

BOB DYLAN, PETE SEEGER AND THE MOVEMENT PERSONA

By

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## ABSTRACT

Using Aristotle's concept of ethos and Edwin Black's theory of the second persona, this thesis discusses how the personas of Bob Dylan and Pete Seeger contribute to the movement persona of those fighting for social change in 1960s America. A textual analysis of three songs of Bob Dylan and three songs of Pete Seeger serve as the artifacts for this thesis. Themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness run throughout Bob Dylan's songs while themes of community, empowerment, and transcendence appear in the music of Pete Seeger. The themes contribute to the creation of the movement persona and imply a persona for the audience that the movement adopts and adapts for their own purposes. Therefore, the audience, Seeger, and Dylan are all authors of the movement persona, and the musical form assists in allowing multiple authors of the movement persona.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1965, Bob Dylan revolutionized American folk music and caused controversy as he “plugged in” using 110 volts of electricity at the Newport Folk Festival. Dylan’s decision to break the rules and plug in signaled that folk music had come of age and created an art form with the ability to attract a larger audience than music had previously. Although Dylan received mixed reviews from the audience, his going electric helped show that music could have both integrity and a rock beat. Dylan inspired the birth of “folk rock” as a result.

While popular music had a tradition of borrowing from folk songs before the arrival of Bob Dylan, pop musicians tended to ignore the ‘high artistic aims’ of the trained composers and lacked the simplicity and love for music that country musicians displayed in their songs (Seeger 459). Rock in the 1950s and 1960s found a home in commercialism with festivals and large spaces serving as venues where people would dance and participate in an event similar to a modern-day rock concert (Dixon). In contrast, folk music was a music of the common people that occurred in small spaces where the performer was connected to the audience via face-to-face contact (Dixon). Therefore, Dylan’s decision to “plug in” attempted to merge the integrity of folk with the commercial success of rock. His decision to change the art form, however, was met with criticism by many.

Among those unhappy with Dylan's decision to electrify folk music was Pete Seeger: "It was one of the rare occasions that Pete 'flipped out,'" said Leventhal [i.e., Seeger's manager for over twenty five years]. 'Pete would have liked to cut the cables'" (Dunaway 247). Seeger worried that the audience could not hear the lyrics to Dylan's "Maggie's Farm," and he later called the pop feel that Dylan brought to folk music "some of the most destructive music this side of hell" (Wilkinson 13, Dunaway 247). Due to the ideological differences of the two men, Dylan's plugging in at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival left Seeger, the man Dylan once referred to as "a living saint," crying in the wings (Dunaway 247).

The 1965 Newport Folk Festival provides a seminal moment in the relationship between Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan. Paul Nelson writes the following about the Newport incident, the contrast between the two singers, and the future of folk music in America:

Was it to be marshmallows and cotton candy or meat and potatoes? Rose-colored glasses or a magnifying glass? A nice guy who has subjugated and weakened his art through constant insistence on a world that never was and never can be; or an angry, passionate poet who demands his art to be all, who demands not to be owned, not to be restricted or predicted? (Dunaway 247)

Although the men experienced some ideological differences, which are highlighted in the incident at Newport, the existence of Bob Dylan depends on the existence of Pete Seeger. More than twenty years older than Dylan, Seeger "had virtually adopted Dylan," and Dylan was "pressured by his friends to become the next Pete Seeger"

(Dunaway 246, 206). Seeger stated Dylan's "commercial" image made him a "corpse," but Dunaway argues, "If not for the implied rejection, Seeger might have seen himself in Dylan's rebelliousness" (248). In a way, then, it can be said that the Age of Protest required both musicians and both personas to build the musical ethos of a generation defined by its desire for social justice and the rejection of authority (Zulick).

This thesis, therefore, is about how the persona is communicated through music that invites audience participation; it is about how such music produces and consolidates movement ethos, which is the sense of identity that holds a movement together, and it is about how two personas shaped the music of the Age of Protest (Zulick).

Both prominent musicians, players in social change, and cultural icons, Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan created different images for themselves, and these personas manifest themselves through their song lyrics. Pete Seeger sublimates his own persona to foreground the voice of the people while presenting themes of community, empowerment, and transcendence in his songs. Yet Seeger's persona is manifested in this very process. Dylan's persona, conversely, looms large as a distinct icon in every song, presenting themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness. A vocal proponent of social change, Seeger's persona remains more stable and positive while Dylan's anarchic persona constantly changes and possesses fluidity.

While Pete Seeger, the idealist, and Bob Dylan, the temperamental poet, have different styles and views that caused a conflict at Newport in 1965, the men have similarities. Born May 3, 1919, Pete Seeger, the son of a musicologist and musician, sang with Woody Guthrie as a member of the Almanac Singers in the late 1940s (Wilkinson 5). Born May 21, 1941 as Robert Allen Zimmerman, Bob Dylan journeyed

to New York as a young man to meet Woody Guthrie, whom Seeger sang with when Dylan was just a child. Both men were prominent musicians who influenced the entire direction of folk music. The 1962 Thanksgiving issue of *Time* called Seeger “the current patriarch of folk singing” and Bruce Springsteen argues, “I heard a hundred voices in those [i.e., Seeger’s] songs and stories from across the span of American history” (Springsteen qtd. in Wilkinson 5). According to Tom Petty, Bob Dylan “influenced everything that came after him” (“Plugging In”). U2’s Bono refers to Dylan as the “Picasso of rock and roll” (“Plugging In”). In discussing major figures in rock music, Graham Nash of Crosby, Stills & Nash remarks, “There’s Dylan and [Jimi] Hendrix and who else?” (“Plugging In”).

Both Seeger and Dylan, however, are more than an inspiration to other artists and popular musicians. Seeger’s career has been described as a “moral project,” and his political beliefs led to his being blacklisted in the 1950s by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) (Cantwell 263, Seeger 470). Pete Seeger adapted and popularized many American folk songs, including “We Shall Overcome,” which became a “ritual” at many civil rights events (Dunaway 223). Seeger hoped for a 1960s youth rebellion and believed in the power of music to unite individuals (Dunaway 188). This view holds with Timothy Scheuer’s assertion that songs of the 1960s sought to “redefine the role of the individual in the context of a new mythic vision” and added a new language of dissent that included themes of a loss of freedom, equality, opportunity, and individuality (Dixon).

Dylan combined his knowledge of 1950s bands and blues writing to write in his own way, and, similar to Seeger, many of his songs were adapted by the civil rights

movement (“Plugging In”). Armed with his youth, a characteristic not afforded to Seeger during the time, Dylan also helped transform American society during the 1960s.

According to *History of Rock ‘n’ Roll*, Dylan came to be because things needed saying and he “had an ear on his own generation.” As the civil rights movement, the student movement, and the women’s movement heated up, Dylan provided a voice for what some scholars have labeled the “Age of Protest” (Rodnitzky 119). Relinquishing the name Robert Zimmerman and creating the persona of Bob Dylan, Dylan, through his music, created a way for people in the 1960s to unite for change in America.

This study will focus on Seeger and Dylan as creators of a persona for themselves, and consequently, as creators of a persona for the movements in the 1960s. Drawing from the work of Aristotle, Edwin Black, Richard B. Gregg, and Randall A. Lake that addresses the ethos of an individual and the notion of persona, this study will show how Seeger and Dylan created their personas and then used the musical form to transfer their personas to the movement audience. According to S. Langer, music is virtual emotion. The genre of the folk song makes this virtual emotion transferable from artist to audience through the cultural practice of mass singing. Therefore, Seeger and Dylan create a persona for the implied audience in the act of expressing their own personas or ethos. The artists use the musical form to transfer the virtual emotion of their personas and create a persona for the implied audience, defined by Edwin Black as the “second persona.”

The personas of the artists manifest themselves as ideological tokens through the themes of change, resistance and rootlessness for Dylan and transcendence, empowerment and community for Seeger (Black). These themes imply a character, or a

“second persona,” that the audience adopts when it sings. Because individuals are singing the songs of Dylan and Seeger, the first persona and the second persona work together to create the persona of the movement. The audience is a full participant in the expression of the song, and they adopt the character implied by Dylan and Seeger while extending this “second persona” to fit their own purposes and achieve their own goals. Therefore, Dylan, Seeger, and everyone who sings the songs are essentially co-authors of the movement persona.

For the purpose of this paper, the movement persona is the implied ideology suggested through the lyrics of Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan and adapted by those fighting for social change. The movement persona encompasses the themes of community, empowerment, transcendence, change, resistance and rootlessness and deals with the general feelings of unrest and displeasure with the status quo. The people in the movement were members of the counterculture, and the countercultural movement includes everyone who wanted and fought for social change in the 1960s, from the civil rights movement to the women’s movement to the student movement. While the movement persona incorporates the themes of Dylan and Seeger and applies to all those within the counterculture, the movement persona, like the constantly changing persona of Dylan and the sublimated persona of Seeger, is not always stable and clear. Sometimes the movement persona is the persona of a small group of people gathered to protest a local injustice. At other times the movement persona refers to the multitude of people gathered to march for civil rights. The movement persona, however, always relies on the ethos of Dylan and Seeger and the second persona presented within their works. The way the persona is used and applied relies on those who are singing the lyrics, which is how

the persona implied by the discourse (i.e., the second persona) can help those wanting change establish a movement persona that helps them meet their specific goals.

Dylan's constantly changing persona and Seeger's unifying persona work in conjunction with their metaphors, which add to a feeling of movement unity since the lyrics can mean what the listener wants them to mean. The audience members become co-authors of the movement persona as a result. Seeger and Dylan thus helped create a movement persona that could apply to once specific instance and extend beyond one specific movement (e.g., the civil rights movement, the women's movement, the student movement), which linked all those fighting for a cause in 1960s America through the general themes.

As stated, the capacity to transfer persona to the audience is aided by the musical style Seeger and Dylan adopt, and although a close textual analysis of Seeger and Dylan's lyrics provides the main focus of this thesis, the music should be considered briefly since the poetry of the lyrics exists in conjunction with music. The music behind Seeger and Dylan's lyrics is simple, memorable, and lies comfortably in the vocal midrange for most, which allows the lyrics to assume the foreground in the minds of the people hearing the music. The music does not distract from the rhetorical message found in the words, which is exemplified by Seeger's outrage that the audience at Newport could not hear the lyrics to "Maggie's Farm." Furthermore, the simplicity of the music allows people with little musical training to pick up the melodies and play the music at gatherings, and Seeger was an adamant proponent of group sings. The simplicity of the musical form makes Seeger and Dylan's music inclusive, and this inclusiveness aids the creation of the movement persona because it fosters a spirit of change when groups sing

the lyrics. Those singing the songs can feel proactive and confident in using the themes set forth by Dylan and Seeger to create ethos for their specific cause.

In addition to the simple music and powerful lyrics that make folk music easily played and sung, Dylan employs three prominent themes that allow the lyrics to mean different things to different people. The very ambiguity of the lyrics creates a movement persona because, while an ideology is suggested through themes and the second persona, individuals can interpret the lyrics in their own personal way, which allows them to be co-authors of the movement persona. Throughout this ambiguity, however, three themes hit a recurring refrain: change, resistance, and rootlessness. Each theme conveys an aspect of Dylan's persona. Throughout his music, Dylan weaves together these themes and creates a persona that transfers to the movement via the second persona.

The persona of Dylan, however, works in conjunction with the persona created earlier by Pete Seeger. Seeger argued that songs have a life of their own, and he focused on crowd unity and participation during his concerts (Dunaway 157). Robert Cantwell suggests, "Seeger's identity, while self-made, was not put on" (255). Cantwell continues, "Seeger is the type [who] projects out of his heart the adventure by which he will season himself, and in which he will discover the self that will authenticate him—or, more accurately, court the self that, if he is worthy, will accept him" (255). David King Dunaway argues Seeger was a "concave mirror" who "focused his listeners' admiration back out into the balconies, inspiring people with an image of themselves as better (more tolerant, compassionate, international) than they were. He kindled their hopes" (228). Therefore, Dylan's fluid persona that embodies themes of change, resistance and rootlessness among the audience takes its roots in Seeger's persona that shows

individuals that they are authentic beings capable of making a difference through the themes of unity, empowerment, and transcendence. Seeger encourages his audience to be co-creators of the movement persona, and aspects and themes of both men's personas combine to create the movement persona.

For this project, I will engage in a close textual analysis of representative songs from Bob Dylan and Pete Seeger. I will first show how both authors display their ethos and personas through their lyrics by focusing on their themes, which serve as tokens of their ideologies. Through the power of song, audience members are capable of helping build the 1960s movement persona by applying their own meaning to the lyrics, which makes the first and second persona one and the same.

From Bob Dylan, I will analyze "Blowin' in the Wind," "The Times They Are A-Changin'" and "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall." "Blowin' in the Wind" is considered a linkage of movements to the time (*History of Rock and Roll*). In addition, "Blowin' in the Wind" has been covered by other artists, including Peter, Paul, and Mary, and the covers indicate that the song is influential because others see the significance in singing the song. I chose "The Times They Are A-Changin'" because the lyrics seem to speak to the unrest of the 1960s. Finally, I have selected "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" because scholarly research exists on this song and it speaks to the danger America faces if it does not change (Makay and Gonzalez; Hentoff; Beebe). Furthermore, I believe all three of these songs contain ambiguous metaphors that add to the movement persona. Finally, by analyzing the songs selected, this study will add to the body of scholarly research that exists on protest music as a rhetorical form.

The three songs I will analyze from Pete Seeger are his adaptation of “We Shall Overcome” and his original lyrics to “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” and “If I Had a Hammer.” “We Shall Overcome” was used prominently throughout the civil rights movement, and “We Shall Overcome” and Dylan’s “Blowin’ in the Wind” were both “litanies of the revival’s dream of freedom, brotherhood, and peace” (Cantwell 354). “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” hit the top forty in May 1962--the same week an appeals court overturned the contempt of court charge rendered against Seeger for refusing to name names during the HUAC hearing-- and remained popular on the folk scene for years after (Dunaway 210). Recorded by Peter, Paul and Mary, “If I Had a Hammer” has been described as “unconquerable” (Dunaway 157).

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

By looking at other scholars' work, this chapter will provide the theoretical underpinnings and justification for this project. Containing research on ethos and persona, an overview of protest music literature, and scholarly work on Dylan and Seeger's personas, this chapter will show how the movement persona is created by Dylan, Seeger, and the audience. First, research on ethos and persona will be addressed.

#### Overview of Ethos and Persona

It is first important to consider ethos as a rhetorical strategy since this study concerns the communication of a persona, which is similar to ethos.

Aristotle defines the concept of ethos in *Rhetoric*. Aristotle considers ethos, along with pathos and logos, an artistic proof that can serve as a "means of persuasion" (1355b-1357b). Ethos includes practical wisdom, virtue and good will (Constantinides 61).

Aristotle goes on to define ethos as the following:

Persuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible. We believe good men more fully and more readily than others.... It is not true, as some writers assume in their treatises on rhetoric, that the personal goodness revealed by the speaker contributes nothing to his power of persuasion; on the contrary, his character may almost be called the most effective means of persuasion he possesses. (1356a)

Since Aristotle's coinage of the term ethos, other scholars have written on the concept, and relevant secondary works dealing with the concept of ethos will now be addressed. Scholars have shown how ethos connects to politics and have tried to clarify what the term actually means.

