90.
183. Jon Bream, "Croaky Dylan Welcomes Winds of Change: Concert Review," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, November 5, 2008.
184. Gilmore, "Bob Dylan" (2012), 48–49.
185. Mikal Gilmore, "Positively Dylan," *Rolling Stone*, July 17/31, 1986, 135; emphasis in the original.

2 Voice of a Generation

1. Gilmore, "Bob Dylan" (2012), 44–45.
2. Mackay, *Intimate Insights*, 69.
3. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 29.
4. Massimo Teodori, ed., *The New Left: A Documentary History* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1969), 73.
5. Stuart Kallen, ed., *Sixties Counterculture* (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 2001), 11.
6. Teodori, *New Left*, 36.
7. William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960s* (New York: Quadrangle Books), 1971.
8. Teodori, *New Left*, 23.
9. John Robert Greene, *America in the Sixties* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2010), 104.
10. "The Port Huron Statement." Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 163.

11. Ibid., 164.
12. Ibid., 165–66.
13. Greene, *America in the Sixties*, 104.
14. Ibid., 108–109.
15. SDS: “America and New Era.” Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 180.
16. James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 6–9.
17. Teodori, *New Left*, 36–37.
18. Smith, “A World of His Own,” reprinted in: *Broadside* #31, 7.
19. Mackay, *Intimate Insights*, 35.
20. Dylan, *Another Side of Bob Dylan* (1964).
21. Baez, *A Voice to Sing*, 95.
22. Victor Maymudes, *Another Side of Bob Dylan: A Personal History on the Road and off the Tracks*, ed. Jacob Maymudes (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2014), 253. Alberta Cooley participated in the third and final Selma to Montgomery March when she was a high school girl, in March 1965. She remembers Joan Baez and Peter, Paul and Mary, among others, singing Freedom Songs for the marchers on the last evening, and says that Dylan’s music, including “Blowin’ in the Wind,” was “a big influence on the movement.” Entering Montgomery the next day, on their way to the Alabama State Capitol, “thousands of people stood out along the street” to cheer on the marchers. Alberta recalls, “There was an old black woman in a wheelchair in front of her house, waving us on. She had no legs, with tears in her eyes, shouting, ‘Go on! Go on!’” Today, Alberta Cooley McCrory is mayor of Hobson City, Alabama—the second-oldest incorporated black town in the United States. Alberta McCrory e-mails to JT, March 6–7, 2014.
23. Baez, *Voice to Sing*, 92–93.
24. Dave Moberg, “The Folk and the Rock,” *Newsweek*, September 20, 1965, 88.
25. “The Port Huron Statement.” Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 171.
26. Robert Shelton, “Songs a Weapon in Rights Battle,” *New York Times*, August 20, 1962.
27. David King Dunaway and Molly Beer, *Singing Out: An Oral History of America’s Folk Music Revival* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 79.
28. Heylin, *Behind the Shades Revisited*, 91–92.
29. Joel Whitburn, *Billboard Hot 100 Charts: The Sixties* (Menomonee Falls, WI: Record Research Inc., 1990).
30. Baez, *Voice to Sing*, 84.
31. *Broadside* #1, February 1962, 1.
32. *Broadside* #5, May 1962, 4.
33. Ibid.
34. *Broadside* #1, February 1962, 3; *Broadside* #2, March 1962, 4.
35. *Broadside* #5, May 1962, 4.
36. Alan Haber, “Nonexclusionism: The New Left and the Democratic Left.” Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 222.

37. Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985*, 18–19. Dylan’s song was funny but unfair. JBS founder Robert Welch was not an anti-Semite. He was a radical Taft Republican.
38. Brinkley, “Bob Dylan’s America,” 76.
39. Teodori, *New Left*, 22–23.
40. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 270–71.
41. *Broadside* #3, April 1962, 3; Bob Dylan, *Bootleg Series Volumes 1–3* (1991).
42. *Broadside* #4, mid-April 1962, 2.
43. Dylan, *Bootleg Series Volumes 1–3* (1991).
44. John Morton Blum, *Years of Discord: American Politics and Society 1961–74* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 273.
45. Todd Gitlin, “Power and the Myth of Progress,” *The New Republic*, 1966. Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 188; emphasis in the original.
46. Dylan, *Highway 61 Revisited* (1965).
47. Robert Hilburn, “I Learned That Jesus Is Real and I Wanted That,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1980. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 165.
48. Christopher Sykes interview, October 18, 1986; emphasis in the original. Reprinted in Bob Dylan 1988 Tour Program.
49. Baez, *Voice to Sing*, 95.
50. Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985*, 46–47.
51. Nat Hentoff, “Joan Baez and Bob Dylan: The Voice Meets the Poet,” *HiFi/Stereo Review*, November 1963. Reprinted in *Hootenanny* Volume 1, No. 2, March 1964, 11.
52. Welles, “Angry Young Singer,” 114.
53. Engel, *Bob Zimmerman’s Blues*, 30–31.
54. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 29–30.
55. Webb, *Dylan Redeemed*, 44.
56. Teodori, *New Left*, 14.
57. *Broadside* #3, April 1962, 2.
58. *Broadside* #17, December 1962, 2.
59. Scaduto, *Bob Dylan*, 171.
60. Nat Hentoff, “The Crackin’, Shakin’, Breakin’ Sounds,” *The New Yorker*, October 1964. Contained in: Benjamin Hedin, ed., *Studio A: The Bob Dylan Reader* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), 26.
61. *Broadside* #17, December 1962, 5.
62. *Broadside* #16, mid-November 1962, 4–7.
63. Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985*, 24.
64. *Broadside* #16, mid-November 1962, 2.
65. *Broadside* # 20, February 1963, 2, 10; *Broadside* #31, September 1963, 8; Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985*, 160.
66. Heylin, *Behind the Shades Revisited*, 93.
67. Nigel Williamson, *The Rough Guide to Bob Dylan*, 2nd ed. (London: Metro Books, 2006), 28–29.

68. *Broadside* #6, late May 1962, 2.
69. Whitburn, *Billboard Hot 100: Sixties*; Robert Shelton, "Freedom Songs Sweep North," *New York Times*, July 6, 1963.
70. Dylan, *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* (1963).
71. Hickey, "Bob Dylan," 6, 8.
72. Bell, *Once Upon a Time*, 223.
73. Baez, *Voice to Sing*, 91.
74. The chairman of the ECLC, Corliss Lamont, was an interesting figure. Son of first-tier Wall Street banker Thomas W. Lamont of J.P. Morgan & Co., he apparently played a role in his father's service as "Morgan's apostle to the Left." During his ECLC speech, Dylan identified Lee Oswald as the man who had shot President Kennedy three weeks earlier. But Dylan expressed ambiguity about Oswald being the assassin in his post-speech letter: "I was not speakin of his deed if it was his deed." Coincidentally, Corliss Lamont was author of a pamphlet handed out by Oswald on the streets of New Orleans in the summer of 1963 as part of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Oswald's one-person local chapter was apparently fake and CIA-backed. "Bob Dylan and the NECLC," *Corliss Lamont Website*, January 7, 2012, <http://www.corliss-lamont.org/dylan.htm>; Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Time* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 945, 935–56.
75. Scaduto, *Bob Dylan*, 189; emphasis in the original.
76. Heylin, *Behind the Shades Revisited*, 138.
77. Lawrence Grobel, *Endangered Species: Writers Talk about Their Craft, Their Visions, Their Lives* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001), 169.
78. Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, rev. ed. (New York: Bantam Books, 1993), 198.
79. Bell, *Once Upon a Time*, 308–10.
80. Dunaway and Beer, *Singing Out*, 121.
81. Dylan, *The Times They Are A-Changin'* (1964). One evening, during the 1965–66 period, the 14-year-old son of Governor George Wallace (D-AL) played the guitar and sang "The Times They Are A-Changin'" for his father. George Jr. believed that the line about standing in the doorway was a reference to his father "standing in the schoolhouse door," symbolically blocking the registration of two black students at the University of Alabama in June 1963. Dylan wrote the song a few months later. The young Wallace thought that he saw a look of regret in the eyes of the segregationist governor as he listened. George Wallace Jr., *Governor George Wallace: The Man You Never Knew* (Wallace Productions, 2011), xii–xiii.
82. Baez, *Voice to Sing*, 92.
83. Bob Dylan, "For Dave Glover," *Broadside* #35, late November 1963, 7–8.
84. Mackay, *Intimate Insights*, 23–24.
85. Dunaway and Beer, *Singing Out*, 134–35.
86. Welles, "Angry Young Singer," 109.

87. Daniel Mark Epstein, *The Ballad of Bob Dylan: A Portrait* (New York: Harper Collins, 2011), 76–77.
88. Thompson, *Positively Main Street*, 73.
89. Scaduto, *Bob Dylan*, 142.
90. Williamson, *Rough Guide*, 42.
91. Scaduto, *Bob Dylan*, 139.
92. *Ibid.*, 187, 205.
93. Hentoff, “Crackin’ Shakin’ Breakin’”; emphasis in the original. Reprinted in: Hedin, *Studio A*, 27.
94. David Hajdu, *Positively 4th Street: The Lives and Times of Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Mimi Fariña and Richard Farina* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2001), 210–11.
95. Paul J. Robbins, “Bob Dylan in His Own Words.” Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 49.
96. Dylan, *Freeheelin’ Bob Dylan* (1963).
97. Dylan, *Another Side of Bob Dylan* (1964).
98. Whitburn, *Billboard Hot 100: Sixties*.
99. Bob Dylan, “A Letter from Bob Dylan,” *Broadside #38*, January 1964, 7–12.
100. Irwin Silber, “An Open Letter to Bob Dylan.” Contained in: Craig McGregor, *Bob Dylan: The Early Years a Retrospective* (Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press: c1972, 1990), 67.
101. Robert Shelton, “Pop Singers and Song Writers Racing Down Bob Dylan’s Road,” *New York Times*, August 27, 1965.
102. Dunaway and Beer, *Singing Out*, 158.
103. John Orman, *The Politics of Rock Music* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1984), 62.
104. Farrell, *Spirit of the Sixties*, 70.
105. *No Direction Home*, DVD directed by Martin Scorsese, Paramount Pictures, 2005.
106. Thomas Meehan, “Public Writer No. 1?” *New York Times Magazine*, December 12, 1965, 134.
107. Mayfair Hotel Press Conference, London May 3, 1966. Contained in: *Bob Dylan Companion*, 78.
108. Robbins, “In His Own Words.” Contained in: *Bob Dylan Companion*, 52.
109. Robert Shelton. *No Direction Home: The Life and Music of Bob Dylan* (New York: Beech Tree Books, 1986), 187.
110. Dylan, *Bringing It All Back Home* (1965).
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Ibid.*
113. Carl Oglesby, “Trapped in a System.” Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 182.
114. Robert Shelton, “Dylan Conquers Unruly Audience,” *New York Times*, August 30, 1965.
115. Meehan, “Public Writer,” 136.
116. *Ibid.*, 132.
117. Whitburn, *Billboard Hot 100: Sixties*.

118. Orman, *The Politics of Rock*, 62.
119. Meehan, "Public Writer," 132.
120. Blum, *Years of Discord*, 273.
121. "The Truth about Bob Dylan," *Rolling Stone*, November 23, 1967, 6.
122. "Beverly Hills Press Conference September 4, 1965." Contained in: *Bob Dylan Companion*, 59.
123. Greene, *America in the Sixties*, 138–39.
124. Dylan, *Highway 61 Revisited* (1965).
125. Laurie Henshaw, "Mr. Send Up," originally *Disc Weekly*, May 22, 1965. Contained in: *Bob Dylan Companion*, 63.
126. Gilmore, "Bob Dylan" (2012), 46.
127. Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985*, 180.
128. Farrell, *Spirit of the Sixties*, 203.
129. Alice Echols, *Shaky Ground: The '60s and Its Aftershocks* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 28.
130. O'Neill, *Coming Apart*, 298.
131. "Berkeley Barb: From the Haight." Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 362–63.
132. O'Neill, *Coming Apart*, 298.
133. Gitlin, *Days of Rage*, 344.
134. Greene, *America in the Sixties*, 141.
135. Nat Hentoff, "Interview," *Playboy*, March 1966. Contained in: Jonathan Cott, ed., *Bob Dylan: The Essential Interviews* (New York: Wenner Books, 2006), 108; emphasis in the original.
136. Jerome, "Myth Materializes," 30.
137. O'Neill, *Coming Apart*, 295–96.
138. Farrell, *Spirit of the Sixties*, 229.
139. "Berkeley Barb." Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 362.
140. Jerome, "Myth Materializes," 30.
141. Edna Gundersen, "Dylan on Dylan: Folk's Hero Faces the '90s in a Rare Interview," *USA Today*, September 21, 1989.
142. Jerome, "Myth Materializes," 30.
143. Alan Light, "Bob Dylan: At Ease," *Rolling Stone*, November 29, 1990, 30.
144. John Cohen and Happy Traum, "Interview" *Sing Out!*, October/November 1968. Contained in: Cott, *Bob Dylan*, 137.
145. Gitlin, *Days of Rage*, 417.
146. Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), 4.
147. Ed Ward, "Review of 'New Morning,'" *Rolling Stone*, November 26, 1970, 32.
148. Joel Whitburn, *Billboard Hot 100 Charts: The Seventies* (Menomonee Falls, WI: Record Research Inc., 1990).
149. "Bob Dylan at Old Nassau," *Rolling Stone*, July 9, 1970, 8.
150. Anthony Scaduto, "Won't You Listen to the Lambs, Bob Dylan?" *New York Times Magazine*, November 28, 1971, 35.

