

Researching Dylan's Fugitive Writings: The Kennedy Assassination — *Margolis and Moss* and (the Non-Fugitive) *Revisionist Art*

[Second of an Occasional Series by James O'Brien]

"Of course I felt as rotten as everyone else," said Bob Dylan, in 1971, talking about the assassination of John F. Kennedy some eight years prior. "But if I was more sensitive about it than anyone else, I would have written a song about it, wouldn't I? The whole thing about my reactions to the assassination is overplayed." (1)

If Dylan ever wrote that song, he never released it. And, to my knowledge, listeners have yet to find such a work among the bootlegs, outtakes, and other recordings. And then, in November 2012, a new show of Dylan's visual art opened at the Gagosian Gallery in New York. In it, one did find work referencing Kennedy's murder – two works in the exhibit to that effect that address its aftermath and that address a pair of individuals key to that time: Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby.

Dylan was looking back on JFK, in 2011 and 2012 – the period when the finding aid supplied at the gallery gives the dates Dylan made this new work – and for the first time, as my research suggests, these were pieces that he made available to the public. In his past, however, his perhaps unfinished past, there *are* other examples of Dylan working with the subject of Kennedy, but never ones that were authorially released.

The artwork at the gallery is new. The history of the artist tapping the sights and sounds surrounding Kennedy is not. In this article, a look at both – the new work, and those still relegated to a mostly unpublished history. We shall start with the Gagosian, and then step back through time. Dylan and the death of Kennedy: a vein of material still largely unknown, some fifty years into the artist's career.

1. Gagosian: The Revisionist Art Kennedy Covers

Revisionist Art: Thirty Works by Bob Dylan came as a kind of surprise, in 2012. So much so that, at the time of the writing of this article in January and February 2013, a catalogue of the works was still not available. (2) There was no opening reception for the show, and little in the way of advanced notice.

Composed of silk-screened images taken from primarily periodicals, *Revisionist Art* re-presented the concept of magazine covers as a kind of pop-cultural/fantasy commentary. Dylan's 54x40-inch prints evoked many of the magazines with which 20th- and 21st-Century readers would be familiar – *Time*, *Life*, *Playboy*, *Rolling Stone*, and others – but these were not authentic covers from history, rather they were artist-constructed, a fusing together of selected images with created copy. Even details such as price, date, and mailing labels: many of Dylan's covers bend content and context in the service of subject matter that includes politics, history, gender, sexuality, family, and consumerism.

(a.) *The Jack Ruby Cover*

On one wall, at the far right-hand side of the gallery, was hung one of the pieces in Dylan's new collection. The title: *Life Magazine: Jack Ruby*. With a cover date of February 14, 1964, in it Ruby sits at a desk, facing the viewer, framed by two brunettes who in turn face him. Ruby's hands are in the air; it is as if he's gesturing while laughing or talking. Behind him, pinned to a door in the shot, are handwritten papers. The women laugh, their hands on their chins. Shirts, no pants, their tops are faded blue. The rest of the piece – except for the *Life* logo in red and white and the yellow of the copy – is black and white.

The copy on the image reads:

SONG & DANCE MAN FROM DALLAS
SHOOTS ALLEGED KILLER OF
THE PRESIDENT

RUBY WILL NOT PLEAD GUILTY

STRIP TEASE BOSS, JACK RUBY,
DOES CARD TRICK FOR
ONE OF HIS STRIPPERS

By comparison, the actual front image of *Life* magazine on February 14, 1964, was a photo of skier, with copy teasing an Olympics story inside. It would be the next week of February, on the 21st, that a Kennedy story would feature on the cover. The featured photo was of Lee Harvey Oswald holding a rifle. The photograph that Dylan uses in *Life Magazine: Jack Ruby* comes from the interior art of that issue of February 21; it is taken from a photo spread titled "One Shot Lifted the Veil on a Shady Life". (3)

