THE REVIVAL OF ROMANTIC UTOPIANISM
IN ROCK LYRICS OF THE 1960S

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ABSTRACT

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This study explores a mode of utopianism that manifested itself in the cultural, intellectual and poetic output of two different periods, the Romantic Age and the Sixties. The study finds this mode of utopianism, which emerged in the Romantic movement and was unconsciously revived in the Sixties counterculture, to be distinct from other utopian modes and movements, and conceptualizes it using the term *re-prelapsarianism*. Re-prelapsarianism, which is based upon a mystical interpretation of the Fall, involves the desire to re-achieve the original, prelapsarian condition of unity and innocence in this world, through human effort, and the strong belief in the possibility of bringing this about. It is distinguished by a sentimentalist approach to human nature, a preference of nature and the natural over civilization and established institutions and conventions and a subsequently anti-establishment and anarchical position, and the attribution of great importance to the powers of love and imagination. Re-prelapsarian utopianists, who consisted mostly of youth, intellectuals and artists, sought radical transformation in both the sociopolitical and personal and spiritual spheres. Moreover, poetry took on an essential role in this largely cultural mode of utopianism and poets came to be seen

as revolutionary and visionary figures with a leading role in bringing about transformation to a re-prelapsarian utopia. Thus, the major Romantic poets are examined with regard to Romantic re-prelapsarianism, and the analysis of the rock lyrics of important Sixties rock bards and countercultural icons Bob Dylan, the Beatles and Paul Simon in terms of their re-prelapsarian function and contents forms the core of this thesis.

ÖZ

1960'LARIN ROCK LİRİKLERİNDE
ROMANTİK ÜTOPYACILIĞIN YENİDEN CANLANIŞI

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Doktora, İngiliz Edebiyatı Bölümü

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Bu çalışma iki farklı dönemin, Romantik Çağ ile Altmışların, kültürel, entelektüel ve şiirsel faaliyetlerinde kendini gösteren bir ütopyacılık tarzını inceliyor. Romantik akımla ortaya çıkan ve Altmışlarda tekrar canlanan bu ütopyacılık tarzının diğer bilinen ütopyacılık tarzları ve akımlarıyla belirgin farklılıklar gösterdiğini bulan çalışma, tarzı *yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik* diye isimlendirerek kavramlaştırıyor. İnsanın cenetten Düşüşü doktrininin mistik bir yorumuna dayanan yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik insanı düşüşten önceki ahengine ve masumiyetine tekrar kavuşturma arzusunu ve bunun bu dünyada ve insan emeğiyle gerçekleşebileceğine dair güçlü inancı barındırıyor. Belirgin özellikleri ise insan doğasını sentimentalist açıdan yorumlaması, doğayı ve doğal olanı medeniyete ve yerleşik kurum ve geleneklere tercih etmesi, bunun sonucu olarak düzen-karşıtı bir tutum sergilemesi, ve sevgi/aşk ve hayal gücüne büyük önem vermesidir. Çoğunlukla gençlerden, entelektüellerden ve sanatçılardan oluşan yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciler hem sospolitik alanda hem de kişisel-manevi alanda radikal bir dönüşümü gerçekleştirmek istiyorlardı. Ayrıca bu büyük ölçüde kültürel ütopyacılık tarzında şiire çok önemli bir rol biçildi ve şairler yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halci bir ütopyayı gerçekleştirme yolunda lider kimliği olan

devrimci ve vizyoner kişiler olarak görüldüler. Dolayısıyla Romantik yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilikle incelenirken Romantik şairler ele alınır ve tezin odağını Altmışların önemli rock ozanlarından Bob Dylan, Beatles ve Paul Simon'ın liriklerinin yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halci içerik ve fonksiyon olarak incelenmesi oluşturur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik, Ütopyacılık, Romantizm, 1960'lar, Rock

to my family
"a utopian niche in an alien space"

and

in memory of Can Abanazır
"who is a legend now"

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Sixties witnessed a great deal of social, political, and cultural turbulence, accompanying perhaps the only bout of international mass utopianism of the twentieth century, which was channelled through a very effective counterculture and its mouthpiece, rock, one of the most influential musical and cultural phenomena of the modern world. This study explores the utopianism that emerged in this consequential decade through an analysis of the rock lyrics that were written and performed during the time, by singer-songwriters who shared, supported, and frequently led the utopian aspirations of the counterculture that they belonged to. First, however, the thesis looks back to another explosive period that also produced a utopian outlook particular to its own specific conditions, the Romantic Age, in order to define and describe Romantic utopianism and thereby establish it as the precursor of Sixties utopianism. In other words, the argument aims to bring together and show the similarities between the utopian movements, as expressed through the sets of poems, of two distinct periods.

The similarities between these two socially, politically and culturally turbulent periods, the notion of the Sixties as a revival of Romanticism, and of rock songs as Romantic have started to be explored and discussed in recent years, through approaches as diverse and conflicting as discussions of Romanticism itself. For instance, *The Cowboy and the Dandy: Crossing Over from Romanticism to Rock and Roll*, by Perry Meisel (1999) is a highly scholarly analysis based in aesthetic criticism of rock and roll as the convergence into a single cultural style of two distinct Romantic veins, the American, primitivist vein focused on Western expansion, as represented by the figure of the cowboy, and the English, aestheticist

vein focused on inward expansion, as represented by the figure of the dandy[1], through the vehicle of a third, Afro-American tradition, blues, with the end result of rock and roll. Meisel identifies a preoccupation with boundaries or dialectical oppositions that serve as mirror images crossing over into and thus helping to define one another as the common ground of these three different traditions, "for the cowboy, the boundary or opposition between East and West, settlement and frontier; for the dandy, the boundary or opposition between self and world, inside and outside; for [the blues tradition], the boundary or opposition between North and South, urban and folk" (6-7).

Unlike Meisel's interpretation of rock and roll as a convergence of high and low culture and art, Robert Pattison, in *The Triumph of Vulgarity: Rock Music in the Mirror of Romanticism* (1987), describes rock as "the quintessence of vulgarity" that is the culmination of Romantic pantheism (4), which he views as vulgar due to its indiscriminate embrace of all in one. Pattison's startling definition of pantheism is as "a garbage-pail philosophy, indiscriminately mixing scraps of everything" that rejects "distinctions between right and wrong, high and low, true and false, the worthy and unworthy" and any form of "transcendent validity" in its preference of eclecticism over discrimination and its "delight in the noisy confusion of life" (23-4). He goes on to describe the vulgarity of rock and discuss how it made use of such Romantic ideas to overcome its boundaries and enable the triumph of vulgarity over the refined culture that attempted to restrict it.

Meanwhile, *Hey, Nietzsche! Leave them kids alone: The Romantic Movement, Rock and Roll, and the End of Civilisation as We Know It* (2012), by Craig Schuftan traces the roots of "emo", the contemporary rock genre and subculture of irrationality, self-absorption and explosive emotionality, to what he believes to be its roots in the "purest and most dangerous strain" of Romanticism – "the

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[1] Meisel refers mostly to a very late form of Romanticism that evolved into bohemianism, then aestheticism, then modernism.

romanticism of Goethe's young Werther, of Frankenstein, of Byron and Nietzsche" (loc. 155).

The Long and Winding Road from Blake to the Beatles (2008) by Matthew Schneider takes the most direct approach to the correlation between Romanticism and Sixties rock, as represented by the Beatles. Adopting the stance that, following the Romantic revolution, Romanticism became and still remains the dominant cultural paradigm of the Western world, Schneider sees a direct line of evolution between Blake and the Beatles and sets out to explore the "historic and thematic ways in which the Beatles reflected the evolution and key themes of Romanticism" (23). The major correlations that he discusses are the similarity between the troubled yet fruitful poetic collaborations between the contradicting yet complementary figures of Coleridge and Wordsworth, and Lennon and McCartney, Harrison as the inheritor of Byron's existential dilemmas, and Ringo as the representative of the "psychic complexity of children" as depicted by Blake and Wordsworth (23).

The current study adds to these works with research into a very different aspect of Romanticism and rock. It focuses on the brand of utopianism that emerged in the Romantic Age and that was revived in the Sixties, which it has termed *re-prelapsarianism*. Re-prelapsarianism is founded upon a mystical interpretation of the Fall, according to which the Fall is a temporary falling apart from original unity and a loss of the original condition of innocence. This interpretation can be construed in socio-political terms, indicating a state of alienation of humans from one another and from nature, brought about by the corrupt institutions and conventions of a social order in discord with both human nature and the natural order. It can also be construed in personal and spiritual terms, indicating the estrangement of humans from God, the One, or the cosmos and from their true nature and sense of unified self.

Macrocosmically, re-prelapsarianism explains humanity's fall from an original state of innocent at-one-ness into disintegration – generally taken to be the

contemporary situation by re-prelapsarian utopians – and potential to re-achieve the state of unity and innocence through socio-political transformation to the anticipated utopian state. Microcosmically, it explains the individual life cycle of coming to the world in a state of innocence and sense of unity, the gradual loss of that innocence and unity through the corrupting influence of society, and the potential to re-achieve it through personal and spiritual transformation. The reason that the term *re-prelapsarianism* has been used instead of simply *prelapsarianism* is to emphasise that the approach is not regressive and compensatory but progressive and anticipatory, advocating the attainment of a new state of unity and innocence that is in fact superior to the original condition due to the knowledge and experience gained along the way.

What separates re-prelapsarianism from strands of Christian utopian thought such as millenarianism or the more orthodox belief in the Fall of man from a state of Edenic bliss and his potential to earn a new paradisal state in the afterlife is that in re-prelapsarianism, the agent of utopian transformation is not God but man and the state of utopian bliss is to be achieved in this life rather than the afterlife. Re-prelapsarianism has strong ties to sentimentalism, in its assumption of the original and innate goodness of human beings and corresponding primitivism, the conviction that since humans are good by nature, the more natural the environment in which they live, the more that state of goodness can be preserved. This is in opposition to the orthodox Christian or Classical approach to humans, which are based on the assumption that humans are fundamentally flawed and must therefore be educated and controlled, resulting in their support of social institutions and human civilisation to provide order and control.

Since re-prelapsarian utopianism is founded on the intention of bringing about a return to the original and natural condition of unity and innocence, two powers are central to its achievement. The first of these powers is love, in the very

broad sense of unifying force or emotion or value that works to bring together[2]. According to re-prelapsarianism, love is the power that will re-unify humans with one another, with society, with nature, and with God or the cosmos. The second power central to re-prelapsarianism is imagination, the faculty that works to create, unify, and defamiliarise. Through its function of creating or re-creating the world, the imagination accommodates the notion and anticipation of utopia as well as providing the opportunity for the individual to see beyond the apparent reality – which is fallen and disintegrated – to the truth of the essential one-ness of the cosmos. By stimulating a defamiliarised perception of reality, the imagination enables the individual to once more perceive the world through the eyes of innocence. Moreover, through its unifying, synthetic power, the imagination can also enable the reunification of the individual to nature, God, or cosmos and all living beings. Thus, both love and the imagination are powers that must be embraced and employed for the achievement of a re-prelapsarian utopia, the former especially vital for the re-achievement of the condition of unity and innocence in the socio-political sphere, the latter in the personal and spiritual sphere.

In order to situate this study in the context of utopian studies, the thesis starts with a chapter discussing utopianism. Chapter 1 begins with a survey of various definitions and classifications of utopia and utopianism that important theoreticians of utopian studies have offered. As a result of this survey, I arrive at a working definition of utopia and utopianism that is relevant to the purposes of this thesis. The second part of the chapter briefly discusses important utopian theories and studies from the early twentieth century to the present time, concentrating on recurring issues and concerns that theorists dealt with, in order to situate the

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[2] The concept of love is used differently by different poets and at different times. Sometimes it refers to a mystical concept related to becoming one with the divine, sometimes to a more personal love like friendship or a romantic relationship, sometimes to a love of nature or the world, sometimes to a universal, philosophic love encompassing all creation, and sometimes physical love as in the concept of "free love". In all cases, however, it is has a connecting, attracting, unifying function and it is this common denominator that is referred to with the general term of "love" in this study.

present thesis within the context of utopian studies. It is important to note, however, that although referred to in some contexts and useful in terms of establishing a knowledge of utopianism and furnishing certain terms, categories and concepts, the theories referred to in this chapter do not constitute the theoretical framework of the thesis or the analysis of the lyrics. Re-prelapsarianism was a mode of utopianism that emerged in the Romantic Age, not as a specific social theory, but as a social and cultural approach that manifested itself in the poetic and intellectual writings of the English Romantics and American Transcendentalists. It is this approach that was revived in the Sixties counterculture and rock lyrics, and it is therefore this approach that will form the theoretical framework on which the lyrics are analysed.

Accordingly, Chapter 2 establishes the theoretical framework of the thesis, by exploring in detail the mode of utopianism that emerged in the Romantic Age, as revealed through the works of the major poets of the time. In both the Romantic Age and the Sixties, re-prelapsarianism occurs as a cultural phenomenon rather than a conscious social or utopian theory. The poems and rock lyrics of the respective periods are not works belonging to the utopian genre, but works that reflect the utopianism informing their cultural context and worldview, and that also take part in producing and maintaining that utopianism. The chapter therefore discusses literary Romanticism in terms of its utopian aspects, discovering a recurring pattern evident in the poems and prose writings of the major poets and intellectuals of the age, which explains human history as well as the history of each human, as a spiral that begins in an original state of paradisal unity and innocence, followed by a falling apart and loss of that state – which they interpret the contemporary social setting to be – and the potential future progress towards a revived state of unity and innocence. This spiral pattern is what the study terms re-prelapsarianism and it manifests itself in a diversity of ways in Romantic works: in the spiritual sphere, referring to the relationship of the human with God, the One, or the cosmos, or in the social sphere, referring to the relationship of humans with

one another, or in the personal sphere, referring to humans' connection to their innate human nature.

The Romantic and Transcendentalist poets and intellectuals that are discussed – Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats and Byron in England and Emerson, Thoreau and Channing in America – are each highly individual and unique. Both their status as comprising coherent poetic movements and the issue of whether the different movements in different countries (or the simultaneous developments in different areas of culture and literature that are frequently designated by the comprehensive term "Romanticism") indeed constitute a unified movement, have been increasingly open to debate since the beginning of the twentieth century, spearheaded by Arthur Lovejoy's influential article "On the Discrimination of Romanticisms" (1924). Indeed, the term "Romantic" has been probed, defined and problematised so exhaustively that Lovejoy, as early as 1924, argued that it "has ceased to perform the function of a verbal sign" (232) and many other critics have pointed to the same problem through the years[3]; indeed, reference to this issue has become a commonplace at the beginning of works on Romanticism. However, for the purposes of this study, the premise of a shared set of ideas that form a coherent and inter-related, if not completely unified, worldview, at least in terms of utopianism, is necessary. Since it endeavours to glean a common utopian element that was an essential part of the "Spirit of the Age" that the English Romantics liked to refer to and that thus permeated these works, and was revived in the 1960s, the approach of the thesis to literary Romanticism is necessarily synthetic rather than analytic, focusing on the similarities rather than differences and connections rather than divisions between the poets. In order to establish the common thread running through them as regards utopian approach, frequent and diverse references to the works of the different poets and intellectuals are made for each re-prelapsarian element that is explored.

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[3] Some examples are Ruoff 1, Bone 124, Beer xi, Riasanovsky 80 and Kaufman 193.

In this sense, the approach to Romanticism adopted by the thesis is more in the line of the now apparently dated Romantic criticism based in "spiritualized humanism" that "flourished from the fifties through the seventies [and] attempted to accommodate romantic texts to a sense of capacious spirituality, consistently undervaluing polemical dissonances in search of higher spiritual harmonies" and that is frequently critiqued by more recent critics like McGann and Siskin for interpreting Romanticism from within "romantic ideology" (Ruoff 289-90). Although outdated from our present perspective, however, the time period covered by this line of criticism overlaps with that of the utopian culture and lyrics that are the focus of this study, and their approach to Romantic ideals coincide. For it is important to note that, although progressive and revolutionary in terms of its intended utopian functions, re-prelapsarianism is in essence conservative when viewed from the present day. In spite of its anti-establishment attitude and desire to overthrow existing social, cultural and moral structures, re-prelapsarianism aspires to replace them with new structures based on a natural order and original human nature, the existence and universality of which it takes as a given. In fact, according to Eagleton, post-structuralism was a result of the disillusionment of the failure to do this by the end of the Sixties, "[driving] the student movement underground into discourse," turning towards "subvert[ing] the structures of language" after its inability to subvert those of the state (123). Likewise, even though re-prelapsarianism rejects reality and the physical, material, objective world as false and advocates personal and subjective exploration of a truth to be found beyond the apparent reality, it is not relativistic; rather, this aspect of re-prelapsarianism stems from its idealistic approach. The truth that each individual is encouraged to personally pursue is not multiple but one: the essential one-ness of all creation and the innate innocence that humans can re-attain.

Indeed, in its assumption of both an original, essential state of being and consciousness (the prelapsarian condition) and an ultimate state of being and consciousness that should be striven for (the re-prelapsarian utopia), re-

prelapsarianism is founded upon transcendental meaning as both origin and goal, which Eagleton mentions as two different ways in which transcendental signifieds can function (114). In other words, re-prelapsarianism is fundamentally logocentric. Eagleton notes that such transcendental signifieds as "God, the Idea, the World Spirit, the Self" – in the specific case of re-prelapsarianism we can list God or cosmos or the One, and the Self as integral part of that One – must themselves be beyond the system of thought and language that is founded upon them and must have been pre-existent to them (113). It will be seen in Chapter 6 that the ultimate goal of the transcendental psychedelic experience that was a central part of Sixties re-prelapsarian activity was to reach a state of illumination that transcended language and conceptual thought and was a state of pure consciousness that partook of the "unformed", "divine" mind of Buddha before its division into separate elements during the creation of the world (Leary et al. 10).

As part of its logocentricism, re-prelapsarianism sees the human subject as a stable and autonomous self, carrying all the features of the whole of which it is a part. Thus, re-prelapsarianism is also fundamentally humanistic, being founded on the belief of a universal, original human condition and nature and on its faith in humanity and each individual human to re-achieve that paradisal condition. Moreover, it has a strong spiritual and mystical vein that is essentially religious in nature, even if the religious aspect is often naturalised, or projected onto aesthetic values or oriental, exotic systems of belief such as Buddhism. These conservative elements of re-prelapsarianism are valid not only for its Romantic, but also for its Sixties manifestation. The rock bards and lyrics that are analysed in the thesis, the largely folk-rock oriented mid-to-late-decade songs of Bob Dylan, the Beatles and Paul Simon, are in this logocentric, idealistic and humanistic vein, although other currents that began near the end of the decade and came to the fore in later years, including Dylan's later songs, began to take on post-structuralist attitudes.

For the reasons cited above, this study takes a purposefully logocentric, idealistic and humanistic approach in its discussion of Romanticism and the Sixties,

since the focus is on exploring and elucidating the similar utopian currents of the two epochs as revealed in their poetic works, rather than problematising or demystifying an already established explanation of them. Consequently, while aware of the many diverse and more contemporary studies of literary Romanticism, Chapter 2 founds its discussion of Romantic re-prelapsarianism on the literary criticism of M. H. Abrams, whom Rouff describes as the emblem of the spiritual and humanistic branch of Romantic criticism that flourished between the 1950s and the 1970s, mentioned above (289). In his seminal book on Romanticism, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (1971), Abrams makes a detailed and thorough analysis of a paradigm that he finds to be foundational to Romantic poetry and philosophy and for which he gives extensive examples from both English and German Romantic works. This paradigm involves a spiral account of both human history and the personal history of each individual, in which an Edenic beginning in unity and innocence is followed by a fall – a falling apart from unity and away from innocence – which is in turn followed, either through conscious and continual effort or through an abrupt apocalypse or realisation, by a return to unity and innocence; the final state of unity and innocence is superior to the initial stage because it has been earned and it is a unity and innocence not of ignorance as the initial stage is, but of a maturity that retains the intermediary experience of loss and pain from which it has emerged. Although Abrams does not discuss this as a form of utopianism or the Romantic approach to utopia, he does discuss it in terms of the revolutionary and apocalyptic aspects of Romantic thought. His work is thus foundational to the definition of re-prelapsarianism and the exploration of its Romantic manifestation in this thesis.

Just as Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework of the thesis, Chapter 3 provides the necessary social, political and cultural framework of the Sixties. The chapter begins with an account of the development of the counterculture and its representative musical genre, rock, especially with reference to Campbell's exposition of how three major, initially separate and mutually hostile, youth

subcultures of the 1950s, the moral crusaders, Beat bohemians and teenage delinquents, merged to form one large counterculture that had great impact on the Sixties. Campbell also explains how music played a vital role in this merger and the parallel result of the union between the respective representative music genres of the three subcultures, folk music, jazz and rock 'n' roll was rock, the music of the counterculture. The counterculture was a utopian movement and the study finds its type of utopianism to be very similar to that of the Romantics. In other words, the utopian movement of the Sixties, generated by the counterculture and reflected in rock, was a revival of re-prelapsarianism. This revival was not conscious but was produced by a similar worldview that was the result of a similar turbulent social and political climate. Hobsbawm describes the Romantics as young people and artists rejecting the bourgeois society and capitalist system that emerged as a result of the dual revolution of the period and explains that "this revolt of the young against their elders" is unique (*Age of Revolution* 259-60). Based on this evaluation, it can be claimed that the circumstances that brought about a renewal of this form of revolt in the Sixties consisted of the re-strengthening of bourgeois society and capitalism after the blows they had sustained during the first half of the century and a large body of young people and artists who strongly rejected this renewal and opted for alternative forms of society, organisation and being.

Like Romantic re-prelapsarianism, Sixties re-prelapsarianism consisted of both a socio-political and a personal and spiritual aspect. The counterculture revolt began as a series of activist causes aimed at radically transforming the established system, centred around the Civil Rights and anti-war movements, and went on to develop an alternative lifestyle based on alternative utopian values, aimed at bringing about personal and spiritual transformation, and centred around expanded consciousness and liberation from physical reality through psychedelic drugs, spiritualism and music. Both aspects of the counterculture posed radical challenges to the dominant system and culture. The discussion finds that, as with Romantic re-prelapsarianism, the two values or powers that were central to Sixties re-

prelapsarianism are love (including the associated notions of empathy and sentimentalism) and imagination (including the associated abilities of defamiliarisation[4], liberation and transcendence of physical reality)[5]. Like the Romantics, the Sixties counterculture attempted to transform both society and the individual to their natural and original state of harmony and innocence, uncorrupted by unnatural, restrictive social institutions and conventions that they believed to have bred unhappy, alienated, degenerated masses of humans who were on the brink of losing their humanity. Chapter 3 thus explores the particular way in which re-prelapsarianism was manifested in the Sixties, thereby establishing the context necessary for the analysis of the rock lyrics that reflected and indeed shaped it.

Following these foundational chapters is the analytical section of the thesis. In this part, a selection of rock lyrics by three important and representative rock singer-songwriters / bands of the Sixties, namely Bob Dylan, the Beatles (comprising lyrics composed by John Lennon, Paul McCartney and George Harrison) and Paul Simon of Simon & Garfunkel, are analysed in terms of their re-prelapsarian content and function. Three factors were taken into account in the choice of these particular rock bards from among the many bands and singer-songwriters of the period, from the Rolling Stones to the Doors, the Kinks to Jefferson Airplane. The first factor was the amount of influence that they had in shaping, furthering and representing the

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[4] In this thesis, the term *defamiliarisation* is not used in the sense that formalist critic Shklovsky introduced it. (In fact, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Shklovsky's original term *ostranenie* literally translates to "making strange," which has a different focus from de-familiarising.) Although the Romantics do not use the term *defamiliarisation* itself, it accords perfectly with what they believed was one of the most important functions of poetry, and Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley all refer to this function in their writings, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. *Defamiliarisation* is thus used to refer to this Romantic theoretical concept which is distinct from, although it has affinities with, Shklovsky's formalist concept.

[5] Unlike the Romantic focus on the imagination as a faculty, however, the Sixties re-prelapsarians were more concerned with the functions and end results of the imagination, which they found to be easily accessible through the assistance of psychedelic drugs. This external source for the synthesising, liberating, trascendent, defamiliarising effects of the imagination is in principle very different from the spontaneous source of imagination sought by the Romantics, although in terms of utopianism, the function that is serves is similar.

counterculture, both during the Sixties itself and, to a lesser extent, their remaining influence today. Dylan has frequently and consistently been referred to as the voice of the counterculture and has been greatly influential in protest music, the development of rock and on a host of musicians and singer-songwriters (Strong loc. 20, Perkins and Smiles loc. 63). Likewise, the Beatles have customarily been described as one of the greatest cultural phenomena of the twentieth century and as the ultimate representatives of the Sixties (Decker 91, Whiteley 196, Womack and Davis 1). Moreover, Campbell argues, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, the interaction between Dylan and the Beatles provided the catalyst for a merger between the as-yet separate subcultures and musical genres of the 1950s to generate the counterculture and rock (97). Although not as central as Dylan and the Beatles, Paul Simon, as the composer of the famous Sixties duo Simon & Garfunkel, produced songs such as "The Sound of Silence" and "Bridge Over Troubled Water" that were embraced by the counterculture as anthems, and that have now become "deeply woven into the fabric of our culture" (Zollo no pg.).

This brings us to the second factor considered in the choice of lyrics, and it is related to the first, namely the representative quality of the bards and their lyrics; in other words, their correlation to the general ideas and ideals of the counterculture, especially as regards to its re-prelapsarianism in its different aspects. Some bands, such as Jefferson Airplane, concentrated almost exclusively on one aspect of countercultural re-prelapsarianism, such as this particular band's focus on psychedelia, while others, such as the Rolling Stones, did not incorporate the utopian idealism into their lyrics in any notable way. The Sixties lyrics of Dylan, the Beatles and Simon are not only iconic representatives of the period from today's perspective, but their thematic content as well as their apparently intended functions are consistently in accordance with the various aspects of re-prelapsarian utopianism of the counterculture, so that it is possible to analyse the one through the other.

The final and perhaps most important factor of consideration in terms of this study and its aim to analyse rock lyrics as poems, was the poetic or literary quality of the lyrics. Although these are in fact indefinable and problematic qualities that are open to interpretation, the main aim was to choose lyrics with a certain level of depth of meaning and a certain amount of sophistication in style. Dylan's lyrics have long been accepted as poetical, and among the Sixties rock bards, he is the figure to have been subject to the most serious literary scholarship. Indeed, he is often cited as an inheritor of the American romantic tradition from Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman (Gamble 15). Simon's lyrics are also overtly poetical and, like Dylan's, dominate his songs (Zollo no pg., Bennighof 2). Finally, although the Beatles' early lyrics were very simple and straightforward, their later songs were not only experimental in terms of their music but also gained depth and substance in terms of their lyrics, taking on increasingly literary qualities (Womack and Davis 2).

As mentioned above, the rock lyrics are analysed as lyric poems, rather than as songs or simply artefacts of popular culture, an approach that is surprisingly rare in relation to rock songs, on which the majority of scholarly studies to date are carried out in the fields of musicology and cultural studies, neither of which take the lyrics as their focal point. Most of the existing commentary on the lyrics, on the other hand, are written by rock critics in magazines or internet sites and do not constitute academic study[6]. It is interesting that despite the original function of lyric poetry as poems meant to be sung to the accompaniment of the lyre, and despite the blurring of distinctions between high and low, literary and popular celebrated by postmodernism, and the anti-canonical approach to literature that has gained prominence since the second half of the twentieth century, and also despite the large-scale influence that rock in general and the Beatles and Dylan in particular

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[6] Inglis argues in relation to Beatles lyrics that "[a] systematic analysis of the lyrical content of the Beatles' music is long overdue. With only a few exceptions, accounts of their songs have tended to be subjective, anecdotal and inconsistent, demonstrating little in the way of informed, and informative, reasoning" (58).

have had on Western culture and the undeniably – even by conservative, high-brow standards – literary quality of many of the lyrics, the academic treatment of them as poetry has remained relatively negligible. Also negligible is the inclusion of these lyrics in curricula and poetry anthologies[7], with the occasional exception of a Dylan lyric[8]. Meanwhile, other popular poets such as Allen Ginsberg and the Liverpool poets appear to have been accepted into the canon[9]. However, these deeper issues of canonisation should be the subject of another study, and presently concern us only as the reasoning behind the decision of this thesis to approach Sixties rock lyrics as legitimate – although popular and performed rather than written and published – poetry and to analyse them accordingly.

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[7] See for instance, the following anthologies: *The Oxford Book of Contemporary Verse: 1945-1980*, by D. J. Enright, *The Oxford Anthology of English Poetry: Volume II: Blake to Heaney*, by John Wain, *Poetry in English: An Anthology*, by M. L. Rosenthal, *The Norton Anthology of Modern and Contemporary Poetry*, edited by Ramazani et al., *American Poetry of the Twentieth Century* by Richard Gray, *The New Oxford Book of American Verse*, edited by Richard Ellman, *The Penguin Book of American Verse*, by Geoffrey Moore, *American Poetry Since 1950: Innovators and Outsiders*, by Eliot Weinberger, *From the Other Side of the Century: a New American Poetry, 1960-1990*, by Douglas Messerli.

[8] In *The 20th Century in Poetry*, edited by Michael Hulse and Simon Rae, Bob Dylan gains acceptance with "Blowin' in the Wind" on the section comprising poems from 1946 to 1968, subtitles "Peace and Cold War".

[9] In *A History of Modern Poetry: Modernism and After*, David Perkins discusses Charles Tomlinson, Ted Hughes, Geoffrey Hill and Thom Gunn in the chapter on "English Poetry in the 1960s and 1970s". Although a section of another chapter, "Poetry in New York and San Francisco," is dedicated to "the Countercultural Ethos," Perkins does not even mention Dylan, Simon, the Beatles, or any other rock bard in his discussion of poetry of the counterculture, referring only to Allen Ginsberg and Gary Snyder as poets belonging to this ethos (541-6). The case is the same in *The Columbia History of American Poetry*, edited by Jay Parini, in which there is a chapter on "Beat Poetry and the San Francisco Poetry Renaissance", but no mention of the popular poetry playing out alongside these movements that are now accepted as mainstream. Although Anthony Thwaite mentions the Beatles and Bob Dylan in the introductory paragraph to the chapter "'Pop' and After: Christopher Logue, Adrian Mitchell, Adrian Henri, Roger McGough, Brian Patten, Pete Morgan" in his book *Poetry Today: A Critical Guide to British Poetry 1960-1984*, he refers to them as examples of "disparate contemporary happenings" and goes on to discuss the more legitimate popular poets listed in the title. Even more interesting is the complete neglect of all rock lyricists in a book titled *Out of the Vietnam Vortex: A Study of Poets and Poetry Against the Wa*r, by James Mersmann, when protest against the Vietnam War was the crux of both the counterculture and rock. The work focuses instead on Ginsberg, once again, Denise Levertov, Robert Bly and Robert Duncan. *The Blackwell Companion to Twentieth-Century Poetry*, edited by Neil Roberts, appears to skip the 1960s altogether, jumping, in its discussion of poetic movements, from the 1950s-based Beats, Confessionalism, and the Movement to the 1970s-based Language Poetry.

The method of analysis can be described as close reading within a cultural context. The aim is to explore the deeper, intrinsic meanings of each individual lyric while at the same time locating each lyric within the context of Sixties re-prelapsarianism, in terms of both content and function. The re-prelapsarian points that are examined in the lyrics are the common points that are discovered in Chapters 2 and 3 on Romantic and Sixties re-prelapsarianisms. The first of these is the belief in the possibility or imminence of a utopian world in which humans will live in harmony within themselves, with one another, and with the cosmos. This is generally accompanied by satire of the contemporary condition that should be transformed, and an anti-establishment stance that questions and attempts to subvert dominant social institutions and conventions – from marriage to nationality, religion to private property – as false and artificial constructs that serve to oppress and corrupt humans, opting instead for a natural order in which all humans are free and equal and can thus form meaningful bonds with one another. Another major re-prelapsarian element explored in the lyrics is the importance attached to transcendence of alienation, or return to unity and the attribution of great prominence to the value and power of love to bring about the re-unification necessary for achieving this utopian ideal. Related to this is the importance attached to re-discovering the world, perceiving it anew in all its wonder and at-one-ness, in other words a return to innocence, and the attribution of great prominence to states of altered and enhanced consciousness and transcendence of the physical and material world, enabled by the imagination and by psychedelic drugs, to bring about the re-creation necessary for achieving this utopian ideal. Moreover, the re-prelapsarian sentimentalist approach to human nature is examined in the lyrics, including the belief in the original goodness of human beings and their innate moral sense based in feelings, a primitivist reverence for uncorrupted peoples and children, and the emphasis on pity, benevolence and empathy, especially in the treatment of oppressed or marginalised people. Another common element of Romantic and Sixties re-prelapsarianism that is revealed in the

lyrics is the portrayal of mystical experiences in which the ego is transcended and all self merges with God, the One, Buddha, or the cosmos, leading to awareness of the essential unity of all that has been lost sight of in the ordinary world of waking consciousness. Finally, there is the importance attached to poetry and the poet in bringing about utopian transformation, by functioning to raise awareness, lead as charismatic role models and depict or prophesy a utopian world that can be achieved in terms of socio-political transformation and also by functioning to re-create the world or create a new world to be aspired to through defamiliarisation and to inspire and instigate personal and spiritual transformation in both the poet and his audience. Occasionally, parallels are drawn between the Sixties lyrics being analysed and poems from the Romantic Age, but these are only briefly mentioned since the connection established between the poetry of the two distinct periods is not of similarities between individual poems but the underlying utopian attitudes reflected in them. In spite of the general approach to the lyrics as poetry, there are also infrequent references to the music accompanying the lyrics of the songs analysed, where it is particularly relevant to the meaning in terms of either emphasising or qualifying the words.

Chapter 4 focuses on lyrics that satirise the contemporary, fallen human situation that the counterculture wanted to change, depicting it as dystopian, and thereby hoping to show the necessity of and to inspire the desire for change in their audience. In other words, although the content of these lyrics is dystopian, their function is utopian. The lyrics that are analysed are the Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby", Simon's "The Dangling Conversation" and "The Sound of Silence", and Dylan's "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall". The central human problem identified in these lyrics is alienation and estrangement, in other words the loss of unity in the fallen state of the human condition, and the inability of existing social institutions to relieve this disintegration, indeed even causing it.

"Eleanor Rigby" and "The Dangling Conversation" deal with the issue of alienation from the personal perspective of isolated individuals, a woman working

in a church and the reverend of that church and their estrangement from both one another and the rest of society in the former, and the gradual disintegration of the relationship of two lovers in the latter. In "Eleanor Rigby", the religious establishment is implicitly satirised for the contradiction between its purported function of uniting the community under a common belief and collective rituals and the reality of its complete failure in bringing this about, producing instead isolated individuals who are unable to communicate with one another and whose attempts at becoming part of a social group are shown to be poignantly futile. Likewise, "The Dangling Conversation" implicitly satirises either the institution of marriage, or socially sanctioned, pragmatic relationships in general (the nature of the relationship is not clear), again institutions that have the purported function of bringing humans together, in not only failing to achieve this function in any meaningful way, but also forcing individuals who have lost all meaningful contact with one another to remain together in estranged, empty relationships. As well as underlining the counterculture's anti-establishment stance, these lyrics also pave way to the alternative lifestyles proposed by re-prelapsarianism for overcoming these problems, such as free love, personal spirituality rather than organised religion, and communities based on sharing, true communication and acceptance.

"The Sound of Silence" and "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" are more overtly dystopian songs that deal with the issue of the loss of unity, as well as innocence in the latter, in more general terms, as evils plaguing society that the prophetic protagonists try desperately to stop. In "The Sound of Silence", the dystopian world is presented in the form of a nightmare vision that the poet-persona sees, which is in fact a prophetic and metaphorical vision of the true state of society, or at least the state of utter lack of communication that society is headed towards. Although the persona tries to warn the people in his dream, they do not listen to him; however, the counterculture did take heed of Simon's song, so that even though its content is dystopian and seemingly hopeless, the song's function is utopian and gave hope and inspiration to the Sixties utopian youth. The same is true for "A Hard

Rain's A-Gonna Fall", in which the protagonist, another prophetic figure, sees into the heart of the world – a dark vision depicted through a series of striking images – and warns of an imminent apocalypse, deciding at the end of the lyric to do all in his power to bring hope and change to the people, thus mirroring Dylan's position as prophetic bard. As can be seen, the re-prelapsarian importance attached to poets as agents of utopian transformation plays an important role in these lyrics.

In Chapter 5, the focus is on lyrics that deal with socio-political transformation to a re-prelapsarian utopia. Some of these lyrics call for radical change, either implicitly or explicitly, or herald it as imminent and inevitable, while others focus on specific causes that were of significance to the counterculture. Love and empathy play an important role in the content of the lyrics, while sentimentalism and anti-authoritarianism form the basis of the thought structure. Moreover, the utopian function of rock is implicit throughout, whether through its role in bringing about a unity of purpose in the young people of diverse backgrounds rallying to a number of causes, or through its concrete use as an important part of the demonstrations as a means of establishing an atmosphere of peaceful yet powerful protest, or through its more implicit role in depicting an imaginary utopian world that is both desirable and possible, and thus inspiring the will to change the world in its audience.

Dylan's "Blowin in the Wind" and Simon's "Scarborough Fair/Canticle" are subtle songs that serenely mourn the loss of the natural human condition of innocence, love and empathy and its results of war, strife and oppression, while simultaneously implying the possibility of re-achieving the state of unity and innocence through the power of love and a return to the natural order. Dylan's "The Times They Are A-Changin'" and "Chimes of Freedom" more radically herald revolutionary, even apocalyptic change that they show to be imminent and inevitable; the former is a direct, straight-forward and openly anti-establishment protest song warning the current status-quo of the revolution that is coming and advising them to join in rather than resist, while the latter uses complex imagery

and symbolism to intimate an apocalypse through which all current social establishments and hierarchies will be overturned and the song's litany of oppressed and downtrodden people will be saved. The Beatles' "She's Leaving Home" and Simon's "Bridge Over Troubled Water" are more personal expressions of the issues at hand, the former depicting the social transformation that is taking place through the story of a particular but typical family, in which the daughter abandons her home and family to live a life of love and freedom instead of one of responsibility and institutional rather than sincere relationships, and the latter portraying the expression of unconditional love and devotion and its power to heal and transform humans. Finally, Lennon's "Imagine" is the most overtly utopian of the lyrics analysed in this chapter, asking its audience to imagine a re-prelapsarian world in which all false establishments that serve to separate and corrupt humans have been eradicated, humans relationships are ruled by love and equality, and everything is shared in peace and harmony and enjoining them to join all the others who take part in this dream to make it come true.

The final analytical chapter of the thesis concentrates on lyrics that deal with personal and spiritual transformation to a re-prelapsarian state of consciousness or being. After a brief explanation of the reasons behind the increasing prominence of this aspect of re-prelapsarianism near the end of the Sixties, especially the frustration brought about by the continuation of the Vietnam War despite massive efforts of activism and the increasing violence of both demonstrations and the police response to them, the chapter goes on to discuss the two important routes to personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism. The first of these involves a return to the original state of at-one-ness through the reconciliation of humans to their authentic, integrated human nature, and their reunification with other humans as well as with the cosmos (or God, Buddha, the One). This reintegration necessitates the power of love (especially regarding humans' reunification with one another) and the ability to transcend the ego and the fallen reality of which it is part in order to reach an awareness of the essential unity of all existence. The second route

involves a return to the original state of innocence through the defamiliarisation of the world, in other words the ability to see beyond the layers of habit and worldly, material perspectives to the wonder and beauty of the world, thus re-creating our consciousness in the image of its original state. This requires an expansion or transformation of the consciousness and the transcendence of the ordinary, waking, physical perception of the world.

Both the ability to transcend the ego and fallen reality and the ability to transcend the ordinary perception of the world tainted by the fall from unity and innocence, had been ascribed to the imaginative faculty by the Romantics. In the Sixties, a more accessible method of enhancing and expanding the consciousness was discovered, through the use of psychedelic drugs such as LSD. Due to the centrality of this mode of mind-alteration and transcendence to Sixties re-prelapsarianism and its rock lyrics, and its overlapping function with the imagination as propounded by Romantic re-prelapsarianism, LSD and the spiritual, transformational role attributed to it by the influential book, *The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, by the major proponent of the drug, Timothy Leary, and his colleagues Ralph Metzner and Richard Alpert is the framework upon which the analysis in Chapter 6 is built. Accordingly, the various transformational experiences expressed in the lyrics are discussed in terms of Leary et al.'s explanation of the three phases of the transcendental psychedelic experience: the first (and highest) phase of complete transcendence, accompanied by illumination and the awareness of at-one-ness, the second phase of defamiliarised experience of the external world freed of empirical or rational constraints and mixed with imaginative creations of the mind, and the third phase of return to reality as a rebirth, ideally in a way which turns the transitory experience of transcendence into a permanent transformation of consciousness. Although the lyrics rarely openly refer to psychedelic drugs or the three phases of drug-inspired transcendence, these notions suffuse the songs as they did the counterculture, as the analysis attempts to expose.

The analysis begins with the Beatles' "Within You, Without You", which depicts the conversation of a group of illuminated bards trying to bring about a personal and spiritual re-prelapsarian transformation in their audience by persuading them that humans can be reunified with one another through the power of love and each person can be reunified with the cosmos through the transcendence of the ego. This is followed by another Beatles lyric, "Across the Universe", which portrays the consciousness and thoughts of the persona as he experiences the phase of illumination and at-one-ness. These are followed by three songs, "Mr. Tambourine Man" by Dylan, "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds" by the Beatles and "For Emily, Whenever I May Find Her" by Simon, that depict the second phase of the transcendental experience, that of defamiliarisation. Each of these lyrics depict a journey, either one taken by the poet-persona, or one to which the audience is invited, following a guide who is a figure representing music, imagination or child-like innocence, and poetry respectively (as well as possibly referring to psychedelic drugs), leading to illumination, the re-creation of the world and the achievement of re-prelapsarian eupsychia. All of the lyrics analysed in this chapter are utopian not only in their contents, depicting experiences of personal and spiritual transformation, but also in their functions, attempting to inspire similar experiences in their audience, and indeed serving as another means towards such experiences, other than LSD.

CHAPTER 2

UTOPIA AND UTOPIANISM:
DEFINITION AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

This chapter aims to define the concepts of utopia and utopianism and provide a brief discussion of important theories concerning them, in order to provide the context within which both this thesis and the objects of its study, namely Romantic and Sixties utopianism, are located. A clear-cut definition of such concepts as these, which are related to a diversity of areas and have evolved through history to take many different forms and modes, carries the risk of being either too restrictive or too broad. Instead, the chapter begins with a survey of the different, but in many aspects similar, definitions that important theoreticians of utopian studies have chosen to work with, as well as the categories that they have used in their classification of the different manifestations of utopia and utopianism. This survey yields a working definition that is relevant to the purposes of this thesis. This is followed by a discussion of the important theorists of utopian studies, beginning with the early and mid-twentieth century theorists Mannheim, Bloch and Marcuse and continuing with two important contemporary theorists, Jameson and Levitas. The discussion revolves around the common concerns of these theorists, including the attempt to rescue utopia and utopianism from negative interpretations, especially as attributed to them by Marxism and post-structuralism, the situation of utopia and utopianism in the contemporary society in which they wrote, in terms of the forces working against utopia and how to overcome them, as well as sources and areas where the utopian impulse could be found, maintained and developed, and the functions of utopia and utopianism, especially in terms of social and political transformation.

In his seminal work, *Ideology and Utopia* (1929), Mannheim defines both ideology and utopia as ideas that transcend reality, being "oriented towards objects

which do not exist in the actual situation" (173). However, while ideologies work towards "the maintenance of the existing order of things," utopias "tend to shatter, either partially or wholly the order of things prevailing at the time" (ibid.). In his three-volume magnus opus on utopia, *The Principle of Hope* (1938-47), Bloch defines utopianism as an "anticipatory consciousness" that can be found in a great diversity of social and cultural areas, from fairy tales to sports events, religion to art forms. According to him, this "principle of hope" that the title references, which has always existed as a human impulse, is essential for bringing about social and political transformation and must therefore be excavated and cultivated: "Then let the daydreams grow really fuller, that is, clearer, less random, more familiar, more clearly understood and more mediated with the course of things. So that the wheat which is trying to ripen can be encouraged to grow and be harvested" (4). Consequently, both Mannheim and Bloch define utopia in terms of hope and possibility rather than in terms of unrealistic desire and escape, "will-full rather than wishful thinking" (Levitas *Concept* 88). Marcuse uses the term utopia somewhat ironically in his speech "The End of Utopia" by simultaneously using it in its common negative connotation, as a "historical concept [that] refers to projects for social change that are considered impossible," and as the possibility of radical change that has emerged and refuted the argument of impossibility. He explains as follows: "Today we have the capacity to turn the world into hell, and we are well on the way to doing so. We also have the capacity to turn it into the opposite of hell. This would mean the end of utopia, that is, the refutation of those ideas and theories that use the concept of utopia to denounce certain socio-historical possibilities" (63).

The contemporary utopian theorist Levitas opposes this earlier emphasis on hope and possibility in defining utopia and utopianism as restrictive. Instead, she argues that "the essential element in utopia is not hope, but desire," "the desire for a different, better way of being" (*Concept* 191, 181). Making a similar argument but from the opposite angle, Sargent claims that "the basis of all utopianism is dissatisfaction" ("Ideology and Utopia" 440). In a similar vein, Moylan argues that

utopianism is "at heart, rooted in the unfulfilled needs and wants of specific classes, groups, and individuals in their unique historical contexts" (*Demand the Impossible* 1). Levitas also draws attention to this historical and socially-constructed aspect of the concept, defining utopia as "a social construct which arises not from a 'natural' impulse subject to social mediation, but as a socially constructed response to an *equally* socially constructed gap between needs and wants generated by a particular society and the satisfactions available to and distributed by it" (*Concept* 183, original emphasis). Manuel and Manuel, on the other hand, in their historical exploration of the development of *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (1979) (in which they refuse to give a restrictive definition of utopia, preferring to leave it fluid and flexible) "presuppose the existence of a utopian propensity in man" (5), thus taking utopianism as a universal and innate human disposition rather than a socially constructed response. Likewise, Sargent claims that utopianism existed since the beginning of human consciousness, and gives as examples a Sumerian clay tablet that mentions a golden age, and Hindu ashrams as intentional communities ("Theorizing Utopia" 13).

Sargent defines utopia and utopianism more neutrally as "the dreams and nightmares that concern the ways in which groups of people arrange their lives and which usually envision a significantly different society than the one in which the dreamers live" ("Theorizing Utopia" 13). A similar focus on difference rather than perfection or improvement in defining utopianism is adopted by Jameson, who, while claiming like the Manuels the futility of definitions of utopia, since each definition "exclude[s] whole areas" of the concept (*Archaeologies* 1), describes utopian form [as] "a representational meditation on radical difference, radical otherness and on the systemic totality, to the point where one cannot imagine any fundamental change in our social existence which has not first thrown off Utopian visions like so many sparks from a comet," further explaining that "[t]he fundamental dynamic of any Utopian politics (or of any political Utopianism) will therefore always lie in the dialectic of Identity and Difference, to the degree to

which such politics aims at imagining, and sometimes even realizing, a system radically different from this one" (xii).

Sargent's definition of utopias as "the dreams and nightmares [that] envision a significantly different society" implies that he incorporates the category of dystopia into his definition of utopia. In fact, he explains elsewhere that "the utopian views humanity and its future with either hope or alarm. If viewed with hope, the result is usually utopia. If viewed with alarm, the result is usually dystopia" (*Introduction* loc. 383-84). On the relationship of utopia and andti-utopia, or dystopia, Kumar argues that,

> utopia and anti-utopia are antithetical yet interdependent. They are 'contrast concepts', getting their meaning and significance from their mutual differences. But the relationship is not symmetrical or equal. The anti-utopia is formed by utopia, and feeds parasitically on it. It depends for its survival on the persistence of utopia. Utopia is the original, anti-utopia the copy – only, as it were, always coloured black. It is utopia that provides the positive content to which anti-utopia makes the negative response. [...] It is the mirror-image of utopia – but a distorted image, seen in a cracked mirror. (100)

According to Kumar, then, anti-utopia works to deconstruct utopian proposals and anticipations by showing the proposed system as a nightmare rather than dream. However, from another angle, it can be argued that anti-utopia or dystopia provides a satire, not of utopian proposals, but of the direction in which it perceives the current situation to be headed. By projecting the realities of contemporary society, taken to their extreme but possible conclusion, onto a nightmarish future, dystopias can function as incentives to change. In this case, dystopia could be seen as complementary rather than antithetical to utopia, serving a utopian function by inspiring change through a depiction of what will come to be (or the truth of what

actually is) if there is none. This argument is fundamental to Chapter 4 of this thesis, where dystopian lyrics serving utopian functions are analysed.

In theorising utopia and utopianism, some writers focus exclusively or at least overwhelmingly on either one of these concepts while largely ignoring the other – for instance, Bloch and Mannheim discuss utopianism, in other words the ideational aspect of the concept, referring to utopian thought or the utopian propensity in humans, while Kumar discusses utopia as a literary genre – while others, like the Manuels, discuss them together as different aspects of the same phenomenon. Meanwhile, some of these theorists come up with categories which can be used to distinguish between the different aspects of the concept(s), thus enabling a more focused analysis.

Levitas explains how utopia can be defined in terms of content, form or function. Definitions in terms of content involve value judgements, such as the preference of certain descriptions of good societies over others, or the preference of possible, thus progressive and anticipatory depictions over impossible and thus regressive and compensatory ones (*Concept* 4). Definitions of form, which according to Levitas have been preferred by the liberal-humanist tradition, equate utopia with the "description of a good society", or with the depiction of an ideal commonwealth, or as a specific literary genre (5). Finally, definitions in terms of function see utopia as "presenting some kind of goal" or at least "rais[ing] questions about what the goal should be" (5). Definitions based on function are generally preferred by Marxist discussions of utopia, with its function either being designated as negative – as preventing social change – or positive, as facilitating it (6). Of these categories, both definitions in terms of content and those in terms of function are relevant to this thesis, since utopian content is explored in the poetry of the Romantics and the rock lyrics of the Sixties, alongside a discussion of the utopian function of Romantic poetry and Sixties lyrics, at least as perceived by the utopian movements that produced them. Moreover, these categories are especially useful in Chapter 4, where the lyrics analysed are dystopian in content but utopian in

function. Definitions in terms of form, on the other hand, are not particularly relevant as the works studied are not formal utopias but works containing either implicit or explicit utopian content and function.

Claeys makes a simpler distinction, categorising the three domains of utopia as utopian thought, utopian literature, and practical attempts to found improved communities. Of these categories, the first and third pertain to the present study, and the second pertains only in the very general sense of literature involving utopian content, rather than the more restricted sense of utopia as genre. Indeed, a general overview of the historical development of utopia as genre reveals an interesting pattern in which periods of great utopian aspirations, when theories of how to radically change society and of what kind of society should be striven for and activism aimed at bringing such transformation about flourished – the Enlightenment, the French Revolution and the Romantic period, the mid-nineteenth century and the 1960s – are also periods in which no great work of utopian literature was produced.

Sargent refers to "the three faces of utopianism," explaining that utopianism can manifest itself as a literary genre that describes an ideal society, as active utopian practice that includes a range of activities from founding experimental alternative communities based on a certain set of principles or values, to engaging in "social and political activity intended to bring about a better society and, in some cases, personal transformation" or as utopian social theory in which it is used as a "method of analysis" (*Utopianism* loc. 364-8). These categories all refer to overt and planned utopian acts and do not include a more subtle utopian impulse running through literary and cultural phenomena, and in that sense are not very useful in relation to the present study, although the second category pertains to one aspect of Romantic and Sixties utopianism to be discussed.

Jameson makes a distinction between the utopian program that involves "planners", whether literary or political, like More and Fourier, and the utopian impulse that necessitates interpreters like Bloch ("Utopia as Method" 25).

According to him, the utopian program is based in radical difference and has an enclave structure; in other words, it is a totality, having strict "boundaries between the utopian and nonutopian," whether carried out on an ambitious scale (a utopian nation for instance) or a modest one (an intentional community) (ibid.). The utopian impulse, on the other hand, exists in fragments that "express utopian desire and invest it in a variety of unexpected and disguised, concealed, distorted ways" (25-6). It does not involve closure, nor does it correspond to a plan or praxis, and it requires interpretation, with the interpreter looking for traces of the utopian in the real (26). While useful analytic categories, these are somewhat problematic when applied to the present discussion. Although Romantic and Sixties utopianism carry elements of a utopian program, especially in their activist facets and intentional communities, it is never an organised program with a blueprint, but one based on values. On the other hand, both movements are definitely based in radical difference, with the proposed transformed condition involving values and elements that are a direct reaction to existing ones. Moreover, although the analysis will be searching for utopian traces in the culture and literary output of the Romantic Age and the Sixties, referring to these traces as fragments would be misleading due to their prevalent nature during those time periods.

Finally, the Manuels designate three different types of utopia based on the setting of the different condition that is described or implied: *(e)utopia*, *euchronia* and *eupsychia*. The first of these, a word and pun coined by More, meaning both "no place" and "good place," refers to the original type of utopias, popular until the nineteenth century, in which the good or ideal place described is set in a far away and non-existent land. This results in a hypothetical exercise, aimed predominantly at satirising the present condition and provoking thought about how it could be changed. *Euchronia*, meaning "good time" is a term coined by the Manuels to denote a new mode of utopianism in which the good place is set in the future, thus implying the possibility of achieving it and breeding a more progressive and political type of utopianism (4). The Manuels cite this change, which peaked in the

nineteenth century, as "a major departure in Western utopia and utopian thought that occurred when good place, good state of consciousness, and good constitution were all translated to a good future time" (ibid.). The third term *eupsychia*, the Manuels borrow from psychologist Abraham Maslow to signify an "ideal state of consciousness," referring to a transformation of the consciousness rather than of the socio-political condition and which thus brings utopianism to the personal and spiritual sphere (ibid.). Euchronia and eupsychia are highly relevant to the discussion of Romantic and Sixties utopianism, the former signifying their socio-political aspect, which aims to bring about transformation to a better condition of life in the very near future, and the latter to their personal and spiritual aspect, which deals with transformation of the individual consciousness to achieve an ideal state of being.

A combination of relevant approaches from these definitions and categorisations of utopia and utopianism will perhaps yield a useful, working definition for the current study. Accordingly, utopianism can be defined as the hope for, or the belief in the possibility of and the intellectual, cultural and political activity towards the attainment of a radically different, better way of living and being, and utopia (in the form of euchronia and eupsychia) as the end result, incorporating the values and elements that the utopians hope to achieve as the outcome of the radical transformation that they endeavour to bring about. The method used in the analysis of the utopianisms of the Romantic Age and the Sixties will involve a discussion of the utopian worldview generated by the oppositional cultures of these periods, an exploration of the utopian function of the works analysed, especially as attributed to them by both the poets themselves and by the utopian culture to which they belong, and an excavation of the sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit utopian content of the works.

Theoretical works concerned with utopianism and the academic study of utopia emerged in the twentieth century and proliferated in the 1960s (Levitas *Concept* 9). Theoreticians of utopianism have been concerned with a number of

common issues and come up with various ways of overcoming them. One of these issues is the function of utopia (whether as text, impulse or social theory), especially in terms of its relation to social and political change. The discussion of the function of utopia is almost always interwoven with the attempt to rescue the concept of utopia from its negative connotations and interpretations through an exploration of the progressive, political roles that it can play. Thus, the early utopian theorists Mannheim, Bloch and Marcuse endeavour to reconcile utopianism with Marxism, which has traditionally rejected it as regressive[10] and as based on unrealisable dreams instead of a scientific view of historical development (Levitas *Concept* 39, 83, 131), by revealing its transformative and anticipatory qualities and thereby reclaiming utopia as an agent of social and political transformation. The later theorists Levitas and Jameson, on the other hand, attempt to rescue utopia from the oblivion and negative interpretations it suffers under the influence of poststructuralism and postmodernism, by revealing political and subversive uses to which it can be put, although the optimism of the earlier theorists is replaced by a more subdued approach. Another common concern of theorists has been the issue of how utopia can be achieved, or at least how the utopian impulse can be maintained and developed, in the contemporary social setting in which they live. This issue is generally discussed through an enumeration of the forces working against utopia, along with a proposal of how they are to be overcome and the sources or areas where the utopian impulse can be sought and nurtured.

In *Ideology and Utopia*, Mannheim assigns the negative attribute of sustaining the status quo to ideology, while defining the function of utopia as that of "burst[ing] the bonds of the existing order" (173). Thus, anything that serves to

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[10]This began with Marx and Engels' disparaging label of Owen, Fourier and Saint-Simon as "utopian socialists" as opposed to what they perceived as their own "scientific" socialism (Kumar 53). As Kumar explains, "Marx and Engels distinguished themselves from the utopians principally in their understanding of how socialism would come about. While utopians dreamed up schemes of ideal societies, the Marxists thought they had discovered the 'law of motion' of history and society that was, more or less inevitable, delivering socialism as the final stage of human history" (53).

sustain the existing order by expressing wishful thinking rather than inspiring the will to change, Mannheim ascribes to the field of ideology:

> Wishful thinking has always figured in human affairs. When the imagination finds no satisfaction in existing reality, it seeks refuge in wishfully constructed places and periods. Myths, fairy-tales, other-worldly promises of religion, humanistic fantasies, travel romances, have been continually changing expressions of that which was lacking in actual life. They were more nearly complementary colours in the picture of the reality of the existing time than utopias working in opposition to the *status quo* and disintegrating it" (184).

Moreover, he argues that utopias only seem unrealisable from the perspective of the social order, in other words the ideology, in which they emerge; but to be truly considered utopian they must turn out to be realisable (177-9). This argument gave rise to what Sargent refers to as the Mannheim Paradox ("Ideology and Utopia" 445), another central issue that the theorists discussed were concerned with, the question of how anyone surrounded and defined by their social context and its ideology, can assume a position outside of that ideology that will enable them to envision a radical transformation of it. Mannheim proposes as solution the figure of "a 'free-floating individual', who, through social mobility, is freed from class and social origins, will be able to do so" (Sargent "Ideology and Utopia" 445).

By referring to the utopian propensity as the "principle of hope" and utopianism as a "forward dream" (12), Bloch already endows the concept with an implicit progressive function. Bloch describes hope as "superior to fear, neither passive like the latter, nor locked into nothingness. The emotion of hope goes out of itself, makes people broad instead of confining them", thus giving this emotion or principle the attributes of being active, positive and expansive (Bloch 12, 3). Moreover, he describes the progressive and activist function of hope by arguing that the "work of this emotion requires people to throw themselves actively into

what is becoming, to which they themselves belong" (12). According to Bloch, this "anticipatory consciousness" is a human propensity that is diffused through culture and thought and can be found hidden even in the most seemingly regressive of discourses (Levitas *Concept* 86), which he sets out to reveal in his three-volume work. He explains that:

> function and content of hope are experienced continuously, and in times of rising societies they have been continuously activated and extended. Only in times of a declining old society, like modern Western society does a certain partial and transitory intention run exclusively downwards. Then fear presents itself as the subjectivist, nihilism as the objectivist mask of the crisis phenomenon: which is tolerated but not seen through, which is lamented but not changed (Bloch 4)

Thus, the social condition in which he writes is not conducive to utopianism. He argues that "bourgeois interest would like to draw every other interest opposed to it into its own failure; so, in order to drain the new life, it makes its own agony apparently fundamental, apparently ontological" (4). In spite of this adverse social climate, however, Bloch's theory of utopia does not fall into the Mannheim Paradox, because his argument is that the world is in the process of becoming, and the future is not determined, but a realm of possibilities; thus, all possible futures are a part of reality, rather than outside it (Levitas *Concept* 87). Bloch refers to this realm of possibilities as the "Not Yet", which has an ideological/subjective and a material/objective aspect, the "Not-Yet-Conscious" and the "Not-Yet-Become" (Bloch 9, 11). He makes a distinction between the concept of the unconscious as it had hitherto been understood (as comprising past experiences) and his own (forward-looking) concept of the not-yet-conscious:

> A central task in this part is the *discovery and unmistakable notation of the 'Not-Yet-Conscious'*. That

is: a relatively still Unconscious disposed towards its other side, forwards rather than backwards. Towards the side of something new that is dawning up, that has never been conscious before, not, for example, something forgotten, something rememberable that has been, something that has sunk into the subconscious in repressed or archaic fashion [...] People thought they had discovered that everything present is loaded with memory, with past in the cellar of the No-Longer-Conscious. What they had not discovered was that there is in present material, indeed in what is remembered itself, an impetus and a sense of being broken off, a brooding quality and an anticipation of Not-Yet-Become (Bloch 11)

Thus, Bloch locates the source of the utopian impulse in an area free of ideological coding: the unconscious. It follows that utopia is an expression of the Not-Yet-Conscious that reaches forward to the Not-Yet-Become, "an anticipation of the future (rather than merely a compensation for the present) and, through its effects on human purpose and action, a catalyst of the future" (Levitas *Concept* 87).

Marcuse was an important Sixties figure who actively supported radical social, political, personal and moral transformation through a series of works and lectures, including *Eros and Civilization* (1955), *One-Dimensional Man* (1964), "The End of Utopia" (1967), and T*he Aesthetic Dimension* (1978). Marcuse's main argument is that the technological and material conditions for radically transforming the world now exist but that their rational application is prevented by the existing system ("End of Utopia" 65). The technological and material conditions he refers to are the advanced industrial production techniques that could in theory abolish the scarcity gap and thus the need for both institutionalised repression and alienated labour (*Eros and Civilization* 92). Accordingly, he argues that "[t]oday any form of the concrete world, of human life, any transformation of the technical and natural environment is a possibility, and the locus of this possibility is historical" and that "these historical possibilities must be conceived in forms that signify a break

rather than a continuity with previous history, its negation rather than its positive continuation, difference rather than progress" ("End of Utopia" 63, 66). For this to take place, an optimistic yet realistic opposition is necessary, "free of all illusion but also of all defeatism, for through its mere existence defeatism betrays the possibility of freedom to the status quo" (70).

Like Mannheim, Marcuse argues that the impossibility attributed to projects of social change "due to the so-called immaturity of the social situation, [in other words] the absence of subjective and objective factors" for its realisation are in fact only "provisionally unfeasible," seeming so from the point of view within the existing social system ("End of Utopia" 64). The existing system, however, has produced false needs to replace and repress true, vital ones, so that the desire or need for transforming the system no longer exists, even though the means to do so do. The false needs created by advanced capitalism to ensure its own continuation Marcuse exemplifies as the need to continue extended labour, "to have to earn everything in a life that is as miserable as can be," the struggle for existence, competition, "wasteful, ruinous productivity" that leads to destruction, "deceitful repression of the instincts" (68). In order to bring about the transformation of society, then, these false needs must be transformed into the vital, natural needs of humanity, which will in turn induce the necessity of transforming the existing system into one better suited to provide them. These vital needs he lists as "the biological need for peace" and calm, the need for freedom, "the need to be alone, with oneself or with others whom one has chosen oneself," "the need for the beautiful," and "the need for 'undeserved' happiness" (66-8). If such a transformation of needs were carried out, the result would be new human relations, a new organisation of society and the restoration of nature (68).

However, the contemporary, "one-dimensional society" has so successfully reproduced its repression internally in the consciousness of the society through its continual development and satisfaction of controlled needs, that the necessary transformation is difficult to achieve because of the lack of desire to change the

existing system ("End of Utopia" 64). This is the point at which Marcuse comes up against the Mannheim Paradox, as he himself explains:

> for new, revolutionary needs to develop, the mechanisms that reproduce the old needs must be abolished. In order for them to be abolished, there must first be a need to abolish them; this is the circle in which we are placed, and I do not know how to get out of it. ("End of Utopia" 81)

However, there are certain areas and groups of people who remain outside of this "one-dimensional" system, thus constituting hope. Marcuse cites the Sixties students movements and the counterculture, which he describes "as negative forces within advanced capitalism," "anarchically unorganized, spontaneous tendencies – that herald a total break with the dominant needs of repressive society as one of the most important of these groups, as well as finding their "moral-sexual rebellion," a significant "disintegrative factor" that subverts the dominant Judaeo-Christian morality (70, 72). Although he does not believe these subversive movements to be adequate to bringing about a revolution, he believes that if they are able to join other such movements, such as Third World liberation movements which already possess the vital needs and the desire for change, in a broad movement of political force, then there will be a possibility of revolution (76). Marcuse does not cite the working class as a subversive force, especially in the United States, claiming that it has become completely incorporated into the dominant system (86). Besides the student and Third World movements, Marcuse, like Bloch, also believes the aesthetic dimension to be a subversive area that can contribute to the transformation of consciousness by expressing and keeping alive the possibility of an alternative. Levitas explains that "[b]oth writers regard art as the expression of a wished-for world which has now become possible; both see this expression as essential to the process of transformation, because it offers both vision and experience of an alternative which can then be realised…its role is

indispensable" (*Concept* 149). "Art cannot change the world, but it can contribute to changing the consciousness and drives of men and women who could change the world," Marcuse asserts (*Aesthetic Dimension* 32).

The one-dimensional society that Marcuse describes becomes an even greater issue for contemporary theoreticians of utopia who, writing decades after the hopeful utopian atmosphere of the Sixties, during which Marcuse could at least list a number of oppositional forces located outside of the one-dimensional society that might yet succeed in overcoming it, now describe a social system that has dominated and pervaded not only all levels and areas of Western society but has also taken over most of the world through globalisation. As a result, both Jameson and Levitas offer more subdued, but still political uses for utopianism, arguing for its use as an analytical method rather than a goal or program under present circumstances.