151. Jonathan Cott, "I Dreamed I Saw Bob Dylan," *Rolling Stone*, September 2, 1971.
152. Heylin, *Behind the Shades Revisited*, 367.
153. Scaduto, "Listen to the Lambs," 34–35.
154. *Ibid.*, 50.
155. *Ibid.*, 35.
156. *Ibid.*, 52.
157. *Ibid.*, 36.
158. *Ibid.*, 35–36.
159. Edward D. Berkowitz, *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 6.
160. Ben Fong-Torres, "Knockin' on Dylan's Door," *Rolling Stone*, February 14, 1974, 38.
161. Dennis McDougal, *Bob Dylan: A Biography* (New York: Wiley, 2014), 245.
162. Larry "Ratso" Sloman, *On the Road With Bob Dylan* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2002), 132.
163. Ralph Gleason, "The Bob Dylan/Richard Nixon Synchronicity," *Rolling Stone*, December 6, 1973, 13.
164. David Felton, "Bob Dylan Sells Out," *Rolling Stone*, January 3, 1974, 14.
165. Fong-Torres, "Knockin on Dylan's Door," 44.
166. Maureen Orth, "Dylan Rolling Again," *Newsweek*, January 14, 1974, 48.
167. *Ibid.*, 49.
168. Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 5.
169. John Crespi, "Civil Rights and the Religious Right." Contained in: Bruce J. Schulman and Julian E. Zelizer, eds., *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 90; Grace Elizabeth Hale, *A Nation of Outsiders: How the White Middle Class Fell in Love with Rebellion in Postwar America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 255.
170. Hickey, "Bob Dylan," 4.
171. Orman, *Politics of Rock*, 19.
172. Robert W. Turner, ed., "I'll Never Lie to You," *Jimmy Carter in His Own Words* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1976), 95–96.
173. Rosenbaum, "Interview." Contained in: *Younger Than That*, 150.
174. Williams, *Watching the River Flow*, 105.
175. *Ibid.*, 107.
176. Joel Whitburn, *The Billboard Albums* (Menomonee Falls, WI: Record Research Inc. 2006), 317.
177. Jann Wenner, "Bob Dylan and Our Times: The Slow Train Is Coming," *Rolling Stone*, September 20, 1979, 94–95.
178. Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985*, 417.
179. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983).
180. *Ibid.*

181. Bernard Kleinman, "Dylan on Dylan," Westwood One (Radio Station Discs), November 17, 1984. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 40.
182. Keller, "Dylan Speaks," 59.
183. Brown, *Overburden*, 190.
184. John Bream, "Has Rock Overdosed on Aid?" *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, October 12, 1986.
185. Mikal Gilmore, "Dylan at a Crossroads Once Again," originally *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, October 13, 1985. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 181.
186. Heylin, *Behind the Shades Revisited*, 547, 580, 596. Epstein, *Ballad of Bob Dylan*, 239–40; Tim Riley, *Hard Rain: A Dylan Commentary*, updated ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, c1992, 1999), 278.
187. Light, "At Ease," 30.
188. Keller, "Dylan Speaks," 59.
189. Smith, "World of His Own," reprinted in *Broadside #31*, 7.
190. "OFFICIAL Chrysler and Bob Dylan Super Bowl Commercial 2014—America's Import," YouTube, February 2, 2014, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KlSn8Isv-3M>.
191. Epstein, *Ballad of Bob Dylan*, 425.
192. This is exactly what happened to Peter, Paul and Mary as performers. They became a nostalgia act for aging Baby Boomers with personally pleasant but politically irrelevant appearances.
193. "Dylan," 20/20 Transcript (ABC News), October 10, 1985, 10.
194. Edna Gundersen, "Dylan on Dylan: 'Unplugged' and the Birth of a Song," *USA Today*, May 5–7, 1995. Contained in: Benson, *Dylan Companion*, 225.

3 Freedom and Justice

1. Norm Fruchter, "Mississippi: Notes on SNCC." Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 114.
2. "America and New Era." Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 172.
3. Raymond Mungro, "The Road to Liberation (A Letter to What Used to Be His Draft Board)." Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 349.
4. Hale, *A Nation of Outsiders*, 1.
5. Steven Ives director, *The American Experience: 1964* (Boston: WGBH PBS Video, 2014), DVD.
6. Farrell, *Spirit of the Sixties*, 17.
7. *Ibid.*, 229.
8. Robert Shelton, "Bob Dylan Sings His Compositions," *New York Times*, April 13, 1963.
9. Liner Notes, Bob Dylan *Biograph*, Columbia Records 38830-LP, 1985.
10. Karl Jaspers, "Freedom" from *Philosophy Vol. 2* (trans. E. B. Ashton). Contained in: Robert C. Solomon, ed., *Existentialism* (New York: Random House, 1974), 149.

11. "Port Huron Statement." Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 166.
12. Henshaw, "Mr. Send Up." Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 64.
13. "I Am My Words," *Newsweek*, November 4, 1963, 95.
14. Hubert Saal, "Dylan Is Back," *Newsweek*, February 26, 1968.
15. Dylan, *Bringing It All Back Home* (1965).
16. Pete Seeger, *Pete Seeger in His Own Words*, eds. Rob Rosenthal and Sam Rosenthal (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2012), 320.
17. Heylin, *Behind the Shades Revisited*, 89.
18. Shelton, *No Direction Home*, 1986, 131–32.
19. Mayor Alberta Cooley McCrory was six or seven years old when the story of Emmett Till appeared in *Jet* magazine. The black youth from Chicago was killed in Money, Mississippi, while visiting relatives in the summer of 1955. He was accused of whistling at a white woman at the store her husband operated. In the magazine, the picture of his face beaten and shot beyond recognition was next to one of a handsome boy neatly dressed, wearing a nice hat, and looking like he was on his way to a becoming a successful black man. Alberta recalls, "Mothers and fathers passed the magazine around in the community, making sure that everyone—particularly young boys—saw what evil white men had done to this little boy. It served as a reminder of what could happen to their sons. In spite of what happened black people kept going to church and kept believing that God would punish those who murdered Emmett Till and others because they were black." Alberta McCrory, e-mail to JT, September 23, 2013.
20. Dylan, *The Times They Are A-Changin'* (1964).
21. This view of power in the South was not found only among Marxists. Respected political scientist E. E. Schattschneider set forth the same analysis in 1960. E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America* (Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, c1960, 1975), 70–80.
22. Six years later, Charles Evers was elected mayor of Fayette, Mississippi.
23. Suzanne Duscha was ten years old when she attended the March on Washington. She and her brothers were there, unaccompanied, as "part of a sea of people of all colors." She does not recall Bob Dylan singing "When the Ship Comes In" or "Only a Pawn in Their Game," but does remember the crowd singing "We Shall Overcome." Of that song, Suzanne writes, "Even as a young person, I was so moved there were tears in my eyes and chills running up and down my spine." Suzanne Duscha, e-mails to JT, July 25 and August 3, 2014.
24. Interview with Charles Evers by JT, June 30, 2014.
25. "The Spinners' Ball," *Time*, February 22, 1963, 26.
26. Phil Ochs, "The Art of Bob Dylan's 'Hattie Carroll,'" *Broadside* #48, July 1964, 3.
27. *Broadside* #23, late March 1963, 5.
28. *Broadside* #29, July 1963, 2.
29. *Broadside* #31, September 1963, 4.

30. Dylan, *The Times They Are A-Changin'* (1964).
31. Carl Oglesby, "Trapped in a System." Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 184.
32. Gitlin, "Power and the Myth of Progress." Contained in: Teodori, *New Left*, 189.
33. Baez, *Voice to Sing*, 85.
34. Scaduto, *Bob Dylan*, 137.
35. *Sing Out!* Vol 12, No.4, October/November 1962, 9.
36. Engel, *Bob Zimmerman's Blues*, 203.
37. Dunaway and Beer, *Singing Out*, 69.
38. Dylan, *Bootleg Series Volumes 1–3* (1991).
39. Ibid.
40. Shelton, "Bob Dylan Sings."
41. *Broadside* #21, late February 1963, 7.
42. *Broadside* #29, July 1963, 4.
43. Webb, *Dylan Redeemed*, 52.
44. Ralph Gleason, "A Folk Singing Social Critic," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 24, 1964. Reprinted in: *Broadside* #44, late April 1964, 12.
45. *Broadside* #25, late April 1963, 5.
46. Dylan, *Another Side of Bob Dylan* (1964).
47. Dylan, *Chronicles*, 115.
48. Robbins, "In His Own Words." Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 51.
49. C. Vann Woodward, "What Happened to the Civil Rights Movement?" *Harpers*, January 1967. Reprinted in: Katharine Whittemore, Ellen Rosenbush, and Jim Nelson, eds., *The Sixties: Recollections of the Decade from Harper's Magazine* (New York: Franklin Square Press), 79.
50. Dylan's criticism of respectability in the mainstream Civil Rights Movement—black and white—was also voiced in his 1963 speech to the ECLC. "Bob Dylan and the NECLC."
51. Robbins, "Dylan in His Own Words," Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 55.
52. Dylan, *Another Side of Bob Dylan* (1964).
53. Hickey, "Bob Dylan," 6.
54. Dylan, *Planet Waves* (1974).
55. Dylan, *Bringing It All Back Home* (1965).
56. Ibid.
57. Dylan, *Highway 61 Revisited* (1965).
58. Ibid.
59. Dylan, *Blonde on Blonde* (1966).
60. The Beatles, *Rubber Soul*. Capitol Records 0946 3 82418 2 9, 2009 compact disc. Originally released in 1965.
61. Bob Dylan, *Bringing It All Back Home* (1965).
62. This is a more positive echo of a negative verse in "Like a Rolling Stone."
63. Scaduto, "Listen to the Lambs," 43.

64. Bono, "Bob Dylan 100 Greatest Singers," *Rolling Stone*, November 27, 2008, 80.
65. Dylan, *John Wesley Harding* (1967).
66. Ibid.
67. Jean Strouse, "Bob Dylan's Gentle Anarchy," *Commonweal*, 1968. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 89.
68. Bob Dylan, *Blonde on Blonde* (1966).
69. Dylan, *Nashville Skyline* (1969).
70. Bob Dylan, *Chronicles*, 115–16.
71. *Hartford Times*, April 13, 1969.
72. Dylan, *New Morning* (1970).
73. Greene, *America in the Sixties*, 139.
74. Dylan, *New Morning* (1970).
75. Bell, *Once Upon a Time*, 531–32.
76. Dylan, *Lyrics: 1962–1985*, 302.
77. "Ole Bob Dylan: Everybody Wants Me to Be Just Like Them," *Rolling Stone*, January 6, 1972, 10.
78. Scaduto "Listen to the Lambs," 52.
79. Joel Whitburn, *Billboard Hot 100 Charts: The Seventies* (Menomonee Falls, WI: Record Research Inc., 1990).
80. Scaduto, "Listen to the Lambs," 52.
81. Ibid.
82. Dylan, *Blood on the Tracks* (1975).
83. Sid Griffin, *Shelter from the Storm: Bob Dylan's Rolling Thunder Years* (London: Jawbone Press, 2010), 38–41.
84. Heylin, *Behind the Shades Revisited*, 398.
85. Nat Hentoff, "The Pilgrims Have Landed on Kerouac's Grave," *Rolling Stone*, January 15, 1976, 35.
86. Dylan, *Desire* (1976).
87. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983).
88. Jerome, "A Myth Materializes," 24.
89. Griffin, *Shelter from the Storm*, 45–48.
90. Bob Dylan, *Desire* (1975).
91. Benjamin Hedin, *Studio A: The Bob Dylan Reader* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), 220.
92. Dylan, *Bootleg Series Volume 5* (2002).
93. Jerome, "A Myth Materializes," 30.
94. Baez, *A Voice to Sing*, 92.
95. Dylan, *Street Legal* (1978).
96. Ibid.
97. Paul Williams, *Watching the River Flow: Observations on Bob Dylan's Art-in-Progress, 1966–1995* (New York: Omnibus Press), 103.
98. Hale, *Nation of Outsiders*, 1–3.
99. John 8:32; Romans 6:18; Galatians 5:1; II Corinthians 3:17.