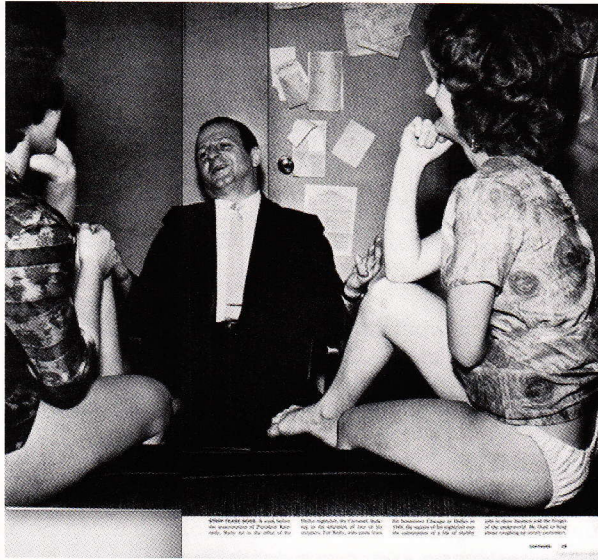


Figure 1. The photo from *Life* (Feb. 21, 1964) used in Dylan's piece: *Life Magazine: Jack Ruby*.

The caption of the photo, as originally published, starts with the words "STRIP TEASE BOSS" and then describes Ruby, in the photo, to be "basking in the attention of his strippers". He is in his office at the Carousel, a club in Dallas. With this information in mind, one can consider the copy on Dylan's cover in terms of what it asserts about Ruby and his relationship with the image that Dylan has used. Much of it is accurate.

It is accurate that Ruby was a Dallas resident when he pulled the trigger on Oswald. Ruby had moved to the city of Kennedy's death from Chicago, in 1948. (4) He was indeed a kind of song-and-dance man, it turns out. In Dallas, Ruby staked an interest in six nightclubs, and he booked various kinds of shows into the city's hotels – he also managed Little Daddy Nelson, a child entertainer. (5) Prior to that, in Los Angeles in the 1930s, Ruby was, for a time, a singing waiter. (6)

But the phrase *song & dance man* also echoes something Dylan said about himself, in 1965: "Oh, I think of myself more as a song and dance man, y'know." (7) And Dylan has put, on this Revisionist Art cover, not just the reference to some song-and-dance man, but something that additionally calls to mind a speech he gave to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on December 13, 1963.

In his acceptance of the Committee's annual Tom Paine Award, Dylan said to the assembled: "...I got to admit that the man who shot President Kennedy, Lee Oswald, I don't know exactly where – what he thought he was doing, but I got to admit honestly that I, too – I saw some of myself in him." (8) Not that Dylan said he considered Oswald's actions justified – he clarified his point otherwise, at the time – and not that I am suggesting that Dylan intended to correlate his song-and-dance man phrase of 1965 with that of *Life Magazine: Jack Ruby*, but I note the echo. And in the echo, a correlation is possible.

When it comes to whether Ruby pleaded not guilty, as the second of Dylan's three sections of cover-copy says: so he did, in a way. In the aftermath of Ruby's televised shooting of Oswald on November 24, 1964, his attorney Melvin Belli sought acquittal on the consequent murder charge by citing grounds of insanity. (9) As to the third section of Dylan's copy, whether Ruby was a performer of tricks or not, he was reported to have played a few hands with guards while awaiting trial. In the *Life* edition of January 13, 1967, Loudon Wainwright opened an article about Ruby's recent death with these words: "It is reported that when he played cards with his jailers, Jack Ruby cheated". (10)

(b.) *The Lee Harvey Oswald Cover*

Among the works of *Revisionist Art*, the Ruby cover is one of two works referencing Kennedy. At least, it is one of two such pieces that were present when the Gagosian show went up. By the time I walked into the gallery, however, on December 15, 2012, there was only one Kennedy-related example to see.

What was in the other piece's place, on the date that I visited: a work titled *Life: Sammy Davis*. The Oswald image was not there, and it was not listed in the finding aid supplied by the Gagosian at the gallery desk. I wrote to the Gagosian and the show's publicist to ask about the change. Neither had responded to my e-mails at the time this article went to the publisher, in late February 2013. One hopes that the Oswald cover will be included, if there is a forthcoming catalogue, so that the piece can be examined more fully. Until then, some information about it is available, thanks to visitors who were quick enough in getting to the gallery.