According to Jameson, "Utopian space is an imaginary enclave within real social space" and therefore "the very possibility of Utopian space is itself a result of spatial and social differentiation" (*Archaeologies* 15). Jameson argues that utopian fantasy needs such a space, which he refers to as a Utopian enclave, in which to function (ibid.). During the 16th and 17th centuries, he explains, geographical discoveries provided such enclaves in the form of newly-discovered, faraway lands, while the bourgeois eras of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided a psychic enclave in the form of modern subjectivity, resulting in "that separate codicil called cultural revolution" (18-20). However, at the present time, industrialisation has "so completely colonized social space as to close all the loopholes and make enclave-like withdrawal impossible," he claims, and adds that "[i]ndeed, it is precisely the closing of those loopholes (and the advent of the perspective of a concrete World Market) which is now called postmodernity (or globalization) and spells an end to this type of Utopian fantasy" (20). Added to this are several other factors contributing to the decline of utopianism: the accumulation of money and the related "omnipresent consumerism" that keep the

system in place by breeding the illusion that utopia is already here, the loss of the modern belief in the idea of progress and of the possibility of fundamental change, and what Jameson refers to as "cynical reason" (which "knows everything about our own society, everything that is wrong with late capitalism, all the structural toxicities of the system, and yet declines indignation in a kind of impotent lucidity that may not even be bad faith") ("Utopia as Method" 24). As a result of all of these factors, Jameson explains that "the four fundamental threats to the survival of the human race today – ecological catastrophe, worldwide poverty and famine, structural unemployment on a global scale, and the seemingly uncontrollable traffic in armaments of all kinds, including smart bombs and unmanned drones" – are met with no "counterforce" of grand utopian vision ("Utopia as Method 22).

Under these circumstances, Jameson proposes a re-evaluation of utopia as a method of analysis, "an operation calculated to disclose the limits of our own imagination of the future, the lines beyond which we do not seem able to go in imagining changes in our own society and world (except in the direction of dystopia and catastrophe)" and thus reveal to us significant things about our present ("Utopia as Method" 23-4). In other words, rather than attempting to overcome the Mannheim Paradox, Jameson accepts the impossibility of imagining anything outside of the pervasive social system and ideology in which we live, due to the closing of all the loopholes that previous utopians turned to, and chooses to use this impossibility as a method by which to analyse that social system. He describes his method as "inverted genealogy" or "prospective hermeneutic" (hence the title of his book, *Archaeologies of the Future*), which he explains as neither predictive like Marx's approach nor based on identifying the operations of collective wish fulfilment in common or unpleasant phenomena like Bloch's approach, but rather as an attempt to "change the valences on phenomena that so far exist only in our present and experimentally to declare positive things that are clearly negative in our own world, to affirm that dystopia is in reality utopia if examined more closely, to isolate specific features in our empirical present so as to read them as

components of a different system" ("Utopia as Method" 41-2). Using this method, he excavates, for instance, the phenomenon of Wal-Mart for components and structures that hint at a different (but not necessarily better) future system. Jameson claims this to be a political act in terms of its "contribution to the reawakening of the imagination of possible and alternate futures, a reawakening of that historicity which our system – offering itself as the very end of history – necessarily represses and paralyzes" (42). His is thus an effort to rescue the utopian impulse from its suppressed position, seeing it as a drive that is necessary, although not adequate, for bringing about political action, and describing his approach as one of "anti-anti-Utopianism" (*Archaeologies* xvi).

Levitas agrees with Jameson about the state of utopia at the present time, and the conclusion that a new approach, one in which utopia functions as method, is necessary. Like Jameson, Levitas points out that, due to the "weakening of the belief in progress and the extent of human control over society [...] the function of utopia [has reverted] from that of goal and catalyst of change to one of criticism, and the education of desire, without any necessary move forward into action" (*Concept* 195-6). This education of desire is similar to Marcuse's transformation of needs, aimed at generating the desire for a different, better way of being. Furthermore, just as Jameson criticises the postmodern approach of "cynical realism," Levitas criticises "the anti-utopian discourse [that] equates utopia with a blueprint producing violence and terror, and gives rise to a politics of quiescent subordination to the dictates of capitalist markets" (*Imaginary Reconstitution* xiii) as well as the "excesses of postmodern literary social theory" that refuses to engage with utopia as "transformative political thought or future-oriented sociology"[11] (125). In response to these, she asserts that "it is not unrealistic to imagine alternatives; neither the real or the possible is limited to the actual" (140).

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[11] Moylan also mentions "the anti-utopian 'common sense' that permeates the social imaginary of these 'kinder and gentler' times," and "the suspicious attitudes towards utopian discourse in the reigning post-structuralist theories (ranging from constructively critical to cynically dismissive" ("Utopian Studies: Sharpening the Debate" 1)

Moreover, she states that "the spirit of '68 in this broader sense of utopian energies in Europe and North America has been largely extinguished and survives only in vestigial forms; and this is a disaster, not only for those that do not do well out of unbridled capitalism, but for our collective capacity to address the current environmental crisis" ("Be Realistic: Demand the Impossible" 78).

In *Utopia as Method: The Imaginary Reconstitution of Society* Levitas proposes a utopian method, the "Imaginary Reconstitution of Society", or IROS, which has three aspects: archaeological, ontological and architectural (xi, xvii). The archaeological aspect is analytical, concerned with finding the absent or implicit utopian elements of the status quo. In other words, it attempts to make explicit, rather than taking for granted as the reality, the kinds of society implied in existing dominant political programs. The designation of the existing system as one possible utopian scheme opens up the consideration of alternatives to that scheme (ibid.). In fact, Levitas's archaeological utopian method does the opposite of Jameson's, but with the same end in mind: the former opens up the existing system to criticism and question and the imagination to alternatives by revealing it be a utopian scheme, while the latter opens up the imagination to alternatives by analysing systems that seem dystopian today, but that have the potential of changing the status quo, as hypothetically utopian to reveal that different future alternatives are possible. The ontological aspect of IROS is concerned with the subjects and agents of utopia, while the architectural aspect is constructive, building the idea of an alternative system, as literary utopias and intentional communities do (ibid.). According to Levitas, the reconstitution of society in both the imagination and eventually the reality is a pressing need, due to the instability and inadequacy of global capitalism and the ecological crisis with which the world is faced (xi). Her attitude is both more urgent and more optimistic than that of Jameson when she asserts that utopia is not impossible, rather the continuation of the present reality is: change is both essential and inevitable (xii). In fact, although she prefers to define utopia in terms of desire rather than hope, for a broader and more inclusive definition, she laments

the lack of the hope in present society as preventing much-needed transformation: "Yes, there is resistance. Yes, there is an awareness that we need to live differently. But what is lacking – at least in the developed West – is the exuberant sense of the possibility of living otherwise, of wanting differently – a truly utopian emphasis upon the education of desire" ("Be Realistic: Demand the Impossible" 90).

It is important to note, once again, that these important theories of utopianism do not form the theoretical framework of this study. The definition of utopia and utopianism arrived at through a combination of the relevant aspects, elements and functions of utopia put forth by the eminent critics and theoreticians of the field yields a useful working definition on which to base the discussion of Romantic and Sixties manifestations of the concept: utopianism as the hope for, the belief in the possibility of and the intellectual, cultural and political activity towards the attainment of a radically different, better way of living and being, utopia (in the form of euchronia and eupsychia) as the end result, incorporating the values and elements that the utopians hope to achieve as the outcome of the radical transformation that they endeavour to bring about, and the utopian method as involving a discussion of the utopian worldview generated by the oppositional cultures of the periods in question, an excavation of the sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit utopian content of the poetry belonging to them, and an exploration of the (perceived) utopian function of that poetry.

This discussion concerning the most important theoretical developments in utopian studies, and concentrated on some of the most vital issues raised by theoreticians – the definition and function of utopia and utopianism, how to achieve utopia or maintain the utopian impulse under the conditions presented by advanced capitalism, the forces working against utopianism and how they are to be overcome and the attempt to liberate the concept from its negative connotations and interpretations – not only provides the academic context in which this particular study on Romantic and Sixties utopianism is situated, but also reveals how important the Sixties were as the last eruption of utopian desires, hopes and

aspirations on a mass and international scale. Bloch wrote his *Principle of Hope* in the period leading up to the Sixties, while Marcuse was the utopian theorist of the epoch, and one who the student movements and the counterculture looked up to. Almost all contemporary theoreticians and critics refer to the Sixties in some context or other as a decade of great utopian hope and activity[12]. Interestingly enough, the Romantic Age, although frequently and popularly referred to as a revolutionary period, has not attracted similar attention as a utopian period by utopian studies: historical surveys of the development of utopianism mention the French Revolution (as a result of Enlightenment utopianism), the utopian socialists as Romantic era utopians (who are not connected to the Romantic cultural and literary movement but happen to share the same time period), and the development of a nineteenth century utopianism, in response to the Industrial Revolution, based on the belief in progress and the scientific approach to historicity[13]. Thus, although the Romantic Age and the Sixties have been compared in other ways, both the exploration of the utopianism implicit in the works of Romantic poets and intellectuals and the concept of Sixties utopianism as a revival of Romantic utopianism serve as contributions to this field of study.

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[12] For instance, Levitas "Be Realistic: Demand the Impossible" (78-9), Sargent "Theorizing Utopia" (17-8), Moylan *Demand the Impossible* (9-10), Jameson "Utopia as Method" 24, *Archaeologies* 20.

[13] For instance, Manuel and Manuel *Utopian Thought in the Western World* and Kumar *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times*.

CHAPTER 3

RE-PRELAPSARIANISM:
UTOPIANISM IN THE ROMANTIC AGE

This chapter discusses the mode of utopianism specific to the Romantic Movement, as illustrated by the writings, both poetry and prose, of the prominent and representative English Romantics and American Transcendentalists, with occasional mention of the German Idealists of the Jena School. Romantic utopianism was a unique manifestation, a product of the poets' reactions to the intense social, political and economic revolutions and upheavals of the time. It was shaped by particular interpretations of the history of humankind, both material and spiritual, general and individual.

Until the end of the eighteenth century, the classical view of history dominated the intellectual world and according to this view, history was comprised of cyclical periods during which every rise would be followed by a fall and vice versa (Kumar 42). This view of history inevitably led to the idea that true change was impossible, since "the overall course of events [went] from bad to better to best to worse to worst to better, and so on, time without end" (Abrams *Natural Supernaturalism* 34). Consequently, Enlightenment philosophers were sceptical of utopianism, seeing an enduring optimum system as an improbable fantasy" (Manuel & Manuel 414). Therefore, until the end of the eighteenth century, utopias were envisaged as existing in a distant place, and often carried the aim of satirising contemporary society and inspiring reform rather than that of actually making the utopian dream or scheme come true.

This changed at the end of the eighteenth century, and a new view of history as a linear process of progress and advancement that would inevitably lead to the eventual attainment of a utopian condition, through the advent of reason and science, came to dominate the nineteenth century. Thus, a new type of utopia

emerged, which the Manuels have termed euchronia, meaning good time rather than good place (as in the pun on the original world by More, [e]utopia), to indicate that utopias were now located in the future and were seen as attainable prospects (4). In between these two utopian modes there emerged in the cultural writings of the Romantic poets, a third view of history, according to which history was both cyclical and progressive: it was spiral, so that the end saw a return to the beginning, but in a transformed and bettered way. Although calling for socio-political transformation, this historical perspective, and its accompanying mode of utopianism, were based upon a mystical interpretation of human development, a naturalised supernaturalism that gave its title to Abrams' book. In this naturalised spiritual interpretation, the Judaeo-Christian concepts of the Fall of Man, original sin, and Eden and Paradise form the foundation of Romantic utopianism and its spiral account of human history.

Historians of utopianism designate the Judaeo-Christian story of the Garden of Eden and the Fall from that state of blissful existence to the present one of pain and toil, as one of the precursors of utopianism (Kumar 3, Sargent loc. loc. 1433-5, 1444-6, Manuel & Manuel 17). The element of utopianism in this Judaeo-Christian history of humanity is present in the possibility of a return to the original ideal condition, implicit in the promise of Paradise as a reward for faith and good works. In fact, the concept of the Fall and the way in which it is interpreted plays a vital role throughout the history of western utopianism (Kenyon 25-35). The question of whether humanity is innately flawed and born with the curse of original sin, or whether humans are born neither good nor bad, but choose to be so through their free will, or whether humans are born innately good and then gradually corrupted by society, informs the very basis of the utopian society being envisioned. Indeed, many critics argue that utopianism requires the rejection of the doctrine of original sin, or at least the belief in the possibility for redemption in spite of it (Sargent loc. 1444-6, Kumar 28, Wells 299, Shklar 104). Thus, the first position regarding the Fall mentioned above, if conducive to utopianism at all, requires a utopia in which

human behaviour is strictly controlled and the system, organisation or establishment makes up for human weakness through a set of rigid structures. The second position entails a utopia in which the system is conducive to good behaviour, leading humans to choose to be good rather than bad, either because it is more rewarding or because they have been well-educated in matters of morality and ethics. The final position calls for a utopia which tries to protect as much as possible the original, pure state of humans; in other words to keep them as close as possible to their natural state, thus requiring not more but less restraint and influence from social institutions, and focusing on a natural rather than an urban setting. This last position was the one espoused by the Romantics.

Because of the story of the Fall and the doctrine of original sin, then, there is actually a fundamental conflict between Christianity and utopianism, in spite of the utopian elements present in its promise of Paradise. In fact, due to the Fall and original sin, a utopian society, place or existence in this world is not only seen as impossible, but the attempt at such is taken to be arrogant, "an act of Promethean defiance" (Kumar 11). Instead, humans should accept the world as one of pain and suffering and endure its trials in the hope of being granted a return to bliss in Paradise by God (10-11). Thus, the ideal condition to be achieved is placed in another realm, and largely at the mercy of God.

However, Kumar refers to certain unorthodox interpretations of the Scriptures that overcame this conflict between the doctrine of original sin and utopianism through alternative explanations of the doctrine and of the associated issue of human perfectibility (15). One of these unorthodox interpretations was undertaken by the dissenting sect of Unitarianism, which was to have a great influence on Coleridge during his youth and, across the Atlantic, was the movement from which American Transcendentalism emerged. Joseph Priestley was the leading Unitarian in England, as well as one of the most famous radicals of the time. Priestley advocated an understanding of Christianity based on a rational interpretation of the Bible, and in his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*

(1782), he argued against many of the doctrines assumed by orthodox Christianity, including original sin and the divinity of Jesus Christ, whom he argued was human (Butler 46). Likewise, William Ellery Channing, leading preacher of the Unitarians in America, as well as mentor to Emerson, "portrayed orthodox Congregationalism as a religion of fear, and maintained that Jesus saved human beings from sin, not just from punishment" (Goodman no pg.). In his sermon "Unitarian Christianity," delivered in 1819, Channing defended Unitarianism against attacks and discussed its approach to interpreting the Scriptures and the major doctrines that it espoused. According to him Unitarianism, sharing the Enlightenment focus on reason, attempts to interpret the Bible in the light of this faculty (3). Channing especially emphasises the point that each individual has the capacity and the responsibility to try to understand the Scriptures, thus adopting an individualistic as well as a Scripture- rather than tradition-based approach (19). The most important doctrines separating the Unitarians from orthodox interpretations of Christianity, Channing lists as the doctrine of God's Unity and oneness (the understanding that rejects the concept of the Trinity), the associated doctrine of Jesus Christ's unity (as a human being, not as one with both divine and human attributes), the doctrine of the moral perfection of God, the understanding that Jesus came to teach and show the path of righteousness rather than to atone for the sins of mankind, and the understanding that virtue "has its foundation in the moral nature of man" (5-15).

Of these, the third and fifth are particularly relevant to Romantic utopianism. The doctrine of the moral perfection of God leads to a rejection of all interpretations of Christianity, such as Calvinist predestination, or the doctrine of original sin, that lead to a notion of a tyrannical God, for if human beings are born sinful or if their eventual destination in heaven or hell is pre-determined by God, they cannot be held responsible for their sins, and consequently all punishment bestowed on them by God would be unjust (12). Moreover, the Unitarian perception of God as "infinitely good, kind, benevolent" and as having "unborrowed, underived, and unchangeable love," leads to the conclusion that

human beings must be born, not tainted by original sin, but with the capacity of both good and evil and are responsible for their choices (12-4). This leads to the fifth doctrine about virtue being founded in the moral nature of man, which derives from the moral nature of God (15). Furthermore, because they take Jesus Christ's humanity as one of their main premises, Unitarians interpret such passages of the Scriptures that refer to him as divine, or perfect, like Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father is in heaven perfect" (Matthew 5:48), to be referring to the potential perfectibility of humankind and its potential ability to become one with and partake of the divinity of God. This interpretation gives a mystical and Neoplatonic aspect to the reason-based sect. For instance, in his "Likeness to God" (1828), Channing proposed that human beings "partake" of Divinity and that they may achieve "a growing likeness to the Supreme Being" (Goodman no pg.). He thus "began to develop a religion of continuous spiritual and moral development, or self-culture, in which each individual aspired to an ever-increasing 'likeness to God'" (Robinson *Political* 2).

In his (in)famous "Divinity School Address" (1838) Emerson, once a Unitarian minister before finding even its liberal tenets restrictive, took these doctrines one step further (Robinson *Political* 5), and towards a more mystical and transcendental interpretation. In Emerson's scheme, the Unity of God becomes a more Neoplatonic or pantheistic creed of "one will, one mind," which "is everywhere active, in each ray of the star, in each wavelet of the pool" and which is purely Good, all evil being merely the absence of good "merely privative, not absolute: it is like cold, which is the privation of heat. All evil is so much death or nonentity" ("Divinity School Address" no pg.). As a result of being a part of this one good will, the human soul is also inherently good and this innate goodness is the source of the moral sentiment:

> The intuition of the moral sentiment is an insight of
> the perfection of the laws of the soul. These laws
> execute themselves. They are out of time, out of
> space, and not subject to circumstance. Thus; in the

> soul of man there is a justice whose retributions are instant and entire. He who does a good deed, is instantly ennobled. He who does a mean deed, is by the action itself contracted. (ibid.)

Accordingly, Jesus Christ was important, not because of his miracles or because he was God or his son, but because he

> saw with open eyes the mystery of the soul [and] [a]lone in all history, he estimated the greatness of man. [...] He saw that God incarnates himself in man, and evermore goes forth anew to take possession of his world. He said, in this jubilee of sublime emotion, "I am divine. Through me, God acts; through me, speaks. Would you see God, see me; or, see thee, when thou also thinkest as I now think." But what a distortion did his doctrine and memory suffer in the same, in the next, and the following ages! (ibid.).

Meanwhile, as Abrams points out, on the other side of the Atlantic, Coleridge and the German Romantics that he was influenced by, like Schiller, Schelling and Hölderlin, "interpret[ed] the theological doctrine of the Fall, in metaphysical terms, as a falling away, a fragmentation, of man from his primal unity with uncorrupted nature" (*Correspondent Breeze* 125).

These mystical interpretations of the Fall, original sin and the perfectibility of man were a determining factor of the utopian attitude of the Romantic period. T. E. Hulme defined romantics, disparagingly, "as all who do not believe in the Fall of Man" (256). According to the Romantics on both sides of the Atlantic, the Fall did not cause humankind to become unedifiably corrupt or sinful, and the world to become an inevitably imperfect place for these corrupt souls. Rather, the "Fall" was a falling apart, a loss of unity, and a falling away, a loss of innocence. On the macrocosmic level, this was the falling away of human from God, human from nature, and socially, of human from human which lead to the disintegration, fragmentation and alienation that plagues society. On the microcosmic level, it was

the falling apart of man's true nature, so that the different faculties or aspects became dissociated from one another and the sense of a unified, complete self was lost, which lead to the human's self-alienation. Therefore, the Romantics suggested, if humanity gets back in touch with its true nature and the divinity present within each person and if it can re-create a world-order – a social, political, economic system – that will be in harmony with both nature and human nature rather than working to corrupt them, then a "return to innocence" will be possible. Forstman describes this as "a vision of reality as a cosmic process of separation from and return to the One. Salvation consists in the ultimate reunification with or of the One – a reintegration" (116). Moreover, the eventual reintegration and reconciliation will be of a higher state than the initial state of unity and innocence, for the initial state was an ignorant bliss, while the final stage will be a mature state of knowledge and understanding that has been achieved consciously and willingly. As Riasanovsky elucidates,

> Romantic structure was typically threefold. Moreover, the third stage consisted of a return to the first. Often the pattern has been described as union, separation, and reunion. Yet the third stage, reunion, usually did not mean the exact replay of the initial union but, rather, a union made somehow richer through the experience and the overcoming of the period or stage of separation. In philosophical and historical terms the romanticists frequently defined the third stage as a conscious union in contrast to the original unconscious one, as a fully understood and articulated and therefore stronger condition. It is remarkable to what extent that pattern prevailed throughout romanticism". (91)

It is for this reason that it is a spiral rather than cyclical interpretation of history. It proposes the re-attainment of the lost unity and innocence, a progress towards a new Edenic condition, rather than a return to the original condition (which would imply regression rather than progression).

In the context of utopianism, on the macrocosmic level this spiral view of history explains the human condition in relation to the doctrine of the Fall: its present, far from ideal position, but also its ultimate end in the re-achievement of utopia. On the microcosmic level, it explains each individual's life cycle, coming to the world in a state of innocence and unity, the loss of that innocence and unity as the child turns into man and is corrupted by the influence of society, or suffers a specific crisis, and the potential of a re-attainment of that state through personal transformation. It is possible to see different versions of this understanding of the Fall in the Romantic poets and philosophers, and Abrams' broad survey of the idea reveals it to be a central tenet of Romantic thought. Abrams bases his argument around the figure of Wordsworth and his "Prospectus" to the *Recluse*, which, according to him, stood "as the manifesto of [this] central Romantic enterprise" (*Natural Supernaturalism* 14). In this poem, which was included in the Preface to his *The Excursion*, Wordsworth proclaims that

> [...]   Paradise, and groves
> Elysian, Fortunate Fields — like those of old
> Sought in the Atlantic Main, why should they be
> A history only of departed things,
> Or a mere fiction of what never was?
> For the discerning intellect of Man,
> When wedded to this goodly universe
> In love and holy passion, shall find these
> A simple produce of the common day. (47-55)

It is thus Wordsworth's aim, his "high argument," to reveal "[h]ow exquisitely the individual Mind" and "the external World" are fitted to each other and "the creation" that their union will result in (63-71). Wordsworth thus concentrates on the microcosmic story of the reintegration of the human (mind) with nature to bring about a new heavenly existence in this world. Significantly, as his use of the words Paradise and Elysium (referring to the heavenly places in the future) instead of Eden

and Arcadia (the heavenly places of the past) illustrate, this is a progress towards a new heavenly existence rather than a return to the prelapsarian state.

Blake's approach to the spiral history of humanity was, as may be expected, more abstract and mythological; his prophetic books simultaneously reveal both the microcosmic and macrocosmic story of the fall from and re-attainment of unity. Abrams explains that "Blake's prophetic books narrate various stages of the division and reintegration of the Universal Man, whose life story is the collective representation of the history and potential future of 'every man'—that is, of each human individual" (Abrams *Natural Supernaturalism* 257). Blake names the prelapsarian condition "Perfect Unity" and the primal human being "Universal Man," who incorporates both male and female, humanity and cosmos within him, similar to the One of Neoplatonism. In this scheme, the fall of the Universal Man is a fall into division, "and since this is a fragmentation of unitary man both into isolated individuals and into an alien external world, the fall coincides with the creation of man and nature, as we ordinarily experience these entities" (Abrams *Natural Supernaturalism* 258). Likewise, Ostriker points out that Blake, in whose vision of history "humanity [was] originally and ultimately androgynous [...] depict[s] a fallen state in which sexual division – lapse of unity between male and female as one being – is the prototype of every division within the self, between self and other, and between humanity and God" (107); therefore, "[a]t the close of his three longest poems Blake imagines an apocalypse in which selfhood is relinquished and male and female are reunified" (ibid.).

Emerson also claimed that "the reason why the world lacks unity and lies broken and in heaps, is because man is disunited with himself" ("Nature" loc. 1046). According to Michaud,

> Emerson's Transcendentalism is 'a doctrine of degree,'
> from symbolism to idealism, from first sight to insight.
> Emerson's view of the world is a doctrine of relations
> and analogies linked on an ascending plane. Starting

> from symbolism and the ideal-real, we climb the
> platonic scale with new vistas and prospects opening
> before us. (79)

In a similar Neoplatonic vein to Blake, Coleridge "explain[ed] that all history, both of the race and of each human being, although it seems linear to short-sighted man, manifests itself to him who sees present, past, and future in one purview as a great circle from the One back to the One by way of the many" (Abrams *Natural Supernaturalism* 273). Moreover, he emphasised that "the intellectual, cultural, and moral aim of man is not to return to the undifferentiated unity at the beginning of development, but to strive toward the multiety-in-unity at its end" (Abrams *Natural Supernaturalism* 269). According to Abrams and Riasanovsky, this same interpretation of human history as a spiral structure from unity to division back to a better kind of unity is also present in Schiller and Schlegel (*Natural Supernaturalism* 207, Riasanovsky 93). As Riasanovsky concludes, "[i]ndeed, it is difficult to deal with romantic ideology to any extent without encountering this tripartite dialectic" (ibid.).

The utopian attitude that emerges as a result of this spiral, Romantic interpretation of human history, I have termed *re-prelapsarianism*. It was prelapsarian because of its assumption that the Fall was not a permanent falling out of, but a temporary falling away from innocence and unity; a state that could be once again achieved. It was this belief in a *progress* towards a new state of innocence and unity that prevented this worldview from being compensatory or regressive. In other words, re-prelapsarianism did not sanction the preservation of a static condition of unity, nor did it serve a merely compensatory function by providing an escape from the present into the past. Rather, it posited an active move towards regaining a unity that exists in the source of our being. Riasanovsky explains this utopian attitude as follows:

> Humanity moved from the original golden age, when man and nature were one, to a period of a deplorable separation and then to the third stage of a triumphant reunification and a new and golden age, even more golden for its having overcome and absorbed the period of division (51)

According to the Romantics, this re-prelapsarian world that humankind should strive to progress towards must be a world in which, like the Garden of Eden, humankind lives in harmony with nature, is free from restraints, and all souls (and bodies) are equal.

Re-prelapsarian utopianism, accordingly, had a socio-political aspect, linked to its macrocosmic manifestation and a personal and spiritual aspect, linked to its microcosmic manifestation. The socio-political aspect of re-prelapsarian utopianism required rebuilding society on the foundation of natural structures rather than the existing institutions and on natural rights instead of social conventions. Most importantly, it required reintegrating social relationships to bring about a harmonious society. Consequently, the most important value or power necessary for socio-political re-prelapsarianism was love, in its very broad sense as an integrating and unifying force serving to bring humans together in harmony. The personal and spiritual aspect of re-prelapsarianism required each individual to attempt to regain the original state of innocence and unity through the transformation of consciousness; it was thus a form of eupsychia, an ideal state of consciousness. The most important value, or faculty, in relation to personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism was the unifying power of the imagination, which served to re-unite the mind with nature and the human with the One, God or the cosmos.

A distinguishing factor of socio-political re-prelapsarianism from other utopian schemes concerned with transforming the socio-political situation, was that although it was socio-political in the sense that it was concerned with the transformation of society and the establishment of a utopian way of existence in

the social sphere, a secular heaven on Earth, it was largely located in the philosophical, emotional and ideational spheres instead of the sphere of active involvement. The problem of the disintegration of society and the alienation of its members from one another and from nature was of major concern to the Romantics. They predominantly approached it, however, not actively or concretely through devising utopian schemes or attempting to bring about a political revolution, nor rationally and scientifically through down-to-earth explanations of how society was to bring about change or how the new society was to be structured. The Romantic approach consisted more of visions and prophecies, philosophical speculations and poetic enactments of apocalypse, revolution or transformation. "The predominant note of Romantic poetry is its assertion, its vision of a universe or a society resolved into concord," says Foakes (15). Its major utopian function was thus in imagining and envisioning an alternative way of being, a function that utopian theorists find crucial, as discussed in the previous chapter.

However, despite this predominantly prophetic and visionary mode of socio-political re-prelapsarianism, and the commonly held view of Romanticism as apolitical, escapist and removed from social and political realities, there were, in fact very important humanitarian and civil causes that the Romantics actively supported. Indeed, Hobsbawm remarks of the Romantics that "[n]ever has it been less true to describe creative artists as 'uncommitted'" (*Age of Revolution* 256). Similarly, Raymond Williams writes in *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*,

> Than the poets from Blake and Wordsworth to Shelley and Keats there have been few generations of creative writers more deeply interested and more involved in study and criticism of the society of their day. Yet a fact so evident, and so easily capable of confirmation, accords uneasily in our own time with that popular and general conception of the "romantic artist" which, paradoxically, has been primarily derived from study of these same poets. In this conception, the Poet, the Artist, is by nature indifferent to the crude worldliness

and materialism of politics and social affairs; he is devoted, rather, to the more substantial spheres of natural beauty and personal feeling. (33)

The reason for this misconception Williams cites as "the supposed opposition between attention to natural beauty and attention to government, or between personal feeling and the nature of man in society" which, he contends, "is on the whole a later development" (33). On the contrary, the Romantics saw these as "interlocking [rather than contrary] interests: a conclusion about personal feeling became a conclusion about society, and an observation of natural beauty carried a necessary moral reference to the whole and unified life of man" (ibid.). Abrams makes a similar argument when he writes that,

> In the folklore which has accumulated around Romantic literature, it has been a frequent claim that Romantic writers evaded the political and social crises of their era by ignoring them, or by escaping into a fantasy world [...] [Actually,] many of the major philosophical and imaginative works are permeated with political and social issues; what obscures this fact is that these issues are often submerged, manifesting their presence only by indirection and allusion. (*Natural Supernaturalism* 357)

Robinson describes Emerson's work in similar terms, arguing that although "Emerson's Transcendentalism was principally theological and literary,"

> it had an implicit political edge. The dismissal of authority necessitated by his insistence on private judgement, and the resistance to established institutions and assumptions that this implied, fed a growing sentiment of social unrest, and Emerson increasingly found himself regarded as a dangerous anti-establishment figure [...] Emerson's spiritual message was beginning to merge with a wider mood of political unrest and an upsurge of democratic agitation and utopian experimentation. He was finding himself a

leader in a wider movement than he had anticipated.
(*Political* 6)

In order to understand this engagement with the political in their work, whether directly or metaphorically, overtly or implicitly, it must be remembered that the Romantics were every day experiencing the tumult and upheavals and the major changes being wrought in politics and society. Emerson wrote in his journal that "[i]t is impossible to extricate yourself from the questions in which your age is involved. You can no more keep out of politics than you can keep out of the frost" (qtd. in Robinson 1). Thus, Williams draws attention to this fact that might easily escape the twenty-first century reader of Romantic poetry: "The changes that we receive as record were experienced, in these years, on the senses: hunger, suffering, conflict, dislocation; hope, energy, vision, dedication. The pattern of change was not background, as we may now be inclined to study it; it was, rather, the mould in which general experience was cast" (34).

Hobsbawm names the period between 1789-1848, which was roughly the period in which Romanticism reigned, as the "Age of Revolution" during which the "dual revolution – the rather more political French and the industrial (British) revolution" "form[ed] the greatest transformation in human history since the remote times when men invented agriculture and metallurgy, writing, the city and the state (*Age of Revolution* 1-2). It was for this reason that "the Romantic period was eminently an age obsessed with the fact of violent and inclusive change, and Romantic poetry cannot be understood, historically without awareness of the degree to which this preoccupation affected its substance and form," as Abrams argues (*Correspondent Breeze* 46). It was also for this reason that it was a period in which utopian thinking flourished, for Bloch asserts that "[a]ll times of change are [...] filled with Not-Yet-Conscious, even overfilled; a Not-Yet-Conscious which is carried by a rising class" (Bloch 119). Therefore, the revolutionary period in which Romanticism emerged undoubtedly had a great role to play in its mode of

utopianism. The late eighteenth century witnessed an explosion of change, in the political, economic, philosophical and cultural spheres of life – and the same can be said of early nineteenth century America, "one of the most turbulent and formative periods in the history of the United States" (Robinson 1) – that deeply influenced the Romantics and helped shape the modern world thereafter.

The American and French Revolutions were a great inspiration for Romantic utopianism. Indeed, both have been interpreted as utopian experiments themselves. The utopianism pertaining to these revolutions, however, was that of the Enlightenment (Berlin 7). Their role was as cause, rather than effect of Romantic utopianism. Especially the French Revolution played a vital role in the shaping of both socio-political and personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism for, as Hobsbawn explains, "it was, alone of all the revolutions which preceded and followed it, a mass social revolution, and immeasurably more radical than any comparative upheaval," bringing about more radical and fundamental changes (54). Initially, it inspired a hope and belief in achieving utopia at the present time; indeed many early Romantics saw the French Revolution as apocalyptic, although in a secular rather than religious sense, and looked forward to the new world that would emerge as its result. For many young intellectuals who witnessed that period, the French Revolution represented, indeed prophesied the "dawn of a new era," as Hazlitt described it (*Plain Speaker*, 426). Many truly believed it was an apocalypse, signalling the end of the old world order and the beginning of a new, better, and more ideal world order:

> Few persons but those who have lived in it can conceive or comprehend what the memory of the French Revolution was, nor what a visionary world seemed to open upon those who were just entering it. Old things seemed passing away, and nothing was dreamt of but the regeneration of the human race. (Southey 52)

Similarly, Wordsworth reminisced in his *Prelude*,

> O pleasant exercise of hope and joy!
> For great were the auxiliars which then stood
> Upon our side, we who were strong in love!
> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very Heaven! (105-9)

This belief in an imminent utopia to be brought about by the French Revolution filled the hearts of these youths with immense hope; "the fairest aspirations of the human mind seemed about to be realised" (Hazlitt *Literary Remains* 248). Humanity seemed to have unlimited potential; humankind would re-create the world on the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Brotherhood. All the Romantics, the Lake Poets in England, the "leading figures (Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling)" of German Romanticism, the second generation of English Romantics and the American Transcendentalists initially "hailed the French Revolution and indeed remained loyal to it for a considerable time" (Hobsbawm *Age of Revolution* 250).

The Industrial Revolution, the zenith of which was slightly prior to but more or less contemporary with the French Revolution (Hobsbawm *Age of Revolution* 29), inspired utopianism in a very different way. Hobsbawm argues that "the transition to the new economy created misery and discontent, the materials of social revolution" (*Age of Revolution* 38). The major social and economic issues and problems brought about by industrialism constituted a new set of concerns for utopians and utopian schemes: issues that they would have to address and solve in their proposals. In fact, the re-prelapsarian emphasis on the disintegration of the human and his separation from himself, from other human beings and from nature, was perhaps one of the first manifestations of a concern that is seen again and again in utopian schemes following the Industrial Revolution: the transcendence of alienation[14]. Levitas links this concept, which is concerned with "the reconciliation

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[14] Marx describes communism "as the positive abolition [...] of human self-alienation, and thus the real appropriation of human nature through and for man" and as "the definitive resolution of the

of human beings and nature, of non-alienated labour as creative activity, [and] the
creation of human relations freed from the struggle for existence" to "Romantic
anti-capitalism" (*Concept* 150, 129). Abrams sums up this recurring concern as
follows:

> [T]he claim that man, who was once well, is now ill,
> and that at the core of the modern malaise lies his
> fragmentation, dissociation, estrangement, or (in the
> most highly charged of these parallel terms)
> "alienation." The individual (so runs the familiar
> analysis) has become radically split in three main
> aspects. He is divided within himself, he is divided
> from other men, and he is divided from his
> environment; his only hope for recovery (for those
> writers who hold out hope) is to find the way to a
> reintegration which will restore his unity with himself,
> his community with his fellow men, and his
> companionability with an alien and hostile outer
> world" (*Natural Supernaturalism* 145).

This quest was a vital part of Romantic re-prelapsarianism, which followed directly
upon the Industrial Revolution, and would also become a vital part of the post-
industrial Sixties re-prelapsarianism. Other utopians, including Owen, Saint-Simon,
and, later on, Marcuse, propounded that industrialism would eventually serve to
enable utopia by helping humans to overcome the scarcity gap through its
advanced methods of production (Levitas *Concept* 36, *Eros and Civilization* 92).
According to such utopians, the problems caused by the Industrial Revolution were
temporary pangs that would eventually lead to a better world. The Romantics,
however, reacted against what they saw as the dehumanising and denaturalising
effects of industrialisation. As Foakes states, "human society became an image of

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antagonism between man and nature, and between man and man" (Marx in Kumar 52). Bloch
explains that "the quest is for the transcendence of alienation, the overcoming of antagonism
between humanity and the world, for feeling at home in the world" (95). Similarly, according to
Marcuse, the "theory of alienation demonstrated the fact that man does not realize himself in his
labor, that his life has become an instrument of labor, that his work and its products have assumed a
form and power independent of him as an individual (*Eros and Civilization* 105).

waste, futility and ultimate disorder – so in Romantic and Victorian poetry the city becomes an image of spiritual exhaustion, or even an image of hell" (44). Wordsworth interprets the modern conditions in his "Preface" as follows:

> For a multitude of causes, unknown to former times, are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the mind, and, unfitting it for all voluntary exertion, to reduce it to a state of almost savage torpor. The most effective of these causes are the great national events that are daily taking place, and the increasing accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident, which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies. (239)

In reaction to what they saw as these dystopian changes, the Romantics turned to the preindustrial (and often pre-Enlightenment) past and to nature.

Due to the interpretation of the Fall as a falling apart, a division and disintegration and the ensuing central concern of the transcendence of alienation, a unifying, reintegrating, harmonising force was necessary for achieving re-prelapsarianism. This, the Romantics found in the concept of love. As Abrams explains, "[i]f essential evil is equated with the aggregate of what drives things apart, then essential good will be equated with the aggregate of what pulls the sundered parts together; and for this centripetal force the most eligible general name is 'love'" (*Natural Supernaturalism* 173). Love was seen as the value that would reintegrate person to person, male to female, human to nature; it was the ultimate unifying power. Shelley described "Love [as] the bond and the sanction which connects not only man with man but with everything which exists" ("Essay on Love" 1). Riasanovsky describes the connection between Romantic thought and love as follows:

> Like the concept of nature, the concept of love provided both some continuity and a major focus of

> concentration for romanticism [...] Romanticists have
> been repeatedly charged with a divinization of human
> love – with making that love the supreme value and
> arbiter in the universe [...] romanticism contributed to
> the secularization of the concept of love and to its
> enormous prominence in modern Western culture.
> (87-8)

As Riasanovsky's explanation intimates, this focus on love may have been a secularisation of the Christian concept of God as love and the consequent understanding of the need to love God and his creation:

> Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God;
> and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth
> God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is
> love. [...] Beloved, if God so loveth us, we ought also to
> love one another. No man hath seen God at any time.
> If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his
> love is perfected in us. (1 John 4:7-12)

Accordingly, love is used in a very broad context, covering a whole array of human relationships as well as the love of nature, or a universal love of all creation:

> In the broad Romantic application of the term "love,"
> as in recent depth-psychology, all modes of human
> attraction are conceived as one in kind, different only
> in object and degree, in a range which includes the
> relations of lover to beloved, children to parents,
> brother to sister, friend to friend, and individual to
> humanity. The orbit of love was often enlarged to
> include the relationship of man to nature as well.
> (Abrams *Natural Supernaturalism* 279)

What was specific was that love was interpreted as a positive, constructive and unifying power, rather than a simple human emotion or attraction.

The connection that the Romantics formed between love and utopian transformation is evident in many of their poems and prose works. In "France: An

Ode", Coleridge describes how, after seeking Liberty in political action and power, specifically in the French Revolution, and ending up disappointed, he at last finds it in the love (and unity) that he feels for nature and the world:

> O Liberty! with profitless endeavour
> Have I pursued thee, many a weary hour;
> But thou nor swell'st the victor's strain, nor ever
> Didst breathe thy soul in forms of human power.
>   [...]
> And there I felt thee!—on that sea-cliff's verge,
> Whose pines, scarce travelled by the breeze above,
> Had made one murmur with the distant surge!
> Yes, while I stood and gazed, my temples bare,
> And shot my being through earth, sea, and air,
> Possessing all things with intensest love,
> O Liberty! my spirit felt thee there.
>   (89-92, 99-105)

In Blake's prophetic poems, the Universal Man, originally androgynous, has been sundered apart, its male and female aspects becoming divided. They must be reunited in love in order for regeneration to take place and for paradise to be restored, as Abrams explains: "[Blake's *Jerusalem*] closes with the dawn of 'the Eternal Day' of a universal resurrection in a restored paradise, illuminated by an etching of Albion and Jerusalem in an embrace of love" (*Natural Supernaturalism* 30). Thus, Blake uses the allegory of sexual love as the epitome of this unifying power. A similar allegory can be seen in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, in which Prometheus and his female counterpart Asia have been torn apart by the tyrant Jupiter and each is trapped. Jupiter is apparently the product of Prometheus's hatred, however, for as soon as his hatred turns into compassion, Asia is released and Jupiter dethroned, and the play ends in the consummation of Prometheus and Asia and the humans who attend their reunion. Thus, love brings about the revolution that overthrows Jupiter and rejuvenates humanity and the world. Hogle

points out that "the release of Love, as everyone knows, is the basis of social revolution for Shelley" (Hogle in Ulmer 18). As Ulmer expounds,

> Shelley's poems "attempt to affirm regenerative love as an ever-present possibility. They try to lay the psychological ground-work for revolution in the belief 'that until the mind can love, and admire, and trust, and hope, and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are as seed cast upon the highway of life,' trampled into uselessness (Preface to *Prometheus Unbound*, 135). Shelley's poetry strives to promulgate millennial ideals, to empower them casually in representations enacting their realization" (Ulmer 19).

Abrams suggests that even Wordsworth is more a love poet than he is a nature poet,

> by lexical statistics, at any rate: H. J. C. Grierson has calculated that in his writings the ratio of the word "love" to "nature" is thirteen to eight. The sovereign function of poetry for Wordsworth is to sustain and propagate connectedness, which is love; the poet, as he said in the Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, "is the rock of defence of human nature; an upholder and preserver, carrying everywhere with him relationship and love". (*Natural Supernaturalism* 285)

Consequently, the Romantics believed that in order for the re-prelapsarian ideal to be achieved in the socio-political sphere, it was necessary for society in general, and human relationships (as well as the human mind) in particular, to be ruled by love. This same conviction of love as the central value necessary for utopia was revived in the utopianism of the Sixties counterculture, as will be seen in the following chapter.

Related to the value of love and a fundamental aspect of socio-political re-prelapsarianism was the eighteenth century philosophy of sentimentalism. Sentimentalism involved two basic tenets, one of which "was based on the

philosophy of social benevolence" that began with the moral sense theory of Shaftesbury and was "developed most systematically by the 'Scottish rationalists' such as Hutcheson, David Hume and Adam Smith" (White 54), and the other on the philosophy of Rousseau. The first of these tenets was the assumption that the natural and innate sentiments of the human being motivate him to virtue and morality, "an insistence that innately, within every human being, is a knowledge that some things are right and some things are wrong, and that this knowledge 'written on the human heart' stems from the very fact of being human and part of nature" (White 12). Hutcheson held that "by the frame of our nature we have compassionate, generous and benevolent affections which owe nothing at all to calculations of self-interest" and that "a morally good act is one motivated by benevolence, a desire for the happiness of others" (Broadie no pg.).

This was one of the principles embraced by the Unitarians in their separation from Calvinist doctrine. Robinson argues that "Hutcheson's argument that humans can and do act out of purely selfless concern for others [...] helped Channing to dismiss Calvinist ideas of debilitating original sin" and the Unitarians "began to develop an ethical theory that moral sense or moral sentiment was the basis for the human capacity for good" (*Political* 2). According to this view of human nature then, morality was not the result of the reason or rational thought, but the result of an innate moral sense based in the feelings, stemming from our humanity, that motivated us to be good. Reddy explains that "Sentimentalism taught that pity, benevolence, love, and gratitude were expressions of the same natural sensitivity, the root of morality, and the foundation of all social bonds, and that stimulating these feelings was the best protection against unruly passions and a necessary training for virtue" (127). As Hazlitt wrote "the human mind is naturally disinterested, or [...] it is naturally interested in the welfare of others in the same way, and from the same direct motives, by which we are impelled to the pursuit of our own interest" (*Human Action* 1).

The second tenet of sentimentalism, the belief that man was originally and initially good by nature before being corrupted by society, was closely related to this first, for it was because man was naturally good that he had an innate moral sense and his sentiments were morally reliable. This view of human nature was most forcefully brought forth by Rousseau, who, as Berlin explains:

> thought that man was naturally neither neutral nor wicked, but good, and had been ruined only by institutions of his own making. If these institutions could be altered or reformed in a very drastic way, man's natural goodness would burst forth, and the reign of love could be once again created upon earth. (Berlin 24-5)

T. E. Hulme identified this creed as the "root of all romanticism" (116), declaring that

> All Romanticism springs from Rousseau, and the key to it can be found even in the first sentence of the Social Contract [...] In other words, man is by nature something wonderful, of unlimited powers, and if hitherto he has not appeared so, it is because of external obstacles and fetters, which it should be the main business of social politics to remove. (255)

The classical view of human nature that Hulme supports in opposition to this Romantic or sentimentalist view "springs from the exactly contrary conception of man; the conviction that man is by nature bad or limited, and can consequently only accomplish anything of value by discipline, ethical, heroic, or political" (256).

As Hulme suggests, Rousseau's philosophy concerning human nature was at the heart of the Romantic approach to human nature and original sin. McGavran states that "[i]n the *Social Contract* and also in his educational treatise *Emile*, Rousseau had reversed the Judeo-Christian doctrine of original sin to argue that man in nature is innocent and good and that it is our social institutions of home,

school, church, and state that corrupt us" (3). Rather than seeing man as a naturally flawed and sinful being who must be educated and trained into morality, "Rousseau repeatedly claim[ed] that a single idea [was] at the centre of his world view, namely, that human beings are good by nature but are rendered corrupt by society" (Bertram no pg.). "God makes all things good; man meddles with them and they become evil," he wrote in *Emile* (1), as Wordsworth would also write later in "The Tables Turned":

> Sweet is the lore which Nature brings;
> Our meddling intellect
> Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things:--
> We murder to dissect. (25-8)

Man does not spoil nature because he is innately flawed, but because he, too, has been spoiled by the corrupt social system: he is a victim before becoming a perpetrator. As Rousseau explained:

> [Man] forces one soil to yield the products of another, one tree to bear another's fruit. He confuses and confounds time, place, and natural conditions. He mutilates his dog, his horse, and his slave. He destroys and defaces all things; he loves all that is deformed and monstrous; he will have nothing as nature made it, not even man himself, who must learn his paces like a saddle-horse, and be shaped to his master's taste like the trees in his garden. (*Emile* 1)

Rousseau saw this as the inevitable result of society, for as soon as man comes into contact with other men his original, basic desire for self-preservation comes into contact with competition and the desire to be favoured by others and thus degenerates from the simple self-love (*amour de soi*) required for self-preservation to pride and vanity (*amour propre*) (Bertram no pg.).

This distinction between two different types of love reveals Rousseau's concern with the value that became so central to Romantic thought.

> If the soul follows the dictates of the elemental passions, it is preoccupied only with objects that concern *amour de soi*, love of self, a desire for self-preservation, and such feelings are, paradoxically, naturally loving and gentle. But man in his present wretched estate, living in a world overcrowded with superfluous objects, becomes obsessed with the things that stand in the way of his desire to the point where the ultimate goal is lost sight of and the feelings themselves turn irascible and hating. Thus the primal emotion of love of self, which is good and absolute and self-moved, gets transformed into the *amour propre*, self-esteem, a feeling derived from comparison with others, a relative, reactive emotion. (Manuel & Manuel 444)

In spite of the different terminology that he uses, and the lack of attention to the kind of unifying love that could occur between human beings as opposed to the feeling of vanity that arises out of competition, Rousseau's explanation has strong affinity to the Romantic concept of love that was to develop later on. For the Romantics, frequently, "the antithesis and opponent of unitive love had been self-love" (Abrams *Natural Supernaturalism* 285). Here, unitive love would be what Rousseau terms, somewhat contrarily, as self-love and self-love would be what he terms *amour propre*, referring to pride or vanity. Moreover, Rousseau's mention of the "superfluous objects" that distract man from his true goals and make him bitter and hateful looks forward to Marcuse's theory of true and false needs and his conviction that a transformation of desire is necessary for the achievement of utopia ("End of Utopia" 68). The same conviction can be seen in Thoreau who, in his explanation of his utopian experiment of dissociating himself from the corrupting influence of society and civilisation by living alone and self-sufficiently in nature, puts forth that "[m]ost of the luxuries and many of the so-called comforts of life are not only not indispensable, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind" ("Walden" loc. 928).

Rousseau believed that as long as man lived in society and not isolated in nature, this state of degeneration was inevitable: "The state of nature of the *Discours sur l'inegalite* was a hypothesis, 'a state that no longer exists and that perhaps has never existed,' and Rousseau was explicit in asserting that mankind could not regress to it, enviable though it was. Perhaps in character, the *Discours* falls somewhere between a heuristic device and a sketch of a utopian consciousness" (Manuel & Manuel 438). He thus attempted in *Emile* to show the best that was possible within this degenerate state.

Rousseau's "notion that civilisation (and growing away from childhood) is what corrupts, was very influential over Romantics like Wordsworth and Blake" (White 89). The Romantics, however, were more optimistic, believing that the present state of degeneration and disintegration was only an intermediary state that was necessary for humanity to learn, develop and mature, eventually attaining a mature version of the original unity and innocence. Due to this emphasis on the original state for which humanity must strive, Romanticism has been labelled as primitivist. As Hobsbawm explicates, "[i]t was accepted among romantics of all shades that 'the folk', i.e. normally the pre-industrial peasant or craftsman, exemplified the uncorrupted virtues and that its language, song, story and custom was the true repository of the soul of the people. To return to that simplicity and virtue was the aim of the Wordsworth of *Lyrical Ballads*" (*Age of Revolution* 266). In his "Preface" to the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth explains that he has chosen "low and rustic life" as the subject for his poems,

> because in that condition, the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language; because in that condition of life our elementary feelings co-exist in a state of greater simplicity, and, consequently, may be more accurately contemplated and more forcibly communicated; because the manners of rural life germinate from those elementary feelings; and, from

> the necessary character of rural occupations, are more easily comprehended; and are more durable; and lastly, because in that condition the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature. ("Preface" 236)

According to McGann, "Wordsworth's rural ideal is a Rousseauist trope for an 'original' psychic simplicity. Read in social terms, the trope argues that England can reverse its process of historical corruption" (121). Thus, as a result of the change in approach brought about by sentimentalism, with the influence of the Industrial Revolution looming behind it, humanity went from being perceived as a corrupt, beastly species born in sin, that must be civilised and educated and refined in order to be improved, to being perceived as an innocent, good, naturally moral species that must be protected from the degenerative influence of society and civilisation.

Primitivism was not necessarily a regressive idea; indeed, Hobsbawm states that "[i]t has been overwhelmingly a revolutionary dream, whether in the form of the golden age of communism, of the equality 'when Adam delved and Eve span' [...] or the noble savage showing up the deficiencies of a corrupt society" (*Age of Revolution* 265-6). Thus, "[f]rom Rousseau, who held it up as the ideal of free social man, to the socialists primitive society was a sort of model for utopia" (267). Moreover, culture was crucial to the Romantics, as the importance that they attached to poetry and other fine arts makes evident and the major improvement of the re-prelapsarian condition on the prelapsarian one was to be the addition of culture to the state of unity and purity. Consequently, for Romantic utopianism, primitivism served as a guide towards a new condition of unity and innocence, one which also incorporated culture and the experience gained in the journey.

The key virtue that arose out of sentimentalism and was indeed a subcategory of the central value love, was empathy: the attempt to imagine oneself in another person's position and thereby to understand them, to feel what they are feeling and think what they were thinking and thus make their problems your own.

Adam Smith held that "[a]s spectator of an agent's suffering we form in our imagination a copy of such 'impression of our own senses' as we have experienced when we have been in a situation of the kind the agent is in: 'we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with the agent'" (Broadie no pg.). In his *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Smith stated that "[his] thesis is that our fellow-feeling for the misery of others comes from our imaginatively changing places with the sufferer, thereby coming to conceive what he feels or even to feel what he feels" (1). Empathy was therefore an important way in which the alienation between humans could be overcome. Wordsworth explained that "it will be the wish of the poet to bring his feelings near to those of the persons whose feelings he describes, nay, for short spaces of time perhaps, to let himself slip into an entire delusion, and even confound and identify his own feelings with theirs" ("Preface" 246). Rousseau stressed the importance of pity (a feeling that must be achieved, as his following description makes clear, through empathy) and,

> argues that just as 'pity becomes all the more intense as the perceiving animal identifies itself more intimately with this suffering animal' so in man, the 'feeling that puts us in the place of the sufferer' (100–1) becomes an 'obscure but strong' feeling in savage man, 'but weak in civilized man'. It is therefore very certain that pity is a natural sentiment which, by moderating in each individual the activity of self-love, contributes to the mutual preservation of the whole species. It is pity which carries us without reflection to the aid of those we see suffering; it is pity which in the state of nature takes the place of laws, morals and virtue. (White 89)

Likewise, according to Hazlitt, "a sentiment of general benevolence can only arise from an habitual cultivation of the natural disposition of the mind to sympathise with the feelings of others by constantly taking an interest in those which we know,

and imagining others that we do not know" (Hazlitt *Human Action* 41). Empathy and pity can thus be seen as essential components of the value of love and results of the faculty of imagination. Drawing attention to the interrelation of empathy, love and imagination, Shelley declared that the "great secret of morals is Love; or a going out of our own nature," and that "man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own" ("Defence" 32). Likewise, in *Endymion*, Keats defined love and friendship as the "chief intensity" that results from "self-destroying": losing oneself and merging with another human being (799-800).

It is possible to see this empathetic attitude in the poems of Blake and Wordsworth, both of whom empathised with – by making them the personae of their poems – figures who had been marginalised or treated unfairly by society, thereby attempting to raise awareness, and inspire pity and the desire for reform. Emerson points out this new trend of bringing once marginalised people and topics to the centre of attention and concern, commenting that "[t]he literature of the poor, the feelings of the child, the philosophy of the street, the meaning of the household life, are the topics of the time. It is a great stride. It is a sign — is it not? — of new vigor, when the extremities are made active, when currents of warm life run into the hands and feet" (Emerson "The American Scholar" loc. 1370). Examples of this new focus in Romantic poems include Wordsworth's "The Mad Mother," "The Female Vagrant" and "The Idiot Boy", which attempt to raise sympathy for marginal figures by making readers see the world through their point of view. Birlik writes of the *Lyrical Ballads* that "the personae or the characters whose stories are told in these poems can be anyone from a mad mother, a small village girl, an idiot boy, a vagrant woman or a rural youth who is left unemployed after the war and returns home to find that his family is no longer there" and points out that "none of these characters are prosperous like the distinguished characters portrayed in Augustan Neoclassical poetry. Instead, they are decentred persons, shunned,

ignored, marginalised and silenced by the dominant discourse, which often defined them in accordance with its own worldview and thus demonised them" (57). Consequently, even the act of writing of and through the perspectives of these characters was politically subversive. There was also explicit satire, such as in Blake's "The Chimney Sweeper" poems, which comment scathingly on child labour, and his "The Little Black Boy" on racism. Blake indeed summed up the meaning and significance of the feeling of empathy in one of the poems of his *Songs of Innocence*:

> Can I see another's woe,
> And not be in sorrow too?
> Can I see another's grief,
> And not seek for kind relief?
>
> Can I see a falling tear,
> And not feel my sorrow's share?
> Can a father see his child
> Weep, nor be with sorrow fill'd?
>
> Can a mother sit and hear
> An infant groan an infant fear?
> No, no! never can it be!
> Never, never can it be! (1-12)

Empathy was also closely connected to another fundamental aspect of re-prelapsarianism. According to Whitney, belief in the goodness of human nature and the potential for achieving utopia led to a key aspect of Romanticism, "an aspect of the age which symbolizes a fundamental revolution in the thought of the English people": humanitarianism (159). This manifested itself in endeavours to abolish the slave trade, to relieve poverty, to reform working conditions, to prevent child labour, and a diversity of other such causes. This attitude was also a result of the concept of natural rights, which White argues to have gained urgency and currency in England in the 1790s, following the American and French Revolutions (3, 6):

> Natural rights, defined most simply, are rights that all people possess (some would say all living creatures), those which are justified by the very fact of being alive. They are inferences from one fundamental and primary right which is taken to be equal for everybody – the right that each and every individual has to preserve his or her life – and its corollary, the right to be protected from having life foreshortened. Such rights can include, for example, not only the right not to be murdered but also more positively, shelter, clothing, food, and more abstractly, an impartial legal system, equal educational and employment opportunities, and the ability to participate in the way a country is governed, so that each person is then responsible for defending the lives of all. (2-3)

White explains that "the demand changed from an initially passionate but unfocused call for 'rights of man' to a set of single issues such as the rights of slaves, rights of political participation, rights of women, children, and so on (2). Accordingly, "Thoreau denounced the absurdity of a court in Boston 'trying a MAN, to find out if he is not really a SLAVE,' when the question has already been 'decided from eternity'" (Goodman no pg.). Similarly, "[i]n his 'Lecture on Slavery' of 1855, Emerson calls the original 1787 Constitution's recognition of slavery a "crime", and he contrasts the written law of the constitution with the "Laws" and "Rights" ascertained by Jesus, Menu, Moses, and Confucius. An immoral law, he holds, is void" (ibid.).

According to White, this culture and habit of taking up single causes and campaigning for specific rights that constituted humanitarianism led to many of the successful social movements that have radically changed our world:

> The principles of a unified and coherent libertarian cause were established in the 1790s out of the perceived connection between many single causes [...] Many specific rights, such as the right to vote for one's government, women's suffrage and equality, trade unionism, conscientious objection in time of war, and

environmental awareness, owe their origins to the
changes in consciousness which we shall trace back to
the 1790s in England (20).

White further states that the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s "[was] a triumphant example of the ideas sown around 1800 being applied to social injustices" (20). Thus, the Sixties revival of re-prelapsarianism was in fact a direct continuation of the moral cause-oriented and sentimentalism-based re-prelapsarianism of the Romantic period.

Another form of active protest taken up by the Romantics consisted of acts of personal rebellion against established codes of conduct and conventional values such as institutional religion, marriage and private property. Coleridge was initially a Unitarian, as were many of the Transcendentalists, and even came on the verge of becoming a Unitarian minister (Holstein 210). Emerson found even Unitarianism restrictive and resigned from his pulpit. In his notorious "Divinity School Address" (1838), he "portrayed Jesus as a teacher whose significance and authority arose from his grasp of transcendent moral and spiritual laws rather than from a supernatural nature," thus "unleash[ing] a furious controversy" (Robinson *Spiritual* 11-2). The same naturalisation of the supernatural, in other words, the secularisation of religious sentiment, can be seen in the early years of Wordsworth and Coleridge, albeit much more timidly. Wordsworth concludes "My Heart Leaps Up" with the prayer: "And I would wish my days to be / Bound each to each by natural piety" (8-9), thus connecting the concept of piety to a love of nature rather than that of God. His mystical and unorthodox explanation of the journey of the human spirit in "Ode: Intimations of Immortality", and his defence and apology concerning it, are dealt with further down. Coleridge's initially tranquil meditation in "The Eolian Harp" soars to a mystical apprehension of God as the "intellectual breeze / At once the Soul of each and God of all" animated nature, only to be dampened by the "serious eye of mild reproof" of Sara, the representative of orthodox Christianity, who "biddest [him] to walk humbly with [his] God" (47-53).

Blake, bolder, not only opposed all forms of institutional religion, but went so far as to create his own mythology and make his character Los say the famous words "I must Create a System or be enslaved by another Man's" (*Jerusalem* 10: 21). Shelley was an atheist, for which he got expelled from Oxford (Morton 18), instead transferring his religious sentiment to an aesthetic abstraction in his "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty".

Both Shelley and Blake openly advocated free love. Shelley believed that marriage was "yet another form of tyranny and codified degradation" (Bloom 11). Blake overturned conventional sexual mores by claiming that, because the act of love was a natural, procreative act, its social interpretation as a sinful act unless bound by the social institution of marriage and one that should be carried out in secret, was immoral. Thus, according to Blake, sex that was controlled and hidden was immoral while sex that was free and open was moral. This radical interpretation of sexual mores can be seen in "Earth's Answer" in the *Songs of Experience*:

> "Can delight
> Chain'd in night
> The virgins of youth and morning bear?
>
> "Does spring hide its joy
> When buds and blossoms grow?
> Does the sower
> Sow by night,
> Or the plowman in darkness plow?
>
> "Break this heavy chain
> That does freeze my bones around;
> Selfish! Vain!
> Eternal bane!
> That free Love with bondage bound."
>   (13-25)

The implication is that the natural way of the world is for love to be free and embraced as a natural and beautiful act, like the budding of flowers in spring, but love has been chained and rendered shameful by custom and religion, and by the "Selfish father of men" as the Earth refers to the God that people believe in. Butler indicates that, for the Romantics "the glorification of sexual love [became] an accepted challenge to orthodoxy over its whole range of influence, cultural, moral and political" (Butler 137).

Similarly, of the American Transcendentalists, Hudspeth writes, "[t]hey were unsettled, restless, dissatisfied, and rejected the past and its institutions. [...] Church, theology, family, sexual relations, social organization, economic structures, all needed reforming [...] They viewed the status quo as unhealthy, restricting, dead, corpse-cold. Emerson defined what we call "Transcendentalism" in several places, at one point characterizing its aim as simply to "unsettle all things (121).

Re-prelapsarianism can thus be characterised as anarchistic in its rebellious, anti-authoritarian and anti-establishment approach to public and private relations. Establishments such as church and state, institutions such as marriage and slavery, and hierarchies and power relations in personal relationships were seen as the corrupting influences of civilisation, as opposed to a natural and original state of freedom and equality. Moreover, due to their sentimentalist belief in an innate moral sense, government control of people to ensure social harmony appeared unnecessary. Consequently, authority figures were frequently shown as tyrannical and rebels as heroes, especially in the works of Blake and Shelley. In *Prometheus Unbound*, Shelley's Prometheus is a revolutionary figure who succeeds in overthrowing the tyrant god, Jupiter. In the "Preface" to the play, Shelley refers to the former as "the Champion" and the latter as "the Oppressor" of mankind and, acknowledging his debt to Milton's Satan, whom he interprets as another rebel against tyranny, distinguishes Prometheus from Satan in his "exempt[ion] from the taints of ambition, envy, revenge, and a desire for personal aggrandisement," which

makes him a better revolutionary figure, "impelled by the purest and truest motives to the best and noblest ends" (loc. 4337-43).

In his *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake reverses the conventional binary opposition – while also arguing for the necessity of such an opposition through his statement that "Without Contraries is no progression" – by dramatizing the conflict as one between "null, hypocritical, law-abiding Angels and energizing revolutionary Devils" (Blake loc. 240, Butler 45). Not only does Blake take on the Promethean / Satanic role himself by assuming the voice of the Devil in the "Proverbs of Hell", but he ends the work with "A Song of Liberty" depicting, like Shelley, the rebel, "the new born fire" given birth to by "The Eternal Female", overthrowing the tyrannical "jealous king" who attempts to throw the rebel from heaven but is defeated by him. The defeat is symbolised by the rebel "stamp[ing] the stony law," in other words the ten commandments of the jealous king, "to dust" and heralding that "Empire is no more!" (loc. 487-93).

This anarchistic and rebellious attitude, combined with a commitment to non-violence, led to the emergence of two important Romantic texts concerning nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience. Not only do these texts represent the approach of Romantic re-prelapsarianism to activism, but they were to be very influential in the similar nonviolent resistance of Sixties re-prelapsarian activism. The first of these was Shelley's poem, "Mask of Anarchy" (1819), written in the wake of the Peterloo Massacre. In the poem (in which, ironically, the allegorical figure of Anarchy represents tyranny) the Earth urges the people:

> "And if then the tyrants dare,
> Let them ride among you there,
> Slash, and stab, and maim and hew,
> What they like, that let them do.
>
> "With folded arms and steady eyes,
> And little fear, and less surprise
> Look upon them as they slay

> Till their rage has died away
>
> [...]
>
> "Rise like Lions after slumber
> In unvanquishable number—
> Shake your chains to earth like dew
> Which in sleep had fallen on you—
> Ye are many—they are few.'
> (340-7, 368-72)

This urge for passive resistance in the face of violence, and through such resistance the eventual conversion of the rest of the public, and the rejection of the violent means of tyranny for attaining the goals of freedom, justice and peace, is perhaps the first expression of the principle of nonviolent resistance in modern history. Significantly, a century later, Gandhi, who has become almost synonymous with nonviolent resistance, was influenced by and quoted directly from Shelley's poem, "which encapsulate[d] his ideas of bringing about the conversion of a foe through self-suffering" (Weber 28). Gandhi was in turn to influence Martin Luther King, the central leader of the Civil Rights movement whose determined forms of nonviolent protest were to be espoused by the counterculture in the Sixties.