100. Dylan, *Slow Train Coming* (1979).
101. Dylan, *Saved* (1980).
102. Bruce Heiman, "Radio Interview KMEX, Tuscon, Arizona," December 7, 1979. Contained in: Jonathan Cott, ed., *The Essential Interviews*, 272–73.
103. Robert Hilburn, "Forever Dylan: On the Never Ending Tour With Rock's Greatest Poet," *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1992. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 222.
104. John Dolan, "A Midnight Chat with Bob Dylan," *Fort Lauderdale Sun Sentinel*, September 29, 1995. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 229.
105. Robert Hilburn, "I Learned That Jesus Is Real and I Wanted That," *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1980. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 163.
106. Keller, "Dylan Speaks," 59.
107. Who is Jokerman? Interpretations have included Dylan, the World, Jesus, and ethnic/spiritual Israel. The song apparently contains allusions to Abraham, possibly Jacob (aka Israel), and either Moses or David, in the context of apocalyptic references to the book of Revelation and an LP inner sleeve showing Dylan on the Mount of Olives outside of Jerusalem.
108. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983).
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.; Exodus 21:24; Leviticus 24:20; Deuteronomy 19:21; Matthew 5:38–39.
111. Larry Yudelson, "Dylan: Tangled Up in Jews," *Washington Jewish Week*, 1991. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 174.
112. Seth Rogovoy, *Bob Dylan: Prophet, Mystic, Poet* (New York: Scribner, 2007), 230.
113. C. I. Scofield was the father of American dispensationalism. It may not be a coincidence that Scofield's first notable publication was the booklet *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, originally published in 1896. The title was taken from a phrase used by Paul in II Timothy 2:15. In "I and I," Dylan paraphrases the exact same verse in the line right before the passage in question. Gazing into heavenly Justice's face may have shown Dylan the inadequacy of eye-for-eye, tooth-for-tooth earthly justice. In other words, not seeing it as synonymous with Justice but rather seeing it for what it is (natural but flawed). It has been observed that Dylan stopped singing the line about Jesus not forgiving in "Masters of War" after he became a Christian. If this interpretation of "I and I" is correct, the stranger is likely a rabbi named Jesus rather than a Lubavitch rabbi. C. I. Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth: Ten Outline Studies of the More Important Divisions of Scripture* (Fincastle, VA: Scripture Truth Book Company, n.d.).
114. Dylan, *Oh Mercy* (1989).
115. Dylan, *Good As I Been To You* (1992).
116. Dylan, *Love and Theft* (2001).

117. Scaduto, “Listen to the Lambs,” 46.
118. Sergei Petrov and Rene Fontaine, *Masked and Anonymous*, directed by Larry Charles (Culver City, CA: Sony Pictures Classics, 2003), DVD.
119. Brinkley, “Bob Dylan’s America,” 45.

4 Conversion and Culture

1. Robert Hilburn, “I Learned That Jesus Was Real and I Wanted That,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1980. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 164; and in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 719, 720.
2. Clinton Heylin, *Bob Dylan Behind the Shades: A Biography* (New York: Summit Books, 1991), 315–23; Howard Sounes, *Down the Highway: The Life of Bob Dylan* (New York: Grove Press, 2001), 322–27; Scott M. Marshall, with Marcia Ford, *Restless Pilgrim: The Spiritual Journey of Bob Dylan* (Lake Mary, FL: Relevant Books, 2002), 21–33.
3. Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 712; Clinton Heylin, ed., *Saved!: The Gospel Speeches of Bob Dylan* (New York: Hanuman Books, 1990), 55. Concert raps in *Saved!* excerpted from Heylin, “Saved!: Bob Dylan’s Conversion to Christianity,” Parts 1–3, *The Telegraph* #28–30 (1987–88).
4. Morris Bishop, *Pascal: The Life of Genius* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1936), 172–80; Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 711. Dylan resembles another brilliant scientist, Isaac Newton, with his interest in End Times biblical prophecy, especially the books of Revelation and Daniel. Newton spent years studying prophecy and his book *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* was published posthumously.
5. There were some secular exceptions to the dismay, including *Rolling Stone* publisher Jann Wenner, as noted in chapter 2. More than 20 years after the release of Dylan’s gospel trilogy, Jesse Walker paid tribute to the albums, especially *Slow Train Coming* and *Saved*. Jesse Walker, “Highway to Heaven Revisited,” *No Depression*, November–December 2003, <http://archives.nodepression.com/2003/11/highway-to-heaven-revisited>.
6. “The (New) Word According to Dylan,” *Newsweek*, December 17, 1979, 90.
7. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
8. Kurt Loder, “Bob Dylan: The Rolling Stone Interview,” *Rolling Stone*, June 21, 1984, 17; Revelation 17:1–6.
9. Portions of chapter 4 are adapted from: Jeff Taylor, “Bob Dylan and Antithetical Engagement with Culture,” *Pro Rege* 41:4 (June 2013), 16–26.
10. David Biven, “How ‘Yeshua’ Became ‘Jesus,’” *JesusisaJew.org*, <http://jesusisajew.org/YESHUA.php>; “Jesus Is a Jew,” *JesusisaJew.org*, http://jesusisajew.org/Jesus_is_a_Jew.php.

11. Dan Wooding, "How Bob Dylan Found Christ," *ASSIST News Service*, October 2, 2008, <http://www.assistnews.net/Stories/2008/s08100017.htm>; Marshall, *Restless Pilgrim*, 30–31.
12. Heylin, *Life in Stolen Moments*, 238, 242, 243, 278; "THANK GOD—Chabad Telethon—1986," *Facebook*, May 19, 2011, <https://www.facebook.com/video.php?v=10150257379840540>.
13. Marshall, *Restless Pilgrim*, 62; Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 801.
14. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983); Acts 1:1–12; Zechariah 14:1–9.
15. Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 755.
16. Larry Norman's antioccult song "Forget Your Hexagram" was released by Capitol Records in 1969. Larry Norman, *Upon This Rock* [sound recording] (Capitol Records, 1969/Impact Records, 1970).
17. YahFollower, "The Truth of the Shield of David," *The Way of the Ancient Nazarene: Followers of the Moshiach [Messiah]*, 2011, <http://yahfollower.webs.com/thestarofdavid.htm>. This website is Christian in the sense of recognizing Jesus as the Messiah, but it is theologically unorthodox. For example, contrary to the New Testament, it rejects the deity of Christ.
18. Robert Hilburn, "Bob Dylan at 42: Rolling Down Highway 61 Again," *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1983, U3–4. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 757, 758.
19. Matthew 7:14.
20. Heylin, *Life in Stolen Moments*, 302; Larry Yudelson, "Dylan: Tangled Up in Jews," *Washington Jewish Week*, 1991. Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 174–75; "Happy Pesach: Bob Dylan Performs 'Hava Nagila,'" *Media Funhouse*, March 25, 2010, <http://mediafunhouse.blogspot.com/2010/03/happy-pesach-bob-dylan-performs-hava.html>. In addition to Himmelman, actor Harry Dean Stanton played a second acoustic guitar. Stanton is a Dylan friend who appeared with him in *Pat Garrett & Billy the Kid* (1973), did some recording with him on *Planet Waves* (1974), and played a role in Dylan's film *Renaldo & Clara* (1975, 1978).
21. Manis Friedman, *Doesn't Anyone Blush Anymore?: Reclaiming Intimacy, Modesty, and Sexuality*, ed. J. S. Morris (New York: HarperCollins, 1990).
22. Bob Dylan, *New Morning* (1970).
23. At the same time, we do not want to take this too far. The Lubavitchers had no claim of affiliation, let alone ownership, in regard to Dylan. He had never been an Orthodox Jew and the group in Brooklyn was just one sect of that type of Judaism. There has probably been an element of self-promotion in their efforts to woo Dylan and make use of his name over the years. It might be said that Dylan disappointed the Jewish Community when he turned to Christ but the "Community" is mostly an abstraction. There are many different kinds of Jews. It is probable that most of Dylan's Jewish fans in America were secular-minded agnostics and atheists. The number of Orthodox Jewish fans would have been small. The Lubavitchers saw an opportunity, and they ran with it.

24. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
25. Dave Kelly e-mail to JT, November 19, 2014. Dylan appeared on the Chabad Telethon in 1991, saying “Give plenty of money to Chabad, it’s my favorite organization in the whole world, really. They do nothing but good things with all the money.” Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 1128.
26. Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 17; Mikal Gilmore, “Bob Dylan: The Rolling Stone Interview,” *Rolling Stone*, September 27, 2012, 51.
27. Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 17.
28. Scott Cohen, “Don’t Ask Me Nothin’ about Nothin’ I Might Just Tell You the Truth: Bob Dylan Revisited,” *Spin*, December 1985, 81.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Bob Dylan, with Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers, *Hard to Handle* [videocassette] (CBS/FOX Video Music, 1986); Marshall, *Restless Pilgrim*, 89–90.
31. For concert set lists, see <http://www.bjorner.com/still.htm>. For book-length treatments of Dylan’s spirituality, see Marshall, *Restless Pilgrim*; Don Williams, *Bob Dylan: The Man, the Music, the Message* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1985); Webb, *Dylan Redeemed*.
32. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
33. *New Musical Express*, August 6, 1983. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 754, 756, 803.
34. Luke 14:25–33; John 15:18–21, 17:14–16; II Corinthians 4:1–12; Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, rev. ed. (New York: Collier, c1937/49/59, 1963).
35. Hilburn, “Bob Dylan at 42.” Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 757, 760.
36. Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 17; John 3:1–10; Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 712; Hilburn, “I Learned That Jesus Was Real and I Wanted That.” Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 164; and in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 719. Dylan’s song “In the Garden” paraphrased the born-again part of Nicodemus’ conversation. Bob Dylan, *Saved* (1980).
37. *Interview*, February 1986. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 873; Matthew 5:39; Romans 12:21, 6:23.
38. Bob Dylan, *Chronicles, Volume One* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 153; David Gates, “Dylan Revisited,” *Newsweek*, October 6, 1997, 66. Dylan’s 2001 interview with *Rolling Stone* featured this story as its opening paragraph. Mikal Gilmore, “Bob Dylan: The Rolling Stone Interview,” *Rolling Stone*, November 22, 2001, 56; emphasis in the original.
39. Coauthor Jeff Taylor was surprised and honored to learn that the last book on Dylan by Paul Williams contained a single footnote: a half-page quotation of JT’s e-mailed thoughts on Dylan’s Locarno ’87 experience. Paul Williams, *Bob Dylan, Performing Artist: 1986–1990 & Beyond, Mind Out of Time* (London: Omnibus Press, 2004), 91–92.
40. Yudelson, “Dylan: Tangled Up in Jews.” Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 176.

41. Luke 8:30; Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 1097, 1098, 1098–99; Luke 12:7.
42. Heylin, *Life in Stolen Moments*, 351.
43. Gates, “Dylan Revisited,” 64.
44. Caesar, a gospel singer, first recorded the song when it was new. Shirley Caesar, *Rejoice* [sound recording] (Myrrh Records, 1980).
45. Daniel 5; Genesis 1:1–2; Luke 22:44; Genesis 2–3; Psalm 118:24; Matthew 24:42–44; Romans 13:11–12; Revelation 16:15; Genesis 2:8–10; Revelation 22:1–3; John 20:11–16.
46. II Corinthians 5:17; Hebrews 12:1; Revelation 9:1.
47. “Bob Dylan Talks to Bill Flanagan about *Christmas in the Heart*,” *RightWingBob.com*, November 24, 2009, <http://www.rightwingbob.com/weblog/archives/7221>.
48. Mikal Gilmore, “Bob Dylan on His Dark New LP,” *Rolling Stone*, August 16, 2012, 15–16.
49. Revelation 17:1–6; Matthew 7:13–14; Exodus 16:1–3; Matthew 27:24; Daniel 5:5; Philippians 4:1, 5–6; Deuteronomy 8:3; Matthew 4:1–4; Luke 23:46.
50. Gilmore, “Bob Dylan” (2012), 48, 81.
51. In 2014, Dylan told an interviewer, “I’m drawn to spiritual songs. In ‘Amazing Grace,’ that line ‘that saved a wretch like me’—isn’t that something we could all say if we were honest enough?” Robert Love, “What I Learned From Bob,” *AARP The Magazine*, February/March 2015, 4.
52. Hilburn, “Bob Dylan at 42.” Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 757, 760. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
53. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, c1951, 1975), xliiii–xlv, 82, 64–65.
54. *Ibid.*, 102.
55. *Ibid.*, 191.
56. *Ibid.*, 45.
57. *Ibid.*, 45–46; Heylin, *Saved!*, 53, 37, 38.
58. Olof Björner, “Still on the Road: 1980 Second Gospel Tour,” *About Bob*, <http://www.bjorner.com/DSN05347%201980%20Second%20Gospel%20Tour.htm#DSN05410>; Heylin, *Saved!*, 47–48, 70–71; Dylan, *Blonde on Blonde* (1966); Dylan, *Saved* (1980); Dylan, *Highway 61 Revisited* (1965); Dylan, *Bringing It All Back Home* (1965).
59. Heylin, *Saved!*, 47, 12–13; Revelation 16:12–16, 19:11–21, 20:1–10; Dylan, *Times They Are A-Changin’* (1964); Dylan, *Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan* (1963).
60. Tertullian, *Apologetic and Practical Treatises*, trans. C. Dodgson (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1842) (Nabu Public Domain Reprint), 120–30; Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, 49, 51–55.
61. The word *ek* means “out of.” The word *kaleo* means “to call.”
62. John 17:6, 9, 14, 16.
63. Matthew 6:10; John 18:36.