Anne Margaret Daniel – writing for *ISIS* in November 2012 – described the Oswald work in a recent article.

One of two artworks dealing with the aftermath of Kennedy's murder, this is a version of the controversial (because allegedly subjected to primitive Photoshopping) *LIFE* cover of February 21, 1964, the date Dylan also uses. (11)

In another review of *Revisionist Art*, a writer at *Rolling Stone* gives the headline copy from the piece: "The Secret Life of Assassin Lee Harvey Oswald". (12) By comparison, the actual *Life* cover of February 21 had the following words upon it: "Lee Oswald with the Weapons he Used to kill President Kennedy and Officer Tippit".

Thinking about these two kinds of headlines, *Life's* is sober and descriptive, Dylan's suggests the stuff of a tabloid publication. Oswald's *secret life*, in Dylan's piece. Of course, the man's life had been full of secrets. From false names and addresses to Communist associations, there were a wealth of details ripe for the kind of cover that Dylan made.

That being the case, a point to which we can return, regarding Dylan's work in connection with the Kennedy assassination, is that the copy he has created, in both examples, adheres closely to fact. The Ruby cover evidences a sense of humour, perhaps – its song-and-dance man and its strip-tease boss; the image of Ruby goofing around with the ladies – but its copy is also couched in accuracy. The Oswald cover is not exactly funny, but it does poke a kind of fun, in that it evokes the impulses to read an exposé, which can be a baser kind of curiosity than the one that fuels one's impulse to read less overtly sensational reportage. In this, the Ruby cover is ironic, but it is also factual.

Is it significant that Dylan does not leave behind what are considered to be the facts in his references to Kennedy with these two works? It is at least worth noting that, in other examples from the show, such an emphasis is not given the same degree of dominance. Accurate details are not the concern, for example, of Dylan's *Baby Talk Magazine: Strengthen Your Baby*, in the show – wherein infants are reported to receive facelifts. Nor are they the rule in another cover: a photo of Joey Bishop and Frank Sinatra accompanied by text that proclaims Al Gore will challenge Rudolph Giuliani (presumably in an election, one that has never happened and never likely will).

Perhaps the difference has something to do with an element of tone, one that can be associated with Dylan's long-stated feelings about those weeks and months following Kennedy's death. The artist has told his biographers that even singing material such as "*The Times They Are A-Changin'*" became uncomfortable for him during that fall of 1963, following the events in Dealey Plaza. The shooting loomed too large. (13) Perhaps it still does, in the artist's mind.

2. Margolis and Moss: Dylan's Writings about Kennedy

When one looks back a bit further into Dylan's authorially unpublished body of work, one finds Kennedy references as well. In this section, I turn to what was apparently set aside, some fifty years prior – works that date to the weeks and months immediately following the fatal shots of November 22, 1963.

I've spent some time, in recent years, with what I refer to as Dylan's fugitive writings – those unpublished or only fleetingly published other-than-song works that one can find in the hands of a dedicated Dylan collector, or in fragmentary form in the pages of magazines such as *ISIS* and *The Telegraph*. In particular, I've worked with a holding that's come to be known as *Margolis and Moss*. In that holding, one finds works by Dylan that deal specifically with Kennedy and the events that afternoon in Dallas.

(a.) History of 'Margolis and Moss'

The chronology of creation, when it comes to the Kennedy-related material in *Margolis and Moss*, is not yet certain. Clinton Heylin suggests that Dylan typed the lines about Kennedy during the fall of 1963. (14) Seth Rogovoy suggests that it was created during the run-up to a February 1964 tour, one that took Dylan through the South, to Dallas and Dealey Plaza, and then northwest to California. (15) Howard Sounes writes about that trip as well, adding that Dylan took a portable typewriter with him and that he was working on later-to-be recorded lyrics such as "*Chimes Of Freedom*". (16)

In connection with the writings that reference Kennedy, in seeking a timeframe for the typescripts, a sizable portion of the poetry and prose must be dated to some time after November 21, 1963 – the day before Kennedy was killed. However, while some lines of some sides refer to the Kennedy assassination, other lines also refer to other events. And so, some leaves examined in this section may fall into a different timeframe than those posited by other researchers and biographers.