Another ground-breaking text concerning civil resistance that was also an influence on both Gandhi and King, and was in turn influenced by Shelley's "Mask of Anarchy", was Thoreau's famous essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" (or *Resistance to Civil Government*) (1849). Based on his experience of a day in prison for refusing to pay his taxes, in protest against the government's support of slavery and the Mexican-American War, Thoreau expounds a theory of individual resistance and civil disobedience that he believes will result in a peaceful revolution:

> Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the
> true place for a just man is also a prison [...] where the
> State places those who are not with her, but against
> her,– the only house in a slave State in which a free

man can abide with honor. If any think that their influence would be lost there, and that their voices no longer afflict the ear of the State, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person. Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight. If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison, or give up war and slavery, the State will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceable revolution, if any such is possible. ("Civil Disobedience" loc. 5260)

According to Thoreau, then, not only is it honourable for a single individual to attempt to resist a government that he sees as unjust and to accept the consequences of his resistance, but it is also an effective means to social and political change. It is the responsibility of every citizen to act in accordance with the principles in which they believe and to disobey the government when it acts otherwise. Each person and each act is valuable and effective:

I know this well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name – if ten honest men only – aye, if one HONEST man, in this state of Massachusetts, ceasing to hold slaves, were actually to withdraw from co-partnership, and be locked up in the county jail therefore, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be: what is once well done is done for ever. ("Civil Disobedience" loc. 181)

In Kern's words, "[n]o bohemian, no reformer, [Thoreau] achieved his unforgettable impact through his brilliantly articulate one-man rebellion against American standards (484). Writing in the 1960s, Kern claimed that "'Civil Disobedience' is one of the most influential documents ever written in America [...] it influenced Gandhi's program of non-violent coercion and so hundreds of millions of humans, and now is being used by the Rev. Martin Luther King" (486). King himself describes the influence that Thoreau had on him in his *Autobiography* (1998), as follows:

> Here, in this courageous New Englander's refusal to pay his taxes and his choice of jail rather than support a war that would spread slavery's territory into Mexico, I made my first contact with the theory of nonviolent resistance. Fascinated by the idea of refusing to cooperate with an evil system, I was so deeply moved that I reread the work several times. I became convinced that noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. No other person has been more eloquent and passionate in getting this idea across than Henry David Thoreau. As a result of his writings and personal witness, we are the heirs of a legacy of creative protest. The teachings of Thoreau came alive in our civil rights movement; indeed, they are more alive than ever before. Whether expressed in a sit-in at lunch counters, a freedom ride into Mississippi, a peaceful protest in Albany, Georgia, a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, these are outgrowths of Thoreau's insistence that evil must be resisted and that no moral man can patiently adjust to injustice. (Chapter 2)

There were also attempts by the Romantics and Transcendentalists to establish alternative utopian communities based on the re-prelapsarian values and ideals in which they believed. One of these – that was in fact unsuccessful before it could ever begin – was Coleridge and Southey's plan to buy land in America and settle there, along with like-minded companions, to establish a utopian community

that they named Pantisocrasy, under the principles of equality, common labour and communal property. They would labour in the fields by day and read and write poetry by night (Holmes 60-5). At the end of *The Recluse*, Wordsworth finds the utopia he has been seeking in Grasmere, a spot which he had come across during youth and felt to be his spiritual home: "The place in which, 'on Nature's invitation' (71), Wordsworth's literal and metaphoric wanderings have terminated is identified, after the venerable formula, as a home which is also a recovered paradise [...] which he describes in terms echoing Milton's description of the Garden of Eden," explains Abrams (*Natural Supernaturalism* 289). His is a more humble utopia, a rural community in a beautiful natural setting. Unlike the "vast Metropolis" where man is "truly alone", "Society is here / A true community, a genuine frame / Of many into one incorporate" (593-7, 614-6).

The Transcendentalists were more committed in their utopian undertakings. Seeking a similar type of utopian existence to Wordsworth in its simplicity and rural setting, but different in his search for more isolation and less material comfort, Thoreau carried out an experiment of living alone in a wild, natural setting, with minimum necessities. The experiment lasted more than two years and he transformed his experience into the famous (utopian) book *Walden*: "I went to the woods," he explains, "because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived" (loc. 1967). Thoreau believed that in civilised life, "[t]he mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation. What is called resignation is confirmed desperation. From the desperate city you go into the desperate country" (loc. 845). Thoreau's explanation of the reasons behind this desperation imply both what Marxism designates as alienated labour and what Marcuse would later explain as the false needs produced by the system to persuade people that the only life possible is one of miserable labour for the acquirement of desired (but in fact unnecessary) items ("End of Utopia" 68). Thoreau wrote that,

> Most men, even in this comparatively free country, through mere ignorance and mistake, are so occupied with the factitious cares and superfluously coarse labors of life that its finer fruits cannot be plucked by them. Their fingers, from excessive toil, are too clumsy and tremble too much for that. Actually, the laboring man has not leisure for a true integrity day by day; he cannot afford to sustain the manliest relations to men; his labor would be depreciated in the market. He has no time to be anything but a machine. (loc. 819)

This is a vision of alienated humans, and Thoreau aimed to find a different type of existence away from what had become the norms of society.

Another Transcendental utopian experiment was Brook Farm (1841-7), which was founded by the Unitarian minister and Transcendentalist George Ripley and his wife, Sophia Dana Ripley, as "an agrarian reform community outside Roxbury, some eight miles from Boston" (Hudspeth 124). Hudspeth writes that "Ripley had a vision that labor and intellect might be joined, that people of all stations could be educated so as 'to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons, whose relations with each other would permit a more simple and wholesome life, than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions'" (125). Although the longest-lasting of the utopian experiments, the community disbanded after six years due to severe financial difficulties.

Like Brook Farm, Fruitlands (June - January 1843) was another utopian experiment involving a group of people attempting to live self-sufficiently on a farm. Aiming to completely disengage themselves from the institutions of civilisation, which they saw as corrupt, Amos Bronson Alcott and Charles Lane founded a community in which the land belonged to God and the produce was shared communally. According to Francis, the small community "believed that the Garden of Eden would return if only people avoided meat, cheese, eggs, tea, coffee, and alcohol, preferable living on water and fruit" and that "a new generation of perfected humans could be born if sexual intercourse became entirely devoid of lust

and passion" (2). They also objected to superfluous comforts like warm water and artificial lighting and wore only linen (cotton plantations used slave labour and wool was an animal product) (ibid.). Both hired and animal labour were banned, which was one of the reasons for the speedy decline of the community, for they were not able to produce enough food to survive and closed down within months. Although these were austere principles with Puritan undertones, the Fruitlands community also had strong ties to re-prelapsarianism, especially through their belief in the "interconnectedness of all living things," which was behind the rejection of animal labour, their opposition to slavery and support of women's rights and their belief in civil disobedience and anarchism (3).

The common preoccupation that can be deduced from these utopian experiments and that pertains to re-prelapsarianism is the attempt, in each case, to establish a way of life that brought out the good in human nature by forging a lifestyle that reconnected humans with nature, stripped them of the superfluous and destructive desires formulated by society and custom, enabled them to bond with each other on a more natural and sincere plane, and disengaged them from the corrupting influence of the establishments and institutions of society. Emerson wrote of the Fruitlands community: "The sun and the evening sky do not look calmer than Alcott and his family at Fruitlands. They seem to have arrived at the fact – to have got rid of the show, and to be serene. Their manners and behaviour in the house and the field were those of superior men – of men at rest" (qtd. in Perry 7).

To sum up, socio-political re-prelapsarianism developed in the light of the major upheavals of the end of the eighteenth century, being inspired by especially the French Revolution, and reacting against the major social changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution. It esteemed the value of love, which was seen as a unifying and re-integrating force that would bring humans back into unity with one another and the world, and its associated value of empathy. It was largely founded on the philosophy of sentimentalism with its conviction of the original and innate

goodness of man, and thus took inspiration from primitive settings and states of being in which one could see man in his uncorrupted condition. It manifested itself in visions and prophecies of a possible utopian condition, as well as humanitarian activities, acts of personal rebellion and civil resistance and attempts at experimental utopian communities.

In England, disappointment with the course of the French Revolution and frustration with the increasingly repressive measures against revolutionary thought and action in their own country brought the personal and spiritual aspect of re-prelapsarianism to the fore:

> Though these writers soon lost confidence in a millennium brought about by means of violent revolution, they did not abandon the form of their earlier vision. In many important philosophers and poets, Romantic thinking and imagination remained apocalyptic thinking and imagination, though with varied changes in explicit content. (Abrams *Natural Supernaturalism* 64-5)

The process was reversed in the United States where Transcendentalism began in the personal and spiritual sphere and became more active and socially and politically involved later on in the century. This was most probably due to the different timing: American Transcendentalism was a later phenomenon; it waxed as English Romanticism was waning so that it did not involve the same psychological development of great hope followed by terrible disappointment that shaped English Romanticism. In fact, the same can be said for the second generation of English Romantics who were able to remain truer to the ideals of the revolution because they did not experience its disastrous aspects in the same way. As Hobsbawm argues, "a second generation of romanticism had produced a crop of young men for whom the French Revolution and Napoleon were facts of history and not a painful chapter of autobiography" (*Age of Revolution* 267). In other words, the French Revolution had already turned out to be a disappointment to many young radicals

when the second generation of Romantic emerged in England and the Transcendentalist movement began in New England, America. As Riley suggests, "the generation which bridged the period between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, unable to return to the traditional Calvinistic dogma, disillumined as to the utopias promised by the French revolutionaries, apprehensive of the skeptical cul-de-sac of materialism – this generation was ready and eager for another and better philosophy. This was offered by the rising Transcendentalism" (W. Riley 282). However, "[a]s the nineteenth century came to its mid-point, the Transcendentalists' dissatisfaction with their society became focused on policies and actions of the United States government: the treatment of the Native Americans, the war with Mexico, and, above all, the continuing and expanding practice of slavery" (Goodman no pg.).

Regardless of the order of dominance, both aspects of re-prelapsarianism co-existed as different manifestations of the same utopian approach. The personal and spiritual facet of this approach entailed the personal transformation of the individual in order to transcend his current reality to apprehension of the truth, thereby re-entering a state of unity, either within himself, or with nature. This personal transformation could be brought about through an interaction with nature or through the agent of poetry; in either case, the imagination was vital to the achievement of personal and spiritual re-prelapsarian transformation into eupsychia – the ideal state of consciousness. Abrams describes this utopian (in his terminology revolutionary) attitude as follows:

> In the ruling two-term frame of Romantic thought, the mind of man confronts the old heaven and earth and possesses within itself the power, if it will but recognize and avail itself of the power, to transform them into a new heaven and new earth, by means of a total revolution of consciousness. This, as we know, is the high Romantic argument, and it is no accident that it took shape during the age of revolutions. (*Natural Supernaturalism* 334)

Thus, the utopian enterprise was brought to the individual level. The underlying idea was that although individuals had very little control over the social and political environment in which they lived, or the socio-political revolution that did not progress as they had hoped and dreamed, they did have control over their own consciousness so that, though unable to live in the ideal world that they had envisaged, they could still bring about a new heaven and a new earth in their personal lives through a new perception of the world. Moreover, the belief that personal and spiritual transformation could eventually lead to a socio-political transformation – the transformation of the society through the transformation of the individuals that comprise it – also informed personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism. For instance, Emerson believed "that society gains nothing whilst a man, not himself renovated, attempts to renovate things around him" ("New England Reformers" loc. 12950).

Wordsworth, in his "Ode: Intimations of Immortality" and his letter to Isabella Fenwick concerning it, reveals his interpretation of personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism. In the letter, he writes:

> To that dream-like vividness and splendour which invest objects of sight in childhood, every one, I believe, if he would look back, could bear testimony, and I need not dwell upon it here: but having in the poem regarded it as presumptive evidence of a prior state of existence, I think it right to protest against a conclusion, which has given pain to some good and pious persons, that I meant to inculcate such a belief. It is far too shadowy a notion to be recommended to faith, as more than an element in our instincts of immortality. But let us bear in mind that, though the idea is not advanced in revelation, there is nothing there to contradict it, and the fall of Man presents an analogy in its favour. Accordingly, a pre-existent state has entered into the popular creeds of many nations. (*Prose Works* 195)

According to Wordsworth, then, prior to being born into the world, the spirit resides in a pre-existent state, one in which it is in unity with God. After entering the material world, the spirit still remembers this state, which is the reason for the innocence, feeling of unity with nature and inherent wisdom of children. As the material world begins to weigh on the spirit however, it gradually loses memory of that state; it can no longer feel the same pleasure or feeling of one-ness with nature. In other words, the spirit gradually falls away from its original state. However, through memories of childhood and conscious and careful endeavours to re-achieve that unity, it can come near it again, this time through a more philosophic wisdom; thus the spiral is complete and the individual progresses towards a new state of unity and innocence in maturity. The "Ode" itself begins with a short description of the prelapsarian condition of the individual during his childhood:

> There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,
> The earth, and every common sight,
> To me did seem
> Apparell'd in celestial light,
> (1-4)

It is important to note that throughout the poem it is not the external world that changes in any way, but the persona's perception of it, as can be seen from the phrase "To me did seem". Therefore, while the poet-persona laments the fall away from unity and loss of innocent wonder in the following lines, it is a personal and spiritual fall that he is referring to:

> It is not now as it hath been of yore;—
> Turn wheresoe'er I may,
> By night or day,
> The things which I have seen I now can see no more.
>
> The rainbow comes and goes,

> And lovely is the rose;
> [...]
> The sunshine is a glorious birth;
> But yet I know, where'er I go,
> That there hath pass'd away a glory from the earth.
>
> (6-19)

The earth continues its normal course; the glory that has passed away from it is due to the poet-persona's inability to perceive that glory any more. After asking in anguish "Whither is fled the visionary gleam? / Where is it now, the glory and the dream?" the persona answers with a description of Wordsworth's re-prelapsarian theory of human life that has been explained above:

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
>   Hath had elsewhere its setting,
>   And cometh from afar:
>   Not in entire forgetfulness,
>   And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
>   From God, who is our home:
> Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
> Shades of the prison-house begin to close
>   Upon the growing Boy,
> But he beholds the light, and whence it flows,
>   He sees it in his joy;
> The Youth, who daily farther from the east
>   Must travel, still is Nature's priest,
>   And by the vision splendid
>   Is on his way attended;
> At length the Man perceives it die away,
> And fade into the light of common day.
>
> (59-77)

The fall is thus a gradual one, a forgetting of the unity and innocence that the spirit has known before coming to the world. This forgetting is due, as the next stanza explains, to increased exposure to worldly objects and desires. Even though the original state of innocence and unity is lost and forgotten, however, it can be

remembered and a more philosophical (because it now moves to the realm of conscious thought rather than that of instinctive experience) version of that state of mind can yet be achieved:

> What though the radiance which was once so bright
> Be now for ever taken from my sight,
>   Though nothing can bring back the hour
> Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower;
>   We will grieve not, rather find
>   Strength in what remains behind;
>   In the primal sympathy
>   Which having been must ever be;
>   In the soothing thoughts that spring
>   Out of human suffering;
>   In the faith that looks through death,
> In years that bring the philosophic mind.
>
> (180-191)

White comments that "the idea of an original innocence in 'Intimations of Immortality' […] is an implicit rebuke to the philosophy of Hobbes and an argument that evil is learned as a response to institutional forces and experiences that lead us away from innate goodness" (81). He further explains that, accordingly "[t]he child, even the youth, is 'Nature's priest', but as he grows through the 'endless imitation' of the world around him, he also grows away from the original contact with 'the eternal deep' into a dulled maturity. However, the poem is optimistic insofar as it envisages that this contact is never quite lost and can be reconnected by 'the philosophic mind'" (81).

Blake's prophetic visions, the allegories of which can be understood both macrocosmically and microcosmically, render a similar spiral of prelapsarian unity, fall and eventual reunification, although his focus is on the division within man rather than that between man and nature. As Ostriker expounds,

> The mythology of these poems posits a hero who is
> both Great Britain and all mankind, and who lives in

> Eternity or Eden as one of a family of Eternals who collectively compose One Man, Christ. Albion's "Human Brain," the equivalent of Jung's collective unconscious, houses four energetic Jungian Zoas, each of whom has a feminine counterpart or emanation. At Man's Fall [...] Albion lapses into what Blake variously calls sleep, death and disease [...] The Zoas simultaneously lapse into lower forms and mutual conflict instead of harmony [...] As the late Blake formulaically puts it, "The Feminine separates from the Masculine & both from Man [...] At the close of his three longest poems Blake imagines an apocalypse in which selfhood is relinquished and male and female are reunified" (Ostriker 107)

Thus, in Blake's version of personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism, the return to unity must be brought about by a sudden, revolutionary, apocalyptic event, instead of Wordsworth's more controlled, gradual and conscious process of return.

Emerson, in the mystical doctrine that he puts forth in "Over-Soul", explains the present divided state and underlying and eventual unity of the world, in terms that lie somewhere between the abstractions of Blake and the more earthly interpretation of Wordsworth:

> We live in succession, in division, in parts, in particles. Meantime within man is the soul of the whole; the wise silence; the universal beauty, to which every part and particle is equally related, the eternal ONE. And this deep power in which we exist and whose beatitude is all accessible to us, is not only self-sufficing and perfect in every hour, but the act of seeing and the thing seen, the seer and the spectacle, the subject and the object, are one. We see the world piece by piece, as the sun, the moon, the animal, the tree; but the whole, of which these are shining parts, is the soul. (loc. 9613)

Using the imagery of an ever-expanding circle, Emerson describes the individual soul's unceasing striving outwards towards larger and larger circles, in order to

reach the whole, the eternal one: "The life of man is a self-evolving circle, which, from a ring imperceptibly small, rushes on all sides outwards to new and larger circles, and that without end" ("Circles" loc. 9929). Like Coleridge's image of the snake with its tale in its mouth, this outwards reaching eventually ends where it began: the human mind. As Michaud explains,

> In the mind finally the world is absorbed. Passing from the real to the spiritual we have travelled the whole circle. The mind is supreme, it is first and last. [...] Emerson adores "the blessed Unity," the One to whom he found access through the many, at the end of his platonic and transcendental journey. (Michaud 80)

The human mind, which for Emerson is identical to the mind of God, is in fact the One that incorporates the many; unity is thus a unity within the mind of the individual, as it was with Blake.

Just as the uncivilised, primitive and therefore yet uncorrupted man or society served as a frame of reference for socio-political re-prelapsarianism, the child serves as a frame of reference for personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism. Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality" makes this clear, as does his famous line "The Child is father of the Man" in "My Heart Leaps Up" (7). This is because, retaining the memory of the unfallen state of the spirit, the child possesses an inherent wisdom, a knowledge of truth, that man has forgotten in his dalliance with worldly affairs. In a view of the human condition similar to that of Wordsworth, Coleridge illustrates,

> In the flowery meadow, on which my eye is now reposing…there is…no one character of guilt or anguish. For never can I look and meditate on the vegetable creation without a feeling similar to that with which we gaze at a beautiful infant….It seems as if the soul said to herself: from this state hast *thou* fallen! Such shouldst thou still become….But what the plant *is*, by an act not

its own and unconsciously – *that* must thou *make* thyself to *become*. (*Statesman's Manual* 71)

The child – with his wonder, his harmony with natural objects, his unencumberment with social customs – is proof of the human's innate and original goodness. The child represents the state to which the human must return in order to attain the goal of an ideal world. However, this will be a conscious and willing return, as Coleridge's explanation suggests, retaining the experience gained along the way. Thus Blake, in his *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, makes the innocent child the voice of the songs of innocence and the wise bard the voice of the songs of experience.

Return to the state of innocence and unity of the child can be achieved through a reintegration of the human (mind) with nature or through the transformative influence of poetry. Both of these acts of transformation require the imaginative faculty and often they come together in the "greater Romantic lyrics" which illustrate the poet-persona's evolving relationship with nature through the medium of poetry, so that the interaction with nature intermingles with the poetic relation of it to form a transformative experience, ideally for both the poet and the reader of the poem (Abrams *Correspondent Breeze* 79). Due to the loss of an external frame of reference and the belief in an ordered and stable world, "the principle of order [that the Romantics] sought was established not in terms of the external world and an appeal to reason, but in terms of the inner world and of the individual, and an appeal to imagination" (Foakes 42). It is a commonplace that, as opposed to the Enlightenment emphasis on reason, Romanticism exalted the imagination as the highest human faculty. In relation to re-prelapsarianism, this was due to the Romantic conviction that the reason was the analytic faculty that works by taking apart and that treats the outside world as being composed of dead objects. The imagination, on the other hand, was the synthetic faculty that unifies, and treats the outside world as alive and each part as part of the whole. Thus, "By

its fusing, unfixing, bedimming work imagination liberates us from the familiar simplifications of a dead, mechanical and habitual world" (McNiece 56). As Peckham explains,

> If reason is inadequate – because it is fixed and because historically it has failed – the truth can only be apprehended intuitively, imaginatively, spontaneously, with the whole personality, from the deep sources of the fountains that are within. (Peckham 13)

It was consequently through the imagination that human beings were to re-unite with themselves, nature and the creator, and to re-achieve the lost one-ness with all. McNiece puts forth that,

> It is the particular task of imagination in knowledge to unify consciousness and objects, to blend profound inner awareness and sense intuition. Imagination is the intuitive power of genius. Its ultimate source and object is the Logos, the union of universal and particular, mind and nature, God and man. (McNiece 2)

Thus, the imagination is the faculty that will bring about personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism by effecting a revolution of consciousness through its power to reunite mind to nature, created to creator, individual to world and its power to re-create the world through poetry.

Coleridge's theory of imagination was the most succinct expression of these two functions accorded to this faculty by the Romantics. Distinguishing between two degrees of imagination, Coleridge determines the imagination as both the faculty by which we perceive and understand the world and the faculty that is responsible for poetic creation. For the purposes of this argument, then, this can be interpreted as follows: the first degree of the imagination, the primary imagination, serves to bring about personal transformation through re-uniting the individual with

nature, while the secondary imagination serves to bring about personal transformation through the creation of poetry. In both cases, it can be construed that for Coleridge and "the Romantics, imagination was God in man" (McNiece 56). As Jonathan Wordsworth concludes,

> Essentially, the Romantic imagination is the wish of a number of creative geniuses [...] to "lose, and find, all self in God". In their inspired creativity they felt an analogy – or something more than an analogy – the central mystical experience that they craved. Imagination in its highest moments appeared to them godlike, and with differing degrees of assurance (Blake with certainty, Keats rarely and with hesitation), they dared to assert that it was indeed the link between man and God. (493)

Coleridge states, "The primary Imagination I hold to be the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM" (*Biographia Literaria* I, 202), defining the primary imagination as the faculty by which we perceive and comprehend the universe by replicating God's eternal act of creation. Significantly, it is a *living* power; and it is the repetition in the human (finite) mind of the Creator's *eternal* act of creation. McNiece explains that "the imagination for Coleridge was that faculty which idealizes and unifies, the faculty by which we may perceive the unity of the universe, and apprehend God" (42). By echoing the eternal creation of the universe the individual mind becomes an integral part of the universe by taking part in its process of creation. Schlegel's definition of the imagination also stresses its unifying quality:

> [The imagination] fulfils a bridging function: In the permanent 'Überspringen in das Gegenteil,' (jump to the opposite), that is, in the continuous alternation between past and future, expansion and contraction, not-I and I, real and ideal world, the fragmentary

reality of the present is to be transcended progressively into a new totality. (Mahoney 160-1)

Thus, the primary imagination enables the reunification between individual and nature, and also between creator and created, that had existed in the original prelapsarian condition, and is the faculty necessary for eupsychia through reuniting with nature.

In Coleridge's scheme, the imaginative faculty necessary for poetic creation is the secondary imagination. As Leask explains,

> Primary imagination is not specifically connected with art except insofar as the perceived world is the creation of the Absolute, or, as Schelling put it, 'what we speak of as nature is a poem lying pent in a mysterious and wonderful script.' Secondary imagination, on the other hand, is the creative power of art in the more usual sense, operating in a similar manner to the Primary, but within the framework of consciousness and will. (136)

Therefore the poet, who is in possession of the secondary imagination, is one step ahead of the common person. Not only does he take part in the eternal creation of the universe, but he has a creative power of his own – an echo of the creative power of God – and, using this power, he can re-create reality, or bring "new artistic concepts into reality" (Peckham 12). In Coleridge's words:

> The secondary Imagination I consider as an echo of the former, co-existing with the conscious will, yet still as identical with the primary in the *kind* of its agency, and differing only in *degree*, and in the *mode* of its operation. It dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate: or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still at all events it struggles to idealize and to unify. (*Biographia Literaria* I, 202)

The secondary imagination consequently acts not only to bring back the unity of the original condition, but also to enable the re-creation of the world, or the creation of a new world which is more ideal, more beautiful than the real world, or which reveals to us the true beauty of the real world. It thus serves to bring about the re-prelapsarian ideal in consciousness through the medium of poetry. This re-prelapsarian function of the secondary imagination is made even more evident in Coleridge's "Dejection: An Ode" in which he refers to this living and life-giving power as "Joy":

> This light, this glory, this fair luminous mist,
> This beautiful and beauty-making power.
>   Joy, virtuous Lady! Joy that ne'er was given,
> Save to the pure, and in their purest hour,
> Life, and Life's effluence, cloud at once and shower,
> Joy, Lady! is the spirit and the power,
> Which wedding Nature to us gives in dower
>   A new Earth and new Heaven, (62-9)

Coleridge's reference to the Biblical passage (Revelation 21:1) describing the advent of the new Jerusalem after the apocalypse, and thus the final return to a higher condition of paradise than the original Edenic condition (Abrams *Natural Supernaturalism* 37), illuminates his conviction that the imagination, by reuniting ("wedding") the individual to nature, will bring about the re-prelapsarian utopia. Consequently, by bringing about a revolution in consciousness, either through the reunification of mind to nature or through the re-creation of the world to bring about a new heaven and a new earth in the sphere of the individual's personal and spiritual life, the imagination enables the achievement of eupsychia, the re-prelapsarian state of consciousness.

The first method of achieving re-prelapsarian eupsychia was thus transformation through the interaction of the human with nature, via the faculty of (primary) imagination, and their eventual re-union as in the prelapsarian state. McNiece explains that according to Schelling,

> we have obscure feelings or sensations of remembrance (as in Wordsworth) of an original unity of nature and the soul lying behind apparent antithesis, and this kindles a feeling of love for kindred being. But having lost the original unity of mind and nature through selfhood, separation and alienation, we have permitted nature to lapse into the rigid categories of natural science (34).

A similar anti-Enlightenment opposition to natural science and its division of nature into separate entities was expressed by Blake in his painting of Newton, sitting on an outgrowth made up of a diversity of beautiful sea creatures, but ignoring these to focus on the scientific measurements in front of him. The Romantics saw this interpretation of nature as a symptom of the fallen condition, bringing with it forgetfulness about the unity of everything in nature, as well as that of nature and individual. Emerson reveals the re-prelapsarian interpretation of nature as follows: "A leaf, a drop, a crystal, a moment of time is related to the whole, and partakes of the perfection of the whole. Each particle is a microcosm and faithfully renders the likeness of the world" ("Nature" loc. 720). It was this realisation of the wholeness and oneness of all creation that the Romantics attempted to achieve through the help of the synthetic imagination (rather than the analytic reason portrayed in Blake's painting).

Nature was a complex phenomenon in Romantic poetry, both physical and metaphysical. On the one hand, it played an important role as external landscape, presenting an unspoilt, vibrant, beautiful (or sublime) and affirmative environment – promoting natural (and therefore good, according to the sentimentalist Romantic worldview) human sentiments and behaviour – as opposed to (and in reaction against) industrial urban centres. This contrast is vividly portrayed by Coleridge in "Frost at Midnight", when the poet-persona compares his own upbringing in an urban school, an unnatural one characterised by loneliness and a lack of freedom and beauty (36-41, 51-3) with the one he envisions for his child, one in which his

child will freely wander through the beautiful forms of nature through which he will understand God and the world that he has created (54-64). Thoreau also portrays nature as having a healthy and beneficial influence in *Walden*, and of his feeling of unity with it:

> The indescribable innocence and beneficence of Nature, —of sun and wind and rain, of summer and winter,—such health, such cheer, they afford forever! […] Shall I not have intelligence with the earth? Am I not partly leaves and vegetable would myself? (loc. 2576)

Moreover, his utopian experiment has at its core the dissociation from the corrupting influence of urban life and civilisation and a return to a basic way of life in harmony with nature, as discussed above. Foakes explains that,

> The natural world [...] took on a new aspect, offering in its wildness, as untainted by man, a refuge from disorder, and in its grandeurs, types of the sublime, images of aspiration. Natural objects, which seemed pure and permanent, or permanently recurring, in relation to the corruption of society and the transitoriness of life, were translated into symbols of the Romantic search for order, or into images of a spiritual harmony. (44)

As Foakes' explanation implies, in addition to its role as a physical place of refuge from disorder and the corrupting influence of industrialisation and civilisation, nature also played a metaphysical role for the Romantics. Accordingly, alongside the detailed observation and descriptions of natural scenes and events in Romantic poetry, these scenes and events were almost always endowed with transcendent qualities of some sort – spiritual, mystical, or religious. Foakes argues that nature enabled "the aspiration of the romantic poet, to reflect directly a transcendental or spiritual order established by the imagination. Natural objects came to act as what

Coleridge called 'conductors' of truths" (44-5). Likewise, Bowra comments that through nature, the Romantics "found those exalting moments when they passed from sight to vision and pierced, as they thought, to the secrets of the universe" (94). Emerson describes such a moment of vision achieved through surrendering oneself to nature and consequently finding the divine in oneself:

> Standing on the bare ground—my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space—all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eyeball: I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or parcel of God ("Nature" loc. 378).

According to Morse, Emerson aimed to inform people of "the veritable ease with which people can tap the sources of divine power and harmony, which, in some sense, are in nature, but which, truly, are in man's apprehension of nature" (Morse 127). In Coleridge's "The Eolian Harp," the poet-persona's initial physical observation of how the breeze plays on the harp leads to an epiphany similar to that of Emerson, envisioning God as an "intellectual breeze" sweeping through all creation and becoming their souls (44-8). Other, non-religious transcendent qualities are also imputed to nature. For instance, the poet-persona of Wordsworth's "I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud" treasures his past observation of beautiful daffodils as an experience that continues to give him pleasure when "in vacant or in pensive mood" (19-24). In Keats' "Ode to a Nightingale", the song of the bird becomes a symbol of immortality and of a realm above and beyond human sorrow to which the poet-persona desires to escape. Shelley's west wind in "Ode to the West Wind" not only brings about a transformation in nature by blowing away dead leaves in the autumn while simultaneously spreading the seeds that will bring rejuvenation in spring, but the poet-persona also links the wind's activity to his desire for both personal and social transformation:

> Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is:
>   [...]
> Be thou, Spirit fierce,
> My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!
>
> Drive my dead thoughts over the universe
> Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth!
> And, by the incantation of this verse,
>
> Scatter, as from an unextinguished hearth
> Ashes and sparks, my words among mankind!
> Be through my lips to unawakened Earth
>
> The trumpet of a prophecy! (57-69)

In fact, Romantic poets experience any inability, temporary or permanent, to imbue spiritual significance on nature as a trauma of perception, a crisis of meaning in the world and therefore, a deeply felt loss. Wordsworth and Coleridge deal with this loss in "Ode: Intimations of Immortality" (discussed above) and "Dejection: An Ode", respectively. In the latter poem, Coleridge writes the following significant lines concerning the relationship between the individual and nature:

> O Lady! we receive but what we give,
> And in our life alone does Nature live;
> Ours is her wedding-garment, ours her shroud!
>   And would we aught behold, of higher worth,
> Than that inanimate cold world allowed
> To the poor loveless ever-anxious crowd,
>   Ah! from the soul itself must issue forth
> A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud
>   Enveloping the Earth— (47-51)

In "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty", the atheist Shelley transfers his religious sentiments to an "unseen Power" that he calls "Intellectual Beauty" and that he describes as the power that gives meaning, "grace and truth to life's unquiet dream"(1, 36). Shelley laments that this power, which he had suddenly become

aware of in youth and decided to dedicate himself to, has left him, and prays for it to return and guide him once more, in these later years of his life. Similar to Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality", Shelley's poet-persona expects a mellower and calmer version of the power that he experienced ecstatically in youth (73-81).

Consequently, in re-prelapsarianism, nature functions as a means by which the individual can transcend the (fallen) reality to apprehend and re-attain the lost unity with God, the One, or the cosmos, and therefore is one of the most important channels to personal and spiritual transformation. The focus on nature is therefore simultaneously a focus on the human mind and its ability to transcend the fallen reality to an apprehension of the truth. As Abrams states, "[t]he vision is that of the awesome depths and heights of the human mind, and of the power of that mind as in itself adequate, by consummating a holy marriage with the external universe, to create out of the world of all of us, in a quotidian and recurrent miracle, a new world which is the equivalent of paradise" (*Natural Supernaturalism* 28). To sum up, in Birlik's words, "in Romantic poetry there is an occult relationship between human and nature, human and the other creatures of nature and this relationship can be interpreted as a reflection of the spirit of the One or presence of the One in the Many of Neo-Platonist philosophy. It is only through the imagination that the spirit of the One can be seen or rendered in poetry" (63).

This brings us to the second method of achieving eupsychia, which is transformation through the agency of poetry, which is created via the faculty of the (secondary) imagination, and which is indeed frequently the medium through which the interaction between individual and nature actually takes place. As the product of the imagination, poetry (and art in general) was seen as a unifying, reconciling, regenerating influence. According to Abrams, Schiller

> Inaugurate[d] the concept of the cardinal role of art,
> and of the imaginative faculty which produces art, as
> the   reconciling   and   unifying   agencies   in   a

> disintegrating mental and social world of alien and
> warring fragments—a concept which came to be a
> central tenet of Romantic faith, manifested in various
> formulations by thinkers so diverse as Schelling,
> Novalis, Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Shelley.
> (*Natural Supernaturalism* 212)

Thus, for instance, Coleridge writes that art "is the mediatress between, and reconciler of, nature and man. It is, therefore, the power of humanizing nature, of infusing the thoughts and passions of man into everything which is the object of his contemplation" working "[t]o make the external internal, the internal external, to make nature thought, and thought nature,—this is the mystery of genius in the Fine Arts." (*Collected Letters* I: 349).

Besides this unifying and reconciling function, poetry also became the most important domain for the transformation of consciousness necessary for attaining eupsychia. Not only did the process of writing poetry also become the process of transformation for the poet, but the resulting poem, by defamiliarising the world and thus, in effect, creating a new world, enabled the reader of the poem to transform through this experience. The first of these functions, the poem's transformative effect on the poet, is best seen in the structure of Romantic poetry, which is indeed identical to the spiral structure of the re-prelapsarian view of history. In fact, many Romantic poems reveal a microcosmic instance of personal and spiritual transformation.

What Abrams terms the "greater Romantic lyric" (*Correspondent Breeze* 79), a category including Wordsworth's meditative lyrics, Coleridge's conversation poems, and Keats and Shelley's odes features a central poet-persona who begins in a state of sensual observation of his natural surroundings and is then inspired into a flow of meditation by them, eventually returning to his physical surroundings having gained some sort of self-awareness or knowledge by the experience. As Abrams expounds:

> [The poems] present a determinate speaker in a particularized, and usually localized, outdoor setting, whom we overhear as he carries on [...] a sustained colloquy, sometimes with himself or with the outer scene, but more frequently with a silent human auditor, present or absent. The speaker begins with a description of the landscape; an aspect or change of aspect in the landscape evokes a varied but integral process of memory, thought, anticipation, and feeling which remains closely intervolved with the outer scene. In the course of this meditation the lyric speaker achieves an insight, faces up to a tragic loss, comes to a moral decision, or resolves an emotional problem. Often the poem rounds upon itself to end where it began, at the outer scene, but with an altered mood and deepened understanding which is the result of the intervening meditation. (*Correspondent Breeze* 77)

Therefore, these poems reveal a microcosmic instance of the spiral that leads from prelapsarian state to fall to a return to that state with gained experience and awareness. This thematic content has already been discussed in relation to Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality". In terms of structure, perhaps the most perfect example is "Frost at Midnight", "one of the masterpieces of the greater lyric," as Abrams calls it, "perfectly modulated and proportioned" (*Correspondent Breeze* 81). In terms of structure, the poem begins with a description of the frost by the persona who is peaceful, yet alone and wakeful. His infant's breathing in sleep next to him, and the film fluttering on the grate, take his mind out of himself and his present situation, first to his childhood past, then to his son's future, and finally back to the frost and its "secret ministry" with the hope and belief, gained through this meditation, that his child will be much happier than he had been, because he will grow up in harmony with nature. The mind has thus returned in the end to the beginning, like "the snake with its Tail in its Mouth" (*Collected Letters* IV: 545), but transformed into a new state of hope, so that the structure is in fact more of a spiral than a circle.

The content of the poem contains another spiral, distinct from that of the structure. The poet-persona describes his own childhood, involving a fall from the condition of happiness – unity and innocence – in his "sweet birthplace" where he was "haunted "With a wild pleasure" at the sound of the church bells, to a condition of loneliness and unhappiness at his school "In the great city, pent 'mid cloisters dim", waiting in vain for the people from whom he has been separated (28-33, 53). The regeneration occurs, not for the persona, but in his imagination of the future, for his child, so that the child, unlike him, will grow up happy in unity with nature, never having to fall from the paradisal state that it offers:

> But thou, my babe! shalt wander like a breeze
>   [...]
> so shalt thou see and hear
> The lovely shapes and sounds intelligible
> Of that eternal language, which thy God
> Utters, who from eternity doth teach
> Himself in all, and all things in himself.
> Great universal Teacher! he shall mould
> Thy spirit, and by giving make it ask.
>   (48-64)

The spiral is thus completed with the experience passing from the father to the son. It should be noted, also, that the re-prelapsarian ideal that the persona envisions for his son is that of being reared in nature and taught by its eternal language, which is also the eternal language of God.

Abrams finds this poetic structure, which he states as having been invented by Coleridge, in all the major English Romantic poets except Byron. Riasanovsky finds the same pattern in the German Romantics, especially Novalis. Stating that "[m]any commentators have noted that his creative spirit (and perhaps the creative spirit of romanticism in general) moved typically in a circle, returning to the starting point" he gives as example Forstman's claim that "[t]he vision of Novalis is the vision of movement from unity to separation to new unity" (52, 53). These poems,

then, show instances of the poet-personas' transformative experiences that involve an interaction and ultimate unification between mind and nature in meditations that end up transforming the personas' consciousness. Almost always part auto-biographical, the poems indeed reveal the poet's personal and spiritual transformations and perhaps aim to inspire the same in the readers. As Shelley says, the "essential attribute of Poetry" is "the power of awakening in others sensations like those which animate my own bosom" ("Preface" to *The Revolt of Islam*, no page).

Poetry does this through defamiliarisation of the world in order to create a new world through transformed perception. "If the doors of perception were cleansed everything would appear to man as it is, infinite," says Blake (*Marriage of Heaven and Hell* 14: 38-9). Similarly, Shelley states that "[p]oetry lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the world, and makes familiar objects be as if they were not familiar" and that poets "can colour all [the experiences] that they combine with the evanescent hues of this ethereal world" ("Defence" 42). Wordsworth calls this the "colouring of imagination" that the poet throws over his surroundings "whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual way" ("Preface" 236), so that they are in effect cleared of the dust of custom and renewed. The poet defamiliarises the world by throwing a new light over it – perceiving and describing it in a new way. Coleridge highlights this ability as "the prime merit of genius, and its most unequivocal mode of manifestation, so to represent familiar objects as to awaken in the minds of others a kindred feeling concerning them, and that freshness of sensation which is the constant accompaniment of mental no less than of bodily convalescence" (*Biographia Literaria* I: 60). When ordinary objects are shown in a different light, this makes us notice them again. "Who has not a thousand times seen snow fall on water?" Coleridge asks. "Who has not watched it with a new feeling from the time that he has read Burns' comparison of sensual pleasure "To snow that falls upon a river / A moment white – then gone forever!" he continues (*Biographia Literaria* I: 60). Emerson states that

> So shall we come to look at the world with new eyes. It shall answer the endless inquiry of the intellect, — What is truth? and of the affections, — What is good? by yielding itself passive to the educated Will [...] Build, therefore, your own world. As fast as you conform your life to the pure idea in your mind, that will unfold its great proportions. A correspondent revolution in things will attend the influx of the spirit. ("Nature" loc. 1063)

Thoreau's description of such a transformative experience highlights the utopian function of defamiliarisation:

> I saw this familiar—too familiar—fact at a different angle, and I was charmed and haunted by it.... I had seen into paradisiac regions, with their air and sky, and I was no longer wholly or merely a denizen of this vulgar earth.... Only what we have touched and worn is trivial,—our scurf, repetition, tradition, conformity. To perceive freshly, with fresh senses, is to be inspired.... The age of miracles is each moment thus returned. (Thoreau in Abrams 414).

This brings us back to the importance of the child and his condition of innocence, for the result of this defamiliarisation is that we are able to see the world anew, like a child seeing it for the first time. As Emerson illustrates,

> To speak truly, few adult persons can see nature. Most persons do not see the sun. At least they have a very superficial seeing. The sun illuminates only the eye of the man, but shines into the eye and the heart of the child. The lover of nature is he whose inward and outward senses are still truly adjusted to each other; who has retained the spirit of infancy even into the era of manhood. His intercourse with heaven and earth, becomes part of his daily food. In the presence of nature, a wild delight runs through the man, in spite of real sorrows. ("Nature" loc. 353)

The child's view of the world is full of wonder, of the recognition of the beauty and sublimity of creation. It is this child's perspective that enables Wordsworth's heart to leap up "when I behold / A rainbow in the sky" (1-2) and that he hopes to protect as he grows older: "So was it when my life began; / So is it now I am a man; / So be it when I shall grow old, / Or let me die!" (3-5). Coleridge explains this perspective, that he sees as a mark of Wordsworth's genius, as follows:

> the original gift of spreading the tone, the *atmosphere*, and with it the depth and height of the ideal world, around forms, incidents, and situations of which, for the common view, custom had bedimmed all the lustre, had dried up the sparkle and the dewdrops […] [T]o contemplate the ancient of Days and all his works with feelings as fresh as if all had then sprang forth at the first creative fiat […] to combine the child's sense of wonder and novelty with the appearances which every day for perhaps forty years had rendered familiar. (*Biographia Literaria* I:59)

Defamiliarisation thus engenders seeing the world through the eyes of innocence. "All the traditions of learning, all the superstitions of age, are obliterated and effaced. We begin *de novo*, on a *tabula rasa* of poetry," remarks Hazlitt (*Spirit of the Age*, 234). It is therefore crucial to personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism. The return to paradise, to a better paradisal state through conscious will and effort, is possible on the level of personal consciousness through a revolution in the perception of the world as fallen and a realisation of the truth, order, wonder and beauty that remains there but that our eyes have been blinded to through custom and worldly activities. "It is assumed," explains Abrams, "that as a child sees now, so did all mankind see in the childhood of the human race [...] we find also an equation, implicit or overt, between the infancy of the individual and the condition of Adam in Eden, so that to restore the fresh and wondering vision of the child is to

recover the pristine experience of paradise (*Natural Supernaturalism* 379-80). Consequently, defamiliarisation enables us to see the world as it was before our fall(en consciousness) and thus regain the vision of unity and the innocent wonder that we have lost. As Shelley writes, "[poetry] creates anew the universe after it has been annihilated in our minds by the recurrence of impressions blunted by reiteration ("Defence" 43). Poetry, with the defamiliarisation that it enables, is thus crucial to the attainment of re-prelapsarian consciousness.

As a result of the crucial role of poetry, the figure of the poet also became paramount to Romantic utopianism. The Romantics believed that as the revolutionary of the personal and spiritual sphere, the poet lead the way to the transformation of consciousness necessary for the achievement of eupsychia. In envisioning a new future, prophesying the dawn of a new age, seeing and showing the world in its true beauty and leading the way to re-prelapsarian consciousness, the poets came to describe themselves as visionaries, prophets and bards. Shelley reminds us in his *A Defence of Poetry* that poets in earlier ages were called legislators or prophets due to the fact that a poet "not only beholds intensely the present as it is, and discovers those laws according to which present things ought to be ordered, but he beholds the future in the present, and his thoughts are the germs of the flower and the fruit of latest time"; a poet transcends time: he "participates in the eternal, the infinite, and the one; as far as relates to his conceptions, time and place and number are not. ("Defence" 29). In a similar claim Blake, in *Jerusalem*, proclaims:

> [...]   such is my awful Vision.
> I see the Four-fold Man. The Humanity in deadly sleep
> And its fallen Emanation. The Spectre & its cruel Shadow.
> I see the Past, Present & Future, existing all at once
> Before me; O Divine Spirit sustain me on thy wings!
> That I may awake Albion from his long & cold repose.
>   (15: 6-12)

In other words, the poet has the vision to see what was, what is and what will be and the responsibility to wake humanity from this fallen state. Similarly, in his "Introduction" to the *Songs of Experience*, Blake urges his readers to

> Hear the voice of the Bard!
> Who Present, Past, & Future sees;
> Whose ears have heard
> The Holy word,
> That walk'd among the ancient trees
>
> Calling the lapsed Soul
> And weeping in the evening dew,
> That might control
> The starry pole,
> And fallen, fallen light renew!
> (1-10)

As can be seen, Blake saw the poet (as bard) as one who, free of the restrictions of time, can see the past and the future, and the truth of the present, so that, in terms of re-prelapsarianism, the bard can see humanity's prelapsarian condition (for his ears have heard the Holy word that Adam and Eve heard in the Garden of Eden, as described in Genesis 3:8) and understand humanity's present lapsed condition, and inspire the lapsed soul to renew the fallen light, in other words, to re-achieve the unity and innocence of the original state. Consequently, Blake suggests that if we will but hear the voice of the Bard calling us to transform our consciousness, he will lead us towards the re-prelapsarian ideal. Abrams expounds this utopian role attached to the poet (and philosopher) by the Romantics as follows:

> They represented themselves in the traditional persona of the philosopher-seer or the poet-prophet (in England, the chief model was Milton, the great "bard" [...] and they set out, in various yet recognizably parallel ways, to reconstitute the grounds of hope and to announce the certainty, or at least the possibility, of a rebirth in which a renewed mankind will inhabit a

> renovated earth where he will find himself thoroughly
> at home. (*Natural Supernaturalism* 12)

Sperry describes their view of themselves as prophetic poets who "perceive the future, but also create what they foresee, if only by rendering that future more proximate and accessible" (Sperry 68). The Romantics therefore saw it as their responsibility to reveal and to lead humanity towards the condition of unity and innocence that has been temporarily lost but that can be regained to attain, at least in the level of consciousness, a new heaven on earth.

Both Hobsbawm and Williams bring forth an interpretation of this new status attributed to the poet/artist that sheds light on the social and political factors that played a role in its emergence: "If a single misleading sentence is to sum up the relations of artist and society in this era," writes Hobsbawm, "we might say that the French Revolution inspired him by its example, the Industrial Revolution by its horror, and the bourgeois society, which emerged from both, transformed his very existence and modes of creation" (*Age of Revolution* 255). Williams analyses the changes brought about in the role of the artist in society in connection to the rise of the middle class and the transformation from the system of patronage to that of commercial publishing, concluding that whereas in the previous system the artist had "a direct relationship with an immediate circle of readers," the new system made him part of "the workings of an institution which seemed largely impersonal" (35-6). Moreover, it turned literature into a trade and caused writers to become dependent on public and popular opinion (38). Therefore, the Romantic "emphasis on the special nature of art-creativity as a means to 'imaginative truth', and, second, an emphasis on the artist as a special kind of person" was in large part a reaction against and defiance of these new conditions caused by the socio-economic changes of the period (39).

Hobsbawm makes the same evaluation, but puts it in the larger context of a more general romantic critique of the society that emerged out of the

transformative events of their time. According to him, "once bourgeois society had in fact triumphed in the French and Industrial Revolutions, romanticism unquestionably became its instinctive enemy and can be justly described as such" (*Age of Revolution* 259). In the bourgeois world, for the reasons discussed above, the poet became alienated and marginalised. Becoming "cut off from a recognizable social function, "[t]he artist therefore stood alone, shouting into the night, uncertain even of an echo. It was only natural that he should turn himself into the genius, who created only what was within him, regardless of the world" (261). Hobsbawm's imagery brings to mind Shelley's melancholic description of the poet, "A poet is a nightingale, who sits in darkness and sings to cheer its own solitude with sweet sounds" ("Defence" 31). This loneliness, the alienation of man from society, was the chief point of the romantic critique of society. "The longing that haunted it was for the lost unity of man and nature. The bourgeois world was a profoundly and deliberately asocial one" (*Age of Revolution* 263). Thus, in relation to re-prelapsarianism, in socio-political terms the fall experienced by the Romantics was in fact caused by the dual revolution that brought about the industrial economy and bourgeois society, which brought about the alienation of man from society, and it was the poet's duty to bring back the sense of unity that had been lost through the unifying and rejuvenating influence of his poetry.

Hobsbawm makes another point that has significance especially in regard to the discussion to follow. According to him, this "profound revulsion against bourgeois society" was carried by two significant groups, with large overlaps: "socially displaced young men and professional artists" (*Age of Revolution* 259). He goes on to illustrate that "[t]here had never been a period for young artists, living or dying, like the romantic: the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) were the work of men in their twenties, Byron became famous overnight at twenty-four, an age at which Shelley was famous and Keats was almost in his grave" (260). Hobsbawm comes to the conclusion that "[y]outh – especially intellectual or student youth – was [the

romantics'] natural habitat" (ibid.) He sees this as a phenomenon that was unique to that age and caused by its particular historical circumstances:

> There is, of course, nothing universal in this revolt of the young against their elders. It was itself a reflection of the society created by the double revolution. Yet the specific historic form of this alienation certainly coloured a great part of romanticism. So, to an even greater extent, did the alienation of the artist who reacted to it by turning himself into 'the genius', one of the most characteristic inventions of the romantic era. (ibid.)

This is of paramount significance to the present thesis, for the same conflict of generations, of young people rebelling against the bourgeois society of their elders, and the same combination of dissidents, young people and artists, was to be reproduced in the Sixties, as was the same utopian response and attempt to bring about a re-prelapsarian revolution.

In conclusion, the utopianism characteristic to the Romantic Age was founded on a mystical interpretation of the Fall of Man and a resultant explanation of the history of humanity, and the personal history of each human being, as constituting a spiral. According to this explanation, humanity and each human begins life in a state of unity – with nature, with other human beings and with himself – and innocence whereby he is able to see and understand the truth and beauty and essential one-ness of the world. For humanity, this is the state of Edenic bliss, removed from its specific religious context to describe either a pre-industrial social condition or a metaphorical state of an original human condition. For the individual human, this is the condition of childhood, before exposure to the fallen world brings about degeneration and disintegration, or a state of consciousness belonging to a pre-existent (and pre-birth) spiritual state of being. This state of Edenic bliss is followed by a fall, which is seen as a falling apart from unity and a falling away from innocence. In the fallen state, the world becomes (or appears)

chaotic and discordant; humans are no longer in unity with nature but separated from it, both physically as a result of industrialisation and spiritually as a result of their inability to see the essential unity between subject and object, mind and nature; they are no longer in harmony with one another, separated by politics, competition and pride; and they are no longer a harmonious, whole human within themselves, alienated from their true selves as a result of civilisation.

This fallen state is not seen as permanent, however. A progress towards a new paradisal state of innocence and unity, a heaven on earth, is possible, in the socio-political sphere, through an espousal of the values of love and empathy that will bring about a reintegration of human to human, and human to nature, and through a return to a more natural way of life in which humans will preserve their innate goodness and be happier and more content. This does not mean a return to a completely primitive way of life, for culture and the experience gained during the fall are important, and the new heaven on earth will be superior to the original Edenic condition in that it will be a unity and innocence that is earned, and a mature rather than ignorant bliss. In the personal and spiritual sphere, attainment of the new paradisal state of innocence and unity is possible through a transformation of consciousness, enabled by the imagination and its product, poetry, that will bring about a reunification of the human mind with nature and the re-attainment of innocent perception through the agency of defamiliarisation. Once again, the new state of unity and innocence will be superior to the initial state, due to the experience and maturity, and of course knowledge and culture, learned along the way. This spiral pattern of Romantic utopianism, heaven–lapse–new heaven, I have termed re-prelapsarianism. Re-prelapsarianism manifests in both the socio-political sphere and personal and spiritual sphere of Romantic thought and activity.

Re-prelapsarian utopianism, with its socio-political and personal and spiritual aspects, was also to become the dominant utopian mode of the Sixties. Like the Romantics, Sixties re-prelapsarians attempted to establish a new heaven on earth and a renewed state of unity and innocence in both the socio-political and the

personal and spiritual spheres of experience. They also emphasised love and the imagination (especially as induced through psychedelic drugs) in bringing about the necessary transformation towards this desired state of renewed unity and innocence. Sixties activism was also sentimentalist and moral-cause oriented, embracing similar principles of non-violent resistance, civil disobedience and an anarchical anti-establishment position. Like the Romantics, they were largely comprised of young people and poets (rock bards in this case) who rejected the post-industrial capitalist political system and the bourgeois society that was its product, and who were concerned with transcending the alienation caused by this system and society, as well as with a more metaphysical transcendence of the fallen reality to an ideal state of consciousness. Consequently, the following chapters discuss and analyse the Sixties counterculture and rock lyrics by Dylan, the Beatles and Simon in the context of re-prelapsarianism.

CHAPTER 4

THE REVIVAL OF RE-PRELAPSARIANISM IN THE SIXTIES

This chapter discusses the revival of re-prelapsarianism in the Sixties, aiming to serve as a bridge between the exploration of Romantic re-prelapsarianism in the work of the major poets of the period in the previous chapter and the analysis of Sixties rock lyrics in terms of their re-prelapsarian content and functions in the following chapters. It begins with an examination of the conditions that gave rise to the Sixties counterculture, the youth movement that revolted against the dominant system and culture and demanded radical transformation in both the socio-political and personal and spiritual spheres. These two distinct yet interrelated aspects of the counterculture, its socio-political and personal and spiritual manifestations, are then explored in more detail in terms of the re-prelapsarianism inherent in both their utopian methods and their goals. The aim of this chapter is thus to establish the social, political and cultural context to which the rock lyrics analysed in the following chapters belonged.

In his book *Age of Extremes* on the "short" twentieth century (1914-1991), Hobsbawm resembles the period to "a sort of triptych or historical sandwich" beginning and ending in catastrophe, "decomposition, uncertainty and crisis," with an unexpected Golden Age in between (6). According to Hobsbawm, this Golden Age of 1947-73 was a period "of extraordinary economic growth and social transformation, which probably changed human society more profoundly than any other period of comparable brevity" (ibid.). The first half of the twentieth century had witnessed an onslaught of terrible events – the First World War (1914-18), the Great Depression (1930s), the Second World War and the holocaust (1939-45), the "utopian" projects of fascism and Stalinism, the invention of the nuclear bomb and its use in Hiroshima (1945) – that left a general feeling of hopelessness and

pessimism in their wake. It was an "Age of Catastrophe […] For forty years [the western world] stumbled from one calamity to another" and witnessed "the breakdown of the (western) civilization of the nineteenth century" (Hobsbawm *Age of Extremes* 6-7). The nineteenth century belief in the science and technology driven progress of humankind now gave way to the loss of belief in both utopia and progress (Kumar 380-3). According to Kumar, this led to the common view among Western intellectuals that utopia was dead:

> Can there be anything more commonplace than the pronouncement that, in the twentieth century, utopia is dead – and dead beyond any hope of resurrection? The Manuels, at the end of their long journey through utopia, suggest that we are living in the "twilight of utopia" […] Northrop Frye notes a "paralysis of utopian thought and imagination" in contemporary literature. And Robert Elliott points to the widely accepted reason for the fact that the "uninhibited utopianizing imagination" has largely disappeared: "Our history has made confident visions of the wholesale reconstitution of society, like those of the nineteenth century, impossible." (380)

The belief in the positive progress promised by scientific and technological advance had been marred by the horrifying use of that science and technology during the world wars, by the Nazis and by the USA against Japan, and the fear caused by a global nuclear war that could extinguish humankind. The hope of a socialist utopia, which had peaked with the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union, rapidly deteriorated "with the Soviet take-over of eastern Europe and the revelations of the brutality of Stalinism" (387). Jameson explains that during the Cold War, "[u]topia had become a synonym for Stalinism and had come to designate a program which neglected human frailty and original sin, and betrayed a will to uniformity and the ideal purity of a perfect system that always had to be imposed by force on its imperfect and reluctant subjects" (Jameson *Archaeologies*

xi). This idea of utopia turning into dystopia through forceful implementation and totalitarian control was reflected in the literary dystopias that flourished during this period, most famously written by H. G. Wells, Aldous Huxley and George Orwell (Kumar 381).

In spite of its seemingly irrevocable death, however, utopianism was revived, vigorously and energetically, in the 1960s. Indeed, it reached an apex similar to its peak during the Romantic age, dominating the *zeitgeist* of the Sixties just as it had dominated that of the Romantic age. As Levitas states, there emerged during this epoch "a real sense that a better world could not only be dreamed of, but demanded and implemented ("Be Realistic: Demand the Impossible" 79). The utopianism that resurfaced during the Sixties was a Romantic utopianism, in that it was what I have termed *re-prelapsarian*. As has been explained in the previous chapter, Romantic utopianism was prelapsarian in that it was founded in the sentimentalist belief in humanity's original state of innocence and unity, from which humanity had fallen away, or apart, due to the corrupting influence of social institutions. Yet, it was also progressive in that it held the belief in the possibility of a return to a higher state of innocence and unity, in this world, through human intention and effort. Like Romantic re-prelapsarianism, Sixties re-prelapsarianism had two distinct yet related manifestations: one a socio-political utopianism that sought to transform the whole of society through radical change, the other a personal and spiritual utopianism that sought transformation in the personal sphere of experience, especially transformation of the consciousness.

Before discussing the utopianism that seemed to suddenly emerge in the Sixties, it is necessary to first take a look at the previous decade to see both what the Sixties utopians were attempting to change and the seeds of youthful dissent out of which the counterculture was to develop. The Sixties was preceded by a decade of material comfort and economic prosperity, often referred to as the "Affluent Fifties" (Hanff 13). The world had begun to recover from the recent World War and the Great Depression preceding it. In the USA, the economy grew and

employment and income levels rose rapidly, while Britain, under the leadership of a newly elected Labour Party, gradually turned into a welfare state (Warner 6031-32). The Fifties can thus be interpreted as the triumph of Western civilisation with its faith in progress and science and its post-industrial capitalist economies, after the severe blows that it had endured earlier on in the century. The new sense of security brought about a considerable rise in birth in both countries, referred to as the "baby boom" (R. Smith 20-26). The generation that emerged out of the baby boom was to have a great impact on the cultural and political atmosphere of the following decade. The previous generation, who had lived their formative years in a state of poverty, unemployment and war were now able to afford comfortable lives with large families. The generation that they brought up thus grew up in an atmosphere of privilege and affluence (25-7).

Beneath this atmosphere of comfort and affluence, however, lay the political tension resulting from the Cold War. Gripped by the fear of communism, referred to as the "Red Scare," the US government took radical repressive measures under the leadership of Senator McCarthy, targeting all kinds of communist activity, real or so-called, with or without evidence (Warner loc. 5931-35). As a result, "a blanket of fear and silence settled over the country" (Hanff 13). The fear of being thus targeted, along with the fear of attack from internal or external communist sources, brought about an atmosphere of political conservatism and/or indifference. The majority of American university students of this decade were thus described as "politically apathetic, accepting, and inert" (Keniston viii). According to Hanff, they were predominantly concerned with "self-preservation through careful non-involvement" and with focusing on establishing successful careers and obtaining material comfort and affluence (13). Similarly, British university students of the period were described by various educationalists as "conservative and conformist," servile and after securing "comfortable social and economic rewards;" one professor even argued that "[t]here is no prospect of any massive rebellion by the British young against their condition and the dominant customs, trends and

institutions of our society" (Marwick 64). It was for this reason that the sudden onslaught of youthful rebellion a few years later seemed to be such a totally unexpected emergence: "Rarely in history has apparent apathy been replaced so rapidly by publicized activism, silence by strident dissent," writes Keniston (144).

In fact, during the 1950s, both political and cultural youthful undercurrents were beginning to emerge, paving the way for the large-scale and intense political and moral action and the youth cultural revolution of the upcoming decade. In the USA, the Civil Rights movement gained prominence. Civil Rights activists began carrying out effective acts of nonviolent civil disobedience under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., who became its most important spokesman. The Civil Rights movement had a huge impact on the young activists of the Sixties; not only did it act as the first major cause that they rallied to, but its culture of nonviolent protest and civil disobedience in turn informed much of the predominantly nonviolent activism of the youths during the Sixties (Burns 30-31, 59). Meanwhile, a group of disillusioned romantics, the Beats, "profoundly shocked by [the] immorality" that they saw in post-industrial American society and "condemning American society out of hand, [...] chose to live apart from it rather than make an effort to change it" (Hanff 15). The Beats were a small group of mainly writers, most of them from privileged backgrounds: the most significant of them were Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac and William S. Burroughs, who rejected the conventions and structures of American society, including its materialism, its sexual mores, and its hierarchies (Marwick *The Sixties* 32-3). Instead, they turned to spiritualism, especially through the influence of Zen Buddhism, and experimented with drugs and alternative sexual encounters (Roszak 125-6). Ginsberg became the object of obscenity trials due to his poem *Howl* (1956), which led to important discussions of censorship and free speech (ibid.). The Beats became known in society for their hedonism, their espousal of jazz, their peculiar style of dress and their unconventionality. Although a small and marginal group, they were to have a great impact on both the counterculture and its music, rock. Alongside this alienated and escapist cultural

rebellion was the growing teenage rebellion. As a result of the baby boom and affluence, there were now a large number of adolescents with sufficient income and time, but with few responsibilities. The rebellion of these baby boomers was a simpler one of adolescent rebellion against parents and the adult world; it involved breaking rules, challenging adult conventions, especially regarding sex, minor acts of delinquency, and most significantly, rock 'n' roll, which embodied many of these (Campbell 102).

There was a similar distribution of rebellious activity in Britain, where expanded opportunities in education for working-class children and youth for school and higher education (which was often at an art college) was an important influence in bringing about the youthful subculture. Art colleges (and clubs, pubs and coffee bars where these students spent time) became centres for making music and discussing existentialism, Beat philosophy and "the deficiencies of 'the Establishment'" (Marwick 57). Although there was no unified bohemian subculture such as the Beat generation, the Beats were nevertheless a great influence on many of the young artists and intellectuals of the period (59). In 1959, the "poet Michael Horovitz" launched the magazine *New Departures* which drew "attention to major avant garde figures from the UK and the continent who were still little known outside narrow educated and experimental circles. But, most pertinently here, it would also introduce various of the Beat writers to a British readership" (Warner loc. 6219-22). A youth group that was much more British in origin and outlook was the Angry Young Men,

> the sons of the lower middle and working classes who came of age with Socialism, had their bodies cared for by the government health programme and their minds nourished through government scholarships in red brick universities (though, now and then, Oxford). Prepared to seek their places in the new England that had been created by parliamentary revolution, they found they had nowhere to go" (Feldman and Gartenberg 13).

The Angry Young Men criticised the class basis of the power structure, the way society was organised and the stuffy conventions and attitudes of the mainstream culture (Marwick 56). In spite of the more conventional content and form of their writings, the Angry Young Men were grouped together with the Beats in a book by Max Feldman and Gene Gartenberg, called *Protest: The Beat Generation and the Angry Young Men* (1958), due to their common rebellious attitude. The writers asserted that,

> In the United States of America, those "new barbarians" who have chosen the present as the compass of their lives are the Beat Generation. In England, with certain differences, they are the Angry Young Men. Both the Beat Generation and the Angry Young Men are social phenomena which have found increasing literary expression, because both represent a significant adaptation to life in mid-twentieth-century, the writings they have engendered possess an immediate value to us all. In the long run they may be the advance columns of a vast moral revolution, one which will transform man from a creature of history to a creature of experience" (Feldman and Gartenberg 10).

As social activists in the USA had begun gathering around the Civil Rights movement, social activists in Britain came together under the cause of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), formed in 1957. Warner explains that "CND challenged the notion that the world's future should be allowed to totter on a knife edge, a belief that balanced nuclear war-chests, aimed menacingly at their ideological foes, would be the most likely way to maintain the peace" (loc. 6192-96). Marches were held every year from London to Aldermaston until 1963. Although enthusiasm for the movement waned after that, becoming dispelled into other social movements of the Sixties, CND provided "a link between the New Left revival of the mid-1950s and the radical student movements of the middle and later

sixties" (Marwick 66). Moreover, it was the origin of the peace symbol which became so iconic for the hippies and for peace protests thereafter. Finally, as in America, a teenage subculture also emerged in Britain which was in fact constituted of various groups from different socio-economic backgrounds and with different dress codes, like the Teddy boys, the mods and the rockers. These groups were largely hostile to one another, but American trends in popular music, rock 'n' roll, a form of jazz called skiffle, and modern jazz constituted an important part of all of them (Warner loc. 6013-16). In acknowledgement of this new generational class, *The Daily Mail* reported "a new world of young people" in April 1957 and the Albemarle Committee was appointed in in 1958 to prepare a report concerning the newly emerging youth subculture (Marwick 57, 59).

These three basic subcultural groups were not unique to the USA and Britain. Marwick explains that "the youth subcultures of the late fifties" were "made up, in different countries, of slightly different mixes of, and slightly different variations on, the same basic components" (42). According to Campbell, the cultural revolution of the Sixties was the result of the merging of these "three socio-cultural movements and subcultures" that emerged in the 50s and that had originally been "differentiated along lines of class, cultural response and age" (97). Campbell names these three subcultures as "moral crusaders," "beat-bohemians" and "teenage delinquents" (99).

The first of these subcultures, the moral crusaders, were young people who were disillusioned with the present state of society, especially with regard to what they perceived as its injustices, but who still believed in the possibility of reforming it. Campbell includes in this group the Angry Young Men in Britain and the Civil Rights activists in America (99). Since they had hope of change, these young people strove to bring about this change through various nonviolent forms of protest and action. This group of youthful radicals mostly came from the middle-class. Their stance was not ideological, but moral, which is why Campbell refers to them as moral crusaders: "Since they eschewed ideology, young middle-class idealists had

little choice but to settle for simple moral outrage [and] moral and humanitarian postures [...] Hence the popularity of specific moral crusades launched against singular transparent evils" such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in Britain and the Civil Rights movement in the USA (Campbell 100). These movements were not political in that they were not based on class; they focused on moral, not socio-economic reform (ibid.). Thus, people of diverse and even clashing ideologies could march side by side for the same cause (101).