64. I John 2:15; Romans 12:2; I Corinthians 7:31; James 1:27, 4:4.
65. Luke 4:5–8; John 12:31, 14:30, 16:11, 17:15; II Corinthians 4:3–4; Ephesians 2:1–2; II Thessalonians 2:9; Revelation 13:2, 7.
66. Matthew 5–7; Luke 6. For insightful commentary, see Bonhoeffer, *Cost of Discipleship*, 117–220.
67. Heylin, *Saved!*, 70, 23–24.
68. Abraham Kuyper, *Abraham Kuyper: A Centennial Reader*, ed. James D. Bratt (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 22, 23, 67, 193, 211, 220. See also: James K. A. Smith, “The Temptations of Assimilation,” *The Twelve*, December 21, 2011, <http://the12.squarespace.com/james-ka-smith/2011/12/21/the-temptations-of-assimilation-schilder-our-bellow.html>.
69. D. Williams, *Bob Dylan*, 144–45; *Wonder Boys: Music from the Motion Picture* [sound recording] (Sony Music Entertainment, 2000).
70. Paul Williams, *Dylan—What Happened?* (Glen Ellen, CA: Entwhistle Books, 1980), 86–89.
71. “Slow Train” and “When You Gonna Wake Up” on: Dylan, *Slow Train Coming*.
72. P. Williams, *Dylan*, 89, 90.
73. Heylin, *Saved!*, 35.
74. Cohen, “Don’t Ask Me Nothin’ about Nothin’ I Might Just Tell You the Truth,” 80, 81.
75. Bob Dylan, *Biograph* (1985), Side Four record sleeve (“Every Grain of Sand”), 28, 31; Ben Corbett, “Bob Dylan’s Victoria’s Secret Commercial: Dylan’s Deal with the Devil,” *About.com*, <http://folkmusic.about.com/od/bobdylan/a/Bob-Dylan-Lingerie.htm>.
76. C. I. Scofield, ed., *The Scofield Reference Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), 1342.
77. Love, “Bob Dylan Does the American Songbook His Way,” 28.
78. Gilmore, “Bob Dylan” (2012), 51; Kuyper, *Abraham Kuyper*, 165–201; Eleanor H. Porter, *Pollyanna* (1913); Voltaire, *Candide, or Optimism* (1759); Dylan, *Tempest* (2012).
79. Heylin, *Saved!*, 109, 110.

5 Christian Anarchism

1. The drummer cliché is a paraphrase of a passage by Henry David Thoreau in *Walden* (1854). Thoreau is also famous for the essay *Resistance to Civil Government* (aka *Civil Disobedience*) (1849).
2. Romans 13:1–7. Cf. I Peter 2:13–17.
3. Colossians 1:15–17; Revelation 1:5, 17:14; Acts 4:19–20, 5:29; Lewis Perry, *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), x–xi.
4. Genesis 1:27; Joshua 24:15; Isaiah 1:18–20.

5. Genesis 3:16. Human government being a result of sin, being a post-Fall innovation, was the position of Augustine, Luther, Kuyper, Dooyeweerd, and Bushnell. William Ebenstein and Alan Ebenstein, *Great Political Thinkers: Plato to the Present*, 6th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2000), 195 (Citing: Augustine, *The City of God*, “Liberty and Slavery”); Martin Luther, “Lectures on Genesis, Chapters 1–5,” in *Luther’s Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, trans. George V. Schick (St. Louis, MO: Concordia, 1958), 1:104; Martin Luther, *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1961), 368–71 (“Secular Authority”); Abraham Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism* (New York: Cosimo Classics, c1931, 2007), 80–82 (“Calvinism and Politics”); Herman Dooyeweerd, *A New Critique of Theoretical Thought* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, c1935, 1969), 3:423–24 (Chapter 3: “The Structural Principle of the State”); Jonathan Chaplin, *Herman Dooyeweerd: Christian Philosopher of State and Civil Society* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 176–77; Katharine C. Bushnell, *God’s Word to Women: One Hundred Bible Studies on Woman’s Place in the Divine Economy* (North Collins, NY: Ray B. Munson, c1923, [1976]), 104, 124, 167.
6. Psalm 53:2–3; Ecclesiastes 7:20; Romans 3:9–12, 21–23; I Corinthians 15:21–22.
7. Matthew 12:36, 16:27; Romans 14:12; II Corinthians 5:10; Revelation 20:11–15.
8. Matthew 7:12; Galatians 5:13–23. See also Romans 6:12–23.
9. II Thessalonians 2:1–12; Wayne Blank, “Who is the Lawless One?” *Daily Bible Study*, September 24, 2003, <http://www.keyway.ca/htm2003/20030924.htm>. Different translations render II Thessalonians 2:3 as either “man of lawlessness” or “man of sin” because ancient manuscripts vary between the two. Given the context, *lawlessness* and *sin* mean the same thing. This also occurs in Matthew 24:12, where Jesus is describing the end of the age. There will be an increase in lawlessness/sin/iniquity/wickedness/evil/disregard of God’s law (various translations). Dylan uses Paul’s phrase “man of sin” in “Tin Angel” and mentions dedication to God’s laws in “Pay in Blood.” Matthew 24:12, *Bible Hub*, <http://biblehub.com/matthew/24-12.htm>; Dylan, *Tempest* (2012).
10. I Peter 1:17, 2:9; Galatians 2:6; James 2:1–4; Romans 12:16; I Corinthians 1:26–29; Galatians 3:28; Matthew 23:8–10; Luther, *Martin Luther*, 407–10 (“An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality” aka “To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation”), 345–50 (“The Pagan Servitude of the Church” aka “On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church”); 391–92 (“Secular Authority”).
11. Matthew 23:27–28; Revelation 17:1–6.
12. Heylin, *Saved!*, 67–68; Matthew 11:25 (KJV).
13. Matthew 22:18–22; Genesis 1:26; I Corinthians 6:19–20.

14. Exodus 20:3–4; Francis A. Schaeffer, *The Church at the End of the 20th Century* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1970), 82–83; J. Budziszewski, *The Revenge of Conscience: Politics and the Fall of Man* (Dallas: Spence Publishing, 1999), 108. See also: James K. A. Smith, *Desiring the Kingdom: Worship, Worldview, and Cultural Formation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2009), 103–12.
15. In 312, Emperor Constantine I became the world's first political leader to embrace a pseudo-Christian version of "With God on Our Side." The linking of Christ and Caesar brought some short-term benefits to the church but the long-term harm was immense. The facilitation of war by the chaplains of power has been one sad effect.
16. Mikal Gilmore, "Positively Dylan," *Rolling Stone*, July 17/31, 1986, 135.
17. Isaiah 2:2–4, 9:6–7, 11:2–4, 6, 9–10, 32:1, 5, 35:6, 10; Jeremiah 23:5; Ezekiel 34:22–24, 37:21–22, 24; Hosea 2:18; Zechariah 9:9–10, 14:9, 16; Luke 1:30–33; Matthew 6:9–10; Revelation 19:11–12, 15–16, 20:1–3; Erich Sauer, *The Triumph of the Crucified: A Survey of Historical Revelation in the New Testament*, trans. G. H. Lang (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, c1951, 1977), 144; J. Dwight Pentecost, *Things to Come: A Study in Biblical Eschatology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books, 1964), 385–86, 390–91.
18. Because Satan is the prince or ruler of this world, the human rulers of the various nations are under his dominion and operate according to his "cosmic principles of force, greed, selfishness, ambition, and pleasure." Scofield, *Scofield Reference Bible*, 1342. See also Watchman Nee, *Love Not the World: A Prophetic Call to Holy Living* (Fort Washington, PA: CLC Publications, 2009).
19. Heylin, *Behind the Shades*, 321–23; Robert Shelton, *No Direction Home: The Life and Music of Bob Dylan* (New York: Ballantine Books, c1986, 1987), 570.
20. Dylan, *Biograph* (1985); Heylin, *Saved!*, 23–25, 44, 54, 63–65, 90, 102–03.
21. Matthew 5–7, 7:15–17, 22:36–40, 25:34–36, 40; James 1:27, 2:1–9, 5:1–6, 2:14–17; Galatians 5:22–23, 6:2. In his definition of pure religion, James balances this emphasis on active compassion and social justice with an exhortation to "keep oneself unstained from the world" (i.e., spiritual separation). This book was apparently written by the half-brother of Jesus.
22. The phrase does not come directly from Scripture but it is a biblical concept, with similar language being used by Jesus during his prayer at the Last Supper (John 17:6–20).
23. Douglas Gwyn, *Apocalypse of the Word: The Life and Message of George Fox (1624–1691)* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1986), xx, xxi, xiv, xv, 215; James K. A. Smith, "Naturalizing 'Shalom': Confessions of a Kuyperian Secularist," *Comment*, June 28, 2013, <http://www.cardus.ca/comment/article/3993/naturalizing-shalom-confessions-of-a-kuyperian-secularist>.
24. Ronald J. Sider, ed., *Cry Justice!: The Bible on Hunger and Poverty* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980).

25. Dylan, *Slow Train Coming* (1979); Bob Dylan, *Infidels* (1983); Bob Dylan, *Knocked Out Loaded* (1986).
26. Gilmore, "Positively Dylan," 135; emphasis in the original; Gilmore, "Bob Dylan," 48.
27. Gilmore, "Positively Dylan," 135; Matthew 19:24; Heylin, *Saved!*, 81–82; *Interview*, February 1986. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 871; Gilmore, "Positively Dylan," 135.
28. Dylan, *Another Side of Bob Dylan* (1964); Bob Dylan, *Oh Mercy* (1989); *Gotta Serve Somebody: The Gospel Songs of Bob Dylan* [sound recording] (Columbia Records, 2003); Bob Dylan, *Modern Times* (2006). After the first verse, Dylan's song seemingly leaves the subject of blue-collar economics behind as it focuses on battles of a personal and perhaps spiritual nature. It is likely, though, that the entire song is sung from the perspective of a working man.
29. Genesis 6:11–13; Exodus 20:13; I Chronicles 22:6–10; Isaiah 2:4; Matthew 5:9, 38–45.
30. Romans 12:17, 19; II Corinthians 10:3–5; Ephesians 6:11–12; James 4:1–3; I Thessalonians 5:2–3; Revelation 13:1–4, 7–8, 16–17, 16:13–16, 19:17–21; Dylan, "Are You Ready?" *Saved* (1980).
31. Dylan, *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* (1963); *Infidels* (1983).
32. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
33. Ronald M. Enroth, Edward E. Ericson Jr., and C. Breckinridge Peters, *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972), 168.
34. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (Garden City, NY: Image Books, c1972, 1975), 2:457, 608.
35. Charles P. Schmitt, *Root Out of a Dry Ground: A History of the Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Fellowship Publications, 1979), 151; Glenn D. Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders* (New York: Warner Paperback Library, 1972), 45.
36. John L. Sherrill, *They Speak with Other Tongues* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964).
37. Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 151, 195.
38. David Wilkerson, *David Wilkerson Speaks Out* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1973), 15–22; Peter E. Gillquist, *Let's Quit Fighting about the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1974); Chuck Smith, *Charisma vs. Charisma* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House, 1983); Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 199. Bob Dylan has apparently not made public reference to the spiritual gift of tongues. Despite his connection with Vineyard Fellowship in the late 1970s–early 1980s, he may not have self-identified as a charismatic. Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 709; Heylin, *Saved!*, 106, 9.
39. David Wilkerson, with John and Elizabeth Sherrill, *The Cross and the Switchblade* (New York: Pyramid, 1963); Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, 16, 140; Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 147. Dylan's spiritual and musical path crossed that of Green in 1980, as noted in the next chapter.

40. Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 84, 105, 175.
41. Wilkerson, *David Wilkerson Speaks Out*, 58; emphasis in the original.
42. Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, 32; Revelation 17–18; Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 183. The last verse of Dylan’s song “Jokerman” refers to the convergence of evil political power (Antichrist) and evil religious power (Babylon). Dylan, *Infidels* (1983); Revelation 13:1, 17:1–6.
43. Dana Roberts, *Understanding Watchman Nee* (Plainfield, NJ: Haven Books, 1980), xi.
44. Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 143, 169–170; Larry Norman, “Let the Lions Come,” *Bootleg* [sound recording] (One Way Records, 1971) [the details about Nee are largely inaccurate]; Gene Edwards, *How We Began/God’s Eternal Purpose* (Santa Barbara, CA: Christians, n.d.), xv; Watchman Nee, *The Normal Christian Church Life* (Los Angeles: Stream Publishers, c1938, 1962). Imprisoned by the Chinese Communists for two decades, Nee died in prison in 1972.
45. Edwards’s book *The Early Church* was a manifesto for church revolution (not reform). Gene Edwards, *The Early Church* (Goleta, CA: Christian Books, 1974). For Smith’s influence on Gulliksen and, by extension, Dylan, see Paul Vitello, “Chuck Smith, Minister Who Preached to Flower Children, Dies at 86,” *New York Times*, October 13, 2013. For the important role of Calvary Chapel and Vineyard Fellowship on the worship style of evangelical churches (e.g., praise choruses, guitars and drums, worship team), see Frank Viola, *Pagan Christianity: The Origins of Our Modern Church Practices* (Present Testimony Ministry, 2002), 209–11.
46. Revelation 22:20 (penultimate verse of the Bible). An Aramaic version of the word, found in I Corinthians 16:22, can be translated “Come, Lord!” or “Our Lord has come.”
47. Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 179, 186; Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, 99–100.
48. Love Song, *Final Touch* [sound recording] (Good News Records, 1974); Love Song, *Feel the Love* [sound recording] (Good News Records, 1977); Heylin, *Saved!*, 12, 15–19, 20–21, 36, 46–47. The band was a ministry of Calvary Chapel. “Cossack Song” writers Tom Coomes and Tom Stipe were both affiliated with Calvary. Maranatha! Music, founded by Smith, produced influential albums of praise music in the late 1970s under the guidance of Coomes.
49. Hal Lindsey, with C. C. Carlson, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, c1970, 1977), cover; Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 187. Lindsey’s book influenced Dylan nine years after first publication.
50. C. I. Scofield was the grandfather of Dallas Theological Seminary, the world’s leading seminary of dispensational fundamentalism. Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People*, 2:279.
51. Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 136–40, 139.
52. *Ibid.*, 80.

53. Larry Norman, *Upon This Rock* (1969/1970); *Only Visiting This Planet* [sound recording] (MGM/Verve Records, 1972; Street Level Records, 1978); “Peace, Pollution, Revolution,” UK single [sound recording] (MGM Records, 1972); *So Long Ago the Garden* [sound recording] (MGM Records, 1973; Phydeaux, 1980); *In Another Land* [sound recording] (Solid Rock Records, 1976). The version of “I Wish” on the classic OVTP album was recorded in George Martin’s AIR Studios in London and includes John Wetton on bass guitar. Martin was, of course, the Beatles’ producer. Wetton has been bassist for King Crimson, Uriah Heep, and Asia (and lead vocalist for Asia, best known for the hit “Heat of the Moment”). The recording engineer for the song (and album) was Bill Price, who later ran the sound board for albums by Mott the Hoople, the Clash, the Pretenders, and Pete Townshend. Price also coproduced the Sex Pistols’ only studio album.
54. *A Thief in the Night* [motion picture] (Mark IV Productions, 1972); *Left Behind* [motion picture] (Stoney Lake Entertainment, 2014). Both films were produced by Christians. The first movie was a very low-budget production that was filmed in Iowa. Despite amateurish production values, it kicked off a series of End Times movies by Mark IV that were influential among fundamentalists, pentecostals, charismatics, and other evangelicals. The second movie was filmed in Hollywood and released in mainstream theaters but was low-budget by Hollywood standards and was almost universally derided by secular and religious critics alike.
55. Henry D. Thoreau, *Reform Papers*, ed. Wendell Glick (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973); Dwight Macdonald, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist: Essays in Political Criticism* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957); Dwight Macdonald, *Discriminations: Essays & Afterthoughts* (New York: Da Capo, c1974, 1985); C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); C. Wright Mills, *Power, Politics and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills*, ed. Irving Louis Horowitz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).
56. James Simon Kunen, *The Strawberry Statement: Notes of a College Revolutionary* (New York: Avon, 1970); Christopher R. Reaske and Robert F. Willson Jr., eds. *Student Voices/One: On Political Action, Culture, and the University* (New York: Random House, 1971); Ethel Grodzins, *The Open Conspiracy: What America’s Angry Generation Is Saying* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1970); Mitchell Goodman, comp., *The Movement toward a New America: The Beginnings of a Long Revolution* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press/New York: Knopf, 1970).
57. Robert Griffith, ed., *Major Problems in American History Since 1945: Documents and Essays* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1992), 476, 491.
58. David E. Apter and James Joll, eds., *Anarchism Today* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1972), 41–69.
59. E. J. Dionne Jr., *Why Americans Hate Politics* (New York: Touchstone, c1991, 1992), 40–41.

60. Apter and Joll, *Anarchism Today*, 56.
61. Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 17.
62. Acts 2:44, 4:35; Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 211; Nee, *Love Not the World*, 17, 111, 112, 177; Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, 34.
63. *Ibid.*, 135; Duane Pederson, with Bob Owen, *Jesus People* (Glendale, CA: Regal Books, 1971), 78.
64. Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, 99; emphasis in the original.
65. Norman, *Bootleg* (1971).
66. Larry Norman, *Street Level* [sound recording] (One Way Records, 1970–71); “Peace, Pollution, Revolution” UK single [sound recording] (MGM Records, 1972); Norman, *Only Visiting This Planet*; Larry Norman, “If God is My Father,” Omaha concert, February 15, 1980. Norman’s concert in Omaha occurred 20 days after Dylan appeared in the city (January 25).
67. Angus I. Kinnear, *Against the Tide: The Story of Watchman Nee* (Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1973), 117; Schaeffer, *Church at the End of the 20th Century*, 82–83; Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 77, 111.
68. Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, 231.
69. Ruben Ortega, comp., *The Jesus People Speak Out!* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook Publishing, 1972), 66–74.

6 Dylan and the Jesus People

1. In January 1974, in Miami during his tour with the Band, Dylan happened upon a Christian rally led by Arthur Blessitt, a prominent Jesus Movement street preacher (the “Minister of Sunset Strip”). Afterward, Dylan approached Blessitt and spoke with him for about ten minutes. *Knockin’ on Dylan’s Door: On the Road in ’74* (A Rolling Stone Book) (New York: Pocket Books, 1974), 57.
2. Heylin, *Behind the Shades*, 318–23; Vitello, “Chuck Smith, Minister Who Preached to Flower Children, Dies at 86”; Dan Wooding, “Please Pray for Bob Dylan’ Asks His Former Pastor,” *ASSIST News Service*, April 25, 1999, <http://www.assistnews.net/strategic/s0000027.htm>.
3. Larry Norman, *Down Under But Not Out* [sound recording] (San Jose, CA: Phydeaux Records, 1986), “On Being” 10; Larry Norman, ed., *The “Blue Book”* [linked to *Home At Last* [sound recording] (Benson Records, 1989)] (Santa Cruz, CA: Phydeaux, 1989), special Phydeaux insert.
4. Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, 119–23.
5. *Ibid.*, 121.
6. Bob Dylan, *Shot of Love* (1981); Heylin, *Behind the Shades*, 354; D. Williams, *Bob Dylan*. Some readers of the *Shot of Love* sleeve may have assumed that Dylan was thanking Don Williams the country singer when he was actually thanking Don Williams the Christian minister. Williams was one of only three individuals thanked.

7. Marshall, *Restless Pilgrim*, 24–25. In 1979, Roger McGuinn said, “There are guys out there working for Satan and they’re blatant about it. I’m working for Jesus and I’m not a closet Christian.” Other prominent folk-rock converts to born-again Christianity by the late 1970s included Arlo Guthrie (son of Woody); Maria Muldaur; Noel Paul Stookey of Peter, Paul and Mary; Richie Furay of Buffalo Springfield and Poco; and Dan Peek of America. Furay became pastor of a Calvary Chapel church in Colorado in the early 1980s. His excellent album *I’ve Got a Reason* (1976)—with Christian lyrics on a secular label—was a forerunner of Dylan’s *Slow Train Coming* (1979). T-Bone Burnett was on the fringe of the CCM industry in the 1980s. Davin Seay, “Rock & Roll Believers,” *Current* [Maranatha! Music of Calvary Chapel], vol. 1, no. 1, Fall 1979, 14, 15 (Alpha Band: 17–18); Richie Furay Band, *I’ve Got a Reason* [sound recording] (Asylum Records, 1976); Joseph Farah, “I’m Not Stupid Enough to Want to Be Famous,” *Contemporary Christian Music*, February 1983, 39.
8. Heylin, *Behind the Shades*, 315–23.
9. In connection with her May 1980 interview with Dylan, in Dayton, Karen Hughes wrote, “Whether on or off the road, Dylan worships whenever he can at the Assembly of God, a fundamentalist, pentecostal, evangelical denomination that believe[s] in the literal Bible and speaking in tongues.” If Dylan attended Assemblies of God churches while on tour—at this time, Vineyard churches were not found outside of southern California—he was following in the footsteps of AG alums Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis. When asked if Dylan was interested in miraculous gifts of the Spirit such as tongues, his 1979–80 personal assistant Dave Kelly says, “I never saw any of the pentecostal kind of attitude out of Dylan but I saw lots of the prophet, End Times kind of attitude.” The Vineyard contained “a whole mish-mash” of more charismatic and more prophetic believers. Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 712; Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
10. Heylin, *Behind the Shades*, 321, 321–23. Dave Kelly of Ark, personal assistant to Dylan in 1979–80, had earlier been baptized by Lindsey. Referring to Vineyard understanding of Bible prophecy at this time, Kelly says of Lindsey, “He was the authority.” Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
11. Paul Baker, *Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?: Jesus Music—Where It Began, Where It Is, and Where It Is Going* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1979); Stephen J. Nichols, *Jesus Made in America: A Cultural History from the Puritans to The Passion of the Christ* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2008), 122–45; “The Original Christian Street Rocker: Larry Norman,” *Contemporary Christian Music*, March 1981, 8–11, 25; T-Bone Burnett, “Cross Over Music,” *Contemporary Christian Music*, March 1981, 13.
12. Michael Gray, *The Bob Dylan Encyclopedia* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 275–76, 439.

13. Melody Green, with David Hazard, *No Compromise: The Life Story of Keith Green*, Legacy ed. (updated and expanded) (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, c1989, 2008), 8, 112–14, 116, 125–26, 132, 136, 191. Norman apparently also played a role in Green's conversion. Norman, ed., "Blue Book," special Phydeaux insert; "The Gospel Music Hall of Fame Biography," *LarryNorman.uk.com*, <http://www.larrynorman.uk.com/bio.htm>.
14. Keith Green, *So You Wanna Go Back to Egypt...* (Lindale, TX: Pretty Good Records, 1980); Green, *No Compromise*, 339–41.
15. *Ibid.*, 340; 2nd Chapter of Acts, *The Roar of Love* [sound recording] (Sparrow Records, 1980); 2nd Chapter of Acts, *Mansion Builder* [sound recording] (Sparrow Records, 1978); Heylin, *Life in Stolen Moments*, 220, 228. Heylin's book gives two different years for "Mansion Builder" as a possible concert song so it is unclear whether it was under consideration for fall 1980, summer 1981, or fall 1981.
16. Norman, *Upon This Rock* (c1969/70, 2002), liner notes.
17. Barry McGuire, *Seeds* [sound recording] (Myrrh Records, 1973). "Eve of Destruction" was a folk-rock protest song. In the 1960s, McGuire was viewed by critics as a second-rate Dylan. In the 1970s, he was a pioneer CCM artist.
18. Dallas Holm and Praise, *Live* [sound recording] (Greentree Records, 1977); Dallas Holm, *His Last Days* [sound recording] (Greentree Records, 1979); Heylin, *Life in Stolen Moments*, 223, 228, 229, 351; Bob Dylan, *A Musical Retrospective* [sound recording] (Doberman/Scorpio/Gold Standard, 2000). The bootleg CD *A Musical Retrospective* contains two 1980 versions of "Rise Again" (both duets of Dylan and Clydie King): one with only piano in San Francisco on November 18 and a stunning full-band version in Portland on December 3.
19. "Best Selling Inspirational LPs," *Billboard*, September 20, 1980, 41. By this time, *Saved* had already peaked on the pop music charts. It failed to make the Top 10, instead stalling at #24.
20. The Richie Furay Band, which released the aforementioned *I've Got a Reason* album in 1976, consisted of Furay, Jay Truax and John Mehler (former members of pioneer Christian rock band Love Song, associated with Calvary Chapel) and Tom Stipe (Calvary Chapel pastor, cofounder of Maranatha! Music, and a Vineyard Fellowship leader—at various times). Al Perkins also played guitar on the album. Perkins also played on Love Song's final studio album (*Final Touch*, 1974). Another Love Song veteran, Chuck Girard, had a successful solo career as a CCM artist. Phil Keaggy, a popular CCM artist in the late 1970s, was briefly a member of Love Song.
21. Ark, *The Angels Come* [sound recording] (Spirit Records, 1979).
22. The Beatles, *Let It Be* [sound recording] (Apple Records, 1970).
23. Bruce Adolph, "Dave Kelly: The Resilient Musician," *Christian Musician*, November/December 2013, 21–22.
24. Tony Cummings, "Dave Kelly: The Jesus Music Veteran with the Bob Dylan Connection," *Cross Rhythms*, February 15, 2012, <http://www.crossrhythms.com>.