The provenance of the holding is somewhat clearer. At some point in the 1960s or early 1970s, *Margolis and Moss* was placed in the attic of Dylan's former manager, Albert Grossman. There it stayed until Grossman reportedly gave it to an employee. That next owner then sold the holding at auction, in 1990, providing a letter that attested to their history. Musician, Graham Nash, bought the leaves from broker Jean Moss, of the auction house Margolis and Moss. (17) (And so, the name of the holding emerges from this point of sale.)

The sides, of which Nash provided to me high quality scans, bear poetry, prose, a twelve-line playscript, a fifteen-side playscript; and also what appear to be drafts of Dylan's "11 Outlined Epitaphs" – a work first published in 1964 on the jacket and sleeve of "*The Times They Are A-Changin'*". There are also several leaves of lyrics and miscellanea, but not all of these contents were necessarily set down during the same posited 1963–64 timeframe. (18)

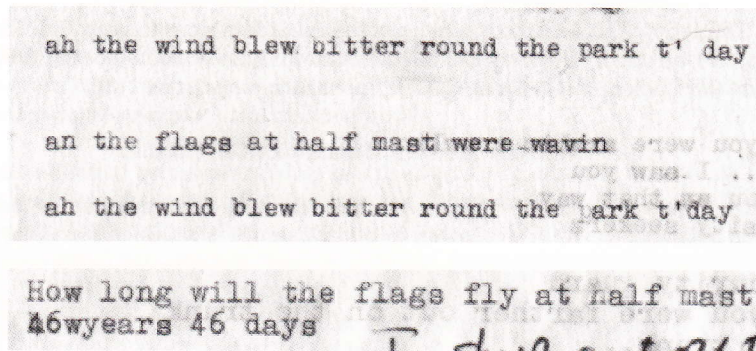
Luckily for researchers, some of what comprises *Margolis and Moss* has been fairly easily available since 1990. Using a preview catalogue circulated at the time of the 1990 auction, the Dylan fanzines *ISIS* and *The Telegraph* issued, collectively, 12 typed sides of the poetry and prose. The arrangement of the writings in these publications, however, at times proves problematic. In some cases, facsimile sides have been cropped together so that they appear to be all of a piece, and in other cases excerpts of facsimile sections appear without reference to their context on the source typescript.

Selections from *Margolis and Moss* are among writings that have also appeared in the form of transcriptions online. In particular, there is Olof Björner's website *Words Fill My Head*, where the material as presented is equally, if not more so, problematic. These transcriptions present inaccuracies of spelling, punctuation, uppercase and capital letters, and they bear what appear to be editorially imposed titles. There are also substituted words within the lines – as compared to Dylan's typings – that may represent errors, or that may be further instances of editorial intervention.

These transcriptions can be found in identical states at sites such as *Works By Dylan Himself*. (19) It is worth noting that Olof Björner's *Words Fill My Head* may represent something more like a fan's effort, rather than a carefully attended-to editorial enterprise, and though Heylin describes it, in *Revolution in the Air*, as: "an absolutely essential addendum" to Dylan's published writings – reader, beware. (20)

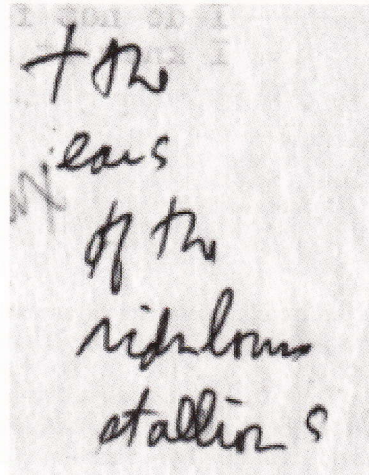
(b.) *Instances and the Date of a Play: Kennedy References in 'Margolis and Moss'*

'ah the wind blew bitter round the park t' day'



In these excerpts from one leaf, among those bearing examples of references to Kennedy's assassination, in *Margolis and Moss*, suggest some details of the day of the President's funeral – that it was bitter and windy. This is confirmed by reports of the day. (21) Adding to these suggestions of a funereal day: flags flown at half-mast can mark a gesture of respect for the recently dead. (22) There is also the number forty-six in the lines, and this takes on significance in the case of Kennedy if one considers that the President was shot dead in his forty-sixth year (though it was six months into it, not forty-six days).