First, scholars draw attention to the connection between ethos and politics. As a result, the ability of song lyrics to create social change is justified. The connection between ethos and politics is pertinent to this topic since Seeger believed his father's assertion that "music's most important purpose was social" (Wilkinson 53). In addition, Dylan's "ear on his generation" allowed his music to be adopted for political causes (*History of Rock 'n Roll*). Finally, Seeger, Dylan and the audience help create a movement persona that pushes for social change and a new political world.

Constantinides lends support to this claim when he states, "Aristotle's definition of ethos is therefore one tightly integrated with his view of man as a political animal" (61). In addition to Constantinides, Arthur B. Miller shows the link between ethos and politics and says, "If there is a key premise in Aristotle's thinking about ethics it is that man functions in society—the political community—as a political animal" (310).

Additionally, much literature exists that attempts to clarify the concept of ethos. For example, Thomas E. Corts draws attention to the different meanings of ethos by showing that scholars sometimes confuse two Greek terms in their understanding of the term (201). According to Corts, ethos "may be defined as 'totality of characteristic traits,' rather than in terms of mere custom or morally approved habits" (202). Corts argues that this definition is in line with the ancient, Aristotelian meaning of the term,

and this assertion could relate to Seeger and Dylan by giving a way to judge their ethos that aligns with Aristotle's conception of the term.

Miller also tries to clarify Aristotle's term by connecting ethos with habit. Miller states, "A man's habits are indicative of his character" and argues that only through understanding what Aristotle means by habit can it be understood what Aristotle means by ethos (309). Miller continues by saying "a virtuous person habitually performs virtuous actions" (314). Miller's understanding of ethos and its connection to habit provides a contrast with Aristotle's claim that persuasion through ethos "should be achieved by what the speaker says, not by what people think of his character before he begins to speak" (1356a). Miller's view sheds light on how Seeger's past as a communist and activist and Dylan's youthful nature play a role in their ethos during the 1960s; the audience judges them on their habits to see if they are credible. Paul Rosenthal also argues that audiences can be influenced separately by the message and the overall character of the speaker, which could relate to how the audience adopts the lyrics for their own persona and how this persona could be somewhat different from the ones Seeger and Dylan created or intended. As a result, Seeger, Dylan and the audience all author the movement persona.

Jim W. Corder believes that ethos can manifest itself in different ways (30). Corder distinguishes among "efficient ethos" (i.e., not wasting a situation), "gratification ethos" (i.e., a speaker fulfills a need of the audience), "functional ethos" (i.e., using your reputation alone to achieve credibility), and "generative ethos" (i.e., type of ethos where the speaker and the listener can create themselves constantly) (31). Seeger and Dylan employ efficient ethos as their music recognizes the social changes happening in the

1960s. The participatory nature of the songs and the lyrics that speak to the audience establish gratification ethos and aid the creation of the movement persona. Both men have functional ethos: Seeger's exist as he is an established folk singer and social activist by the 1960s, and Dylan's exist as he is the young poet capable of taking folk music to new audiences. Finally, and perhaps most importantly to this project, both men establish generative ethos as their personas come through in their music and the audience can create a persona based on the song lyrics. Building on the definitions of ethos presented by Aristotle and other scholars, this paper will use the following definition of ethos: Ethos is an available means of persuasion that can manifest itself in different ways while encompassing a speaker's character, good will, credibility, and virtue both at the time of speaking and based on habitual action (Aristotle 1356a; Miller 14; Constantinides 61; Corder 13).

The classical notion of ethos is extended in Edwin Black's theory of the persona. The persona is related to ethos through "moral judgments" (Black 87). Black states in "The Second Persona" that "the technical difficulty of making moral judgments of rhetorical discourses is that we are accustomed to thinking of discourses as objects, and we are not equipped to render moral judgments of objects" (87). Black's objective is to bring out the personhood of discourse, which suggests that discourse can have ethos. Black continues with the following:

I propose exploring the hypothesis that if students of communication could more proficiently explicate the saliently human dimensions of a discourse—if we could, in a sense, discover for a complex linguistic formulation a corresponding form of a character—we should then be able

to subsume that discourse under a moral order and thus satisfy our obligations to history. (Black 88)

Because he discusses *persona* instead of simply *ethos*, Black implies that Aristotle's concept of *ethos* does not go far enough in explaining the personhood and moral character of discourse. For Black, there seems to be a distinction between *ethos* and *persona* with *ethos* being the character *in* the discourse. This would be the character of the author, or specifically, Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan that comes through in the creation of the discourse. Furthermore, the *ethos* of the movement can be present within the discourse, which means that the movement can have an *ethos* and this *ethos* can transfer to discourse through the co-authoring of songs. Contrasting with *ethos*, *persona* for Black seems to be the character *of* the discourse, which means that the lyrics communicate a *persona* to those who are appropriating them (Zulick). In this sense, the *ethos* of Seeger and Dylan communicate a *persona* to the movement, and the *ethos* of the movement relies on the *personae* of Seeger and Dylan to create its own *persona*. Although the distinction between *ethos* and *persona* should be explored further, the difference is vague and will not be addressed in this thesis. For this project, *ethos* and *persona* will be used interchangeably to refer to the moral character and personhood implied by the discourse.

Black argues that discourses have personhood, which is "moral character," and this notion connects to *persona* and the second *persona* as the *persona* becomes second through discourse. Black states, "Discourses contain tokens of their authors. Discourses are, directly or in a transmuted form, the external signs of internal states" (88). In this sense, Seeger is connected to his work because he sings songs he finds important; he

adapts the songs to mass singing and modifies the lyrics to bring out emancipatory messages. His persona is at work in this selection process, but it is also sublimated to the mass persona of the folk movement. Therefore, the second persona is relevant because two personas are at work in this music (i.e., Seeger's persona and the mass persona). In addition, Dylan is directly connected to his work because he wrote it, so his changing persona could easily manifest itself through his music, which is a discourse, and provide a basis for a movement persona as a result.

Richard B. Gregg's "The Ego-Function of Protest Rhetoric" discusses how rhetoric can serve the ego-function and how "the transaction of self with self may properly be designated 'rhetorical'" (46). Furthermore, Gregg argues that through a rhetorical act, individuals can create a notion of self, which is what Seeger and Dylan did through their music as they created personas for themselves. While creating their own identity through rhetoric, rhetors can also assist in establishing identities for others, which relates closely to Corder's notion of generative ethos. By adopting songs in line with his own beliefs, Seeger established a persona for himself that the audience could adopt and adapt. By creating lyrics that established his own persona and acknowledged its ambiguity, Dylan created a persona for an entire movement through his use of ambiguous themes.

Building on the notion of the persona as a corollary to classical ethos, Edwin Black also discusses the "second persona" that takes the persona as its auditor, which means that the second persona is the persona implied for the audience by the discourse (89). The second persona focuses on the persona of the audience communicated in the work. Therefore, even if Dylan were writing his songs for himself as an expression of

identity and changing personas, his songs, because they are addressed to an audience of a certain character, can influence an entire movement as audience members adopt the persona represented in the song. Thus, Dylan creates a “second persona” which relates to the audience. The critic, through the implied audience, can see what the rhetor, Dylan in this case, wants his audience to become. Dylan uses ambiguous themes to create his own persona, and that of the movement, in the 1960s and inspires everyone to join together and create social change (91). Finally, Black mentions that the critic can find an image of a man in the discourse and that even if this man does not really exist the man still has an image (i.e., a persona) which makes moral judgment possible.

This image of the man presents itself in “stylistic tokens.” The “tokens” that discourses contain of their authors relate to the notion of ideology (Black 89-90). Black defines ideology as “the network of interconnected convictions that functions in a man epistemically and that shapes his identity by determining how he views the world” (Black 89-90). The themes of transcendence, empowerment, and community for Seeger and change, resistance and rootlessness for Dylan in this study provide the “stylistic tokens” of their ideologies. The audience members can “look to the discourse they are attending for cues that tell them how they are to view the world” (Black 90). However, because the discourse is song, and song has a participatory nature, the audience members can go one step beyond hearing how they are to view the world. The audience members can take the themes’ cues and adjust the ambiguous meanings to sing out their own ideologies.

Therefore, Seeger, Dylan and those singing establish an ideology that is solid in its themes and fluid in its ability to apply the themes in different ways.

Before performing a textual analysis of the songs selected, it is important to look at previous research that exists on protest music and shows how studying protest music is a valid area for rhetorical analysis. The section on protest music shows how the musical form aids the co-creation of the persona.

### Overview of Protest Music Literature

Most scholars acknowledge the ability of lyrics and music to serve as a rhetorical tool. By conducting empirical studies, Kosokoff and Carmichael conclude that protest songs are rhetorical and Denisoff and Levine find that protest music serves a greater purpose than simply “background noise.” Other scholars adopt a more qualitative approach to the rhetoric of protest music. Irvine and Kirkpatrick show music’s effect on society and give a methodological example for analyzing music as a piece of rhetoric (272). In addition, Sellnow and Sellnow argue that music and lyrics work together to create rhetorical significance (395). Furthermore, some scholars focus their work on protest music in the 1960s. Knupp holds that 1960s protest songs contained reactive, simplistic, and expressive dimensions. Eyerman and Jamison discuss how protest music shaped and was shaped by the political climate of the 1960s.

Given that songs could become “rhetorical vehicles,” the following study gives credence to studying Seeger and Dylan’s music as rhetorical artifacts that could aid in creating a movement persona. In “The Rhetoric of Protest: Song, Speech, and Attitude Change,” Kosokoff and Carmichael question protest songs’ ability to persuade. After conducting an empirical study at a university, Kosokoff and Carmichael found that even if their two dimensions, which were protest songs and protest speeches, did not create attitude change individually, the combination of both dimensions always produced

attitude change. Kosokoff and Carmichael conclude that “songs of social action not only were part of the rhetoric of movements in which they were used, but either were, or had the potential for becoming rhetorical vehicles in themselves” (302).

Another empirical study shows that protest music has the ability to reach an audience. In their article entitled “Brainwashing or Background Noise: The Popular Protest Song,” Denisoff and Levine surveyed sociology students at San Francisco State College about “Eve of Destruction” and “Universal Soldier,” both protest songs, to determine if popular music was an “opinion formation device” (213). Denisoff and Levine found that these songs did affect listeners, but they caution that the effect may not be as large as some have argued. Nonetheless, similar to Kosokoff and Carmichael’s research, this study shows that music can reach an audience, which relates to how the music of Seeger and Dylan can greatly contribute to the movements in the 1960s.

Irvine and Kirkpatrick’s “The Musical Form in Rhetorical Exchange: Theoretical Considerations” argues that “music, in contemporary culture, plays a key role in the development and maintenance of attitudes and values held by various groups within the general population,” which relates to Seeger and Dylan’s ability to create a persona for themselves and the movement through their music (272). The article lists four assumptions that underlie music as a rhetorical tool, which are as follows: musical artists create rhetoric by manipulating symbols to fit and to change society’s values, the music serves as rhetoric if it independently affects the auditor’s beliefs about society, the message in music differs from the same message in normal discourse, and music typically has not been viewed as a form of persuasion because it is a form of entertainment (272-273).

These assumptions highlight the importance of Seeger's adapting folk songs to fit the time and the audience. Seeger thought music could affect an auditor's belief about society, and he encouraged the audience to sing along in the hopes that his musical message would be more effective than the same message in normal discourse. The assumptions also relate to Dylan's ambiguous messages. Dylan manipulates symbols so they can affect the audience's beliefs about society in multiple ways, and because the audience adopts his songs and sings them, the audience helps author the movement persona.

Irvine and Kirkpatrick also define the *act*, which occurs when musical artists create songs to influence the audience, and the *event*, which involves what the listener feels after hearing the music (274). The *act* and *event* work together to create the movement persona and are paramount to understanding the creation of the movement persona. The *act* occurs when Seeger and Dylan write their song, express their ethos, and create a persona for themselves. The *event* occurs when the audience sings, subscribes to the themes, and adjusts the themes for their own purposes. The *act* refers to the first persona and the *event* relates to the second persona and what the listener does with the implied character, and when these things merge, the movement persona forms.

Irvine and Kirkpatrick also list "key musical variables" and how these affect musical transaction. Particularly important for this study are the musical variables of the "ethical reputation of the source" and the "structure of the communicative situation" (274, 276). The "ethical reputation of the source" argues that "in addition to whatever impact character, intelligence, and good will may have upon the audience, the ethos of the artist will also rest on his reputation as a performer or composer" (274). This notion relates

directly to Aristotle's concept of ethos, and because Seeger has a reputation as a social advocate and Dylan has a positive reputation as a composer, the audience can recognize their personas and adopt their personas as part of the movement persona. In addition, the "structure of the communicative situation" states that the artist's creation is a response to the feelings and desires of the group he is trying to influence (276). Seeger accomplished this goal directly, and Dylan could be creating a persona that expresses change, rootlessness, and resistance because he wants his audience to adopt this persona for themselves. This article also distinguishes between *rhetorical* and *expressive* versions of an artist's intent with *rhetorical* aiming to reinforce or change attitudes and *expressive* focusing on an artist's self-fulfillment (277). Seeger focuses more on the rhetorical aspects and Dylan focuses more on the expressive, but both use rhetorical and expressive elements since their personas, which could be an act of self-fulfillment, also transfer to the movement and serve as a way to create a persona for the audience.

Seeger and Dylan also affect the experiences of their audiences because music is "virtual time" and symbolizes tension and tension-release (Sellnow and Sellnow 402). Seeger and Dylan capture the human experience as a process in time, just like music. Similar to Irvine and Kirkpatrick, Sellnow and Sellnow argue that music and lyrics work together to create rhetoric in "The 'Illusion of Life' Rhetorical Perspective: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Music in Communication." Defining "virtual experience" as the lyrics of a song, Sellnow and Sellnow state that "virtual experience" is "influenced by the artist's perspective" (399). Seeger and Dylan's ideologies are represented as tokens in the themes of their music, and the personas of these two men influence the movement persona as a result. Discussing congruity, which means that virtual experience and

virtual time work together, and incongruity, which means these two elements contrast, the authors conclude “music’s unique potential to convey multiple messages all in one song via incongruent discursive and non-discursive symbols makes it a primary means by which to direct different persuasive appeals simultaneously toward diverse target audiences, and to do so effectively” (413). Dylan’s music expresses multiple messages and persuades diverse audiences because he adopts the ambiguous metaphors of rootlessness, resistance, and change. Furthermore, drawing from Sellnow and Sellnow’s argument, Dylan’s music could be viewed as conveying multiple messages and appealing to a wide audience, which is how he affected people across movements and helped create a general movement persona.