The second and opposite pole of radical dissent in the 1950s was constituted of the Beats, or the "Beat-bohemians" as Campbell terms them. According to Campbell,

> Bohemianism can be described as an unconventional and irregular way of life, voluntarily chosen by, and frequently involving the artistic pursuits of, Romantics who are self-consciously in revolt against what they see as a utilitarian and philistine society, and who find moral support against its 'corrupting' influence in coterie behaviour. (98)

Bohemians first appeared in Paris in the 1840s (98), and thus during the Romantic Age. As Hobsbawm has argued, Romanticism became "the instinctive enemy" of the bourgeois society that emerged triumphant out of the French and Industrial Revolutions. Moreover, Keniston states that "the tradition of revulsion against conformist, antiaesthetic, materialistic, ugly, middle-class America runs through American writing from Melville through the 'lost generation' to the 'beat generation' and has been expressed concretely in the Bohemian subcultures that have flourished in a few large American cities since the turn of the century" (160). Consequently bohemians and Beats can both be described as romantics who have lost hope of general change. Unlike the moral crusaders, who still held on to this hope, the beat-bohemians did not believe that society could be reformed for the better, so they opted to alienate themselves from society and pursue their own

alternative lifestyles. This was a form of non-political, cultural revolt, in that their lifestyles included elements that challenged the dominant culture, similar to the acts of personal rebellion of the Romantics. However, because of their lack of hope in a better society, although they can be classified as romantic, the Beats were not utopians. Allen Ginsberg was to prove an exception later on when he wholeheartedly embraced the counterculture and its utopian outlook in the Sixties.

The third group mentioned by Campbell, the teenage delinquents, was made up of adolescents, a relatively new age group. Post-war prosperity had brought affluence to the working classes; especially to young, single males without commitments. Teenagers also had more money, through part-time jobs and allowances, and constituted a much larger part of the population than previously: "Economic change combined with demography, specifically the 'baby boom' at the end of the Second World War, producing by the beginning of the sixties an unprecedentally large, and unprecedentally well-off, teenage presence", Marwick explains (36). Moreover, teenagers had come to think of themselves as "a distinct and separate youth 'culture'", and this image was endorsed and strengthened by the market-place that had discovered them as "spenders without family commitments" (Marwick 58, 61). Marwick explains that, "most commentators at the time spoke of 'youth *culture*,' or 'teenage *culture* […] meaning the practices, values, leisure activities, and specialized purchases which they perceived as setting young people off as a separate 'class,' or 'caste' or as establishing a distinctive 'teenage world' (41-43). This was important, for it meant that this new "class" of teenagers was located outside of the dominant society, or the "one-dimensional society" that according to Marcuse merged culture, politics and the economy "into an omnipresent system which swallows up or repulses all alternatives," leaving no space for utopian activity (*One-Dimensional Man* xlvii). Marcuse argued that the working class no longer served the subversive function that Marx had attributed to it, having become co-opted by the system:

> If Marx saw in the proletariat the revolutionary class, he did so also, and maybe even primarily, because the proletariat was free from the repressive needs of capitalist society, because the new needs for freedom could develop in the proletariat and were not suffocated by the old, dominant ones [...] the working class no longer represents the negation of existing needs. ("End of Utopia" 71)

Thus, a new class was necessary that was located outside of the capitalist system and the false needs that it had produced as a form of repression (70-2), and the new age group, not yet part of the labour market had this potential. However, it was not until the teenage subculture merged with the other politically and culturally subversive subcultures that it took on this function, for its initial rebellion was a simpler one of teenage revolt against adults, rather than one of radical dissent: "an insistence that adolescents should be regarded as a force in their own right, entitled to make their own rules and observe their own standards, without interference from the adult world" (Hudson 1).

Image was a significant aspect of subcultural identity. Chambers mentions "the appeal of a distinctive difference that could be put together from available signs – musical styles and hair styles, reading habits and clothes, cinema images and personalized movement" (152-3). Thus, dress designers, cosmetic companies, models, photographers all contributed to the images and products which defined the youthful subcultures. Music was especially important to the self-representation of the subcultures. According to Campbell, the music of the Beat-bohemians was jazz, a genre with a "subtle and complex harmony", and one that needed to be intellectually appreciated; this was well suited to their elite outlook (106). It was a type of music to be enjoyed in the moment by aesthetically minded bohemians. The musical genre of the moral crusaders was folk music, especially the protest song. This was a lyric-centred, simple and tuneful genre that aimed "to bind a moral community to its chosen cause" (ibid.). It was thus a socially responsible, rather

than elitist, type of music, appropriate for the moral crusaders. The teenage delinquents listened to rock 'n' roll, a musical genre in which the lyrics were unimportant and "virtually meaningless" and which was centred on a loud and insistent beat; "music to move to" (ibid.). This stimulating and entertaining genre of music, based on raw pleasure, was well-suited to the teenage delinquents, even more so due to the adults' dislike and disapproval of it.

Campbell concludes that the music of the last group – rock 'n' roll – "became a catalyst, or unifying factor", resulting in "a temporary alliance between all three youthful subcultures that transcended the traditional boundaries of class and age and resulted in the emergence of the counterculture" (97). It would perhaps be more accurate to state that, in the early Sixties, a merging of the three representative music genres of these subcultural groups both accompanied and significantly led the way towards the merging of the subcultural groups. As Marwick argues, "the new music was a product of exchange, of mixing of traditions, of very new influences acting upon quite old practices" (48). The new genre formed of this merger was rock, and the new subculture the counterculture of the Sixties.

The Beatles and Bob Dylan played a crucial role in this merger. Indeed, Campbell claims that this amalgam and its resultant form was "largely achieved by the two most outstanding influences on the development of the counterculture," the Beatles and Dylan (107). Rock 'n' roll turned into rock largely as a result of "efforts to appropriate and moderate" it by shifting "emphasis away from raw power and energy towards romance" (109). The Beatles, who started out as a rock 'n' roll band with Teddy boy images, were instrumental in the gradual "taming" of rock 'n' roll. Dylan, who started out as a folk singer, was instrumental in its "intellectualisation" and its gaining substance. Both of these processes were necessary for the new genre to emerge and spread through the subcultures. Jazz, on the other hand, contributed the idea of the rock musician as an artist, not just performer, and someone who should write his own songs and "take charge of the whole creative process" (106). Jeff Nuttall remarks that "the Beatles were […] the

biggest single catalyst in this whole acceleration in the development of the sub-culture. They robbed the pop world of its violence, its ignorant self-consciousness, its inferiority complex, they robbed the protest world of its terrible, self-righteous drabness, they robbed the art world of its cod-seriousness" (123).

The immediate result of this taming and intellectualisation was that rock 'n' roll "spread up the social" and generational scale (109). Perhaps influential in this was the fact that the teenage delinquents were themselves also moving up the generational scale as they grew out of adolescence and into youth. The peak of the post-war baby boom was 1947, which put the baby boomers at age 13 in 1960 and 18 by mid-decade, when the counterculture gained momentum (Marwick 45). Of course, this taming was just apparent, actually setting the stage "for a more widespread and fundamental assault on the *status quo*," as, "having crossed first the race barrier from blacks to whites and then the class barrier from working-class to middle-class teenagers, rock 'n' roll now threatened to cross the age barrier between teenagers and young adults and become what has been described as 'the central communication system of youth'" (Campbell 109). Hobsbawm explains that,

> Almost immediately rock music thus became the all-purpose medium for expressing the desires, instincts, feelings and aspirations of the age-set between puberty and the moments when adults settle down in some conventional social niche, family or career: the voice and idiom of a self-conscious "youth" and "youth culture" in modern industrial societies. (*Uncommon People* 284)

Consequently, to refer to another important insight made by Hobsbawm, youth and art, "socially displaced young men and professional artists", once again came together in a revolt against the bourgeois society (*Age of Revolution* 259)[15]. A very

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[15] Hobsbawm had said of the Romantics that "youth – especially intellectual or student youth – was [their] natural habitat" and that,

> There is, of course, nothing universal in this revolt of the young
> against their elders. It was itself a reflection of the society created

similar merging of forces occurred, it would seem, in the Sixties, carried by a large youth population with rock as its most important art form and rock bards as its new artistic geniuses.

Marwick discusses how "by the end of 1963 British youth subculture had knitted together so effectively that there were very definite, and highly liberating, patterns of behaviour and forms of self-presentation associated with it, while at the same time these were now beginning to influence wider culture" (77) and the same was true for the American youth subculture. One of the most important factors enabling the development and expansion of these movements was economic security, "which underwrote innovation and daring, and minimized attendant risks" (37). Hobsbawm labelled the period between the second half of the 1950s and the early 1970s as "The Golden Age", due to the economic affluence and relative political stability that marked this period of time (*Age of Extremes* 8). It can be argued that the explosion of rock itself relied heavily on the increased affluence of youth and the rapid development of the music market.

In any case, rock provided the catalyst that enabled youths from across class, race, cultural and national lines to perceive themselves as a distinct and unique generation, thus bringing together the separate subcultural groups of the 1950s to form the much more widespread and more unified counterculture of the Sixties "a unique and powerful alliance of anti-adult and anti-establishment forces" (Campbell 110). Campbell concludes that "[t]here now existed the potential for a truly widespread revolt of the young" and that "the outcome was a fully romantic movement, comparable in nature and extent to the first Romantic Movement, and destined, like its predecessor, to bring dramatic changes to the civilisation of the West" (109-10).

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by the double revolution. Yet the specific historic form of this alienation certainly coloured a great part of romanticism. So, to an even greater extent, did the alienation of the artist who reacted to it by turning himself into 'the genius', one of the most characteristic inventions of the romantic era. (*Age of Revolution* 260)

Like the Romantic Age, the Sixties was an explosive decade, revolutionary in both movement and spirit. *Newsweek* called attention to this parallelism by giving its cover story of the events of 1968 – when the Sixties revolt had reached its peak – the title "French Revolution 1968". The Sixties was a short span of time in which great possibilities for change seemed to open up before humanity and the future seemed to present diverse potentialities. It was thus also a period of great conflict and one that in many ways helped shape the rest of the twentieth century, especially culturally: "It was a time of experiment, testing and uncertainty" writes Burns, "[t]hings were unsettled and in flux" (176). Likewise, Archer claims that" [t]he five years between 1963 and 1968 may have been the stormiest in American history except for the years of the Revolution and Civil Wars" (Archer xiii). Another similarity is that both epochs seemed to explode into being simultaneously in different countries and diverse fields of experience: "Came 1960 – and as if a curtain had been rung up, a new and revolutionary decade exploded, dominated by a new young generation," writes Hanff (15). Although both were the result of influences that had already begun in previous decades, the change in atmosphere came so suddenly and apparently inexplicably that it felt apocalyptic, thus inspiring great hope in those who saw it as "a human reawakening" (Perry 131). The utopianism of the Sixties, like Romantic utopianism, was re-prelapsarian, attempting to establish a society or a state of mind that incorporated a mature and developed version of the unity and innocence of the prelapsarian condition. Moreover, similar to Romantic re-prelapsarianism, Sixties re-prelapsarianism had two distinct, yet complementary and interconnected branches: socio-political and personal and spiritual. Socio-political re-prelapsarianism was the dynamic behind Sixties moral activism, while personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism was that behind the hippie cultural revolution.

The social utopians of the Sixties launched a series of causes ranging from university reform to Civil Rights, free speech to anti-war in their attempts to radically change society. In the USA, many of these activists were university

students, the privileged offspring of middle-class families, ironically, "those who ha[d] benefited most from American society (Keniston ix). In other words, they were the successful products of the system that they opposed. Keniston, who wrote the influential book *Youth and Dissent* (1971) based on his own experiences with university students through the 1950s and 60s as a professor, remarks that "[i]t was, I think, as unprecedented as it was unexpected for American students, the most privileged group in the most privileged nation in the world, to rise up in arms against the society that had made them" (xi). However, it was partly the realisation that the new affluence made a utopian world possible in material terms, but that poverty and repression continued in spite of this, that caused the youth to revolt (Marcuse "End of Utopia" 65). As Moylan suggests, "[t]he deep conflicts of the 1960s, rooted in an affluence that hinted at the end of scarcity and in an experience of the repression and exploitation of nature and humanity needed to achieve such affluence, significantly awakened a subversive utopianism" (*Demand the Impossible* 9). The "Port Huron Statement" issued as a kind of manifesto by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), one of the major activist groups of the period, illuminates how radical students saw themselves and their society, and reveals why they were dissenting despite their privileged status:

> We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit. When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world…many of us began maturing in complacency.
>
> As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we know more

directly because of our common peril, might die at any
time. (reprinted in Jacobs and Landau 154).

The Cold War and the "presence of the bomb" were likewise the major triggers for
the student activists of Britain. Apart from the fear of imminent death and
destruction caused by the Cold War and presence of nuclear weapons – which
undoubtedly leant urgency to the cause for peace – for the most part, these young
activists were not fighting for their own rights, but for the rights of the less
privileged to whom they perceived the establishment as committing injustices.
Their activism was largely based on their identification with the oppressed and the
disadvantaged. For this reason, the American Civil Liberties Union stated that
"students' protests have in a great degree been motivated by extraordinary
selflessness, idealism and altruism" (qtd. in Archer 69-70). This empathy with
marginalised or oppressed people and the revolt against it is once again similar to
the sentimentalist and humanitarian efforts of the Romantics. The following report
by an enthusiastic supporter of the Sixties activists highlights the sentimentalism,
commitment to nonviolence, and realistic utopianism of the movement:

> There are today young men and women, black and
> white, who are going to jail for the freedom of their
> fellow men. They are doing radical things in novel and
> challenging ways; and they are doing them in every
> man's sight, in restaurants, in stores, in movie houses,
> in bus terminals, and in the obscure rural offices of
> voting registrars […] But they do not march with
> banners nor man barricades. They do not scream at
> other countries and their visiting leaders. They throw
> no bombs […] They very definitely want to change
> social and political customs, but they want to change
> them peacefully and in their time. They are not lost or
> confused; they know exactly what they want, and they
> are ready to give their lives for their goals. (Coles 138)

Indeed, the description that Coles gives is quite akin to the ideal crowd of passive resistant protestors envisioned by Shelley in "The Mask of Anarchy"[16].

According to Marcuse, "[t]his opposition to the system was set off first by the civil rights movement and then by the war in Vietnam": through the former, the young discovered the great injustices done to African-Americans and through the latter they came to understand the system's "innate need of expansion and aggression and the brutality of its fight against all liberation movements" ("Problem of Violence" 87). Many activist students joined the Civil Rights movement that had started in the 1950s and reached its height in the Sixties, which, with its moral stance, serene determination and commitment to nonviolence, was a crucial influence in shaping the social utopianism of the period (Burns 30-1). Martin Luther King said in his Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech (1964), that:

> Negroes of the United States, following the people of India, have demonstrated that nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation. Sooner or later all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. If this is to be achieved, man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love.[17]

This understanding of love as a powerful source of unity, in direct opposition to the dividing influence of hatred, was one of the key aspects of Romantic re-prelapsarianism and it once again became prominent in the Sixties, as did the notion of nonviolent civil disobedience and passive resistance, in a meaningful line

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[16] See pgs. 77-8 above.

[17] http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1964/king-acceptance_en.html

of influence from Shelley and Thoreau to Gandhi and Martin Luther King. Fiala explains that,

> Gandhi and King both claim that one of the most important ideas underlying this sort of pacifism is love, especially the disinterested brotherly love that is described in the Greek New Testament using the word agape. King explains it this way: "In the final analysis, agape means recognition of the fact that all life is interrelated. All humanity is involved in a single process, and all men are brothers. To the degree that I harm my brother, no matter what he is doing to me, to that extent I am harming myself" (Fiala no pg.)

This Romantic view of the unity of all humans, indeed all life, and the importance of love in keeping this unity, and the broad and idealistic use of the term love, was to pervade the Sixties counterculture; the concept of love became one of the defining qualities of the socio-political as well as the personal and spiritual aspect of Sixties re-prelapsarianism.

Delivered a year before his Nobel Peace Prize speech, Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech, given at the conclusion of the March on Washington in 1963, one of the largest activist gatherings of the time, was undoubtedly the most iconic utopian declaration of the Sixties. Stressing the ideals of freedom, equality, and brotherhood, the conclusion of King's speech clearly enunciates his belief that his "dream" of a utopian society can be brought about in the near future by humankind:

> And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream.
> [...]
> I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

> I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.
>
> [...]
>
> I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.
>
> [...]
>
> This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.
>
> [...]
>
> And when this happens, and when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:
>
> Free at last! Free at last!
> Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!

Although he refers to his projection as a "dream" and although he alludes to the Biblical promise of the kingdom of heaven, King emphasises his belief that this dream will be realised in the foreseeable future, as a result of the endeavours of such people as had gathered there that day. This can be elicited from his beginning the last section of his speech with "Let us not wallow in the valley of despair," his stating that "this is the faith that [he] goes back to the South with" and using the phrase "*when* this happens," as well as his repetition in previous sections of the speech of the phrase "Now is the time" to stress that action must be taken towards this goal in the here and now. The picture that King paints of a free and unified America is clearly utopian, especially the final section of his speech that imagines people of all ethnic backgrounds holding hands and singing. All in all, Martin Luther

King's "I Have a Dream" speech is a fitting example of the re-prelapsarianism of the Sixties.

Another significant aspect of Sixties activism was that the stance taken by the activists was not an ideological, but a moral one. Although he defines "student unrest as the emerging 'class warfare' of postindustrial society" (vii), Keniston explains that student activists were "existential" rather than political and their actions put an "emphasis on simple personal expressions of moral indignation" (118). These movements were not based in class or any particular political ideology, instead focusing on issues of "apparent moral simplicity" like Civil Rights and free speech (118). Therefore, you could see people of many different beliefs and ideologies marching side by side. In the USA Quakers, Students for a Democratic Society, War Resister's League, Student Peace Union and many others all took part in the "Hell, No, We Won't Go" Resistance Movement against the draft calls for the Vietnam war (Archer 50). Likewise, "the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign" in Britain "emerged as the heart of an all-encompassing new left scene that incorporated Trotskyist, non-aligned and counter-cultural-inspired artistic and theatrical groups alike" (Hughes 71). In fact, this single-cause approach to activism was similar to that of the Romantics, who had also taken up moral and humanitarian stances against such causes as ending slavery and child labour[18].

The causes that the Sixties activists were rallying to were important ones. The principal issues were university reform, equal rights for blacks in the USA and a stand against racism in Britain (where racial tensions were newly arising due to immigration), a priority of human values over financial concerns, an end to the draft in the USA, and an end to the war in Vietnam in both the USA and Britain (Archer 51)[19]. Moreover, there was a more general "protest against authoritarian structures

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[18] See pgs 72-4 above.

[19] In fact demands were being made by university youth in many countries throughout the world, with a variation on the specific issues, but the same basic principles. Sica explains that the student unrest, which constituted a major aspect of the Sixties revolt, began "at Columbia University and

in all walks of life" (Chambers 161). In fact, although situated in the political left, the student opposition was anarchical rather than Marxist, both in its decentralised and spontaneous tendencies and its determined revolt against all authoritarian structures. Jameson argues that "[t]he anti-authoritarian Left" adopted "an anarchist position and new focus on difference," opposing Marxism as centralised and authoritarian (Jameson *Archaeologies* xi).

In this sense the student opposition was "part of a larger opposition that is usually designated as 'New Left'", explains Marcuse, and lists some of the distinguishing factors of the New Left as follows: it is Neo-Marxist and is "characterized by a deep mistrust of the old leftist parties and their ideology", it is influenced instead by the liberation movements of the developing world, it "includes neo-anarchist tendencies", it "cannot be defined in terms of class, consisting as it does of intellectuals, of groups from the civil rights movement and of youth groups, especially the radical elements of youth, including those who at first glance do not appear political at all, namely the hippies" and it "has as spokesmen not traditional politicians but rather such suspect figures as poets, writers, and intellectuals" ("Problem of Violence" 85). As can be seen, the New Left described by Marcuse as the basis of Sixties activism has strong affinities to Romantic activism, in its anarchist and anti-authoritarian stance, its basis in youth, artists and intellectuals rather than the working class, and its designation of poets, writers and intellectuals as its leaders. Just as the Romantic re-prelapsarians, alongside their single-cause-oriented opposition, were engaged in a more general opposition to the socio-political system and the bourgeois society that emerged as a result of industrialisation, so too were the Sixties re-prelapsarians. Marcuse describes this as "an opposition against the majority of the population [...], an opposition against the system's ubiquitous pressure, which by means of its repressive and destructive

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quickly spread to Paris, Oxford, London, Rome [...] thousands of students took part, sometimes aided by the working classes (especially in France and Italy), and no one who read a newspaper or watched television news doubted that indeed (forgive the cliché), 'the times they were a "changing"'" (Sica 2-3).

productivity degrades everything, in an increasingly inhuman way, to the status of a commodity whose purchase and sale provide the sustenance and content of life; against the system's hypocritical morality and 'values'; and against the terror employed outside the metropolis" ("Problem of Violence" 87). According to Marwick, the youth used the term "the Establishment" as "the catch-all phrase for discontent with the way society was organized" (56), hence the designation of the counterculture as "anti-establishment".

Moreover, the spirit of revolt that dominated the Western world transcended the specific movements that it encompassed, for the aim of the youthful dissenters was not merely to reform society but to transform it. "Though movement people of the 1960s and 1970s struggled to right tangible wrongs, most were buoyed by imaginings of social rebirth, of a future-society-in-the-making," Burns explains (186). Their aim was utopian: they believed in the possibility of an ideal society and worked towards this goal (ibid.). Thus, they were social utopians and revolutionaries, rather than merely dissenters, endeavouring to establish a re-unified society that had returned to humanity's natural condition and values. In this "uniquely re-creative societal setting" they aimed to create a society built on the principles of love, peace, justice, and the celebration of human life, rather than those of selfishness, material gain and imperial power (Sica 3, Keniston xii). Consequently, their belief in and aspiration towards an ideal world, like the Romantics before them, was another essential aspect of their re-prelapsarianism.

Rock was important to the social activists, emerging as a kind of "universal language" for the counterculture (Marwick 3). The universality of music and its function as shared experience helped bring together a great number of young people from very different backgrounds under shared causes and beliefs. Street explains that "the rhetoric [of rock] portrayed musicians and audiences as joined together in a collective endeavour to establish an alternative society" (313). Once again, the Civil Rights movement was an influence on this. Chants had been used by Civil Rights activists during demonstrations, for strength and unity and the emphasis

on the peaceful nature of their march (singing chants or praying instead of shouting slogans).

Rock was also significant as an alternative art form. Marcuse believed, as did Bloch, that art was crucial to utopianism. Levitas explains that "[b]oth writers regard art as the expression of a wished-for world which has now become possible; both see this expression as essential to the process of transformation, because it offers both vision and experience of an alternative which can then be realised [...] its role is indispensable" (*Concept* 149). Marcuse describes the relationship between art (and imagination) and utopia as follows:

> Imagination envisions the reconciliation of the individual with the whole, of desire with realization, of happiness with reason. While this harmony has been removed into utopia by the established reality principle, phantasy insists that it must and can become real, that behind the illusion lies knowledge. The truths of imagination are first realized when phantasy itself takes form, when it creates a universe of perception and comprehension -- a subjective and at the same time objective universe. This occurs in art. (*Eros and Civilization* 143-4)

However, Marcuse was also worried that the one-dimensional society was also taming art and eliminating its subversive role:

> Today's novel feature is the flattening out of the antagonism between culture and social reality through the obliteration of the oppositional, alien, and transcendent elements in the higher culture by virtue of which it constituted another dimension of reality. This liquidation of two-dimensional culture takes place not through the denial and rejection of the "cultural values," but through their wholesale incorporation into the established order, through their reproduction and display on a massive scale. (*One-Dimensional Man* 60)

Although also produced on a massive scale, rock was a popular art form that had not yet been co-opted by the system, remaining outside of it just as the counterculture that it was a part of and the youth that it appealed to remained as subversive forces outside of the dominant society. Martineau relays that, "one day, while taking part in an anti-Vietnam demonstration where young people were singing the songs of Bob Dylan, [Marcuse] realized that this was the only revolutionary language left today" (76).

In the meantime, a second revolution was being launched in the cultural sphere, distinct from but inextricably linked to the moral/political revolution of the activists. This revolution included idealist young people who were striving for a personal rather than a social utopia, and this branch of utopianism gained prominence towards the end of the decade when frustration and disappointment were rising among the activists, as movement leaders were assassinated, police violence escalated and the social transformation that they were aiming at failed to come about. Keniston refers to this group of young people, popularly referred to as hippies, as the "disaffiliates," describing them as the 1960s continuation of the Beats: "culturally alienated, denying the public sphere as one of role-playing, and seeing only the intensely subjective (and often drug-induced) experience as real" (121). However, although they were a continuation of the Beats, they were different in one crucial aspect. The Beats had aimed to escape the dominant culture by withdrawing into their own alienated communities because they did not believe that society could change. The hippies – who also withdrew from the dominant culture and formed their own communities – did so with the belief that they could establish alternative utopian communities based on their own set of principles, which were very different from those of the dominant culture. Moreover, in so doing, they aimed to show that alternative styles of living were possible and desirable, thus gradually bringing about a change in the society as a whole. Moreover, they believed in the individual's ability to transform into a state of innocence and unity and the prospect of transforming the society gradually through

the transformation of the individuals that made up that society, advocating a "movement away from formal schemes for the reorganisation of society towards an informal exploration of 'inner space'" (Reid 270). Thus, unlike the Beats, they were not alienated escapists but cultural revolutionaries and personal and spiritual utopians.

As with the Romantics, some have interpreted the turning inward of the counterculture as a form of escape, springing from the frustration and despair born of the inability to change society. However, the alternative societies that the hippies established, their happenings celebrating peace and love, and their participation in the peace marches organised by the activists, clearly show that they were neither despairing nor escapist, but actively working for change. "That the hippies were non-political is a myth," Perry explains, as Abrams, Williams and Hobsbawm explained of the Romantics: "they had a clear compass for their main journey, and their side excursions even by way of drugs did not obscure their central political objective – to find a way for mankind, all of it, to survive by directly reforming the ethical values of the society at a personal, family, and neighbourhood level" (41). Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the hippies, although more focused on the personal and spiritual aspect of utopian transformation, also took part in socio-political acts of utopianism, although using different approaches than those of the activists.

Indeed, the hippies were deeply concerned with the causes taken up by the activists, especially the anti-war cause, epitomised in their famous motto: "make love, not war". Not only did they join in the large peace protests organised by the activists, but they also organised their own demonstrations. Their method of protest was very different to that of the activists, however. The hippies believed that demonstrations should focus on love and hope rather than anger and frustration and accordingly advocated demonstrations that were affirmative and celebratory rather than dissenting and negative, including dancing and singing, flowers and balloons: "The cause of the happy parade is clearly anti-war [...] but it is

declared without self-congratulatory indignation or heavy, heady argument. Instead, the effort is to create a captivating mood of peaceableness, generosity, and tenderness that may melt the rigidities of opponents and sweep them along" (Roszak 150-1). In other words, hippie demonstrations were focused on unity rather than dissent, trying to bring together rather than protesting against. The flower children, as the hippies came to be popularly called, had early made the flower a symbol of "their central value – the wish to shelter life itself, to be harmless" (Perry 61), and their referring to themselves as "children" also illustrates their romantic belief in the innocence and unspoilt wisdom of the child, representative of prelapsarian man, and their wish to emulate this innocence and wisdom. It was on these values that they based their demonstrations. In a 1965 essay titled "How to Make a March/Spectacle," Allen Ginsberg, who had espoused the counterculture and become an important spokesperson, coined the term "Flower Power" for the mentality behind this kind of protest, advocating that the protestors should wear flowers and hand them out to passersby and policemen, as symbolic gestures of peace, love, harmony and the celebration of life. As can be seen, both the sentimentalist view of human nature and the focus on the power of love as a unifying force that can overcome division, dissonance and conflict, crucial aspects of Romantic re-prelapsarianism, as well as that of the Sixties activists, also form the foundation of the hippies' socio-political utopianism.

This emphasis on the power of love and innocence, epitomised in the term Flower Power, reached its peak in "the Summer of Love" of 1967 when thousands of flower children from all over the USA and from around the world flowed into Haight-Ashbury and its environs for the celebration of these values. Thus, in his anthem song for the Summer of Love, Scott McKenzie sang:

> If you're going to San Francisco,
> Be sure to wear some flowers in your hair,
> If you're going to San Francisco,
> You're gonna meet some gentle people there.

> For those who come to San Francisco
> Summer time will be a love-in there.[20]

The "love-in" referred to in the song is another version of the term "be-in" that the hippies used to label their demonstrations or gatherings (Archer 81). In January, 1967, in prelude to the Summer of Love, the World's First Human Be-In took place, with the participation of Timothy Leary (one of the most important figures of the psychedelic revolution) and Allen Ginsberg: "twenty thousand costumed flower children rang bells, chanted, danced ecstatically, took drugs, and handed flowers to police officers" (Archer 83). These gestures of love, joy and unity, the hippies believed, would help transform others to their cause and eventually transform the world. Moreover, they constituted an implicit challenge and an alternative code of conduct to the culture of violence and oppression practiced by the dominant culture, especially in its actions in Vietnam and its treatment of African-Americans and the opposition in general at home. In this sense, it was a more radical and fundamental challenge to the status quo than initially appears.

Perry remarks that the slogan of the Human Be-In was "If you feel sympathy, wear a flower, bring a musical instrument, wear bells" and she describes the effect of the event in re-prelapsarian terms: "the world was new and green and pastoral […] there was clearly a renewal of the spirit of man […] it was life-giving and it was freeing – it was, in short, a creative process, and it moved people toward hope of a better world" (85-9). Thus, Perry contrasts the anger and despair provoked in her by political gatherings with the peace and hope raised in her by be-ins (90). As can be seen, the be-ins and love-ins were in fact events aimed at demonstrating the prelapsarian state that could be re-achieved through human effort, through a return to innocence, nature and communal living. The goal was to instil in participators the belief that such a utopian existence was both desirable and possible. This be-in was followed by many others during the Summer of Love,

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[20] "San Francisco (Wear Some Flowers in Your Hair)" by John Phillips, 1967.

including the Flower Power Love-In in New York Central Park, and the International Love-In and the 14 Hour Technicolor Dream in Alexandra Palace, London. The Summer of Love was just as important a phenomenon in London. The BBC Documentary "The Summer of 1967: The Summer of Love" states that "'67 was the summer when young people cast off the cloaks of convention and threw themselves into a social, sexual and pharmacological revolution which shook society to its very foundations" (BBC: *Summer of Love*). The Beatles provided another anthem for the Summer of Love, which seemed to many hippies to epitomize the gist of their revolution, "All You Need is Love," which is described by one former flower child as "the most powerful force we thought that we could express in order to save the world (ibid.).

As can be deduced from Perry's definition of the human be-in above, the hippies' idea of a utopia consisted of a return to pure human experience, untainted by modern post-industrial society; it arose out of a nostalgic yearning for a prelapsarian state, and a re-prelapsarian determination to re-achieve that state. As Reid explains, it was "not so much a 'revolution' as a 'revelation,' not political struggle but personal transformation through spontaneous art" that they were working towards (271). Roszak's description of Allen Ginsberg's form of protest can be applied to the cultural revolutionaries in general: "From the outset, Ginsberg is a protest poet. But his protest does not run back to Marx, it reaches out, instead, to the ecstatic radicalism of Blake" (126). Consequently, "the issue is never as simple as social justice; rather, the key words and images are those of time and eternity, madness and vision, heaven and the spirit." (ibid.). The healing and reconciling power of love, the sentimentalist belief in human nature as innately good and pure, and the focus on spiritual and mystical means to personal and spiritual transformation, all continuations of Romantic re-prelapsarianism, thus also dominate the utopian projects of the hippies.

Hippies established alternative utopian communities throughout the USA and Britain, where they could live alternative lives based on their own ideals and

principles, away from "the Establishment" and the dominant culture. Claeys defines "[i]ntentional communities [as] utopian niches in an alien space," and this is an apt definition for the alternative communities of the hippies, the most important of which were established within urban centres as oases to which those wishing to "drop out" from the dominant system could go (204)[21]. The most well-known alternative utopian community of the Sixties was established in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, in "California, where fantasy turns to fact in a symbiotic pleasure dome of nature and culture," at least in the hippie imagination (Chambers 161). Haight-Ashbury had previously been a centre for the Beats and was now chosen by the hippies as a place where they would apply the principles of the counterculture and live an alternative way of life (Archer 83). Perry, who spent time there as a social worker during the time, describes Haight-Ashbury as a "noble experiment" and an "attempt at a new kind of Utopia," where the principles included "shared living quarters," "no barriers of age or color of skin, no written creed, no rigid rules of dress or language" (4-6). She also adds that "no one was turned aside; and even the most disruptive were led gently toward the Utopian ideals of the flower children," everyone was encouraged and expected to "love thy neighbour" and an atmosphere of "hope and kindliness" flourished (4-6).

It was thus designed to be an environment of love, acceptance and unity in direct opposition to what the hippies perceived as the disintegrated, selfish and discriminating culture of the mainstream. Keniston observes that the young who gathered there "adopted an ideology of love, openness, and genuine relatedness, instead of an ideology of distrust and cynicism" (173). Moreover, they rejected the life of material comfort and wasteful consumption that dominated the mainstream culture by concentrating on providing only essential material needs, which were

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[21] Some examples of rural utopian communities of the Sixties, in the style of the Transcendentalist Brook Farm and Fruitlands, were Glastonbury Tor, Somerset and Crow Hall, Denver in Britain, and Twin Oaks Community, Virginia and The Farm, Tennessee in the USA. However, these small scale utopian communities flourished especially in the 1970s as back-to-the-land ventures, when the more ambitious utopian projects, established in sections of large cities, had failed.

shared, and finding entertainment and contentment in communal activities such as music and public celebrations of nature, where they read, talked, contemplated and simply experience nature, trying to reach a full realisation of its beauty and wonder (26). They also organised street theatre to display and emphasise their principles: giving out free food or going up to strangers and asking them unabashedly for money, for instance, to emphasise their belief in the "free movement of goods in society," or simply engaging in small acts of kindness and humanity as a "reaffirmation of the importance of every person" (51). All of these were in fact strong symbolic acts of civil resistance. "What we have here," commented Marcuse, "is quite an interesting phenomenon, namely the simple refusal to take part in the blessings of 'affluent society'. That is in itself one of the qualitative changes of need. The need for better television sets, better automobiles, or comfort of any sort has been cast off" ("End of Utopia" 76).

Instead, the hippies attempted to revive true and "vital needs" as Marcuse terms them, both by refusing the false needs that distracted from them, and by establishing an environment in which these natural needs would once again flourish, liberated from their repression by the dominant system. Marcuse suggests that the vital needs for freedom and happiness can be revived

> through the construction of a pacified environment [...] an environment that provides room for these new needs precisely through its new, pacified character, that is, that can allow them to be materially, even physiologically converted through a continuous change in human nature, namely through a reduction of characteristics that today manifest themselves in a horrible way: brutality, cruelty, false heroism, false virility, competition at any price. ("End of Utopia" 73)

In other words, the alternative social, cultural and psychological environment presented by the alternative hippie community would enable the transformation of consciousness necessary for personal and spiritual and, eventually, socio-political

transformation. Accordingly, "peace, love and understanding" was one of the famous mottos of the hippies, and it was upon these main principles that they attempted to base their alternative utopian society.

The elimination of the loneliness and alienation engendered by the societal conditions of capitalism through a culture of love and support was a major concern of the alternative utopian communities. On her chapter on "Loneliness," which she opens with the juxtaposed epigraphs of "All the lonely people, / Where do they all come from? / All the lonely people, / Where do they all belong?" ("Eleanor Rigby") on the one hand and "And when I touch you I feel happy inside" ("I Want to Hold Your Hand") on the other, Perry describes both this state of loneliness and the cures found for it in the hippie community of Haight-Ashbury. According to her, "messages of loneliness crowded the bulletin boards in every gathering place for the young" and although she initially found this distressing, she was corrected by a hippie who interpreted the messages as "outstretched hands" rather than messages of despair: "the request for friendliness as a cure for loneliness was the mark of the neighbourhood," she explains (154). As other examples of the methods developed by the alternative community to overcome loneliness Perry cites the comfort with which strangers approached and communicated with each other on the streets and how a newcomer would be surrounded by residents within minutes (155-6). According to her, one of the major reasons for this ease of communication and "freedom to express loneliness" was the sexual revolution: the separation of the need for intimacy from the need for sex meant that other forms of human communication were freed from "sexual content" and thus relaxed (156-7).

The sexual revolution was a crucial aspect of the countercultural revolt. It was an open and provocative act of rebellion directed against some of the most fundamental values of mainstream society, including the sacred institution of the family, the religious establishment, and the importance attached to sexual morality, especially as regarded women. Marcuse calls attention to this when he says that "the moral-sexual revolution, which turns against the dominant morality [...] must

be taken seriously as a disintegrative factor, as can be seen from the reaction to it" ("End of Utopia" 72). It should be recalled that the advocacy of free love had also been an important element of the Romantic rebellion against society, especially as taken up by Blake, Shelley and Byron[22]. However, it had remained clearly in the sphere of a few scandalous relationships and writings, whereas free love and free sex became an outright social revolution in the Sixties. Moreover, in the 1970s, it was also to become one of the bases from which the feminist movement sprang into action, since it also meant the freeing of women from traditional gender roles.

Another overt act of defiance and rebellion against the mainstream culture was the use of mind-enhancing drugs. Beginning with marijuana and continuing with LSD, drug use was not only a way in which to shock and scare the society at large, who the hippies accused of hypocrisy for simultaneously seeing alcohol intoxication as normal and acceptable, but also a way in which to differentiate the alternative culture from the main one. Consequently, in the alternative communities established by the hippies, "drugs became a rite of passage and interim step into the new Utopia, serving to cleanse the newcomers from the reason-based conventional society in preparation for the utopian community they were entering [thus, as] an act of conversion to a new set of ethical values" (Perry 6, 68).

Moreover, these acts of rebellion – the sexual revolution and the psychedelic revolution – which were both related to physicality and pleasure and which had already started in the fifties with the Beats, the teenage rebellion and rock 'n' roll, came to take on more idealistic and spiritual meanings for the counter-culture. The sexual revolution was not only about freeing sex, but about freeing love, and freeing people to love openly and unashamedly, as Blake had desired[23]. The psychedelic revolution assigned a major cultural and spiritual value to mind-

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[22] See pg. 75 above.

[23] See pgs. 75-6.

enhancing drugs, and a function that overlaps with the function ascribed to the imagination by Romantic re-prelapsarianism, as will be discussed further below. Timothy Leary, originally a psychologist who conducted experiments using psychedelic drugs at Harvard University to treat psychiatric disorder, and later the self-appointed "high priest of the Sixties drug culture" urged the youth to "turn on, tune in, drop out" (Archer 81-2). By "turn on", Leary was referring to taking mind-enhancing drugs, by "tune in" to the inward-exploration that these drugs enabled and by "drop out", the resultant rejection of dominant society and culture and the embrace of the alternative lifestyle proposed by the counterculture.

Thus, Leary was not only referring to a form of escape from "the disillusionment of the times" but more importantly to a method of escaping the confines of reason and positivism "to focus inward on one's self" (Archer 82). Actually, this reaction against reason and positivism as restrictive, inadequate and even repressive was one of the major aspects of Sixties re-prelapsarianism, and another aspect which has roots in Romantic re-prelapsarian and its rejection of the Enlightenment focus on reason and positivism. In fact Waugh cites as "[a] rapidly emergent view [of the time] that the Enlightenment had produced the violences of the modern world by closing off and perverting the human impulse toward the sacred" (61). This view is evident in Roszak's book, *The Making of the Counterculture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition* (1968). Roszak, who coined the term "counter culture", takes this opposition to what he terms technocracy ("that social form in which an industrial society reaches the peak of its organizational integration"), which attempts to organise and control every aspect of human life through rational and technical solutions to what it explains as purely technical needs, as the core of the youthful opposition (5, 10). Roszak goes so far as to claim that "[i]f the counter culture fails [...] there will be nothing in store for us but what anti-utopians like Huxley and Orwell have forecast" for "the capacity of our emerging technocratic paradise to denature the imagination by appropriating to itself the whole meaning of Reason, Reality, Progress, and

Knowledge will render it impossible for men to give any name to their bothersomely unfulfilled potentialities but that of madness" (xiii)[24]. Roszak states that this "was the beginning of a youth culture that continues to be shot through with the spontaneous urge to counter the joyless, rapacious and egomaniacal order of our technological society" (137). He further explains that,

> In order, then, to root out those distortive assumptions, nothing less is required than the subversion of the scientific world view, with its entrenched commitment to an egocentric and cerebral mode of consciousness. In its place, there must be a new culture in which the non-intellective capacity of the personality – those capacities that take fire from visionary splendour and the experience of human communion – become the arbiters of the good, the true, and the beautiful. (51)

Consequently, as Waugh explains, the counterculture turned to spiritualism, mysticism and transcendent concepts and experiences as a rejection of the predominantly rationalist and positivist perspective of the dominant culture:

> the counterculture launched a critique of technocracy which was anchored in a Rousseauistic belief in the possible liberation of an essentially whole but repressed self. For the student movement, as for radicals such as Herbert Marcuse [...] salvation would only be found in a return to the Romantic and German Idealist belief in spiritual liberation" (6).

Since institutional religion could no longer provide this spiritual nourishment, partly because of its weakened position due to the rationalist and scientific worldview, but also, for the counterculture, because it was part of the Establishment that they opposed, they turned to other sources of spirituality (Waugh 61).

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[24] This concern is similar, although more urgent in tone, to Marcuse's argument in *One-Dimensional Man* and Jameson's in *Archaeologies of the Future* about the complete domination of the current system, leaving no space for alternatives (see pgs. 35-7 above).

One of these sources was Eastern mysticism. The hippies were deeply influenced by eastern belief systems – as indeed the Beats had been before them and the Transcendentalists before the Beats – such as Zen Buddhism, especially in its "gentle and gay rejection of the positivistic and the compulsively cerebral," but also Sufism, Hinduism, and primitive shamanism (Roszak 137, 140). Roszak refers to this interest in mystical belief systems as the "mystic revolution" (124). Inward exploration and mind expansion through meditation played a crucial role in this revolution, since they enabled the experience of irrational or non-rational states of being and an escape from reality that freed the consciousness from the confines placed on it by science and reason. The ancient funerary text, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, originally meant as a guide to spirits through the transitional state between death and rebirth (Evans-Wentz no pg.), became very influential to the counterculture, interpreted by the hippies metaphorically as referring to ego death and the rebirth of the spirit as a result. R. D. Laing, British psychiatrist, who was an important figure of the counterculture due to his interest in psychedelic mysticism (Waugh 6), writes of the necessity of

> in one way or another, the dissolution of the normal ego, that false self competently adjusted to our alienated social reality: the emergence of the "inner" archetypal mediators of divine power, and through this death a rebirth, and the eventual re-establishment of a new kind of ego-functioning, the ego now being the servant of the divine, no longer its betrayer. (119)

This spiral progress of the death of what can be interpreted as the fallen ego and its rebirth in unity with its original divine attributes, has strong affinities with Romantic explanations of the fall and return, especially Blake's vision of the reunification of man within himself, from his fallen state of division to a new state of one-ness[25]. The hippies' aim was, therefore, to transcend the ego, expand their consciousness

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[25] See pg. 51 above.

and arrive at truth from this transcendence and expansion, and to spread this effort so that the whole society could gradually experience the same rebirth, individual by individual.

Although Eastern religion played a crucial role in this personal and spiritual re-prelapsarian effort, the favourite counterculture route towards spiritualism and transformation of the consciousness through mystical experience was through the use of psychedelic drugs. Timothy Leary and two of his colleagues wrote a book titled *The Psychedelic Experience* which was based on the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, as a guide to using psychedelic drugs with the aim of achieving ego death and rebirth. They explain that,

> A psychedelic experience is a journey to new realms of consciousness. The scope and content of the experience is limitless, but its characteristic features are the transcendence of verbal concepts, of space-time dimensions, and of the ego or identity. Such experiences of enlarged consciousness can occur in a variety of ways: sensory deprivation, yoga exercises, disciplined meditation, religious or aesthetic ecstasies, or spontaneously. Most recently they have become available to anyone through the ingestion of psychedelic drugs such as LSD, psilocybin, mescaline, DMT, etc. Of course, the drug does not produce the transcendent experience. It merely acts as a chemical key — it opens the mind, frees the nervous system of its ordinary patterns and structures. (1)

Actually, psychedelic drugs took on in Sixties re-prelapsarianism the role that the imagination had played for Romantic re-prelapsarianism. Like the imagination, psychedelic drugs helped achieve the transformation of consciousness through its two major functions of unification and defamiliarisation. They served to liberate the mind from the constraints of reality and reason, they enabled an inward and outward journey of exploration in a quest to understand the self and the cosmos, they brought a perception of unity to an apparently divided world and enhanced

both the perception and attribution of meaning to that world. All of these were functions attributed by the Romantics to the imaginative faculty. Indeed, psychedelic drugs were a short-cut to the state of high imagination.

Psychedelic drugs provided an easy route to achieving the utopian state of unity on the personal and spiritual level. The mind-enhancing and consciousness-expanding quality of drugs such as LSD enabled the transcendence of the fallen reality to a "sense of oneness with the world", with nature and with other human beings (Perry 82). British singer-songwriter Donovan describes this effect of LSD as follows:

> To actually enter this inner world…you find an amazing connection between everything. In looking at the flower, the flower becomes all flowers; it becomes the high spirit being of all flowers. It almost speaks to you. And then you realise, you are the flower. (interview in *BBC: Summer of Love*)

Moreover, the mystical experience brought about by the drug led to the apprehension of the divine present in all of life. McCartney commented on this: "God is in everything. God is in the space between us. God is in the table in front of you. It just happens I realise all this through acid" (McCartney in Inglis 57). The discovery of this unity of all living beings, the spirituality that permeates all life, and the presence of the divine in all, was an important step towards the re-achievement of the re-prelapsarian state of consciousness.

Psychedelic drugs also distorted sense perceptions, presenting the physical world as a dream-world of surreal images, and thus bringing about a defamiliarisation in the perception of the world. In his book *The Doors of Perception* about his experiments with the psychedelic mescaline[26], Huxley wrote that under the influence of the drug, "[v]isual impressions are greatly intensified and the eye

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[26] The title significantly alludes to Blake's comment concerning defamiliarisation in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: "If the doors of perception were cleansed everything would appear to man as it is, infinite." (14: 38-9).

recovers some of the perpetual innocence of childhood" (9). In other words, not only did psychedelic drugs facilitate the re-attainment of the original, prelapsarian condition of unity, but they also facilitated the re-attainment of the original, prelapsarian condition of innocence, thus becoming the easiest and most important route towards achieving re-prelapsarian eupsychia.

Consequently, drugs became an important tool towards achieving the re-prelapsarian ideal as well as continuing to act as a shield that many youths held between themselves and the reality of the world in which they lived. Just as the imagination had been the fundamental faculty enabling the achievement of personal and spiritual utopia for the Romantics, psychedelic drugs became the fundamental route towards personal and spiritual utopia for the counterculture. Moreover, the psychedelic revolution moved on the assumption that if you change consciousness, you change the world; thus, since drugs changed consciousness, universal drug use would change the world (Roszak 168).

Rock provided another and very important method for achieving the re-prelapsarian state of consciousness, both through re-unification with self and cosmos and defamiliarisation, thus taking over the role that poetry had played for the Romantics. Both through the lyrics and the music itself, rock attempted to reflect and inspire the return to unity and the re-creation of the world that was necessary for personal and spiritual transformation. Chambers argues that rock became a force for change for the hippies, who believed that "it could 'turn you on' to a new order of things," an "alternative reality" (161). Psychedelic rock, which developed alongside the psychedelic revolution of the counterculture, "connotated the sensual, strobe-lit, drugged interiors of a 'trip' to an 'elsewhere' that the 'straight' establishment had no hope of entering or comprehending" (Chambers 160-1) – a special utopian state of being for counterculture initiates only. Perry relates a conversional experience that she underwent in Haight-Ashbury, through the influence of rock, which changed her initial cynical and suspicious approach towards the hippies and their utopianism:

> The strobe lights flashed on the young dancing below the picture, the music beat along with its hint of the great words, unheard in the swirl of sound and color, but known past knowing – the celebration of life, the turning aside from the very concept of killing. I stood on the dance floor, overcome with the movement of thought, the collapse of old standards of morality, the impulse of life, the movement of bodies and feet caught in the dance of life […] I went home to sleep in the soundest and most restful way that I had known for months. I had been turned on to the hope still left in me for a better world than any I had ever known. (76)

It was precisely this kind of conversion – of turning on, tuning in and dropping out – that the cultural revolutionaries were striving at, through the exploration and expansion of consciousness, whether through the use of drugs, meditation or music. Consequently, rock played a crucial role in the hippies' efforts towards achieving personal and spiritual utopia: Hobsbawn refers to the "apocalyptic rhetoric which could surround rock at the peak of the global youth rebellion" (*Uncommon People* 284). Accordingly, during this period, rock festivals were also seen as very significant happenings, akin to be-ins, that brought flower children from all around the country and the world together to celebrate life and diffuse hope for a utopian existence. Some of the important rock festivals of the period included the Monterey Pop Festival and the Fantasy Fair and Magic Mountain Music festivals in the USA and the Isle of Wight and Hyde Park festivals in the UK, perhaps the most famous being the Woodstock Festival in New York, 1969, subtitled "3 Days of Peace & Music".

Thus, the hippies, along with taking part in the same socio-political issues as the activists, although using different methods, also facilitated a personal and spiritual utopianism aimed at transforming oneself in order to attain a state of utopian consciousness independent of the social and political realities. Reid explains that the hippies considered "all forms of conventional politics as too limited and

goal-oriented to promote real freedom, and look[ed] instead for long-term social benefits from participation in immediate artistic experience to bring out an expansion, or even transcendence, of ordinary consciousness" (269).

As in the Romantic Age, the utopian focus eventually shifted to the pursuit of personal and spiritual rather than socio-political re-prelapsarianism, and this was affected through two interrelated methods. The first of these was the attempt to re-gain the lost state of prelapsarian unity. The unity between humans, the counterculture attempted to establish through fostering a culture of love. The unity of the human self, and the lost unity between human and nature or cosmos they attempted to achieve through a transformation of consciousness. The second was the creation of a new, utopian consciousness through defamiliarisation. By perceiving the familiar world that humans have lost the ability to see as magical or wondrous in a new light, with an altered perception brought about by psychedelic experience, it was effectually possible to re-create the world in beauty, wonder and meaning, as it was assumed to have been in the prelapsarian state of consciousness.

The hippies believed that from the transformation of persons, the transformation of society would eventually come about. Perry emphasises that Haight-Ashbury was not a bohemia, as it had been during the time of the Beats, but a utopia, for it sought not only to escape from mainstream society but also "to build a new world" of its own instead, acting as "a kind of informal (and often effective) therapy for alienated people, a subculture that expresses the discontents of the alienated while trying to provide new, communal, and loving ways of resolving their deep mistrust and frustration" in the process (7). Thus, although a community project, its main focus was on personal and spiritual transformation. Chambers' description of the community underlines its re-prelapsarianism:

> Hippies – men and women in long hair (Adam and Eve:
> nature's couple) […] 'tripping' on LSD or else 'high' on
> natural 'vibes'; their bodies swaying in the Garden to

the warm waves of rock music – attempted to exit
from the abundance of white, middle America and
occupy a fragile dream." (Chambers 161)

In spite of the differences in focus and method, the social activism and the cultural revolution of the Sixties were not opposing movements but the two different fronts of the same utopian pursuit. One of these poles of dissent, the moral and political radicalism, pursued a socio-political utopia, the complete transformation of the whole society, while the other, the cultural revolution, pursued a personal and spiritual utopia, whereby persons, then small communities would be transformed and the society perhaps gradually transformed from there. Burns argues that this conflict between and yet simultaneous striving for personal commitment and community commitment led to the "inextricably personal and social" visions and "dreams of a new self in a new society" that characterised the counterculture (186) as it had also characterised Romantic utopianism. Both branches of the counterculture strove to achieve this goal, but in apparently different ways. One was progressive and revolutionary, attempting to attain a utopian state through social change and reform; the other was nostalgic and transcendentalist in that it sought to re-enter the pre-fallen state by escaping from the fallen society and establishing its own communal culture; one attempted to change the society as a whole through changing the established system, the other attempted to transform the self and through the transformation of many selves to change the society one by one. In Keniston's terms, the one was "transformationist" – universalistic and activist – the other was "restorationist" – spiritualistic and nostalgic (163). Both were sentimentalist and prelapsarian, believing in the innate and original goodness of humanity and working to bring humanity back to a new state of innocence and unity. When the two came together, as they did in the Romantic period and the Sixties, they formed an aspiration for the progress towards a new prelapsarian state, the attainment of a higher condition of innocence and

unity that I have termed re-prelapsarianism. This, according to Keniston, was the strength behind the counterculture:

> The strength of the new oppositional culture, I think, lies in its ability to tolerate the tension between cultural and political revolution. When a purely "political" position is chosen, we have the pop Marxism of the Progressive Labor faction of SDS or the romance with violence of the Weathermen; when the purely "cultural" stance is taken, we end with speed freaks, teenyboppers or the Rolling Stones at Altamonte – where murder was virtually staged for the forthcoming Hollywood film. The power of the new youth culture comes from the effort to make a "revolution" that is *both* cultural and political, that combines new ways of living with fundamental social and political change." (143-4)

Marcuse also finds this "fusion of political rebellion and sexual-moral rebellion [to be] an important factor in the opposition" ("Problem of Violence" 89). He relates an event during a demonstration in which a normal, political demonstration (as opposed to a be-in) was blocked by a large police presence and there was a tense moment during which a violent outburst seemed imminent, when the demonstrators suddenly sat down and began singing and playing music instead of fighting the police, and concludes that "I believe that a unity spontaneously and anarchically emerged here that perhaps in the end cannot fail to make an impression even on the enemy" ("Problem of Violence" 94).

Both the socio-political and the personal and spiritual aspects of Sixties re-prelapsarianism were reflected and indeed disseminated and advanced through, the rock songs that were such an essential element of the counterculture. Singer-songwriters of the Sixties took on the role of visionary bards and poet-prophets that the Romantic poets had also taken upon themselves. In the following chapters, representative songs by the influential rock bards Bob Dylan, the Beatles, and Paul Simon are analysed as expressions of Sixties re-prelapsarianism. The first analysis

chapter concentrates on songs portraying dystopian visions in order to satirise the contemporary situation that the counterculture was attempting to transform. The songs analysed in this chapter are thus utopian in terms of function rather than content. The second analysis chapter concentrates on songs reflecting socio-political re-prelapsarianism, including songs of utopian visions inspiring the desire to transform the society, songs heralding change, and songs supporting activist causes. The final analysis chapter focuses on songs reflecting personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism, consisting of songs depicting and encouraging reunification with self and cosmos and transformation of the consciousness to a new vision of the world.

CHAPTER 5

ISOLATION AND DISINTEGRATION:
ROCK LYRICS DEPICTING DYSTOPIA TO INSPIRE UTOPIA

This chapter analyses lyrics by Bob Dylan, the Beatles and Paul Simon that reveal the fallen state of the contemporary world in which the rock lyricists lived, focusing on the post-industrial disintegration and alienation that the Sixties utopians endeavoured to transcend and transform. In writing of the Romantic age, Dennis Mahoney refers to the "much-quoted threefold estrangement of people from society, nature, and one another" (158). Hobsbawm poses a similar argument and asserts that "[t]he bourgeois world was a profoundly and deliberately asocial one"(*Age of Revolution* 263). This estrangement and disintegration of society can be related to the Romantic interpretation of the Fall as a falling apart from unity and its sentimentalist view of the corrupting influence of civilisation and society on an innately good human nature. For this reason "once bourgeois society had in fact triumphed in the French and Industrial Revolutions, romanticism unquestionably became its instinctive enemy and can be justly described as such" (*Age of Revolution* 259). Those who took up the fight against bourgeois society Hobsbawm classifies as artists or poets and young people (ibid.). This enmity towards bourgeois society and the struggle against it taken up by artists and young people re-emerged in the Sixties.

After two world wars and a major economic depression had marred beliefs in Western civilisation and progress, the Western world began to recover in the 1950s and values and institutions of industrialised, capitalist society were reinforced. Having grown up during these "Affluent Fifties" when the values of material gain and individual prosperity had come to dominate the social scene, the alienation of humans from their true nature, from one another and from nature brought about by the post-industrial era became a major concern of the privileged

but discontent youth as it had for the Romantics before them. The "young seekers," as Ginsberg called them (3), began to question and satirise material-based values and to seek new values centred on human beings, spirituality rather than consumerism and a moral stance not based on conventions and restraint but on a sincere devotion to justice and equality, peace, love and understanding. Each of the lyrics analysed depicts human relations and societies that are divided and tainted and portrays humans who, removed from their natural state of love, pity and benevolence due to the corrupting influences of post-industrialist society and the Establishment, are unable to connect with one another or the cosmos and thus lead isolated lives. In so doing, the lyrics attempt to raise awareness of this state so that it may be changed.

Kumar has argued that anti-utopia is the mirror-image of utopia and is closely related to utopian hopes and fears (100) and Levitas that dystopias "exaggerate the negative aspects of existing society as critique" ("Be Realistic" 85) and the lyrics analysed in this chapter portray the world that the counterculture was attempting to change as a dystopian one, thus attempting to inspire a desire for change. As has been discussed, Marcuse saw as the major obstacle preventing the radical transformation of the socio-political system the lack of the desire for such transformation[27]. By highlighting the alienated, disintegrated, fallen state of contemporary society and human relationships, the lyrics analysed here therefore support the utopian aspirations of the counterculture to achieve a re-prelapsarian state of unity and innocence, so that they are utopian in function although dystopian in content. Along with this re-prelapsarian interpretation of the contemporary social setting that the counterculture strove to radically change, another important re-prelapsarian element evident in the lyrics analysed is the portrayal of the rock bard as a prophet, who, having a clear vision of what is and what might or should become, undertakes the role of issuing crucial warnings and leading the way to change.

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[27] See pgs. 35-6 above.

The Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby"[28] is a narrative poem containing the character sketches of two lonely people who live a life lacking love and any meaningful human companionship. The characters portrayed are representative of the isolation plaguing society, which the setting of the lyric underscores. "A poetic vision of loneliness and alienation" (Friedlander 87), the lyric portrays the alienation at the very core of society by choosing as its setting a church, the place and institution that had historically been the centre of life and that had served to bring the whole community together. The church in "Eleanor Rigby", however, is depicted as an isolated institution that has ceased to serve its unifying function. It in fact represents the inadequacy of social establishments, including religion, to counter the alienating effects of the fallen condition.

The lyric focuses on the lives of two particular isolated individuals connected to the church, Eleanor Rigby and Father McKenzie. Although these are two particularised characters, their state is representative of many such lonely people, and reveals the disintegration of society as a whole. This can be understood from the first lines of the lyric, which are repeated at intervals throughout: "Ah, look at all the lonely people," sighs the persona. As Riley points out, "[t]he opening vocal strains of 'Eleanor Rigby' greet the listener at point-blank range, the 'ah's aren't soothing, they're aching, and the sudden drop in the cellos after the first line sinks the heart" (T. Riley 184). The music combines with the sudden and direct statement of the pervasiveness of loneliness to immediately establish the tone of the song. Like the common characters that Wordsworth used time and again to give solid ground to his ideas and to produce empathy in his readers, McCartney etched the figures of these two pitiably lonely, common and identifiable characters in the minds of his audience. Hertsgaard comments that "[l]ike a painter in full command of his canvas, Paul captures entire personalities with single strokes. His character sketches are specific enough that the individuals spring to life instantly in our minds eye, yet archetypal enough to summon up an entire social reality" (209). As a result,

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[28] Written primarily by McCartney and released on the album *Revolver* in 1966.

the audience is enticed not only to look at these two lonely people, but to see through them the isolation and alienation caused by their society. As Marshall notes, "[w]ithout the closely observed particularity of the images that sketch these characters, the song's theme ('Ah, look at all the lonely people') might have been trite and unconvincing" (21). The use of fictional characters and a narrative mode gives "Eleanor Rigby" much more depth and poignancy than a song merely pointing out, and warning against, isolation and alienation in abstract terms would have been.

The narration, which A. S. Byatt described as having "the minimalist perfection of a Beckett story" (qtd. in Ingham loc. 4239), gives two snippets of scenes portraying the lives of each of its two characters, each snippet comprising two lines. The fragmentariness of the narration, jumping from one scene to another without transition, supports and underlines the separateness of the two characters from each other and from society, and the general fragmentation of the society that it implies. The first scene portrays Eleanor Rigby:

> Eleanor Rigby picks up the rice in the church where a wedding has been,
> Lives in a dream. (3-4)

Eleanor Rigby apparently works or volunteers in the church, the place where the community comes together with a unity of purpose and belief. Moreover, there has just been a wedding in the church, an event symbolising the union of two individuals, which brings together friends and family. However, instead of being present at the wedding, whether as the happy bride joining her life to that of the one she loves or as one of the friends and relatives who have come together for the event, Eleanor Rigby merely cleans up in the silence that follows, "a sad figure left out of a happy occasion, a fading woman sifting through remnants of a celebration of youth and new life" (T. Riley 184). After an event symbolising union, during which rice was thrown to symbolise fertility, Eleanor Rigby's loneliness in her task is all the

more emphasised. In the next line, we learn that she "lives in a dream," probably as an escape from her lonely life into an imaginative world. Perhaps in her dream world, she is not isolated.

The next two lines depict another scene from Eleanor Rigby's life:

> Waits at the window, wearing a face that she keeps in a jar by the door
> Who is it for? (5-6)

Looking out of the window could be interpreted here as symbolic of one-way communication. She is looking out, and in a sense reaching out, waiting for human connection, but no one is looking back at her. She is ignored and alienated. Nevertheless, the fact that she is waiting by the window reveals that she still has hope of forming a meaningful human bond. In the second part of this line, the eerie imagery, "wearing a face that she keeps in a jar by the door" points out the public faces or masks people wear in order to hide their true selves from society. She keeps this social "face" by the door because she wears it when going out or, perhaps, when answering the door. This is indicative of the fact that society does not accept individuals as they are and forces them to abandon their natural selves for false social facades. This social mask is thus a biting satire of a society that serves to alienate rather than bring together its individual members. The fact that Eleanor Rigby is wearing her outside face while inside, waiting by the window, further points to her hope of reaching out and connecting. Her gaze remains one-sided, however, and the persona-narrator somewhat cynically asks "Who is it for?", thus sadly pointing out the futility of her hope. In fact, it is not clear whether this comment belongs to the narrator himself or whether he is focalising on Eleanor's own bitter thought in this last line, revealing her realisation of the futility of her desire to love and be loved.

This first stanza, and first story of isolation, is followed by the refrain, which consists of two rhetorical questions:

> All the lonely people,
> Where do they all come from?
> All the lonely people,
> Where do they all belong?
> (7-10)

These questions highlight the isolation and alienation of lonely people: not only do they not belong anywhere at the moment, but they seem to not come from anywhere either. They seem to be completely cut off from any connections to any place or society: homeless. This is because the unity has been lost both in the societal and in the more metaphysical sense of a Fall: because of the falling away of humanity from its original state of unity, each separate element is now astray. The rhetorical questions also force the listener to question why such isolation has come about and what has caused it. Since individuals come from families, or at least the union of two people, and belong to the society into which they were born, the implication is that both the family and the society, indeed the Establishment in general, are in fact breeding and engendering loneliness and estrangement instead of unity and communication. This outlook is in line with the sentimentalist anti-establishment stance discussed as being an important aspect of the re-prelapsarianism of both the Romantics and the Sixties counterculture.

In the next stanza, we are introduced to the second lonely person, Father McKenzie, who appears to be the reverend of the church with which Eleanor Rigby is associated.

> Father McKenzie writing the words of a sermon that no one will hear
> No one comes near. (11-12)

Although the head of a religious community and of an institution meant to bring people together on the common ground of shared belief, Father McKenzie is also alienated. He is "writing the words of a sermon that no one will hear," another one-sided, unsuccessful attempt at communication, like Eleanor Rigby's gaze out of her

window. Even though he is in a position that by its very nature should make him the central actor of the community and one to whom people would willingly go and listen, "no one comes near". This is also an indication of the decreased role of religion in twentieth century Britain, which also meant the gradual loss of one of the unifying elements of traditional social structures. Still, just as Eleanor Rigby continues to wait by the window, Father McKenzie also determinedly writes his sermon; perhaps because he has hope, or perhaps from custom. In the second scene depicting Father McKenzie's life, the narrator asks us to

> Look at him working, darning his socks in the night when there's nobody there.
> What does he care? (13-14)

Not only is nobody there by his side as he darns his socks, but there is also nobody there to see his socks, whether darned or not. Thus, the narrator once again ends the stanza with a cynical question: "What does he care?" Goldstein remarks that, in this lyric, "the Beatles invest implements of everyday existence with an overwhelming sterility. Rice, socks, cosmetics become instruments of fatalism in this song. And each stanza ends with a metaphysical question, asked in a shrug and left unanswered" (89). The fact that the question is phrased as the dismissive "*what* does he care" rather than the inquiring "*why* does he care" actually indicates that the narrator is speaking through the focalisation of Father McKenzie in his bitter pretence of not caring that he is isolated and ignored.

The third stanza brings the two lonely people together, but not under happy or unifying circumstances. In this final narrative stanza, the characters are given two lines each, since they are now in the same scene. There is no unity structurally either, however. The discontinuity between the lines caused by the lack of transitional words or phrases, is further emphasised by the fact that each second line begins with a word denoting isolation: "Nobody" and "No one".

> Eleanor Rigby died in the church and was buried along with her name.
> Nobody came.
> Father McKenzie, wiping the dirt from his hands as he walks from the grave.
> No one was saved. (19-22)

Eleanor Rigby dies and is "buried along with her name," so that she is completely wiped off the surface of the earth, as if she never existed. Moreover, the fact that her tombstone does not bear her name indicates that Father McKenzie does not know the name of this woman who worked at his church. In a later song, "The End", McCartney was to write the line "And in the end, the love you take is equal to the love you make", and a similar situation is implied here: perhaps the reason that Father McKenzie, and Eleanor Rigby, and all the other lonely people, are so estranged from other humans is because they do not give and thus cannot receive love. The loss of this unifying emotion, which every human is born with according to sentimentalism and which was the major unifying force of the prelapsarian condition in the re-prelapsarian worldview, is the root cause of the social disintegration that has brought about the utter loneliness of Eleanor Rigby and Father McKenzie. Even the all-encompassing reality of death, that unifies all humanity under a common final fate, has not served to bring people together. Although Father McKenzie buries her, they remain isolated from each other and others, she in death, he in life. Even though these two lonely people shared the same environment and were both alone and in need of companionship, there was no communication between them. As Riley comments, "Eleanor Rigby and Father McKenzie are chaste strangers cast off from the world by age and neglect, brought together only by the empty ritual of Eleanor's burial" (T. Riley 181). Perhaps because of the restrictions of social traditions on the communication between men and women, which in conventional society is never free of "sexual content" as Perry terms it (156), they were not able to reach out to one another and when we finally do see them together in the same "frame," it is too late.