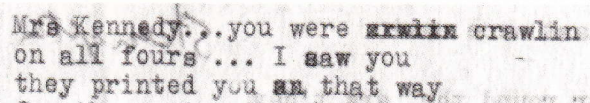
Another section, in handwriting, includes these lines:



The riderless horse – Black Jack was the name of the one present at Kennedy's funeral – is an image that occurs more than once in Dylan's writings (23). We can also assert that we are in the realm of death because of a halted clock. According to 19th-Century superstition, a clock would be stopped upon a person's death. (24)

'Mrs Kennedy...you were ~~erwin~~ crawlin'

On this leaf of *Margolis and Moss*, we are at the scene of the assassination. We are alongside the car that carried the Kennedys through the plaza.



Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy, as the speaker describes her, is captured in a moment. From the caption of the photo published in *Four Days: The Historical Record of the Death of President Kennedy*, in early 1964: "Mrs. Kennedy starts to climb across the back of the car (top) to assist Hill, who has just put one foot on the bumper." (25) The name Hill refers to Secret Service agent Clint Hill.

The action to which Dylan refers closely corresponds to one shown in stills of film taken by Orville Nix, as published in *Four Days*. Another possibility, regarding Dylan's reference to captions: on November 29, 1963, *Life* published still images taken from footage of the Kennedy assassination, as captured by Abraham Zapruder's handheld movie camera.

Another matter arises, regarding what happened in that vehicle, further along in the leaf:

Mrs Kennedy you dont
need excused for being on the trunk
the second after your husband was shot
everybody could see what was happenin
in these pictures with their own eyes
why was the truth of human beings distorted?
xxxxxxxxxxxx how far can this hero image go?
everybody aint a hero...

The press reported that Mrs. Kennedy climbed onto the back of the President's car to help Hill. She may have climbed onto the trunk with a different purpose, however. Witnesses in the car later told the Warren Commission that Mrs. Kennedy said, shortly after she returned from the back of the vehicle: "I have his brains in my hand." (26)

'a snap of the <s>fingers in the face of time'

Turning again to the aftermath of Dealey Plaza, 1963, we come to these lines on a different leaf of the *Margolis and Moss* holding (some of the references, in this passage, we've seen already in other examples within this article):

a snap of the fingers in the face of time
brought the clocks t a halt
brought the hour t its end
brought the
the village bells toll the xxxxxxxxxxxx
an the flags at half mast they're a wavin

In *Chronicles*, Dylan notes the presence of bells in his childhood, church bells that rang nearby to where he lived, sounding when "somebody important died". (27) This would be another such time, the ringing of these bells, years later.

Further along:

Thru the papers a plenty many a tale is told
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
Oh the french papers claim that the xxxxxxxxxxxx right wing
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
thru the pa ers a plenty many atale is told
it had t be done with more guns than one
it could not fire that fast say the Italians
an t.e Dallas police say they have a closed case
t the ears of the riderious stallion

Newspapers did publish stories about conspiracies in connection with the assassination of President Kennedy. These appeared as early as the day of the event. (28) As for whether any of the papers that reported stories about the assassination were French: *France-Soir* was on the scene by November 23. (29)

We consider, in these lines, also, the question of a gun, or guns. Because of its slowness and inaccuracy, the Mannlicher-Carcano – the Italian-made rifle that authorities determined Oswald to have used – was known as a "humanitarian weapon". (30)

And soon enough, as the speaker notes, the case was closed. Based on evidence surrounding the rifle bearing his palm print, the Dallas Police named Oswald as the assassin and they closed the case on or about November 24, 1963. (31)

Not that all matters then dissolved. There is an additional detail, when considering the Kennedy references on the leaf:

an the bullet came from somewheres below level.