The movement persona establishes a social reality for those involved, and Knupp’s “A Time for Every Purpose under Heaven: Rhetorical Dimensions of Protest Music” explains that protest songs can create a social reality (379). After performing a content analysis, Knupp categorizes songs as reactive, simplistic, and expressive (382). Reactive dimensions of protest songs focus on the enemy and provide vague answers to problems because “problems are more rhetorically fruitful for movements than solutions” (383). Dylan’s use of a resistance theme highlights the problems with the status quo and challenges those outside of the movement. Seeger’s themes of transcendence and empowerment also hint that there are problems that need to be overcome.

Seeger records simple songs with repetitive lyrics, Dylan utilizes ambiguous themes, and both singers fail to reference specific events. These assertions hold with the simplistic dimension of protest songs, which discusses how protest songs present a simple view of the world and avoid referencing concrete historical events (385).

The expressive dimension of protest songs allow the leader's thoughts to be heard (387). Seeger and Dylan's personas express their own personal philosophy, and the movement can adopt their thoughts to help create the movement persona. As a result, the "leader's" thoughts become the movement's thoughts, and the expressive dimension relates to what those singing the song want it to mean. Knupp explains that protest songs reinforce group identity, which links directly to Seeger's call for community, and he ends his study by claiming that "the promotion of group unity through rhetoric is the enduring contribution of music to social movements" (389). Seeger discusses this idea throughout his career, and Dylan unites individuals from many movements in the 1960s (i.e., he created group unity) through his music and use of ambiguous themes.

As this research shows, protest music can serve as a rhetorical tool that can influence an audience. The remainder of this study will add to the study of protest music by focusing on Seeger and Dylan's personas and how these personas transfer to movements in America during the 1960s through music.

#### Overview of Seeger and Dylan's Personas

Thus far research on ethos and persona as well as protest music has been explored. In addition to this research, other scholars have focused specific attention on Seeger and Dylan's personas, and this research helps validate Seeger and Dylan as rhetors. The specific research on Seeger's persona and Dylan's persona is now where I will turn my attention.

For the purpose of this thesis, it is important to understand themes manifest themselves in the songs of Seeger and Dylan based on characteristics scholars have ascribed to the two men. This section will help show how Seeger's songs contain themes

of community, empowerment and transcendence while Dylan's songs boast themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness.

In *The Protest Singer: An Intimate Portrait of Pete Seeger*, Alec Wilkinson claims Seeger did more to make people aware of folk music than anyone else and thought of folk songs as frank, straightforward, and honest works that incorporated the "meat of human life" (Wilkinson 18, 50). Seeger's feelings on folk songs parallel the persona he created for himself since his persona was stable, honest, and in promotion of group unity. Wilkinson quotes Seeger as saying, "'I never liked the music business and the kind of fame you got'" (18; 10). Seeger feels "the greatest entertainers have always been more than 'mere entertainers'" and acknowledges that "entertainment is communication" (Seeger 540). Clearly, Seeger is aware of and uses the power of song to create social change. Seeger states the following:

I always hated the word career. It implies that fame and fortune are what you're trying to get. I have a life's purpose. In the old days I felt it should be helping the meek to inherit the earth, whether you call the working class meek or not....These days my purpose is in trying to get people to realize that there may be no human race by the end of the century unless we find ways to talk to people we deeply disagree with. (Wilkinson 116-117)

Seeger's goal in singing was to unite people, not divide them (Seeger 477). Pete Seeger did not strive to create an image or a name for himself, and he desired people to sing his songs themselves and connect with one another through the music (Wilkinson 13).

Pete Seeger was also a willing and active participant in social change, which aligns with his belief that entertainment is communication and song can help the meek

inherit the earth (Seeger 540, Wilkinson 116). Seeger hoped for a 1960s youth rebellion, and Wilkinson states, “During the most fractious periods of discourse in the 1960s, Seeger’s earnest and unadorned desire to unite disparate people had a pacifying effect” (Dunaway 188, Wilkinson 14). Seeger sang at American events favoring civil rights, performed “We Shall Overcome” at Martin Luther King, Jr.’s request, and participated in the 1965 civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama (Wilkinson 85-95).

As a result of his faith in folk songs capturing the essence of humanity and his willingness to engage in the fight for social change, Seeger sublimated his own persona in the pursuit of group unity and the collective (i.e., he foregrounds the second persona). Seeger creates a “character” that has “remained steadily anchored” and creates a self that “appears not through engagement but in affiliation, commitment, and, most of all, performance” (Cantwell 241). *Time* magazine proclaimed Seeger’s “bad voice” gave him a sound of “authenticity” (Dunaway 212). Seeger’s “identity, while self-made, was not put on,” and Seeger “projects out of his heart the adventure by which he will season himself, and in which he will discover the self that will authenticate him—or, more accurately, court the self that, if he is worthy, will accept him” (Cantwell 255). Therefore, Seeger seeks one authentic persona that unites those wanting social change and the result is he projects a persona of authenticity through themes of community, empowerment and transcendence. In an interview with Alec Wilkinson, Seeger states the following:

People ask, is there one word that you have more faith in than any other word...and I’d say it’s participation....It’s been my life work, to get participation, whether it’s a union song, or a peace song, civil rights, or a women’s movement or gay liberation. When you sing, you feel a kind of strength; you think, I’m not

alone, there's a whole batch of us who feel this way. I'm just one person, but it's almost my religion now to persuade people that even if it's only you and three others, do something. You and one other, do something. If it's only you, and you do a good job as a songwriter, people will sing it! (Wilkinson 106)

Clearly, Pete Seeger saw his songs as vehicles for social change, and he encouraged his audience to unite in a cause and make a difference. Due to his belief in participation, his persona remains steady, authentic and sublimated as he desires his audience to sing his songs for themselves.

In contrast to Seeger's willingness to participate in the movements, Bob Dylan took a more disengaged approach. As stated in "'Hey, Hey Woody Guthrie I Wrote You a Song': The Political Side of Bob Dylan," Denisoff and Fandray posit that "Dylan was not the voice of any given movement. His songs may have reinforced the belief systems of those involved in changing the social conditions of the 1960s, but he was not physically one of them. First and foremost, Dylan was a performer very aware of audience preferences" (122). Therefore, Dylan creates an appealing persona that the audience can adopt even if his purpose is not social change. After Dylan plugged in at the Newport Folk Festival, Denisoff and Fandray argue that he became a symbol of American counterculture, but they hold that Dylan was following his own impulses as an artist (128-129). Although this article claims that Dylan followed his artistic impulses and was not intending to create a movement persona, Dylan's following his impulses (i.e., creating a persona for himself) and using ambiguous metaphors in his music inspired a movement, regardless of the intent.

Campbell claims in “Bob Dylan and the Pastoral Apocalypse” that Dylan’s life is essentially a search for personal identity (696). This search for personal identity allows Dylan to create a changing persona that promotes a feeling of rootlessness because his search for personal identity is continuous. Of special importance to my project and the notion of rhetorical persona is Campbell’s discussion of the “duplicitous doubleness” of Bob Dylan and Robert Allen Zimmerman, which is Dylan’s real name. The author argues that “Bob Dylan” allowed Robert Allen Zimmerman to create “a mask, a fictive persona” to escape a hostile society and served as an extension of Zimmerman (697). In addition to serving as an extension of Zimmerman, Dylan’s persona extends to a movement as his persona, which allows him to escape hostile society, shows those in the movement how to initiate change and resist the status quo. Interestingly, Campbell argues that the counter-culture that Dylan represented could be viewed as a variant of dominant society, and this argument could help explain why Dylan was so powerful in creating a persona for the movement; he was not so on the edge that he did not reach some mainstream individuals (704). Therefore, Dylan’s images of resistance aimed at the status quo could be heard by those outside the movement.

In “Rhetorical Ascription and the Gospel According to Dylan,” Gonzalez and Makay analyze the rhetorical potential of Dylan’s songs and conclude that Dylan’s rhetoric includes “significant messages which mirror the thoughts and feelings of people around the world” (2). The rhetorical ascription section discusses how creators of songs place meanings into their songs and then express the meaning to the audience through symbols that can create identification between the singer and the audience (4). In the

next phase of this project, I will argue Dylan's songs did this through his use of themes, which allowed his persona to influence the movement persona.

Other articles discuss Dylan's rhetoric as it relates to the myth of the hero, and the hero can be viewed as part of a persona. In Makay and Gonzalez's "Dylan's Biographical Rhetoric and the Myth of the Outlaw-Hero," the authors argue that the lyrics of Dylan's biographical songs appeal to three traits—"resistance to corrupt authority, integrity of the self and simplicity"--to encourage the outlaw-hero myth (165). The outlaw-hero is isolated and acts for justice though the cold authority figure cannot understand the outlaw-hero's feelings. Dylan draws on the theme of justice as he shows how the movement is correct and should resist the corrupt status quo. Dylan uses his biographical lyrics, which could be interpreted as part of his persona, to criticize American culture and create a movement persona as a result. By conducting a textual analysis of various Dylan songs, Makay and Gonzalez conclude that "Dylan's use of the outlaw-hero myth builds his own ethos as an outsider who is apparently loyal to American cultural system but who successfully criticizes our culture," and the authors also suggest that "Dylan's public persona...has kept him attractive to millions who, like him are loyal to the system, but critical of it and who yearn continually for a free and honest spirit to refresh and direct their lives" (179). Dylan was this spirit during the 1960s.

As will be seen below, Hattenhauer's analysis aligns closely with the concept of rhetorical persona. Addressing the hero notion, Hattenhauer shows how Dylan and his audience were both influenced by the notion of the hero. Citing Jung, Hattenhauer suggests that the persona is "central to our communication and performance" and

explores the notion of “the shadow” or the part of ourselves that we do not claim (71). Hattenhauer argues that Dylan goes on a quest to discover himself and that Dylan’s audience projected the hero image on him, which relates to the notion of Dylan searching for his identity and creating a persona for himself that the movement eventually adapted and utilized (73). Adding to his created persona, Dylan encouraged “legends” about himself, and many people felt that Dylan had the talent to express their personal feelings better than they could express their thoughts themselves, which gives credence to Dylan as an author of the movement persona (74). Dylan’s use of ambivalent themes may add to the belief that Dylan could express others’ personal feelings; Dylan contains the talent to create ambiguous metaphors that could hold different meanings for different individuals. In addition, Hattenhauer addresses how Dylan created a persona in the following quotation:

Dylan’s lyrics contain dialogs between various parts of his self, particularly involving his persona and anima—the anima containing the muse. The actual person of Robert Zimmerman created the fictional character of Bob Dylan in much the same way that the actual person of Samuel Clemens created the fictional character of Mark Twain. The character, Bob Dylan, reveals how he and his creator, Robert Zimmerman are influenced by the monomyth [i.e., the hero’s quest]. (78)

Hattenhauer addresses how Dylan highlights different aspects of his persona—guru, poet, prophet, etc--on different albums as his career progressed.

The literature reviewed shows how Seeger and Dylan create personas for themselves through the use of “stylistic tokens,” which are themes, in their songs. These

themes imply an audience, which is the “second persona.” Those singing the song, Seeger and Dylan create the ideology of the movement, which allows the first and second persona to become a part of the movement persona.

## CHAPTER 3

### BOB DYLAN: CHANGE, RESISTANCE, AND A ROOTLESS EXISTENCE

Having explored previous literature on the concepts of ethos and persona as well as specific literature on Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan, this thesis will now venture into a close textual analysis of select Dylan and Seeger songs to show how the theories can apply to artifacts. First, this thesis will examine three songs of Bob Dylan and how these songs express themes of change, resistance and rootlessness. As discussed in the introduction and literature review, Bob Dylan establishes ethos and creates a persona that is fluid and constantly changing. The themes of change, resistance and rootlessness present in the song lyrics support this persona and imply an audience. The audience can adapt these themes for their own purposes, which shows how the first persona and the second persona can aid in the creation of the movement persona.

Interestingly, the three themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness serve as polyvalent metaphors. Leah Ceccarelli defines polyvalence as a “shared understanding of the denotations of the text, but disagreement about the valuation of those denotations” (398). Ceccarelli argues that the “attached connotations” of an idea are under dispute in polyvalent metaphors (398). Therefore, even though Dylan provides the themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness in his music, these themes can provide different connotations to those employing the lyrics, which allow the audience members to co-create the movement persona. The themes can be applied positively or negatively, supporting movement identity or opposing traditional authority. The different

connotations surrounding the three themes provide an ambivalence that relates to Dylan's own persona and, consequently, the persona of the movement.

### “Blowin’ in the Wind”

“Blowin’ in the Wind” first appears on *The Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan*, which was released on May 27, 1963. “Blowin’ in the Wind” is considered a linkage of movements to the time (*History of Rock and Roll*). According to *Rolling Stone*, “Blowin’ in the Wind” was Dylan’s “first important composition” and is “the most famous protest song ever written” (“Blowin’ in the Wind”). In addition, “Blowin’ in the Wind” has been covered by many artists who wanted social change. Managed by Albert Grossman, who also managed Dylan, Peter, Paul and Mary sang “Blowin’ in the Wind” and have remained committed to social justice for over forty years (“Peter, Paul & Mary”). Joan Baez, who also knew Dylan, led a tax revolt in protest of the Vietnam War, joined the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley and the civil rights march in Selma, Alabama, and spent time in jail for her beliefs (“Biography for Joan Baez”). Clearly, Baez fought for change in America. Baez covered “Blowin’ in the Wind,” and her version appears in *Forrest Gump* when Jenny sings the song at a bar (*Forrest Gump*). Because socially-active artists adopted the song as an anthem and used it as a tool to create social change, “Blowin’ in the Wind” serves as an example of how a song can influence individuals.

“Blowin’ in the Wind” exemplifies how Dylan uses the three themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness as stylistic tokens to transfer his persona to the movement. For example, all three verses of the song end in the same way: “The answer, my friend, is blowin’ in the wind / The answer is blowin’ in the wind.” By saying “my friend,” Dylan connects himself and his persona to people listening to his music. Furthermore, when the listener sings “my friend,” it directly transfers the first person singular to the audience

because they are singing. Therefore, Dylan implies a persona for the movement, which is the second persona, and through the operation of song, the movement can use this persona to create the movement persona. In addition, because Dylan's songs have simple melodies that can be played and adopted easily, the lyrical assertion of "my friend" connects together everyone who sings the song and therefore creates a feeling of unity.

Dylan also uses nature as a metaphor for change and as a vehicle for transferring his persona to the movement in "Blowin' in the Wind." The title of the song itself highlights the importance of nature to his belief in change. The phrase "blowin' in the wind" suggests that the answer is in the air. Dylan suggests that the times are a-changin' enough and the answer is pervading everything, even the air people are breathing. The air, however, is not still. The answer blows in the wind, implying that while the answer is there, it may not be grasped easily. Dylan suggests that potential exists, but people must recognize that change can and needs to occur, which highlights the positive power of change. In addition, by suggesting potential but not realizing it fully, Dylan implies a persona for the audience that allows the audience to create their own movement persona. The wind blowing also implies that the wind is moving, which foregrounds the importance of joining the movement to create change. Like the moving wind, society needs to move on to something new, and a movement will initiate this change. The blowing wind also aligns with the fluid persona of Dylan as both change and Dylan's persona are in flux constantly.