This is perhaps the meaning of the last line of the stanza "No one was saved": neither of them could be saved from their isolation. This line is also an ironic allusion to the religious establishment that purports to save humans and offers them the dream of a utopian existence in another world, while becoming completely inadequate in relieving the wrongs of life in this world. Supposed to be a place where people come for salvation, the church apparently no longer carries the function of saving people, either spiritually or socially. The implication seems to be that Eleanor Rigby and Father McKenzie are just two examples of an estranged community. Family, society, church, all institutions that should bring individuals together, have failed, leaving estrangement, isolation and a host of lonely people in their wake. Hence, "no one was saved". MacDonald explains this outlook of the new generation and the Beatles' expression of it in "Eleanor Rigby" as follows:

> Much of [the reaction against spiritual inertness] (as the Beatles noted in "Eleanor Rigby") stemmed from the failure of the Church to provide anything more than a weekly focus for local communities. With its promise of personal immortality, Christianity had for centuries focused its congregation's' eyes on the happy future rather than on present injustice. By the 1950s, when the Beatles and their audience were growing up, it seemed clear that religion no longer had any supernatural collateral to support its claims. The young deduced that their parents' assumptions were obsolete and that, since this world was the only one they would ever know, postponing pleasurable self-discovery was pointless. (loc. 619)

Instead, the Sixties youth focused on the present and brought the concept of utopia to this world and the present time, thus striving to radically transform the world in which they lived. Accordingly, the issues raised in "Eleanor Rigby" are answered through the utopian solutions of other Beatles songs, for instance "Within You, Without You", which portrays a group of visionaries commenting on the alienation of humans from one another and from the cosmos and the optimistic solutions that

they propose in order to transcend such alienation and achieve utopia both personally and spiritually. Significantly, the latter song, which is analysed in the chapter on Personal and Spiritual Re-prelapsarianism, turns to Eastern mysticism for inspiration, after the loss of faith in institutional Christianity expressed in the former.

"The Dangling Conversation"[29] by Paul Simon is a poem that portrays the process of the falling apart of a human relationship, showing two people who no longer love, care for or empathise with one another. Through the use of an inverted form of the greater Romantic lyric, the poem ironically draws attention to the process of disintegration that needs to be countered for the achievement of the re-prelapsarian condition. It is moreover rich in allusions to other poems and poets that deal with similar issues of isolation and lack of communication.

Like "Eleanor Rigby", "The Dangling Conversation" depicts the estrangement of two individuals that serves as a microcosmic instance of the falling apart of humans from one another. In this case, the two individuals are lovers whose relationship is shown to be gradually disintegrating. The structure of the poem, beginning with a detailed description of the physical surroundings, followed by a one-sided meditative conversation addressed by the persona to his girlfriend, and ending back at the physical surroundings, which have changed slightly but significantly along with the characters, is very similar to the spiral structure of the greater Romantic lyric discussed previously[30], but in reverse, portraying a process of disintegration rather than reintegration, and ending in lost, rather than gained, unity. The poem is made up of three eleven-line stanzas. Each stanza begins with four lines describing their setting and their actions within it, followed by four lines

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[29] Released on the album *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary, and Thyme* in 1966.

[30] See pages 102-3 above for Abrams explanation of the spiral structure of the greater Romantic lyric (*Correspondent Breeze* 77) and the connection between this structure and the re-prelapsarian approach.

that describe their estrangement through the use of a simile or metaphor, followed by a refrain that is repeated with variance.

The estrangement between the persona and his addressee is evident at the very beginning of the poem, and only grows more pronounced throughout. The first stanza establishes the setting, which is in fact beautiful, but carries hints of sterility and fading away:

> It's a still life water color,
> Of a now late afternoon,
> As the sun shines through the curtain lace
> And shadows wash the room. (1-4)

The setting is not one of life or joy; it is like a painting of still life, of objects rather than humans. Indeed, the first line is reminiscent of the Ancient Mariner's despairing description of his death-in-life situation, "As idle as a painted ship / Upon a painted ocean". Moreover, the time is late afternoon, when the sun is setting, symbolising their setting relationship. The sun shining through the curtain lace brings shadows rather than light:

> And we sit and drink our coffee,
> Couched in our indifference,
> Like shells upon a shore.
> You can hear the ocean roar
> (5-8)

According to Bennighof, the musical score of the song supports the text through its similar juxtaposition of "sweet vocal harmonies" that underscore the "genteel setting" of the poem while "the unrest at the core of song is subtly supported by the [unstable] phrase lengths [that form a pattern which gives the] central melodic sequence a tumbling, headlong feeling (28). The couple are sitting, drinking coffee, not contentedly but "couched in [their] indifference". They have become so estranged that they have stopped paying attention to each other. Unlike the absent

addressee of many a Romantic lyric, where there is almost always the indication of a true emotional connection between the persona and his addressee – such as between Wordsworth and Dorothy in "Tintern Abbey", Coleridge and Sara in "The Eolian Harp", or Coleridge and the other Sara (Hutchinson) in "Dejection: An Ode" – even when he or she or it is absent or unable to reply, the addressee of Simon's poem is absent emotionally and we witness a loss of connection rather than a bonding. He is not communicating with her but rather musing on their lack and loss of communication. The silence and lack of communication between them is so pertinent that it becomes audible, indeed as a "roar".

This image alludes to Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach", in which the roar of the sea is interpreted by the persona as "the eternal note of sadness" of human misery. The couple in "Dover Beach", however, appear to be connected to one another and indeed the poem ends with the persona's prayer: "Ah, love, let us be true / To one another!" (29-30). Therefore, the allusion functions as an ironic commentary on this particular couple's inability to remain true to one another. In fact, their relationship is more in line with another Arnold poem, "To Marguerite Continued", about the isolation of humans and their inability to communicate. Although not a Romantic poet, Arnold makes use of the Romantic explanation of the Fall as a falling apart from primal unity in this poem in which all humans are compared to islands forever severed from each other by the sea in between but who, due to their faint remembrance of a time in which they were all one (a memory which haunts them during romantic settings with the moon shining and nightingales singing under a starry night) have a melancholic desire to be re-united[31]. Like Arnold's island-like humans, the persona and his silent addressee are

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[31] Yes! in the sea of life enisled,
With echoing straits between us thrown,
    […]
We mortal millions live alone.
    […]

But when the moon their hollows lights,

estranged entities who cannot hear each other for the roar of isolation between them. After this simile come the lines of the refrain repeated with variations at the end of each stanza:

> In the dangling conversation
> And the superficial sighs,
> The borders of our lives.
>   (9-11)

Their conversation dangles in the air instead of going to and forth between them in a meaningful exchange, once again at odds with the meaningful exchange that characterises Romantic lyrics. Even their sighs are superficial, implying that even during the most intense union of their relationship, they are estranged from one another. The word "borders" in the last line sums up this estrangement; they are separated from each other by almost concrete boundaries. Indeed, their meaningless conversation and superficial sighs are the very stuff of those borders; rather than serving as a path between them, they have turned into barriers.

In the next stanza, the first section describes the addressee and the persona as reading poetry, the former Emily Dickinson and the latter Robert Frost, both poets who wrote frequently on the theme of loneliness. Moreover, they are reading the poems, not together as a meaningful activity, but separately:

> And you read *your* Emily Dickinson,
> And I *my* Robert Frost,
> And we note our place with bookmarkers
> That measure what we've lost.

[...]
And in their glens, on starry nights,
The nightingales divinely sing;
[...]

Oh! then a longing like despair
Is to their farthest caverns sent;
For surely once, they feel, we were
Parts of a single continent!

(12-15) (emphasis added)

Even the act of reading poetry becomes an act of estrangement from each other, and the more that they read in isolation, the more their relationship disintegrates: each is using poetry as a means of shutting out the other. Indeed, the choice of poets here is indicative of a wider division between the sexes being addressed through the representative figures of these two individuals. The male persona is reading a male poet who conveys the theme of isolation through conventionally male images, while his female companion is reading a female poet who very specifically writes of female isolation. Instead of attempting to empathise with and understand one another, each is immersed in their own sense of loneliness and the longer this immersion lasts, the further apart they are driven. Thus, the bookmarkers which measure how far along the book they have progressed, also mark how far away from each other they have wandered. This implication of the division between the sexes is significant in that Blake had used this division as the archetype for all divisions and the image of the re-unification of male and female as the ultimate symbol of a re-unified, re-prelapsarian world (Ostriker 107). Accordingly, the falling apart of the personal relationship between an individual male and female depicted in "The Dangling Conversation" can be interpreted as representative of all the divisions experienced by humanity in its fallen condition.

After the description of their reading poetry and the allusion to two great American poets, the next section pointedly describes their lack of harmony and unity in terms of a failed poem:

> Like a poem poorly written
> We are verses out of rhythm,
> Couplets out of rhyme
> In syncopated time (16-19)

The impression produced is of the persona looking up from his poetry book at their condition and once again realising the depth of their estrangement which, having

just been reading poetry, he describes in a comparison to a bad poem to relate that not only are they estranged from one another, they no longer fit together; they are two discordant elements that can no longer form a unity. Considering the importance attached to poetry by re-prelapsarianism in its role of bringing about a return to unity and innocence for both the poet and his audience, the metaphor of a discordant poem to describe this microcosmic instance of a fall from unity is significant.

In the final stanza, the persona and addressee are finally talking, although superficially like their sighs.

> Yes, we speak of things that matter,
> With words that must be said,
> "Can analysis be worthwhile?"
> "Is the theater really dead?"
>   (23-26)

They seem to be communicating, indeed speaking of important matters together. This is not truly communication, however, for they are speaking of these "things that matter" in words "that must be said". In fact, they are pretending to communicate, carrying out the proper acts but without the true interaction that is necessary to turn speech into communication. In other words, like the people in "The Sound of Silence," they are "talking without speaking". The topics of the conversation are also significant. They are impersonal and abstract issues that cannot bring the couple together emotionally; in addition, they position the protagonists of the poem in the well-educated middle-class; they are thus representatives of the bourgeois world that the Romantics and the counterculture revolutionaries opposed as being "profoundly and deliberately asocial" that had caused the "threefold estrangement of people from society, nature, and one another" (Hobsbawm *Age of Revolution* 263, Mahoney 158). This high-brow, rational form of communication about impersonal issues related to culture is similar to that described in Eliot's "The Love song of J. Alfred Prufrock," "In the room the

women come and go / Talking of Michelangelo" (13-4), constituting yet another allusion to a poem about isolation and lack of communication.

Bennighof argues that although the topic of a disintegrating relationship was common in the popular music of the time, Simon's treatment of it in this song is unusual, firstly due to the sophisticated imagery used, which also conveys the sophistication of the song's protagonists and secondly due to the emphasis on the fact that "the couple's background somehow enables them to remain together even in the absence of genuinely rewarding communication" (28). This kind of relationship maintained through social conventions rather than sincere feelings was typical, in the eyes of the counterculture youth, of the hypocritical and unnatural lifestyles of their parents and the Establishment that encouraged them. Just as Shelley and Blake had strongly opposed forced relationships lacking love or true companionship and argued for the freeing of love from such social restrictions, the Sixties youth believed that these social restrictions prevented true loving relationships from forming, which is why one of the most important facets of the countercultural revolt was the advocacy of free love.

The poem ends with imagery similar to that of the beginning, of shadows and light. As the sun sets, both literally, outside, and symbolically, on their relationship, the shadows become darker, further separating them. The description that follows is accompanied by a rising music that highlights its climactic significance:

> And how the room is softly faded
> And I only kiss your shadow,
> I cannot feel your hand,
> You're a stranger now unto me
> (27-30)

In a final attempt at unity, the persona tries the most tender of embraces, to kiss the addressee and hold her hand, but fails. The last line is an allusion to Psalm 69:8,

"I am become a stranger unto my brethren, and an alien unto my mother's children" which describes David's alienation from his most intimate relations (*King James Bible*). In the beginning, the sun was shining, but filtered through the curtain lace. Now, even that light is slowly fading away and the shadows become more prominent. Thus, we can interpret light as the symbol of true communication or unity, the prelapsarian condition, and shadow as the estrangement that comes from the loss of this light, or the fallen condition. Consequently, as he tries to kiss her – an act of love and communication – he can only kiss her shadow. Her hand also turns into a shadow as he tries to hold it but cannot feel it. Her absence becomes even more prominent; the process of estrangement is complete and summed up matter-of-factly in the line: "You're a stranger now unto me" and concluded with the final repetition with variance:

> Lost in the dangling conversation.
> And the superficial sighs,
> In the borders of our lives.
> (31-33)

He has lost her, and she him in the lack of communication, the insincere reactions and the insurmountable borders that they have estranged each other with. Unlike a typical Romantic lyric which would have ended in a reconciliation and a renewal of hope, this poem ends in the completion of a loss. The loveless relationship portrayed in "The Dangling Conversation" as a prototype of a wider estrangement between man and woman, human and human that displays the loss of unity of the fallen condition, is countered by another Paul Simon lyric, "Bridge Over Trouble Water", that depicts a devoted, unconditional love that leads to the personal transformation of the persona and the friend or girlfriend who is the object of his love, as is analysed in the chapter on Socio-Political Re-Prelapsarianism.

Simon's greatest rendition of the disintegrating and dehumanising effects of post-industrial and capitalist society and their result in the alienation and isolation

of humans from one another is "The Sound of Silence"[32]. "The Sound of Silence" relays the nightmare-vision of the prophetic poet-persona – a vision that not only portrays the fallen world in all its naked truth, but also warns against the complete dystopian future that the current social situation is leading to. The lyric portrays a society overtaken by a complete state of estrangement, human relationships having disintegrated. Living under unnatural conditions that are epitomised in the neon light that they have begun to worship, humans have lost the innate and natural feelings of love, pity, and empathy. The visionary poet-persona attempts to reach out to this lapsed society to make them aware and lead them to change.

The oxymoron, the sound of silence, that constitutes the title of the poem and that is repeated at the end of each stanza indicates a silence so profound that it can be heard. As we have seen, Simon used a similar image in his "The Dangling Conversation" of a lack of communication so profound that the silence was expressed as the sound of an "ocean roar". This silence is of course symbolic of a lack of communication and indeed a lack of any form of meaningful human relationship. Its repetition at the end of each stanza accentuates the pervasiveness of this silence; the paradoxical motif is of a silence that can be heard throughout the song. The lyric consists of five seven-line stanzas, each following a similar pattern of development. Bennighof breaks down the pattern as follows: "Each verse contains first a stage-setting couplet, second a couplet that moves the action forward, third an asymmetric (long-short) couplet that presents the climactic thought of the verse, and finally a line that refers to the silence" and following a description of the musical procession of each verse, concludes that "[t]he melodic contour of each verse very clearly supports this pattern of establishment, motion to a climax, and return to a stable idea" (9). The stable idea is that the silence has become all-pervasive.

"The Sound of Silence" begins with the persona's address to a personified darkness: "Hello darkness, my old friend / I've come to talk with you again" (1-2).

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[32] Released on the album *Sounds of Silence* in 1966.

Thus, from the very beginning, we are introduced to the theme of loneliness and isolation; the persona "communicates" with darkness instead of with a fellow human being. As darkness cannot answer back, the term "talk *with*" becomes somewhat ironic. Just as Simon used an inverted Romantic lyric structure to ironically emphasise the loss of unity in "The Dangling Conversation", the beginning of this lyric is also a parody of the beginning of Romantic lyrics. The vision that the visionary persona is about to relate is thus doomed from the start. He explains to the darkness the reason for his address,

> Because a vision softly creeping
> Left its seeds while I was sleeping
> And the vision that was planted in my brain
> Still remains
> Within the sound of silence. (3-7)

We are thus introduced into the poem's dream-vision, or more precisely nightmare-vision world. The reference to darkness, sleep, and the "restless dreams" in the next line all point to the persona's unconscious, where the events, thoughts and images will be taking place. Yet, although distorted and transformed into the unrealistic language of the unconscious, the dream is nevertheless a truthful portrayal of the state of post-industrial consumerist society. That it is a dystopian vision rather than a utopian one is further emphasised through the description of how the vision appears in the persona's mind: not as a spark or sudden revelation, but as a creeping (and creepy) plant or creature that has slyly entered his brain and left its seeds there. It is also ominous that the sound of silence has even spread into his brain, as he describes the vision remaining within the sound of silence in his brain.

The vision begins with the transformation of the setting from the abstract one of his unconscious to that of the nightmare narrative of empty and narrow streets:

> In restless dreams I walked alone,

> Narrow streets of cobblestone.
> 'Neath the halo of a streetlamp
> I turned my collar to the cold and damp,
>   (8-11)

It is ironic, and meaningful within the context of a satire of urban and industrial life, that the halo around the visionary's head is that of a streetlamp. Whereas the word halo generally designates either a natural light, "a circle of light appearing to surround the sun or moon and resulting from refraction or reflection of light by ice particles in the atmosphere" or a symbolic spiritual light "the aura of glory, veneration, or sentiment surrounding an idealized person or thing,"[33] here it is neither natural nor spiritual, but the mundane and artificial light of a streetlamp. It should be remembered that reaction against urban life and the city in general, with its crowds and pollution and disintegrating human relationships, as opposed to the beauty and peacefulness of nature and the country life that the city has replaced, was an important aspect of Romantic utopianism[34]. Although the city had long become the centre of civilised life by the Sixties, a similar romantic revulsion against its ugly, unnatural (lamplight instead of moonlight, for instance) and dehumanising environment can be seen in this lyric, and in the counterculture in general. This vision of modern urban life as nightmare is enhanced in the following lines when the visionary's eyes are,

> [...] stabbed by the flash of a neon light
> That split the night
> And touched the sound of silence.
>   (12-14)

Once again an artificial, urban light, indeed a light much more artificial than the streetlamp, is introduced. This flashing neon is more artificial than street lamps

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[33]As defined by the Merriam Webster Dictionary: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/halo

[34] See pages 68-9 above.

because it is a light source that does not have as its main function that of illuminating its surroundings; rather, its main function is to call attention to itself. Unlike the moonlight of Romantic poems, *The Ancient Mariner*, for instance, which makes everything that it touches seem beautiful and meaningful, so much so that it contributes to the Mariner's personal and spiritual transformation which allows him to see the sea creatures that had a few moments ago seemed revolting as beautiful representations of the wonders of nature, the flashing neon light has no such function, serving only as a reminder of consumption and material desires. The flashing neon light is thus an apt symbol of both the capitalist and consumerist society and the extreme individual it fosters: every human being fends for himself; rather than reaching out to one another, or illuminating each other's paths, human beings have become self-sufficient and self-involved, seeking only to further their own comfort and prosperity.

Hence, the flashing neon light, which will in fact turn out to be the major antagonist of the poem, aside from the sound of silence of course, does not illuminate the dark night but splits it. As the major symbol of every aspect of modern life that is splitting humans apart and alienating them from one another, it is significant that the flashing neon light enters the dream by stabbing the visionary's eyes and splitting the night, instead of illuminating them.

> And in the naked light I saw
> Ten thousand people, maybe more
> (15-16)

Neither illuminating and warming like that of the sun, nor soft and unifying like that of the moon, the neon light shows an ugly, dystopian vision. The vision is of a large disintegrated community in which there is no true connection between the members and, despite the great number of people, each individual is alone; isolated from his fellow creatures due to a profound lack of communication:

> People talking without speaking,
> People hearing without listening,
> People writing songs that voices never share
> (17-19)

These paradoxical acts, serving to further emphasise the paradox inherent in the title of the song, show the complete disintegration and falling apart of the society. The people are performing the act of speech but not using it to communicate; they perceive the sounds but not the meanings of what others are saying to them. Even music does not have the ability to bring these people together, as the songs that are written are never shared. The description of these people is in fact an allusion to Jeremiah 5:21, directed at those who do not understand or appreciate their Lord or the world that he has created: "Hear now this, O foolish people, and without understanding; which have eyes, and see not; which have ears, and hear not" (*King James Bible*). This allusion prefaces the poet-persona's adoption of the role of prophet who warns the people in the following stanza in words similar to Jeremiah's. Moreover, Coleridge also alludes to this passage when discussing the importance of defamiliarisation in "directing [the mind's attention] to the loveliness and wonders of the world before us; an inexhaustible treasure, but for which, in consequence of the film of familiarity and selfish solicitude we have eyes, yet see not, ears that hear not, and hearts that neither feel nor understand" (*Biographia* II: 6). These connections indicate the personal and spiritual fall that plagues the society alongside the more evident social fall that the lyric portrays. In other words, the people that Simon depicts are not only socially estranged but also estranged from the world through the loss of the perception of wonder that exists in the original and natural condition of humankind, as evidenced in the innocent perception of children. The people of Simon's lyric have been blinded and deafened to the wonders of the world, as well as to the bond between humans and the unity of the cosmos by the "selfish solicitude" (ibid.) of capitalist urban life, where all

relations and all motivations turn around material gains and the fulfilment of ever-increasing desires.

The poet-prophet tries to prevent this fall by reaching out to the people, in line with the Romantic role of the poet who, as a responsible and aware subject in the disintegrated society, takes on the role of prophet and visionary[35]. On the diegetic level – in other words, in reference to the prophetic figure in the narrative of the poem rather than the prophetic role Simon takes on as the poet and singer of the poem – the persona relating the dream attempts to play the role of an alternative prophet, trying to save the people from this impending doom. Unfortunately, his presence does not bring hope to the poem. It is significant that he is addressing himself and relating his dream to "darkness, [his] old friend". Just as the people he sees are unable to communicate, the visionary himself is speaking to a dark and silent non-presence that will not be able to listen to or answer him. Indeed, the darkness that the persona addresses is like an ironic version of the silent addressee of the greater Romantic lyric where, even when the addressee is silent, or nonhuman, or even inanimate, it is nevertheless always a presence, whereas darkness is merely the absence of light. The persona is therefore effectively speaking into emptiness – the fact that he calls it "[his] old friend" only adds to the sense of his isolation rather than convince us of the relation as a true act of communication. In other words, the persona of the poem is shown from the very beginning to be personally taking part in the "silence" that he abhors and tries to save people from. Thus, when he tries to reach out to the people to save them, in words once again alluding to Jeremiah 5:21 ("Hear now this, O foolish people"), he fails:

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[35] An example is Blake's persona in *Jerusalem* (15: 6-12):
                    such is my awful Vision
I see the Four-fold Man. The Humanity in deadly sleep
And its fallen Emanation. The Spectre & its cruel Shadow
I see the Past, Present & Future, existing all at once
Before me; O Divine Spirit sustain me on thy wings!
That I may awake Albion from his long & cold repose.

> "Fools," said I, "you do not know,
> Silence like a cancer grows.
> Hear my words that I might teach you,
> Take my arms that I might reach you."
> But my words like silent raindrops fell,
> And echoed
> In the wells of silence. (22-28)

The tone of this address is desperate rather than inspirational; it is as if, even as he speaks them, the persona knows that they will not be able to overcome the sound of silence and reach the people. The silence becomes so deep at this point that he compares it to wells, and his desperate elocution, far from falling upon the ears of those he tries to save, bounce back to him. The imagery is similar to Hobsbawm's description of the Romantic artist as "stand[ing] alone, shouting into the night, uncertain even of an echo" (261).

Let alone hear his message, the people begin to worship the neon light as a god, completely falling under its spell:

> And the people bowed and prayed
> To the neon god they made. (28-29)

As neon lighting functions to advertise consumer commodities and has come to represent urban centres, the neon god can be interpreted as the symbol of modern urban life, with its consumerist society and capitalist life style[36]. This passage portrays the ultimate fallen condition: humans have fallen apart from each other and from the cosmos, and they have fallen away from their own true selves; so much so that they now worship a destructive god of their own making.

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[36] Marcuse refers to "the system's ubiquitous pressure, which by means of its repressive and destructive productivity degrades everything, in an increasingly inhuman way, to the status of a commodity whose purchase and sale provide the sustenance and content of life" as one of the major problems of the post-industrial, capitalist society that must be transformed. See pgs. 35-6 above for his explanation of the false needs and desires created by the system to ensure its survival in relation to the neon god that the people themselves made and now worship.

In this world of silence, even the neon god's message is delivered silently, through the "flash[ing] out [of] its warning / In the words that it was forming" (30-31). The message itself is also disturbing, for the god points to the graffiti on dilapidated walls as his holy scriptures:

> And the sign said "the words of the prophets are written on the subway walls
> And tenement halls,
> And whispered in the sounds of silence." (32-33)

An interpretation of these writings on the walls could be that they are a reference to the biblical and prophetic "the writing on the wall" in David 5:5, which is taken to mean a sign of doom, the idiom itself being a reference to the Biblical story of the Babylonian king during whose feasting an invisible hand wrote a message on the wall prophesying the king's death (*King James Bible*). The writings on the subway walls are also written by invisible hands, as they are anonymous and nobody ever sees when or by whom they were written. Furthermore, these writings also prophecy doom, implied in the poem as the loss of all meaningful communication between humans. In other words, they attempt in vain to warn people, as the poem itself is doing, that society is on the brink of a dystopia.

However, and on a more hopeful note, these writings on subway walls and tenements halls bring to mind another aspect of capitalist society: the marginalised people who do not have the means to join in the system of earning and spending underneath the neon lights and who are excluded from the social system, forced to live in abandoned buildings and sleep in subways. Since these people are marginalised and located outside of the repressive social system and the control that it yields over all aspects of human life, they are in fact able to see what the worshippers of the neon light cannot and in this sense their words may indeed be

prophetic warnings, just like those of the prophetic persona's[37]. Moreover, for the first time since the beginning of the song, a sound is actually able to pierce the silence, as the words of the prophets are "whispered" in the sounds of silence. These writings and whisperings bring a tiny ray of hope to the end of the song.

In fact, the song itself can be interpreted as one of these prophetic whisperings so that, although the persona failed to warn the people in the vision at the diegetic level, at the extra-diegetic level Simon himself is warning his addressees, the Sixties youth, through his poem about the dystopian future that he foresees. The song thus subtly acknowledges the prophetic role of both Simon and itself, even while appearing to portray a dismal, dystopian vision. It carries the implication that although all is lost within the dream world portrayed in the poem, all need not be lost in reality. Indeed, Simon's attempt to somehow change or escape the dystopia of modern life points to the re-prelapsarian belief that there can be a return to innocence even after the falling apart, through attempts to re-integrate and re-unify with nature and with other human beings. The poem reaches out to its audience just as the persona reaches out to the people, but this time with more hope, as the song is heard and responded to by the people it addresses and indeed, has been referred to as the Sixties youth's "generational anthem" that "came across with the force of a revelation" (Scoppa no pg.). Perry claimed at the end of the 1960s that "now, near the end of the decade, there is an answer to Paul Simon's song, 'The Sound of Silence.' Throughout America, on the campuses and in the slums, on the Indian reserves and among the migrant workers in the great central valley of California, the word has gone out, *There will be no more silence*" (213). The attitude, opposing the dystopian conditions of Simon's lyric, can be seen in lyrics such as Dylan's "The Times They are A-Changin'" which herald the transformation of the alienated society described by Simon and celebrate a contrary

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[37] See pg. 36 above for Marcuse's theory that one-dimensional socity exerts complete control over humans, to the point of controlling their desires, causing an internalised domination that suppresses the desire for transformation and his hope that certain groups that remain outside of this one-dimensional capitalist system and its control may be able to bring about transformation.

utopian condition of friendship and unity with nature, and which are analysed in the chapter on Socio-Political Re-Prelapsarianism.

Even darker than "The Sound of Silence", Bob Dylan's "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall"[38] is an intensely dystopian song, portraying a fallen world of tragedy, cruelty, injustice and hopelessness on the brink of an apocalyptic event, full of scenes revealing humans who are removed from all innate feelings of love and pity. In spite of the horrifying and despairing imagery used throughout, the lyric contains occasional, tiny glimpses of hope that are reinforced by the visionary status ascribed to its protagonist, who eventually merges with the poet-persona to become a prophetic figure determined to lead the people in this apocalyptic time, so that there is the millennialism-inspired implication that the apocalypse might be followed by a utopia.

The song is in the form of a dialogue; in fact, its structure is based on the medieval ballad, "Lord Randall", and it uses a similar question and answer format. The questions are asked by a father figure[39] and answered by a son figure, whom the father calls his "blue-eyed son" and his "darling young one". The son is a prophetic figure, "a universal being" as Wilde terms him (89), who has travelled the world seeing and hearing things and meeting people and tells the father figure about his experiences. The apocalyptic imagery of the lyric and the son's visions of what is and what will be, as well as his decision to act at the end point to an interpretation of the father-son figures as representing God the Father and Jesus Christ. However, the blue-eyed son could also represent a youthful revolutionary, a visionary who sees and realises the danger that humanity is in and tries to raise awareness of it. The figure could also be a poet-prophet, Dylan himself as poet-

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[38] Released on the album *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan*, in 1962.

[39] The affectionate choice of epithets and the lyric's allusion to "Lord Randall" which depicts the conversation between *mother* and son, suggest that the parent figure could also be the mother. However, because the parent is also the narrator of the poem, when it is sung by Dylan himself, the impression is that of a dialogue between father and son.

persona, relaying his dystopian vision of the state and future of the world so that people can be warned and perhaps inspired to change it.

The song consists of five stanzas, each beginning with the father's question and continuing with the son's answers about where he has been, what he has seen, what he has heard, who he has met, and what he will do as a result of all of this knowledge, respectively. Rather than giving a coherent narrative of the people and places that he has encountered, the son delivers snapshots, each line describing a dystopian scene in symbolic imagery. Wilde explains the form and content of the lyric as follows:

> The first four verses have five, seven, seven and six lines, respectively, in response to the questions where have you been?/what did you see?/what did you hear?/who did you meet? 'my blue-eyed son' and 'my darling young one'. The final verse, answering the question 'what'll you do now?', has twelve lines of images, the length adding to the build-up of tension in a song of almost unbearable urgency. Faced with cataclysm, all the contradictions and the pain of humanity must be expressed. Each verse ends with four repeats of 'it's a hard' before the final 'it's a hard rain's a gonna fall', drumming home its dire warning in juxtaposition to the bewildering intensity of the disturbing images. (88)

In fact Dylan commented that each of the separate images of this song were actually the first lines of other songs that he was afraid he would not have the time to write, because of the fear of just such a cataclysmic event ending his life (Bulson 129). Dylan's comment, when considered together with the lyric's imagery and historical context, suggests that the most influential event behind the lyrics was the Cold War and the threat of imminent nuclear annihilation. As Wilde explains, "Faced with the threat of oblivion, the narrator rolls out a string of images which capture an intense impression of the wrongs that had brought the world to this

plight" (89). Yaffe comments that this repetitive listing of disparate images "is dazzling, overwhelming – like a Whitmanian list or a biblical incantation" (19).

In the first stanza, the young visionary describes the places that he has been:

> Oh, where have you been, my blue-eyed son?
> Oh, where have you been, my darling young one?
> I've stumbled on the side of twelve misty mountains.
> I've walked and I've crawled on six crooked highways.
> I've stepped in the middle of seven sad forests.
> I've been out in front of a dozen dead oceans.
> I've been ten thousand miles in the mouth of a graveyard.
> And it's a hard, and it's a hard, it's a hard, and it's a hard,
> And it's a hard rain's a-gonna fall. (1-9)

When taken together, the scenes described appear to be a world in ruins, following some kind of great catastrophe: the mountains are misty, perhaps from the residual smoke of the bomb, highways have been destroyed and are thus crooked, forests have been ruined and oceans are dead. Moreover, the hyperbole of "ten thousand miles in the mouth of a graveyard" suggests a vast mass grave. Such destruction, when taken in the historical context of the song, could be referring to the destruction caused by the nuclear bomb in Hiroshima or Nagasaki, or the nuclear war that always loomed imminent during the Cold War years. The lines can also be interpreted from an environmentalist perspective, as revealing the loss of unity between humans and nature and the crooked highways could be symbolic of the wrong path that humans are on. Moreover, the reference to misty mountains that function as an obstacle in the blue-eyed son's path, as well as sad forests, may be allusions to Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* (Yaffe 19), where the saviour figure, Frodo, has to pass the Misty Mountains on his journey to prevent the spread of darkness that will end the world, and where one important sequence of events concerns a forest, Fangorn, that is sad (and angry) because of constant attacks on its trees by people. All in all, the places that the blue-eyed son has been reveal scenes of death

and destruction, of both people and nature, that foreshadow the apocalypse to come.

The second stanza is about the things that the prophetic figure has seen:

> Oh, what did you see, my blue-eyed son?
> Oh, what did you see, my darling young one?
> I saw a newborn baby with wild wolves all around it.
> I saw a highway of diamonds with nobody on it.
> I saw a black branch with blood that kept drippin'.
> I saw a room full of men with their hammers a-bleedin'.
> I saw a white ladder all covered with water.
> I saw ten thousand talkers whose tongues were all broken.
> I saw guns and sharp swords in the hands of young children.
> And it's a hard, and it's a hard, it's a hard, it's a hard,
> And it's a hard rain's a-gonna fall. (10-20)

The images are of violence, destruction of innocence, death and despair; a truly fallen state is portrayed. There is the implication of innocence being destroyed immediately by a cruel world, first with the vision of the new-born baby surrounded by wolves, probably about to be devoured by them, or perhaps about to be corrupted by the wolves as symbols of the violent and corrupt society that it is born into. Similarly, a few lines down, there is the image of young children carrying guns and swords – of child soldiers, forced to kill and die for their society or social group. There are also two visions of violence that seem to be alluding to racism and the lynching of black people, in the lines depicting a "black branch with blood" dripping from it, a common lynching scene of the Civil War years, and the following line describing "a room full of men" with hammers dripping blood, perhaps Ku Klux Klan members, or any group of people that has violently killed other human beings out of hatred. There is also a line about misinformation, portraying "ten thousand talkers" with broken tongues. These broken tongues could be like the crooked highways of the previous stanza, intimating tongues that are lying, perhaps referring to politicians. Finally, two lines in this stanza portray the existence of ways out of this desolation, but these ways are not or cannot be taken. One of these

portrays a white ladder, white symbolising hope or purity perhaps, and the ladder symbolising escape or transcendence of the horrifying realities. However, the ladder is wet, and thus unusable. It is thus more of a tantalising than a hopeful image. On the other hand, the water on the ladder may refer to its being slippery and thus a difficult way up, but one that is there. Furthermore, another line mentions "a highway of diamonds", in other words a bright, pure path, but nobody is on it. The implication is that there is a path out of this cruelty and violence, a pure way that humans can choose, but do not. Still, the fact that such a path exists is a glimmer of hope in an otherwise despairing depiction of humanity.

The third stanza reveals the sounds that the protagonist heard during his journey. The first sounds that the blue-eyed son describes are all warning signals announcing the apocalypse:

> I heard the sound of a thunder, it roared out a warnin'.
> Heard the roar of a wave that could drown the whole world.
> Heard one hundred drummers whose hands were a-blazin'. (23-5)

The hundred drummers give the impression of a war signal, and they could also be symbolising warmongers, whose hands are "a-blazing" in that they have the blood of innocence on them by causing or welcoming war. Once again, this could be a reference to politicians. The other two warning signals could once again be referring to nuclear warfare, the thunder actually being the sound of the bomb exploding and the wave a tsunami caused by the explosion; in this case, the hard rain could also be referring to nuclear fall-out rain, which rains down radioactive dust following the explosion. On the other hand, these two warning signals could actually be coming directly from nature, or God, the thunder, the large wave and the hard rain all alluding to Noah's Flood. Indeed, the motif of Noah's Flood is alluded to repeatedly by Dylan in a number of songs, some of which will be analysed in the following chapters. Gamble calls attention to the recurring motif in Dylan's lyrics of a coming apocalypse against which the poet-persona warns his audience and "predictions of

a sudden cataclysmic event, like Noah's flood, which will also be a day of reckoning" (17). There is implicit hope in this interpretation of the hard rain, for in the story of Noah's Flood, although the rain falls and floods the earth as punishment for the sins and corruption of humanity, it also functions as a purification and a fresh start, a dystopia followed by a re-prelapsarian utopia.

The rest of the stanza once again represents the fallen state of humanity, especially in terms of the lack of communication, empathy and love. Humanity is displayed as apathetic and indifferent towards the suffering of others, every person selfishly pursuing their own desires:

> Heard ten thousand whisperin' and nobody listenin'.
> Heard one person starve, I heard many people laughin'.
> Heard the song of a poet who died in the gutter.
> Heard the sound of a clown who cried in the alley. (26-9)

The ten thousand whispering people may be referring to the Civil Rights movement and the demands of African-Americans, that the dominant race and class refused to listen to, or more generally to all those suffering in the world and demanding justice and equality, but who are ignored by those in power. The following line emphasises the inequality and injustice in the distribution of resources, with one man starving from poverty while others laugh in their state of material comfort, indifferent to the state of those who are deprived of basic necessities. The final two sounds speak of the isolation of two figures, both related to entertainment, and most often to subversion of the dominant system through entertainment. The first of these is a poet, who is supposed to be someone communicating with the people – especially one who sings songs, as the protagonist heard the poet's song – dies alone, in a gutter, evidently unappreciated and ignored. Similarly, a clown, a carnivalesque figure whose subversiveness is contained by the system by being put to work as an entertainer, cries alone in an alley. Both the subversive role and the function of entertainment of both of these figures have apparently been supressed, so that

they do not portray any ray of hope in terms of bringing about social transformation as Simon's poet does in "The Sound of Silence". Humanity appears to have fallen apart and lost the qualities – empathy, love, caring and sharing – that once unified it, as well as the figures that might have saved it.

The penultimate stanza, and the final one to describe the protagonist's observations and experiences, is about the people that he met on his journey:

> Oh, who did you meet, my blue-eyed son?
> Who did you meet, my darling young one?
> I met a young child beside a dead pony.
> I met a white man who walked a black dog. (32-5)

His first interaction is with an innocent child faced with the harsh reality of death; it is thus an image of innocence versus experience. The following line symbolises racial segregation and the fact that white supremacists see black people as less than human and attempt to treat them that way. The contrasting imagery of black and white, used symbolically, but with a reversal of the conventional symbolism of white as incorporating positive values and black negative, combined with the innocence versus experience contrast of the previous line resonate of Blake and his *Songs of Innocence and Experience*. Dylan has repeatedly acknowledged his debt to Blake and a number of critics have commented on Blakean influences in his poetry (Gray 51-2). Also Blakean are the lines portraying the manipulative and destructive state of human relationships in the fallen state:

> I met one man who was wounded in love.
> I met another man who was wounded in hatred. (38-9)

Humans use love to wound each other just as if it were hatred; love and hatred serve the same function in the fallen state, because humans have lost their capacity for true, unconditional love. Using Lee's typology of love, the love practiced in the fallen condition is perhaps the socially constructed type *pragma* (a pragmatic and

rational social relationship), or *mania* (possessive and obsessive), rather than the true unifying types of love like *agape* (spiritual, universal love of all) or *storge* (a love of compassion and caring) that have become lost in a fallen world on the verge of a dystopia (Lee 16). Gamble argues that Dylan "regards the political world," in other words the fallen social world as opposed to the natural world, "as the antithesis of the world of love, community and authenticity. The political world is the alienated world which individuals must seek to overthrow, to survive within, or to escape from" (20). Consequently, this unnatural, political world, which has reach its nadir and is about to self-destruct, is a world in which love has ceased to function; replacing this world after its cataclysmic end will require a return to the prelapsarian state of unity and innocence, which the blue-eyed son will attempt to lead the way to.

In the middle of this stanza are two lines, one of them one of the most disturbing images of the lyric, made even more so by its uncanny foreshadowing of a real event to take place a decade later:

I met a young woman whose body was burning. (36)

In 1972, photographer Nick Ut was to meet such a young woman (a young girl in fact) running from her village in Vietnam after a napalm strike, naked, with her back severely burned by the attack, and both the girl and the photograph came to represent the true horrors of warfare on innocent victims. In Dylan's lyric, this horrific image is followed in turn by the most hopeful line of the whole song, "a ray of light in the shape of innocence, nature and colour" (Wilde 89):

I met a young girl, she gave me a rainbow. (37)

This is clearly a vision of hope, a young girl, an innocent figure, giving the protagonist a symbol of hope and peace. The symbol of the rainbow is another connection to the Noah's Flood subtext, for following the flood, God sends Noah a

rainbow as a symbol of His promise to never punish humanity in that way again (Genesis 9: 17, *King James Bible*). Thus this vision, seemingly out of place in a poem filled with images of horror and despair, subtly implies that this dystopian state, even if culminating in an apocalyptic end, will eventually transform into a better world.

The final stanza of "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" brings out the true prophetic leader in the protagonist, who, in response to his parent's question, of what he will do as a result of his knowledge and experiences, vows to return to the fallen world on the brink of destruction and do everything in his power to make people aware, thereby perhaps either preventing the apocalypse, or ensuring the creation of a better world on its ruins. Like Noah, the protagonist decides to take action before the hard rain starts falling:

> And, what'll you do now, my blue-eyed son?
> And, what'll you do now, my darling young one?
> I'm a-goin' back out 'fore the rain starts a-fallin'. (42-4)

Indeed, like a true prophet, the blue-eyed son decides to go to the darkest and worst place and try to bring about change there. It is a place of darkness, poverty, poisoned nature and imprisoned people in danger of injustice:

> I'll walk to the depths of the deepest dark forest.
> Where the people are many and their hands are all empty.
> Where the pellets of poison are flooding their waters.
> Where the home in the valley meets the damp dirty prison.
> And the executioner's face is always well hidden.
> Where hunger is ugly, where the souls are forgotten.
> Where black is the color, where none is the number. (45-51)

In fact, the sentiments expressed here by the protagonist, and the place(s) described, are similar to those of idealist young people joining the Peace Corps, established by President Kennedy in 1961 with the intention of supplying help and support to areas in need of help, where the water was poisoned and the people

were many and poor, and there was injustice and violence. This was one of the causes that the Sixties utopian youth rallied to, and Dylan could be making a reference to it.

In the second half of the stanza, however, the voice of the prophetic, visionary figure of the blue-eyed son increasingly merges with that of the prophetic bard narrating his story, so that the promises made by the one become those of the other:

> And I'll tell it and speak it and think it and breathe it.
> And reflect it from the mountain so all souls can see it.
> Then I'll stand on the ocean until I start sinkin'.
> But I'll know my song well before I start singin'.
> And it's a hard, it's a hard, it's a hard, it's a hard,
> It's a hard rain's a-gonna fall. (52-7)

Overt references to Christ are made, revealing the idealistic, revolutionary, utopian figure as a saviour, or at least one that will do all in his power to act as saviour. For, although he cannot walk on water like Jesus did, he will stand on it until he sinks. Just as Jesus brought salvation to humanity in the past, so will the persona/protagonist, the rock bard, try his best to do in the present. The fact that this stanza contains more lines than the other stanzas of the song, and the repetitive melody of the lines, gives the impression of determination as it is sung and has the effect of an impassioned chant on part of the poet-persona, merged here with the blue-eyed son into a prophetic saviour figure.

Consequently, "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" is a song that catalogues the injustices, atrocities, pain and despair of a fallen world at its nadir, where love has been replaced by hatred and unity by violence, and innocence can no longer survive. Hidden deeply among the dark images portrayed throughout are small glimpses of hope, indicating the possibility of escape or transformation, of the replacement of this dystopian world with a re-prelapsarian utopia after its destruction by the hard rain that is coming. The greatest object of hope of the lyric

is the visionary protagonist who embraces his role as prophet and saviour at the end. The greatest tool that the persona/protagonist has in this quest appears to be his songs and through them his ability to disseminate awareness, as well as maintaining a state of constant awareness and vigilance himself. This was an important role that the singer-songwriters of the Sixties took upon themselves, and is also applicable to all the counterculture revolutionaries who tried throughout the decade to raise awareness of the social and political issues that they felt were crucial. In another Dylan song depicting injustices and wrongs similar to those of this one, the hard rain portended was to become a thunderstorm, the "chimes of freedom", bringing about the utopian social transformation that the "young seekers" sought, as is analysed in the chapter on Socio-Political Re-Prelapsarianism.

The satirical and dystopian lyrics analysed here appear at first glance to be depressing and hopeless accounts of the contemporary society. When interpreted within the context of the utopian aspirations of the counterculture that they spoke for and in the context of other lyrics by the same song-writers that evidently espoused these aspirations, however, they present themselves as lyrics that reveal the fallen state of the contemporary society in order to inspire the will to change it. In order for there to be an effort to achieve a re-prelapsarian world of unity and innocence, the present world of division and degeneration must be shown for what it is. These lyrics depict a society in which humans have become estranged from nature and drifted apart from each other, and personal relationships are broken, as is the relationship between the individual and society. Individuals, especially those who in some way do not fit in, are shown to be alienated by an indifferent society. The society as a whole is depicted as being made up of individuals who are isolated from one another; they do not communicate, each pursuing his own material interest. The isolation, alienation and disintegration portrayed in these lyrics are the results of the fallen world which the youth revolution, whether in the socio-political sphere or the personal and spiritual sphere, attempts to overthrow, to be replaced

by a re-prelapsarian utopia in which humans once again live in harmony and unity with one another.

CHAPTER 6

LOVE AND REVOLT:
ROCK LYRICS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL RE-PRELAPSARIANISM

This chapter analyses lyrics by Dylan, the Beatles and Simon that herald, call for or imply a major socio-political transformation leading to a re-prelapsarian utopian state in which humans are reconciled with one another and the world. The most powerful force in bringing about this re-prelapsarian utopia, according to the Sixties counterculture, was love and the related value of empathy. According to the sentimentalist worldview espoused by the counterculture and the Romantics before them, the capacity for love and empathy were innately present in human beings but had been dimmed due to the corrupting and alienating influence of a dystopian society, as discussed in the previous chapter. In the context of socio-political re-prelapsarianism, the kind of love referred to is predominantly the feeling and value that binds human beings to one another and causes them to treat each other with compassion, whether it be in the form of *agape*, universal love for all living beings, or *storge*, the caring and devoted love between individuals (Inglis 51). In order to restore the faded feelings of love and empathy, it was necessary to restore a more natural order in which the natural good in human beings could be preserved and nurtured. Thus, another important theme that permeates Sixties lyrics and the counterculture discourse in general is that of anti-establishment, the rejection of the institutions and establishments of a corrupt society that was expressed in actions of civil disobedience and the adoption of alternative lifestyles and communities and was also an important aspect of Romantic re-prelapsarianism, from Blake's emphatic defence of free love to Thoreau's advocacy of civil disobedience.

The utopian youth of the Sixties believed, as had the Romantic poets, that they were in the midst of a radical transformation of the world and on the brink of a

utopian future. Due to the importance of the generational divide to the Sixties counterculture, this transformation was perceived as a transition from the world of their parents – of authority, the "Establishment," technocracy, capitalism, oppression, rigid rules, war, segregation – to a new world established by their own generation – a world of human rather than material values, freedom from authority and social convention, peace, love and unity. This new world was perceived to be a revival of the original, authentic and natural human condition that existed before humanity had fallen and become corrupted by a society that oppressed, isolated and divided its individual members, manipulating them into alienated labour through the generation of false needs and desires and forcing them to kill one another through wars fought for power. Sixties utopianism has thus been categorised as re-prelapsarian and as a revival of Romantic utopianism. Other than this general attitude, the Sixties utopians in America and Britain did not have a concrete program or blueprint for the new society that they were striving to establish; nor were they following one specific political ideology. Instead, like the Romantics, they took part in specific movements of moral activism, such as the Civil Rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the Free Speech movement, and the student movement aiming at the democratisation of universities. Moreover, they also participated in a more general rejection of society and offered alternative ways of life and social structures through personal choices and actions like choosing certain styles of clothing to wear, music to listen to, relationships to form, and more generally living in ways that were considered inappropriate and unacceptable and which thus challenged and provoked the dominant culture of their parents. "The personal is political" was a motto that was invented by the Sixties counterculture and went on to become an important motto of the feminist movement that also gained strength during this period (D. Smith 60).

Rock was crucial to Sixties social re-prelapsarianism. Not only did it bind together youth of different backgrounds and countries to form one large youth

movement, as Campbell has explained[40], but on a smaller scale rock also provided unity and a sense of purpose during demonstrations. Van Hees argues that the Sixties youth held the optimistic view that "individuals may not be able to make a very profound difference on their own, but if all of us throw pebbles into the river, its flow can be stopped—in theory, at least [...]. But it's not enough just to point out the possibility of such collective efforts, precisely because the difficulty of achieving them is also part of our conventional wisdom. If it's to be convincing or appealing, the prospect of joining forces collectively should also be irresistible" (120). Rock served to make this prospect irresistible by spurring unity of purpose as well as enthusiasm and fervour through the influence of the music, the lyrics and the rock artist personas themselves. Moreover, music provided a means of making demonstrations peaceful yet powerful, a function that was originally utilised very successfully by the Civil Rights Movement. A large group of people singing together was less threatening to the police in charge of controlling the demonstration than a large group of people shouting angrily, yet singing together gave the demonstrators a greater sense of togetherness and of belief in their cause, as well as generating more hopeful and more positive feelings during the demonstration (Marqusee loc. 120). This function of rock is evident in the sing-along quality of many of the popular songs of the time, including the Beatles' "Yellow Submarine" and Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind". Finally, music was also one other sphere in which the young asserted their difference from their parents' generation; rock was music for the young, by the young and was accompanied by a very different culture to that of the popular music of the previous generations. Rock was therefore an integral component of the socio-political transformation of Sixties re-prelapsarianism. Lyrics contributing to this utopian purpose can be analysed in two groups. The first of these includes songs that herald and celebrate the transformation that is taking place in society, emphasising the difference of the new generation and age from the old. Many of these songs became anthems for the counterculture. The second group includes

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[40] See pgs. 126-8 above.

songs that were composed for or about particular causes that the Sixties activists pursued, as well as songs that comment more generally on the social situation and the ways in which it should change.

Bob Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind"[41] is a song that satirises the contemporary state of society while at the same time implicitly proposing a socio-political transformation to a more natural order based on the values of love and empathy. Originally written in 1962 in support of the Civil Rights movement, the song, with its broadly applicable, universal lyrics, was used frequently in the many different activist causes of the Sixties, and is still used by activists to this day (Gill 23). One of the reasons that "Blowin' in the Wind" was so influential and why it is significant to this analysis is that it was the first song with overt social and political content to become popular, passing beyond the narrow folk music circles in which such protest songs generally remained, to take place in the pop charts. As Marqusee comments, "[t]his unexpected intrusion of social consciousness into the pop charts took pundits by surprise" (loc. 1022). The song's sing-along quality played a role in its popularity, as well as making it a very suitable song for use in demonstrations: "It's a piece of folk music, so it belongs to the people, to be sung at rallies [...] It's plain, sing-song melody is perfect for what it is — a sing-along. A folk standard" (Schlansky no page.). Another reason for the significance and influence of the song was the fact that Bob Dylan, a young white man, had written a song that so sensitively articulated the frustration of the African-Americans in their struggle for civil rights. One Civil Rights activist, Mavis Staples, commented that at the time "she was astonished that a song that so encapsulated the feelings of African Americans suffering the injustices of racial segregation and prejudice was written by a white musician" (Schlansky no page). Thus, the song was in itself an example of the kind of empathy that it was proposing. Such empathy with the oppressed was a crucial aspect of re-prelapsarianism, seen in the socio-political causes of the Romantics,

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[41] Released on the album *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* in 1962.

such as child labour and the abolition of slavery and those of the Sixties activists, such as the Civil Rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement.

"Blowin' in the Wind" is comprised of a series of rhetorical questions that implicitly satirise the crucial issues of the time, such as segregation and oppression, war, violence, and apathy, serving to raise awareness concerning them, as well as suggesting a somewhat obscure solution. Because the questions are indeed rhetorical and aimed at bringing about a realisation in their audience, the answer to them, states the refrain of the song, is "blowin' in the wind". This central metaphor of the lyric is ambivalent, or as Gold explains, "impenetrably ambiguous: either the answer is so obvious it is right in your face, or the answer is as intangible as the wind" (43). According to Marqusee's interpretation, "[t]he song is delicately poised between hope and impatience. It is filled with a sense that a long-awaited transformation is both imminent and frustratingly out of reach" (loc. 1017). From the re-prelapsarian perspective, this ambiguous metaphor can be interpreted as carrying both these meanings simultaneously. The answer to these fundamental problems of civilisation are in fact right there in nature for humans to see, but because humanity has fallen apart from nature – both its own true nature, which is why these problems have occurred, and from external nature which has been shut out and ignored – the answer remains elusive and invisible. However, the song's stance and message was not considered ambiguous by the Sixties youth, perhaps because "[t]he ambiguity of the lyric [...] is compensated for by the insistent rhythm of the song, where the constancy of the music and of the refrain signal affirmative answers" (Browning 117). Indeed, the fact that Dylan performed "Blowin' in the Wind" following Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech during the March on Washington in 1963 attests to its unambiguous adoption as a revolutionary and utopian anthem by the Civil Rights movement and the Sixties activists in general (Perkins and Smiles loc. 70).

Each stanza asks a series of three questions, ending with the refrain. The first stanza deals with segregation and war. The first question appears to refer to

the Civil Rights Movement, demanding to know how much longer African-Americans have to protest and demonstrate before they are acknowledged as human beings with equal rights with the white men in power, and could also be applied to any similar cause for equality:

> How many roads must a man walk down
> Before you call him a man? (1-2)

The second question uses the symbol of the white dove to ask when peace will finally come to the world, alluding to the Biblical story of Noah and the flood, from which the symbol originates.

> Yes 'n' how many seas must a white dove sail
> Before she sleeps in the sand? (3-4)

In Genesis 8: 8-9, Noah sends a white dove to check whether the flood has subsided, with the reasoning that if the dove returns, it means that it has not been able to find a place to perch and thus that the water is still high. If the dove does not return, it means that it has found a place to rest and that the earth is once more safe (*King James Bible*). In Dylan's depiction of the state of the world, the dove of peace keeps flying over seas, searching for a place to rest, but because of continuous wars and strife, she is unable to find a safe resting place. The final question makes the reference to war more explicit and calls for the banning of weapons.

> Yes, 'n' how many times must the cannonballs fly
> Before they're forever banned? (5-6)

All of these questions and demands are expressed in a conversational tone, neither angry and bitter, nor sugar-coated and optimistic, but the tone of a man meditating on the state of affairs, or a bard of the people making wise observations. According to Marqusee, "Dylan himself never saw the song as a rallying cry but as a

challenge—to the establishment and the movement, to the apathetic and the active" (Marqusee loc. 1037). This quietly questioning tone is emphasised in the ambiguity of the refrain, which induces the audience to think about how to bring about the changes suggested in the rhetorical questions preceding it.

The main focus of the second stanza is on oppression and the disregard for human rights:

> Yes, 'n' how many years can a mountain exist
> Before it is washed to the sea?
> Yes, 'n' how many years can some people exist
> Before they're allowed to be free? (9-12)

The first question is in fact an analogy that sheds light on the second one. Since it takes millions of years for a mountain to be washed to the sea, the implication seems to be that society, or those in power, are making it just as difficult and taking just as long to concede oppressed people, specifically the black people of America, their natural rights as human beings. There is still a hint of hope, though, for no matter how great a mountain is, water, through persistence rather than violence, does succeed in washing it away over time, just as the Civil Rights activists are slowly yet persistently smoothing away the oppressive regime that stands in their way.

The final question of the stanza is directed at those of the privileged sections of society who choose to ignore the injustices and oppression that they witness, instead of empathising with the oppressed and supporting their cause:

> Yes, 'n' how many times can a man turn his head,
> And pretend that he just doesn't see? (13-14)

This is similar to the questions asked by Blake in his "On Another's Sorrow", although in Blake's version, since the poem belongs to the *Songs of Innocence*, the

answer to the questions is confident in the strength of empathy in guiding the persona:

> Can I see another's woe,
> And not be in sorrow too?
> Can I see another's grief,
> And not seek for kind relief?
> 　　　　[...]
> No, no! never can it be!
> Never, never can it be! (1-4, 11-12)

This is in fact the response that Dylan's persona would wish to bring about in his audience, converting those of them who are apathetic to start caring and acting for change, or perhaps reverting them to the original human condition of innocence that Blake describes, in which empathy is an innate quality, not yet corrupted by society[42].

The final stanza continues where the second leaves off, directing satire at apathetic people who are unable to empathise with other human beings and who, like the multitude of Simon's "The Sound of Silence" or the unenlightened "they" of the Beatles' "Within You, Without You", do not see, hear or understand:

> Yes, 'n' how many times must a man look up
> Before he can see the sky?
> Yes, 'n' how many ears must one man have
> Before he can hear people cry?
> Yes, 'n' how many deaths will it take till he knows
> That too many people have died? (17-22)

The sky in the first question can be interpreted as the truth – about the state of society, about humanity's fallen but not lost condition, about the fact that a better world can be attained – that, like the answer blowing in the wind, is right there, above our heads, but that many people look at but do not see. Natural imagery is

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[42] See pg. 70 above for Rousseau's comments on the strength of the natural feeling of pity in natural man versus its weakness in civilised man.

used in both metaphors to represent truth and hope, for it is the natural condition that holds these, and to this condition humanity must return. Foakes explains of the Romantics that "[n]atural objects, which seemed pure and permanent, or permanently recurring, in relation to the corruption of society and the transitoriness of life, were translated into symbols of the Romantic search for order, or into images of spiritual harmony" (44), and we see the same approach in this lyric. According to Gamble, "an image of an America that is unalienated, in which human beings can be honest and simple and true, no longer estranged from themselves or from their society [...] a desire to return to an original state of simplicity and purity [runs through Dylan's work]" (16). Moreover, in the natural condition, humans would once again be innocent and aware of the unity of all living beings, thus approaching fellow-humans with empathy and compassion, as opposed to the apathy that the second question of the stanza once again draws attention to as the reason for the continuation of injustice and oppression. Dylan commented on the song:

> I still say that some of the biggest criminals are those
> that turn their heads away when they see wrong and
> know it's wrong. I'm only 21 years old and I know that
> there's been too many [...] You people over 21, you're
> older and smarter. (Dylan in Gray 64)

As well as being a satire of such people, the lyric also implicitly calls to them to see, hear and take a stance against oppression, violence and war. As Boucher explains, "[i]t raises the question, how many – how many deaths, how many times – and implies that collectively we will determine when all such injustices cease" (159).

Like the persona of "The Sound of Silence", the persona of "Blowin' in the Wind" is a visionary, a bard, who sees and knows and attempts to make others do so as well. Accordingly, as well as his allusions to Biblical stories, Dylan uses Biblical rhetoric, enforcing his prophetic status:

> The lyric is an early example of Dylan's quiet incorporation of Biblical rhetoric into his own. A particular rhetorical format deployed time and again in the New Testament and founded upon a text from the Old Testament book of Ezekiel (12:1–2) is: "The word of the Lord also came unto me, saying, Son of man, thou dwellest in the midst of a rebellious house, which have eyes to see, and see not; they have ears to hear, and hear not ..." In "Blowin' in the Wind" this is redeployed as "Yes n' how many ears must one man have...?" and "Yes n' how many times must a man turn his head / Pretending he just doesn't see?" (Gray 64)

Through the use of the question format, then, Dylan is challenging his audience to realise and change their ways, taking on the role of poet-prophet who will lead the way towards a socio-political transformation that brings about the return to prelapsarian unity and innocence, a utopian world in which all humans are equal and free, and living in harmony with one another.

In conclusion, Bob Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind," which was one of the most representative songs of the counterculture, played an important role in the socio-political activism of the Sixties utopians, functioning to unify, give voice to, and inspire the youth in their revolutionary pursuits. The lyric is re-prelapsarian in its empathetic stance on the side of the oppressed, its visionary poet-persona who wisely points out the ills of society and calls upon his audience to realise both the ills that he describes and the answer to them, which is right in front of them but eludes them in their fallen state, and in its implicit faith in humanity's ability to overcome these problems and achieve a utopian state of re-prelapsarian innocence and unity.

Written two years after "Blowin' in the Wind, Dylan's "The Times they are A'Changin'"[43] is a more overt and assertive call to change. It is a revolutionary as well as utopian song that was one of the anthems of the counterculture and perhaps the most famous of the songs heralding change, being covered by many

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[43] Released on the album *The Times They Are A-Changin'* in 1964.

singers and groups, including Simon and Garfunkel. As Gray describes, "'The Times They Are a-Changin' was the archetypal protest song. Dylan's aim was to ride upon the unvoiced sentiment of a mass public—to give that inchoate sentiment an anthem and give its clamour an outlet" (662). Moreover, like "Blowin' in the Wind", this song also "engender[ed] collective identity [...] because [it] lent [itself] to be communally sung" (Boucher 154). Boucher describes the song's unifying and utopian functions and its status as the voice of the revolutionary Sixties youth as follows:

> "The Times They are A-Changin'" became the rallying call or anthem of a generation. Such anthems are songs that unite people in fostering a sense of belonging to a like-minded community, nation or the same cause. [The song] exudes confidence, hailing a new dawn and clearly articulates for the first time a social change that began to occur in the 1950s, and which later became known as the generation gap. (155)

The prophetic persona of the lyric delivers a series of warnings and advice to different sections of the society and celebrates an impending radical transformation of the social system. Gamble explains that "Dylan is renowned for his strong opposition to established authority of any kind" (29), and his position in this lyric is strongly anti-establishment and the utopian state that he envisions as following the socio-political transformation is one in which the contemporary establishments will be eradicated and the contemporary hierarchies turned upside down.

The lyric consists of five stanzas and in each of the first four, a certain section of the society is addressed, indeed beckoned, then warned, and then informed of a radical change which is referred to with certainty. The final stanza describes the revolution that the poet-persona claims is coming about. Dylan explained that "[he] wanted to write a big song, with short concise verses that piled up on each other in a hypnotic way" (*Biograph*, liner notes), underlining his aim to

make the song itself an agent of the change that it predicts through its influence on its audience, "a song that captured the feeling in the air that through music the world could change" (Perkins and Smiles loc. 73).

The lyric begins with a call to the people, beckoning all to come together and gather around the prophetic bard:

> Come gather 'round people,
> Wherever you roam. (1-2)

According to Heylin, these opening lines establish the song's "declamatory tone" and by "[u]sing a commonplace folk idiom dating back to medieval times – the 'come all ye...' *incipit*," the poet-persona indicates that "he has not come to entertain but to berate. Like a lay preacher, Dylan lays into those whom he has asked to gather 'round, informing them that they are in danger of drowning in the tide" (155). The bard wants the people to realise the radical change that is upon them and to become part of it, to "inspire those who heard it to see things his way, and [give] voice to the millions who wanted a new world" (Schlansky no page). He explains this change – for the better in his view – in Biblical terms, using the analogy of Noah's Flood (that Dylan also used in "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" and would use again in "Chimes of Freedom"):

> And admit that the waters
> Around you have grown,
> And accept it that soon
> You'll be drenched to the bone. (3-6)

With the use of this analogy, the poet-persona seems to be suggesting that a world of corruption, injustice and oppression is being cleansed by a flood of change, clearing the ground for better times. In other words, he is depicting a revolution or apocalypse to be followed by utopia. Boucher argues that although this is a song about destruction, it "exude[s] a confidence in renewal – a renewal that transcends

the injustices and corruption of the past" (155) and that it is "optimistic in the face of adversity because of the belief in the inevitability of the tide of change. The metaphor of water is used to drive home the message [...]: accept the inevitability of change or drown, like Pharaoh's tribe, in the growing tide of resistance and demand for social justice" (155). Although applicable to a variety of revolutionary situations throughout the world, in the specific context of the early Sixties, the flood that Dylan refers to in the lyric is the rising counterculture and the revolutionary causes that it espoused. The people, according to the persona, have to make a choice between choosing to join in with the utopian revolutionaries, or become obsolete:

> If your time to you is worth savin',
> Then you better start swimmin' or you'll sink like a stone.
> For the times they are a-changin'. (7-9)

The imagery is harsh, somewhere between a warning and a threat. The metaphor also continues so that as was the case with Noah's ark, those who do not hop on board will be lost. The difference is that in this case, the choice is with the people; they can either choose to become part of the utopian transformation or sink under it. The lyric thus "uses the Biblical language of prophecy and redemption to invoke a great secular victory" (Marqusee loc. 1535). The stanza ends with the matter-of-fact and confident explanation that "the times they are a changin'".

The address becomes more specific in the second stanza, targeting a particular section of the society:

> Come writers and critics,
> Who prophesize with your pen,
> And keep your eyes wide
> The chance won't come again, (10-14)

Here, the persona is calling to intellectuals, or the media, who "prophesize with [their] pen" as the persona is prophesising with his song, and warns them not to

miss this rare chance at reading the future correctly. He suggests that these writers and critics observe their surroundings carefully, and follows this with more advice:

> 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. (15-18)

The line "And there's no tellin' who that it's namin'" does not indicate that the outcome of the change is ambiguous, but is rather a challenge to what the persona sees as the wrong assumptions of the writers and critics. The line following in fact tells us who the wheel of fortune will be naming: as is frequently the case with revolutions, the social order will be turned upside down so that those who are oppressed or treated with injustice, or are at the margins of society will come out strong and triumphant. In the historical context in which the song was composed, this can be interpreted as a reference to African-Americans, thus inspiring hope for their cause. It could also be referring to the counterculture, which was the alternative or subculture then, but would come to dominate the society, the persona predicts. As a result of these radical transformations, it is implied, the activist causes will triumph, as will the utopian principles of the counterculture, bringing about a more ideal culture and society. The poet-persona warns the writers and critics that they should be following these changes insightfully and supporting them.