As early as January 1964, Lillian Castellano, an amateur detective from Los Angeles, began to publicize her theory that a shooter had fired at President Kennedy from a storm drain on Elm Street in Dealey Plaza. (32)

There is an echo in this line as well, however, that calls to mind Dylan's lyric '*The Lonesome Death Of Hattie Carroll*' ("*The Times They Are A-Changin*", January 1964). Hattie "emptied the ashtrays on a whole other level". (33) Such picking-up and carrying-along of lines, if that is what this example represents, occurs more than once throughout *Margolis and Moss* and between the holding and Dylan's lyrics. It is a matter for further exploration, but that is a different enterprise than this one.

'I stand an watch the clock tick'

The next example from the *Margolis and Moss* leaves is one of the more challenging when it comes to references to Kennedy within the fugitive lines. (Input from the author of the holding might resolve some of these outstanding challenges. I have not yet ventured to ask for that input. One goal, when it comes to my work on *Margolis and Moss*, is to pursue such an enquiry.)

On the leaf in question, the typing is as follows:

Er stunned by disbelief
as ~~all~~ everybody in the room
we watched Walter Cronkite
half asleep tryin his best
t fasten a rumor t'gether
it was friday mornin
yesterday a riot started up
in Harlem
t'day at least for now it is no more

What one can say about it: Walter Leland Cronkite, Jr. anchored television's *CBS Evening News* from 1962-81. Cronkite did cover the Kennedy assassination from New York on November 22, 1963, and Heylin places Dylan in New York that day as well, watching the news of the event on television with Suze Rotolo. (34)

One of the features of Cronkite's initial broadcast, airing shortly after 2:30 p.m., was that Dallas correspondents were initially unable to resolve differing accounts of the President's condition. (35) About two minutes in, Cronkite refers to a "rumor that has reached them, at the hotel, that the President is dead. Totally unconfirmed, apparently, as yet." Five minutes later, the President is confirmed to have died. That Cronkite was "half asleep" is not evident in footage of the broadcast. He does visibly struggle with his emotions.

Challenges, when it comes to the days and times of the events described:

- The lines, following those about Cronkite, suggest that a riot occurred sometime around the assassination of President Kennedy. The Internet archive of *The New York Times*, however, does not include any stories about Harlem riots between November 21, 1963, and December 31 of that year.

- Dylan was living in New York City when a riot started on Thursday, July 16, 1964. It began in the hours after a city police officer shot to death a 15-year-old boy. (36) By the morning of Friday, July 17, when the first story about the event appeared in *The New York Times*, police had temporarily restored calm. (37) Thousands rioted again, on Sunday, July 19. Confrontations persisted until Friday, July 24. (38)

If Dylan is writing about both events in these lines, the November assassination and the July riot, then the timeframe for the typing of *Margolis and Moss* extends into the summer of 1964, with Dylan perhaps setting down words about Kennedy some months after the President had died.

'to compl<e>iment one'

We turn a second time, in this article, to the night of December 13, 1963, when Dylan addressed the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The subject of his speech that night was, in the end, in part, the Kennedy assassination. As it is on this leaf from *Margolis and Moss*:

an I ask "would I kill the president"
for any reason...
an men have reasons
~~farxxxxxxx~~ for how they act
an I say

By comparison, in his speech to the ECLC gathering, Dylan commented upon Lee Harvey Oswald and the shooting of President Kennedy. His words:

"...I got to admit that the man who shot President Kennedy, Lee Oswald, I don't know exactly where - what he thought he was doing, but I got to admit honestly that I, too - I saw some of myself in him. I don't think it would have gone - I don't think it could go that far. But I got to stand up and say I saw things that he felt in me - not to go that far and shoot". (39)

Notes on a Playscript

The 15-side playscript found in the leaves of *Margolis and Moss* suggests several connections to our subject as well. Dylan wrote and spoke about working on plays at several points between March and May 1964; he told interviewers that he was pursuing two of them at the time. (40) Based on the chronological evidence examined in the preceding chapter, one of these mentioned playscripts was probably the material from which this article's next and last example of Dylan's references to Kennedy is drawn.