The title provides only one example of nature as a metaphor for change in "Blowin' in the Wind." Dylan writes in the first verse, "Yes, 'n' how many seas must a white dove sail / Before she sleeps in the sand?" The sea could represent the movement

and how people should join the movement to push for change, which shows change as positive and progressive. On the other hand, because it is a *force* of nature, the sea shows that change will happen despite what people desire, and the forceful nature shows the inevitable quality of change. This example of the sea shows how the ambivalent metaphor of change can be both progressive and inevitable.

The reference to the sea forefronts the struggle that faces those in the movement, but the example also shows that the journey will be worth it. In this way, the metaphor ties in the theme of resistance: there will be those who oppose the change and make the journey difficult. With a willingness to accept nature's prerogative to cause change, however, those in the movement can overcome the difficult seas of oppression and ride the tide to the inevitable change. After sailing the seas of oppression, the white dove "sleeps in the sand." Sand, less fluid and more stable than the rootless water, will provide a place for rest and comfort after the tumultuous sailing on the seas is complete. Similarly, those in the movement can rest comfortably in their restructured society after they wake up and commit to riding the seas of change. The sand reference holds with Gonzalez and Makay's claim that "[Dylan's] rhetoric reflects the value of a universal quest for what is stable, known, and trusted" (8). After participating in the quest for change, those in the movement will rest on the "stable, known, and trusted" sand (Gonzalez and Makay 8).

The choice of a white dove in the first verse also validates the correctness of the movements and contributes to the movement persona. White, a symbol of purity, and a dove, a symbol of peace, provide a positive image for the movement to utilize. Juxtaposed against the existing order, Dylan's white dove reference makes those in the

movement pure and peaceful heroes, which relates to Makay and Gonzalez's claim that the hero can feel isolated from society by standing up for justice. Dylan, who according to Hattenhauer was personally influenced by the notion of the hero, gives justification to those wanting change and aids in the formation of the movement persona as a result. Dylan validates himself and the people in the movement as heroes who want change, and he further justifies their correctness through the white dove symbol.

Dylan implies a persona for his audience that encourages social change. The metaphor of the sea and the white dove in the first verse of "Blowin' in the Wind" shows that the sea can serve as a way for individuals to join the movement, which means that the sea functions as a metaphor for the movement. Furthermore, the white dove gives the movement validity and promotes its correctness by depicting those who want change as heroes, which shows change as positive.

While the sea as a positive metaphor is prominent in "Blowin' in the Wind," the sea also serves as an image of climactic change and acts as a warning to those opposing change. In a sense, Dylan helps build the movement persona by providing stylistic tokens that hint at the incorrectness of the ideology of the status quo. Similar to the Old Testament image of the world being destroyed by water or wind, Dylan uses the sea to show that climactic change will happen, and this reference creates unity for those in the movement and challenges those outside of the movement. Therefore, the water provides a metaphor of resistance that simultaneously shows how those in the movement will resist the status quo while those outside the movement will resist the inevitable change. The sea also shows those in the movement that although a struggle and a feeling of rootlessness lie ahead, they will eventually reach a more stable existence. Clearly,

Dylan's sea metaphor, coupled with the white dove, in the first verse of "Blowin' in the Wind" provides an ambivalence that helps create a movement persona by combining the themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness. Dylan uses the themes as stylistic tokens to suggest that the movement will move past the current ideology, and Dylan validates the movement's efforts through his themes. The movement can take the persona that Dylan implies and use it to create the movement persona.

In the second verse of "Blowin' in the Wind," Dylan mentions nature again as he states, "How many times must a man look up / Before he can see the sky?" Similar to the first verse, Dylan wonders how much must be done before something else can occur. The second verse questions how much a man must look up before he can see the sky, which implies action on the part of the man. The man must act before he can see the sky, and because of the sky's height and cognitively-close proximity to Heaven, the sky symbolizes a better place than the place in which the man currently exists. The promise of the sky is validated further because of the first verse's reference to the white dove. The white dove sails in the first verse, which implies something is out of order because doves are typically home flying in the skies. With a movement, those wanting change can resist the current order and reestablish the natural order, which is a place where doves fly, not sail.

Dylan starts the third verse of "Blowin' in the Wind" with "How many years can a mountain exist / Before it's washed to the sea." This example also shows that the existing social structure can fall and change can occur. A mountain, especially when compared to the sea, is stable and unchanging. In addition, "sea," as seen in the first verse, acts as a recurring metaphor for the movement and the potential for change.

Therefore, Dylan could be encouraging his audience to challenge the status quo (i.e., the mountain) and find the answer to the question of how many years it can exist. The resistance implied by the mountain encourages those to challenge the status quo and helps build a movement persona of resisting the current order. If those listening to the music adopt Dylan's metaphor, they will find the answer blowin' in the wind, work for change, and discover how long a mountain can exist before falling to the sea because they will be trying to tear down the mountain (i.e., the status quo).

In direct contrast to the images of nature in "Blowin' in the Wind," Dylan also talks about manmade entities. For example, he asks in the first line "How many roads must a man walk down / Before you call him a man?" The roads represent potential journeys, and because roads are manmade, they refer to how much a man must conform to social constructions before he is considered a "man" in a society. On the one hand, a man must follow the established road and resist the coming change before he is anointed a man. Similar to rootless references in his other music, however, the road could also symbolize a way for a man to get somewhere else and find his own way apart from society's constraints, which allows the road to represent freedom. Dylan challenges the notion that a man must follow a road to find the answer and instead says that the answer is blowin' in the wind, which is a natural reference and much less "stable" than a road. As a result, the road simultaneously serves as a manmade hindrance to change and a vehicle for change, and this ambiguity promotes a feeling of both resistance and rootlessness that serve as stylistic tokens. Individuals must resist the status quo, but the status quo can also provide freedom if used properly. Advocating instability and providing an ambiguous metaphor justifies and lauds Dylan's changing persona and

allows this fluid persona to be adopted by the movement as a way to create greater social change.

The first verse also contains a reference to cannon balls, which sharply contrasts the sleeping, sailing, white dove image of a few lines earlier in the song. Dylan asks “Yes, ‘n’ how many times must the cannon balls fly / Before they’re forever banned?” Dylan implies that violent, manmade cannon balls should be banned, and this reference seems to advocate change and then stability similar to the white dove sailing before she rests. Once the dove sails and cannonballs are banned, the dove can sleep and take her natural place as the flying cannonballs no longer challenge her as the rightful traveler of the skies. Dylan suggests that humanity has created something that is incongruent with nature, which is why he allows the cannonballs to fly and the dove to sail. Through movement and change, however, the natural order will be restored, which is represented by the dove’s promised rest.

While the three themes combine into ambivalent messages in “Blowin’ in the Wind” and the other Dylan songs of this study, each theme can be interpreted both positively and negatively. Although there are instances, such as a reference to death and a crumbling mountain, which show the negative aspects of change, resistance, and rootlessness, the overall tone of “Blowin’ in the Wind” is positive. Even though nature is currently out of order with a sailing dove and cannonballs ruling the skies, Dylan alludes to a promising future. He contributes to the movement persona through the themes that hint at this future. There is an answer, my friend; it is blowin’ in the wind. Unlike the catastrophic change in “The Times They Are A-Changin,’” the change in “Blowin’ in the Wind” is positive and good. Dylan speaks to those in the movement to resist the status

quo and initiate the promising change, and he shows that the rootlessness of the road is a chance to capture freedom from the existing social order. Unlike “The Times They Are A-Changin,’” which provides more warnings to those opposing change, “Blowin’ in the Wind” provides a more inner-directed rhetoric that suggests hope for those within the movement. The hope provided in “Blowin’ in the Wind” may be why many artists have covered the song and why the song continues to be recognized as one of the most important protest songs ever written.

All three verses of “Blowin’ in the Wind” pose questions and problems about the status quo. Dylan’s nature allusions allow metaphors such as sailing seas, looking up, and a crumbling mountain to show that change can occur. The change metaphor serves mainly as a positive way for those in the movement to create a new way of life, but there are also undertones that the change is inevitable. Dylan poses metaphor-filled questions and then ends all the verses with “The answer, my friend, is blowin’ in the wind / The answer is blowin’ in the wind.” By telling the audience members that the answer is out there, although it needs to be harnessed and used to their advantage, Dylan writes lyrics that contribute to the 1960s movement persona. Dylan provides enough ambiguity in the stylistic tokens of the themes for the audience to sing his lyrics, create their own path and find their own answer that is blowin’ in the wind. In this way, the second persona implied by Dylan’s lyrics overlaps with his ambiguous persona. Furthermore, the second persona can contribute to the movement persona, which means both Dylan and those fighting for social change can author the movement persona.

Furthermore, the sea, the wind, and the road, all referenced in the song, have a fluidity and rootlessness that can move individuals to new and different places. The sea,

wind, and road can serve as metaphors for what those in the 1960s can do to create change: they can establish movements and move the country in a new direction. The fluidity of the sea, wind, and even the road foregrounds rootlessness in “Blowin’ in the Wind” and also fits well with Dylan’s constantly changing persona. Dylan constantly recreates himself; his persona is fluid, and he transfers the fluidity of his persona to the movements of the 1960s by creating ambiguous messages that combine change, resistance, and rootlessness in “Blowin’ in the Wind.”

### “The Times They Are A-Changin’”

“The Times They Are A-Changin’” provides the title track to one of Dylan’s 1964 albums. “The Times They Are A-Changin’” is important to the movements. Dylan acknowledges that the song carries political weight in an interview. *Rolling Stone* cites Dylan as stating, “‘This is definitely a song with a purpose....I knew exactly what I wanted to say and who I wanted to say it to’” (“The Times They Are A-Changin’”). Appearing less than two months after John F. Kennedy was assassinated, “The Times They Are A-Changin’” became an “immediate anthem” (“The Times They Are A-Changin’”).

The song was also covered by artists such as Joan Baez and the Byrds. As stated in the “Blowin’ in the Wind” section, Baez participated in the movements of the 1960s. The Byrds’ first hit was Dylan’s “Mr. Tambourine Man.” The Byrds also sang Pete Seeger’s “Turn! Turn! Turn!,” which *Rolling Stone* calls “anthemic,” and Tom Petty refers to the group as “L.A.’s whacked-out beatnik rock group” (“The Byrds”). Therefore, the Byrds chose songs with messages that could influence those listening to their music. Similar to “Blowin’ in the Wind,” “The Times They Are A-Changin’” combines the themes of change, resistance and rootlessness to aid in the creation of a movement persona. Transferring his changing persona and ethos to the movement, Dylan utilizes ambiguous images. These ambiguous images are encapsulated by the themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness, and these themes serve as stylistic tokens that allow Dylan’s ethos and ideology to shine forth. Dylan continues to focus on natural and manmade images as a source for metaphors in “The Times They Are A-Changin’.”

Similar to “Blowin’ in the Wind,” Dylan introduces a water metaphor in the first verse of “The Times They Are A-Changin’.” Dylan writes, “And admit that the waters / Around you have grown / And accept it that soon / You’ll be drenched to the bone.” The verse ends with “Then you better start swimmin’ / Or you’ll sink like a stone / For the times they are a-changin’.” In this verse, “the waters” could refer to the changing social scene, and the waters hint toward the potential for change. The possibility of change helps create unity within the movement because the individuals know that they can create something new. More central in this image, however, is the inevitability of change. By using the word “admit,” Dylan asks his audience to acknowledge the changing conditions. He sends a wake-up call to and jumpstarts those listening to his music, and he encourages them to take action against the growing waters of the times.

The water metaphor yields different interpretations depending on what group Dylan intends as his audience. In “The Ego-Function of Protest Rhetoric,” Gregg acknowledges the importance of establishing an “other” to serve as a point of contrast for the self, and through the creation of the other, ego-building rhetoric is strengthened (52). Dylan could be directing his rhetoric toward those who oppose change and establishing them as the “other” to establish his own ethos and subsequently increase the unity of the movement. In this sense, Dylan’s water metaphor creates a feeling of impending doom and resistance. He warns those opposing change to sink or swim and to admit that something is happening; change is coming, and there is nothing the status quo can do to stop it.

While supporting Gregg’s contention about identity formation, Lake’s “Enacting Red Power: The Consummatory Function in Native American Protest Rhetoric” also

states that most protest rhetoric analyses focus on the wrong audience. Instead of protest rhetoric being directed to larger society, Lake argues that the movement members are the primary audience for protest rhetoric. Looking at Dylan's water metaphor through this lens provides a related, yet dissimilar, interpretation that shows how Dylan's lyrics are ambivalent.

If the rhetoric is directed inward toward the movement, Dylan's encouraging his audience to sink or swim gives the impression that people should fight for change by swimming or allow the current situation to persist by sinking in the presence of the challenge. Swimming is a way to fight the existing situation and in this sense sinking is a metaphor of resistance that shows the movement resisting general authority. The more prominent metaphor in the inner-directed rhetoric, however, is one of change. The waters do not represent impending doom for this audience as much as they allow new possibilities to be explored, which shows that change being defined as progressive or catastrophic can vary based on the audience. One can resist the status quo and move to a different location by swimming, which foregrounds the notion of change. Therefore, people can push against the status quo by participating in movements, and they can metaphorically gain ground and arrive at a different location through swimming and initiating change.

Swimming, however, requires energy, strength, and dedication, and Dylan's choice of the word "swimming" cautions that the fight for change may be difficult. The lyrics also show, however, that the fight is better than the alternative. By swimming, a person and society can stay afloat and survive. The other option involves sinking—a descent both literally and figuratively—as a person drops down. Furthermore, society

sinking can involve regressing or at least not progressing. Dylan's water metaphor shows that change can occur if his audience embraces the potential presented by the times, and he uses his rhetoric to highlight the possibility of creating something new.

Dylan uses ambiguous metaphors so he does not have to imply directly who his audience is to become. The times are changing, but Dylan does not say what they are changing into specifically; instead, he presents three themes that will allow his audience to find who they are through change, resistance, and rootlessness. In this way, Dylan allows the audience to co-author the movement persona; he presents a second persona that focuses on general themes without stating how the themes should be utilized. Dylan seems to say he does not care who the audience is or what they become as long as they include change, resistance, and rootlessness in their ideology. Thus the second persona implied in his themes is one of change and renewal. This idea matches with Dylan's own changing persona and ethos as the only thing constant about Dylan's ethos and persona is its inconstant nature. Therefore, Dylan's persona is a personification of his ideology.

The implied audience could be those resisting the change or those implementing the change. Yet Dylan suggests that the current order is fading, change is coming, and people should entertain the notion of rootlessness to achieve something new. Therefore, while Dylan's audience could be those resisting the changing times, his ideal audience are those singing the song and creating the movement persona by implementing his stylistic tokens in whatever way they see fit.

Dylan's use of sink or swim also ties into the theme of rootlessness. Dylan gives the audience an either/or decision: "You better start swimmin' / Or you'll sink like a stone." Both of these choices involve displacement from the audience's current position

and show that the status quo will not remain, which highlights the loss of connection that a rootless metaphor provides. The water, like Dylan's persona, provides a fluid, rootless way for movement and change to occur.

The growing waters represent the growing potential for change by providing a way to resist the status quo through embracing a rootless existence. As the civil rights, student, and women's movements heat up, Dylan draws attention to the changing social scene and encourages those listening to his music and adopting his persona to see that "the times are a-changin'." Dylan's lyrics could be interpreted as encouragement to swim, move, and join. Therefore, Dylan provides a simultaneous metaphor of change, resistance, and rootlessness for those outside the movement, but especially for those inside the movement.

Contrasting sharply with the nature images are references to manmade entities. While nature seems to foreground the potential for change in Dylan's lyrics, the manmade entities highlight the oppression and inequality that exist in the current social order. Although they also have ambivalent meanings, manmade entities are more aligned with society's ability to inhibit progress.

For example, Dylan references "writers and critics / Who prophesy with your pen" in the second verse. Dylan warns that these writers and critics should keep their eyes wide and avoid speaking too soon. The writers and critics, armed with the societal creation of a pen, could potentially inhibit the prospective change, and Dylan cautions these individuals to wait for the correct moment to take action. Ironically, Dylan calls for critics who prophesy with their pens and gives them a warning, yet Dylan himself is a writer and critic who makes a prophecy later on in the verse when he says, "And don't

Speak too soon / For the wheel's still in spin / And there's no tellin' who / That it's  
namin' / For the loser now / Will be later to win / For the times they are a-changin'."

Furthermore, Dylan alludes to change throughout the rest of the song and makes additional prophecies by saying "The slow one now / Will later be fast / As the present now / Will later be past."

Because he is a writer and critic himself, Dylan's statement serves as a personal warning and adds to his ethos and persona. Dylan presents his words as stylistic tokens of his credibility and representations of his ideology, so when the movement employs the lyrics in song, both Dylan and those singers are authoring the movement persona. Since Dylan's persona also transfers to the movement, this warning to self is also a warning to the movement. Even though Dylan's mention of "pen" appears irrelevant to the argument that manmade technology is oppressing people and functions as a tool of the resisters to change, this reference makes sense given Dylan's fluid persona and how this persona can apply to the movement. By writing a song and recording it with a pen on paper, the song becomes permanent, stable, and perhaps stagnant. Dylan's reference to the pen implies that songs should not exist on paper, but should be adopted by the movement where they can take on a life of their own and transcend the paper-and-pen constraints. In this way, Dylan advocates the movement helping create their own persona; Dylan wants the vague ideology he has implied through his themes to be crafted into something the movement can achieve. The simplicity of Dylan's melodies and the power of his lyrics allow the songs to move beyond the confines of a pen and to be adopted by a movement.

Dylan continues to show how manmade structures can be inhibiting and serve as a metaphor for resistance in the third verse of “The Times They Are A-Changin’.” Dylan uses manmade structures and shows how these structures are inhibiting change. For example, Dylan writes, “Don’t stand in the doorway / Don’t block up the hall.” People created both doorways and halls, and these creations can serve as “blocks” to progress. Dylan warns those in authority resisting progressive change to get out of the way. Furthermore, senators and congressmen, which Dylan references in the opening line of the first stanza, could only exist through a linguistic and social construction that man creates.

The third verse also uses harsh imagery that could be associated with war, which is another manmade creation. Dylan mentions “a battle outside” that will “shake your windows / And rattle your walls.” Similar to how the doorway and the hall function, Dylan suggests that what man has created, such as the injustice in the government, can be destroyed. These metaphors provide positive rhetoric for those within the movement by showing that the windows and walls can be altered if a group makes the effort to change them. In addition, the battle and shaking windows show that change is coming and imply doom for those who oppose change. Furthermore, Dylan shakes his own windows and walls by constantly creating different personas that the movement can adopt, and this evolution of persona contributes to the feeling of rootlessness created by Dylan’s rhetoric. Therefore, this battle metaphor exemplifies the complicated interplay of the three themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness, as well as the polyvalence of each metaphor, by showing that the metaphor means different things to different audiences. The audience members can help build the persona of the movement as a result of this interplay.

The last two verses of the song make explicit references to the power of manmade society. For the first time in this song, the fourth verse mentions oppression directly by using the word “command,” which could also be a war reference. “Command” implies that someone has control over someone or something else, which contributes to the feeling of resistance for those in the movement and in authority as they compete against one another for this command. Dylan also mentions an “old road” and contrasts this to the “new one.” Dylan continues the reference to manmade social structures by referring to “the order” in the fifth verse. The fifth verse also says that “the line it is drawn.” All these references to manmade entities highlight that there are those that oppose change, but they also show that change is inevitably coming. Therefore, these ambiguous metaphors can serve as ideas of both change and resistance.

Interestingly, the song moves from referencing “people” and a lot of nature in the first verse to a more specified group of people (i.e., “writers and critics”) in the second verse. The second verse also contains less nature imagery and the introduction of manmade entities such as a pen and a wheel. The third verse includes those that would be most completely immersed in the social order—the senators and congressmen—and has the most references to human creations. The fourth verse mentions “mothers and fathers,” but similar to the senators and congressmen, these individuals are seen as those who should not “criticize / What you can’t understand.” Because they are older, Dylan may be suggesting that mothers and fathers are comfortable with the existing order and should not participate in the movement. The closest the fifth verse comes to mentioning any humans is the references to “the slow one now” and the “first one now.” The song

has moved from “people,” which is the most generalized term and exists alongside the most nature imagery, in the first verse to no direct mention of humanity by the fifth verse.

As a result of this shift in focus, Dylan validates a persona for the movement by placing people, not individual groups of people, in the “natural” setting, which shows that anyone, if they are young enough and open-minded enough, can create change. Dylan further promotes this argument in the second verse by saying “And there’s no tellin’ who [i.e., the wheel] / That it’s naming,” which implies anyone can participate. The reference to the wheel, which allows for movement and mobility, also adds to the feeling of freedom and rootlessness that Dylan projects in his rhetoric. Some people, however, like senators and congressmen and older people, are excluded from making this change as these verses have lots of manmade entities which are in opposition to the nature images of the earlier verses. The senators, congressmen, mothers and fathers are on the “rapidly agin’” “old road,” and they need to step aside for the movement to take effect and for change to occur. To the senators, congressmen, mothers, and fathers, the change is inevitable and their resistance to it is irrelevant; Dylan warns them to step aside and allow those in the movement to gain their freedom.

Through references to nature and manmade entities, Dylan shows that the three themes can be polyvalent by carrying different meanings for different groups of people. The rhetoric creates a movement persona because it implies an identity, which is the same as Dylan’s persona and ethos, for those creating change. The rhetoric strengthens the movement by encouraging change and showing that those who resist the change will be left behind. Furthermore, the roads and wheel allow for a rootless existence, and this existence fits well with the movement because taking the chance to create change opens

up a realm of unknowns and instability, but the rootlessness also creates a freedom that does not exist in current society. By promoting the notions of change, resistance, and rootlessness, Dylan justifies his own persona and his audience's journey for change in "The Times They Are A-Changin'."

### “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall”

“A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall” (“Hard Rain”) appeared on the 1963 album *The Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan*. Written during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the song contains a feeling of desperation (Hentoff). Hentoff, the author of the liner notes to *The Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan*, states that in “Hard Rain,” Dylan “reaches basic emotions which few political statements or extrapolations of statistics have so far been able to touch.” Dylan’s ability to reach emotions through this song has also led other singers to cover the song, and cover artists include Joan Baez and Pete Seeger. With active artists such as Baez and Seeger singing “Hard Rain,” the song is validated as a vehicle to create social change.

Additionally, of the research conducted on specific Dylan songs, “Hard Rain” has received the most individual attention, which proves its importance to society. For example, Thomas O. Beebee suggests in “Ballad of the Apocalypse: Another Look at Bob Dylan’s ‘Hard Rain’” that Dylan created an “apocalyptic ballad” that allowed him to critique culture from his own position within the culture. The creation of the apocalyptic ballad allows Dylan to combine the themes of rootlessness, resistance, and change because the apocalyptic theme provides a stark contrast to the status quo and shows the importance of change and trying something new. Furthermore, Beebee argues that Dylan’s music functions as “noise” that interferes with communication channels to create social change and that noise allows for self-referentiality (20). The feeling of self-referentiality allows Dylan to project his ideology and establish his ethos through his song lyrics. Because the lyrics are ambiguous, the audience members can refer to the lyrics to see part of Dylan’s “self” and the “self” Dylan wants his audience members to

become, which is the second persona. Because they are singing the lyrics, they find themselves in the metaphors, and they help build the movement persona as a result.

Dylan utilizes some of the same metaphors in “Hard Rain” that appear in “The Times They Are A-Changin’” and “Blowin’ in the Wind.” Similar to the water images in “Blowin’ in the Wind” and “The Times They Are A-Changin’” and the allusion to the white dove in “Blowin’ in the Wind,” Dylan refers to whiteness and water in “Hard Rain.” In the second verse Dylan mentions a “white ladder all covered with water.” The ladder is white, which could parallel the white dove in representing the movement, and the white now refers to a ladder, which provides a way to change position and travel to somewhere new. The movement, like a ladder, can lead people to a different place, and in this way, the ladder represents change as progressive and positive. The ladder is covered with water, and the water could symbolize the purity of the movement. Finally, the ladder reaches to the sky, and similar to a sky reference in the second verse of “Blowin’ in the Wind,” the sky symbolizes a better future existence. The ladder provides a positive metaphor of change since the ladder can lead individuals to somewhere else. The ladder leads individuals away from the status quo and toward something better. Furthermore, because it provides a way to move, the ladder also symbolizes rootlessness because individuals who use a ladder are not standing still and must break a connection with the current existence.

Continuing with the water imagery, Dylan also states, “Heard the roar of a wave that could drown the whole world.” Paralleling “The Times They Are A-Changin’”’s reference that the waters are growing and one could sink or swim and “Blowin’ in the Wind”’s mention of sailing seas and being washed to the sea, Dylan uses the metaphor of

water to show that the time for movement is upon the nation. In this sense, water becomes a metaphor of inevitable and potentially catastrophic change. The wave of change can drown the entire existing world, but the water can also purge the earth of injustice and resistance and create a new world where, as Dylan states in “The Times They Are A-Changin,’” “The first one now / Will later be last.” Therefore, the rootless water serves as both a metaphor of change and resistance.

The fifth verse also uses water as a metaphor. The verse mentions “Where the pellets of poison are flooding their [i.e., the people] waters” and “Then I’ll stand on the ocean until I start sinkin’.” The poison could refer to the current social order poisoning the pure water of the potential movement, which would serve as a warning to those who resist change. The reference to standing on the ocean could show that the blue-eyed son has been enough places, seen enough pain, heard enough roaring, and met enough people to decide that change is worth fighting for, no matter what the outcome. In this sense, the water metaphor serves as a powerful exemplar for change and rootlessness as the blue-eyed son’s traveling has allowed him to see the need to improve society.

The speaker shows his assurance in his choice to fight for change by saying “But I’ll know my song well before I start singin’,” and Dylan could use this line as a way to encourage members of the movement to organize so their actions will be most effective. This line also shows the fluidity and rootlessness of Dylan’s persona as he draws attention to the song and the power of his rhetoric instead of to himself as a human being. In this way, his elusive persona can transfer to the movement because it focuses on the art form; the audience can create a persona that focuses on their own goals. Finally, this

reference to “sinkin’” parallels closely with the sinking reference in “The Times They Are A-Changin’.”

In addition to the water imagery, in the first verse of “Hard Rain” Dylan wonders where the “blue-eyed son” has been, and the response brings in nature imagery. The verse mentions “misty mountains,” “sad forests,” and “dead oceans.” These examples show that nature, which has been used to represent change in this song and others, is stagnant. The quietness of nature is further exhibited by the use of “graveyard” in the line “I’ve been ten thousand miles in the mouth of a graveyard.” The blue-eyed son who goes out into the world sees stagnant nature, a signal that nothing is happening to initiate change, and the son sees “And it’s a hard rain’s a-gonna fall.” The rain could be a sign that nature cannot be stopped and that those who oppose change will be drowned by the inevitable hard rain. Therefore, the hard rain serves as a metaphor of resistance by drawing on the apocalyptic nature of the song.

Although nature has yet to come to life and throw off the mist, sadness, and deadness to create something different, the son knows that a rain will fall. While this metaphor serves as a warning to those opposing change, the rain represents change and a purification of the current order. Therefore, the rain serves as a positive metaphor of change for those within the movement by showing that it can rejuvenate the natural order. The rain could wash away the old and bring in something new and fresh, and the “darling young one,” whose youth and position inside the movement give him a different perspective from older individuals who may oppose the change, may be hopeful that the rain will bring something new.

In the second verse, Dylan refers to “a newborn baby with wild wolves all around it” and a “black branch with blood that kept drippin’.” Connecting wild wolves with a child, allowing a branch to drip blood, and personifying forests and oceans with human emotions and states (i.e., sadness and death, respectively) in the first verse, Dylan connects humanity and nature. Therefore, the natural allusions as metaphors of change are validated as humans, who have the power to create change, are explicitly drawn to nature through Dylan’s linguistic construction. On the other hand, nature and humanity are paired through frightening and negative images, which shows that the natural order is out of sync because of those who resist the inevitable change. Through change and movement, which is connected with a rootless existence because those constantly moving can initiate new ideas, however, the status quo can be destroyed and society can change for the better.

The third verse of “Hard Rain” contains references to “a thunder” and “a wave,” and Dylan describes both of these natural elements as roaring. Roaring, a trait assigned to members of the animal kingdom such as lions, further connects nature to the movement. Also, the use of “roar” implies that the elements are excited, unsettled, and speaking to the blue-eyed son, which adds to the feeling of change and resistance. Similar to the times changing and the feeling blowing in the wind, this verse hints that change is inevitably coming, and drawing attention to this potential for change adds to the creation of movement ethos. By showing that change can and should be initiated, Dylan suggests that his audience grasp the changing times and establish their credibility as fighters for a new order.

Similar to the second verse in which he personifies nature, Dylan talks about “a white man who walked a black dog” in the fourth verse of “Hard Rain.” While this reference connects nature and animals specifically to the human condition, the reference also could be interpreted as showing the racial injustice of the 1960s. Highlighting the racial injustices shows the need for change and resisting the status quo. A *white* man walks a *black* dog, and the color choice shows the dehumanization of the black race in society. Dylan constantly connects the movement with the elements, however, so while this reference does show racial inequality, it also further connects man with nature and shows that everyone is essentially the same because man and nature are closely tied.

In “Social Movements and Cultural Transformation: Popular Music in the 1960s” and a chapter entitled “Politics and music in the 1960s” from *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*, Eyerman and Jamison give an overview of music and politics in the 1960s and claim that movement ideas were spread through music. The authors discuss how events occurring before and during the 1960s, such as the emergence of a youth culture and the integration of the military under Harry Truman, started to give a new generation an identity. Therefore, Dylan’s reference to the white man walking the black dog exposes the injustice, but it also helps the youth culture of the 1960s form their collective identity and help write the movement persona because he connects nature and humanity. Dylan’s reference challenges a social order by showing how black people are demeaned while simultaneously placing everyone on the same level as man and nature are frequently connected through his lyrics. As a result, Dylan’s lyric serves to show those resisting change the negatives of their view while uniting all those who desire change.

Building on the connection between humanity and nature, Dylan states, “I met a young girl, she gave me a rainbow.” The young girl has a relationship with nature that allows her to give a part of nature to someone else. Because nature serves as a way for Dylan to create a persona for himself and the movement, the girl gives a piece of nature, and she symbolically gives a part of the movement persona, to the speaker of the verse. With its bright colors and propensity to appear after rain stops, the rainbow symbolizes the hope of a better future and serves as a metaphor for progressive change. The young girl gives the speaker of the verse hope by showing him that movement can lead to a better future for all. In addition, the rainbow can symbolize a rootless existence. By chasing rainbows, individuals leave behind stability, and the girl validates this quest by giving the young man a rainbow; she gives him permission to find something new.

Unlike the other verses of “Hard Rain,” which ask the blue-eyed son to recount his experiences, the fifth verse asks “Oh, what’ll you do now, my blue-eyed son? / Oh, what’ll you do now, my darling young one?” Instead of responding in the past tense, the son in the fifth verse uses the future tense. The speaker decides to “walk to the depths of the deepest black forest / Where the people are many and their hands are all empty.” By deciding to enter into the dark forest, the speaker can help those who need it. Taking a step into nature, which has combined notions of resistance, change, and rootlessness, allows the speaker to connect with humanity and create change.

Finally, Dylan references “highways” in the first verse and a “highway of diamonds” in the second verse. The highways, synonymous with the road that symbolizes rootlessness, provide a way for the son to experience the world and see that change is coming and that the change should come. The blue-eyed son sees much

desolation and despair in the current world. For example, the son sees “guns and sharp swords in the hands of young children,” hears “the sound of a clown who cried in the alley,” and meets “another man who was wounded with hatred.” Without his rootless existence, the son would not have gained these experiences and perhaps would not have seen the need for change. Because of his experiences, however, the son will “tell it and think it and speak it and breathe it / And reflect it from the mountain so all souls can see it.” Dylan promotes a rootless existence, which parallels his own changing persona, by showing that through rootlessness, the blue-eyed son sees the problems of resisting the potential for change.

Campbell argues in “Bob Dylan and the Pastoral Apocalypse” that Dylan in the 1960s followed a personal quest and led an entire generation to a pastoral way of life, which included individuals living in harmony with themselves, others and the environment (696). Throughout “Hard Rain,” Dylan shows through stylistic tokens how nature is out of sync and how movement can potentially restore the natural harmony. Furthermore, allowing the blue-eyed son to experience the world, Dylan validates his own changing persona by showing that rootlessness opens up minds and exposes social problems.

In “Hard Rain,” Dylan combines resistance, rootlessness, and metaphors of change to help create a movement persona in the 1960s. While “Blowin’ in the Wind” provides a hopeful look at the future overall, “Hard Rain” tends to focus on the desperation and impending doom the future could bring. Dylan stated that “Hard Rain” “‘is a desperate kind of song’” and he believed he “wouldn’t have enough time alive to write all those songs” while writing the verses of “Hard Rain” (Hentoff). Dylan uses

nature imagery, especially rain and water, to show that change is inevitable, and this can serve as a warning to those opposing change and as an unstable promise to those who want something new.

Through “Hard Rain” and his other songs, Dylan utilizes metaphors to imply that his audience should embrace the themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness. Beyond these themes, however, Dylan makes no suggestions for who his audience should become. Dylan’s ambiguous persona is therefore projected through his lyrics, and because his lyrics are ambiguous and imply an ambiguous second persona, those singing the song can help create the persona for the movement. The movement persona is the collective persona of all those fighting for social change in 1960s America.

While Dylan suggests themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness in his music, Pete Seeger, older and more experienced than Dylan, presents themes of community, empowerment, and transcendence as tokens of his ideology. Like Dylan, Seeger provides space for his implied audience to help create the movement persona, and this notion will be explored in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### PETE SEEGER: COMMUNITY, EMPOWERMENT AND TRANSCENDENCE

While Bob Dylan establishes ethos and creates a persona that is fluid, ambivalent and constantly changing, Pete Seeger's persona is more stable, decided and consistent. Furthermore, Seeger's persona is sublimated and immersed in the songs in order to forefront the themes of community, empowerment, and transcendence, which allows the audience to co-create the movement persona along with Pete Seeger. These themes run throughout and are common in Seeger's body of work, and the three well-known songs chosen for this analysis have been selected because they represent these themes of community, empowerment, and transcendence in an iconic way.

The themes support Seeger's persona as a "nice guy who has subjugated and weakened his art" for the sake of the themes that his songs present (Dunaway 247). In this case, Seeger backgrounds himself in order to create space for the collective to shine. Yet while Dunaway thinks Seeger weakened his art and subjugated his persona as a result of this action, another way to look at it is Seeger's songs, and the substance of his art, are the expression of the collective persona. Seeger writes from a universal voice, and his persona is not subjugated, but instead it is sublimated (Zulick). Therefore, Seeger does not weaken his art; instead, he expresses his art through implying an audience (the second persona) that helps author the movement persona. The collective persona presented is what Seeger is going for artistically and politically, and therefore the collective nature of his songs serve as ideological tokens of his own ethos.

Pete Seeger was the son of Charles Seeger, a musicologist, and Constance de Clyvver Edson, a musician. Family influenced Pete Seeger's ideology and desire to use music as a way to try "to get people to realize that there may be no human race by the end of the century unless we find ways to talk to people we deeply disagree with" because this holds with Charles Seeger's desire to help union workers and claim that music should be social (Seeger qtd. in Wilkinson 117; Wilkinson 43, 50). Due to his family and his own interests, Seeger became a music historian who dedicated himself to peace and progressive causes (Zulick). In addition to his desire to see a youth rebellion in the 1960s, Seeger advocated for the environment with the Hudson River Boat project, believed in participation, and thought his purpose was to help the "meek to inherit the earth" (Wilkinson 116). Seeger was a collector and adaptor of folk songs and traditions as well as a writer (Zulick). Seeger loves anthropology and his book *The Incomplete Folksinger* chronicles many folk songs and describes the people who sing them (Wilkinson 113).

The ideology of Pete Seeger shines through in his song lyrics through the stylistic tokens of the themes of community, transcendence, and empowerment. Seeger's recording and writing of music shows themes of transcendence and community as music can be used to close the difference gap (transcendence) and create a bridge between differing opinions (thus creating community). Furthermore, Seeger advocated Socialism, and the Socialist tenant of worker's having ownership of the means of production manifests itself in Seeger's music through the theme of empowerment (i.e., the workers can feel empowered to overcome the status quo).

The lyrics of Pete Seeger provide space for the words to speak to audience members in different ways, and as a result, the audience members can become co-authors

of the movement persona because the interpretations are not explicitly implicit. This section of the thesis will explore three songs from Pete Seeger, which are “We Shall Overcome,” “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?,” and “If I Had Hammer.”

### “We Shall Overcome”

Pete Seeger did not write the original lyrics to “We Shall Overcome.” Instead, Seeger adapted it from the gospel tune “I’ll Overcome” or “I’ll Be All Right” (Dunaway 222). Seeger first heard “We Shall Overcome” in 1947 when Zilphia Horton sang a version common among striking North Carolina tobacco workers. Although Seeger did not write it, Seeger changed Horton’s “We will overcome” to “we shall overcome” because it had a more open sound as “shall” spread the mouth wider than “will” (Dunaway 222). Seeger’s choice of “shall” adds a feeling of chorality and allows the singer to help co-create the movement persona because he feels he is participating like a chorus member. The implication for participation hints at Seeger’s ethos since he was an advocate of group sings and the participatory power of song, and the ethos show forth in his choosing words that promote community and involvement.

In addition, Seeger added new verses, which included “We’ll walk hand in hand” and “The whole wide world around.” In the 1950s Seeger taught the song to Frank Hamilton who taught it to Guy Carawan. Carawan reintroduced the song to black union and civil rights workers. The song traveled the American South, and “We Shall Overcome” became a “ritual” at many civil rights events in the 1960s (Dunaway 223). Seeger says that by 1963, “We Shall Overcome” was no longer “a song” but “the song” (111).

“We Shall Overcome” consists of seven verses. Each verse repeats the same line twice, and on the third repetition, adds the words “some day.” For example, the first verse is the following:

We shall overcome

We shall overcome

We shall overcome some day

Following each verse, the chorus is sung, which is as follows:

Oh, deep in my heart

I do believe

We shall overcome

Some day

The lyrical structure of the song encourages the themes of community, empowerment and transcendence. Repeating the same line allows the lyric to permeate the consciousness of the audience member and points toward Seeger's own beliefs in the power to transcend. Similar to pregame chants and cheers that fire up a basketball team, the repetition ignites a spark in those singing and empowers them to transcend and overcome. As a result of the spark, the audience sings the song and helps create a movement persona through their singing. Furthermore, aside from the sixth verse, each verse begins with "We," which unites everyone together and promotes community as the pronoun is collective. In addition to serving as the basis of the first and last verse, the words "We shall overcome" are also repeated in every chorus, which keeps the attention on the themes of community, empowerment, and transcendence as previously explained.

Several of the words and phrases in the song promote the notion of community, which is a portion of Seeger's ethos. Aside from verse six, "we" begins every line of every verse. The collective pronoun calls forth community, and Seeger confesses "that for me the most important word is 'We'—and when I sing it, I think of the whole human race, which must stick together if we are going to solve crucial problems that face us all"

(112). Seeger's belief in the importance of "we" manifests itself in the stylistic tokens of the themes.

Seeger's two additional verses support this statement. Seeger suggests "the whole wide world around" will "walk hand in hand" someday. Community (and the movement persona) takes precedence over the individual persona through the use of "we." As a result, Seeger's persona is sublimated in favor of another persona that includes more than one person. Therefore, the character of the implied audience (and the second persona) is a collective character. Those listening to the music are encouraged to join together and create a movement persona as a result. Furthermore, Seeger does not foreground the individual in his two additional verses, which allows the collective nature of the movement persona to reside in the foreground. The "whole wide world" implies a global community, while walking "hand in hand" suggests more than one individual must be present for the hand-holding to transpire.

The extent of the community is ambiguous, however, so the audience member can determine the boundaries of "we" as they adopt the persona presented in the lyrics, which is the second persona. Furthermore, the audience uses the second persona implied by the lyrics to help create the movement persona. Based on their own experiences and ideologies, the Negro union workers could have considered "we" to mean all the union workers in that plant or all the union workers in the world. For those marching for civil rights in Alabama, "we" could apply to all in the march, all supporting civil rights, or all who are suppressed and attempting to articulate their causes. If one looks later in the song and considers Seeger's additional verses, "we" could apply to the "whole wide world around." Therefore, Seeger presents the notion of community through "we," but

the meaning is not fully realized until the audience members make meaning of the term and define the parameters of “we.” As a result, the audience members co-create the movement persona.

In addition to the prominent “we,” other images in the song promote community. The second verse presents the image “We’ll walk hand in hand.” “Hand in hand” connects individuals with one another as people become one when they hold hands. The third verse says “We shall all be free.” In addition to the “we,” this verse also focuses on “all” and extends the notion of being “free” to everyone, which unites those fighting for social change underneath the promise of freedom and aids the creation of the movement persona by extending the invitation to join the movement to everyone.

The fifth verse overtly claims “we are not alone.” In order to be “not alone,” someone has to be with someone, which implies a united community. Therefore, the singularity of a lone existence is addressed only to make a promise against it. Immediately following “we are not alone,” the sixth verse talks about “the whole wide world around.” The close proximity of “we are not alone” and “the whole wide world around” could cause audience members to assume that we are not alone because we are connected to the whole wide world, which extends the movement persona to encompass the entire world. Because Pete Seeger wrote down the songs, it may not be a coincidence that these two verses exist side-by-side as Seeger personally regarded the “we” as the entire human race (Seeger 112). In this sense, Seeger projects his ethos through the stylistic choice to place these verses side-by-side, and the movement can realize this implication and adopt this notion for the movement persona.

In addition to themes of community, the song also promotes empowerment. The lyrics suggest that the struggle will be worth the fight through the word “shall.” In contrast to “we can overcome” or “we could overcome,” both of which advocate possibility, “we shall overcome” is a promise. There is no room for failure or no denying success in the phrase “we shall overcome”; instead, it is just a matter of time before the goal is reached. As a result, the audience could feel empowered in their ability to succeed and would help create a persona that promoted this theme. The audience could also feel empowered as they know they are “not alone” and as “the whole wide world around” is involved in the struggle. Finally, the phrase “we shall overcome” is uttered twelve times in the song, and the repetition could help solidify the empowering message in the minds of listeners.

Finally, transcendence occurs in the lyrics of “We Shall Overcome.” The use of “some day” and “overcome” imply that the current hegemonic order can be left behind for something new in the future. The current order will be transcended in favor of something better. Yet while the theme of transcendence is present in Seeger’s ethos and persona via the lyrics, the exact nature of transcendence and what is being transcended is left open so those singing can help author what transcendence means for the movement persona. “We shall overcome,” but what shall we overcome? Does “overcome” refer to a day of work at the mill or the prejudice facing black Americans? Does “overcome” refer to the problems of 1960s Americans or the problems of global citizens in any period in history? While Seeger believed in fighting for social change and the power of music to create it, the lyrics still create space for the audience to consider their own beliefs and subscribe meaning to the lyrics based on their own frameworks of thinking and their own

relationships to their world. Therefore, the second persona implied could vary based on the particular audience and the movement persona could vary based on who is authoring it. For the union worker in the 1940s, “we shall overcome” may mean that the workers at the mill will receive more control in the means of production. On the other hand, a young black woman in the 1960s may think “we shall overcome” means that those marching with her from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama will transcend the inequalities present in American society. Even though Seeger’s ethos and persona are present in the general themes, it is seamlessly transferred to the audience in the collective experience.

### “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?”

On July 26, 1956, Pete Seeger and seven other people, including Arthur Miller, were charged with contempt of court by a 373 to 9 House of Representatives vote (Dunaway 186). After the charge came indictment and the trial. As a way to cope with the stress, Seeger sang on college campuses, and on the way to one of the concerts, Seeger had the inspiration for “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” (Dunaway 186)

Leafing through a notebook, Seeger found three lines he had written down from Mikhail Sholokhov’s *And Quiet Flows the Don* a few years earlier. The lines came from a Ukrainian folk song and were the following: “Where are the flowers, the girls have plucked them. Where are the girls, they’ve all taken husbands. Where are the men, they’re all in the army” (Dunaway 186).