The third stanza turns to politicians, and the warning becomes harsher and more threatening, although it also appears to be a slightly tongue-in-cheek play on the fears of the ruling classes, especially due to the way that Dylan sings it:

> Come senators, congressmen
> Please heed the call.
> Don't stand in the doorway,
> Don't block up the hall.
> For he that gets hurt

> Will be he who has stalled.
> There's a battle outside ragin',
> It'll soon shake your windows and rattle your walls.
> For the times they are a-changin'. (20-8)

The senators and congressmen are depicted as people standing around in doorways and halls in their government buildings, trying to govern a people from whom they are estranged, and thus blocking the routes to change. The persona warns them that their attempt at stalling is futile and will only get them hurt. His portrayal of the protests and the revolutionary struggles of the counterculture youth and activists as a battle raging outside that will soon start shaking and rattling the windows and walls of the seemingly secure buildings in which the politicians gather plays on their underlying fear of these subversive groups, yet simultaneous complacency in their secure social and economic positions. Thus, the windows and walls are in fact those of the dominant social, economic and political system, in other words the "Establishment", that the senators and congressmen represent and maintain, but that are being shaken and will finally be brought down by the Sixties revolutionaries. They will neither be able to prevent nor escape this change that is coming, the persona warns them. As Marqusee explains, "[i]n Biblical style, he issues a prophetic warning against complacency; he reminds the powerful that ultimately they are impotent" (loc. 1543).

The final address turns to the previous generation, thus completing the song's list of social establishments that the revolutionary youth aimed to overturn with the smallest social unit, the family. Moreover, the parents that the persona calls to represent the old system that their sons and daughters are attempting to transform:

> Come mothers and fathers
> Throughout the land,
> And don't criticize
> What you can't understand.
> Your sons and your daughters

Are beyond your command (29-34)

These lines carry the "assert[ion] that the instrument of change was to be a generation—Dylan's generation" (Marqusee loc. 1521). The old generation, representing the dominant culture, is satirised for criticising the counterculture without understanding it. The persona's statement that the parents (the dominant culture and society) can no longer control their children (the emerging alternative culture and society), once again plays on both their sense of security in their positions and their underlying fear of the out-of-control youth.

Like the senators and congressmen, the mothers and fathers are asked to either join in and support the social revolution, or to risk becoming obsolete:

> Your old road is rapidly agin',
> Please get out of the new one if you can't lend your hand.
> For the times they are a-changin'. (35-7)

Boucher points to the fact that this attitude "is conciliatory in that it offers the opportunity for the older generation, particularly politicians, not merely to accept, but also to go with the flow. It is uncompromising in that the older generation is told to participate on the terms of the younger, or step out of the way" (155). These lines underline the attitude of youthful arrogance that permeates the song, coming from the confident assumption that their way of life and their worldview was more truthful, more honest and more right than that of their parents. Ward et al. comment that "the notion that Dylan embodied – that what he and his expanding coterie believed, what they did, what they were, was immeasurably superior to the orthodox culture surrounding them – was a profoundly political and prescient idea" (Ward et al. 312). This attitude corresponds to Hobsbawm's assertion that the Romantic revolt against bourgeois society was carried by two, largely overlapping groups, "socially displaced young men and professional artists" (*Age of Revolution* 259), in other words, the youth counterculture and Dylan (and the Beatles and Paul

Simon, as well as all the other singer-songwriters who took on the role of visionary bard). Hobsbawm contends that this particular kind of revolt was not universal but specific to the social and cultural context of the Romantic age (260), so that its revival in the Sixties is significant in establishing the similarities between the utopianism of the two eras. Re-prelapsarianism was very much a utopian movement undertaken by the young and by artists, incidentally two social groups that remained more or less independent of the Establishment due to their status outside of the typical work routines.

The final stanza once more emphasises two important points that the poet-persona is attempting to make throughout the song. First, that society will be transformed and that there is no turning back the change that has been set in motion:

> The line, it is drawn.
> The curse, it is cast.
>   [...]
> The order is rapidly fadin'.
>   [...]
> For the times they are a-changin'.
>   (38-9, 44, 46)

Van Hees argues that this confident and even deterministic stance is in fact a deliberate political stance aimed at contributing to such change rather than the actual belief that it is inevitable:

> Since it is so difficult to achieve any joint effort to bring about such a change, the revolutionary's trick is to state its inevitability. Arguing for such huge changes would just highlight the difficulty of the task ahead—the forces of change would be seen as too weak to upset the forces of injustice. So it's not surprising that two of the most influential songs of the 1960s—"Blowin' in the Wind" and "The Times They Are A-Changin'"—do not argue for change, they proclaim it. These anthems of the protest generation simply

> predict the demise of injustice. [...] Moreover—and this explains why the song had such a major social and political impact—since the change seems to be inevitable, you'd better be on the right side: "If your time to you is worth savin' / Then you better start swimmin' or you'll sink like a stone." (120)

Consequently, the song's arrogant and declamatory tone and its repeated matter-of-fact assertion that the "times, they are a-changin'" are not expressions of youthful naiveté, but rhetorical devices used to establish its utopian function. Through this stance, the lyric attempts to affect the anticipation of utopia in the consciousness of his audience, thus fulfilling Marcuse's assertion that "[a]rt cannot change the world, but it can contribute to changing the consciousness and drives of men and women who can change the world" (*Aesthetic Dimension* 32).

The second point that the final stanza makes as a re-assertion of what the lyric has been implying throughout is that the inevitable revolution will be one in which values and positions will be turned upside down:

> The slow one now
> Will later be fast
> As the present now
> Will later be past
>   [...]
> And the first one now will later be last
>   (40-3, 45)

Dylan uses another Biblical reference, "But many that are first shall be last, and the last first" (Mark 10:31, *King James Bible*), to underline the apocalyptic nature of the change as well as his prophetic status. He naturalises the Biblical message, however, to refer to an apocalyptic revolution that will bring about utopia in this world, in the present time and place. The lines serve as warning to those who take more than their due in the contemporary social situation as well as hope to those who are not given their due. As Marqusee remarks, "'The Times They Are A-Changin' seems

animated by the conviction that right will prevail over might, that the tide of social justice is ineluctable [...] The song's lyricism derives less from its assertion of collective invincibility than from the tender confidence of its enormous—but elementary—ambitions" (loc. 1537). The sentiments and assertions expressed in the song are thus founded upon an idealistic and sentimentalist view of the world, holding the belief that utopia is achievable in the imminent future due to the essential power of good over evil, because in the re-prelapsarian worldview to which the lyric subscribes, that was the condition of the original, natural order of the universe.

In conclusion, Dylan's "The Times They Are A-Changin'" is a song that is utopian in both content and function. It attempts to inspire socio-political transformation, not by "ask[ing] us to man the barricades to help bring about a change (whatever that change may be)," but by "just proclaim[ing] the change's inevitability. [...] The change will occur because people take the initiative to make change. And, paradoxically, they will take the initiative because they believe the change is inevitable. On this view, it's precisely the guarantee of the cause's success that gives the song its power" (Van Hees 120). Composed in the early Sixties, "The Times They Are A-Changin'" both celebrates and attempts to strengthen and broaden the revolutionary atmosphere of the period. As Kniola explains, "[f]ans of popular music saw Dylan's feeling that times were changing, and those who felt they needed someone to communicate their feelings to the public, embraced this as a protest anthem for their generation, pushing Dylan into the role of the 'voice of a generation'" (loc. 117). Dylan takes on the re-prelapsarian role of visionary bard who uses his art to lead people towards a socio-political transformation resulting in a utopia, and thus becomes the voice of the counterculture and its re-prelapsarian aspirations.

"She's Leaving Home" by the Beatles[44] also deals with the transformation of the society, but does so microcosmically, through the narration of a personal story about a particular family, which becomes the metaphoric narration of the new generation abandoning the old one, thus revealing the changing values and expectations of the young. As Ingham comments, "McCartney fashioned an exquisitely observed and executed vignette of the drift between generations" (Ingham loc. 4375). The lyric's implicitly satirical view of the institution of the family, which it indicates to be falling apart, imparts the anti-establishment stance that it shares with "The Times They Are A-Changin'". The greatest focus of "She's Leaving Home" is on the value of love, especially on the radical difference between the way the old generation (or contemporary society) views it and the way that the new generation (or the counterculture) views it. Inglis explains that "[t]he understanding of love as a reflection of need and obligation or love as a reflection of freedom is a crucial and unresolved divergence" (44). While the parents in the lyric see love as responsibility and security and the institution of the family as the binding force keeping them together, the daughter wants to experience love as companionship and as the binding force that keeps them together, and as an experience that is free of the restrictions of the institution of the family, and is focused on pleasure rather than responsibility.

These different perspectives are conveyed through the changing focalisations of the narrator, who appears to understand and have sympathy for the parents, while also satirising their value system and supporting the daughter's decision. Marshall resembles the song to a "mininovel [that] offers a fascinating and complex interplay of voices and narratives," and remarks that "[l]ike a fiction writer, he selects telling moments and details to propel the story (22). The lyric consists of alternating stanzas of the daughter's and parents' perspectives, describing the daughter leaving home, the parents finding out about it and the daughter meeting

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[44] Written primarily by McCartney and released on the album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* in 1967.

the man with whom she is running away. Each of these narrative stanzas are punctuated by a refrain in which the parents' reactions to their daughter abandoning them are depicted, offset by the simultaneous voice of the external narrator explaining the reason for her abandonment. Northcutt sums up the narrative technique of the lyric and its relation to the Sixties revolt:

> "She's Leaving Home" is a story told partly by an "objective" third-person narrator and partly by first-person narrators (the girl's parents). The third-person narrator speaks directly of what has happened, whereas the parents' selfish responses expose their morality. The narrator judges their punishment to be a significant one: their daughter is running away with someone from the lower class and will obviously gain sexual experience. McCartney clearly saw the antiquated ballad as a means to promote the youth rebellion. (138)

Thus, through the use of alternating narrative positions, "She's Leaving Home" portrays the transformation that is taking place in society and how it is effecting individual parents and young people and although the song is sympathetic in its portrayal of the parents' feelings and reactions, it shows the Beatles' support for the daughter's decision and the broader social transformation that it represents.

The first stanza of the song follows the daughter as she leaves a note for her parents and leaves the house:

> Wednesday morning at five o'clock as the day begins,
> Silently closing her bedroom door,
> Leaving the note that she hoped would say more,
> She goes downstairs to the kitchen clutching her handkerchief
> (1-4)

The theme of lack of communication is introduced in this stanza, indirectly through the imagery of silence, and more directly through the implication that she was not able to express herself adequately in her note, and thus leaves it with the

hope that it will mean more to her parents than she was able to write. Unlike the cheerful and confident defiance of the persona of "The Times They Are A'Changin'", the girl in this lyric is sad about abandoning her parents and wishes that she could have explained herself better to them. By depicting the generational rift in the microcosmic sphere, the Beatles reveal how it is effecting individual people and families. The last two lines of the stanza implicitly disclose the girl's reason for running away:

> Quietly turning the backdoor key,
> Stepping outside she is free. (5-6)

The line "stepping outside she is free" carries with it the implication that she is escaping from imprisonment rather than running from home. It also emphasises a value that had become very important to the new generation and their utopian hopes. Freedom was one of the most important ideals of the new generation and the re-prelapsarian life and society that they envisioned. Rousseau's famous statement "Man was born free and everywhere he is in chains" (*Social Contract* loc. 26) was as relevant to the counterculture as it had been to the Romantics. The prelapsarian state of freedom, from social conventions, institutions and establishments, was a state to which the counterculture aimed to return. One of the first steps towards this state was abandonment of the family both as institution and as the smallest unit through which society exerted control on its members. Thus, the daughter is taking her first step, both literally and metaphorically, away from her home and family and the contemporary social situation towards a new social system in which humans will once again be free.

This stanza is followed by the first refrain which introduces the parents' perspective through direct speech while counterpointing it with the narrator's statement of fact:

> She (We gave her most of our lives)

> Is Leaving (Sacrificed most of our lives)
> Home (We gave her everything money could buy)
> (5-9)

Marshall explains the narrative device established through the simultaneous singing of the narrator's statement and the parents' reactions as follows:

> Whereas Paul advances the plot in the third-person narrative of the verses, a perspective maintained in the background of each chorus as he sings, "She's leaving home," John sings a series of choruses that present the viewpoint of the parents in first-person plural: "We gave her most of our lives, sacrificed most of our lives." And so we have contrapuntal narratives—the girl's, the parents'. (Marshall 22).

These contrapuntal narratives underline the irony inherent in the situation, especially as seen from the parents' perspective: they sacrificed their lives for her and yet she leaves them, something that they cannot understand. The parents' comments reveal their value system, which was also the dominant value system of the contemporary society as the counterculture perceived it: one based on responsibility, sacrifice and material comforts. For the parents, "everything money could buy" should have been sufficient to make her happy and satisfied: having come to maturity during the "troubled years of the 1930s and 1940s" (R. Smith 25), money forms the basis of their value system.

Immediately following the expression of the parents' perspective, and in the last two lines of the refrain, however, the narrator gives us the second reason why the daughter is leaving home in spite of her parents' sacrifices:

> She's leaving home after living alone
> For so many years. (10-11)

Although the parents spent their lives making sacrifices for her, the narrator implies, they apparently did not give her enough of their attention or caring, thus

leaving her well-cared for but alone. This highlights the lack of communication and true togetherness in the family and, on the macrocosmic level, between the old generation and the new. Moreover, it reveals the conflict of understanding and expectations between the two generations, especially in terms of love. The one, having grown up during war and economic depression, values the earning and sharing of money as a show of love and affection; the other, having grown up in an economically prospering Britain to a middle-class family, values instead love as companionship and human interaction. The attitude of the parents and the description of the daughter as having been living alone for so many years also implies the alienating effect of the materialist lifestyle that the dominant culture was founded upon. Decker, who discusses "[t]he Beatles' critique of materialism," which he links back to "Thoreau's condemnation of those entrapped in materialism and leading lives of 'quiet desperation'", comments that

> "She's Leaving Home," in which the young woman's parents, even in the midst of their sorrow, expose their absolute conviction in the power of money and things, expresses this critique quite movingly. The parents can't imagine their daughter leaving so affluent a home, a perspective made more absurd by virtue of the dialogical dramatization of the girl's actions and the parents' lament. (Decker 94)

As has been previously explained, the rejection of this materialist worldview and lifestyle and the alienation that it engendered, and an alternative focus on loving and caring human interaction – human relationships based on *agape* and *storge* – was one of the main aims of the re-prelapsarian alternative community of Haight-Ashbury[45].

The narrative continues with a description of the mother's reaction when she finds the note. The setting is very homely, "Father snores as his wife gets into her dressing gown" (12) a scene that could take place in almost any home, giving

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[45] See pgs. 144-7

the impression of a typical, representative family and making the narration a representative example of a general situation, rather than a particular and unique event. The mother "Picks up the letter that's lying there / Standing alone at the top of the stairs (13-14). According to Marshall, "[a]lthough this is ostensibly in the third person, the "alone" gives us a flash of the mother's perspective; Bakhtin would say the narrative voice slips into her "character zone" (23). Ingham comments that "the condensed detail [of the lyric] contains tip-of-the-iceberg resonance" (22), and the image of the mother standing alone, given through her focalisation, could thus have deeper meaning related to how the woman feels in her marriage and family. Perhaps, like her daughter, she too has been "living alone for so many years". However, like the bourgeois couple depicted in "The Dangling Conversation", in spite of estrangement from one another, the parents in this lyric may have remained together for conventional rather than emotional reasons, and because of the institutional rather than personal status of their relationship. It seems that although they are a family, an institution that should harbour togetherness, each member is in fact alone. This situation is also similar to that depicted in "Eleanor Rigby" where another institution whose purpose should be to unite people, the church, harboured instead two extremely lonely and alienated individuals. The Beatles' approach to these institutions supposedly holding the social fabric together seems to be that they have become unsuccessful and obsolete; institutions of the past that should have no place in the new world that was emerging with their generation.

This was indeed the general counterculture attitude towards all the establishments of the "old" world of their parents. Another, very important, aspect of the counterculture revolt was the prevention of such empty and alienating human relationships caused by restrictive social institutions through the concept of free love, otherwise referred to as the sexual revolution. The new re-prelapsarian world that they were bringing about proposed instead a community of free individuals who formed meaningful relationships for the sake of love, community

and pleasure, rather than social etiquette and hierarchies. This attitude towards social institutions controlling human relationships versus free and natural relations between humans has strong similarities to the re-prelapsarian ideals of Romantics like Shelley who saw "marriage as yet another form of tyranny and codified degradation" (Bloom 11) and Blake who depicted free and open love as pure and love chained by social institutions and performed as a private, hidden activity as unnatural and sinful[46].

The mother is shocked by the contents of the letter and hurt at what she perceives to be her daughter's lack of loyalty and responsibility. She takes her daughter's decision very personally:

> She breaks down and cries to her husband
> "Daddy, our baby's gone.
> Why would she treat us so thoughtlessly?
> How could she do this to me?" (15-18)

After bemoaning their daughter's thoughtlessness, the refrain that follows this time features the parents' statements about how they, on the contrary, have thought only of her and never of themselves all of these years:

> She (We never thought of ourselves)
> Is leaving (Never a thought for ourselves)
> Home (We struggled hard all our lives to get by)
> (19-21)

Although the parents' imply that their daughter's act of running away was selfish, Marshall argues that their reactions are in fact selfish:

> The mother's self-orientation is telling, as if running
> away is something the girl has done to her parents and
> not for herself. In the firstperson plural utterances of
> the choruses we find that the parents, in their attempt
> to comprehend, focus mainly on their self-sacrifice and

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[46] See pgs. 75-6

> expenditures ("We struggled hard all our lives to get
> by"; "We gave her everything money could buy").
> Thus, they are revealed as self-centered and
> materialistic. (23)

While the daughter thinks of her "escape" as a chance to be free, her parents think of it as thoughtlessness and betrayal. Believing that securing their daughter a better economic situation than their own was a valuable duty that they undertook with self-sacrifice, the parents are unable to understand why their daughter has treated them as she has. Yet, the refrain once again ends with the narrator's words, "She's leaving home after living alone / For so many years" (22-23) and the next stanza returns to the daughter's perspective:

> Friday morning at nine o'clock she is far away,
> Waiting to keep the appointment she made,
> Meeting a man from the motor trade. (24-26)

It can be inferred that, while to the parents, thinking of their daughter's future and struggling for her economic security are the basic and most valuable elements of the parent-child relationship, the daughter has a different value system and different needs and desires that are not connected to money. Once again, this clash in values was caused by the generational rift and is representative of the transformation of values that the young utopians of the Sixties were attempting. The parents came from the generation that lived through economic hardships and war. Thus for them, economic prosperity and material comfort were very valuable. The daughter, however, was a member of the privileged generation who came after the western world had recovered from the Second World War. With the post-war peak in births in Britain in 1947, there were 22 percent more teenagers in the population in 1960 than there had been in 1951 (Royle 11, 13). This generation of teenagers had grown up in material comfort and looked elsewhere for their values. Moreover, they were self-consciously aware of themselves as a distinct and

different generation, bringing about change through a counterculture that opposed the values of the previous generation and proposed alternative ways of living.

The final refrain is different from the previous ones: the parents begin to question rather than defend themselves, wondering what they did wrong. The narrator once again simultaneously states a fact in response to the questions, but this time says "She is having fun" instead of "She's leaving home". Thus, it can be inferred that some time has passed and the daughter has gone on to her new lifestyle while the parents have begun to question their own. These developments are metaphorical of the continuing transformation in which the bold decisions of the new generation are not just changing their own lives but forcing the older generation to question and perhaps change as well. Consequently, this time around, the parents give the answer to why the daughter ran away together with the narrator; their utterances, which have been juxtaposed throughout the lyric, merge at the end:

> She (What did we do that was wrong?)
> Is having (We didn't know it was wrong.)
> Fun. Fun is the one thing that money can't buy;
> Something inside, that was always denied
> For so many years.
> She's leaving home, bye bye. (27-31)

Riley remarks that, "[w]hen the two lines intermingle at the end of the refrain, John's voice with Paul's, the two worlds of the generation gap are brought together in their voices: the high held tone of the title line contrast with the lower Lennon melody; Paul reasserts the young woman's independence above the parents' grieving 'Bye, bye's" (T. Riley 218). The rhyme between the homonyms "buy" and "bye" is also significant, since it underlines the central tension between the parents and the daughter: the conflict between the parents wonder that she left in spite of the material comfort, and the girl's leaving to get away from a life based on material values. As Decker comments, "That song's final punning of 'buy'

with 'bye' highlights the dead end of materialism and the values of a generation that has outlived its relevance, a sense of obsolescence conveyed by the elegance of the musical score for harp and string quartet" (94).

Taken at face value, the revelation that "she is having fun" seems somewhat anticlimactic after the poignant tone of the lyrics and music. If we think of fun as recreation, then it seems that it is one of the things that money *can* buy, and an unconvincing reason for running away from home. However, taken in context of the rest of the lyric and the re-prelapsarianism of the counterculture, fun comes to have wider and deeper meanings. Since the Industrial Revolution, alienated work had become one of the major issues dealt with by utopian theorists, especially by Marx and the tradition that followed him, but also for utopians like Fourier, who made the concept of pleasure the focal point of his proposed utopian community (Manuel & Manuel 587). It has already been discussed that in spite of increased prosperity and developed production systems that could theoretically ensure less work and more leisure for humans, as well as the abolition of the scarcity gap, alienated work and work as the centre of life continued as the norm. Marcuse explained how capitalism ensures its survival by creating false needs and desires to attain which humans work more than is necessary and, what is worse, that leisure time has also become work time instead of a time for pleasure (*Eros and Civilization* 45). In this sense, the concept of "fun" denotes a counter-argument to the materialist, contemporary societies in which the utopian youth lived. It points instead towards "[t]he emphasis on informal and immediate fun that was the hallmark of Swinging Britain during pop's peak years of 1965-7" (MacDonald loc. 511). Pleasure cannot be bought by money, as the capitalist system implies, but on the contrary requires rejecting money and the material comforts and advantages it provides as an organising principle.

It is also possible to attach additional meanings to the concept of fun introduced in this refrain. For instance, according to Perry, fun here refers to sexual

freedom. Commenting that many young girls had begun to run away from home and come to Haight-Ashbury, she explains that:

> In brief, the girls were discovering that life could be fun even for girls, as the Beatles indicate in their song, and that home often created a permanent chastity belt for the girl's emotions and feelings, held in place formerly by parental fears for the physical safety of the girl child and the necessity for protecting her from stigma and disgrace as she matured. (179-80)

Due to the sexual revolution of the youth counterculture, the girl and her parents had completely conflicting views on sex. In the dominant culture of which the parents were part, "[e]rotic experience was mostly confined to the dutiful discontent of marriage" (MacDonald loc. 408). The girl escapes to be free, in this case also sexually, with the "man from the motor trade," preferring a life of sexual freedom – which also meant the freeing of love from the confines of marriage – to one of "the dutiful discontent of marriage" that she saw in her parents. Her parents, on the other hand, are shocked at her choice, a sure way, for their generation, of ruining her life. The lyric ends with a simple acceptance or statement of the situation: "She's leaving home, bye bye".

Consequently, "She's Leaving Home" is a statement about the great cultural gap that had occurred between the old generation and the new and an implication of the "great cultural shift in the nature, function and expectations of the family [that] had occurred in British society since the 1950s" (Royle 11). Metaphorically, the lyric signifies the transformation of society, the replacement of the values of post-industrial capitalism of the older generation with the re-prelapsarian values of the counterculture: freedom, love, and fun. The narrator of the lyric is sympathetic towards the parents, but supports the transformation and the lyric ends with the daughter's embrace of the new, alternative lifestyle and the parents' understanding of her choice. Thus, although the tone of the lyric is, in general, sad and it shows the

breakup of a family, metaphorically the breaking up of the old society, it is a hopeful song in its carefree last words ("bye bye") and in terms of the new society implied by the girl's freedom, as well as in terms of the social transformation to a re-prelapsarian utopia that the counterculture aspired towards.

Paul Simon's "Scarborough Fair/Canticle"[47] also presents juxtaposition using an interesting narrative structure. The juxtapositions portrayed in the song are broad and deep: between love and war, innocence and corruption, the prelapsarian condition and the contemporary situation, subtly contrasting values that the counterculture wanted to revive with the values of the dystopian society in which they lived. In fact, the song consists of two lyrics, the first a medieval canticle about true love, the other a poem that Simon superimposes on the first and that is about the tragedy, futility and destructiveness of war. The major message that emerges out of this juxtaposition is a more sophisticated and subtle form of one of the favourite counterculture mottos: "Make love, not war." Indeed, the use of the word "canticle" in the title brings to mind the "Canticle of Canticles," also known as the Song of Solomon, which is a song about pure love and union, erotic love between man and woman on the surface and mystical union with God in its more allegorical interpretations (*New Advent*). All in all, the combined content and structure of the lyric are indicative of re-prelapsarianism. Like Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, the poem portrays the states of innocence and experience together in an ironic interaction, although "Scarborough Fair/Canticle" begins and ends in innocence in terms of its structure, so that the effect is of a cyclical movement, following a regression from innocence to experience and then a return to innocence, as will be analysed in more detail below.

The base or original poem, "Scarborough Fair," is a folk ballad dating back to the medieval period. The use of this poem is an example of the folk revival that we see in the popular poetry of the 1960s and 70s and thus part of the primitivism and prelapsarian attitude of the period. The persona of the ballad addresses an

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[47] Released on the album *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary, and Thyme* in 1966.

unknown addressee who is apparently going to Scarborough Fair, an important commercial and social event held for a long period of time during the Middle Ages. He asks the addressee to remind a girl who lives there, and who used to be his love, of him and then lists a series of impossible tasks for her to complete in order to become his true love once again:

> Tell her to make me a cambric shirt
> [...]
> Without no seams nor needlework.
> [...]
>
> Tell her to find me an acre of land
> [...]
> Between the salt water and the sea strand.
> [...]
>
> Tell her to reap it in a sickle of leather,
> [...]
> And gather it all in a bunch of heather.
> Then she'll be a true love of mine. (5-16)

Not only is the ballad set in the medieval period, but it is also pervaded by natural imagery, from the refrain "Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme" to the "cambric shirt", "heather", "salt water and the sea strand" so that on the whole it has a primitivistic and nostalgic effect, portraying a world of innocence and beauty, one still governed by love.

The alternate and counter poem is by Paul Simon. It, too, begins with natural imagery pervaded by soft colours and textures:

> On the side of a hill in the deep forest green,
> Tracing of sparrow on snow-crested brown.
> (1-2)

The establishment of this romantic setting is followed by the introduction of an innocent child of nature: "blankets and bedclothes, the child of the mountain" (3).

Like the base folk poem, the world depicted in these first few lines gives the impression of a prelapsarian world of innocence and beauty. Yet, this world is suddenly disrupted with the ominous mention of "the clarion call" of which the child "sleeps unaware" (4). He is yet innocent in his ignorance of the violence that is about to begin. This first stanza, then is a symbolic depiction of the prelapsarian state, ending in an indication of the fall that is about to occur. This fall will effect both the world, or setting that is depicted, and the yet innocent human being occupying it.

The next stanza begins with the description, "On the side of hill, in the sprinkling of leaves" (5). The deep forest green of the first stanza has changed into a mere sprinkling of leaves, the fall has taken place, and the setting is now one of loss and death. This time, the characters who occupy the setting consist of an unknown person who "Washes the grave with silvery tears" (6) and, implicitly the unknown person lying in the grave. Has the child of the mountains lost someone he loves; or is this his grave that is being wept on? It is left unclear. The reason for the clarion call and the grave is implied, however, in the next line: "A soldier cleans and polishes a gun" (7). This sudden, matter-of-fact introduction of a soldier polishing a gun is in stark contrast to the child of nature in his blankets and bedclothes, innocently unaware of the clarion call signalling war. Yet, it might be that these two contradictory figures are indeed the same person: the child being forced to become a soldier, losing his innocence to fight in a war. In this light, the contrast becomes even more vivid.

In the following stanza, the fallen state reaches its nadir. The war that rages on is depicted in harsh imagery that contrasts strongly with the soft and peaceful images of green, white and brown of the hill in the first stanza, so that the gradual loss that was indicated in the imagery of the second stanza is followed by the state of complete loss and death in this third one:

> War bellows blazing in scarlet battalions.
> Generals order their soldiers to kill
> And to fight for a cause they've long ago forgotten.
>
> (8-10)

The satire becomes overt and direct in these lines. The war being fought is a meaningless and in all probability unjust one. Soldiers, the innocent children of yesterday, are being ordered to kill other soldiers for a forgotten cause. The war has been raging for a long time now, indicated by the words "long ago forgotten," and the fall into a world of blood, violence and chaos is complete.

In the meantime, this story of lapse, loss and death is continuously being juxtaposed with the parallel poem, with its setting in the distant, nostalgic past, its theme of love, its listing of impossible and apparently pointless tasks in the quest for gaining true love. The war is also pointless, being fought for a cause that nobody even remembers anymore, but it is a very different kind of pointlessness than that of the love ballad. In the ballad we see a vain but valuable wish to return to a former, better state of true love, a prelapsarian attitude. Accordingly, this prelapsarian scene can be interpreted as an alternative to the fallen one, a state to which we could return, since that is where we come from. Thus, the poem could also signify the hope for a return to innocence. Indeed, the fact that the song begins and ends with only the canticle, with the counter poem sandwiched in the middle sections, reinforces this hopeful message. The state of true love, innocence and unity that humanity has fallen from, can be regained, it appears to imply, if humanity strives for true love, no matter how impossible and unattainable it may seem.

"Scarborough Fair/Canticle" is thus a sentimentalist poem. It implies that human beings are innately good – the child of the mountain – but are corrupted by society – the soldier. It shows both a loss of innocence and a re-prelapsarian attempt to return to innocence. It equates nature with truth in its use of natural imagery during the scenes of innocence and true love and thus shows the fall as a

fall away from this truth, into human destruction. This could be the significance of the allusion to the "Canticle of Canticles", for the state of mystical union with God or even the perfect union of man and woman, as was the union of Adam and Eve before the lapse, is the state of innocence from which man has fallen away, and is the state to which man must endeavour to return. In this view, the persona of the base poem may indeed be interpreted symbolically as God or the cosmos, the prelapsarian unity of all life, from which humanity has fallen apart, and the tasks as the seemingly impossible steps necessary in order achieve once more the state of unity with Him or it. As the tasks are physically and rationally impossible, perhaps it is only through the imagination that humanity can truly attain that union once again, or perhaps it is the striving for that state, in spite of its apparent unattainability, that is important.

Simon's "Bridge Over Troubled Water"[48] depicts a personal manifestation of the unifying and transformative qualities of love. The love portrayed in the lyric is what has been classified as *storge*, the unconditional love of friendship (Inglis 51), and is more down-to-earth than the mystical and symbolic love depicted in "Scarborough Fair/Canticle". Whether the persona is addressing a friend or a romantic partner is unclear, but the relationship is one of companionship and support, quite the opposite of the relationship of the couple in Simon's "The Dangling Conversation". When considered together, these two contrasting songs reveal the difference between the fallen condition of separation and loss and the re-prelapsarian condition of reunification and gain in personal relationships. Although depicting a personal relationship, "the grandiose but calm gospel atmosphere of Bridge Over Troubled Water" (Ingham loc. 4585) came as comfort at the end of the Sixties when much of the utopian hope that had carried the revolutionary causes forward had become tainted by the frustration of the continuing war in Vietnam and the increasingly harsh police action against demonstrators:

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[48] Released on the album *Bridge Over Troubled Water* in 1970.

> The song's lovely melody and generalized message of support, coming at the end of the turbulent 1960s, struck a chord with listeners. Indeed, it was one of a number of songs released in 1969-1971 that offered such comfort in the face of difficulties, including Peter, Paul and Mary's "Day Is Done," the Beatles' "Let It Be". (Ruhlmann no page)

These songs can thus be considered compensatory rather than anticipatory in terms of utopianism, and this accords with the time period in which they emerged, marking the end of the utopian Sixties. However, "Bridge Over Troubled Water" still portrays the hope of each individual's ability to positively affect and transform their lives and the lives of those around them through the power of love, and functions to disseminate this message, serving a somewhat similar role, in the sphere of rock, to the alternative communities that the counterculture established near the end of the Sixties with the view of forming a microcosmic utopian society even if the general society could not be changed.

"Bridge Over Troubled Water" consists of three stanzas, the first two sharing the same pattern, the third slightly varied. Bennighof describes the structure of the first two stanzas, which he explains consist of three stages each, in lyrical and well as musical terms, as follows:

> The first part of the verse is subdued and tender, as the singer describes the girl's dismay and the way he will respond with comfort. In the second part, he firmly states his perspective and then returns to her plight in more absolute terms, leading to the refrain in which he uses the title of the song to declare his commitment most emphatically" (42).

In the final stanza, the persona predicts that, through this unconditional love and support, the addressee will be able to reach for her dreams with the persona

following suit, thus showing love to be the road towards the fulfilment of dreams and the attainment of a better life.

The lyric begins with words of compassion:

> When you're weary
> Feeling small,
> When tears are in your eyes,
> I'll dry them all. (1-4)

The promise is one of unconditional love and support. The persona does not express any expectations of the addressee, simply promising to comfort her whenever she needs it. He expresses his position in the relationship in the next lines:

> I'm on your side,
> When times get rough
> And friends just can't be found. (5-7)

The persona is endeavouring to inspire complete trust in his friend and describing a relationship of selfless love and support, based on *storge* (Inglis 51). The persona's attitude towards love and towards the girl whom he addresses is very different to the typical male rock 'n' roll persona of the 1950s, or of the Beatles' early period in the first half of the Sixties for instance. The love portrayed in these earlier songs would be based on desire and the wish to possess, it would be self-centred and either playful or possessive, belonging to the categories *eros* (love based on physical attraction), *ludus* (playful love, seen as a game), and *mania* (a love that is possessive, jealous and irrational) (Inglis 46). Inglis, who traces the development of the concept of love throughout the decade in the Beatles' canon, finds that their early songs (the songs composed during the stage of Beatlemania, before they had met Dylan and thus before the emergence of the utopian counterculture) are dominated by the depictions of *eros* and *ludus* (together constituting 84% of their songs) while in their later, mature period during which they had become

representatives and leaders of the utopian counterculture, songs depicting *storge* and *agape* come to dominate their discography (going from constituting 7% of the early songs to 53% of their mature ones) (Inglis 54). This is significant in showing the development of the concept of love with the re-prelapsarianism of the counterculture, and Simon's "Bridge Over Troubled Water" is one of the songs of the late Sixties that reveals the counterculture's understanding of love as a unifying, healing, transformative power that can counter the wrongs of the world and make it a better place.

The final couplet of each stanza contains the refrain, in which the central conceit of the lyric is sung twice:

> Like a bridge over troubled water
> I will lay me down. (8-9)

This simple simile, according to which the persona will act like a bridge to ease his friend's passage through rough times and enable her to overcome them with minimum damage, constitutes the core of the lyric and the summary of the persona's complete devotion to the addressee and his willingness to sacrifice himself, "lay me down," to help her. Moreover, it once again emphasises the healing and supportive power of love. According to Ruhlmann, the inspiration for this conceit came from a gospel song:

> [Simon] was particularly inspired by the work of the Reverend Claude Jeter and the Swan Silvertones, a gospel group, especially the song "Oh, Mary Don't You Weep for Me," on which Jeter improvised the line, "I'll be your bridge over deep water if you trust in my name." Writing on the guitar in the key of G, Simon came up with a stately melody and two verses in which a narrator (who could be God, a parent, a lover, or a friend) pledges to help someone in adversity, to be "like a bridge over troubled water." (no page)

Ruhlmann draws attention to the universal quality of the relationship depicted in the song, since the nature of the relationship is not made clear: the persona and his addressee could be lovers, friends, parent and child, or even, as Ruhlmann suggests based on the conceit's origin in gospel music, God and human. In this case, the love depicted could also be interpreted as *agape*, the universal love pervading all living beings and the song becomes one of hope and optimism, based on the belief that humanity will always be led towards good through the love of God (or perhaps his more naturalised form as the cosmos).

The second stanza follows a similar pattern to the first:

> When you're down and out
> When you're on the street,
> When evening falls so hard
> I will comfort you. (10-13)

The situations depicted are tougher and darker this time, projecting an even lower part of the addressee's path of life. Yet, the persona's devotion does not waver, and his promise to comfort the girl, even in these worst of times, continues. Once again, the following lines express his status:

> I'll take your part
> When darkness comes
> And pain is all around. (14-16)

The depiction seems to be of a general dark time that will affect all, not just the addressee. Yet, the persona is not concerned with himself or his pain, but once more completely focused on supporting his addressee. In the more spiritual and universal interpretation of the song, the darkness could refer to an apocalyptic time through which the persona (in the role of compassionate God, cosmic love, or human companionship) will enable the addressee to pass with the power of his love.

Significantly, on the other side of these dark times comes a dreamed of, hopeful future that the third stanza depicts. Instead of the hardships to be encountered along the way, this final stanza focuses on the hopeful future that overcoming these hardships will open the way to. Thus, instead of promises of comfort and consolation in the face of difficulties, the first lines of this stanza express encouragement and optimism for the realisation of the addressee's dreams:

> Sail on silver girl,
> Sail on by.
> Your time has come to shine.
> All you dreams are on their way.
> See how they shine! (19-23)[49]

Following the transformation from pain and darkness to hope and light that was implied in the previous stanza, the addressee can finally embrace the more ideal life that the transformative love of the persona has enabled. A passage of time is also implied in this stanza: whereas the previous ones used the future tense, this stanza takes place in the transformed present, so that the song begins with a promise made by the persona and ends with the fulfilment of that promise and the change that it has brought about. Now, he is once again there, to cheer the girl forward towards the realisation of her dreams. Moreover, this encouragement is accompanied by yet another promise to always remain there for her:

> If you need a friend,
> I'm sailing right behind

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[49] Like many other songs released during the late Sixties and the hype (whether in the form of excitement or paranoia) surrounding psychedelic drugs, "Bridge Over Troubled Water" was interpreted by some as a song about drugs. This interpretation was largely based on this stanza, with the "silver girl" being interpreted as a hypodermic needle, and on the assumption that drugs helped one through difficult times and also took one sailing towards dreams. However, there does not seem to be anything else in the lyric to corroborate this interpretation – no surreal imagery or depiction of enhanced consciousness – and Simon himself has described the song as one about friendship and explained the phrase "silver girl" as inspired by his wife's discovery of her first gray hairs (Bennighof 43).

> Like a bridge over troubled water,
> I will ease your mind. (24-27)

Having endured hardships with her, he will also accompany the addressee on her voyage to success, although remaining behind, since they are chasing her dreams and not his. His loyal and self-sacrificing stance, stemming from the unconditional love that he has for her, remains in good times as well as bad, and thanks to this *storge*, the addressee is able to sail towards her dreams and he is able to happily accompany her. In the more universal interpretation of the song, God's love or cosmic love is always there, behind humanity to guide it towards its dreams and aspirations. Bennighof comments that,

> The song initially had only two verses, but during the recording process it was decided that it had the potential to be even more powerful if a third verse were added. Some instruments join the accompaniment in the second verse, and a fuller orchestral arrangement in the third verse brings the song to a grand climax. This small-to-large strategy, the graceful figures in the piano part, and the comforting, but not too specific, spiritual overtones of the text are three general premises that were surely crucial factors in the song's tremendous appeal among listeners. (42)

Indeed, the addition of the third stanza is what gives the lyric its utopian subtext, by portraying the transformation that takes place as a result of the unconditional and compassionate love supplied by the persona. The melody also soars in this stanza, augmenting the imagery of sailing away towards dreams. As Bennighof describes, "[t]he subtle shift in function and the transcendent "sailing" text, however, occur simultaneously with the addition of the strings and help to bring the song to its conclusion with a sense of a new dimension of emotional richness" (43). This "new dimension of emotional richness" is also applicable to what the protagonists of the

poem, the persona and his addressee, gain as a result of the transformative power of love.

Consequently, "Bridge Over Troubled Water" is a song about the power of unconditional, compassionate, selfless love to transform the lives of humans who embrace this value. One of the major values of both Romantic and Sixties re-prelapsarianism, love, with its power to unite, induce empathy, and heal, and its ability to overcome the disintegration and alienation that plagues the fallen condition, was seen as one of the most important routes to utopia. "Bridge Over Troubled Water" shows this re-prelapsarian journey to utopia through love in the microcosmic relationship of persona and addressee and consequently attempts to maintain the rapidly decreasing utopian hopes of the Sixties counterculture.

Dylan's "Chimes of Freedom"[50] is another song in which a central conceit is used to connote a re-prelapsarian transformation. The highly poetic lyric explicitly portrays Dylan and the counterculture's re-prelapsarian values of empathy, preference of natural over civilised order and anti-establishment stance. Like "The Times, They are A-Changin'", the lyric takes the side of the oppressed and marginalised and foreshadows their eventual victory over the dominant culture and Establishment. The social transformation and resultant utopia that remains elusive in his "Blowin' in the Wind" is shown to be imminent in "Chimes of Freedom", symbolised by the transformational storm that the persona witnesses and connects throughout the lyric to social dissent. Denning explains that "Dylan's songs of wind, water, and weather [...] are powerful naturalizations of history" (30). The use of a storm as symbolising or somehow inspiring social or personal transformation is a Romantic trope seen in poems such as Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" and Coleridge's "Dejection: An Ode" and as in these and other Romantic lyrics, the thunder and lightning of Dylan's lyric acts both as a sublime natural phenomena in its own right and as a facilitator of the poet-persona's meditation, with the persona interpreting the thunder and lightning as symbolic of imminent social revolution.

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[50] Released on the album *Another Side of Bob Dylan* in 1964.

Aside from its overtly revolutionary stance and implicit celebration of imminent and inevitable change for the better, "Chimes of Freedom" also furthers its utopian function by inducing its audience to become aware of and empathise with all the victims of the injustice, persecution and oppression of the dominant culture. Wilde comments that "[t]hrough sustained emotional empathy or confrontation ["Chimes of Freedom" and "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall"] startle the listener into a profound reconsideration of values, an effect much deeper and more radical than that achieved through the overtly political songs" (Wilde 81).

Consequently, each stanza of the lyric more or less follows a pattern in which the first two lines describe the persona and his companion as they observe the storm, followed by two lines describing the thunder and lightning in alliterative and metaphorical language, and ending in a list of the different groups and types of marginalised, oppressed, disadvantaged people, relating the falling of the lightning and the roaring of the thunder to nature's (or the revolution that it symbolises) embrace of them. Since the lyric follows the poet-persona's meditation as he observes the storm, the imagery that he witnesses in the first part of each stanza can be interpreted as leading to the empathetic outbursts in the second half. In Marqusee's words, "the freeze-frame suspense of the first half of each verse is the platform for the outflow of empathy in the second half" (loc. 1677). In its treatment of the victims of society, the song "has the all-encompassing embrace of 'A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall' but this time the tone is ecstatic rather than cataclysmic" (Wilde 90). The implication throughout the song is that the natural order takes the side of these people that the social order has discarded in some way or another and that the storm symbolises the return of the natural order to overtake the fallen order of civilisation and thus bring about a re-prelapsarian socio-political transformation.

The lyric begins with the persona and his companion(s) taking cover from a newly beginning thunderstorm. Wilde explains that "in each of the six verses a scene is set with the vivid, euphoric imagery of the journeyers in the city carried

away with the spectacle of the thunder and lightning which produces the chimes"
(90). As they watch and listen to the storm in awe, the persona resembles the
thunder and lightning to chimes ringing for freedom, thus endowing the storm with
a revolutionary significance. Reading his own dissenting thoughts and desire for
freedom, equality and justice into the natural event that they witness, the persona
interprets the thunder and lightning as an expression of solidarity with all the
oppressed of the world, and the harbinger of change:

> As majestic bells of bolts struck shadows in the sounds,
> Seeming to be the chimes of freedom flashing:
> Flashing for the warriors whose strength is not to fight,
> Flashing for the refugees on the unarmed road of flight,
> An' for each an' ev'ry underdog soldier in the night.(3-7)

The synesthetic imagery in lines 3-4 evokes the tumult of sight and sound
that accompanies a thunderstorm, and the sublime effect it has on the observers is
underlined with the word "majestic". This sublime imagery leads to the social
insight of the poet-persona. In Marqusee's words, "sight and sound collide in a
single revelatory moment, a social epiphany in which a vast cast of the dispossessed
and oppressed appear and are embraced" (Marqusee loc. 1668). The social problem
touched upon in this stanza is war and the lightning flashes for the victims rather
than the victors of war, "raising the spectre of the US's deeper involvement in the
Vietnam War" (Wilde 90). These victims are conscientious objectors (and in the
specific context of the time, the young men who refused the draft forcing them to
fight in Vietnam, a war that they opposed as unjust), refugees (the victims of the
land that is attacked), and unwilling soldiers (the victims of the country that attacks
and that forces these men to fight). On the other hand, "the warriors whose
strength is not to fight" could also be referring to the nonviolent resistance of the
Civil Rights activists, showing strength and determination both in their cause and in
their refusal to engage in violence and the "underdog soldiers in the night" to the
counterculture, "evoking a real alternative, a subversive ethical community" (Wilde

80). In its defence and even implicit praise of all of the marginal characters related to war and of rejection of violence or nonviolent resistance as opposed to fighting bravely, the song "offers a profound challenge to prevailing values" (Wilde 81).

The second stanza begins with a Biblical allusion that highlights the apocalyptic status attributed by the poet-persona to the thunderstorm: "In the city's melted furnace, unexpectedly we watched" (9). This is a reference to Ezekiel 22 where God, admonishing the people of Jerusalem for their many sins and crimes, forewarns them: "As silver is melted in a furnace, so you shall be melted in the midst of it, and you shall know that I am the LORD; I have poured out my wrath upon you" (*King James Bible*). Naturalising the supernatural, Dylan gives this role of punishing and purging humanity to nature via the thunderstorm. Moreover, in the lyric, the sins or crimes to be punished are those committed against other human beings, while the Biblical passage, although mentioning sins committed against other people, focuses on their disobedience of God. The utopian implication of this allusion is that this melting down of the city will be followed by a new social order in which the previously oppressed and undermined people will gain strength and prominence. Thus, the second half of the stanza once more turns to the people for whom the chimes of freedom are tolling:

> Tolling for the rebel, tolling for the rake,
> Tolling for the luckless, the abandoned an' forsaked,
> Tolling for the outcast, burnin' constantly at stake. (13-15)

Much like many of Blake's and Wordsworth's characters, all of these people at the margins of society, who have been outcast and thus, at times literally and at times metaphorically, been burned at the stake by the dominant culture, are favoured by the transformational storm. Like the characters of *Lyrical Ballads*, they are "decentred persons, shunned, ignored, marginalised and silenced by the dominant discourse, which often defined them in accordance with its own worldview and thus demonised them" (Birlik 57). Marqusee comments that this "was Dylan's most

sweeping vision of solidarity with all those marginalized by a monolithic society"
(loc. 1694). This focus on social outcasts may also have another implication. In *One-Dimensional Man*, Marcuse argued that,

> underneath the conservative popular base [of the dominant system] is the substratum of the outcasts and outsiders, the exploited and persecuted of other races and other colors, the unemployed and the unemployable. They exist outside the democratic process; their life is the most immediate and the most real need for ending intolerable conditions and institutions. [...] Their opposition hits the system from without and is therefore not deflected by the system; it is an elementary force which violates the rules of the game and, in doing so, reveals it as a rigged game. [...] The fact that they start refusing to play the game may be the fact which marks the beginning of the end of a period. (260)

In other words, the marginalised and oppressed peoples listed throughout "Chimes of Freedom" are not only the objects of social transformation, but may very well be its subjects too. In this case, the chimes that are tolling for these peoples would signify a call to revolutionary action.

Moreover, an underlying re-prelapsarian theme of nature versus society, with nature representing the good force and society the bad, permeates the poem. While society abandons, ignores, hurts and treats unjustly anyone who does not ascribe to the established norms or who is not part of the dominant and powerful class, nature acts as a champion of these people, coming to their rescue with a transformation heralded by the thunder and lightning of the storm. Of course, metaphorically, there is the argument for a return to the natural order in which all humans are equal and free and live in unity and harmony and the song portrays the hope that such a transformation to a re-prelapsarian condition is not only possible, but imminent.

The theme of nature versus civilisation, or natural order versus social order, is strengthened with a motif of the chimes of the storm gradually overtaking the chimes of the church. This motif begins in the second stanza and is developed in the following two stanzas:

> As the echo of the wedding bells before the blowin' rain
> Dissolved into the bells of the lightning. (11-12)

Here, the wind dissolves the sound of the church bells, already merely an echo, and mixes it into the sound of thunder. The process continues in the next stanza, where the storm escalates into a frenzy of activity that carries the undertone of religious ecstasy, "mad mystic hammering" and is converted into creative energy as the hail, thunder and lightning is described metaphorically as poetry created by the sky:

> Through the mad mystic hammering of the wild ripping hail,
> The sky cracked its poems in naked wonder. (17-18)

The correlation between storm and creative energy is another Romantic trope. Foakes's following description concerning Romantic poetry is perfectly applicable to Dylan's lines: "The natural world [...] took on a new aspect, offering in its wildness, as untainted by man, a refuge from disorder, and in its grandeurs, types of the sublime, images of aspiration" (44). Moreover, the personified sky is in a creative frenzy reminiscent of the poet described at the end of Coleridge's "Kubla Khan," who inspires "holy dread" with his "flashing eyes" and "floating hair" and the resultant poem is sublime, inspiring "naked wonder", more than beautiful. The "poems of naked wonder" that the sky bursts forth again eclipses the sound of the church bells so that the only sound that can be heard come from the "bells of lightning". Accompanying this physical take-over is the more implicit one of a personified natural, creative being, overflowing with frenzied energy subduing the God of established religion, as represented by the church bells. This is once again a

depiction of the triumph of nature over society, and an implication of the natural order that humanity should return to in order to achieve re-prelapsarian utopia.

The third stanza ends with the chimes of freedom striking, this time for the "gentle" and "kind", people who treat other humans with love and for the "guardians and protectors of the mind", which, when taken together with the following line mentioning poets and painters, could be referring to philosophers or intellectuals (21-3). Taken all together, these groups of people seem to form the counterculture. The flower children and all those participating in the Summer of Love would later be called the "gentle people" in the song "If You're Going to San Francisco", and poets (especially in the form of rock bards like Dylan himself) and artists played a crucial role in the counterculture, as has been discussed, as did intellectuals.

In the fourth stanza, nature has finally fully eclipsed social establishment as the sky replaces the church as place of worship:

> In the wild cathedral evening, the rain unraveled tales
> For the disrobed faceless forms of no position. (25-6)

Instead of preachers, the rain unravels tales and reveals the truths of the universe and does so to a group of people who are the opposite of the churchmen: disrobed and without position. These disrobed faceless forms are all those people who are given no significant place in society, who are ignored and taken for granted, as the following lines expose:

> Tolling for the tongues with no place to bring their thoughts,
> All down in taken-for-granted situations. (27-8)

The stanza goes on to list another group of people for whom the chimes of freedom are tolling, all people who in some way or another, either physically or socially, do not fit in with the norms of the dominant culture and are consequently ignored and rejected:

> Tolling for the deaf an' blind, tolling for the mute,
> Tolling for the mistreated, mateless mother, the mistitled prostitute,
> For the misdemeanor outlaw, chased an' cheated by pursuit. (29-31)

All of these mistreated people are embraced by the thunderstorm, symbolising the replacement of the flawed social order by the utopian natural order.

The sun slowly begins to rise in the penultimate stanza:

> Even though a cloud's white curtain in a far-off corner flashed
> An' the hypnotic splattered mist was slowly lifting, (33-4)

The setting of the lyric, with the storm beginning in evening time after the sunset and continuing through the darkest hours of the night, to gradually die out in the early hours of a bright morning is symbolic of the social transformation expected by the counterculture. The darkness of the night represents the dystopian contemporary socio-political conditions that the counterculture bards expressed in their warning songs of dystopia, analysed in the previous chapter, while the storm represents the apocalyptic transformation that they aimed to bring about and the sun that shines subtly onto the corner of a cloud, the hope of the utopia that they desired to establish. The storm still continues at this point, with its "electric light" different from the light of the sun beginning to dawn (35). This time, the lightning strikes "for the ones / Condemned to drift or else be kept from drifting" (36), referring to people such as the homeless, or refugees, or perhaps even the Wandering Jew or the Ancient Mariner, who are condemned for one reason or another to wander, unable to settle down and those who, in a contrary grievance, are imprisoned for one reason or another. Gamble explains that Dylan's poetry is filled with "drifters", characters who remain outside of the dominant culture, stating that "[o]ne of Dylan's strongest allegiances is to [...] the world which is outside straight society and peopled by jugglers, clowns, vagabonds, criminals,

misfits of all kinds, beats, bohemians, hippies" (Gamble 31). Next, the thunder chimes for people searching for truth or meaning, or love:

> Tolling for the searching ones, on their speechless, seeking trail,
> For the lonesome-hearted lovers with too personal a tale,
> An' for each unharmful, gentle soul misplaced inside a jail. (37-9)

These lines are about those who think or feel more deeply and sensitively than the majority of the society, like Wordsworth's definition of the poet as one who is "embued with more lively sensibility, more enthusiasm and tenderness, who has a greater knowledge of human nature, and a more comprehensive soul, than are supposed to be common among mankind" ("Preface" 420). Many such young people joined the counterculture, some seeking love and acceptance, others seeking an alternative society, and others a spiritual journey or a path to the apprehension of truth. Likewise, many of the "unharmful, gentle" souls who joined in the activist causes or the alternative communities were imprisoned for their dissent and the threat they posed to the dominant establishment.

The final stanza returns to the persona and his companion(s) who, after the second stanza, have only been mentioned in the last line of each stanza with the reprise "And we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing", with the focus otherwise falling completely on the storm that they observed in the stanzas in between. Their passive but attentive observation of the storm is similar to Emerson's description of his condition in nature: "Standing on the bare ground – my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space – all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eyeball: I am nothing; I see all" ("Nature" loc. 378). Forgetting about their personal desires and interests, the persona and his companion(s) observe and understand the wrongs in their society and the opportunity to overcome them through a socio-political transformation. Moreover, the structure is similar to that of the greater Romantic lyric, beginning with the persona and his observation of a natural phenomenon, moving on to a detailed

description of that natural phenomenon which is merged with the thoughts and feelings of the poet-persona to reveal his subjective rendering of it, and ending with a return to the persona and his gain from the experience. In this sense, "Chimes of Freedom" is a song about social transformation that also reveals the poet-persona's personal transformation as he becomes aware of the possibility of social change. Wilde comments that "the final verse confirms the epiphanic transcendence of the experience" (90).

As the storm comes to a gradual end, the persona remembers how he and his companion(s) were at its beginning, when they first found cover:

> Starry-eyed an' laughing as I recall when we were caught,
> Trapped by no track of hours for they hanged suspended.
> As we listened one last time an' we watched with one last look,
> Spellbound an' swallowed 'til the tolling ended. (41-4)

Their initial condition appears to be one of youthful innocence and joy. Through the experience of the apocalyptic storm, they mature into an experienced state that is full of hope and idealism, carrying the conviction that the overturning of the corrupt social system and a return to a natural order that embraces all who have been hitherto wronged – a re-prelapsarian utopia – is imminent. The phrase "as I recall" is significant, pointing to the discrepancy between the amount of physical time they spent observing the storm and the psychological impact of the time, and establishing the storm as a breaking point separating the before and after for the persona and his friends, who are perhaps representative of all of the counterculture youth. The following line explains this further, describing the hours in between as having "hanged suspended" making them lose track of time, for they were spellbound by the storm that was described in the previous stanzas as "mystic" and "hypnotic". As argued above, this becomes a personal and spiritual experience about socio-political transformation, thus reflecting both aspects of Sixties re-prelapsarianism. As the poet-persona realises the significance of his experience, the

chimes of freedom toll one last time for a list of people summarising everyone who was ever a victim of the contemporary social and political situation, thus concluding the "extended litany—eighteen lines in total—inspired by the bardic cataloguing of Whitman and Ginsberg, [...] the system's victims, those it persecutes and those it ignores or discards, the "underdog soldiers in the night," whom he names and celebrates" (Marqusee loc. 1684).

In conclusion, Dylan's "Chimes of Freedom" is a strongly re-prelapsarian song that uses the conceit of a storm to imply a major socio-political transformation that is imminent and that will bring about a return to a natural order in which humans will once again be free, equal and living in harmony. The value of empathy is emphasised throughout, which Marqusee describes as "the pulse of compassion that guides the song" (loc. 1709). This compassion is portrayed as the storm's treatment of all of the contemporary system's victims, but is in fact a reflection of the poet-persona's, and thence Dylan's (as well as the counterculture's) approach. The greatest effect of the socio-political transformation that the storm symbolises, and the greatest need for such transformation, is the eradication of the injustice, oppression and cruelty that is described; the solution implied is a return to the natural order in which such injustices do not exist. Just as the storm brings about a realisation in the persona and his friend(s), the song attempts to bring about a similar realisation in its audience, thus performing a utopian function alongside its re-prelapsarian content.

Lennon's "Imagine"[51] is probably the most conspicuously utopian song of the counterculture. The lyric paints a re-prelapsarian utopia in which love, both *agape* and *storge*, dominates the socio-political sphere and in which all social and political establishments that prevent the prevalence of love have been eradicated. *Rolling Stone* described its lyrics as "22 lines of graceful, plain-spoken faith in the power of a world, united in purpose, to repair and change itself." (no page). Moreover, it stresses the possibility of achieving utopia in the present time and

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[51] Released on the album *Imagine* in 1971.

place, and attempts to inspire the desire to bring about this re-prelapsarian utopia in his audience. As Blaney explains,

> Lennon contends that global harmony is within our reach, but only if we reject the mechanisms of social control that restrict human potential. What he hoped to do was raise self-awareness, emphasise self-creation, and compel individuals to question their own abstract relationship with the institutions that order our lives (52).

For these reasons, added to the fact that it is a very clear expression of Sixties re-prelapsarian utopianism, it has been included in this analysis, in spite of being slightly outside of the time period that the thesis focuses on and belonging to John Lennon's solo career rather than the Beatles.

"Imagine" is made up of three stanzas and two reprises. Each of the stanzas deal with one aspect of the utopian world that the poet-persona asks his audience to imagine, and in the refrains he explains his position to us as well as inviting us to join him and projecting his hope that the utopia he describes will eventually come about. The first stanza proposes a world in which the concepts of a utopia (heaven) or dystopia (hell) in the other world no longer exist:

> Imagine there's no heaven,
> It's easy if you try,
> No hell below us,
> Above us only sky.
> Imagine all the people
> Living for today. (1-6)

The implication is that if such was the case, people would strive to make the world in which they lived a better place, instead of accepting it as it is and awaiting utopia after death. In other words, there would be the motivation to create a better world here and now, rather than in the other world in the future. Moreover, the obliteration of the concepts of heaven and hell would enable people to see humans

as just humans, without relegating them to groups of "us" and "they" and "those who shall be saved" versus "those who will be punished", and thus to desire better conditions for all.

This concept of universality and brotherhood of all is developed in the next stanza, which proposes a world in which all arbitrary divisions and distinctions between humans are erased:

> Imagine there's no countries,
> It isn't hard to do,
> Nothing to kill or die for,
> And no religion too.
> Imagine all the people
> Living life in peace. (7-12)

Countries and religions divide humans up into groups that are more often than not mutually hostile. The hostility as well as struggle for power between these groups causes wars in which human beings die unnecessary and brutal deaths, as well as being forced to kill one another. Consequently, a utopian world without countries or religions would be one in which people could live together in peace without being forced (or willing) to kill and die like the soldier in Simon's "Scarborough Fair/Canticle". Unlike Marxist utopianism that aims to get rid of nations through the universalisation of communism and the transformation of the world into one communist nation, or the Christian pansophists that desired to put an end to religious strife through the universalisation of their particular religion, Lennon does not propose the complete takeover of one particular ideology, nation or religion but the eradication of all establishments that use their power to control and oppress people. In fact, he remarked, "the World Church called me once and asked, 'Can we use the lyrics to "Imagine" and just change it to "Imagine one religion"?' That showed [me] they didn't understand it at all. It would defeat the whole purpose of the song, the whole idea" (Lennon 212). Moreover, earlier on, during his Beatles

years, when asked in an interview what he thought "about the religious aspect of the flower movement", Lennon replied:

> I can understand religion now. I might have come to that conclusion anyway at 25 or 26. But now I understand it - realizing that The Church Of England and all those things, they're government. We all rejected that. I'm not against organized religion if it's organized by religious people and not just by politicians disguised. But they've got themselves into the position of any big company - they lose touch. I've realized religion is personal. It's "Do as you would be done by" really. (*The Beatles Interviews Database*)

In other words, Lennon's utopia is one in which individuals live together in a unified world, free to make their own decisions, not feeling the need to overpower others or the need define themselves in terms of the establishments to which they belong, liberated from the influence of all types of power structures, and living for today without postponing the betterment of life to an afterlife. In fact, he established an imaginary – or proposed – utopia based on such principles with Yoko Ono, which they named NUTOPIA and announced through a declaration on April 1st, 1973:

> We announce the birth of a conceptual country, NUTOPIA. Citizenship of the country can be obtained by declaration of your awareness of NUTOPIA. NUTOPIA has no land, no boundaries, no passports, only people. NUTOPIA has no laws other than cosmic. All people of NUTOPIA are ambassadors of the country. As two ambassadors of NUTOPIA, we ask for diplomatic immunity and recognition in the United Nations of our country and its people. (Ono no page)

Indeed, NUTOPIA is made up of all the dreamers that Lennon refers to in the refrain, all who want to join:

> You may say I'm a dreamer,

> But I'm not the only one.
> I hope someday you'll join us,
> And the world will be as one. (13-16)

The persona here answers the assumed reaction of the audience to his words, which is indeed the typical reaction to utopian aspirations. He assumes that the audience will say that he is a dreamer, in the sense that he is unrealistic and the utopian picture that he paints is not realisable. In his answer to this reaction, he assures his listeners that even if he is a dreamer, he is not the only one, so that there are many utopian idealists like himself – especially the counterculture of course – who believe that utopia is within reach. The persona follows this assurance with an offer to each member of his audience to join these utopians, ending with the implication that once this comes about, once most of the world imagines such a world and believes in it, then it will come about. Lennon referred to this as "[t]he concept of positive prayer [...] If you can imagine a world at peace, with no denominations of religion—not without religion but without this my God-is-bigger-than-your-God thing—then it can be true (Lennon 213). Thus, the proposal is not for a violent revolution or for radical change but for a gradual converting of each individual to the dreams and principles of utopia and thereby bringing it about. In this sense, the song's utopian function is in accordance with Marcuse's proposal that "[a]rt cannot change the world, but it can contribute to changing the consciousness and drives of men and women who could change the world" (*Aesthetic Dimension* 32). Indeed, Marcuse's comments on the role of the imagination in achieving utopia are perfectly applicable to what Lennon attempts to do in this song:

> Imagination envisions the reconciliation of the individual with the whole, of desire with realization, of happiness with reason. While this harmony has been removed into utopia by the established reality principle, phantasy insists that it must and can become real, that behind the illusion lies knowledge. The truths

> of imagination are first realized when phantasy itself takes form, when it creates a universe of perception and comprehension -- a subjective and at the same time objective universe. This occurs in art. (*Eros and Civilization* 143-4)

In other words, the imagination keeps humans in touch with their original condition of one-ness which the fallen condition that makes up contemporary reality suppresses, so that the reality is in fact the illusion and the imagined the truth. This is also identical to the Romantic concept of the imagination and its re-prelapsarian role. Accordingly, if humans begin imagining a world in which they are one, living in harmony with each other and the world, they will realise that this is their true and original condition, and this will affect a return to that condition, a re-prelapsarian transformation.

The third and final stanza proposes a favourite element of utopias throughout time, communism, or the abolition of private property:

> Imagine no possessions,
> I wonder if you can,
> No need for greed or hunger,
> A brotherhood of man.
> Imagine all the people
> Sharing all the world. (17-22)

Private property is yet another aspect of social and economic structure that causes division and hostility between humans. The unequal distribution of resources, so that a large portion of humans are hungry because of the greed of a small portion, is one of the greatest obstacles on the path to utopia, and one that utopian theorists and writers, from More to Rousseau and Marx to Marcuse, have attempted to overcome in their proposed ideal societies. With the abolition of private property, a brotherhood of man, in which all humans share all the world, which they are part of and which belongs to them all collectively, will become possible.

The lyric ends with the refrain, once again trying to inspire the listeners to join the dreamers in order to create a world that "will live as one". The utopianism of "Imagine" is quite radical, desiring to eradicate the establishments that serve as pillars of post-industrialist western societies: nations, religion, and the capitalist economy. However, due to its soft, almost hymnal melody and its call to imagine rather than forcefully bring about such a world, it was and largely has been to this day received as a universal song in which people willingly participate and which serves to keep utopian hopes alive. As Lennon himself stated, the song is "anti-religious, anti-nationalistic, anti-conventional, anti-capitalistic, but because it is sugarcoated, it is accepted [...] Now I understand what you have to do. Put your political message across with a little honey" (*Rolling Stone*). The utopian approach of the song can be described as re-prelapsarian, especially in its emphasis on a reunification of humanity through the obliteration of the unnatural establishments of civilisation, returning instead to a world without strife, greed and division to one in which human beings live in harmony with one another and the world, sharing everything, as Adam and Eve did in Eden. Aside from its utopian content, the song is also utopian in function, attempting to convert listeners to its cause, through its universal message of unity as well as its disarmingly sweet and attractive melody.