The other work Dylan spoke of may be represented, in whole or in part, by additional fragments found in the *Margolis and Moss* poetry and prose, and/or in a separate section found within another holding: one that I refer to as *Another Side* (as it dates to a period corresponding approximately with the writing and recording of "*Another Side Of Bob Dylan*"). The 15-side example in *Margolis and Moss* is worth a longer look on a number of fronts, regarding what it contains. I confine my examination in this article to only the lines of it that are relevant to our look at Kennedy.

On the first leaf of the script, the setting of the drama is described:

settin is that of a combination bar-room- church - part of hotel
it is early evenin an it is November 21st

While the date might not be considered remarkable in a different holding/context, that Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, is to be considered alongside the already noted references to the event in *Margolis and Moss*.

Another connection to matters of Kennedy's death is possible, within the playscript, when one considers the character of Mr. Sellowth. A white, liberal thinker – as Dylan writes about him – Sellowth was formerly a Communist in the Spanish Civil War. In light of certain details pertaining to Lee Harvey Oswald – that he was a Communist and an applicant to the American Civil Liberties Union (41) – it is perhaps also significant that, on the November 21st of the play, the other characters consider whether Mr. Sellowth is capable of murder. (I am not certain if there is a scholar or enthusiast who has worked out what are the incidences of anagrams in Dylan's work, but I note that the letters of Sellowth's name can be rearranged to make the word *shotwell*.)

3. Historical Inquiry, and Towards an Enquiry

These works by Dylan – the *Margolis and Moss* writings of the early 1960s that connect to details surrounding November 22, 1963, considered alongside the Kennedy references found among the *Revisionist Art* series – suggest material that can be considered to be of a similar kind. That is, they are works by Dylan that respond to accurate details of history in more than one way. Though their tonal qualities may differ – and by *tone* I mean what elements of feeling or mood that they convey (solemn to ironic to tongue-in-cheek would be three possible points along a spectrum, on this point) they are rooted in accuracy about the events with which they deal.

I have employed the word *commentary*, earlier in this article, to describe the effects of Dylan's works in this regard, but I commit my own act of revision, now. A better-suited term is *inquiry*. Meaning, the artist is investigating details of what happened, in these works, and as those details are apprehended in various ways – reportage and memory among them – whether Dylan means to *comment* on Kennedy or the persons surrounding his death is relegated to a question of interpretation. Whether he is delving into such details and presenting to the reader (or viewer) different takes on how events and personages may be considered, however, this is not such a question. It is evident that Dylan is doing just this.

There is something about Dylan's work in connection to Kennedy that calls to mind certain lyrics from 1963 and 1964, and also later in his catalogue. When one examines the way historical details are presented in songs such as '*Talking Bear Mountain Picnic Massacre Blues*', '*Who Killed Davy Moore?*', and '*The Lonesome Death Of Hattie Carroll*' – representing only a sampling, '*Hurricane*' and '*Tempest*' come to mind as well – Dylan can be found opening similar vistas onto the ideas and revisions that can be applied to a set of details about events.

Facts are important to all of these works – even if fiction, irony, and a sense of humour is also involved. Historical events in Dylan's works, those that I will now refer to as works of historical inquiry, become the backdrop against which the artist's contributions are foregrounded. (42) When one annotates the connections to history, and biography, and other elements of Dylan's time and milieu, one begins to apprehend the interdependency of the backdrop and the foregrounded creations.

Margolis and Moss is rich with lines that allow for this kind of enquiry. It, and holdings like it, are also rich with lines that connect to Dylan's lyrics. It would be a helpful resource to scholars of the artist's work, were such holdings to emerge in a well attended-to format – one that featured annotation about such connections. Perhaps we will have one, at some point in the future.