In addition to these lyrics borrowed from the Ukrainian folk song, Seeger also carried the phrase “long time passing” around in his head because he was struck by its beautiful melodic quality and the way the four sequential vowels opened the mouth (Dunaway 186). The helping vowels and the interest in the way the voice lays make the song easy and pleasant to sing (Zulick). The song therefore takes on a choral effect, and even though the song is written from scratch essentially, it sounds and feels like other folk songs, including “We Shall Overcome,” that Seeger recorded and adapted (Zulick). As a result, Seeger’s ethos shines forth as the artistic effect of “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” mimics the traditional songs Seeger loves and finds so important. Regarding the phrase “long time passing,” Dunaway quotes Seeger as saying the following:

All I knew was that those were three words I wanted to use in a song; I wasn't quite sure how, where or when. Suddenly it fit with this 'Where have all the flowers gone—long time passing.' And five minutes later, I had 'Long time ago.' Then without realizing it, I took a tune, a lumberjack version of "Drill Ye Tarriers Drill"; it was as unconscious as Woody using 'Goodnight Irene' as the tune for 'Roll on Columbia.' (Dunaway 186)

Seeger recorded "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" and forgot about it, but in 1959 or 1960, the Kingston Trio recorded the song (Dunaway 187). The song also became popular in Germany and Ireland. When Seeger gave the words to Joe Hickerson, Hickerson added two verses and sang the first verse at the end, which gave the song a "cyclical feel" (Dunaway 187). The song reached the "hit parade" once Peter, Paul and Mary recorded the song (Dunaway 187).

Dunaway argues that "a dark period had again produced one of Seeger's universal songs," and the remainder of this section will focus on how the themes of community, empowerment, and transcendence, which are elements of Seeger's persona, are presented in "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" (187). Although Joe Hickerson added two verses to the song, this study will focus on the three original verses of Pete Seeger as he is the topic of this study.

Each verse of "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" includes the line "Where have all the \_\_\_\_\_ gone?," and this line is repeated three times in each verse. The use of "where" implies a place. The flowers, young women, and young men that fit in the "where have all the \_\_\_\_\_ gone?" phrase are all going somewhere, and the implication of a destination implies empowerment and transcendence. The entities have the power

and the know-how to go somewhere else, and by going somewhere else, they are transcending the status quo.

“Where have all the \_\_\_\_\_ gone?” also functions as a rhetorical question. Through this linguistic construction, Seeger asks his audience to consider where these entities have gone and to ponder the implications of their absence here, and by extension, their presence somewhere else. In this way, Seeger promotes the movement by projecting his ethos and persona through the rhetorical question. Flowers, young women, and young men are all positive objects in a natural world, and Seeger implies that something is out of order since they have gone. If people unite and transcend the status quo, however, they can find where the flowers, young women, and young men have gone.

As a result of the entities “going” somewhere, the phrase “Where have all the \_\_\_\_\_ gone?” suggests a journey. In order for those who want to find the flowers, young women, and young men to succeed, they need to search for the place where these things currently exist. The choice of “have gone” shows that the flowers, young women, and young men are settled elsewhere. While “where are all the \_\_\_\_\_ going?” and “where will the \_\_\_\_\_ go?” promote the notion that the move is in the present or future, the past tense “have gone” suggests that the world of flowers and youth is not here. Therefore, those in the movement must find empowerment in the lyrics, unite to fight the status quo, and transcend the current order to find the place of flowers and youth.

In addition to the phrase “where have all the \_\_\_\_\_ gone?” and the implications of the choice of the past tense “have gone,” Seeger chooses to use the word “all.” The choice of “all” highlights how Seeger sublimates his own persona to promote the movement as a whole. Seeger emphasizes that “all” the flowers, young women, and

young men are no longer here, and by foregrounding “all” of them, he promotes unity as none are left behind. The use of “all” also serves as an emphasis on the magnitude of the changes and allows all those in the movement to help create the movement persona.

A similar theme is seen in the sixth line of every verse of “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” as each line ends with “every one.” Similar to “all” in the first, third and fifth lines, “every one” unites. Therefore, one must wonder why Seeger chooses “every one” instead of continuing to use “all.” The reason could be a stylistic one as Seeger enjoyed the line “long time passing” because of the way the four vowels sounded together, and he may have extended this reasoning to “every one” (Dunaway 186). The reason could also be that, unlike “all,” “every one” unites the community while still drawing attention to the individual. An individual is “one,” but “every one” unites and lets individuals know that they can feel empowered and transcend if they work together. Each member of the community can decide if they find Seeger credible and believe in his ethos, and each member can also use their own ideologies to help create the movement persona.

Following the “Where have all the \_\_\_\_\_ gone?” line, Seeger includes the words “long time passing” in each verse. The choice of “long time” implies that the state of the world will change and has been changing over a lengthy period of time. In congruence with the notion of a movement, which by definition is not stagnant, “passing” implies that the change is in progress. Seeger chose “passing,” not “passed,” which suggests that change is happening now, community should act now, empowerment can happen now and transcendence can happen now. All of these notions are not “passed” (or happening in the past). Instead, they are in progress. This notion extends to the

creation of the movement persona. Seeger suggests that the movement persona is in progress, which allows audience members to help create the persona as it is not set and stagnant in Seeger's own thoughts.

Like his persona that is constantly sublimated to promote the movement, Seeger writes in a way that calls for constant effort over a long time; the gone flowers, young women, and young men have been a "long time passing" to where they are now. In this sense, the entities in the song have put forth effort to pass by the past and embrace the future; they have transcended the status quo and found empowerment in the future. On the other hand, "passing" could mean "gone by" in the sense of a lot of time has passed in which flowers, young men, and young women have been dying (Zulick). This darker interpretation calls for people to find community and find a way to overcome the negativity present in the current order. Essentially, the refrain is unmodified, is grammatically ambiguous, and conveys nostalgia, which gives credence to the notion that the audience can supply their own content and become co-authors of the movement persona (Zulick).

Furthermore, the use of "gone" in the first line and "passing" in the second could be interpreted as metaphors for the death of the status quo and the empowerment of those in the movement community to create something out of the current order. The lyrics imply that the status quo is "passing" and "gone," which promotes the theme of transcendence as the flowers, young men, and young women are (sur)passing the current order and "gone" somewhere they feel empowered and at peace with one another (i.e., they are in community with one another).

After again postulating “Where have all the \_\_\_\_\_ gone?,” Seeger writes, “Long time ago.” Unlike “passing,” which suggests that things are in progress, the use of “long time ago” hints towards the past. As a result, Seeger connects and unites the present and the future, both of which are represented by the term “passing,” with the past, which is represented by “ago.” Seeger further creates a community that spans time by connecting both “long time passing” and “long time ago” through the “where have all the \_\_\_\_\_ gone?” phrase. The connection of the past, present and future also promotes the themes of transcendence and empowerment and allows those in the movement to connect with Seeger’s ethos while aiding in the formation of the movement persona. Although it takes a long time to initiate change, the community can feel empowered that the negatives of the status quo are passing or have already passed (i.e., they happened a “long time ago”).

Seeger ends every verse of “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” with “Oh, when will you ever learn?” sung twice. Seeger’s inclusion of “Oh, when will you ever learn?” functions as a call and response in the religious sense. The question serves as a call to his audience, and Seeger, who was an active participant in and proponent of social change, expects the response to be action. Seeger makes the call clear through the words he chooses, and the word choice is an expression of his ethos and ideology. For example, Seeger hints at the desperation of the current situation through his use of “oh.” Like a father wondering when his children will mature, Seeger seems exasperated with the youth in the movement as he asks “oh.” The “when will” implies that it is only a matter of time before people learn and situations change, and the hope that change can happen promotes the themes of empowerment and transcendence.

It is interesting to note what Seeger does not say in addition to what he says. Seeger does not say “Oh, will you ever learn?” or “Oh, if you ever learn.” “Oh, will you ever learn” or “Oh, if you ever learn” are a lot less hopeful than “Oh, when will you ever learn?” and they do not highlight the themes of community, empowerment and transcendence running through Seeger’s music. Furthermore, these phrases would not hold with Seeger’s persona and his support for the movement: Why would one push for change if he didn’t think change could be initiated? Because Seeger paints the picture that it is only a matter of “when” people learn, communities can feel empowered that their work will be successful and that it is worth engaging in the movements that promote change. Furthermore, the inclusion of “when will” makes transcendence seem plausible as the promise of learning will be fulfilled.

The phrase “Oh, when will you ever learn?” can have different meanings depending upon who “you” includes, and those in the movement can help define the parameters of “you” and create the movement persona as a result. If the “you” is singular, it could be Seeger’s call to individuals now. Older than most fighting for social change in the 1960s, Seeger takes on the role of sage as he encourages the youth to learn that the flowers, young men, and young women are gone and that they can unite with others, transcend the status quo, and feel empowered in the process of finding these entities. This empowerment could lead to the rediscovery of flowers, which are a hopeful, natural symbol of beauty. In addition, “you” could be plural and function in a similar manner. “You” could refer to all those already in the movement, and Seeger’s “you” could mean all those already joined together in community. Regardless of who “you” includes, all

these interpretations allow the audience members to adopt Seeger's ethos and co-create the movement persona.

On the other hand, the "you" may also refer to those in the past who are responsible for the lost flowers, young women, and young men. In this sense, the rhetoric is directed outwardly towards those in charge (i.e., the status quo), and when people sing the song, they are asking those outside the movement to learn. If the "you" refers to the status quo, Seeger's persona is sublimated as the movement persona is foregrounded. Instead of Seeger being the sagacious older man teaching the youth, the youth become the wise ones teaching the current order, and the movement persona shines as a result. The "you" as a reference to those outside the movement and those in the past who are responsible for the lost flowers, young women, and young men is also given credence by other versions of the song. In some versions of "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?," the "you" in the last two verses is replaced by "they." If the "you" changes to "they," those singing the song are further removed from being responsible for the lost flowers, young women, and young men. Instead, they are proclaiming to all those who are responsible (i.e., the status quo) that they are uniting, feeling empowered, and transcending and that others should learn that there is a place full of flowers, young women, and young men that can be found.

While most of the lines of "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" repeat in each verse, the sixth line varies. In each sixth line, humans are the subjects of the phrase, which calls the movements to act as people are the agents. Because people have acting power within the song, it is not a stretch to assume that Seeger wants his audience to act and help create the movement persona. In the first verse, Seeger could have written

“Where have all the flowers gone? / They are picked, ev’ry one.” Instead, Seeger allows the girls to pick the flowers, which makes them agents. Interestingly, the actions of the girls seem to vary from the state of the young men. The young girls are doing something—they are picking flowers and taking husbands—while the young men are in a state of being—“they’re all in uniform.”

Furthermore, the flowers, young girls, and young men are displaced in each of the verses. The flowers are picked and removed from the earth, which is their natural home. The young girls take husbands, and by taking husbands, their youth is displaced and womanhood replaces their maiden identity. The young men lose their identity as their youth is replaced by the uniform of war, and their individuality is replaced by the uniform nature of the service. Everything in “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” comes of age and morphs into something new and different. The young girls pick the flowers and remove the bloom of their youth by taking husbands, who lose their naivety as they become soldiers. The flowers could serve as a metaphor for the young women and young men; the beauty and vibrancy is plucked from its natural state and forced to age prematurely by the status quo. The flowers also function in the antiwar setting of the song as there is the tragic irony of girls picking husbands only to lose them to war (Zulick). There is a sense of a loss of innocence and finality represented by the incongruity with nature. This incongruence of nature is why Seeger asks “Oh when will you ever learn?” and is why he hints at a utopian existence through the themes of unity, empowerment, and transcendence.

As a result of the flowers and young people settling elsewhere, Seeger’s choice of “where have all the \_\_\_\_\_ gone?” is in a sense utopian. Dunaway suggests Seeger

focuses “on a world that never was and never can be” (247). While Seeger’s choice may be more sublimation than subjugation, Seeger still presents a utopian world in his songs. Implying that all the flowers are elsewhere, all the young women are elsewhere, and all the young men are elsewhere, Seeger paints a picture of a world full of fragrant, colorful beauty, which is represented by the flowers, and never-ending youth, which is represented by the young men and women. If those in the movement unite, they can transcend the bleakness of the status quo and find the vibrant world full of flowers. Furthermore, youth tend to have fewer ailments, more energy, and more vivacity than older members of the population. Therefore, the individuals can feel empowered by the strength that is afforded to youth as they transcend the dead current order and find a home with the young men and women.

Previous research of Seeger and his thoughts about human action and participation, which manifest themselves in his persona and ethos, points towards an interpretation of “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” that says we (i.e., the community) have the ability (i.e., empowerment) to recognize where we have been and where we are going. We can learn and transcend the past and find the utopian place of flowers and youth if we are willing to learn.

### “If I Had a Hammer”

Pete Seeger began working on “If I Had a Hammer” in 1949 in the midst of a career crisis (Dunaway 134). Having devoted a lot of time to People’s Songs and Henry Wallace’s campaign, Seeger failed in his first commercial television job (Dunaway 134). As a result, Seeger contemplated getting a factory job in order to support his family (Dunaway 134). Dunaway suggests, “Yet in the middle of his slump, Seeger did something peculiar. He wrote songs. Just when things looked bleakest, he turned to music to remind himself of the better times ahead, if only he could hold on” (134). In the midst of realizing his life needed a change, Seeger, along with Lee Hays, wrote “If I Had a Hammer.”

In addition to these career troubles, the Weavers were beginning to grow apart while Seeger was beginning work on “If I Had a Hammer.” Almost ten years younger than Hays and Seeger, the other Weaver members wanted to pursue other opportunities like raising a family and obtaining a Master’s degree (Dunaway 138). Despite these new aspirations, the Weavers had a small following and made a recording of “If I Had a Hammer.”

“If I Had a Hammer” was first performed at a benefit for eleven Communist leaders who were on trial, and it is probably not a coincidence that the hammer and sickle create the Communist emblem and Seeger included the hammer in this song (Dunaway 138; Zulick). Despite the hint towards Communism, the work of the hammer is completely American and not marked by Communist ideology (Zulick). The freedom, love and justice to which Seeger refers are universal (Zulick).

Seeger says, ““We wrought better than we thought”” about the song, and no one had any idea “how far the song would travel” (Seeger qtd. in Dunaway 139). “If I Had a Hammer” was written during a time when Seeger’s career was changing and the climate of America was one of intolerance. During the rise of “If I Had a Hammer,” fear of Communism was common in America. This fear of Communism, however, was nothing new. In *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower*, David Caute cites the 1790s, Woodrow Wilson’s second term in office, and the age of Truman and Eisenhower as times in which “the great fear” of Communism pervaded America (18). Caute says the post World War II anti-Communist movement was the “patient, bureaucratic, legalistic repression” that was “corrupting the more corrosive of habits of tolerance and fair play” (20). Post World War II, Father Charles E. Coughlin sparked Catholic prejudice by labeling Jews as Communists and Communists as Jews (Caute 21). Joseph McCarthy, who denounced no particular group of people, “treated Communism as a perversion to which no man was condemned by birth, only by choice” (Caute 21). McCarthyism allowed everyone to be a “good American” by making the choice to hate Communists (Caute 21). It is within this culture that “If I Had a Hammer” came to be sung for eleven Communist leaders. Yet despite the negativity in the world, Seeger presents a hope that better times lie ahead. This aspect of Seeger’s persona manifests itself through the themes of community, empowerment, and transcendence in “If I Had a Hammer,” and those themes will be explored now.

Each verse of “If I Had a Hammer” begins with the phrase “If I Had a \_\_\_\_\_.” The choice of “if” is hopeful as it creates space for dreams and speculations. It is almost as if someone asked Seeger “What if ?” and he responds, “If I had a \_\_\_\_\_.” This

relates to the call and response characteristics of “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?”

Based on Seeger’s own ethos and the persona he presents through his themes, the use of “if” promotes the notion of a better someday down the road, and in this sense, the song is utopian and relates to the themes of empowerment and transcendence. Seeger knows that if he obtains the entities mentioned in the song, he will feel empowered and be able to transcend the current status quo.

Following “if,” each verse uses the word “I.” By using “I,” Seeger makes a choice and limits the “If I had a \_\_\_\_\_” to the first person singular. Seeger does not say “If *we* had a \_\_\_\_\_,” “If *you* had a \_\_\_\_\_,” or “If *they* had a \_\_\_\_\_.” Therefore, the use of “I” seems to suggest that Seeger knows he does not personally have the hammer, bell or song of which he speaks, but he is willing to talk about what he would do with them if he had them.

Part of Seeger’s desiring the entities, but knowing he does not have them, could be a result of his age. As stated earlier, Seeger was born in 1919, so he was already in his forties when the movements of the 1960s were forming and working to change America. It is as if Seeger is aware that he does not have the ability to initiate the change, but if he sublimates his persona to the movement, he will gain inadvertently the things that he does not have. Seeger extends the offer for the movement to co-create the movement persona by sublimating his own persona and recognizing that he does not have the power of the youth.

Seeger appears as a sagacious, fatherly type because of his word choice, and the use of “had” supports this claim. “Had” is past tense and hints at the notion that Seeger may have “had it” at one point, but that time has passed and he does not “have” it now.

As a result, Seeger implies that “youth is wasted on the young” and suggests if he were young and “had \_\_\_\_\_,” he would use it. Seeger sublimates his persona by stating he does not have the hammer or bell, but he says that the youth does have these things, which implies an audience that can help create the movement persona. Seeger’s talking about “if I had a \_\_\_\_\_” encourages the audience to unite in community; while I, or one, may not have a hammer, bell or song individually, all of you may find empowerment through the community and a way to transcend the status quo.

The next phrase of the first three verses of “If I Had a Hammer” is “I’d \_\_\_\_\_ in the morning.” The morning is literally the beginning of the day, so mentioning the morning suggests a fresh start. If people desiring social change unite in community, they will feel empowered to transcend the status quo and create something new. Mentioning the dawn hints at the dawning of a new era that the movements can establish after their work is complete

Following “I’d \_\_\_\_\_ in the morning” is “I’d \_\_\_\_\_ in the evening.” The use of evening suggests an ending of day (light) and the beginning of night (darkness). Here Seeger implies that while the journey may be difficult and dark at times, it is important to do something—each word or phrase between “I’d \_\_\_\_\_ in the morning” and “I’d \_\_\_\_\_ in the evening” is or contains a verb-- to transcend the darkness and feel empowered by the light.

The next phrase of “If I Had a Hammer” is “All over this land.” “All” encompasses everyone and excludes no one, and similar to “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?,” it promotes a theme of unity for those in the movement. “Over” could emphasize the extent of “all,” and it could also mean finished or complete. The meaning

of what is finished is a bit ambiguous stylistically, however, and the meaning of “over” would depend upon where one’s ideology lies in respect to the movement. Seeger presents his own ideology and ethos through writing the lyrics, but it is up to the audience to co-create the movement persona and decide what is over. For example, “over this land” could refer to the government’s rule of the country; they rule “all over this land.” In this sense, the statement is one of observation and does not imply action on the part of the singer or hearer of the song. On the other hand, “over” could imply that the status quo’s power “all over this land” is “over” and finished, and this reading would make the movement feel empowered in their struggle and provide hope that they could transcend the current order.

This line of the first three verses continues with “this land.” What is the extent of “this land”? Is it where the song is currently being sung, is it America, is it the world? The choice of this land, as opposed to “the land” or “our land,” also hints towards Woody Guthrie’s “This land is your land,” and because Guthrie and Seeger knew one another, this reading is given credibility. The choice of “this land” does not tell us who owns the land and the audience can help decide what land is being called into question. As a result, the phrase promotes a feeling of community because ownership is not assigned, which holds with Woody Guthrie’s assertion that “This land is your land / This land is my land.” Furthermore, even if the land is owned, the song does not imply what land is owned because Seeger only mentions “this land.” As a result, Seeger seems to promote the notion that owning land, an individual act, is futile, and instead the land should be everyone’s. This collective idea fits with Seeger’s sublimated persona that foregrounds the movement.

The next two lines of the first three verses are “I’d \_\_\_\_\_ out a danger / I’d \_\_\_\_\_ out a warning.” Dangers and warnings are symbols of impending doom. Seeger may be warning that something is dangerously out of order, and people should unite to transcend these negatives and restore the world to its natural state. If Seeger is warning someone, however, who is he warning? Is he warning those in the movement that dangerous things are happening and the hammer, bell and song can help them feel empowered to unite and transcend the terrible happenings? If this interpretation is adopted, Seeger downplays his own persona and directs his rhetoric towards the movement. Therefore, the rhetoric is inner directed, and Seeger presents himself as a sagacious older supporter, not an active player in the movement.

On the other hand, the danger and warning could be addressed to the status quo, which would be outer directed rhetoric. Seeger could be warning that the movements are uniting, feeling empowered and potentially transcending the status quo, which would be “dangerous” to the current order.

While the danger and warning could be inner or outer directed, the form of the lyrics suggests that Seeger is directing his rhetoric inwardly to those in the movement. After “I’d \_\_\_\_\_ out a danger / I’d \_\_\_\_\_ out a warning,” he follows with “I’d \_\_\_\_\_ out of love between / All of my brothers / All over this land.” Seeger seems to hammer, ring or sing out the danger and warning because of the love he has for his brothers. The interpretation gives credence to the rhetoric being directed inwardly towards those in the movement, and this holds with Seeger’s ethos and persona that overtly support the movement.

The inclusion of “love” in the verses incorporates themes of community, empowerment and transcendence as love unites people through their feelings and alters the course of their lives. The love is “between,” and for something to be “between,” more than one person must be present, which is again uniting and shows that Seeger and those in the audience work together to create the movement persona. Furthermore, the love is “between / All of my brothers / All over this land.” Similar to how it functions earlier in the song, “all” excludes no one. The personal pronoun “my” also appears, and it unites Seeger or whomever else is singing the song with other people, which supports community and provides room for empowerment to be created as the singer realizes he (or she) has brothers (or sisters); they are not alone. Finally, “brothers” backgrounds Seeger’s persona as it calls attention to the movement, not himself, and provides enough ambiguity so that brothers could apply to everyone fighting for social change or, more broadly, everyone in the country. The audience hearing the song can decide to whom “all” refers, which allows them to co-create the movement persona.

While the first three verses contain mostly the same structure, there are differences in the entities mentioned in each verse. The first verse talks about a hammer, the second verse talks about a bell, and the third verse talks about a song. All of these entities give people the power to make noise, both literally and metaphorically. The movement can draw attention to themselves and their cause and feel empowered because they have the hammer, the bell and song.

Although the hammer, bell, and song are all powerful things that make noise, “If I Had a Hammer” progresses from presenting an unmelodic man made object (the hammer) to a melodic man made object (a bell) to a literal melody in which man

participates (the song). The hammer--and the force that is symbolically associated with it--melds into the song through the channel of the bell. In a way, Seeger suggests that while the forceful hammer and the melodic bell are powerful, man made tools, the true way to unite, feel empowered, and find transcendence is in the natural song. The placement of the song at the end of the three verses gives credence to this claim.

Once the song is presented in verse three, "If I Had a Hammer" shifts to a place where these things are obtained in verse four. After the first three verses, "If I Had a Hammer" boasts "Now I have a hammer / And I have a bell / And I have a song to sing." Seeger subtly acknowledges that because people are singing his song and adapting his persona to be the movement persona, he now has the hammer, bell and song. In the first three verses, the singer seems to be wishing he had and wondering what he would do if he had the hammer, the bell and the song. The song, however, provides the avenue for the movement to have the empowering hammer and bell, and once the song is acknowledged, the other things are gained. The song is therefore a metaphor for how to initiate social change. Powerful like the hammer and melodic like the bell, the song provides the way for justice, freedom, and love to be obtained.

The use of the first person singular in "If I Had a Hammer" allows the movement persona to be activist rather than contemplative like "We Shall Overcome" and "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" Seeger encourages his audience to engage in individual action by using the first person singular. Choosing "If *I* had a hammer" instead of "If *we* had a hammer," Seeger highlights the individual persona. Yet this individual persona becomes one with the movement persona, so Seeger encourages individual and subsequently group action through the use of the first person singular.

As a believer in songs as unifiers, Seeger suggests that the song will empower individuals to join together and “hammer [out] justice” and ring the “bell of freedom,” which will allow people to transcend the status quo and find a utopian place where justice, freedom, and love prevail. The “song to sing” is the “hammer of justice” and the “bell of freedom,” which matches with Seeger’s philosophy and ethos that background his persona and promote themes of community, empowerment, and transcendence.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

Through their music, Bob Dylan and Pete Seeger establish ethos and provide stylistic tokens of their personas through the themes they employ. Unwilling to accept the title of being the voice of the Age of Protest and insisting that he was not a part of any given movement, Bob Dylan creates an ambivalent persona that promotes the themes of change, resistance, and rootlessness. With his history of fighting for social causes and overt support of the movement, Pete Seeger creates a stable persona for himself that utilizes the themes of community, transcendence and empowerment.

Because they have these themes, the discourses of Bob Dylan and Pete Seeger imply an audience, which is Black's notion of the second persona. The second persona suggests that the audience members adopt the themes of change, resistance, rootlessness, community, empowerment and transcendence, and these themes overlap with the personas and ethos of Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan. As a result of these personas being present in the song lyrics, the movement persona can be created.

The movement persona is important to discuss separately as a contribution and addition to the theories explored because it takes the notion of ethos and persona one step further. Black extends the concept of ethos by discussing how the discourse can imply a character for the audience, and my notion of the movement persona shows how an audience can take this implied character as a starting point to create their own persona. Aristotle, Black and others who have written on concepts of ethos and persona focus on

the author and the discourse they create while giving the audience little agency and power in the interpretation and application of these concepts. The “movement persona,” however, allows the audience to take the general themes implied by the lyrics and create a persona that uses these themes as a base. The musical form aids this goal because it allows the audience to sing and articulate this persona.

As a result, even though Dylan and Seeger write discourses that imply a persona for their audiences, the movement persona does not have to align completely with the second persona. The audience members can take the second persona and build from it to create the movement persona, which in a way is a “third persona.” The first persona focuses on the moral character of a discourse, the second persona focuses on the persona implied for the audience through the discourse, and the third persona focuses on how the audience uses the implied persona to create yet another persona. Only through the musical form, however, can this movement persona be realized.

The fact that song lyrics allow the audience to participate through singing facilitates the creation of this additional persona. Unlike written, spoken, or visual texts, the song is a participatory text; the audience is not only implied by the discourse, it is also realized through the singing of the discourse. Therefore, this study is important because it highlights the importance of singing and shows how the participatory nature of song changes the way persona is addressed. Adding music to a rhetorical text supplies another dimension to the artifact that should be acknowledged in communication studies.

Bob Dylan and Pete Seeger’s ability to provide stylistic tokens of their own ideologies, suggest who their audience should become, and leave room for the movement to find their own identity and establish their own ethos plays an important role in

understanding the genius of the two men, the social significance of their music, and the power of music to communication studies. Pete Seeger's stable persona still provides space for audience members to co-create the movement persona because Seeger sublimates his persona and establishes his credibility by giving the audience members lyrics and songs that can be adapted and adopted to fit their needs. Seeger's ideology that favors community, empowerment and transcendence shines forth in the persona of the audience he implies, which is the second persona and part of the movement persona, because Seeger sees his persona as the movement persona. An advocate of participation, Seeger knows his ethos will be established by the movement who adopts his songs for their own purposes.

On the other hand, Bob Dylan appears as a poet who happens to be loved and lauded by his generation. Bob Dylan seems apathetic about his position in the changing social climate of the 1960s. His polyvalent themes of change, resistance and rootlessness are more expressions of his own persona than a stylistic tool to allow his persona to transfer to an implied audience so the audience can co-create the movement persona. Whereas Seeger establishes ethos and finds self-fulfillment through the act of the movement singing his songs and adopting the themes of community, empowerment and transcendence, Dylan establishes ethos and finds self-fulfillment through his personal act of writing the songs. Therefore, Dylan seems to be creating a persona that does not care if it fosters a movement persona. The movement's adopting Dylan's songs and creating a persona that overlaps with Dylan's does not seem to be important to Dylan, which holds with the ambivalent persona Dylan presents in his lyrics.

Through their music and their themes, Dylan and Seeger provide guidance without finality and support without smothering their audience, and the beauty and genius of their lyrics shine through in their ability to create personas for themselves while simultaneously suggesting this persona for an audience without forcing this persona upon the audience. Because of the ambiguity of the lyrics and the subtle power of the themes, the movement persona can be established and reestablished to fit the various needs of those singing the songs. To give credence to this claim, many of these songs are being used today as signs of hope and change. During the telethon for the 2010 earthquake that devastated Haiti, Bruce Springsteen sang “We Shall Overcome.” Many YouTube videos feature photographs of Barack Obama with “The Times They Are A-Changin’” providing the soundtrack. While the 1960s were unique as many movements were happening and the social climate was one of general unrest, the themes presented in the music of Seeger and Dylan are timeless.

Essentially, Seeger seems willing to acknowledge the strength of song and the power of participation for the movements of the 1960s, and he establishes his ethos and allows his ideology to shine by sublimating his persona so the movement can find confidence in themselves and adopt these themes as their own. On the other hand, Dylan seems reluctant to identify with the movement, and he seems ambivalent about the fact that his persona is transferring to the movement. Despite the differences, however, both men “seem,” which acknowledges their genius in establishing ethos and creating personas that allow their ideologies to show through in their stylistic themes. Perhaps Dylan wanted social change as much as Seeger and created his ambivalent persona because he thought it would be the most effective way to reach the youth of the 1960s.

Perhaps Seeger wanted self-fulfillment as an artist as much as Dylan and thought the only way to achieve this goal would be to sublimate his persona. Despite their personal desires, their constructed personas, which is what the critic has at her disposal, point towards their ethos and provide themes for the movement.

From the Newport Folk Festival Incident in 1965 to the different ways in which their ethos are established and their personas are adopted by the movement, Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan present different, conflicting personas that the movement uses to co-create the movement persona. This movement persona incorporates the community, empowerment, and transcendence of Seeger with the change, resistance and rootlessness of Dylan. Despite the men's differences, however, the movement relies on both Seeger's persona and Dylan's persona to create their movement persona. Both men rely on natural images and imply something in the current order is incongruous with nature. Dylan and Seeger are the two sides of a coin: one could not be without the other, and both need the other in order to be complete. In order to initiate change, one must find a community represented by the movement. In order to resist, one must feel empowered to engage in the struggle. In order to find the strength to live a rootless existence, one must transcend the current order that establishes rules and regulations for those living in America.

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