- co.uk/articles/print.php?Article_ID=47253; Heylin, *Behind the Shades*, 330–41. One Kelly memory of the tour that did not make it into the book: continual death threats directed at Dylan because of his Christian testimony. The mutual friend at Vineyard was Mike Canfield. Strangely enough, Canfield was also a friend of A. J. Weberman and the two had earlier collaborated on a JFK assassination book. “Who’s Dylan? Garbologist Can Tell You” (Knight-Ridder wire story), [Montreal] *Gazette*, July 3, 1980, 50.
25. Cummings, “Dave Kelly.”
 26. Dave Kelly, *Crowning of a Simple Man* [sound recording] (Pilgrim America, 1980); “About,” *The Christian Badfinger* (Facebook), 2011, <https://www.facebook.com/thechristianbadfinger/info>.
 27. P. Williams, *Dylan*, 87.
 28. Enroth et al., *The Jesus People*, 80.
 29. *Variety*, February 28, 1973.
 30. Baker, *Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?*
 31. “The Best Contemporary Christian Albums of All Time,” *Contemporary Christian Music*, June 1988, 58, 61; Randy Stonehill, *Welcome to Paradise* [sound recording] (Solid Rock, 1976). The Top 20 also included albums by 2nd Chapter of Acts, Love Song, Keith Green, Phil Keaggy, Mark Heard, Leslie Phillips, U2, and T-Bone Burnett.
 32. Norman, *Only Visiting This Planet* (1972); Dylan, *The Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan* (1963); Dylan, *The Times They Are A-Changin’* (1964); Dylan, *Bringing It All Back Home* (1965); Norman, *So Long Ago the Garden* (1973); Dylan, *Highway 61 Revisited* (1965); Dylan, *Blonde on Blonde* (1966); Norman, *In Another Land* (1976); Larry Norman, *Something New Under the Son* [sound recording] (Solid Rock Records, 1981).
 33. “The White House,” *LarryNorman.com*, November 18, 2014, <http://www.larrynorman.com/blog/the-white-house>.
 34. Larry Norman, *Barking at the Ants* [sound recording] (Solid Rock Records, 1981); *Rock, Scissors et Papier* [sound recording] (Solid Rock Records, 2003); *Copper Wires* [sound recording] (Solid Rock Records, 1998).
 35. Larry Norman, “*Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music*” [songbook] (Hollywood: One Way Publications, n.d.), 4. He was also friends with Barry McGuire (9). This interesting songbook, which includes an interview and photographs, was apparently published in 1973 (“Inside Track,” *Billboard*, July 7, 1973, 66). The logo for MGM Records appears on the first page.
 36. Suzy Spencer, “Born-Again Bob Dylan Sings the Gospel in His New LP,” *People*, September 10, 1979; Michael Gross, *Bob Dylan: An Illustrated History*, rev. ed. (New York: Tempo Books, 1980), 203–04; Heylin, *Life in Stolen Moments*, 206; Debby Boone, *With My Song* [sound recording] (Lamb & Lion Records, 1980); Dylan, *Saved* (1980). Debby Boone was a Vineyard member in LA.
 37. Norman, *In Another Land* (1976), interview. Norman was describing his involvement with Vineyard three or four years before Dylan’s conversion so

he cannot be accused of exaggerating his role in order to gain reflected glory through Dylan.

38. Wooding, “Please Pray for Bob Dylan’ Asks His Former Pastor”; Larry Norman, “Note from Larry sent by Bill,” *jesusmusic.org* chatroom, April 13, 1999, <http://www.thetruthaboutlarrynorman.com/wp-content/uploads/jmorgresponse1.pdf>. Although Dave Kelly is not an admirer of Norman, he confirms some of what Norman wrote in the 1970s and 1990s: when the Vineyard began, under Gulliksen’s leadership, it did not have its own building; it was “very small” and was “mostly actors and musicians.” Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
39. Norman, *Bootleg* (1972); Norman, *Only Visiting This Planet* (1972); Norman, *In Another Land* (1976); Dylan, *Slow Train Coming* (1979); Allen Flemming e-mail to JT, October 10, 2014. It is an interesting possibility: an MGM single/album track influencing, seven years later, a Columbia single/album track. Two of the three producers of OVTP were Rod Edwards and Roger Hand, who as a musical duo (Edwards Hand) had been thrice produced by George Martin (1968–71). Martin worked on their first album during a break on the Beatles’ *White Album*. Production of STC was by famed producer Jerry Wexler and Muscle Shoals Studio cofounder Barry Beckett. The US and UK single releases of “Righteous Rocker, Holy Roller” (aka “Without Love”) credit production of the song to Larry Norman and Carol Hunter.
40. Allen Flemming e-mail to JT, October 25, 2014.
41. *Ibid.*; Dylan, *Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan* (1963); Norman, *Bootleg* (1972), *Only Visiting This Planet* (1972), *In Another Land* (1976); Dylan, *Saved* (1980).
42. Dylan, *Empire Burlesque* (1985); Dylan, “*Love and Theft*” (2001); Dylan, *Modern Times* (2006).
43. The “Without Love You Are Nothing” / “Gotta Serve Somebody” possible connection is a thought of Allen Flemming. Right or wrong, the “Great American Novel” / “Slow Train” possible connection is my idea (coauthor Jeff Taylor).
44. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983); Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 18; Heylin, *Life in Stolen Moments*, 269.
45. Some have speculated that Norman’s oddness and inability to match the quality of his earlier musical work can be attributed to brain damage from drug abuse. Others have seen his strange behavior as an artistic affectation. Norman himself eventually pointed to an accident aboard a commercial airplane in 1978 that caused brain injury and/or depression from the collapse of his marriage (separated in 1978). This might have been around the time that Kelly met Norman (the Ark album was recorded in 1978). Coauthor Jeff Taylor saw Norman in concert in 1980 and a couple times afterward. Norman seemed normal enough on stage although he had a serious demeanor with humor of the dry sort. Musically, he was focused and talented.
46. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.

47. Martin Wroe, "The Height of Norman Wisdom," *Strait*, October 1984, <http://www.larrynorman.uk.com/word31.htm>.
48. Norman, "Blue Book."
49. Ibid.; Interview with Charles Norman by JT, December 10, 2014.
50. Norman, "Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music" [songbook], 7, 9; People, *People* [sound recording] (Capitol Records, 1968).
51. *Jesus Sound Explosion* [sound recording] (CCC/Strawberry Creek Productions, 1972). Although Cash and Norman had both expressed disapproval of the Vietnam War by this time through song, the young evangelicals who attended the music festival were conservative in their politics. It was an election year and the Explo '72 crowd was overwhelmingly pro-Nixon. Only 11 percent expressed support for McGovern. With the festival being created by Campus Crusade and Billy Graham, this was not the Jesus People demographic. Daniel K. Williams, *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 101, 97.
52. Larry Norman, "Johnny Cash, the Man in Black: Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye," 2003.
53. Bono, The Edge, Adam Clayton, and Larry Mullen Jr., with Neil McCormick, *U2 By U2* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 20, 59–60.
54. Cliff Richard, *Small Corners* [sound recording] (EMI, 1978); "Larry in the UK," *LarryNormanUK.com*, 2004, <http://www.larrynorman.uk.com/inuk.htm>.
55. Interview with Charles Norman by JT, December 10, 2014.
56. Allen Flemming e-mail to JT, October 12, 2014.
57. Allen Flemming e-mail to JT, October 10, 2014.
58. "U2, Linda Ronstadt Albums to be Preserved by Library of Congress," *Associated Press*, April 2, 2014, <http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/6029550/u2-linda-ronstadt-albums-to-be-preserved-by-library-of-congress>.
59. David Cooper, "Pure and Undeclared Religion: Why Bono May Be a Better Christian Than You," *The Alexis De Tocqueville Society*, November 15, 2004, <http://atsociety.blogspot.com/2004/11/pure-and-undeclared-religion-why-bono.html>; Hank Bordowitz, ed., *The U2 Reader: A Quarter Century of Commentary, Criticism, and Reviews* (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard, 2003), 30, 32.
60. Niall Stokes, *Into the Heart: The Stories behind Every U2 Song* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, c1996, 1998), 43.
61. Adam Block, "Bono Bites Back," *MotherJones.com*, May 1, 1989 (updated February 2001), <http://www.motherjones.com/media/1989/05/bono-bites-back>.
62. Steve Stockman, *Walk On: The Spiritual Journey of U2* (Lake Mary, FL: Relevant Books, 2001), 25–34; Bono et al., *U2 By U2*, 117–19; Bono, *Bono in Conversation with Michka Assayas* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2005), 122.
63. U2, *October* [sound recording] (Island Records, 1981).
64. Block, "Bono Bites Back."

65. Stockman, *Walk On*, 40; U2, *War* [sound recording] (Island Records, 1983).
66. Bordowitz, *U2 Reader*, 171.
67. Bono, *Bono in Conversation with Michka Assayas*, 123–24.
68. U2, *Rattle and Hum*; U2, *Zooropa* [sound recording] (Island Records, 1993); Bono, *Bono in Conversation with Michka Assayas*, 242; Bob Dylan, *Down in the Groove* (1988).
69. Wooding, “Please Pray for Bob Dylan’ Asks His Former Pastor.”
70. Noam Chomsky, *Radical Priorities*, ed. Carlos P. Otero (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 1984), 247.
71. Hickey, “Bob Dylan,” 5; Dylan, “Slow Train,” *Slow Train Coming* (1979).
72. Heylin, *Saved!*, 13, 21–22, 23, 26–27, 36–37, 47, 51–52. In 1974, Dylan told a reporter, “I like monarchies, kings, and queens,” as opposed to the American two-party system, but this statement may have been more playful than serious. *Knockin’ on Dylan’s Door*, 58.
73. Plato, *Statesman*, ed. Martin Ostwald, trans. J. B. Skemp (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957), 29, 32–33, 66, 72, 78.
74. Scofield, *Scofield Reference Bible*, 1342. The New Testament teaches that Satan is the supreme ruler of this world during the present age even as it recognizes the ultimate sovereignty of God over the whole universe (past, present, and future). For the Devil as prince or god of this world, see Luke 4:5–8; John 12:31, 14:30, 16:11, 17:15; II Corinthians 4:3–4; Ephesians 2:1–2; II Thessalonians 2:9; Revelation 13:2, 7.
75. Plato, *Statesman*, 83.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Revelation 11:15.
78. John 18:36; Luke 17:20–21; Matthew 24:29, 30, 25:31, 34; Revelation 19:11, 15, 16, 20:4, 6.
79. Matthew 6:10; Revelation 22:20. Bono of U2 made this point about the Lord’s Prayer in 1988. Stockman, *Walk On*, 46.
80. Stephen J. Whitfield, *A Critical American: The Politics of Dwight Macdonald* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984), 105.
81. *Ibid.*, 70.
82. Hilburn, “I Learned That Jesus Was Real and I Wanted That.” Quotation also found in: “Dylan Tells Story of Christian Conversion,” *Contemporary Christian Music*, February 1981, 22; Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 167.
83. Heylin, *Saved!*, 95, 81; emphasis in the original.
84. *Ibid.*, 65, 91, 92–93, 43.
85. Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 754.
86. Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 17.
87. Interview with Mick Brown, June 1984. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 800.
88. Cohen, “Don’t Ask Me Nothin’ about Nothin’ I Might Just Tell You the Truth,” 81.
89. Gilmore, “Positively Dylan,” 135. Dylan made the same point about there being no left and no right 23 years earlier during his Tom Paine Award

speech. Methodist theologians Hauerwas and Willimon have echoed Dylan the Christian, saying that the political choice is not between liberal and conservative but between “truth and lies.” “Bob Dylan and the NECLC”; Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989), 156, 160.

90. Robert Hilburn, “How Does It Feel? Don’t Ask,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 2001.
91. Gilmore, “Bob Dylan” (2012), 48, 49.
92. “Not Dolly Parton’s *Jolene*: Part Two of Bob Dylan Talking to Bill Flanagan,” *RightWingBob.com*, March 23, 2009, <http://www.rightwingbob.com/weblog/archives/4643>; “Bob Dylan Talks to Bill Flanagan About *Christmas in the Heart*.”
93. Dylan, *Slow Train Coming* (1979); Dylan, *Shot of Love* (1981).
94. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983). Boswell, biographer of Samuel Johnson, tells us that he made this verbal observation on April 7, 1775. In *The City of God*, Augustine recounts a conversation between Alexander the Great and a pirate (Book IV, Chapter 4: “Justice being taken away, then, what are kingdoms but great robberies?”). For modern application of Augustine’s example, see Noam Chomsky, *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, c1986, 2002).
95. Dylan, *Oh Mercy* (1989); Dylan, *World Gone Wrong* (1993).
96. Romans 12:2.

7 Dylanesque Politics in the Real World

1. Interview with Karen Hughes. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 711.
2. For evaluations of Bush and Carter, see Jeff Taylor, *Where Did the Party Go?: William Jennings Bryan, Hubert Humphrey, and the Jeffersonian Legacy* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 245–55, 264–65.
3. Dylan’s grandparents emigrated to the United States from Ukraine and Lithuania (both in the Russian Empire). Wellstone’s parents were from Ukraine. One set of Feingold’s grandparents were from Russia.
4. Although La Follette (liberal) and Taft (conservative) could be seen as representing opposite tendencies within the GOP, they had much in common. A line of ideological descent can be made from La Follette to Taft given their shared opposition to Wall Street and imperialism. See Jeff Taylor, “Fighting Bob vs. Silent Cal: The Conservative Tradition from La Follette to Taft and Beyond,” *Modern Age* 50 (2008): 295–305.
5. Bill Kauffman, *Ain’t My America: The Long, Noble History of Antiwar Conservatism and Middle-American Anti-Imperialism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008), 125–26, 112–15. Howard Buffett was the father of billionaire investor Warren Buffett.

6. In the mid-1970s, Governor Brown's girlfriend was country-rock singer Linda Ronstadt. Ronstadt covered Dylan's song "I'll Be Your Baby Tonight" on her debut solo album. Linda Ronstadt, *Hand Sown... Home Grown* [sound recording] (Capitol Records, 1969).
7. Interview with Karen Hughes. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 712; Revelation 12–18; Larry Norman, Omaha concert, February 15, 1980.
8. John Nichols, "The Lone Dissenter," *The Progressive*, November 2001, 28.
9. Dylan, *Chronicles, Volume One*, 283.
10. Robert Sam Anson, *McGovern: A Biography* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 287.
11. Karl Hess, "An Open Letter to Barry Goldwater," *Ramparts*, August 1969, 28–29. Quoted in: Kauffman, *Ain't My America*, 140.
12. Harold E. Hughes with Dick Schneider, *The Man From Ida Grove: A Senator's Personal Story* (Lincoln, VA: Chosen Books, 1979), 299; Mike Glover, "Former Iowa Governor and Senator Harold Hughes Dead at 74," *Associated Press*, October 24, 1996.
13. Hilburn, "I Learned That Jesus Was Real and I Wanted That."
14. Dylan, *Slow Train Coming* (1979).
15. "Kissinger Confirmed, 78–7, as Secretary of State" in: *CQ Almanac 1973* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1974), 858–61.
16. Juli Loesch, "Abortion and the Left," *Religious Socialism*, Spring 1981. Reprinted in: Gail Grenier Sweet, ed., *Pro-Life Feminism: Different Voices* (Toronto: Life Cycle Books, 1985), 75; "When Does Life Begin?" *Congressional Record* (Senate), May 31, 1973, 17559–60, 17565.
17. Historically, abortion had little to do with women's rights, individual liberty, or Democratic Party liberalism. Its roots were in the eugenics/population control movement and the *Playboy* philosophy before it was adopted by feminists, at the urging of Betty Friedan, in the late 1960s.
18. Dylan, *Slow Train Coming* (1979); Dylan, *Shot of Love* (1981); Dylan, *Bootleg Series, Volumes 1–3* (1991); Loder, "Bob Dylan," 24, 78.
19. Leonard Verduin, *The Reformers and Their Stepchildren* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964).
20. Mark Hatfield, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1976), 219–24.
21. *Ibid.*, 94–95, 96–101.
22. "Bob Dylan and the NECLC," *Corliss Lamont Website*, <http://www.corliss-lamont.org/dylan.htm>; Ben Corbett, "Bob Dylan's Breaks from Politics: The 1963 ECLC Speech," *About.com*, <http://folkmusic.about.com/od/bobdylan/a/Bob-Dylan-Quits-Politics.htm>.
23. "Nixon Tapes Transcripts: Wednesday, February 21, 1973–8:10pm–8:30pm" (043–161), *Presidential Recordings Program*, <http://whitehousetapes.net/transcript/nixon/043-161>. Years later, Graham regretted his naive association with Nixon. D. K. Williams, *God's Own Party*, 94–103. In his book, Hatfield describes Hughes as his "closest friend within the Senate" by the early 1970s

- (25). Their spiritual bond as Christian brothers transcended the partisan labels of “R” and “D.”
24. Hatfield, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 142–43.
 25. *Ibid.*, 143; Interview with Martin Keller. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 755.
 26. Hatfield, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 175.
 27. Kauffman, *Ain't My America*, 127, 136, 151.
 28. Jesse Walker, “Mark O. Hatfield RIP,” *Reason.com*, August 8, 2011, <http://reason.com/blog/2011/08/08/mark-o-hatfield-rip>; Murray Rothbard, “Hatfield for President?” *The Libertarian Forum*, August 1970, 1, 4, http://mises.org/journals/lf/1970/1970_08.pdf. In a fascinating 1986 analysis of ideology, New Left thinker Noam Chomsky links Taft of the 1940s–1950s to Hatfield of the 1970s–1980s. It also includes an astounding statement in which Chomsky the radical leftist calls himself a true modern conservative. Noam Chomsky, *Language and Politics*, ed. C. P. Otero (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 1988), 656.
 29. Tor Egil Følrand, “Bringing It All Back Home or Another Side of Bob Dylan: Midwestern Isolationist,” *Journal of American Studies* 26 (December 1992): 339. Congressman Lindbergh (R-MN), father of the famous aviator, was a member of the US House from 1907 to 1917. He opposed both the Federal Reserve System and World War I, partly because he saw them as projects of the Eastern Establishment centered on Wall Street. In his later years, Lindbergh was a candidate for US senator and Minnesota governor. Senator Shipstead (R-MN) was a member of the US Senate from 1923 to 1947. He opposed US participation in the League of Nations, World Court, World War II, and United Nations. He also opposed imperialistic US intervention in the Caribbean and Latin America. Lindbergh and Shipstead were progressive Republicans in the La Follette tradition but were also, at times, nominees of the populist Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. Senator Robert Taft (R-OH), leader of the conservative wing of the GOP in the 1940s and early 1950s, shared the foreign policy of La Follette, Lindbergh, and Shipstead.
 30. Kauffman, *Ain't My America*; Murray Polner and Thomas E. Woods Jr., eds., *We Who Dared to Say No to War: American Antiwar Writing from 1812 to Now* (New York: Basic Books, 2008).
 31. Bob Dylan, *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* (1963); Bob Dylan, *The Times They Are A-Changin'* (1964); Bob Dylan, *Empire Burlesque* (1985); Dylan, *Knocked Out Loaded* (1986); Bob Dylan, *World Gone Wrong* (1993); Hilburn, “I Learned That Jesus Was Real and I Wanted That.” Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 165.
 32. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983); Dylan, *Biograph* (1985), Side Four record sleeve (“Every Grain of Sand”), 22.
 33. Gilmore, “Positively Dylan,” 135; Dylan, *Oh Mercy* (1989).
 34. Dylan, *World Gone Wrong* (1993), liner notes 7. The essence of capitalism is the lending of money (capital) at a rate of interest. Usury (lending of money

- at interest) is most often handled by banks. For usury, see also: C. S. Lewis, *Mere Christianity* (New York: Macmillan, c1943, 1960), 80–81. While the parable of the talents can be interpreted as a pro-usury passage (Matt. 25:14–30), most Bible passages speak of usury/banking in disparaging ways (e.g., Deut. 23:19–20, Neh. 5:1–13, Pro. 28:8, Ezek. 18:10–13, Lk. 6:32–36, Jn 2:13–17).
35. Gilmore, “Bob Dylan” (2012), 48.
 36. Hilburn, “How Does It Feel?”; Gilmore, “Bob Dylan” (2001), 63.
 37. Hilburn, “How Does It Feel?”
 38. *Masked and Anonymous* [motion picture] (Sony Pictures, 2003).
 39. Ralph Nader, *The Seventeen Traditions* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007).
 40. Ralph Nader, *Unstoppable: The Emerging Left-Right Alliance to Dismantle the Corporate State* (New York: Nation Books, 2014).
 41. Ralph Nader, “Business is Deserting America,” *American Mercury*, March 1960, 25–28.
 42. Ralph Nader, “U.S. Companies Should Pledge Allegiance,” *Washington Times*, June 4, 1996; Ralph Nader, *The Ralph Nader Reader* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2000), 57–59; Patrick J. Buchanan, “Patriotism in the Boardroom,” June 30, 1998, <http://www.chuckbaldwinlive.com/board.html>. September 17, 2014
 43. For Berry’s sociopolitical thought, see, for example: Wendell Berry, *Sex, Economy, Freedom & Community: Eight Essays* (New York: Pantheon, 1993). Nader and Berry both declined to comment on Dylan’s political legacy when asked by coauthor Jeff Taylor. Matthew Zawisky (Nader aide) e-mail to JT, September 17, 2014; Conversation between Berry and JT, September 27, 2014.
 44. Dylan, *Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan* (1963); *Broadside Ballads, Vol. 1* [sound recording] (Folkways Records, 1963) [song released under pseudonym Blind Boy Grunt]; Dylan, *Bootleg Series, Volumes 1–3* (1991); Dylan, *Times They Are A-Changin’* (1964).
 45. The same can be said for the Christian statesman William Jennings Bryan from a century ago. Sometimes Bryan’s patriotism trumped his pacifism, but he was a very peace-minded politician in comparison to most of his peers on the national stage. Bryan was directly influenced by the Christian anarchist/pacifist Leo Tolstoy, who hosted Bryan at his home in Russia in 1903.
 46. William Jennings Bryan, ed., *The Second Battle, or, The New Declaration of Independence, 1776–1900: An Account of the Struggle of 1900* (Chicago: W.B. Conkey, 1900); William Jennings Bryan, *Speeches of William Jennings Bryan* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1909), 2:6–49; I Kings 21; Revelation 13.
 47. Heylin, *Saved!*, 44, 46; Nee, *Love Not the World*; Gilmore, “Positively Dylan,” 135.
 48. Dylan, *Slow Train Coming* (1979); P. Williams, *Dylan*, 86; Noel Paul Stookey, “Bob Dylan Finds His Source,” *Christianity Today*, January 4, 1980, 32.

49. Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 754.
50. Cohen, "Don't Ask Me Nothin' About Nothin' I Might Just Tell You the Truth," 81; Gilmore, "Positively Dylan," 135.
51. Charles Callan Tansill, *America Goes to War* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1938).
52. Robert S. Maxwell, ed., *La Follette* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 75, 76; H. C. Engelbrecht and F. C. Hanighen, *Merchants of Death: A Study of the International Armament Industry* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1934).
53. Wayne S. Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye and American Foreign Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962).
54. Smedley D. Butler, *War Is a Racket* (Los Angeles: Feral House, c1935, 2003), 35; Dylan, *Times They Are A-Changin'* (1964). For attempted sanctification of World War I, see also: Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms* (New York: Round Table Press, 1933). Two years later, Round Table Press published the first edition of Butler's *War Is a Racket*.
55. Hans Schmidt, *Maverick Marine: General Smedley D. Butler and the Contradictions of American Military History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1987), vi, 231; Butler, *War Is a Racket*, 10.
56. "The Iran-Contra Affair 20 Years On" (National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 210), *The National Security Archive* (George Washington University), November 24, 2006, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB210/index.htm>.
57. Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye and American Foreign Relations*, 63.
58. Radosh, *Prophets on the Right*, 128, 131, 135, 140–42; Michael W. Miles, *The Odyssey of the American Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 83; Radosh, *Prophets on the Right*, 161–62, 167–68.
59. *Ibid.*, 174, 192–93; Bill Kauffman, *America First!: Its History, Culture, and Politics* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1995), 171–72.
60. Justin Peligri, "Jesse Ventura: Military Doesn't 'Fight for Our Freedom,'" *CNN.com*, November 11, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/11/11/politics/jesse-ventura-veterans-day>.
61. Hilburn, "How Does It Feel?" (2001). Referring to his new song "Union Sundown," in 1983, Dylan said, "I don't think the enemy is going to conquer America with atom bombs or missiles. I think they are just going to buy America or steal America and sell it back to them." Robert Hilburn, "Bob Dylan at 42: Rolling Down Highway 61 Again," *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1983, U3–4. Contained in: Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 758.
62. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983); Loder, "Bob Dylan," 18; emphasis in the original.
63. Revelation 18:2–3.
64. Loder, "Bob Dylan," 18; emphasis in the original. Dylan later wrote a song about Hibbing and Iron Range economic colonialism: "Under the Red Sky." Dylan, *Under the Red Sky* (1990); Heylin, *Behind the Shades*, 417.
65. Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye and American Foreign Relations*, 234. Cole's book was published by the University of Minnesota Press two years after Dylan was

- a student at the U of M. Cole was born and raised in Iowa and received his PhD from the University of Wisconsin—states that border Dylan’s Minnesota. Nye’s North Dakota also borders Minnesota. In 1963, after the Tom Paine Award controversy, Dylan wrote, “My country is the Minnesota-North Dakota territory” and “contrary to rumors, I am very proud of where I’m from.” Samantha Raphelson, “Wayne S. Cole, 90, Dies; Scholar of America’s pre-WWII Isolationist Movement,” *Washington Post*, October 10, 2013; “Bob Dylan and the NECLC.”
66. Robert Love, “Bob Dylan Does the American Songbook His Way,” *AARP The Magazine*, February/March 2015, 30.
 67. Dylan, *Infidels* (1983); Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 17. Dave Kelly confirms that Dylan was not interested in political Zionism after his conversion. His interest in Jewish identity was biblical and spiritual. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
 68. Norman, “Nightmare,” *So Long Ago the Garden* (1973); Norman, “*Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?*” 5.
 69. Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 24, 78.
 70. *Ibid.*, 24.
 71. Heylin, *Life in Stolen Moments*, 214, 218; Heylin, *Saved!*, 77–78.
 72. Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 24; emphasis in the original.
 73. Dylan, “Gonna Change My Way of Thinking” and “When You Gonna Wake Up,” *Slow Train Coming* (1979); Dylan, “Trouble in Mind” (B-side of “Gotta Serve Somebody” single, 1979); Heylin, *Saved!*, 58.
 74. Friedman, *Doesn’t Anyone Blush Anymore?*.
 75. P. Williams, *Dylan*, 92.
 76. Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 17; emphasis in the original.
 77. P. Williams, *Dylan*, 86, 89, 86–87.
 78. Hilburn, “I Learned That Jesus Was Real and I Wanted That.” Contained in: Benson, *Bob Dylan Companion*, 163. Evangelical philosopher Francis Schaeffer, an intellectual father of the Moral Majority, quoted Dylan’s “When You Gonna Wake Up” in his influential book *A Christian Manifesto*. Francis A. Schaeffer, *A Christian Manifesto* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1981), 105.
 79. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014. Kelly could not remember the man’s name. He used “Mr. Gordon” a couple of times as a hypothetical name.
 80. During the interview, Kelly said Jupiter Beach but he probably meant Jupiter Island. The island town is very small but the people are very rich. According to Wikipedia, “Some of the wealthiest people in the United States live in Jupiter Island; it has the highest per capita income of any inhabited place in the country.” Kelly could not remember the exact location of the second possibility. He thought it was North Carolina, somewhere in the hills. As this book was being written, a reference to William C. Whitney having an estate in Aiken, South Carolina, led to a new possibility. Aiken

is in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains (Piedmont region). As Wikipedia notes, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, “Aiken served as a winter playground for many of the country’s wealthiest families such as the Vanderbilts, Bostwicks, and the Whitneys.” The Astors were also part of the community. It is likely that at least one of the rich families still owned a mansion in the area in 1979. When asked about Aiken, Kelly replied, “Yes, it does sound like the place he was talking about.” By the 1940s, grandchildren of Whitney, including John Hay “Jock” Whitney, were among the part-time residents of Jupiter Island (as were members of the Bush, Harriman, and Mellon families). W. C. Whitney’s mother was a Collins and she was descended from William Bradford, who arrived on the Mayflower and became Governor of Plymouth Colony. Whitney’s paternal line settled in Massachusetts in the 1630s. Many of the WASP members of Yale University’s Order of Skull and Bones came from Puritan families who emigrated from England at that time (e.g., Phelps, Perkins, Wadsworth, Bundy, Lord, Stimson, Whitney, Gilman families). Dave Kelly e-mail to JT, November 21, 2014; Antony C. Sutton, *America’s Secret Establishment: An Introduction to the Order of Skull & Bones* (Billings, MT: Liberty House Press, c1983, 1986), 17–20.

81. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
82. Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, trans. Hannah D. Kahn, ed. Arthur Livingston (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), 50.
83. Mills, *Power Elite*; Dan Smoot, *The Invisible Government* (Dallas: Dan Smoot Report, 1962); G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America?* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967); Gary Allen with Larry Abraham, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* (Rossmore, CA: Concord Press, 1972); Kenneth Prewitt and Alan Stone, *The Ruling Elites: Elite Theory, Power, and American Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); Michael Parenti, *Democracy for the Few* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1974); Thomas R. Dye, *Who’s Running America?: Institutional Leadership in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976); G. David Garson, *Power and Politics in the United States: A Political Economy Approach* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1977); Philip H. Burch Jr., *Elites in American History*, 3 vols. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980–81).
84. Ferdinand Lundberg, *America’s 60 Families* (New York: Halcyon House, c1937, 1939); Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope*; Sutton, *America’s Secret Establishment*; Kevin Phillips, *American Dynasty: Aristocracy, Fortune, and the Politics of Deceit in the House of Bush* (New York: Viking, 2004); Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, *The Wise Men: Six Friends and the World They Made* (New York: Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, c1986, 1988). A less-reputable source—by two Lyndon LaRouche-affiliated writers—gives some interesting details about Jupiter Island. Webster Griffin Tarpley and Anton Chaitkin, *George Bush: The Unauthorized Biography* (Leesburg, VA: Executive Intelligence Review, 1991), <http://tarpley.net/online-books>

/george-bush-the-unauthorized-biography/chapter-4-the-center-of-power-is-in-washington.

85. “Bob Dylan and the NECLC”; Gilmore, “Positively Dylan,” 136; Dylan, *Another Side of Bob Dylan* (1964), *Empire Burlesque* (1985). McGoohan was creator and star of *The Prisoner*, a countercultural television series in the United Kingdom that influenced the Beatles, among others, in 1967–68. Dylan’s reference to doing the impossible is less positive thinking and more divine empowering. The Beatles, *The Beatles Anthology* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), 234, 272; Luke 1:37; Matthew 19:26.
86. David Beito and Charles Nuckolls, “Wrong Song of the South,” *Reason.com*, July 19, 2004, <http://reason.com/archives/2004/07/19/wrong-song-of-the-south>.
87. Gilmore, “Bob Dylan” (2012), 48.
88. Taylor, *Politics on a Human Scale*, 67–68; Thomas E. Woods Jr., *Nullification: How to Resist Federal Tyranny in the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2010), 77–83.
89. “About the Movie,” *Masked and Anonymous* (Sony Pictures Classics), 2003, <http://www.sonyclassics.com/masked/about.html>.
90. *Masked and Anonymous* [motion picture]; *Masked and Anonymous: Music from the Motion Picture* [sound recording] (Columbia Records, 2003); Bob Dylan, *Tell Tale Signs* (The Bootleg Series, Vol. 8) (2008).
91. Dylan, *World Gone Wrong* (1993), liner notes 4; Artur, *Every Mind Polluting Word*, 801; Taylor, *Politics on a Human Scale*, 6, 17–53.
92. Loder, “Bob Dylan,” 18; Conversation between Wendell Berry and JT, September 27, 2014.
93. Populism is the ideology that supports the rights, aspirations, and power of the people. In other words, it supports democracy. The Latin word *populus* means “people.” The Greek word *demos* also means “people.” Taylor, *Politics on a Human Scale*, 424.
94. Referring to establishment hostility toward 1950s rock ‘n’ roll because it was biracial, Dylan has said, “There must have been some elitist power that had to get rid of all these guys.” Love, “Bob Dylan Does the American Songbook His Way,” 26. For an analysis of underdog politics and its relation to the Democratic Party, see Karl G. Trautman, *The Underdog in American Politics: The Democratic Party and Liberal Values* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
95. “Folk Singers: Let Us Now Praise Little Men,” *Time*, May 31, 1963, 40; Jules Siegel, “Well, What Have We Here?” *Saturday Evening Post*, July 30, 1966.
96. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014.
97. Conversation between Nat Hentoff and JT, June 9, 2014. Hentoff adds that Dylan has been, at other times, quite direct and revealing. He includes his *New Yorker* interview with Dylan (1964) and Dylan’s *Chronicles* memoir (2004) in this category. Conversation between Nat Hentoff and JT, January 8, 2015.

98. Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014; “The Groom’s Still Waiting at the Altar,” *Shot of Love* (1981, rev. 1985). In the mid-1960s, the great French novelist François Mauriac wrote, “The writer who bears our name represents us in the outside world. We see him as he is, showered with praise and decorations—sometimes insults. The letters overflowing with admiration and affection and sometimes loathing are addressed to him, not to this creature of flesh and blood whose solitude here on his rock is intensified the more that ‘personage’ is talked about as someone of importance in the world of men.” François Mauriac, *The Inner Presence: Recollections of My Spiritual Life*, trans. Herma Briffault (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, c1965, 1968), 19–20.

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Selected Bob Dylan Albums

- The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* (1963)
- The Times They Are A-Changin'* (1964)
- Another Side of Bob Dylan* (1964)
- Bringing It All Back Home* (1965)
- Highway 61 Revisited* (1965)
- Blonde on Blonde* (1966)
- John Wesley Harding* (1967)
- Nashville Skyline* (1969)
- Self Portrait* (1970)
- New Morning* (1970)
- Planet Waves* (1974)*
- Blood on the Tracks* (1975)
- Desire* (1976)
- Street Legal* (1978)
- Slow Train Coming* (1979)
- Saved* (1980)
- Shot of Love* (1981)
- Infidels* (1983)
- Empire Burlesque* (1985)
- Biograph* (1985)
- Knocked Out Loaded* (1986)
- Down in the Groove* (1988)
- Oh Mercy* (1989)
- Under the Red Sky* (1990)
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- Good As I Been to You* (1992)
- World Gone Wrong* (1993)
- “*Love and Theft*” (2001)
- Live 1975: The Bootleg Series Vol. 5* (2002)
- No Direction Home: The Bootleg Series Vol. 7* (2005)
- Modern Times* (2006)
- Tell Tale Signs: The Bootleg Series Vol. 8* (2008)
- Together Through Life* (2009)

The Witmark Demos: 1962–1964: The Bootleg Series Vol. 9 (2010)
Tempest (2012)

*Originally released by Asylum Records. All others by Columbia Records.

Conversations

Conversations between Nat Hentoff and JT, June 9, 2014; January 8, 2015.
Telephone.

Conversation between Wendell Berry and JT, September 27, 2014. University of
Louisville (KY), Front Porch Republic Conference.

Conversation between Robert Dean Lurie and JT, September 28, 2014. Louisville
International Airport.

Conversation between Rabbi Michelle Werner and CI, October 15, 2014. B'nai
Israel Synagogue, Rochester, MN.

Interviews

Interview with Charles Evers by JT, June 30, 2014. Telephone.

Interview with Dave Kelly by JT, November 1, 2014. Telephone.

Interview with Jerry Waldman by CI, November 13, 2014. Telephone.

Interview with Charles Norman by JT, December 10, 2014. Telephone.

E-Mails

Alberta McCrory e-mails to JT, September 23, 2013; March 6–7, 2014.

Suzanne Duscha e-mails to JT, July 25 and August 3, 2014.

Matthew Zawisky (Ralph Nader aide) e-mail to JT, September 17, 2014.

Allen Flemming e-mails to JT, October 10, 12, and 25, 2014.

Dave Kelly e-mails to JT, November 19 and 21, 2014.

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