NOTES:

1. Scaduto (2009), loc. 4050 of 7885. Kindle edition.
2. In an e-mail of January 11, 2012, Meg Blackburn, director of media relations for Fitz & Co. wrote that a book of the images is expected to appear in 2013.
3. *Life* (February 21, 1964): 28-29.
4. *Life* (February 21, 1964): 29.
5. Posner (1993), 355.
6. Posner (1993), 352.
7. *Rolling Stone* (Dec. 14, 1967): 12.
8. Quoted in Shelton (2011), 143.
9. Posner (1993), 400. Belli lost the case in March 1964. Ruby successfully appealed the death sentence in his case, in 1966; he died of what were reported to be complications of cancer, in 1967.
10. *Life* (Jan. 13, 1967): 18. Wainwright wrote *The View from Here*, a regular column for the magazine, from 1964-72.
11. **ISIS**: <http://www.bobdylanisis.com/contents/en-uk/d117.html> (accessed February 20, 2013).
12. *Rolling Stone*, November 29, 2012: <http://wap.yahoo.com/w/legobpengine/music/news/bob-dylan-transforms-vintage-magazine-covers-revisionist-art-172013249-rolling-stone.html?b=index&.ts=1354224339&.intl=US&.lang=en&.ysid=edo6JlDaK3B2JbXz14EmKJw1> (accessed February 20 2013, via Y! Music).
13. Scaduto (2009), loc. 4018 of 7885. Kindle edition.
14. *Revolution* (2009), 177-78.
15. Rogovoy (2009), 71.
16. Sounes (2011), 151.
17. "Tales" (April 1990): 31-32; "Pounding Print" (1990): 32. As of January 2012, Nash still owned the holding; this learned in e-mail correspondence with him on January 2, 2012.
18. Among the lyrics and miscellanea, there are versions of the lyric '*Liverpool Gal*' that are dated, on the leaves, 1962 and 1965. Heylin suggests that they were likely added to *Margolis and Moss* some time after the poetry, prose, and playscript materials were brought together. See *Revolution* (2009), 15.

19. *Works By Dylan Himself*: <http://www.taxhelp.com/himself.html> (accessed February 20, 2013).
20. *Revolution* (2009), 21.
21. Bugliosi (2007), 295.
22. *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989): half-mast, n.
23. Black Jack is named in *Four Days* (1964), 107. For Dylan's subsequent references to a riderless horse, see *Tarantula*, 37 (written throughout 1964 and 1965, but first published in 1971). The line is: "honeymoon locked into footsteps of the riderless stallions/rome falling with driving wishy washy half note—".
24. *A Dictionary of Superstitions*: <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html/subview=Main&entry=t72.e332> (accessed February 20, 2013).
25. *Four Days* (1964), 20. The book is a United Press International-American Heritage Magazine publication; no date of publication is given in it, but the Library of Congress' Catalogue of Copyrights entry is January 1, 1964.
26. "Testimony of Mrs. John B. Connally" (1964), 148.
27. *Chronicles* (2004), 31.
28. Posner (1993), 348.
29. Posner (1993), 387.
30. Posner (1993), 104.
31. Posner (1993), 284.
32. Simon (1993), 11 and Posner (1993), 413.
33. *Lyrics 1962–2001* (2004), 95.
34. *A Life* (1996), 52.
- 35 About five minutes into his broadcast, Cronkite gives the time of Kennedy's death as approximately 2 p.m. Eastern time. See YouTube.com: MaxPowers518:Walter Cronkite Announces Death of JFK: <http://youtu.be/2K8Q3cqGs7I> (accessed February 20, 2013; footage timelag: 5'16").
36. *A Life* (1996), 60–61.
37. *New York Times* (July 17, 1964): 1:31.
38. *New York Times* (July 19, 1964): 1; (July 22, 1964): 1; (July 24, 1964): 1.
39. Quoted in Shelton (2011), 143.
40. *A Life* (1996), 57 and *Behind* (2003), 139.
41. Kutulas (2006), 212 and Posner (1993) 126-27.
42. The concept of Dylan employing techniques of foregrounding and backdrop in his work is prompted by an interview that I conducted with Christopher Ricks, in 2011. Ricks talked about the way the artist could foreground what he is attempting to do in a line, or in a progression of lines, against a backdrop of his acknowledged poetical influencers, as one might detect such things in the components of Dylan's writings. We were discussing another holding of fugitive writings, one that I refer to as *Siggins* in a dissertation that I wrote about these works.

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