In conclusion, Dylan, the Beatles and Simon all composed songs that aimed to support, inspire and lead the socio-political transformation that the Sixties counterculture undertook. Their songs contributed to Sixties re-prelapsarianism both in terms of content and function. In terms of content, in "She's Leaving Home", "Scarborough Fair/Canticle", and "Bridge Over Troubled Water", there is an emphasis on the re-prelapsarian value of love and its power to re-unite humanity with one another and the world and to counteract the evils of the fallen world, such as social alienation and war. The related value of empathy and its importance in understanding and overcoming injustice, inequality and oppression is portrayed in "Blowin' in the Wind" and "Chimes of Freedom". "The Times, They Are A-Changin'" emphasises the generational conflict that underscored the Sixties youth revolt and

counterculture and the new generation's determination for socio-political transformation, the centrality of freedom – sexual, political and social – in its worldview, and its rejection of the Establishment and all social structures that were used as sources of oppression. The anti-establishment stance is actually present in nearly all of the lyrics analysed, and has roots that go back, through the Beats, to Romantics such as Blake, Thoreau, Shelley and Byron. In terms of utopian function, "The Times, They Are A-Changin'", "She's Leaving Home" and "Chimes of Freedom" portray socio-political transformation as imminent and inevitable, thereby inducing their audience to take part in bringing it about and overcoming the inaction and apathy that can result from the lack of belief that such radical change is possible or that the individual can play a role in changing the world. "Scarborough Fair", "Blowin' in the Wind", and "Imagine" appeal to their audience to consider and imagine a world in which the natural condition of innocence and unity prevails and all of the evils plaguing society have been overcome, endeavouring to inspire and disseminate the desire for transformation to a re-prelapsarian condition. Moreover, "Blowin' in the Wind" and "Imagine" also use sweet and sing-along melodies that enable crowds of people to sing them together, thus inspiring the feeling of solidarity and strengthening the hope that utopia can indeed be achieved all together. The analysis of these lyrics therefore reveals the strong connection between the re-prelapsarian utopianism of the Sixties counterculture and the songs of its representative musical genre and the central role of Dylan, the Beatles and Simon in furthering the re-prelapsarian cause.

CHAPTER 7

REUNIFICATION AND DEFAMILIARISATION:
ROCK LYRICS OF PERSONAL AND SPIRITUAL RE-PRELAPSARIANISM

This chapter analyses lyrics by Dylan, the Beatles and Simon that portray instances, methods and results of personal and spiritual transformation to a re-prelapsarian state of being or consciousness. As has been discussed, just as the Romantics had turned towards a personal and spiritual utopianism especially after losing hope of achieving re-prelapsarianism in the socio-political sphere, so the Sixties counterculture turned its focus to personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism as the hope of socio-political transformation gradually weakened near the end of the 1960s. Representative of this change in attitude or focus is the Beatles' song "Revolution"[52], in which they show their distrust of revolutionary political action, especially the use of violent and destructive means to achieve change. Although initially committed to nonviolent resistance, the student unrest and the anti-war protests had become increasingly violent towards the end of the 1960s, due to the increasing frustration of the protestors and increasing police violence against them, as well as the inclusion of marginal factions with different agendas or methods of protest, such as the Weather Underground, the Black Panther Party, and the Hell's Angels (Burns 168, Archer 86). Unlike the principle and strategy of nonviolence that had been adopted by the Civil Rights movement and the Students for a Democratic Society, the Black Panther Party and Weather Underground used militant and violent tactics (ibid.). Keniston observed in 1969 that "the mood, temper, and rhetoric of the student movement has dramatically changed [so that] the often religiously Christian or Gandhian nonviolent mood of the Civil Rights Movement has been replaced by a more defiant, more angry, more politically revolutionary stance among today's student radicals" (271).

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[52] Released on the *White Album*, 1968

In the face of this increasing violence, especially the events of May 1968 in Paris, the Beatles "preferred to advocate a revolution in the mind," Ingham explains (loc. 4449). This approach was representative of an inclination on the part of re-prelapsarian utopian youth to turn towards alternative modes of protest, focusing increasingly on the cultural and personal aspects of the revolt. The violence and destruction that had begun to dominate many of the protests conflicted with their understanding of a socio-political transformation based on the principles of peace, love and understanding. The counterculture instead focused its utopian aspirations to the personal and spiritual level, attempting to achieve a re-prelapsarian condition through the gradual transformation of individuals or to achieve a re-prelapsarian state of mind.

The counterculture embraced two major routes to personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism, both parallel to those embraced by the Romantics. The first of these was reunification and reconciliation with one's own true nature, with other human beings and with the cosmos. It was imagined that all of these ties had been severed by the fallen condition of post-industrial capitalist society, and only through their reintegration and a transcendence of alienation could each individual, and thereby society, achieve a re-prelapsarian condition. The second route to personal and spiritual transformation was through the defamiliarisation of the world and hence its re-creation through the individual's transformed perception of it. In Blake's words, "[i]f the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear to man as it is, infinite" (*Marriage of Heaven and Hell* 14: 38-9). A vision of the world with the purified eyes of innocence would enable the individual to achieve a re-prelapsarian state of consciousness, or eupsychia.

For the reconciliation of humans with each other, the necessary force was love. For the reunification of humans with themselves or with the cosmos, it was necessary for them to transcend the fallen reality (and the ego that is a product of that reality) and to reach an apprehension of the truth, beauty and unity of the human soul and the cosmos. The Romantics had relied on the imagination for this

unifying function, esteeming it as "the faculty by which we may perceive the unity of the universe," as McNiece explains (42). In the Romantic re-prelapsarian scheme, the imagination was also the faculty necessary for the second route to personal and spiritual transformation, defamiliarisation, enabling the poet to see and show the world through the eyes of innocence not yet dimmed with habit and routine, "making familiar objects as if they were not familiar" (Shelley, "Defence" 42).

In the Sixties, both the unifying and defamiliarising functions of the imagination were largely transferred to psychedelic drugs, most notably the experimental LSD[53]. Like the imagination, LSD enabled a perception of the world in which common objects that had become dull to ordinary perception through habitual exposure were revealed as colourful, interesting, even magical, re-creating the world for the person who had taken the drug. Case describes the defamiliarising effects of psychedelic drugs as follows: "Input through eyes and ears – as well as via tactile and olfactory impressions – is magnified to a point where everyday objects and occurrences are rendered intriguing, amusing, confounding, or overwhelming. Often, the mundane becomes exquisite" (loc. 390). Also like the imagination, LSD assisted the individual in transcending his ego and fallen reality, producing the perception and feeling of the unity and essential one-ness of all existence. As DeRogatis explains, "[t]he drugs caused a loss of ego ('depersonalization') and made users feel as if they were physically connected to everything they were seeing and hearing" (loc. 218-9).

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[53] Of course, this meant a very different approach from the Romantic reverence of the imagination as a human faculty reflecting and connected to God's creativity and the importance that they attached to its spontaneity and therefore natural and innate source. We see none of this in the Sixties, during which the effects of the imaginative faculty were sought rather than its source. Indeed, the seeking of the imaginative functions of synthesis, liberation, transcendence and defamiliarisation in an external and even chemical source is quite in conflict with the Romantic approach to imagination. The reckless abandon with which psychedelic drugs were embraced by the counterculture would eventually lead to disastrous results due to their unpredictability and harmful side-effects including lasting physical and mental disorders that were to be discovered as time went on. However, the utopian end results that the Sixties re-prelapsarians were after through the use of these drugs, which they thought were beneficial, were the same as those sought by the Romantics through the imaginative faculty, which is the reason for this parallelism.

Moreover, LSD was also embraced by the counterculture for inducing and enhancing the feeling of love in those who ingested it, for which reason it was also referred to as the "love drug" (MacDonald loc. 562-4). Reising and Leblanc note that "[f]or the Beatles and for millions of others, love and LSD went hand in hand during the late 1960s" (98). It was thus also seen as contributing to the reconciliation of humans with one another through the unifying force of love. Consequently, LSD was crucial to the personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism of the Sixties counterculture, promising an accessible route towards utopia. As MacDonald comments, "[t]o those enlightened by the drug, all human problems and divisions were issues, not of substance, but of perception. With LSD, humanity could transcend its 'primitive state of neurotic irresponsibility' and, realising the oneness of all creation, proceed directly to utopia" (MacDonald loc. 523-6). It is for this reason that the Sixties youth, following the psychologist and counterculture guru Timothy Leary, who was perhaps the staunchest advocate of the use of psychedelic drugs for personal and spiritual transformation, attempted to convince as many people as possible to "turn on, tune in, drop out" (Archer 82).

It is important to note that LSD and similar psychedelic drugs were seen as a means by which the above-mentioned states of perception and consciousness were rendered easily available to all who sought such transformative experiences, rather than as the cause of them. Timothy Leary, Ralph Metzner and Richard Alpert stressed this point at the beginning of their book, *The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, which describes in great detail the guidelines and process of that transformation. They explain that "[o]f course, the drug dose does not produce the transcendent experience. It merely acts as a chemical key – it opens the mind, frees the nervous system of its ordinary patterns and structures," thereby making such experiences available to anyone who seeks them (1). In other words, the drug can be said to make the mind innocent once again, by freeing it of the built-up conventions, perceptions and values that it has acquired from society. Reising and Leblanc explain that "Laing and Leary advance

the idea, common among enthusiasts, that the LSD experience granted the user a new take on reality, one capable of revealing facts and righting the wrongs perpetrated by a culture inured to bourgeois values and ordinary perceptions" (92). The more traditional routes to such mind-alteration and transcendent experiences involved an effort, discipline and concentration that very few people could manage, "sensory deprivation, yoga exercises, disciplined meditation, religious or aesthetic ecstasies" (ibid.). LSD brought these experiences to the level of the common person so that, "[u]sing it, normal people were able to move directly to the state of 'oceanic consciousness' achieved by a mystic only after years of preparation and many intervening stages of growing self-awareness" (MacDonald loc. 564-5). Roberts draws attention to the similarities between psychedelic and mystical experiences, arguing that

> The case for considering the two experiences as having a common core is strengthened by the fact that readers find reports of the effects of certain drugs to be indistinguishable from comparable reports of mystical religious experiences. It is this proximity of the mystical and psychedelic experience that has led some individuals to argue that psychedelic drugs can offer the user a shortcut to paradise, bypassing all the discipline of life in a religious order. (55)

Thus, while many of the young rebels of the period took psychedelic drugs for the cognitive effects, enjoying their effects on sense perceptions, for the more serious and utopian among them the drugs were a means to experiencing a transcendent awareness that resulted in a permanent transformation of their consciousness. This is evident in the fact that Leary et al. based their psychedelic manual on the Eastern mystical model of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, forming a close connection between the steps towards transcendence and the visions and states of consciousness experienced during the spiritual journey via psychedelic drugs to those described in the Tibetan book. "The Tibetan model, on which this

manual is based, is designed to teach the person to direct and control awareness in such a way as to reach that level of understanding variously called liberation, illumination, or enlightenment," they explain (1).

Based on this model, they describe three phases of consciousness that the psychedelic drug user will (or should attempt to) experience. The first and highest phase of the experience is that of "complete transcendence", the state of illumination mentioned above. Leary et al. describe this state of consciousness as "beyond words, beyond space-time, beyond self," thus containing "no visions, so sense of self, no thoughts [...] only pure awareness and ecstatic freedom from all game involvements [external reality]" (2), "the radiant bliss of at-one-ness" (13), being "[m]erged with all life" (19). In re-prelapsarian terms, this is the stage of re-unification, in which the transcendence of the ego and of the normally perceived, "real" world is followed by the individual's apprehension of the original and essential unity of all existence. It is significant that in his explanation of the Romantic re-prelapsarian vision of human experience as constituting a spiral progression, McNiece describes three stages, the first of which is the stage of innocence: "the feeling that consciousness is all" (x). This description closely resembles Leary et al.'s account of the transcendent state of illumination. In McNiece's scheme, this first stage is followed by a second stage, which is "the fall into experience - tilting over towards materiality as the source of control and a third, which he names "vision – our redemption and reintegration, the control of limitation, doubt and materiality by consciousness and hope" (ibid.). The vision of the third stage is the re-prelapsarian condition, in which there is a return to the state of innocence, but with the experience and knowledge gained along the way. As McNiece explains, "[v]ision, the final state, remembers and is instructed by the whole process, can understand the value of the struggle and the suffering" (ibid.).

In Leary et al.'s scheme of psychedelic transcendence, the first ecstasy or illumination (the "Clear Light"), which corresponds to McNiece's first stage, is indescribable since it transcends verbal concepts; it is simply a state of being, much

like the prelapsarian state of mystic interpretation of Romantic re-prelapsarianism. However, once this first ecstasy ends, it is possible to experience the illumination once again, which the Tibetans refer to as the "Secondary Clear Light". They explain that:

> While on this secondary level, an interesting dialogue occurs between pure transcendence and awareness that this ecstatic vision is happening to oneself. The first radiance knows no self, no concepts. The secondary experience involves a certain state of conceptual lucidity. The knowing self hovers within that transcendent terrain from which it is usually barred. [This produces] an intellectual ecstasy [in which] previous philosophical reading will suddenly take on living meaning. (11, 14)

To explain this process in terms of the Romantic scheme expressed by McNiece, a sudden memory and temporary fall into the material world of experience is followed by a voluntary return to the state of innocence, and this brings on the third stage of vision, in which the mind is aware of the fallen world that it has transcended and of its blissful state of reintegration. Thus, the reintegrating and redeeming vision that the Romantics had sought to achieve through their imaginative power, the Sixties utopians sought to achieve with the aid of the consciousness-expanding effects of psychedelic drugs. This vision served to re-unite the individual to the cosmos, bringing about a re-prelapsarian transformation of consciousness.

The second phase of Leary et al.'s description of the psychedelic experience involves defamiliarisation. They explain that once the material and physical world begins to intervene in a person's consciousness, the first phase of illumination is lost and the second phase begins. In this second phase, the person perceives the external world, but the perception is mixed with the illusions and hallucinations produced by his liberated and expanded mind, as well as being more colourful and

exciting than ordinary perception, due to the chemical's effect on the brain. Thus, the second phase consists of an "exciting confrontation with external reality" in which subjects "deeply experience game [external, social world] revelations" (13). These revelations are both cognitive and ontological: "acute and sensitive hallucinations – visual, auditory, touch, smell, physical and bodily; the most exquisite reactions, compassionate insight into the self, the world" (14). The results are "delightful sensuous, intellectual and emotional novelties" (14), in other words, a defamiliarisation of the ordinary world of experience. This defamiliarisation, which the Romantics had sought in the imagination and poetry, re-creates the world in the consciousness of the observer, thus constituting the second route to re-prelapsarian eupsychia.

Finally comes the third stage, which is that of "rebirth," in which "the consciousness makes the transition from transcendent reality to the reality of ordinary waking life" and if the psychedelic experience has been a successful one (a good trip, rather than a bad one, in laymen's terms), the subject will experience "a peaceful and enlightened re-entry" so that the transformation of consciousness that he experienced during his transcendent state is permanent rather than temporary, continuing to influence his ordinary waking life (Leary et al. 22). This enlightened re-birth following the temporarily induced state of (ego) death brings about a reversal of the fall and completes the re-prelapsarian spiral, affecting the achievement of eupsychia. As the authors explain, "[i]t is important to remember that the consciousness-expansion process is the reverse of the birth process, birth being the beginning of game life" (13). According to this explanation, birth is equated with the fall of the individual from the state of unity and innocence to estrangement and experience (game life), while the experience of (ego-)death enabled by LSD is seen as a "temporary ending of game" or fallen "life" to a reintegration with the cosmos and a new apprehension of the "brilliant world" (13). This explanation has strong parallels to Wordsworth's explanation of the human's gradual fall from the innocence and unity of pre-life existence and his or her attempt to re-attain it

through conscious endeavour in "Ode: Intimations of Immortality"[54]. Leary et al. describe the second part of this process in their work, explaining that "just as an infant must wake up and learn from experience the nature of this world, so likewise a person at the moment of consciousness expansion must wake up in this new brilliant world and become familiar with its own peculiar conditions" (ibid.).

Leary was an important figure of the counterculture and his portrayal of the transformation of consciousness through transcendence both informed and represented the counterculture's approach. Although psychedelic drugs played a major role in the revolutionary youths' attempts at personal and spiritual transformation, they were in fact only a means to achieving transcendence, as Leary et al. also make clear at the beginning of their book. The other two most popular means were meditation and rock. Rock played the same role for the Sixties youth that poetry did for the Romantics, enabling personal and spiritual transformation through functions of reunification and defamiliarisation. All of the lyrics analysed in this chapter portray, simulate and endeavour to inspire personal and spiritual transformation to a re-prelapsarian eupsychia. Leary et al.'s transcendent scheme described above is important, not because all of these lyrics were written under or about the influence of psychedelic drugs, but because it is applicable (as indeed his own application to drugs of Eastern transcendentalism shows) to all the various means to transcendence and the transformation of consciousness that the Sixties utopians attempted and portrayed in their lyrics.

The Beatles' "Within You, Without You"[55] demonstrates how personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism can be achieved by bringing about the realisation of the essential unity of all life, which has been forgotten as a result of the present fallen condition. The song implies that this realisation will reunite humans with one another through love and the mind with the cosmos through a transcendence of the

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[54] See pgs. 86-9

[55] Composed primarily by Harrison and released on the album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, 1967

ego. It can thus be interpreted as a lyric that focuses on the necessity of humanity's re-integration with the elements from which it has become estranged by the Fall in order to re-attain the prelapsarian state of one-ness. The lyric describes a conversation held between the personae, beginning with the words "We were talking". The personae appear to be visionaries who, like Blake's Bard, "Present, Past & Future see"[56], and who have an understanding not only of the situation of humanity as it is at present, but the potential utopian world that this same humanity has the potential to achieve, if they would but listen and understand. Unlike the isolated, solitary visionary of Simon's "The Sound of Silence", this poem relays the common vision of a group of visionaries, which gives it both a more social and a more hopeful tone. The poem makes a distinction between the "we" of the visionary prophets, perhaps referring to the countercultural revolutionary youth sharing the same re-prelapsarian utopian vision, and the "they", the mass of people who "don't know" and "can't see" and who they are attempting to convert to their cause. It is therefore a distinction between those who have achieved re-prelapsarian consciousness, having completed their personal and spiritual transformation and those who have not, as yet, but who have the potential to do so.

The lyric begins with a discussion of the isolation between humans:

> We were talking
> About the space between us all
> And the people
> Who hide themselves behind a wall
> Of illusion, never glimpse the truth.
> Then it's far too late when they pass away.
> (1-6)

Human beings are separated from each other, not only by space, which implies having fallen apart and away from one another, but also by walls of illusion that

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[56] *Songs of Experience*, "Introduction" (1-2)

strengthen the separation. This could be interpreted within the context of the re-prelapsarian belief in the fall as a falling away from unity, the separation of elements that should actually be one. The wall mentioned in the second line not only distances humans from each other but, more importantly, distances them from the truth. In light of the re-prelapsarian view of life, the truth that their walls of illusion obstruct people from seeing is that of the unity of life and the cosmos, an understanding of which has been lost with the fall. This truth can be glimpsed through transcendence of the ego, whether through meditation (as indeed the use of the Indian instrument, the sitar and the oriental melody seem to point towards), or psychedelic drugs. Indeed, Ingham points out the overlapping between "Hindu beyond-self-we're-all-one philosophy [and] the acid generation's universality-through-ego-loss experience" in this lyric, drawing attention to the fact that the former served as the foundation to the latter (loc. 4394). Leary et al. describe how in "the infallible mind of the pure mystic state," realisation of "the Ultimate Truth" becomes possible (10). In this state of awareness, "[s]uperficial differences of role, cast, status, sex, species, form, power, size, beauty, even the distinctions between inorganic and living energy, disappear before the ecstatic union of all in one" (22). This truth of the union of all in one has been replaced by an illusion that, as the fourth stanza will reveal, shows life in terms of material and physical values that serve to separate humans from one another. The stanza ends with an indication that many people pass their whole lives without a glimpse of this truth, remaining in the fallen state of isolation and alienation. The first stanza thus establishes the affliction that the visionary personae see in society.

The second stanza introduces the solution, which is the reunifying force of love:

> We were talking
> About the love we all could share,
> When we find it
> To try our best to hold it there.

(7-10)

Love is the ultimate value that could return unity to the world. It must be shared, since it is a unifying element and since it brings people together; it eliminates the spaces and walls between them, helping them to become one. The feelings of "[e]xquisite, intense, pulsating sensations of unity and love" that Leary et al. describe as part of the transcendental experience can be seen in these lines and in the following more intense proclamation, revealing the personae to be in such a state of consciousness:

> With our love (with our love),
> We could save the world.
> If they only knew!
> (11-3)

This is similar to Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, in which the apocalypse that brings about the regeneration of the world and of humanity and the return to the prelapsarian state of unity, only takes place after Prometheus, the universal man, chooses love over hate, and compassion over vengeance, thus freeing Asia, the universal woman (and the allegory of love) and eventually reuniting with her in an embrace of love. As has been discussed, the hippies, like the Romantics, believed in the power of love, which, as this lyric suggests, could save the world by reversing the fall and the division and disintegration that it caused, thus bringing about the re-prelapsarian ideal. As the ultimate unifying power, love could bring together the severed elements of a once unified world and thus bring about the regeneration of humanity. As Decker explains, the love that is referred to in this context "is presented as a spiritual idea, an attitude that moves one closer to God" or the cosmos, one might add (75). Likewise, Reising and Leblanc argue that "several of the Beatles' most engaging and far-reaching 'love' songs, especially those penned by George Harrison, address the concept/emotion from a spiritual and philosophical perspective [...] the lyrics focus more on love as a way of life, a redemption from the

frenzy of daily living" (100). In his categorisation of different types of love found in Beatles songs, Inglis refers to the type of love seen in contexts such as this as *agape*, the "concept of love as a universal compassion for others often found in a religious or spiritual context" (46). Another kind of love classified by Inglis and that could also pertain to the lines above is *storge* which is "love built around friendship and caring" (ibid.). This kind of love could also contribute to saving the world, socially as well as politically, in terms of putting an end to war, which is brought about by its opposite, hatred.

The personae of the poem, the select few saviour-prophet-visionaries who are "talking," know these truths about love, but the multitude does not, due to the walls of illusion that they have erected; hence the frustrated exclamation "If they only knew!" at the end of the stanza. This is similar to the frustration of Simon's persona in "The Sound of Silence," who likewise knows and sees but is unable to communicate his knowledge and vision to the multitude:

> "Hear my words that I might teach you.
> Take my arms that I might reach you."
> But my words like silent raindrops fell
> And echoed in the wells of silence.
> (24-7)

"Within You, Without You", however, is hopeful of the ability to communicate this knowledge. Indeed, in the next stanza, the opposition between "we" and "they" is replaced by a direct address to the audience of the song:

> Try to realize it's all within yourself,
> No one else can make you change.
> And to see you're really only very small
> And life flows on within you and without you.
> (14-7)

This direct address, coming right after the exclamation of "If they only knew," serves the purpose of trying to make them – us – know. Unlike the lonely visionary

of "The Sound of Silence," complaining to the darkness about his inability to communicate his vision to the people, the personae of this lyric, not alone in their visionary roles, reach out directly to the audience to try and make them see and know. What they are urging of their audience is, first, to realise that change, eupsychia, is ultimately in the personal sphere of influence, and therefore that each individual has the potential and the control to transform into a utopian state of existence. But they must first realise this potential and ability and embrace it. The re-prelapsarian world can thus be achieved through the assertion of each individual's will. Second, the personae indicate that the path to the transformed state is through a transcendence of the ego (which is tied to the fallen world) to achieve an apprehension of the connectedness of life, that encompasses all. The phrase "to see you're really only very small" does not refer to the insignificance of the individual, which would indeed conflict with the preceding lines, but to the perception of each individual as part of the whole, which is the cosmos, and of the essential unity of all creation. LSD could help enable such perception and realisation, since one of its reported effects was that "[u]sers may lose their notion of personal identity as their sense of self merges with the world around them" (Reising and Leblanc 84). It can be concluded, then, that transcendence of the ego to an understanding of the unity of the cosmos will lead to love, which will eventually "save the world" when enough of humanity has come to this realisation.

The next stanza once again returns to the descriptive mode talking about "we" and "they", only to change abruptly once again in its last line to another direct address:

> We were talking
> About the love that's gone so cold
> And the people
> Who gain the world and lose their soul.
> They don't know, they can't see.
> Are you one of them?
> (18-23)

The implication of this stanza is that the reason that love has gone so cold is because of materialism: people gain the world at the expense of losing their souls. This is an example of Rousseau's theory that "living in a world overcrowded with superfluous objects, [man] becomes obsessed with the things that stand in the way of his desire to the point where the ultimate goal is lost sight of and the feelings themselves turn irascible and hating" (Manuel & Manuel 444). It is also related to Marcuse's theory of the false needs such as material gain that are satisfied at the expense of the vital needs of humankind, such as peace, contentment and happiness, which have been suppressed by the system so that people no longer care about them ("End of Utopia" 66-8). Thus, "gaining the world" is very different to becoming one with the world; it is an approach based on the acquisition of desired objects, seeing the world as a mine of material resources and pleasure, instead of a cosmic spirit of which our own souls are a part, the approach espoused by the personae of the lyric. This "true" perception of the world the untransformed multitude "don't know" and "can't see", once again. The last line suddenly turns to the audience in the form of a question: "are you one of them?", forcing the listeners to question themselves and come to a realisation about how they view the world, are they one of those who know and can see, or one of those who have gained the world to lose their souls. It is a direct challenge, evidently added with the aim of provoking realisation and thence aspiration to change.

The last stanza once again gives direct advice, and assurance, to the listener:

> When you've seen beyond yourself
> Then you may find peace of mind is waiting there
> And the time will come when you see we're all one
> And life flows on within you and without you
> (24-7)

Once we have been able to overcome our egos to see beyond ourselves, the personae tell us, we will find peace of mind. This peace of mind refers to the

illumination and ecstasy in which consciousness is all, that is experienced in the transcendent state and it comes from the return of the mind to its original state of unity with the cosmos, by a realisation of its one-ness with it. The description of life flowing on within and without also corresponds with Leary et al.'s explanation of a phenomena accompanying ego-loss, which they call "wave energy flow": "The individual becomes aware that he is part of and surrounded by a charged field of energy, which seems almost electrical. In order to maintain the ego-loss state as long as possible, the prepared person will relax and allow the forces to flow through him" (12). Reising and Leblanc explain that "[t]he song's title and reassuring refrain, that 'life flows on within you and without you,' is another way of conceptualizing love, the life force whose circulation fuses self with others, self with cosmos, self with redemption"[57] (101). Through this kind of cosmic love, then, humans can return to the unity that brings the mind back to peace with itself and the world. They also assure us that we will, eventually, achieve this state of unity and peace, and perceive the one life that flows within and without us. Even those who do not know and cannot see will eventually know and see, as the last stanza implies with the use of the phrase "And the time *will* come". Eupsychia, the re-prelapsarian state of consciousness can and will be achieved, according to the conclusion of the lyric.

Laughter follows the end of the song, which is significant due to Leary et al.'s description of the ecstatic state as invoking laughter in subjects: "Dominating this ecstatic state is the feeling of intense love. You are a joyful part of all life. The memory of former delusions of self-hood and differentiation invokes exultant laughter" (19). The laughter at the end of the lyric thus confirms once more that the happy re-prelapsarian time when every individual comes to a realisation of the one-ness of the cosmos and is thus transformed will come. Consequently, "Within You, Without You" begins with the expostulation of the lapsed state of discord and

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[57] The imagery is also very similar to Coleridge's transcendent meditation in "The Eolian Harp": "the one Life within us and abroad, / Which meets all motion and becomes its soul" (26-7). It is significant that in Coleridge's poem, too, the perception of this one-ness is directly connected to the ability to love: "Methinks it should have been impossible / Not to love all things in a world so filled" (30-1).

division, and ends with the promise of the re-prelapsarian state of harmony and unity.

"Across the Universe"[58], another Beatles lyric, illustrates the state of oneness and awareness of the life that flows within and without and the peace of mind achieved through transcendence of the ego that has been promised at the end of "Within You, Without You". "Across the Universe" depicts the persona in a state of transcendental meditation and surrender to the cosmos, feeling the one life going through him as it flows across the universe. The lyric is thus a portrayal of the re-prelapsarian state of re-unified bliss itself, rather than the process and method by which to achieve it that was the focus of "Within You, Without You".

Rendering the interaction between mind and cosmos during a meditative state, the lyric alternates between instances of the mind exerting influence on the cosmos and vice versa, so that both the mind and the cosmos are by turns active and passive, giving and taking in a state of mutual interaction. In the first stanza, the mind of the persona, represented as a paper cup, receives and disperses words:

> Words are flowing out
> Like endless rain into a paper cup
> They slither while they pass,
> They slip away
> Across the universe.
> (1-5)

Since the words are also depicted as flowing into the paper cup, or the mind, it can be inferred that they are coming as inspiration, in which case they come from a creative source that is common to both the human mind and the universe, the creative will of God or the cosmos. The persona's mind, because passive and semi-conscious, is opened to the influence of the universe and this results in the spontaneous overflow of words. These words then overflow the mind of the

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[58] Composed primarily by Lennon, recorded in 1968 and released in the album *Let it Be*, 1970.

persona back across the universe, so that the mind both receives and gives and is both passive and active. Lennon describes the composition of the song as follows:

> I was lying next to my first wife in bed, you know, and I was irritated. She must have been going on and on about something and she'd gone to sleep – and I kept hearing these words over and over, flowing like an endless stream. I went downstairs and it turned into a sort of *cosmic song* rather than an irritated song [...] *It's not a matter of craftsmanship – it wrote itself.* It drove me out of bed. I didn't want to write it... and I couldn't get to sleep until I put it on paper... *It's like being possessed – like a psychic or a medium.* The thing has to go down. It won't let you sleep, so you have to get up, make it into something, and then you're allowed to sleep. *That's always in the middle of the night when you're half-awake or tired and your critical facilities are switched off.* (*The Beatles' Interviews Database*, my emphases)

In this sense, the lyric itself might be seen as the result of the overflow of an endless rain of words: the words of the song came as inspiration to Lennon in a state of semi-consciousness, as Lennon's description of the composition of the lyric suggests, and he is in turn diffusing it across the universe. The semi-conscious state in which Lennon was inspired is significant in that it is a state of mind in which thoughts and perceptions are associated more freely, since the reason is subdued. The individual's mind retains some control over his thoughts and perceptions, but it is minimal so that the thoughts and perceptions begin to act on it rather than vice versa, resulting in the "free floating imagery" that Riley describes in this lyric (T. Riley 296). In this sense, it is very similar to the "Secondary Clear Light" of the first phase of Leary et al.'s transcendental scheme, in which "the flashing in and out between pure ego-less unity, and lucid, non-game selfhood, produces an intellectual ecstasy and understanding" (Leary et al. 14). This state also corresponds to the Romantic state of willing surrender to the influence of nature which turns

into an interaction between mind and nature, employed most frequently by Coleridge in his conversation poems.

The lyric continues with a different kind of influence on the persona's mind:

> Pools of sorrow, waves of joy
> Are drifting through my opened mind,
> Possessing and caressing me
> (6-8)

It is significant that he uses the form "opened" rather than open: this is a temporary state of mind, the fleeting yet seemingly everlasting moment of illumination, the state of "Secondary Clear Light," in which the subject is in the transcendent state of consciousness but is also aware of this (Leary et al. 14). The imagery of fluidity continues – "flowing", "rain", "pools", "waves" – in another connection to Leary et al.'s description of the "wave energy flow" phenomena accompanying the transcendent experience. In reference to a number of psychedelic songs by the Beatles, such as "Tomorrow Never Knows", "Rain" and "Across the Universe," Reising and Leblanc state that "[a]ll these songs [...] exploit [...] watery immersions of all sorts, as appropriate metaphors for the LSD experience" (96). As they drift through the persona's opened mind, these emotions, which appear to be coming from outside of him, possess and caress him (they flow on within and without him as described in the previous lyric). He has surrendered himself to the influence of the universe and is blissful in this state. The pools of sorrow and waves of joy that he feels may also be the result of empathising with other humans. By opening himself up to the feelings of others, the persona overcomes the barriers separating humans from one another and makes their feelings his own, thereby becoming one with them. This inter-personal unity and effortless communication between humans is another effect of the transcendental experience described by Leary et al.: "'You', 'I' and 'he' are gone, 'my' thoughts are 'ours', 'your' feelings are 'mine'. Communication is unnecessary, since complete communion exists. A person can

sense another's feeling and mood directly, as if it were his own" (22). Thus, during his transcendental experience, the persona is not only re-unified with the cosmos, but also with other human beings.

The stanza is followed by a Sanskrit phrase that fills the interval between the verses and the reprise throughout the song and brings focus to its basis in Eastern mysticism: "Jai guru deva, om" (9). This phrase is a mantra, "the repeated phrase said in the rhythm of one's own breathing to calm the mind into higher consciousness" (T. Riley 296), that alludes to the Beatles' interest in transcendental meditation during 1967-8, when they spent time with the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (Friedlander 89). Indeed, the song as a whole is strongly influenced by the transcendental teachings that they received there. "Jai guru deva" can be translated as "glory to the shining remover of darkness" ("Jai Guru Deva" no page), and "om" is a sound used during meditation, believed to replicate the vibration of the universe. Thus, the phrase can be interpreted as a praise of truth/light/good (remover of darkness) or of the universe as the shining remover of darkness (signified by the sound "om"). Bringing the two interpretations together, we might say that the universe equals truth/light/good and vice versa: a meaning congruent to the transcendental theme of the lyric as a whole and also to Leary et al.'s explanation that in the state of illumination, apprehension of the "Ultimate Truth" becomes possible (10). Of course, when interpreted with the following line of the reprise in mind – "Nothing's gonna change *my* world" (emphasis added) – it might also be said that the individual, who is also an integral part of the universe as a whole, is the shining remover of darkness, especially when he is in the state of illumination, the name of which directly connotes the removal of darkness.

The reprise, "Nothing's gonna change my world" (10-3), appears to be an expression of hope and faith in the eternal truth and beauty of the universe (as expressed by the praise in the previous line) rather than an expression of fixedness and determinism. Moreover, as he refers to the world as "my world", the persona seems to be referring to his perception or vision of the world as not changing: since

the world is essentially internal, rather than external, as long as he remains in this state of unity with it, nothing external will be able to change it. Accordingly, it is in the persona's control to achieve and retain the re-prelapsarian state of eupsychia, by allowing his transcendental experience to bring about a permanent transformation in his consciousness after his re-birth into ordinary life.

The next stanza begins with images of light:

> Images of broken light
> Which dance before me like a million eyes
> They call me on along
> Across the universe.
> (14-7)

Once again, there is reciprocity and interaction between the persona and nature: the images that the persona sees are like eyes; they thus seem to be looking back at him. The fact that the light is broken might be interpreted as the individual's half-closed eyelids or passive state of surrender. In other words, he is not wilfully observing the light but is perceiving it in a more passive state. Indeed, it is the light that is active, "dancing" before his eyes[59]. According to Leary et al., the psychedelic condition in which the "nervous system [is] in a state of quiescence, alert, awake, but not active is comparable to what Buddhists call the highest state of dhyana (deep meditation)" and leads to "the conscious recognition of the Clear Light [that] induces an ecstatic condition of consciousness" (10).

> Thoughts meander
> Like a restless wind inside a letterbox
> They tumble blindly as they make their way
> Across the universe
> (18-21)

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[59] There is a similar image of dancing light and passive perception in Coleridge's "The Eolian Harp" (34-43) which has the similar theme of the relationship between the individual and cosmic mind.

The letterbox, like the paper cup of the previous stanza seems to be another analogy for the individual's mind. Once again the mind, which is limited and small compared with what it receives from the universe, serves as a temporary container that holds these perceptions and then sends them back across the universe perhaps having added something from itself. The randomness and blindness of the wind or the thoughts is not a negative attribute but rather a manifestation of the state of peaceful surrender to the spontaneity and freedom of the universe.

Following a second reprise, and after the use of water, light and wind imagery comes a stanza that refers to a more social influence on the persona's mind. Although the presence and effect of other humans had been implied earlier with the pools of sorrow and waves of joy that drifted through his mind, this time that presence becomes explicit and more physical; it is not the persona's opened mind but his opened ears that it appeals to:

> Sounds of laughter, shades of life
> Are ringing through my opened ears
> Inciting and inviting me
> (27-9)

The persona's unifying interaction is not just with the universe as nature but also with other individuals with whom he shares the universe. Just as the images of broken light that had danced before him like a million eyes had brought the receptive mind of the persona into a unity with nature, the people surrounding him and the love that they offer, which he is once again receptive to, brings him into unity with other humans:

> Limitless undying love
> Which shines around me like a million suns
> It calls me on along
> Across the universe
> (30-3)

The love that humans share and that pervades the universe through them (or that the universe gives to humans who, if they receive and share it, are able to form bonds with one another and the universe) is unlimited, undying and as strong and life-giving as a million suns. It calls the individual across the universe, thus unifying individual and cosmos, microcosm and macrocosm, mind and nature and also individual and individual into one organic whole comprised of individual, mutually interactive parts, a multeity in unity. All is connected through love and love pervades all. "Like a million suns," love is the bringer of light and thus "the shining remover of darkness" referred to in the Sanskrit phrase. Moreover, as in "Within You, Without You", here too we have the sound of laughter mentioned together with a "feeling of intense love" which Leary et al. describe as one of the characteristics of the ecstatic state (19).

In conclusion, "Across the Universe" is a lyric conveying the re-prelapsarian eupsychia that can be achieved through meditation, transcendence of the ego, and thence perception of the world in its essential unity. The transformed state of consciousness is shown to be one in which the persona is at peace, feeling whole in his own person, one-ness in the cosmos as part of the multeity in unity, and connected to other humans through love and awareness of the shared unity. It is a state of blissful experience that allows the individual to achieve re-prelapsarian utopia through personal and spiritual transformation.

"Within You, Without You" and "Across the Universe" both focus on the transformation of consciousness through the reunification with the cosmos and every living being, the return, at least in consciousness, to the original state of at-one-ness and thus attainment of a re-prelapsarian eupsychia. The following lyrics, Dylan's "Mr Tambourine Man", the Beatles' "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds", and Simon's "For Emily, Whenever I May Find Her" focus on the second route to re-prelapsarian eupsychia, that is the route to the re-creation of the world or the transformation of the perception of the world through defamiliarisation. In Leary et al.'s scheme, this transformation takes place during the second phase of the

transcendental experience, the phase of "acute and sensitive hallucinations" and "delightful sensuous, intellectual and emotional novelties" (14).

Bob Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man"[60] depicts the poet-persona's journey towards re-prelapsarian consciousness through defamiliarisation. Many different interpretations have been made as to what the central figure of the lyric, the Tambourine Man, represents, the most popular of which is that he is a drug dealer and the persona is asking him for drugs (Tamarin 135). Dylan himself repeatedly denied this interpretation, stating that Mr. Tambourine Man actually referred to a musician friend, Bruce Langhorne, who played the Turkish tambourine (Marqusee loc. 2116-7). In this case, what takes the persona on a spiritual journey towards an ideal state of consciousness is music, which can be expanded to refer to art in general, and ultimately the imaginative faculty. As Tamarin points out, "[d]rugs, in 1965, were a pied piper; but so was Dylan himself, so was music" (135). Shumway similarly explains that "'Mr. Tambourine Man,' is overtly about the power of art and the artist to take one away from the quotidian and self. Though it's sung as an appeal to the Tambourine Man, we might guess that Dylan imagines that he might play this role for his listeners, that he is Mr. Tambourine Man" (Shumway 113). Tied to this is the interpretation that the persona is calling to his muse, and it is through this muse that he can transcend reality and go to an imaginary realm that is freer and more beautiful than the one he inhabits. Varesi argues that "[t]he Tambourine Man is Dylan's pied piper, and he casts a euphoric spell over the narrator" (52). Another, more spiritual and religious interpretation, linking the persona's journey to eupsychia with mysticism and meditation, is that the journey is a pursuit of transcendence and that the Tambourine Man represents a religious figure, such as Jesus Christ or Buddha and that the journey that the persona takes in following him is a spiritual one (Tamarin 135, Marqusee loc. 2121-2). In fact, one of the important pieces of advice that Leary et al. give their readers is that, in order to achieve and maintain the state of ecstasy, they should "try to concentrate on an

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[60] Released on the album *Bringing it All Back Home*, 1965

ideal contemplative personage, e.g., Buddha, Christ, Socrates, Ramakrishna, Einstein, Herman Hesse or Lao Tse: follow his model as if he were a being with a physical body waiting for you. Join him" (13). Mr. Tambourine Man is such a personage and whether he represents a drug dealer (or indeed the drug itself), a musician (or the music itself), the poet-persona's muse or imaginative faculty, or a spiritual leader, he serves as a vehicle through which the persona wishes to transcend reality and enter an imaginative world in which he is happier and freer, and as an object representing and inspiring a transformation of consciousness.

Due to the central figure of Mr. Tambourine Man in inspiring the personal and spiritual journey that the poet-persona takes, the song begins, somewhat unusually, with the refrain, in which the persona asks Mr. Tambourine Man to play a song for him, and promises to follow him:

> Hey! Mr. Tambourine Man , play a song for me,
> I'm not sleepy and there is no place I'm going to.
> Hey! Mr. Tambourine Man, play a song for me,
> In the jingle jangle morning I'll come followin' you.
>
> (1-4)

The choice of tambourine as the musical instrument being played by the inspirational figure may have significance. Leary et al. explain that "Tibetan lamas, in chanting their rituals, employ" several types of percussion instruments such as drums, cymbals and bells due to their belief that these instruments "physically produce in the devotee the attitude of deep veneration and faith, because they are the counterparts of the natural sounds which one's own body is heard producing when the fingers are put in the ears to shut out external sounds" (17). The tambourine's sound is similar to a mixture of drum and cymbal sounds and Dylan may be alluding to mystical or psychedelic transcendence in his choice of instrument. Moreover, the persona's desire to surrender himself to the Tambourine Man's influence reveals his wish to escape or transcend the world of ordinary reality. As Marqusee suggests, "[i]t captures the delicious sway of surrendering

one's individual will and one's awareness of grubby realities" (2123-4). This state of surrendering the will and opening oneself up to the influence of a higher power, whether it be God, the cosmos, or music, is similar to the semi-conscious state described by Lennon in "Across the Universe". Indeed, Dylan's own explanation of his creative process strengthens this connection. "Music filters out to me in the crack of dawn," he says, "You get a little spacey when you've been up all night, so you don't have the power to form it. But that's the sound I'm trying to get across" (Dylan in Heylin 182). This is parallel to Lennon's state of semi-consciousness, open to the influence of inspiration uncontrolled by the rational mind but free to flow through the mind.

The first stanza after the refrain explains the persona's present condition as he is asking the Tambourine Man to take him away with this music, and the time of day appears to be the "crack of dawn" that Dylan describes as his preferred time of inspired composition:

> Though I know that evenin's empire has returned into sand,
> Vanished from my hand,
> Left me blindly here to stand, but still not sleeping.
> My weariness amazes me, I'm branded on my feet.
> I have no one to meet
> And the ancient empty street's too dead for dreaming.
> (5-10)

The imagery used throughout the stanza evokes the sense of the passage of time and the waste that it leaves in its wake, of futility and world-weariness and the inadequacy of human civilisation. Indeed, the first and last lines may be an allusion to Shelley's "Ozymandias", depicting a scene of the decay and obsoleteness of a once great and old civilisation. The streets of a now old and weary civilisation are empty, and the persona is similarly weary and lonely. The imagery therefore carries the implication that human civilisation as it is, is no longer sufficient and must either be transformed or, if the fact that it is "too dead for dreaming" implies that utopia

can no longer be achieved in the social sphere, that people should turn towards personal transformation instead, as indeed the poet-persona does. On the surface level, he is explaining to the Tambourine Man that he has been up all night, awake, and is still unable to sleep, although extremely weary, and with no one to meet or nowhere to go, but wishes to transcend these physical circumstances and travel with his mind, as the refrain that follows and the next stanza make evident.

In the stanza following the second refrain, the persona asks the Tambourine Man to take him on a trip and begins to prepare for the trip, gradually shutting out the physical world through the numbing of his senses and entering the right state of mind: "Take me on a trip upon your magic swirlin' ship". The word "trip" was colloquial for a drug-induced state of mind, and this stanza is in fact the one most cited by those arguing that this is song about psychedelic drugs. Whether Mr. Tambourine Man represents drugs, music, meditation or a spiritual leader, coming under his influence produces the result of expanded consciousness and the transcendence of the real, physical world to a world created by the imagination that is not subject to the laws of nature. Leary et al. explain that in the second phase of the psychedelic/transcendental experience, "shapes and forms and sounds whirl by endlessly" (15). Similarly, Dylan's persona uses the metaphor of a "magic swirling ship" to describe the trip that he is embarking on. The image is reminiscent of a UFO and evokes both the state of enhanced perception (the swirling motion) and the expansion of consciousness (towards the infinity of space, free of the restraints of reality) as well as emphasising its magical as opposed to everyday or real setting. The persona's preparation for the trip begins with a withdrawal from sense perceptions and thus the dulling of his senses in order to free his mind:

> My senses have been stripped, my hands can't feel to grip,
> My toes too numb to step. (16-17)

Again, this is one of the frequently cited effects of both psychedelic drugs and spiritual states of being and indicates "the onset of ego-loss" (Leary et al. 11).

Once he is free of the restraints of his body, the persona is ready to take the trip towards a world created by his imagination through the influence of the Tambourine Man:

> I'm ready to go anywhere, I'm ready for to fade
> Into my own parade, cast your dancing spell my way,
> I promise to go under it. (19-21)

The image of the persona fading into his own parade appears contradictory at first, since it simultaneously depicts him ceasing to be and creating his own parade; in fact, he has to fade from his normal self in order to be free to re-create both himself and his world. Leary et al. frequently repeat the warning that subjects taking the journey to psychedelic transcendence should not try to control or rationalise their experience, which will lead to what was colloquially referred to as a "bad trip", consisting of confusion, terror and "disturbed visions"; instead, subjects should "stay calm and let the experience take [them] where it will" (12-14). Like the persona of "Across the Universe", Dylan's persona assumes the position of "blissful passivity" (Leary et al. 19), and he surrenders himself to the influence of the liberator of his mind, Mr. Tambourine Man. The images of a parade and dancing imply a consequent new state of consciousness that is liberated, colourful and joyous. Once again there is a reference to magic, with the mention of the dancing "spell" that will be cast by the Tambourine Man and that the persona is eager to come under the influence of.

The next stanza reveals the persona in full flight. His weariness is gone, and he is euphorically active in this new realm of the imagination:

> Though you might hear laughin', spinnin', swingin' madly across the sun,
> It's not aimed at anyone, it's just escapin' on the run,
> And but for the sky there are no fences facin'. (26-8)

Once again, the state of consciousness achieved by the persona through the influence of the Tambourine Man is depicted in terms of flying and travelling upwards. This depiction accords both with the drug-interpretation of the song, since another colloquialism for being under the influence of drugs is "getting high", and the spiritual interpretation, since spiritual transformation of the consciousness is referred to as transcendence. Moreover, if the Tambourine Man is taken to be the imagination or a trigger for the persona's imagination, in the tradition of Shelley's skylark or Keats's nightingale, then the depiction of the experience of transcending the earth in pursuit of the figure is once again consonant. The following lines strengthen the parallel with these poems, as the persona intimates that the influence of the Tambourine Man is causing him to compose poetry, although he sees his poetry as inferior to that of the Tambourine Man. This, when brought together with the reference to seeing and chasing a shadow in the last line, may be an allusion to Plato's cave allegory:

> And if you hear vague traces of skippin' reels of rhyme
> To your tambourine in time, it's just a ragged clown behind,
> I wouldn't pay it any mind,
> It's just a shadow you're seein' that he's chasing. (29-32)

Like the hypothetical escapee of Plato's Allegory of the Cave, who learns of the world beyond the cave and realises that the images that he was seeing in the cave were merely shadows of the truth, the poet-persona comes to a similar realisation during his temporary escape from everyday reality to a journey of enlightenment. This journey of enlightenment was what the Sixties utopians were attempting to realise, through transcendental experiences (brought about by drugs or meditation) in which they would see a vision of the truth that they would take back with them when their consciousness returned to reality. Those enlightened through their transcendental experience would thus be like Plato's escapee after his return to the cave, living in the realm of reality while aware of the truth beyond it. In other

words, they would have achieved a permanent transformation of consciousness into a state of re-prelapsarian eupsychia. One of the major aims of the personal and spiritual aspect of Sixties re-prelapsarianism, especially through leaders such as Leary, was to spread this state of transformed consciousness to as many people as possible, thus establishing utopia gradually, person by person.

In the final stanza, the journey continues through the world of the imagination, which is described with a reference to the caterpillar with the hookah in *Alice in Wonderland*, another point strengthening the drug link of the song, both because *Alice in Wonderland* was interpreted by the Sixties youth as a depiction of a drug-induced trip (DeRogatis loc. 940-1), and because the caterpillar really is smoking something in that particular scene of the work: "Then take me disappearin' through the smoke rings of my mind" (37). The trip is through his mind and takes place in his imagination. In other words, it is a spiritual journey and this spiritual journey takes him away from a world of loss, death and futile ruins, similar to that described in the first stanza.

> Down the foggy ruins of time, far past the frozen leaves,
> The haunted, frightened trees, out to the windy beach,
> Far from the twisted reach of crazy sorrow. (38-40)

The imagery and the use of alliteration in a series of words – foggy, far, frozen, frightened – that all connote a fallen state create the impression of a world in stalemate, with civilisation rotting away in the foggy, or already forgotten, ruins of time, nature frozen when it should be alive and growing, and trees described as haunted and frightened. From this fallen world of loss and death in which he is trapped, the persona escapes to a windy beach, a paradisal setting, or state of mind. Eupsychia is finally reached:

> Yes, to dance beneath the diamond sky with one hand waving free,
> Silhouetted by the sea, circled by the circus sands, (41-2)

In this ideal state of consciousness, which the persona is able to achieve through the influence of the Tambourine Man who has enabled him to transcend his reality through the transformation of his consciousness, he is free, waving underneath a diamond sky towards the sea, both unbounded spaces, and surrounded by bright light and colours: a diamond sky, a sea that is so bright that it silhouettes him and circus sands, evoking the image of brightly coloured sands. Marqusee argues that "[his] surrender [to the Tambourine Man] leads the singer to an anonymous but somehow limitless landscape [...] a place where he is alone, at peace, and free to explore an infinite inner labyrinth" (loc. 2127-8). Furthermore, since the figure of the Tambourine Man disappears in this scene, and the persona describes himself as having one hand waving free, it can be surmised that he has become one with the Tambourine Man and that his other hand is holding the tambourine. In other words, after passing through the phase of defamiliarisation, he has arrived at the phase of illumination (which is why everything surrounding him is so bright) which is the phase of reunification and reintegration.

This interpretation strengthens the reading of Mr. Tambourine Man as a spiritual figure, since the ultimate end of the transcendental experience is to become one with God / Buddha / spirit of the cosmos. Marqusee comments that, "[h]ere Dylan is imagining himself, as so many young people have, as the last man, the only man, and nature's child" (loc. 2138-40), or in Blake's terminology, the Universal Man, who, having fallen from the state of perfect unity into division, has now returned to his original state of unity[61]. Another interpretation might be that, since he has reached the state of illumination, the highest state of transcendence, in which consciousness is all, he no longer needs the inspirational figure of the Tambourine Man, as the means (music or psychedelic drugs) by which to attain it. In either case, the poet-persona has followed Mr. Tambourine Man out of the constraints of the physical world of ordinary reality and through a magical journey of transformed perception, to a transformed state of utopian consciousness. This

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[61] See pg. 51 above

utopian state of consciousness frees him and enables him to experience the re-prelapsarian condition of being, even if it is temporary,

> With all memory and fate driven deep beneath the waves.
> Let me forget about today until tomorrow. (43-4)

Both his memories, or the past that binds him, and his fate, or the future that he is bound to, are temporarily driven deep beneath the waves of the sea, which Leary et al. use as a metaphor for the unconscious (15), and he is momentarily free of them. Moreover, he is also free of the present that also fetters him with its fallen reality. This freedom and this ideal state of consciousness, in which he is at peace and in unity with himself and with the cosmos, is not permanent, and indeed the appearance of the thought "Let me forget about today until tomorrow" indicates the interference of the ego condition that will gradually call him back from "transcendent reality to the reality of ordinary waking life" (Leary et al. 27). However, this return will be in the form of a rebirth, according to Leary et al., making the effect of the transformation of consciousness and the glimpse of re-prelapsarian eupsychia permanent in the persona's mind. Moreover, the song created about or perhaps as a result of this transformation of consciousness remains as a record of it. Also called "Mr. Tambourine Man", the song can thus function as the Tambourine Man that the poet-persona can turn back to, or that his audience can listen to, to achieve re-prelapsarian eupsychia.

The Beatles' "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds"[62] is another song that both portrays and aims to act as a vehicle to the transformation of consciousness through defamiliarisation. "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds" is an exploration and indeed celebration of the imagination, the unconscious and dream states. It has been described as "Lennon's lavish daydream" (*Rolling Stone* no pg.) and according

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[62] Composed primarily by Lennon and released on the album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, 1967

to music critic Richie Unterberger, "[t]here are few other songs that so successfully evoke a dream world, in both the sonic textures and words".

The dream world of the lyric can be interpreted in several ways and the most popular interpretation has been that the poem is depicting the drug trip of the poet-persona – the psychedelic experience induced by LSD. Proponents of this view argue that the title of the song hints at this with its initials. Moreover, the vivid and nonsensical imagery, and the illogical and non-causal sequence of events accord with Leary et al.'s descriptions of the second phase of the psychedelic experience. The name Lucy comes from the Latin word *lucis* which means light[63], and the title character of the lyric could thus be interpreted as representing illumination, the highest phase and ultimate goal of the psychedelic (and transcendental) experience. The lyric also contains an implicit allusion to *Alice in Wonderland*, and Lennon himself explained that the imagery was inspired by this work (*The Beatles Interviews Database*). As has been mentioned, Carroll's work was interpreted by many at the time as describing a psychedelic trip – "where she gets high, tall, takes mushrooms, a hookah, pills, alcohol" (Grace Slick in DeRogatis loc. 940) – as evidenced by another famous psychedelic song that came out in the same year, "White Rabbit" by Jefferson Airplane[64] (composed by Grace Slick), which more explicitly urged the use of psychedelic drugs in order to "feed your head," as an alternative to the dominant culture's focus on feeding their material desires. Although the Beatles

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[63] http://dictionary.reference.com/
[64] One pill makes you larger
And one pill makes you small
And the ones that mother gives you
Don't do anything at all
Go ask Alice
When she's ten feet tall
　　　[…]
When logic and proportion
Have fallen sloppy dead
And the White Knight is talking backwards
And the Red Queen's "off with her head!"
Remember what the doormouse said;
"Feed your head, feed your head"

openly endorsed the use of psychedelic drugs, like Dylan they repeatedly denied this interpretation of the lyric, with Lennon commenting that "it was purely unconscious that it came out to be LSD. Until someone pointed it out, I never even thought of it. I mean, who would ever bother to look at initials of a title? It's *not* an acid song" (*The Beatles Interviews Database*)[65].

Instead, Lennon cited his son's drawing of his classmate as the inspiration for the song, and the colourful imagery and imaginative, non-linear sequence of the story could also be interpreted as the depiction of the world from a child's perspective:

> My son Julian came in one day with a picture he painted about a school friend of his named Lucy. He had sketched in some stars in the sky and called it 'Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds,' Simple. The images were from 'Alice in Wonderland.' It was Alice in the boat. She is buying an egg and it turns into Humpty Dumpty. The woman serving in the shop turns into a sheep and the next minute they are rowing in a rowing boat somewhere and I was visualizing that. (*The Beatles Interviews Database*)

His perspective still undimmed by the "lethargy of custom" (Coleridge, *Biographia* II: 6), the child is able to see the world in magical, beautiful and fantastic terms. Through the adaptation of this perspective, Lennon is able to "strip the veil of familiarity from the world and lay bare [its] naked and sleeping beauty" (Shelley "Defence" 43). In this sense, the lyric depicts a path toward the re-prelapsarian state of consciousness; "it creates anew the universe after it has been annihilated in our minds by the recurrence of impressions blunted by reiteration" (ibid.). Indeed, Lennon states that "[i]f art were to redeem man, it could do so only by saving him from the seriousness of life, and restoring him to an unexpected boyishness," thus

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[65] However, this was most probably an attempt to prevent the BBC from banning the song, which it did anyway (*BBC News* 1 no page). Indeed, years later, McCartney stated in an interview with the BBC that it was "pretty obvious" that Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds was inspired by LSD (*BBC News* 2 no page).

also pointing out both the fresh outlook of childhood and the re-prelapsarian function of art (qtd. in Ingham loc. 4719). In this interpretation, the title character of the lyric is representative of the innocent child who shows us her perception of the world, or perhaps our imagination (the faculty leading us to illumination) that enables us to re-create the world through defamiliarisation.

Regardless of whether Lucy represents illumination through LSD, the imagination, or the innocent perception of childhood, like Dylan's Mr. Tambourine Man, she functions as "an ideal contemplative personage" to be followed through the psychedelic / transcendental journey and assists in the transformation of consciousness. Unlike the poet-persona of Dylan's lyric, however, the poet-persona of "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds" does not seem to be taking the journey himself but to be guiding his audience through it, perhaps undertaking the role of trustworthy guide that Leary et al. advise all initiates of the psychedelic experience to have by their sides in order to ensure a positive trip and a "peaceful and enlightened re-entry" following it (9, 27).

The poem begins with the poet-persona's appeal to his addressees, or audience:

> Picture yourself in a boat on a river,
> With tangerine trees and marmalade skies.
> (1-2)

Thus, the persona is inviting his listeners to delve into a fantastic world, by using their imagination. This imaginative world is both beautiful and fun, providing an enjoyable release and freedom from both reason and reality. It is a world of dream-like associations, where tangerine trees lead the mind to the vision of marmalade skies. As Riley explains, "the liberating title line transforms everything – it exalts the artful happenstance of child's play" and "even though Lennon's voice is childlike, he plays the calm but awestruck storyteller, describing scenes he finds himself entranced by" (T. Riley 215). Moreover, the poet-persona is implying to his

addressees to relax and let the river carry them along, just as Leary et al. instruct their subjects to "[s]tay calm and let the experience take you where it will [...] let the stream carry you along" (13)[66]. Thus, "the effects of Lennon's voice in 'Lucy' suggest that of a seductive guide on an otherworldly excursion" (Reising and Leblanc 95).

After the right relaxed mood and opened mind is established, the figure who will guide the addressees through the experience is introduced:

> Somebody calls you, you answer quite slowly;
> A girl with kaleidoscope eyes.
> Cellophane flowers of yellow and green
> Towering over your head;
> Look for the girl with the sun in her eyes,
> And she's gone. (3-8)

These lines are followed by the refrain, which is the repetition of the line: "Lucy in the sky with diamonds." Every time she is described, Lucy is associated with some form of light effect, emphasising her association with illumination. The image of kaleidoscope eyes may be a direct allusion to Leary et al. who describe the visions experienced during the second phase of the psychedelic experience as "a thousand images which can boil up in the ever-changing jewelled mosaic of the retina" referring to the phenomena as "this fantastic retinal kaleidoscope" (16). Moreover, the sky with diamonds surrounding Lucy can safely be said to be a reference to Dylan's psychedelic song, "Mr. Tambourine Man", in which the persona describes his final state of liberation and illumination as "danc[ing] beneath the diamond sky" (41). Furthermore, kaleidoscope eyes, the sun in her eyes, and a sky with diamonds are all images of light playing on surfaces. In a kaleidoscope, light plays on colourful objects and is reflected through mirrors to form beautiful, colourful forms. Similarly,

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[66] Another Beatles song composed a year earlier, in 1966, which is explicitly based on Leary et al.'s *Psychedelic Experience* (DeRogatis loc. 456) begins with the line "Turn off your mind, relax and float downstream".

diamonds not only shine and glitter in the light but also bend and reflect light in such a way as to cast rainbows on surrounding surfaces. Sun reflected in the eyes not only affects how those eyes look, but also how they see. Thus, all are instances of light distorting and transforming images, with a beautiful result. They can thus be related to the Romantic concept of "the modifying colours of imagination: the sudden charm, which accidents of light and shade, which moon-light or sun-set diffused over a known and familiar landscape" (Coleridge, *Biographia* II: 5).

In this sense, then, Lucy is our imagination, who we are following to discover a world freed of the restrictions of reality and reason, where we can wonder through vivid and beautiful images made up of the defamiliarised and re-organised versions of common objects of mundane reality. On another level, she is also the poet, who, as prophet and visionary, leads us down the path of imagination, helping to liberate our minds and who "dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate" a world more beautiful and ideal than the fallen real world in which we live (Coleridge, *Biographia* I: 202).

The lyric continues,

> Follow her down to a bridge by a fountain,
> Where rocking horse people eat marshmallow pies.
> Everyone smiles as you drift past the flowers
> That grow so incredible high. (12-15)

The repeated imagery of tall flowers might be a symbolic reference to the flower children and their values of love, peace, spiritualism and experimentation with states of consciousness in an attempt to arrive at truth. Of course, it is very probable that the flowers growing incredibly "high" while everyone smiles is a reference to the drugs that the flower children took that made them high and happy. This utopian condition of transformed consciousness is where Lucy, as object of illumination, will lead us if we follow her.

The next stanza seems to describe symbolically what Leary et al. explain as the "consciousness fall[ing] away from the Clear Light," due to the interference of the "game" world (11):

> Newspaper taxis appear on the shore,
> Waiting to take you away.
> Climb in the back with your head in the clouds,
> And you're gone. (16-19)

As the addressees float downstream following Lucy (the "Clear Light") the real, material world intervenes, represented by the newspaper taxis which appear on the shore, and calls them from their voyage to illumination, to take them back to reality. Leary et al. explain that these "game propensities becloud the consciousness-principle" and the lyric uses the same metaphor, implying that if you are lured back to the world of waking reality, your head will be in the clouds and finally you will be gone, having lost the chance at illumination and eupsychia. After having been dragged back to reality and away from the imagination and the enlightening subconscious, the poet-persona guides us back to the dream world, by once again appealing to our imagination:

> Picture yourself on a train in a station,
> With plasticine porters with looking-glass ties.
> Suddenly, someone is there at the turnstile:
> The girl with kaleidoscope eyes. (23-26)

As we re-enter this wonder-world, we are re-united with Lucy, who seems to be ready to take us on another trip towards illumination if we are ready to follow her.

Consequently, whether it be through the mind-liberating influence of drugs or an adaptation of the child's prelapsarian perspective, Lennon creates a surreal dream-world which allows the mind to re-experience a prelapsarian state of existence, unencumbered by logic, custom or sensual reality. The mind is freed of the limits of the real, empirical world, and can wonder freely through the more

fascinating world created by the imagination, thus starting on a journey towards re-prelapsarian eupsychia, which can be reached through such a transformation of consciousness. Unlike "Mr. Tambourine Man", the ultimate destination of illumination, or the completion of the transformation of consciousness is not depicted in "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds", which focuses instead on the journey towards it and the second phase of the transcendental experience rather than the first. However, the first phase of illumination is hinted at through the figure and name of Lucy, who appears to represent the "Clear Light" towards which the poet-persona guides us. Moreover, like Dylan's song, this song also functions as the means by which to guide those desiring to achieve personal and spiritual eupsychia, thus serving an anticipatory utopian function.

Paul Simon's "For Emily, Whenever I May Find Her"[67] also portrays a journey through states of unconscious or drug-altered consciousness. While "Within You, Without You" and "Across the Universe" depicted the phase of transcendent illumination that Leary et al. categorise as the first phase of the psychedelic experience, and "Mr. Tambourine Man" and "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds" depicted the journey towards this state of illumination through the defamiliarising illusions and sensations of the second phase of the psychedelic experience, "For Emily, Whenever I May Find Her" depicts a more disrupted and undulating psychedelic experience.

On the surface, the lyric appears to be about an eerie dream the persona has in which he is wandering alone down empty streets, where he comes across his girlfriend, Emily, who is elfin-like, and his relief upon finding her "warm and near" upon awakening from the dream. However, the fact that the song is titled "For Emily, Whenever I May Find" despite the persona' finding Emily both in his dream and when he awakes hints at a deeper meaning behind the surface. In fact, Simon himself commented that the song was "not about an imaginary girl Emily, but about a belief" (*Trio for Tonight* performance). Like Lucy and Mr. Tambourine Man, then,

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[67] Released on the album *Parsely, Sage, Rosemary and Thyme*, 1966

Emily is an "ideal contemplative personage" (Leary et al. 13) that the poet-persona follows and tries to become united with through the lyric. Her name may be an allusion to Emily Dickinson, whom Simon alludes to in "The Dangling Conversation" (Bennighof 31), in which case the figure would represent poet or poetry as a means towards re-prelapsarian illumination, just as Mr. Tambourine Man represented musician and music, and Lucy the child and its uncorrupted perception of life.

The experience in Simon's lyric is narrated retrospectively. It begins,

> What a dream I had!
> Pressed in organdie,
> Clothed in crinoline of smoky burgundy,
> Softer than the rain. (1-4)

The vivid and unusual imagery evokes the dream-state that the persona states he was in, as well as strengthening the possibility that the dream he is describing is in fact the second phase of a psychedelic trip. This implication is strengthened by the music; Bennighof suggests that "[t]he mystical quality is created not only by the timbre of the guitar, but also by some of the rhythmic and pitch elements of the song [...] A sense of fluidity is established by this continuing variation" (31). Indeed, the dream that the persona describes is not exceptional in terms of its plot, which is quite simple, so that the exclamation "What a dream I had!" appears to refer instead to the strange perceptions and strong feelings aroused by the experience.

The persona is initially alone in the dream, wandering down deserted and echoing streets, much like the empty streets that the persona of "Mr. Tambourine Man" wishes to escape through the influence of the title character:

> I wandered empty streets
> Down past the shop displays
> I heard cathedral bells
> Dripping down the alleyways
> As I walked on (5-9)

Indeed, this first part of the dream is also very similar to the nightmare vision of "The Sound of Silence" in which the persona walked down narrow, empty streets and in which his voice dripped into and echoed in "the wells of silence" much like the cathedral bells drip down the silent alleyways. Both of these connections reveal the persona's isolation and search for reunification in the beginning of his dream or psychedelic experience. This isolation is soon relieved with a sudden vision of Emily running towards him:

> And when you ran to me
> Your cheeks flushed with the night,
> We walked on frosted fields
> Of juniper and lamplight. (10-13)

Her cheeks are flushed with the night, rather than with warmth and the imagery is one of cold and frost. This reminds one of strange nightmare ladies like Keats's "La Belle Dame Sans Merci" with her long hair, light feet and wild eyes on the "cold hill side" (lines 15-16, 36), or the very white "damsel bright" with blue-veined feet in the chilly night of Coleridge's "Christabel" (lines 58-64, 14). In all of these poems, images of cold, paleness and beauty are combined to create an effect of mixed fear and desire; and the setting is either one of fantasy, of the unconscious, or of nightmare.

From the perspective of psychedelic transcendence, the imagery used in these lines is significant, and shed light on the deeper meanings of the lyric. Leary et al. list "clammy coldness, followed by feverish heat," which accords with the sensations described by Simon's persona, as one of the "strange bodily symptoms" that indicate "the onset of ego loss" which the subject, "not [having] reached a liberated state" yet, "fails to recognize and accept" (10). They tell their readers that "[t]hese physical reactions should be recognized as signs heralding transcendence" and advise them to "[a]void treating them as symptoms of illness, accept them, merge with them, enjoy them" (11). This the persona does in the next line of the

lyric, and the fact that the line is accompanied by rising music and stretched out indicates the significance of the action or decision: "I held your hand" (14). Symbolically, the persona embraces Emily, who represents transcendental illumination, or the eupsychian ideal in terms of re-prelapsarianism.

Accordingly, the next stanza also symbolically shows the persona in his illuminated state:

> And when I awoke
> And felt you warm and near,
> I kissed your honey hair
> With my grateful tears. (15-18)

In the symbolic interpretation of the lyric, the first line of this stanza takes on a different meaning, referring to spiritual awakening (illumination or enlightenment) rather than physical – indeed the opposite of physical awakening in Leary et al.'s scheme, which indicates the end of the transcendental vision and return to the material world. In this awakened state, the persona is re-unified with Emily, who is now "warm and near" instead of strange and deathly. The persona is in a blissful state, full of gratitude for having escaped his isolated state and come to the realisation that he has in fact found unity in Emily. The lyric ends with lines declaring love for Emily or the state of unity, illumination and bliss that she represents:

> Oh, I love you girl!
> Oh, I love you! (19-20)

This intense declaration of love (accompanied by intense and rising music) once again corresponds with Leary et al.'s descriptions of the psychedelic experience:

> Yet there are classes of men who, having carried over
> karmic conflict about feeling-inhibition, prove unable
> to hold the pure experience [of illumination] beyond
> all feelings, and slip into emotionally toned visions. The

> undifferentiated energy of the First [Phase] is woven into visionary games in the form of intense feelings. *Exquisite, intense, pulsating sensations of unity and love* will be felt. (19, my emphasis)

The persona's initial "awakening" and bliss is immediately followed by an emotional response of intense love. Having started in a state of isolation, the persona ends in a state of intense, exquisite unity and love.

Consequently, if Emily represents a belief, as Simon stated, then this belief would seem to be that of the transcendence of alienation to a re-unification of love, in other words the return to prelapsarian unity through the transformation of consciousness brought about by a dream or drug-induced state. The use of the figures of two lovers who are separated and re-united in order to depict this belief is similar to Blake's symbolic representation of the fall from and return to the original state of unity through the depiction of the separation and reunification of the sexes. Thus, "For Emily, Whenever I May find Her", can be interpreted as symbolically portraying the journey of the consciousness through its fall from unity into a nightmarish state of alienation to a return to unity through the transcendence of that alienation. The dream narrated in the lyric could accordingly be interpreted as the dream of the Universal Man. Moreover, since the fallen condition is depicted as the dream and the reunification as the truth to which the persona awakens, there is the Platonic implication that the world that humans experience as the reality – the fallen condition – is in fact the dream or illusion while the vision of unity seen during the transcendental experience is the truth.

It can be concluded from this analysis of lyrics by Dylan, the Beatles and Simon that the pursuit of personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism was a major concern for these poets and the counterculture that they represented. In each of the lyrics, we witness the desire, pursuit or achievement of a utopian state of being or consciousness, involving the themes of reunification and return to innocence that characterise re-prelapsarianism. The counterculture's espousal of psychedelic

drugs due to their reunifying and defamiliarising effects and their powerful influence on the consciousness plays a major role in the lyrics analysed. The mystical significance attached to the effects of LSD and their interpretation in terms of Eastern spiritualism, especially as expressed and advocated by Leary, Metzner and Alpert, inform all of the lyrics, even those that are not directly about drugs, revealing the fundamental role of this approach in Sixties re-prelapsarianism. Sixties utopianism, like that of the Romantic Age, designated two routes towards achieving utopia in the personal and spiritual sphere, both aimed at returning human beings to their original, prelapsarian state of unity and innocence: a return to unity through a reintegration with self, cosmos and all living beings, and a return to innocence through a renewed apprehension of the world. Both of these routes were made more easily accessible by the mind-enhancing and consciousness-expanding effects of LSD, but Eastern mysticism, music and poetry, and the imagination still played important roles in the journey to personal and spiritual utopia.

The Beatles' "Within You, Without You" and "Across the Universe" focus on the first route to personal and spiritual re-prelapsarianism, portraying personae who have achieved the illuminated state of re-prelapsarian eupsychia and try to inspire their audience to do the same. They illustrate the personal journey to eupsychia through transcendence of the ego to a perception of the one-ness of the cosmos and of the individual's part in this unity; it is a unity that brings together all that has been severed in human life as a result of the fallen state of post-industrial, capitalist society: the human with nature, the human with other humans, and the human's sense of wholeness within himself. These lyrics, then, imply that the realisation of this unity can bring back the lost prelapsarian state, thereby achieving utopia in the personal and spiritual sphere. Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man", the Beatles' "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds" and Simon's "For Emily, Whenever I May Find Her" focus on the second route, portraying the defamiliarising experiences of their personae and protagonists – as enabled by drugs, the imagination, or music – that lead to the liberation of their minds from the corrupting influence of everyday

reality to a realisation of the wonder and beauty of the world and attempt to inspire the same in their audience. This defamiliarisation both enables the transcendence of the realities of the world as it is to a vision of how it could be perceived and re-creates the world in bolder and more magical colours, thus bringing about a transformation of consciousness and, again, achieving utopia in the personal and spiritual sphere. All of the lyrics take on utopian functions as they not only depict transformed states of being and consciousness or journeys towards such states but act, like LSD, to inspire such transformation in their audience, thus endeavouring to play a role in the personal and spiritual transformations of as many individuals as possible.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The analysis of lyrics by Bob Dylan, the Beatles and Paul Simon, carried out through a method of close reading within a cultural context, has revealed how these poets, and the counterculture youth that they were seen as representing, perceived the world in which they lived. The chosen lyrics indicate the ways in which these poets sought to change that world and the utopian states of being they promoted in its place. The lyrics analysed in Chapter 4, depicting the contemporary situation through satirical observations and dystopian visions, expose the poets' concerns with the disintegration, isolation and alienation that they saw as plaguing social and human relationships. Through realistic portrayals of individual lives and relationships and also through generalised visions of their contemporary social conditions which are presented as dystopian, Dylan, the Beatles and Simon depict human beings falling apart from one another and becoming alienated from a society that is variously portrayed as oppressive, indifferent, violent, and concerned with material gain rather than humane values. These lyrics are therefore not utopian in content, quite the contrary in fact, but they are utopian in terms of function. Especially when taken together with the other utopian lyrics composed by the same poets during the same time period, these satirical and dystopian lyrics serve the function of inspiring the will and desire to change the current condition of society by exposing its miseries. This was an important utopian function, for the leading utopian theorist of the Sixties, Marcuse, saw as one of the most important barriers preventing the transformation of society (for which the material conditions were ripe, he claimed) the lack of desire for such transformation. Marcuse tied this lack of desire to the repression by the dominant culture and system of true human desires and their replacement by false ones concerned with the constant miserable

striving for material comfort. These lyrics can thus be interpreted as attempts to pierce through this false consciousness and show the current situation for what it was, thus generating the desire to transform it.

Chapter 5 analysed lyrics that reveal the strong belief in and excitement for an imminent socio-political transformation that characterised the Sixties counterculture and the rock bards that were its spokespersons. These lyrics moreover expose the values that the counterculture believed to be necessary for such a transformation to take place as well as the features of the utopian socio-political condition that they hoped to achieve. Some of the lyrics analysed call for or herald radical transformation of the social system, frequently through the use of apocalyptic language and imagery, while others imply that such change is either necessary or inevitable. Still others are concerned with specific activist causes that the counterculture embraced, such as war, racism, segregation and inequality. The most important value that emerges out of the lyrics as an oppositional and alternative value that can bring about a radical change of the social situation is love and the associated value of empathy. This makes sense, since the major problem shown to be plaguing society was established in the satirical and dystopian lyrics as disintegration and alienation, and love, in the sense used by the counterculture and in the lyrics, is a feeling and a power that serves to unite and bring about harmony. Empathy is likewise necessary in order to prevent selfishness and oppression. Also, by empathising with, and leading their audience to empathise with the oppressed and the downtrodden, the poets again attempted to inspire a will to change the current situation. Other important values that emerge out of the lyrics are freedom, equality, brotherhood and the rejection of all forms of authority and of the Establishment in general. Finally, the lyrics hint at the desire for a natural order to replace what the counterculture perceived as a corrupt post-industrial civilisation, and at the implicit opposition in the poets' minds between the oppression and injustice of civilisation and the purity and morality of nature. The lyrics in this chapter are therefore utopian in both content and function, depicting as well as

attempting to inspire and support socio-political transformation to a utopian condition.

The lyrics analysed in Chapter 6 portray the experiences, methods and results of attempts to achieve personal and spiritual transformation into a utopian state of consciousness or being. The analysis exposes the strong desire of Dylan, the Beatles and Simon, as well as of the counterculture in general, to either escape from or transcend both physical (as well as social and political) reality and the confines of the reason and the senses, and this desire was strongly connected to the frustrations experienced by the counterculture concerning socio-political transformation. The lyrics are analysed as part of the psychedelic revolution and in light of Leary et al.'s guide to having a transcendental and mystical experience through the influence of psychedelic drugs. This experience involved reaching a state of illumination in which the subject would realise the oneness of the cosmos, and his own oneness with the cosmos, the divine, and all other living beings. It also involved cognitive distortion which caused the perception of the external world in surreal ways and with heightened senses and therefore enabled a defamiliarisation through which the subject's perception of the world was rejuvenated. Leary et al. argued that this experience could be turned into a permanent transformation of consciousness and a spiritual rebirth if carried out correctly. The lyrics reveal that this was an important pursuit for the poets and the counterculture, and although there is a psychedelic undertone to all of them, they focus on the transcendent experience itself, and imply it to be a result of variously drugs, music, or the imagination. Not only do the lyrics portray such experiences, but they also endeavour to inspire similar experiences in their audience, in an attempt, sometimes implicit and sometimes explicit, to bring about personal and spiritual transformation in as many people as possible, and thereby gradually transform the world. Therefore, these lyrics are also utopian in both content and function.

A general consideration of these analytical results displays a cultural and poetic movement deeply concerned with bringing about radical change in the

existing socio-political and personal and spiritual condition of humanity. It can be observed that the Sixties counterculture and the poets that saw themselves as, and were likewise seen as, its leaders and spokespersons, believed in the possibility of an imminent transformation of society and humanity to a new, utopian condition of unity and innocence, peace, equality, love and freedom, and the replacement of the present Establishment by a natural order where true and vital needs and desires were pursued and shared. They also believed in the importance of their own actions in bringing about this utopian transformation, and the poets accordingly took on the roles of prophets, visionaries and revolutionary leaders.

Throughout the analysis, strong affinities have been found between this utopian spirit of the Sixties counterculture and the utopian spirit of the Romantic movement. In fact, this study had set out to explore the connections between these two diverse literary and cultural periods in terms of a common mode of utopianism that emerged in them. In order to do this, it started out with an exploration of a common thread of ideas pertaining to utopian transformation in the poetry and prose writings of the English Romantics and American Transcendentalists. This exploration led to the discovery of a prevailing preoccupation with the history of humanity or of the human spirit which was founded upon a mystical and sentimentalist explanation of the Fall. According to this explanation, the Fall of humanity from an ideal condition of unity and innocence was a temporary falling apart from unity and away from innocence, and humanity, remaining innately and originally good, but corrupted by the fallen condition of the world, had the potential to re-achieve the ideal state of unity and innocence in this world. After establishing the distinguishing characteristics of the mode of utopianism that prevailed in the Romantic movement, the study continued with a discussion of the utopianism that emerged in the Sixties counterculture, drawing attention to the striking similarities that it bore to that of the Romantic movement.

This mode of utopianism, that was a significant part of the *zeitgeist* of both the Romantic Age and the Sixties, I termed re-prelapsarianism. The term denotes

the desire for a prelapsarian condition of unity and innocence, but a desire that is located in the future, as the aspiration for a utopian condition in which the original state of unity and innocence is revived, rather than in the past as nostalgia. Re-prelapsarianism was a mode of utopianism largely adopted by young intellectuals (especially students in the Sixties) and poets (rock bards in the Sixties), whose writings were instrumental in both producing and disseminating these utopian aspirations. Thus, it was largely a cultural and literary phenomenon, not one based in social theory or class-based politics. Re-prelapsarianism led to the aspiration to transform the world and humanity, the socio-political realm and the personal and spiritual realm to bring about a new condition of regained unity and innocence, a heaven on earth.

The socio-political aspect of re-prelapsarianism entailed the rejection of institutions, conventions and organisations that were seen as alienating humanity from nature and from human nature, and therefore belonging to the fallen condition and serving to corrupt humanity. In fact, it implied the general rejection of the attempt of civilisation – especially the post-industrial capitalist society and its bourgeois society – to control and repress nature, both external and human. In accordance with the sentimentalist belief inherent in this mode of utopianism, human nature was seen as originally good, and in possession of an innate moral sense that was only corrupted through the influence of society and civilisation, and was strongest when man was in his natural environment. As a result of this sentimentalist approach, the value of love and the related value of empathy were considered to be crucial to reversing the falling apart of humans from nature and from one another and bringing about a reunification akin to that of the original, ideal condition. Moreover, the rejection of established institutions and social conventions and the emphasis on a natural order meant that re-prelapsarianism was anti-authoritarian and anarchic, both in terms of its reaction to the existing social and political structures and the decentralised form of opposition that it undertook. Civil disobedience, personal acts and stands of rebellion against social

mores, humanitarian causes and the attempts to establish alternative utopian communities were the most important ways in which re-prelapsarian opposition manifested itself.

The personal and spiritual aspect of re-prelapsarianism was concerned with transformation of the individual to a utopian state of being or consciousness. The aim was to transcend the fallen reality to an apprehension of the oneness of all life and of the oneness of the human with nature, the cosmos, the One, or God, depending on the personal religious belief of the individual involved. Such a transcendent experience, they believed, would enable the individual to re-gain the condition of unity lost with the fall. Another important path towards personal and spiritual transformation aimed to achieve a renewed perception of the world, as if seeing it for the first time through the eyes of innocence, through defamiliarisation. For the Romantics, the faculty necessary for both of these transformations – the re-attainment of the original condition of unity and of innocence – to take place was the imagination. The imagination was defined by the Romantics as both a synthesising and unifying power and a creative power that depicted the world in a different light and gave the ability to re-create it. For the counterculture, psychedelic drugs were instrumental in bringing about personal and spiritual transformation by enabling transcendental experience of reunification and defamiliarisation.

Poetry was an important agent in personal and spiritual transformation in both the Romantic movement and the Sixties, both as a medium in which to portray transformative experiences, and as a route towards experiencing transformation through its influence on both the poet in the process of composition and on the audience taking part in the poet's experience. Poets also took on the role of leaders in the socio-political aspect of re-prelapsarianism, in their poetry as well as in their personal and social lives, and they thus saw themselves in both of these manifestations of re-prelapsarianism, the Romantic movement and the Sixties, as prophets, visionaries and revolutionary leaders. Accordingly, the examination of the

utopian approach that emerges from the culture and poetry of the Romantic movement, followed by a review of the Sixties counterculture in terms of its utopian approach and finally a detailed analysis of the poems of three representative Sixties rock lyricists has indeed revealed, as the thesis aimed to do, the connections and similarities between these two diverse movements and time periods in terms of a common mode of utopianism and the specific culture of opposition, radicalism and cultural divergence that it generated.

Through these results, the thesis makes significant contributions to existing knowledge in the fields of utopian studies as well as literary studies. It finds a distinctive mode of utopianism that permeates the Romantic movement, different from the prevailing forms of socialist utopianism that are generally associated with the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These prevailing forms, including the utopian socialism of Owen, Fourier and Saint-Simon as well as the social theory of Marx and Engels, are based on a progressive and scientific approach to history and humanity, that is very different from the spiral explanation of history and the sentimentalist approach to humanity of Romantic utopianism. This distinct mode of utopianism emerges, not as a conscious social theory, nor an organised political movement, nor in the form of literary utopias, but implicitly in the poetry and prose of the Romantics. The thesis has termed this mode of utopianism re-prelapsarianism. It has also formed a connection between the utopianism of the Romantic movement and that of the Sixties, and argued that the utopian mode of the Sixties counterculture was also re-prelapsarian. Unlike the Romantic movement, the Sixties counterculture is very commonly associated with utopianism, and various connections are being made more and more frequently between the two epochs in recent years. However, Sixties utopianism has not been connected to Romantic utopianism, nor discussed in terms of the features of re-prelapsarianism designated in this study. Moreover, although Sixties rock lyrics are very often overtly literary and in spite of the postmodern blurring of lines between high and low culture, these lyrics have been paid very little attention as poetry by the literary

academia, either in terms of literary criticism or in terms of their acceptance into literary anthologies and curricula. As a result, this extremely influential and very rich area of poetry has been largely ignored in literary circles, while being a popular area of study in cultural studies and musicology. It is to be hoped that studies such as this one will open up rock lyrics to serious discussion as poetry.

This study has of course had to limit its scope and methodology in the interests of concision and focus. For instance, although both the Romantic movement and the Sixties revolt were international phenomena, it has concentrated almost exclusively on Britain and the United States. Further study could be carried out regarding both time periods and concerning whether and how similar re-prelapsarian currents developed in other countries. Moreover, the study has had to limit its analysis of Sixties lyrics to a few very representative poets, Bob Dylan, the Beatles and Simon, although there were a large number of singer-songwriters and groups that could be analysed within the context of re-prelapsarianism, and the analysis of their lyrics would enrich the discussion undertaken here. Perhaps a related study concerning what has been termed negative or dark Romanticism, of the darkness and despair that lurked beneath the utopian surface (best revealed in the Gothic genre) can be undertaken, again in relation to the dark underside of the Sixties counterculture, through the analysis of groups like the Rolling Stones and the Doors, and of phenomena like Charles Manson and the Hell's Angels. Another point of interest for further investigation would be the reasons behind the very different paths taken by popular and mainstream poetry (and literature in general) in the Sixties in terms of utopianism. While the rock lyrics analysed in this thesis have revealed a strong spirit of utopian hope that matched a similar spirit in the counterculture, the highbrow or mainstream literature of the Sixties was characterised by a prevailing attitude of pessimism and dystopianism[68]. Related to this is the issue of the canonisation of

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[68]Waugh writes that "[i]n the popular consciousness, at least, [the] utopian image [of the counterculture] has tended to overshadow the pervasive economic and political pessimism of the

performed poetry: it has been mentioned above that although popular poets like Allen Ginsberg and the Liverpool poets, who have published written work, are included in poetry anthologies, poets like Dylan, McCartney, Lennon and Simon who performed rather than published their works have been largely ignored. This overwhelming preference and valuation of written work, especially in a genre that was originally oral – and regarding the subgenre of lyric, originally meant to be sung – is a phenomenon that warrants debate, which this study hopes to stimulate.

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period as well as the profound dystopianism of much of its highbrow and middlebrow literature" (7). She argues that "absurdism, Gothic, the grotesque, extremism, the theatre of cruelty, the poetry of diminished expectation, apocalyptic fantasy, self-reflexivity, empty ritual, and absurd repetition were just some of the literary modes explored and developed in this writerly expression of the Faustian side of the sixties" (8).

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APPENDIX A

CURRICULUM VITAE

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2014 Ph.D., English Literature, Middle East Technical University,
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PUBLICATIONS

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APPENDIX B

TURKISH SUMMARY

1960'LARIN ROCK LİRİKLERİNDE
ROMANTİK ÜTOPYACILIĞIN YENİDEN CANLANIŞI

Altmışlar çok büyük sosyal, siyasi ve kültürel değişimlerin yaşandığı ve bu değişimlere belki de yirminci yüzyılın tek geniş ölçekli ütopyacılık akımının eşlik ettiği bir zaman dilimiydi. Bu ütopyacılık akımı dönemin çok etkili karşıt-kültürü ve bu karşıt-kültürü temsil eden rock şarkıları tarafından yürütüldü. Bu çalışmanın amacı bu önemli dönemde ortaya çıkan ütopyacılık akımını, bu akımı sahiplenen, destekleyen ve sıkça öncülüğünü yapan dönemin rock sanatçılarının şarkı sözlerini inceleyerek keşfetmektir. Ancak bu keşfe başlamadan önce çalışma kendine has bir ütopyacılık anlayışı doğuran bir başka çalkantılı döneme, Romantik Çağa, döner ve bu çağda ortaya çıkan ütopyacılık anlayışını tespit ederek, bu anlayışın Altmışlarda ortaya çıkan ütopyacılık anlayışının öncüsü olduğunu ortaya koymayı hedefler. Bir başka deyişle, bu tez iki farklı dönemin ütopyacılık anlayışlarının arasındaki benzerlikleri, bu anlayışları ifade eden şiirler vasıtasıyla ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Sosyal, siyasi ve kültürel çalkantılarla şekillenen bu iki çağ arasındaki benzerlikler, Altmışlarda Romantizmin yeniden canlandığına dair düşünceler ve rock şarkılarındaki Romantik öğeler son zamanlarda yapılan çalışmalarda ele alınmaya başlandı. Bu tür konuları çok farklı açılardan ve çok farklı yaklaşımlarla inceleyen eserlerden bazıları şunlar: Perry Meisel'in *The Cowboy and the Dandy: Crossing Over from Romanticism to Rock and Roll* (1999), Robert Pattison'ın *The Triumph of Vulgarity: Rock Music in the Mirror of Romanticism* (1987), Craig Schuftan'ın *Hey Nietzsche! Leave them kids alone: The Romantic Movement, Rock and Roll, and the End of Civilisation as We Know It* (2012) ve Matthew Schneider'in *The Long and*

Winding Road from Blake to the Beatles (2008). Bu tez, konuyla ilgili çalışmalara Romantizm ve rock arasında daha farklı bir bağlantıyı araştırıp inceleyerek katkıda bulunmaktadır. Romantik çağda ortaya çıkan ve Altmışlarda yeniden doğan, bu dönemlere has bir ütopyacılık anlayışına odaklanarak, bu ütopyacılık anlayışını yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik (*re-prelapsarianism*[69]) terimiyle tanımlamaktadır.

Ütopyacılığı tanımlamak, ütopyacılıkla ilgili geliştirilen önemli teorilere göz atmak ve bunun sonucunda bu çalışmayı konuyla ilgili yapılan önemli çalışmaların bağlamına oturtmak amacıyla tezin ilk bölümü ütopya ve ütopyacılık kavramlarını ele almaktadır. İlk önce önemli teorisyenlerin ütopya ve ütopyacılık kavramlarını nasıl tanımladığı kısaca aktarılmaktadır. Bunların sonucunda tezin amaçlarına uygun, bu kavramların bu çalışmada hangi anlamda kullanıldığını ortaya koyan bir tanıma varılmaktadır. Bu tanıma göre ütopyacılık, mevcut olandan köklü bir şekilde farklı ve daha iyi bir yaşama ve var olma biçimine olan inanç ve bu yolda gerçekleştirilen entelektüel, kültürel ve siyasi faaliyetler, ütopya ise ulaşılmak istenen durumdur. Daha sonra ütopyacılıkla ilgili yirminci yüzyılın başından beri ortaya konan en önemli teorileri, bu teorilerin hangi meselelere odaklandığı, hangi sorulara cevap aradığı, ne tür sonuçlara vardığı tartışılmaktadır. Buraya dahil edilen teorisyenler Karl Mannheim, Ernst Bloch, Herbert Marcuse, Fredric Jameson ve Ruth Levitas'tır. Ancak burada belirtmek gerekir ki tartışılan bu teoriler tezin teorik altyapısını ve analizlerin dayandırıldığı temel değildir. Yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik bir ütopya teorisi veya bilinçli bir sosyal akım olarak değil, kültürel bir olgu olarak ortaya çıkmış ve daha çok ortaya çıktığı dönemlerdeki edebi yazılarda ve kültürel olaylarda ifade bulmuştur.

Tezin teorik altyapısı ikinci bölümde ele alınmaktadır. Bu bölümde Romantik çağda ortaya çıkan ütopyacılık anlayışı ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenir. Bu ütopyacılık

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[69] "Prelapsarian" insanoğlunun cennetten kovulmadan önceki masum, mutlu, ahenkli, bütünlük içindeki halini anlatan bir kelimedir. "Re-prelapsarianism" bu çalışmanın ortaya koyduğu, bu hale günümüzde tekrar ulaşma isteği ve umudunu tasvir eden bir ütopyacılık biçimini anlatan bir terimdir. "The Fall" yani cennetten düşüşten her ne kadar dilimizde cennetten kovulma olarak bahsetsek de, Hristiyanlıkta ve bu tezin bağlamında düşüş olarak geçmesinin öneminden dolayı bu şekilde çevrilmiştir.

anlayışı bilinçli, örgütlü bir akım değil, o dönemde yazılan şiirler ve entelektüel yazılarda ve önemli edebiyatçıların ve düşünürlerin fikirlerinde kendini gösteren ortak bir düşünce biçimidir. Dolayısıyla İngiltere'de William Blake, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, P. B. Shelley ve John Keats, Amerika'da ise Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau ve William Ellery Channing'in yazılarından örneklerle bu yazıların ortaya koyduğu ütopyacılık türü incelenmekte ve bu ütopyacılık türü yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik terimiyle tanımlanarak ayırt edici özellikleri ayrıntılı bir şekilde açıklanmaktadır.

Yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik, Hristiyanlıktaki "Düşüş," yani Âdem ile Havva'nın ve dolayısıyla insanoğlunun cennetten kovulması hikayesinin mistik bir yorumuna dayanır. Hıristiyanlığın geleneksel yorumuna göre Âdem ile Havva'nın yasak meyveyi yiyerek "ilk günahı" (*original sin*) işlemelerinin sonucunda insanoğlu mutlu, dertsiz, çalışmaksızın beslenebildikleri, daima baharın yaşandığı, ölümün olmadığı cennet halinden ölümlü, kederli, meşakkatli, hayatta kalmanın büyük çabalar gerektirdiği, günümüz dünyasına düşmüştür. Üstelik bu düşüş temelli bir düşüştür, bu dünyada bir çaresi yoktur. Zira her bir insan işlenen bu ilk günahtan dolayı doğuştan dünyaya günahkâr gelir. Dünyadaki dert, keder, adaletsizlik bu sebeplerden dolayı kaçınılmazdır ve bunlardan kurtularak tekrar cennete dönüş ancak ölümden sonra gelecek olan öbür dünyada mümkündür. Bu dünyada yapılması gereken ise insanın kendi acizliğini ve günahkârlığını, dünyanın sorunlarını ve adaletsizliklerini kabullenerek, inancıyla ve yaptığı güzel amellerle Tanrı'nın merhametini kazanarak öbür dünyadaki cennet hali için çalışmasıdır. Görüldüğü üzere Hıristiyanlığın bu geleneksel yorumunda ütopyacılığa yer yoktur ve hatta bu dünyada mükemmel bir düzen kurma arzusu ve çabası nafile olduğu gibi ütopyacılıkta Tanrı'ya ve kurduğu düzene karşı bir başkaldırı vardır.

Buna rağmen, Hristiyanlık aynı zamanda ütopyacılığa ilham vermiş ve ütopyacılıkla iç içe olagelmiştir. Hatta ütopyacılığın Batı dünyasındaki yaygınlığının kaynağını Batı kültürünün altyapısını oluşturan iki ana etken olan Hıristiyanlık ve

Klasik medeniyetten[70] aldığı görüşü hakim. Nitekim ütopya kelimesini dünyaya kazandıran ve ilk ütopya eserini yazan Thomas More hem dindar bir Katolik, hem de Klasik eserlerin tekrar kültüre kazanılmasını savunan önemli bir hümanistti. Hristiyanlıkta ütopyacılığı destekleyen öğelerden biri apokalips kavramının alışılmışın dışında yorumlanışıdır. İncil'deki bazı cümleleri kaynak gösteren bu yoruma göre apokalipsten sonra Tanrı dünyaya iner ve bir süreliğine bu dünyada mükemmel, cennetvari bir düzen kurar. Böylece yeryüzünde de ütopik bir düzenin yaratılabileceği düşüncesi doğmuş ve binyılcı ütopya akımları tarih boyunca hep güncel kalmışlardır.

Ancak yine de bu sıradışı yorumda dahi ütopyayı meydana getirecek olan insan değil, Tanrı olduğundan, düzeni insan eliyle değiştirmeyi amaçlayan ütopyacılık anlayışları açısından bu yaklaşım eksik kalıyor. İnsanoğlunun mükemmelleşebileceği ve mükemmel bir düzen kurabileceği anlayışı için ilk günah öğretisinin farklı yorumlamaları gerekiyor. Bu yorumlardan biri Romantik dönemde etkili bir alternatif Hristiyanlık anlayışı getiren Üniteryenler[71] tarafından getirildi. Üniteryenler Aydınlanma'nın da etkisiyle İncil'i akıl muhakemesiyle yorumlayarak, Hıristiyanlığın özüne ulaşmayı amaçlıyorlardı. Buna göre Hristiyanlıkta geleneksel olarak kabul gören bazı çok temel öğretileri reddediyorlardı. Bunlardan biri teslis inancıydı. İncil'de teslisin yer almadığını ve Tanrı'nın tek ve bütün, İsa'nın ise Tanrı'nın oğlu değil, yine tek ve bütün bir insan olduğunu savunuyorlardı. Ütopyacılıkla bağlantılı olarak, Üniteryenler ilk günah ve bu günahtan kaynaklanan tüm insanların kaçınılmaz olarak günahkâr doğduklarına dair öğretiyi reddedip, bunun aksine insanın mükemmelleştirilebilirliğine inanıyorlardı. Üniteryenlere göre Tanrı sonsuz derecede iyi, kerim ve müşfiktir ve Tanrı'nın bu özellikleri insanın maneviyatında da potansiyel olarak bulunur. Ayrıca İsa'yı insan olarak gördükleri

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[70] Klasik kültürdeki "Altın Çağ" kavramında da insanoğlunun mükemmel bir düzen ve halden aşama aşama düşüşü ve günümüz sorunlu, şiddet ve ahlaksızlık dolu dünyasına gelişi tasvir edilir ve bazı kaynaklarda insanoğlunun ilerde Altın Çağa geri döneceği düşüncesi yer alır.

[71] Üniteryenizm İngiliz Romantiklerin, özellikle Coleridge'in, ilgi gösterip etkilendikleri bir akım olmakla birlikte, Amerika'daki Romantik akım olan Transandantalizmin de kaynağıydı.

için, İncil'de geçen ve İsa'nın kutsallığından bahseden bazı tabirlerin de insanın mükemmele ulaşarak Tanrı'ya yaklaşabilme potansiyelini anlattığını düşünüyorlardı. Bu görüşü savunmak için Matta 5:48'deki "Bu nedenle semavi Babanız kutsal olduğu gibi, siz de kutsal olun" ifadesini örnek gösteriyorlardı.

Tanrı'ya ulaşılabileceği, O'nunla bir olunabileceği inancı normalde dini rasyonel bir şekilde yorumlayan Üniteryenizme mistik bir boyut kazandırır. Bu mistik boyut, Üniteryenizmin ilk günah ve insanın mükemmelleştirilebilirliği yorumlarıyla birlikte, Romantiklerin yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik ütopyacılığının temelini oluşturur. Yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik Düşüş öğretisinin mistik yorumuna dayanır. Bu yoruma göre Düşüş insanoğlunun kaçınılmaz bir günahkârlık haline, düzeltilemez kusurlu bir insan doğasına ve dünya hayatına mahkûm etmemiştir. Düşüş geçici bir ayrı düşüştür, insanın ilk baştaki ahenkli ve masum halinden uzaklaşmış olmasıdır. İnsanın bu ilk hali, yani hem kendiyle hem Tanrı'yla, hem doğa ve kâinatla, hem başka insanlarla birlik içinde olma ve dünyayı masum gözlerle yani tüm muhteşemliğinin ve güzelliğinin farkında olarak görme hali, aynı zamanda hakiki halidir. Yani bu hal insanın özünde vardır ve bu özden uzaklaşmış olan insanın bu öze dönmesi mümkündür ve kendi elindedir. Bu öze dönmek için, yani düşüş-öncesi-hale yeniden ulaşmak için, insanın kaybetmiş olduğu bütünlüğü bulması, kendiyle, doğayla, kâinatla, Tanrı'yla ve diğer insanlarla tekrar birleşip ahenk içinde olması ve kaybetmiş olduğu masumiyeti yeniden kazanması gerekir. Evrensel ölçekte insanoğlunun hem şu anki durumunu bu ayrı düşmüşlük hali ile açıklayan hem de bu durumun değiştirilebileceği, insanoğlunun dünyayı düzeltebileceği ümidini veren bu yaklaşım, küçük ölçekte ise her bir insanın dünyaya masum ve ahenk içinde geldikten sonra dünyanın çürümüş düzeni tarafından bozulduğunu ancak istediği takdirde tekrar o masumiyete ve ahenge sahip olabileceğini ortaya koyuyor.

Bir ütopyacılık akımı olarak yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğin bir sosyopolitik, bir de kişisel-manevi olmak üzere iki önemli boyutu vardır. Sosyopolitik yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik doğal olandan ve insan doğasından kopuk bir sosyal düzenin yozlaşmış kurumları ve gelenekleri yüzünden birbirlerinden ve doğadan ayrı düşmüş

olan insanları ahenkli ve doğal bir düzen tasarlayarak tekrar hem doğayla hem de diğer insanlarla bir araya getirmeyi amaçlar. Bu yaklaşıma göre medeniyet insanı düzgünleştiren, güzelleştiren, aşırılıklarını törpüleyerek kontrol altına alan bir olgu değil, aksine insanı doğadan ve kendi doğasından uzaklaştıran ve dolayısıyla, bu düşünce tarzında insan doğası iyi olduğuna göre, yozlaştıran bir olgudur. Hem geleneksel Hristiyanlıkla hem de Batı dünyasında çok etkili olan Klasik dünya görüşüyle çelişen bu tutum onsekizinci yüzyılda gelişen sentimentalist felsefe akımı ve yine onsekizinci yüzyılın en önemli düşünürlerinden olan Rousseau'nun felsefesiyle rağbet görmeye başlamıştı. Batı dünyasının düşünce yapısını büyük ölçüde şekillendiren Hristiyan ve Klasik düşünürler insanın kusurlu bir varlık olduğunu ve özellikle onu yanlış yollara sürükleyebilecek olan duygularının eğitimle, akılla, medeni kurumlarla ve geleneklerle kontrol altına alınması, törpülenmesi ve baskılanması gerektiğini varsayarlar. İnsanın ancak bunların sonucunda iyi olabileceğini savunurlar. Öte yandan Shaftesbury ve Adam Smith gibi sentimentalist filozoflar insanın özünde iyi olduğunu, insanda doğal olarak bir ahlak duyusu bulunduğunu ve bu ahlak duyusu sayesinde insanın doğruyu ve yanlışı hisleriyle ayırt edebileceğini, dolayısıyla da duyguların insanı yanlış değil, doğru yönlendireceğini savunurlar. Bu durumda insan doğası törpülendikçe değil, doğal halini olabildiğince koruduğu ölçüde ahlaklı olacaktır. Rousseau da benzer bir tutum sergiler. İnsanın özünde hem hayatını idame ettirmesini sağlayan hem de başkalarına zarar vermemesini sağlayan duyular olduğunu, dolayısıyla medeniyete hiç girmemiş, doğada tek başına yaşayan farazi bir insanın daha ahlaklı ve iyi olacağını, ancak insanın başka insanlarla ilişkiye girip sosyal bağlar ve düzenler kurduğu anda bu duyularının yozlaştığını ve ahlakının azaldığını savunur. Rousseau doğadaki doğal insan halini farazi ve artık yaşanılması imkânsız bir hal olarak görse de, Romantik yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciler bu konuda daha ümitlidirler ve insanın mevcut yozlaşmış ve doğasına aykırı kurumları ortadan kaldırarak ve onların yerine daha doğal ve doğasını bozmak yerine koruyan bir sosyopolitik sistem kurarak özüne ve kaybetmiş olduğu masumiyet ve ahengine kavuşabileceğini düşünürler. Nitekim

hem Romantik hem de Altmışlar yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilerin zaman zaman toplumun genelinde istedikleri değişimi gerçekleştirmediklerinde bile bu prensiplere dayalı alternatif topluluklar oluşturduğunu görüyoruz.

Kişisel-manevi yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik ise insanın Tanrı veya kâinattan ve kendi özünden ayrı düştüğüne inanarak kırılan bu bağları tamir ederek insanın kişisel ve manevi hayatında tekrar bir birlik ve masumiyet haline dönüşü için çabalar. Yani toplumun değil bireyin dönüşümüne odaklanır. Yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğin bu boyutu her zaman mevcut olmakla birlikte özellikle sosyopolitik alanda yapılmak istenen dönüşüm bir türlü gerçekleşmediğinde ve umutların tükenmeye başladığında ön plana çıkar. Yani toplumu ve dünyayı değiştiremeyen ütopyacılar, kendilerini ve kişisel dünyalarını dönüştürerek mükemmel bir bilinç veya varoluş şekline ulaşmaya çalışırlar. Bir yandan da kişilerin tek tek dönüşmesiyle uzun vadede dünyanın da dönüşeceğini düşünürler. Kişisel-manevi dönüşüm insanın tekrar Tanrı'yla veya kâinatla birleşmesini veya özde var olan ama yozlaşmayla birlikte unutmuş olduğu bütünlüğü ve ahengi tekrar kavramasını gerektirir. Diğer yandan yılların alışkanlığının ve algılardaki yozlaşmanın insandan gizlediği dünyanın muhteşemliğinin tekrar farkına varılmasını, yani dünyayı tekrar çocukların yozlaşmamış algılarıyla gördükleri gibi tüm güzelliği ve kerametiyle görerek özdeki masumiyete tekrar kavuşmayı gerektirir.

Yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilikte insanoğlunun özündeki masumiyete ve ahenge geri dönebilmesini sağlayacak iki kuvvet ve değer çok önem kazanıyor. Bunların ilki sevgi ve/veya aşktır. Sevgi burada çok genel anlamıyla insanları birbirine bağlayan, dolayısıyla birleştiren kuvvet, aşk ise mistik anlamıyla insanın Tanrı veya kâinatla bir olmasını sağlayan kuvvet olarak kullanılmaktadır. İnsanın temel sorununun özdeki birlik ve bütünlüğü kaybetmesi, ayrı düşmesi olduğu düşünüldüğünde sevgi (özellikle sosyopolitik boyutta) ve aşk (özellikle kişisel-manevi boyutta) bu bütünlüğün geri kazanılması için elzemdir. Sevgi ve aşk insanları birbirleriyle, toplumla, doğayla, Tanrı ve kâinatla tekrar birleştirerek düşüş-öncesi-hale yeniden ulaşmayı sağlıyor. İkinci önemli kuvvet ise hayal gücü. Romantikler Aydınlanma'nın akıl vurgusuna

karşın hayal gücüne önem veriyor ve akıldan daha önemli bir kuvvet olduğunu savunuyorlardı. Onlara göre hayal gücü hem birleştirici hem de yaratıcı bir kuvvetti. İnsanın algıladıklarını sentezleyen ve böylece birleştiren hayal gücü, aynı sevgi gibi kaybedilmiş olan bağların, özellikle kişisel ve manevi bağların yeniden oluşmasını ve dolayısıyla insanın özdeki ahenge tekrar ulaşmasını sağlar. Hayal gücü aynı zamanda insanın düşüş-sonrası dünyanın gündelik gerçeklerinin ötesine geçerek hakikati görebilmesini, yani görünürdeki tüm ayrılıkların, yozlaşmışlıkların ardında yatan kâinatın, insanın, var olan her şeyin özündeki birlik halinin ve ahengin farkına varmasını sağlar. Bu farkındalık insanın bilincinde bir dönüşüm meydana getirdiği gibi bu birliği gündelik hayatta ve yaşadığı dünyada da tekrar var etmeye çalışmasını teşvik eder. Hayal gücü bir de insanın zihninde alternatif dünyalar canlandırarak var olan düzenin olabilecek tek düzen olmadığı, dünyanın çok daha güzel, çok daha adil, çok daha mutlu bir yer olabileceği fikrini besler ve dolayısıyla ütopyacılığı canlandırır. Son olarak, hayal gücü insanın dünyayı tekrar yaratabilmesini veya alışkanlığı-kırma özelliği sayesinde alışmışlığın ve yozlaşmış algıların örttüğü dünyanın muhteşemliğini tekrar algılayabilmesini ve böylece dünyayı yeni yaratılmışçasına görebilmesini sağlar.

Üçüncü bölüm ise ortaya çıkarılan bu ütopyacılık türünü Altmışlara taşıyarak yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğin o dönemde tekrar canlanışını, bu canlanışın sebeplerini ve akımın Altmışlarda ne şekilde etki gösterdiğini ele almaktadır. Öncelikle Altmışlar karşıt-kültürünün ve onu temsil eden rock türünün nasıl doğduğu ele alınmaktadır. Bunun için öncelikle 1950'li yılların sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi ortamına değinilerek bu dönemde Batı dünyasının yirminci yüzyılın ilk yarısında yaşadığı iki dünya savaşı ve büyük bir ekonomik krizin ardından hızla yaralarını sarmaya başladığı anlatılmaktadır. İnsanların maddi konfor içinde yaşamaya başladıkları bu yeni güven ortamında refahın artmasıyla birlikte 1940'ların ortalarından itibaren doğum oranında ani bir artış olmuş ve "baby boomers" diye adlandırılan o yıllar içinde doğan nesil, Altmışların genç kuşağını oluşturup büyük ölçüde gençlerin isyanı olan karşıt-kültürü taşıyan en önemli demografik öğe olmuşlardır.

1950'li yıllara hem artan refah seviyesinin getirdiği rehavet ve kayıtsızlık halinden hem de yine bu yıllarda git gide tırmanan Soğuk Savaş ortamının getirdiği baskıcı rejimden kaynaklanan bir apolitiklik hâkimdi. O dönemde yazan pek çok yorumcuya göre, dönemin genç neslinin çoğu iyi bir eğitim aldıktan sonra iyi bir mesleğe adım atarak başarıya ve maddi rahatlığa ulaşmaya hayatını adamış ve ideolojik, sosyal ve siyasi konulara karşı ilgisiz kalmıştı. Ancak, böyle bir sükûnet ortamının ardından biraz şaşırtıcı bir şekilde, Altmışlarda aniden patlak veren isyan ve idealist amaçlar uğruna mücadele ortamının tohumları aslında bu dönemde atılmıştır. Colin Campbell 1950'lerde ortaya çıkan ve ilk başta birbirlerinden tamamen ayrı oldukları, hatta birbirlerine karşı husumet besledikleri halde Altmışlarda birleşerek karşıt-kültürü oluşturan üç önemli gençlik alt-kültüründen bahseder. Bunlar ideolojiden bağımsız bir şekilde belli başlı insani davaların peşinden koşan (bunların en önemlisi Amerika'daki Sivil Haklar hareketidir) "ahlak mücadelecileri," kapitalist düzenden ve burjuva toplumdan ümidini yitirerek kendi alternatif bohem yaşam tarzlarını oluşturan "Beat kuşağı," ve doğum oranındaki ani artışa ve eğitimin yaygınlaşmasına bağlı olarak bu dönemde ortaya yeni bir sosyolojik grup olarak çıkan "ergenler"dir.

Bu yeni sosyolojik grup çocukluktan çıkmış amd henüz yetişkin olmamış, eğitim sürecinde olduğu için henüz çalışma hayatına girmemiş ama artan refah seviyesinden dolayı da belli bir ekonomik güce sahip olma özelliklerini taşımaktaydı. Campbell'in argümanına göre bu üç alt kültür normalde farklı sosyal sınıflara dayandığı halde Altmışlarda birleşti ve çok daha geniş ve etkili bir alt kültür olan Altmışların karşıt-kültürüne dönüştü. Üstelik bu birleşmeyi sağlayan en önemli etken de müzikti. Ahlaki mücadelecilerin müziği olan protest halk müziği, Beat kuşağının müziği olan jazz ve ergenlerin müziği olan rock 'n' roll, Bob Dylan ve Beatles grubunun çok önemli rol oynadığı bir süreçte birleşerek rock türünü ortaya çıkardı ve bu yeni müzik türü ve beraberindeki yeni karşıt-kültür farklı sınıflardan ve kökenlerden pek çok genci ortak idealler ve amaçlar uğruna bir araya getirdi.

Altmışların karşıt-kültürü son derece ütopyacı bir kültürdü ve ütopyacılık anlayışları aynı Romantikler gibi yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciydi. Bir başka deyişle karşıt-kültürün ortaya koyduğu ve rock şarkılarının ifade ettiği Altmışlar ütopyacılığı Romantik Çağın yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğinin yeniden canlanmış haliydi. Bu canlanış bilinçli bir taklidin veya örnek almanın değil, benzer bir çalkantılı sosyal ve siyasi ortamın eseriydi. Hobsbawm "Devrimler Dönemi" diye adlandırdığı dönemi anlatırken, bu dönemde Fransız Devrimi ve Endüstri Devrimi sonucunda ortaya çıkan burjuva kültürüne ve kapitalist sosyoekonomik düzene karşı gençlerden ve sanatçılardan oluşan bir grup insanın, yani Romantiklerin, ciddi bir muhalefet ortaya koyduklarını yazar ve böyle bir muhalefetin o döneme özgü olduğundan bahseder. Altmışlarda da yirminci yüzyılın ilk yarısında geçirdiği sarsıntılardan sonra tekrar güçlenen burjuva kültürü ve kapitalist sosyoekonomik düzene karşı yine gençlerden ve sanatçılardan oluşan bir grup insan ciddi bir muhalefet göstermiş ve Romantik dönemin bu kendine özgü özelliği tekrarlanmıştır. Üstelik genç kuşağın artık toplumun daha büyük bir oranını oluşturmasından dolayı çok daha güçlü ve geniş çaplı bir muhalefet gerçekleşmiştir.

Romantik yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik gibi Altmışların yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliği de bir sosyopolitik bir de kişisel-manevi boyuttan oluşmaktaydı. Karşıt-kültür bir dizi sosyal ve siyasi dava olarak başladı. Kurulu sistemi radikal olarak değiştirmeyi amaçlayan bu davalar özellikle iki temel dava olan Sivil Haklar Hareketi ve Vietnam Savaşı karşıtlığı etrafında şekillendi. Bu sosyopolitik muhalefetle birlikte kişisel-manevi dönüşümü amaçlayan önemli bir alternatif yaşam biçimi gelişti ve özellikle Altmışların sonlarına doğru güçlendi. Yaşadıkları topluma hükmeden burjuva değerleri reddederek yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilikle yakından bağlantılı alternatif değerler doğrultusunda daha farklı bir yaşam biçimi seçen çiçek çocuklar (diğer adıyla hippiler) psikedelik ilaçlar, tinselcilik ve müzik yoluyla bilinçlerini genişletip fiziksel gerçekliği aşarak kişisel ve manevi bir dönüşüm geçirmeyi hedeflemekteydi. Dolayısıyla karşıt-kültürün ütopyacılık anlayışının her iki boyutu da egemen sisteme karşı ciddi bir şekilde meydan okumaktaydı.

Romantikler gibi, Altmışların karşıt-kültürü de hem toplumu hem de bireyi doğal ve öz hallerine dönüştürmeyi amaçlamıştır. Yani insanlıklarını kaybetme aşamasına gelmiş mutsuz, yabancılaşmış, yozlaşmış kitleler üreten yapay, kısıtlayıcı, yanlış sosyal kurumlar ve gelenekler tarafından bozulmamış ahenkli ve masum bireyler ve toplumlar için mücadele verdiklerini düşünmüşlerdir. Yine Romantikler gibi, karşıt-kültür de bu ütopya mücadelesinde iki temel değer olarak sevgi/aşk ve hayal gücü değerlerini benimsemiştir. Ancak bu sefer hayal gücünü tetikleyen psikedelik ilaçlar kullanarak hayal gücü yetisini daha ulaşılabilir hale getirmeyi tercih etmişlerdir. Özetle tezin üçüncü bölümü yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğin Altmışlardaki dışavurumunu araştırarak bu ütopyacılık akımını hem yansıtan hem de önemli ölçüde şekillendiren rock liriklerinin incelendiği takip eden bölümlere bağlam oluşturmaktadır.

Tezin altyapısını oluşturan bu üç bölümün ardından, inceleme bölümleri gelmektedir. Bu bölümlerde Altmışların önemli ve temsili rock sanatçılarından Bob Dylan, Beatles grubu[72] ve Simon & Garfunkel ikilisinin şarkı yazarı Paul Simon'dan seçilen lirikler, yani şarkı sözleri, yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halci içerik ve işlevleri açısından çözümlenmektedir. Dönemin pek çok rock sanatçısı arasından seçim yapılırken üç özelliğe önem verilmiştir. Bunlardan birincisi sanatçıların karşıt-kültürü şekillendirme, sürdürme ve temsil etme konusundaki etkileridir. Dylan sıkça karşıt-kültürün sesi olarak anılmakla birlikte hem rock müziğinin tür olarak ortaya çıkışında hem de o dönemdeki neredeyse tüm rock sanatçılarının üstünde çok büyük etkisi olan bir sanatçıdır. Beatles grubu da benzer bir şekilde Altmışların en büyük temsilcileri olarak görülmüşlerdir ve Dylan'la birlikte rock müziğinin gelişiminde önemli rol oynamışlardır. Aynı zamanda yirminci yüzyılın en büyük kültürel fenomenlerinden sayılmaktadırlar. Paul Simon diğer ikisi kadar merkezi olmasa da, karşıt-kültürün kendine marş ilan ettiği ve önemli birer kültürel öğeye dönüşmüş olan şarkıların yazarı olarak önemlidir.

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[72] Şarkılarını birlikte yazdıkları için grup olarak ele alınmışlardır, liriklerin bazılarını ağırlıklı olarak John Lennon, bazılarını Paul McCartney, bazılarını da George Harrison yazmıştır.

Sanatçılarda aranan ikinci özellik bu ilk özellikle yakından bağlantılı olan sanatçıların ve şarkılarının karşıt-kültürün yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğini temsil etme derecesidir. Dönemin bazı sanatçıları bu ütopyacılık akımının sadece bir açısına, örneğin psikedelik deneyimlere, odaklanmış, bazıları ise dönemin başka özelliklerini temsil ettikleri halde ütopyacı bir bakış açısı sergileyememiştir. Dylan, Beatles ve Simon sadece Altmışları temsil etmekle kalmayıp dönemin yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğinin çeşitli boyutlarını ve özelliklerini de şarkılarında yansıtmışlardır.

Son olarak seçilen sanatçıların liriklerinde edebilik aranmıştır. Çalışmada şarkı sözleri şiir olarak inceleneceğinden, sadece hem üslup hem anlam derinliği açısından şiirsel olan şarkı sözleri seçilmiştir. Dylan'ın şarkı sözlerinin şiirselliği pek çok akademisyen tarafından zaten kabul edilmekte, hatta bazı lirikleri şiir antolojilerinde yer almaktadır. Simon'ın şarkı sözleri de açık bir şekilde şiirseldir ve şarkılarının ön planında yer alır. Beatles grubunun erken dönem şarkıları çok basit sözlerden oluşsa da Altmışların ortalarından itibaren onlar da çok daha derin ve edebi niteliği olan şarkı sözleri yazmaya başlamışlardır.

Şiirleri inceleme usulü kültürel bağlam içinde yakın okuma diye tarif edilebilir. Amaç bir yandan her bir liriğin derin, öz anlamlarını çözümlerken öte yandan da onu Altmışlar yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliği bağlamında değerlendirmektir. Araştırılan yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik özellikleri ise ikinci ve üçüncü bölümlerde ortaya konulan ortak noktalardır. Bunların ilki bu dünyada ve hatta yakın gelecekte insanların kendi içlerinde, birbirleriyle ve kâinatla ahenk içinde yaşayacakları ütopik bir düzenin kurulabileceğine dair olan inançtır. Bu inanca sıkça var olan düzenin eleştirildiği hicivler ve egemen sosyal kurumları ve gelenekleri yıkmayı amaçlayan düzen karşıtı bir yaklaşım eşlik eder. Bu yaklaşıma göre insanları baskılamaya ve yozlaştırmaya yarayan, evlilikten milliyete, dinden özel mülkiyete, sahte ve doğadışı kurumlar yerine insanların özgür ve eşit oldukları ve dolayısıyla birbirleriyle anlamlı ilişkiler kurabildikleri doğal bir düzen kurmak gerekir ve bu düzeni kurmak mümkündür. Şiirlerde incelenen bir diğer önemli nokta ise toplumdaki ayrışmayı ve yabancılaşmayı sevginin birleştiriciliğiyle aşarak tekrar düşüşten önceki birlik ve

bütünlük haline ulaşma arzusudur. Buna bağlı olarak Tanrı'dan veya kâinattan ayrı düşmüş olan insanın aşk ve hayal gücü yoluyla tekrar birliğe ulaşma çabası da yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğin önemli bir boyutu olarak şiirlerde inceleniyor. Aynı zamanda hayal gücü veya psikidelik ilaçlar, müzik, şiir, meditasyon gibi yollarla bilincin açılması ve genişletilmesi, dolayısıyla fiziksel ve materyal algılar aşılarak dünyanın tekrar keşfedilmesi, tüm kerameti ve ahenginin farkındalığına varılması ve tüm bunların sonucunda masumiyetin tekrar kazanılması bir başka önemli inceleme noktasıdır. Yine yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilikle yakından bağlantılı olan sentimentalist bakış açısı, yani insanların özlerinde iyi oldukları ve içsel bir ahlaki duyularının olduğu inancı ile bozulmamış, ötekileştirilmiş ve baskılanmış insanlara verilen değer şiirlerde incelenmektedir. Son olarak siyasi veya ideolojik bir akımdan çok kültürel bir olgu olan yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik, şaire ve şiire ütopyaya giden dönüşüm yolunda çok etkili roller biçer. Şair dönüşüme şiirlerinde ulaşması mümkün olan ütopik bir dünya tasvir eden, değişmesi gereken önemli sorunlarla ilgili bilinçlendirme yapan, değişimi teşvik eden ve destekleyen, alışkanlıkları kırarak ve bilinçleri açarak dünyanın yeniden keşfedilmesini sağlayan, hem sosyopolitik hem de kişisel-manevi dönüşüme liderlik eden bir figür olarak görülür. Bu özellik incelenen şiirlerin hem içeriklerinde hem de benimsenen işlevlerinde kendini gösterir.

İlk inceleme bölümü olan dördüncü bölüm karşıt-kültürün distopik olarak tanımlayarak değiştirmek istediği çağın düşmüş insan durumunu hicveden ve bu sayede dinleyici kitlesinde değişim için ilham uyandırıp değişimin gerekliliğini göstermeye çalışan liriklere yoğunlaşıyor. Diğer bir deyişle her ne kadar bu liriklerin içerikleri distopik olsalar da işlevleri ütopiktir. İncelenen lirikler Beatles'dan "Eleanor Rigby," Simon'ın "The Dangling Conversation" ve "The Sound of Silence" adlı şarkıları ve Dylan'ın "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" adlı eseridir. Bu liriklerde tanımlanan esas insan problematiği yabancılaşma ve yalnızlaşma, diğer bir deyişle düşmüş insanlık halindeki bütünlük eksikliği ve bu dağılmanın yaralarını saracak (yaralarını sarmak bir yana bizzat yaraları açan) toplumsal kurumların yetersizliğidir.

Beşinci bölüm yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halci bir ütopyaya sosyopolitik dönüşümü ele alan liriklere odaklanıyor. Bob Dylan'dan "Blowin' in the Wind," "The Times They Are A-Changin'," ve "Chimes of Freedom," Beatles'dan "She's Leaving Home" ve Lennon'dan "Imagine," Paul Simon'dan ise "Scarborough Fair/Canticle" ile "Bridge Over Troubled Water" lirikleri inceleniyor. Bu liriklerin düşünsel temelini sentimentalist dünya görüşü ve düzen-karşıtlığı oluştururken, sevgi ve empati de içeriklerinde önemli bir rol oynuyor. Liriklerden bazıları örtük veya açık bir şekilde radikal değişim çağrısında bulunuyor veya böyle bir değişimin çok yakınlarda ve kaçınılmaz olduğunun haberini veriyorlarken bazıları da karşıt-kültür için önemli sosyal ve siyasi davalara yoğunlaşıyorlar. Ayrıca, ister farklı sosyal çevrelerden gelerek bir dizi davaya birlikte yürüyen gençlere bir beraberlik duygusu getirmesiyle olsun ister hem barışçıl hem güçlü bir iklim oluşturduğu için protestoların önemli bir parçası olarak kullanılmasıyla olsun, isterse de hem cazip hem de ulaşılması mümkün olan hayali ütopik dünyalar betimleyerek dinleyicilerinde dünyayı değiştirme iradesi oluşturmasıyla olsun, rock müziğin ütopyacı işlevi de bu liriklerde kendini gösteriyor.

Bu tezdeki son inceleme bölümü yeni-düşüş-öncesi bir bilince veya varoluş şekline kişisel-manevi dönüşümü ele alan liriklere odaklanıyor. Öncelikle Altmışların sonlarına doğru yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğin kişisel-manevi boyutunun ön plana çıkmasının arkasındaki sebeplerin, özellikle onca yoğun ve büyük çapta toplumsal muhalefete karşın Vietnam Savaşının halen devam ediyor olmasının neden olduğu hüsranın ve dönemin başında kararlılıkla barışçıl bir şekilde yürütülen gösterilerin hem eylemcilerin hem de polisin giderek şiddete başvurmasıyla çatışmaya dönüşmelerinin, üstünde kısaca duruluyor. Daha sonra bu bölümde kişisel-manevi yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halciliğe götüren iki önemli yol tartışılıyor. Bunlardan ilki insanların otantik, bütünleşik doğalarıyla barışmasıyla özdeki bir olma haline geri dönmeleri ve gerek diğer insanlarla gerekse kainatla veya Tanrıyla tekrar birleşmelerini içermektedir. Bu yeniden bütünleşmenin gerçekleşebilmesi ve insanın hem diğer insanlarla hem de kainat veya Tanrıyla olan bağlarının yenilenebilmesi

için ise sevgi/aşk ve düşüş-sonrası gerçekliğin ve onun ürünü olan düşmüş benliğin aşılarak tüm varlığın esas birliğinin idrak edilebilmesi elzemdir. İkinci yol ise alışkanlığı-kırma yoluyla dünyayı yeniden keşfederek özdeki masumiyet haline dönüşü kapsar. Diğer bir deyişle, alışılagelmişliğin ve dünyevi ve maddeci perspektiflerin ötesinde bir bakış kabiliyetiyle dünyanın kerameti ve güzelliğini görebilmek, böylece bilincimizi dönüştürerek dünya algımızı tekrar yaratmaktır. Bu yol bilincin genişlemesi ya da dönüşmesini ve dünyanın sıradan fiziksel algılanışının aşılmasını gerektirir.

Hem düşmüş benliği ve gerçekliği aşma kabiliyeti hem de düşüş sebebiyle tekdüzeleşmiş dünya algısını aşma kabiliyeti Romantiklerce hayalgücü melekesine yüklenmiş bir görevdi. Altmışlarda LSD gibi psikedelik ilaçlar vasıtasıyla bilinci genişletmek ve geliştirmek için daha erişilebilir bir yöntem keşfedildi. Bu algı değiştirme ve aşkınlık elde etme metodunun Altmışlar yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halicilikteki ve o dönemin rock liriklerindeki önemli yerine ve ayrıca Romantik yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halicilikteki hayalgücü melekesi ile örtüşüyor olmasına bağlı olarak, LSD ve ona atfedilen tinsel ve dönüştürücü rol altıncı bölüm için çok önemlidir. Bu ilacın en çetin savunucularından olan Timothy Leary, arkadaşları Ralph Metzner ve Richard Alpert ile birlikte yazdığı *The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on The Tibetan Book of the Dead* adlı kitabında LSD gibi halüsinojen ilaçlar vasıtasıyla fiziksel gerçekliğin ve onun esiri olan benliğin aşılarak kainatın birliği ve muhteşemliği bilincine nasıl ulaşılabileceği, bu tinsel deneyimin nasıl kalıcı bir kişisel-manevi dönüşüme çevrilebileceğini anlatır. Bu nedenle, Leary ve arkadaşlarının bu kitabı altıncı bölümdeki şiir incelemelerinin düşünsel çerçevesini oluşturuyor. Liriklerde ifade edilen çeşitli dönüştürücü tecrübeler, Leary ve arkadaşlarının aşkıncı psikedelik tecrübenin üç aşamasıyla ilgili yaptıkları açıklamalar çerçevesinde çözümleniyor. Buna göre ilk (ve en yüksek) aşamada tam aşkınlık ve beraberinde getirdiği aydınlanma ve birliğin idrakı tecrübe edilir, ikinci aşamada dış dünya duysal ve rasyonel kısıtlardan kurtarılmış ve zihnin hayalgücü yaratımları ile karışmış olarak, yani alışkanlık-kırıcı bir şekilde algılanarak yeniden keşfedilir, üçüncü aşamada ise

gerçekliğe dönüş gerçekleşir ve ideal olarak bu dönüş geçici aşkınlık tecrübesini kalıcı bir bilinç dönüşümüne çevirir. İncelenen lirikler Bob Dylan'dan "Mr. Tambourine Man," Beatles'dan "Within You, Without You" ve "Across the Universe," Paul Simon'dan da "For Emily, Whenever I May Find Her"den oluşur. Bu lirikler her ne kadar çok nadiren açıkça psikedelik ilaçlara veya uyuşturucu-ilhamlı aşkınlığın üç aşamasına değiniyor olsalar da, incelemelerin ortaya koymaya çalıştığı üzere, bu kavramların karşıt-kültürün içine yayıldıkları gibi şarkılara da sirayet etmiş durumda oldukları görülüyor.

Bu araştırmaların ve incelemelerin sonucunda, Romantik Çağın ve Altmışların ortak ve bu dönemlere özgü bir ütopyacılık anlayışına sahip oldukları görülür ve bir ideoloji veya siyasi bir projeden çok kültürel bir olgu olan bu ütopyacılık anlayışının dönemlerin şair ve genç entelektüelleri tarafından üstlenilen, egemen burjuva kültüre ve kapitalist sosyoekonomik düzene karşı bir başkaldırı olduğu anlaşılır. Bu başkaldırı ve ardındaki ütopyacı yaklaşımın Romantik akımın şiirlerinde, Altmışlar karşıt-kültürünün ise rock liriklerinde kendini gösterdiği görülmüştür. Bu ütopyacılık anlayışına göre insanoğlu geçici olarak özdeki bütünlük ve masumiyet halinden ayrı düşmüştür ama bu hali hem sosyopolitik alanda hem de kişisel-manevi alanda tekrar kazanmak mümkündür. İnsanın özünde iyi olduğuna ve düşüş-sonrası bozuk dünya düzeni ve toplum yapısı tarafından yozlaştırıldığını, bu bozuk yapılardan, yani var olan toplumsal kurum ve geleneklerden ne kadar uzaklaşıp doğaya ve doğal olana dönerse, o denli özündeki iyi, ahenkli ve masum haline dönebileceğini savunan yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik sentimentalist dünya görüşüne dayanıp, düzen-karşıtı bir yaklaşıma sahiptir. Düşüş öncesi hale dönüşte sevgi ve/veya aşk ve hayal gücü (veya onu tetikleyen pskidelik ilaçlar) büyük öneme sahiptir. Ayrıca şairler de değiştirilmesi gereken sorunlara dikkat çeken, alternatif dünyalar olabileceğini gösteren, daha güzel bir dünya yaratma isteğini teşvik eden ve hem sosyopolitik hem de kişisel-manevi dönüşümlere önderlik eden figürler olarak görülmüşlerdir. Dolayısıyla her iki dönemde de şiirin rolü çok büyüktür.

Bu tez Romantik Çağ ile Altmışlar arasında ütopyacılık açısından bir bağlantı kurarak ve yeni-düşüş-öncesi-halcilik diye adlandırdığı ve ayırt edici özelliklerini ayrıntılı bir şekilde açıkladığı bu ütopyacılık türünü tanımlayarak ütopya çalışmaları, Romantizm çalışmaları ve kültürel çalışmalar alanlarına katkıda bulunmuştur. Ayrıca rock liriklerinin kültürel alandaki büyük etkilerine ve edebilik açısından yazılı ve geçerli kabul edilen pek çok şiirden eksik kalmayışlarına ragmen, şu an hakim olan postmodern anlayışın popüler ile yüksek sanat arasındaki sınırları eritme eğilimine rağmen ve lirik şiirin özünde müzik eşliğinde söylenme amacı taşıyan sözel bir şiir türü olmasına rağmen rock lirikleri halen şiir olarak ilgi görmemektedir. Bu tez sadece kültürel çalışmalar ve müzikoloji alanları tarafından ciddiye alınan, edebiyatçıların büyük ölçüde yok saydıkları rock liriklerini şiir olarak ele alıp inceleyerek bu eksikliği giderme yolunda da bir adım atmıştır.

APPENDIX C

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü **X**

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Bal
Adı : Reyyan
Bölümü : İngiliz Edebiyatı

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : THE REVIVAL OF ROMANTIC UTOPIANISM
IN ROCK LYRICS OF THE 1960S

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora **X**

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. **X**

3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. **X**

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: