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Wandering Spirits:
Youth Travel and Spiritual Seeking, 1964-1980

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An abstract of

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate Division of Religion, American Religious Cultures

2015

Abstract

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By Benjamin D. Brazil

Between 1964 and 1980, a boom in youth travel intertwined with the rise of what is commonly called seeker spirituality. This fusion occurred within a wider web of meaning and dissent, which I refer to as popular existentialism. Opposing a free, authentic, and expressive self to the external, alienating constraints of modern social structures, popular existentialism condemned not only institutional religion, but also phony relationships, meaningless work, consumer conformism, and conventional character ideals. Hip travel, in turn, embodied an alternative. Imagined as a liberating moral practice, it merged existential freedom and physical mobility, spiritual journeys and bodily movement. After examining competing meanings of travel in U.S. history, this dissertation describes a youth travel boom closely linked to the hippie counterculture. It then presents three case studies. The first focuses on the practice of hitchhiking, imagined as a route to transformed selfhood and authentic community. The second studies live-in hippie buses and "housetrucks," interpreting them as instances of a material spirituality. The last looks at a series of guidebooks that framed travel as a New Age practice, as well as letters to the books' author. In sum, I find that popular existentialism guided the imagined meanings of travel. More importantly, however, travel focused the blurry ideals of popular existentialism into a sharp and particular image of freedom, one that valued self-reliance, self-expression, openness, and authenticity. Formed according to this vision of freedom and its hip virtue ethic, "mobile selves" fit well with evolving, capitalist social structures. At the same time, their spiritual paths traversed both religious and secular spaces, erasing the artificial borders between them.

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Introduction

In the years between 1964 and 1980, the meaning and practice of youth travel changed. More precisely, youth travel emerged – both as a massive cultural fact and as a style of travel with distinctive practices, institutions, and moral logics. The evidence was everywhere. As "hippie" entered the American lexicon, young people floated between urban bohemias and rural encampments, looking for gatherings of the likeminded. Media exposés created panics about runaways. Hitchhikers, increasingly marginal in post-war America, suddenly proliferated across the United States and along global travel circuits. Material and print culture also registered the explosion of youth travel. Wildly painted "hippie buses" and intricately designed "housetrucks" chugged between communes and campsites, becoming icons of the era. More influentially, a new breed of guidebooks codified the youth travel style –spontaneous, low-budget, independent – and often explicated its moral meaning. Doing so, they pointed to an important truth: that for all its pleasures, youth travel became an important and widespread moral practice in the 1960s and 1970s.

By "moral," of course, I do not mean chaste, pious, self-restrained, or even serious. Instead, I mean to indicate a broader range of questions about what constitutes a good life, a good society, and a good self. While American culture had long associated such questions with religion – imagined according to Christian models – the cultural shifts of the 1960s unsettled that terminology. In particular, what I will call popular existentialism made the self the ground and gauge of value, a shift that stretched or exceeded common understandings of what "religion" meant. By the 1980s, "spirituality"

– as in "spiritual but not religious" – had emerged as the dominant language for the expressive, eclectic religious individualism that emerged from the 1960s. In many ways, then, this dissertation explores travel as practice of contemporary spirituality *avant la lettre*.[1]

Yet my primary purpose is not to parse the genealogies of "spirituality" or "religion," however valuable these tasks may be. Instead, I am interested in how travel discourse and travel practice incarnated shifting approaches to common moral questions: How should people relate to each other and to their societies? What is the meaning of work (and play)? What should a person be or strive to become? One approach to such questions frames them as "orientation in the ultimate sense," as Charles Long defined religion itself. And in this sense of orientation (and its correlate, *dis*orientation), this dissertation is indeed about religion. Yet I am not simply stipulating a definition; I also aim to historicize it. The power of spatial metaphors for religion, and their particular resonance with the cultural developments of the 1960s and 1970s, are themselves part of this dissertation's story. As I hope to show, travel became an arena to orient and disorient oneself in ways that, if not new, were nonetheless linked to the righteous, cutting edge of cultural dissent.[2]

Yet travel also took on particular resonance because, by its very nature, it can focus and refocus meaning in distinctive ways. As light is both particle and wave, travel is both practice and metaphor, enactment and symbol. Bodily journeys reflect or advance life journeys. "Pilgrimage" may describe the soul's route to God, as in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, or it may describe bodily travel to a sacred place. Indeed, travel may take on all these meanings simultaneously. To shift metaphors, travel is a sort of

flywheel between body and imagination, allowing fluid shifting between outer and inner movements. Or so I will argue here.[3]

As in all times, however, travel's meanings shifted through gears determined by the larger cultural backdrop, taking on particular meanings between 1964 and 1980. All periodization entails a fictive clarity, and I have chosen highly symbolic markers suitable to an era of self-conscious symbolism. In 1964, the Merry Pranksters – the experimental community that formed around author Ken Kesey – embarked on an LSD-infused trip from California to New York on a psychedelically painted school bus whose destination sign read, simply, "Furthur." In popular memory, the much-mythologized trip not only announced the beginning of the psychedelic Sixties, but it also celebrated a quest for expanded consciousness and personal liberation that would carry through the 1970s. It is this evolving "quest for the ideal self" that most clearly unifies the famed idealism of the early and mid-1960s with the fragmentation of the "me decade," as Tom Wolfe famously called the 1970s. Certainly, that quest continues among many of the spiritual-but-not-religious today. Nonetheless, the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan provides a convenient, conservative bookend to an era when self-exploration went from a self-conscious gesture of dissent to a common, middle-class way of being. By 1980, in any case, the hip travel style had become established and increasingly routinized.[4]

Indeed, the dominant moral framework for several contemporary forms of travel – from shoestring backpacking to luxury yoga retreats – emerged during my time period. While certainly enabled by postwar affluence and structures of privilege, travel exploded after 1964 because it expressed moral imperatives that animated the rebellious young. These imperatives, in turn, derived from what I will call popular existentialism. By that

phrase, I do not mean an intellectual or logically consistent philosophy. Instead, popular existentialism denotes both what Catherine Albanese (drawing on Leonard Norman Primiano) terms a "vernacular" and what Pierre Bourdieu calls a "practical logic." By vernacular, Albanese denotes a loose, fluid constellation of ideas and tropes available to people who "'speak' the same religious language." And certainly, many young travelers did "speak" the particular, metaphysical vernacular Albanese has chronicled. However clichéd, talk of "vibrations" that connected liberated minds to each other and to a monistic cosmos show as much. Yet the vernacular of popular existentialism included more that metaphysics. As incarnated in the era's youth travel culture, it mixed languages and concepts from Asian religions, Transcendentalist-style Romanticism, New Thought, the Theosophical tradition, existentialist philosophy, humanistic psychology, avant-garde art, visionary architecture, cultural criticism, and multiple other currents.[5]

While popular existentialists mixed these "languages" in idiosyncratic ways, a constellation of common orientations provided a loose but real cohesion. Fundamentally, popular existentialism opposed the free individual to modern forms of social embeddedness. It entailed a suspicion of tradition, authority, bureaucratic organization, institutional religion, academic learning, and any other form of received, impersonal wisdom. Instead, it valued the authority of direct, personal experience, as well as individual freedom, choice, intuition, and expression. Certainly, hopes for freer, more organic, and more just societies also informed the rebellions – and even the travels – of the 1960s and early 1970s. Nonetheless, the most enduring legacy of popular existentialism is its elevation of a particular ideal of self – one that is expressive and

open, self-reliant and spontaneous. Active spiritual seekers fit the mold, but so did a raft of other Americans.

The diverse languages and hopes of what I am calling popular existentialism are often summarized in a single and deceptively complex word: authenticity. In *A Secular Age,* Charles Taylor describes a post-1960s, post-Durkheimian "Age of Authenticity" in North Atlantic countries. Scholarship on tourism, in turn, has theorized the allure of authenticity since Dean MacCannell's path-breaking *The Tourist: A New Theory of The Leisure Class* (1976). This dissertation shows how these authenticities differ and interrelate.[6]

It does so, in large part, by understanding travel vis-à-vis several theoretical accounts of practice, including Bourdieu's. The consistent habit of opposing the free and authentic individual to modern social structures, I argue, gave popular existentialism its fundamental moral logic. In his discussion of *habitus*, Bourdieu describes such unsystematic rules of thumb as "practical logic." Importantly, practical logic does not require logical consistency. Travelers, for example, could appreciate the Romantic imperative to liberate the self yet also engage in meditation predicated on Buddhist notions of "no-self." Although contradictory, both orientations matched the structuring imperative of individualized dissent from "mass society." Likewise, both fit well with the white, middle-class social position of many – but not all – of the travelers' studied here.[7]

Travel also served a function that Charles Taylor attributes to practice – it allowed people to live out new ideas and ideals, offering them an embodied sense of what those ideals meant on the ground. As a practice in this sense, travel became one means by which popular existentialism altered what Taylor calls the "social imaginary" – the

broadly shared, inchoate sets of assumptions about how a society works and should work. In youth travel, I contend, we glimpse the expansion of Taylor's Age of Authenticity. At the same time, Taylor's version of authenticity, with its heavily Romantic genealogy, occludes the complexity of the popular existentialist version.[8]

Certainly, youth travel intertwined with the expressive individualism that spread after the 1960s. But like expressive individualism, the travel boom also had deceptively social sources. For all the non-conformist rhetoric surrounding them, young travelers did not invent a new style of travel individually, *ex nihilo*, or outside the marketplace. Instead, popular existentialism reflected older American mythologies and cultural currents. Likewise, it spread by becoming materialized and institutionalized – in common travel practices, like hitchhiking (ch. 3); in material culture, like "housetrucks" (ch. 4); and in guidebooks, like Ed Buryn's *Vagabonding* series (ch. 5). Channeled through these forms, popular existentialism provided a framework not just for imagining the meaning of travel, but also for fantasizing about it as a means to a transformed self and life. For this reason, the power of imagination and fantasy constitutes another major theme of this dissertation.

Another point needs to be made at the outset: the distinction between "travel" and "tourism" is, in large part, a product of popular existentialism itself. The travelers studied here regularly maligned mass tourism as an adjunct to Cold War "mass society." At the same time, they freely chose to travel in search of pleasure or other forms of personal fulfillment. The difference between independent "travelers" and mass "tourists," then, should not be exaggerated. Still, I will use "travel" both to reflect my subjects' own self-understanding and because some practices – living long-term in a

"housetruck," for example – do not easily mesh with any recognizable definition of tourism. They do, however, suggest a trip, in multiple senses of the word.[9]

FROM MODERN MALAISE TO PSCYHEDELIC DECONDITIONING: A HISTORICAL PRIMER TO POPULAR EXISTENTIALISM

Although popular existentialism emerged during the post-war period, it encompassed earlier anti-modern movements, rolling them into itself. Its most important predecessor was 18th and 19th century Romanticism, especially as incarnated in the work of the Transcendentalists and their ecstatic cousin, Walt Whitman. Whitman's "Song of the Open Road" begins:

> AFOOT and light-hearted, I take to the open road,
> Healthy, free, the world before me,
> The long brown path before me, leading wherever I choose.
>
> Henceforth I ask not good-fortune, I myself am good-fortune,
> Henceforth I whimper no more, postpone no more, need nothing,
> Done with indoor complaints, libraries, querulous criticisms,
> Strong and content I travel the open road.

Divesting himself of "limits and imaginary lines," and declaring himself "my own master total and absolute," Whitman paired free expression and free movement, opposing both to dry rationality and received wisdom. His "open road" would become the most enduring symbol of an ecstatic, patriotic, mystical, and mythic understanding of travel – and especially of travel in the United States.[10]

Romantic sensibilities flowed into the broader anti-modernism of the Gilded Age, as well as its religiously liberal currents. As T. J. Jackson Lears has shown, the period between 1880 and 1920 saw rising concern with "weightlessness" and "overcivilization." Among many routes to renewed vigor and "real" life, Americans looked to craft labor, medieval aesthetics, Asian religions, and adventurous travel. These trends, all of which

recurred in the 1960s, mark what Lears calls the shift from "salvation to self-realization." The religiously liberal tradition Leigh Schmidt has described – "excitedly eclectic, mystically yearning, perennially cosmopolitan" – paralleled and overlapped these developments, uniting "Transcendentalists, romantic Unitarians, Reform Jews, progressive Quakers, devout disciples of Emerson and Whitman, Spiritualists, questing psychologists, New Thought optimists, Vedantists, and Theosophists, among sundry other wayfarers." Anti-creedal and anti-authoritarian, these religious liberals resisted, in different ways, the dominant, American fusion of cultural Protestantism and its utilitarian, individualist approach to work. They preferred "religions of the spirit" to "religions of authority."[11]

The astounding affluence of post-war America democratized both modern comfort and modern malaise, at least for the white middle classes. As before, both comfort and malaise existed within a tightly bound set of norms and institutions. After World War II, the middle-class ideal stitched family, work, consumption, patriotism and religion into a single garment – one woven with extraordinary tightness. In part, the post-war settlement updated and intensified the complementary split between public and private spheres that had risen with the Industrial Revolution. Spearheaded by the G.I. Bill, the Cold War "class bargain" offered white men education, stable employment, benefits, and reliable wage increases, all of which reinforced social stability by giving white, male workers a "stake in the system." As part of the larger goal of stabilizing capitalism, the plan aimed to keep veterans from becoming tramps and hobos, a pattern associated with earlier wars. Yet the postwar settlement also included the private sphere. Consumption and leisure, including vacations, compensated for the drudgery of corporate

work. More importantly, the nuclear family became the locus of what Elaine Tyler May has called "domestic containment." Quashing communism by quashing deviance – or so the logic went – hard-working, god-fearing families illustrated the virtues of American capitalism. Institutional religion also played a role in shoring up American society against godless communism. As "In God We Trust" appeared on currency, attendance at churches and synagogues reached all-time peaks. At the same time, as Will Herberg persuasively argued, the real, "common religion" of the American people was "the American Way of Life."[12]

The norms of the postwar, white middle class provoked anxious reactions that resonated with earlier anti-modernisms. Popular existentialism, however, reframed and extended their concerns. The most important of these was preoccupation with authenticity's opposite – alienation. After Foucault and Derrida, after deconstruction and post-structuralism and post-colonialism, it is difficult to remember how pervasive and influential discourses about alienation recently were. But for much of the 20th century, alienation struck writers of diverse political and theological persuasions as the central problem of modernity. As late as 1973, one scholar could call alienation " a central preoccupation of the whole literate section of our society." Crucially, the meanings of authenticity mirrored the meanings of alienation – a connection Douglas Rossinow has made clear.[13]

With the literal meaning of "separation," alienation suggested diverse estrangements: from meaningful labor; from the political system; from social values; from institutions; from other social groups; from human community writ large; from God (or, as Paul Tillich put it, the "ground of being"); and, crucially, from one's deepest self.

Both scholarly critics and youthful rebels, in turn, linked the divisions of the inner life to the divisions of social and political life. Discussion of the problem evolved. Early in the Cold War, an array of thinkers understood alienation as a cultural-political risk – a collective, psychological vulnerability to the thick, even religious, commitments of totalitarian ideologies. But by the 1960s and 1970s, handwringing over alienation focused on the problem of conformity. Beginning in the 1950s, a swelling chorus of popular literary works attacked mass society and its pressures, which produced "organization men," "other-directed men," and men "in gray flannel suits." As a whole, the "mass society critique" contended that the technical, bureaucratic organization of society slotted interchangeable workers into multiple, instrumental roles, destroying organic human relationships and dividing people within themselves. The moral rationale was inscrutable. The Holocaust loomed in the past. Nuclear annihilation menaced the present. As Todd Gitlin has put it, Baby Boomers were "formed in the jaws of an extreme and wrenching tension between the assumption of affluence and its opposite, a terror of loss, destruction, and failure."[14]

Discontent wove through popular and literary culture. J.D. Salinger's Holden Caulfield, anti-hero of *The Catcher in the Rye*, had glimpsed the future when he groused about the "phonies" he found all around him. The folk music scene, which birthed luminaries like Bob Dylan, strained after the natural. *Mad* magazine mocked the mainstream. Likewise, existential rebellion, youth rebellion, and movement merged on the screen – *Rebel Without a Cause, The Wild One,* etc. – and in the sensual release of rock-and-roll. More crucial for this dissertation, Jack Kerouac and the Beat writers – discussed in chapter 1 – also rejected the postwar settlement, linking rootless travel to

ecstatic non-conformity. The Beat lifestyle, in turn, resembled the bohemian rebellion Norman Mailer endorsed in his influential (if unintentionally racist) 1957 essay "The White Negro." There, Mailer located the answer to mass society's "conformity, consumerism, and cancer" in the figure of the hipster, an "American existentialist" and joyful criminal who hung out with addicts, hustlers, and oppressed blacks. Foreseeing the co-option of "hip" by advertising, Mailer traded the world for "existential." Following Mailer, I will also use "hip" to denote "popular existentialist," but with a splash of bohemian style.[15]

Mailer's provocative essay only begins to suggest the enormous popularity of philosophical existentialism – obviously, one of popular existentialism's major sources. "Hardly a college student in the 1960s could be found without a dog-eared copy of Walter Kaufmann's collection *Existentialism: From Dostoevsky to Sartre*," writes George Cotkin in his history of existentialism in America. Yet existentialism's influence was more diffuse. In the Christian existentialism of Paul Tillich, the wound of alienation became sin, and the wholeness of authenticity became salvation. Within some New Left circles, this Christian existentialism opened a "pathway between theological conservatism and radical humanism," as Rossinow has it. From a decidedly non-religious angle, Albert Camus's vision of principled rebellion profoundly influenced student activists, including Tom Hayden of Students for a Democratic Society and Robert Moses of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Similarly, Betty Friedan's call for emancipation from "the feminine mystique," resonated (or borrowed from) the work of Simone de Beauvoir.[16]

Diverse alienations found answer in diverse authenticities. The most important for this dissertation, which I will call existential authenticity, centers on the moral importance of being oneself. With roots in the Romantic period, its classic form derives the good from an organic, expressive, and natural self, which middle-class social pressure threatened to corrupt or squash. By the 1960s, however, discourse about authenticity, alongside discussion of alienation, had broadened beyond its Romantic roots. Freudian psychology introduced a new source of alienation and inauthenticity – the superego's repression of the id. The "flower child" embrace of sexual and sensual pleasure, then, could find overlapping justifications in both Romanticism (pleasure as natural) and in the "Freudian left" (pleasure as unrepressed). The intersection of psychology and existentialism also yielded humanistic psychology, whose pursuit of self-actualization reflected the ethics of authenticity. Particularly as it evolved toward the more mystical and metaphysical human potential movement, humanistic psychology became another current within popular existentialism. Other strains of existentialist thought, as in Martin Buber's *I-Thou*, focused on forging intimate, authentic relationships despite modern pressure to instrumentalize others. [17]

This desire to fuse inner and outer wholeness also inspired political action. As Rossinow has shown, a "politics of authenticity" undergirded the young, white activists of the New Left. These student activists acutely felt their own inner divisions and alienations, but they sought to overcome them via risky, existential political commitment -- especially to ending African Americans' social alienation via Civil Rights work. But the New Left's pursuit of authenticity also evolved. As white activists became disillusioned with conventional politics and distanced from Black Power, many came to

believe that "the revolution is about our lives." In part, the phrase gestured toward the alienated labor of Marxist humanism. Students counted themselves among the alienated because universities, they believed, merely tooled them to take their place in the coldly productive "machine" of bureaucratic capitalism. Transformed into a revolutionary "new class" by virtue of this particular brand of alienation, they increasingly sought authenticity in intimate communities (and communes) of the likeminded. As examples of what could be, these communities constituted a "prefiguative politics." In any case, as Rossinow argues, activism was merely one manifestation of a broader "youth existentialist movement."[18]

The hippie counterculture marked the extension, the reformulation, and the carnivalesque apogee of popular existentialism. As a term, "counterculture" was popularized by San Francisco State scholar and hippie sympathizer Theodore Roszak, who understood it as a promising, but immature, attempt to resist the advance of "technocracy" – Roszak's term for a world entirely dominated by expert, technical skill. The counterculture, he argued, was "an effort to work out the personality structure, the total life style, that follows from New Left social criticism." In historical memory, that has meant "flower children," free love, psychedelics, rock festivals, communes, and a general, Romantic embrace of nature and pleasure. Yet to define the counterculture in a precise way distorts what was "an inherently unstable collection of attitudes, tendencies, postures, gestures, "lifestyles," ideas, visions, hedonistic pleasures, moralisms, negations, and affirmations," as Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle have put it. Put differently, the counterculture was less a movement than a gothic, imaginative, lived overgrowth of the popular existentialism that undergirded it.[19]

Popular memory of "hippies" also hides crucial, historical developments within the counterculture. For heuristic purposes, it is helpful to divide the counterculture into two stages. The first was the utopian, "white-youth-dominated … 'Flower Children' period," running from 1964 to Nixon's 1968 election. This first stage declined in 1969 and 1970. In those years, the counterculture entered a second, "diffusion," stage, one in which its ideals and styles spread to the broader middle class via lifestyle politics. Baking bread, practicing meditation, communing with nature, living simply: these were just a few of the means that hip lifestyle writers suggested for living "consciously" without "dropping out." As part of the same process of diffusion, a larger white youth culture adopted hippies' style, language, and (to some extent) values. As Bruce Schulman notes, high school yearbooks filled with clean-cut adolescents as late as 1968 were filled with longhairs by the early 1970s.[20]

Most of the youth travel boom studied here happened during the counterculture's later period. Indeed, youth travel was itself faddish, and itself contributed to the popularization of the countercultural posture. To call something a fad, however, does not (or should not) label it as meaningless. Even as a fad, travel carried meanings, popularized ideals, and fed into a shifting social imaginary. Likewise, surveys conducted in the early 1970s confirmed that youth's sense of alienation continued apace. This discontent with American life should not be trivialized, brushed aside to more cleanly condemn hippies' role in spreading therapeutic narcissism or supercharged consumerism. Insightful though such critiques may be, they distort history by dismissing concerns that seemed urgent to *decades* of cultural critics, scholars, and popular writers.[21]

The counterculture also extended popular existentialism in directions crucial to the meaning of travel. For one, it challenged the alienating divisions of Cold War society – between public and private, work and play, male and female, childhood and adulthood, production and consumption. These divisions met resistance from the youthful beneficiaries of an extended and affluent adolescence, who refused (at least temporarily) to compromise the Romantic values of their childhood. Rather than acquiesce to a university system that seemed to tool them for the "machine," hip young people sought expression and fulfillment in the whole of life. And even as the counterculture involved patriarchy and a kind of hippie machismo – an adaptation of a long tradition of linking virility and authenticity – a new feminist quest for authenticity emerged. It resisted the "feminine mystique," pursued raised consciousness, and challenged the gender roles handed women. Indeed, the prominence of female hitchhikers noted in this dissertation reflected, in many ways, a feminist desire to claim privileges, spaces, and practices usually reserved for men.[22]

Yet particularly as they challenged the structures of work, hip rebels often depended on a historically particular blend of economic, social, and psychological thought. The economic piece was "post-scarcity" thinking, the very common assumption – from Lyndon Baines Johnson to Abbie Hoffman – that abundance was a settled fact of American life; poverty's persistence was a simple problem of distribution. For popular existentialists, this new situation promised new opportunities. Automation and technology had raised productivity to such a level that work could shift from necessary drudgery – basically Marx's "alienated labor" – to an expressive pursuit. Herbert Marcuse applied a similar logic to libido, arguing (against Freud) that much

contemporary repression was "surplus repression" – unnecessary for civilization but retained by social hierarchies. For a range of thinkers, then, the only barrier to a more liberated society was our habituation to this one. Indeed, Roszak spoke for many when he concluded that "building the good society is not primarily a social, but a psychic task."

This politics of consciousness dovetailed not only with the ethics of authenticity, but also with the moral logic of the psychedelia. From Alduous Huxley to Timothy Leary, psychedelic proponents had stressed that cultural conditioning processes restricted consciousness and perception. In effect, they were naming an internalized principle of inauthenticity. LSD solved the problem, cleansing the doors of perception and "de-conditioning" the psyche. Freed from their cultural imprinting, people could then change the world by changing themselves. Leary famously summarized the psychedelic liberation process in his catchphrase, "Turn On [with drugs], Tune In [to larger, better realities], and Drop Out [of the oppressive socio-economic system]." Hip proponents of travel sometimes argued that it performed a similar, deconditioning function.[23]

Popular existentialism, then, rolled diverse streams of dissent and aspiration into itself. But what of the religious trends most associated with the counterculture, including an interest in Asian and Native American religions; the occult and theosophical traditions; and the "mental magic" linked to the New Thought legacy? Certainly, all these coursed through the counterculture, and they appear in some accounts of travel. Even so, these languages are only part of the larger practical logic, and vernacular, of popular existentialism. So: was popular existentialism religious?[24]

TRAVEL AND/AS RELIGION: POPULAR EXISTENTIALISM BLURS THE BOUNDARIES

Americans interpreted the upheavals of the 1960s in the languages of both travel and religion. Just as drug experiences became "trips," the names of acid rock bands used metaphors of transport. Jefferson Airplane, The Quicksilver Messenger Service, and The Doors: all linked music and movement. Driving their psychedelic school bus "Furthur," the Merry Pranksters' self-dramatizing question – *are you on the bus or off the bus?* – used travel to suggest an existential plunge into the unknown. Likewise, some of the era's best known clichés – "far out," "go with the flow" – involved metaphors of space and movement.

The prominence of travel metaphors also outlasted the hippie heyday. As the era's youthful rebels morphed into a middle-aged "generation of seekers," scholars and popular authors continued to interpret their spiritual "paths" through metaphors of motion. M. Scott Peck, borrowing from Robert Frost, offered seekers advice in the bestselling *The Road Less Travelled.* In the 1980s and 1990s, sociological studies of Baby Boomer religion juxtaposed spiritual "seeking" to religious "dwelling"; analyzed spiritual "journeys"; and described "quest culture." Yet this linguistic intertwining also went in the opposite direction. As tourism studies emerged as a field in the 1970s, its pioneers borrowed frameworks from religious studies, especially that of pilgrimage. Certainly, the languages of religion and travel have overlapped in other times and places, but they did so frequently and tellingly in the 1960s and 1970s.[25]

This linguistic intertwining is no coincidence. Instead, it reflects at least two phenomena. First, the spread of popular existentialism – with the self as ground and gauge of meaning – compelled a rethinking of religion. While intellectuals had,

debatably, been engaged in this rethinking since Kant, the spread of popular existentialism made the task more urgent and less confined to academic and religious professionals. Second, travel's ability to merge existential and physical journeys made it an especially potent resource for interpreting religious individualism. Put simply, an independent, drifting, spontaneous style of travel fit popular existentialism like a glove. It did so because travel offered a crucible for reflecting on self, society, meaning, and the relationship between the three.[26]

As I have argued, the popular existentialists of the 1960s and 1970s did not reject institutional religion in a vacuum; they rejected it as yet another institution woven into mass society. Unsurprisingly, then, countercultural travel rhetoric rarely focused exclusively on rejecting church or synagogue but on the (im)moral logic of society as a whole. Still, Robert Ellwood has rightly noted that many contemporary interpreters of the 1960s – including Roszak, Reich, Leary, and sociologist Lewis Yablonsky – understood the era's upheavals in religious terms. "Why?" he asks. "Because in America religion has generally been the most available language for that which is of unconditioned importance." Elwood's language of "unconditioned importance" is, in itself, telling. It reflects the influence of existentialism and its cousin, phenomenology. Put another way, we might ask, "Unconditionally important to whom?" The answer is clear, if implicit: the individual.[27]

The work of Robert Bellah illustrates the ways in which popular existentialism forced a re-thinking of religion. In his influential essay on "religious evolution," Bellah described a "modern type" of individualistic religiosity that existed beyond dogma. In essence, Bellah combined Paul Tillich's existentialism with the historical reasoning of

Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, all to argue that religion did not inevitably decline in modernity. Instead, it simply evolved with social structure. "Religion, as that symbolic form through which man comes to terms with the antimonies of his being … cannot decline unless man's nature ceases to be problematic to him," as Bellah put it in another essay. Distinguishing this type of "faith" from dogmatic "belief," Bellah argued that the former was "deeply embedded in man's existential situation and a part of the very structure of his experience." Modern religion was popular existentialist religion.[28]

In addition to his evolutionary schema, however, Bellah (with others) also came to employ a transitional term: consciousness. Particularly in the late 1960s and the 1970s, "consciousness" filled the linguistic gap left by conventional understandings of religion. To take one influential (if widely ridiculed) example, Charles A. Reich's *The Greening of America* (1970) understood the counterculture as a new, hopeful moment in the evolution of American consciousness writ large. In the dawning era – Consciousness III – Americans had begun to turn the abundance of mass society toward expressive, gentle, egalitarian ends. This psychic shift, in turn, would change society. The book proved naïve, but it expressed the hopes of many seekers. By the 1980s, however, their journeys were increasingly described not in the language of consciousness but in that of spirituality. The latter suggested personally chosen systems of meaning but – perhaps – offered distance from the dubious legacy of the counterculture.[29]

Even as sociologists theorized an expanding religious individualism, theorists of religion-as-such also turned to metaphors of travel, space, and mapping. Among the earliest of these thinkers, Mircea Eliade, linked religion to orienting and world-making "axis mundi." Social and sacred "centers" of symbols, values, and belief also appeared in

the work of Victor Turner and Edward Shils. Later, Charles Long spoke of religion as "orientation in the ultimate sense." His student, Catherine Albanese, described both "extraordinary religion" (linked to what is "other" to everyday existence) and "ordinary religion" (linked to the cultural norms that guide daily life) in terms of "boundaries." Indeed, even critics of phenomenological and existential theories of religion have used spatial metaphors. As the 1970s drew to a close, Jonathan Z. Smith described religions as "maps" of reality – maps that devotees constantly re-draw in response to the changing "territory" of history.[30]

The most complete attempt to theorize religion in spatial terms, however, came only with Thomas Tweed's *Crossing and Dwelling.* Tweed describes religions as "confluences" of cultural and biological processes that serve to "intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and suprahuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries."[31] He clarifies this definition, explaining that

> [W]e can understand religions as always-contested and ever-changing maps that orient devotees as they move spatially and temporally. Religions are partial, tentative, and continually redrawn sketches of where we are, where we've been, and where we're going.[32]

These maps, Tweed explains, situate people in their bodies, in their homes, in their societies, and in the cosmos. Importantly, though, they may also propel people across the lines on those imagined maps – and on real ones.[33]

Why have spatial metaphors proved so powerful and popular, especially (as Tweed notes) in recent decades? The answer involves the second point I mentioned earlier – the symbolic and practical fit between popular existentialism, place, and travel. Understanding this fit requires a brief, theoretical foray into the connections between place, meaning, and identity. I have already described travel as a kind of prism and as a

"flywheel," allowing fluid shifting between inner and outer movements. How, then, does this flywheel work? It relies, I argue, on a fusion of 1) space and place; 2) movement and process; and 3) meaning and imagination. Inseparable in practice, these three dimensions of travel may be separated for purposes of analysis.[34]

First, human beings do not experience places only as geographical sites, but as spaces laden with socially constructed meanings and rules. To demonstrate this point, cultural geographer Tim Cresswell invokes the phrase "out of place." When we say that something is "out of place," we mean that it violates the expectations and norms of a particular location. Singing loud praises to God is expected in a church. It is "out of place" on a commercial airplane, in a public library, and in fine dining establishments. At the same time, the norms associated with places are not natural or fixed, but rather emerge from cultural processes that involve power and challenges to it. For example, the Civil Rights protests of the 1950s and 1960s often took the specific form of resistance to norms of place – at lunch counters, on public streets and bridges, and on buses.[35]

Second, travel processes give meaning to places and take meanings from them. Meaning does not inhere in geographical locations. Instead, human beings shape those meanings even as we are shaped by them. In the case of sacred spaces, like pilgrimage "centers," visitors' presence helps create the heightened sense of meaning, of the sacred, that drew them in the first place. Following religious "maps," devotees also help to draw them – on places and on themselves. Yet this mapping process does not include only "sacred" spaces, but every place humans inhabit. Drawing on Bourdieu's *habitus*, Cresswell shows that place shapes disposition and perception, one's sense of reality and the possibilities for acting within it.[36]

To depart from a place, then, potentially reveals its norms as culture rather than nature. Travel becomes what Eric Leed has called a "moral experiment." Beyond the watchful eyes and disciplining powers of place, will people hew to the norms of home, or leave them behind? Anonymous by virtue of their movements, travelers may test their convictions, try on new identities, and risk experiences that upset their old senses of self. To return to spatial metaphors for religion, travel can provide not just "orientation in the ultimate sense" but also "disorientation in the ultimate sense," not only "maps" but also experiences that provoke their redrawing. It may do so because meaning and bodies both dwell in places. As a result, place and travel slip easily between imagination and embodiment.[37]

Third, the meanings of place and movement are inseparable from human processes of imagination. In my sense, imagination does not refer only to individual creativity, but also to the social forms of meaning-making already described. In this sense, imagination bridges the gap between the physical facts of a space (here is a pond) and its meaning as a place (this is Walden Pond, sacred to lovers of nature, solitude, self-reliance, and Henry David Thoreau). It includes the personal (I imagine Thoreau's solitude at Walden), but it also depends on the social (how I came to know, understand, and value Thoreau). Yet imagination involves not only place, but also movement. As travelers escape the formative power of home and place, they may also slip into equally powerful mythologies of travel and individual freedom. American myths of mobility include the frontier, the "open road," and the social mobility of the American dream. All reinforce an ideological individualism, which popular existentialism absorbed and reinterpreted toward expressive ends.[38]

Geographical mobility and existential mobility mingle as selves move against the background of place. Similarly, spatial metaphors for religion, whether they involve "maps" or "centers," suggest a seer, a subjectivity orienting itself to surroundings. The perspective, in other words, is that of what Charles Taylor calls the "disembedded" or "buffered" self. To orient yourself, after all, suggests that you are distinct from either the map or the landscape. Likewise, discontent with the surroundings suggests an option: move.

That possibility – to move or not – also reveals travel's connection to secularity – understood, in Charles Taylor's terms, as a "condition" of "lived experience" in which belief in God is one of many options. In the hip travel milieu, however, the implicit choice was less between God and atheism than between a purely humanist (and expressive) existentialism and a metaphysical mysticism, often described in terms of energy or concepts from Asian religions. Once liberated from society and its conditioning, travelers might leap cultural particularity and arrive, with their friends, in cosmos that unfolded organically and harmoniously. Or they could simply enjoy human freedom as such.[39]

Many did. In the 1960s and 1970s, to take to the road was to flee the domains of the home, the university, the corporation, and the church – all dwelling places of conventional meaning and middle-class morality. Certainly, this flight often failed to recognized the privilege that both enabled and bound the resulting freedom, a point to which I will return. The point, however, is that there existed a kind of Weberian "elective affinity" between travel and popular existentialism – between the symbolic and literal ways travelers followed Whitman's open road.[40]

If popular existentialism provoked some thinkers to frame religion in terms of travel, it also led others to theorize travel in terms of religion. The period covered in this dissertation saw the publication of seminal works in tourism and pilgrimage studies, whose borders quickly overlapped. Among the most influential theorists was Victor Turner, who described Christian pilgrimage as liminal journey to a "center out there" – a geographically peripheral place that distilled Christianity's central symbols.[41] Yet Turner also effaced the boundaries between pilgrims and tourists:

> [A] tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist. Even when people bury themselves in anonymous crowds on beaches, they are seeking an almost sacred, often symbolic, mode of *communitas* generally unavailable to them in the structured life of the office, the shop floor, of the mine. Even when intellectuals, Thoreau-like, seek the wilderness in personal solitude, they are seeking the material multiplicity of nature, a life source.[42]

Turner's observation launched scores of books and articles interpreting tourism in terms of pilgrimage, as well as grappling with how they might be different. Such articles reflected the tension between Albanese's "extraordinary religion" and "ordinary religion." With self at the center, any destination or journey focused on personally sacred values could become pilgrimage.[43]

Seminal works on tourism also reflected the popular existentialist milieu, and many drew theoretically on religious studies. For the most part, they assumed a secularizing world and interpreted tourism as a functional equivalent for some aspect of religion. Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist*, probably the most influential book in the history of tourist studies, framed tourism as both an existential and social-structural equivalent of religion. Its account of touristic authenticity had the most powerful influence. Against depictions of tourists as vapid masses happy with fake culture,

MacCannell placed authenticity at tourism's heart. Alienated by jobs that lacked integration with any moral whole, tourists sought vicarious authenticity in "back-stage" attractions, in the "real life" behind tourist-industry contrivance. But *The Tourist* also contained an undervalued social-historical side. Drawing from Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, MacCannell understood tourism as a cultural production, a sign and a ritual, that provided a model for feeling, value, and experience itself. Commodified cultural experience, he argued, organized and united consumers' emotions, beliefs, experiences, and values. In essence, MacCannell framed tourist experience as Durkheimian collective effervescence. While it ultimately could not provide the authenticity it promised, then, tourism could provide a sort of social integration. The endless differentiations of modernity, MacCannell argued, found representation in the "system of attractions." One could tour sites of work, nature, and even the past (in museums). These sites, then, became something like a diversified system of totems (though MacCannell does not use that word). Like the "religious symbolism of primitive peoples," they gave "direct access to the modern consciousness or 'world view.'" As a whole, the set of tourist sites expressed "the totality of the modern spirit as, for example, a modern religion might if a modern religion existed."[44]

As Erik Cohen responded, not every traveler understood her travels existentially. Some experimented with new, existential "centers," but others, in essence, just wanted to sit on the beach. Nelson Graburn also understood travel differently, as a modern equivalent of cyclical rituals and rites of passage – a helpful perspective for adolescent and young adult travelers. Of course, later scholars would criticize all such structural theories for flattening difference and ignoring contestation. While I still find them

compelling, my point here is not to defend them, but 1) to note how they reflected the common assumptions about self, society, and meaning that I have called popular existentialism, and 2) to begin to show how popular existentialism informed the dominant, often religious, interpretations of youth travel.[45]

In particular, the concept of authenticity connects tourism and incipient spirituality, Dean MacCannell and Charles Taylor. MacCannell's tourists longed for authenticity in *destinations*. In Taylor's "Age of Authenticity," seekers quest for authentic *selves*. We see how the two quests overlap by returning to the diversity of modern alienations I have already described. As part of a mass society, mass tourism distorted relationships to others, turning hosts into products and visitors into consumers. MacCannell's tourists longed to find the authentic life behind such artifice. But travelers discussed here also sought to overcome existential alienation, viewing travel as a route to, and microcosm of, personal authenticity. To spontaneously choose one's own path by rejecting the pre-packaged artificiality of mass tourism: could anything be more authentic?

FANTASY, PRACTICE, AND "BOUNDED FREEDOM"

Did the counterculture push outward the bounds of personal freedom? Did it help redefine religious freedom as a species of consumer choice in a "spiritual marketplace"? Did it constitute, as Thomas Frank puts it, no more than a "stage in the development of the values of the American middle class, a colorful installment in the twentieth century drama of consumer subjectivity"? These are not the only options. But they do point toward a critical interpretive tension for the historical study of the counterculture and the

1960s generally: the relationship between freedom and constraint, agency and structure. Theories of religious practice work in this tension.[46]

American religious historians have examined practice, or "lived religion," as a realm of "relative cultural freedom," as Robert Orsi has put it. This scholarly project, Orsi contends, should examine "how particular people, in particular places and times, live in, with, through, and against the religious idioms available to them in culture." Studying travel as a practice of popular existentialism extends this perspective by including, as "religious idioms," pop cultural practices and rhetorics. Yet, as I have argued, the logic of popular existentialism confounded clear distinctions between "religious" and "non-religious." Indeed, Courtney Bender has argued that 21st century spirituality is *constituted* by just such "entanglements" – with both "religious" and "secular" frameworks; with the metaphysical tradition; and with religious studies scholarship itself. Rather than assuming it is "free floating and individualist," she argues, "we must approach spirituality and "the spiritual" as deeply entangled in various religious and secular histories, social structures, and cultural practices."[47]

Youth travel in the 1960s and 1970s, I argue, became an early site and important thread for just these entanglements. It became, to borrow again from Orsi, an occasion for "living in, with, through, and against" *popular culture as spiritual idiom*. Extending this same logic, I understand travel as "lived spirituality." To make this claim is not to argue for an essence of "spirituality," much less "religion." Instead, it is to place these terms clearly in their historical context, which I have sketched. Centering that context, however, does not preclude taking seriously the internal, practical logics of post-war spirituality. Indeed, such is this dissertation's major task.[48]

At the same time, studying spiritual travelers' quests for authenticity, transformation, and liberation does not require a naïve belief in unmoored, *ex nihilo* individual freedom and choice. Instead, it requires attention to how evolving processes of existential orientation intersect with the bounded freedom of practice. Unsurprisingly, two of the most important practice theorists also pay ample attention to the power of place. Bourdieu argues that the spatial oppositions of the home – between inside/feminine and outside/masculine, for example – play a crucial role in imprinting *habitus*. Michel de Certeau describes a different sort freedom in his account of "tactics." Cultural producers, de Certeau argues, control the products and places in which we all move. Yet everyday "tactics" may creatively appropriate social "givens," just as walkers may take idiosyncratic routes through a city. These routes, in turn, trace an ephemeral, moment-by-moment freedom within the imposed rationality of urban planning. In essence, the travelers examined here often understood their travels in ways that resonate with de Certeau's "tactics," but they rarely, if ever, escaped *habitus*.[49]

More profoundly, youth travel practices wed formation, transformation, and fantasy. If hip travel styles required independence, openness, and spontaneity, they also provided practice in being independent, open, and authentic. In other words, hip travel practices served a kind of hip virtue ethic; they became means for living into popular existentialist ideals of self. As I have already suggested, travel interacted with popular existentialist shifts in the broader social imaginary. At the same time, the transformative power of travel also depended on my third factor in the meaning of place – imagination. More precisely, the meanings of youth travel in the 1960s and 1970s depended on

fantasy, a particular mode of pleasurable imagination. As I use it, fantasy suggests both some level of detachment from reality and a pleasurable longing for future experience.

Certainly, the rhetoric surrounding travel obscured histories and structures related to race and gender. To laud the open road was, quite frequently, to overlook the colonial violence that opened it, whether in Asia or in the American West. Yet travel's proponents did often note that its freedoms, and dangers, varied according to race and gender. Although a handful of photographs show Latino, Asian, and African American hitchhikers, minorities – especially African Americans – faced danger and discrimination. Hip travel, then, was overwhelmingly "a 'white' trip," as one hip guidebook writer acknowledged. Gender provoked more extended and intense conversations, largely because a large number of white women traveled, and even hitchhiked. Some women and men downplayed the dangers of sexual assault, indulging, debatably, in a kind of utopian fantasy. Still others frankly acknowledged the risks of traveling "in the face of a male-enforced social code rendering a single women on the street fair game in an open season." Often such female travelers sought to actualize another type of fantasy – that of a society where sexist social codes no longer reigned. "A woman traveling alone is breaking through some type of social code," wrote one female hitchhiker. "The highs this creates are worth any insecurities." Youth travel intersected with class in less obvious ways. Obviously, travel abroad depended on a level of affluence. In North America, though, middle-class adventurers mingled with destitute runaways, drifters, and other denizens of street culture. At a minimum, though, youth travel culture could obscure the important distance between travel of necessity and travel of choice.[50]

Socially oblivious or not, travel fantasies contained powerful longings. These desires, in turn, focused not only on pleasurable experiences of commodities but on pleasurable experiences of self. In this sense, fantasy connects 1960s popular existentialism to the accelerating neo-liberal, consumer capitalism that followed it. Colin Campbell has shown that a powerful, Romantic logic links fantasy to consumption, consumption to pleasure, pleasure to nature, and nature to virtue (as authenticity). Indeed, the widely acknowledged symbiosis between personal identity and consumer choice only grew stronger in the 1960s.[51] In particular, Thomas Frank has argued that the mass society critique funded

> hip consumerism, a cultural perpetual motion machine in which disgust with the falseness, shoddiness, and everyday oppressions of consumer society could be enlisted to drive the ever-accelerating wheels of consumption.[52]

Certainly, hip travel often fit the bill. Particularly as the 1970s wore on, hip travelers catalyzed a parallel tourist industry, one that catered to their tastes and budgets. Tourism scholar Erik Cohen described such travelers as low-budget tourists, or "nomads from affluence."[53]

The traveling self, however, jibed not only with consumerism but also with the rising insecurity that marked middle-class life beginning in the 1970s. For all the fears of mass society, it was not totalizing technocracy but social and economic fragmentation that most deeply marked American society after the 1960s. If the 1970s were the "me decade," they were also an "Age of Facture," as Daniel T. Rodgers has put it. In that decade, when most of this dissertation's subjects actually traveled, U.S. society experienced a multi-tiered move away from collectivities and aggregation. In neo-liberal economic thought, in incipient identity politics, in culture wars, in postmodern

conceptions of truth, power, and identity – in all these locations, and others, old unities fractured. It should not surprise, then, that the counterculture's ideals of the self outlasted its communal experiments. Sam Binkley has described how the West Coast "lifestyle literature" of the early 1970s spread hip values by helping individuals to "get loose." "To be loose," he explains, "was to be mobile in a shifting world, to free oneself of the constraining baggage of tradition, and to sail out across the sea of unmediated experience."[54] Loosening, he continues,

> unfolded a small but intact moral universe in which the undercutting of the traditional foundations of identity and selfhood could be tolerated, even enjoyed, given specific meaning, transformed into a narrative of self-growth and realization told against the backdrop of traumatic twists and turns in the social fabric.[55]

As Binkley notes, lifestyle literature included advice on travel. In almost every way, the traveling self was also a loose self.[56]

Did the spiritual journeys of popular existentialists simply lead to neo-liberal consumer capitalism? As I have already suggested, there clearly exists an "elective affinity" between seekers' "belief without borders" and a neo-liberal Age of Fracture. To note this "elective affinity," however, is not to reduce spirituality either to "superstructure" or to an exercise in post-colonial power. Certainly, it could be both. Yet not all choice is consumer choice, nor is every encounter with otherness an example of Orientalism. While hitchhiking and low-budget drifting were normally freely chosen rather than imposed, so are many spiritual disciplines – like fasting or monastic poverty. Indeed, a month-long period of impoverished drifting remains a part of the training of Jesuit priests. Likewise, if youth travel rhetoric promoted consumption of "the exotic," it also celebrated the possibility of deeply disorienting encounters with difference. Like

orientation, such disorientation resonated with the personalized, evolving senses of meaning central to popular existentialism.[57]

Fantasy could also yield unpredictable consequences. Colin Campbell has argued that just as consumer fantasies lead to consumption, fantasies of self can lead to lives of idealism. Idealist activism and consumerism, then, have intertwining, Romantic roots. Similar dynamics coursed through the counterculture and the New Left: popular existentialism led to fantasies of rebellion, fantasies of alternatives, and attempts to make those fantasies real. In any case, youth travel culture's marriage of fantasy, practice, and formation constitutes one of this dissertation's major threads. Catherine Albanese has argued that the American metaphysical tradition depends on "practical imagination." As lived spirituality, youth travel involved both practical and *practiced* imagination.[58]

Chapter 1, then, begins by selectively exploring the complex ways that Americans have imagined mobile lifestyles since the early 19th century. Even as it depended on economic growth and modern technologies, travel consistently teetered on the edge of social acceptability. As "tramping" and idling, it suggested dangerous deviance from social norms. Yet travel could also be reframed as virtuous consumption, uniting prosperous tourists to their nation and its great sites, as well as offering a saving touch of adventure and vigor. After World War II, however, the hip meanings of travel became more insistently rebellious – more deeply determined by popular existentialism, in other words.

Chapter 2 explores the broad contours of the youth travel boom of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Beginning with postwar exchange students and a handful of adventurous hitchhikers, the travel boom accelerated to a peak in the early 1970s, when

hitchhiking and international travel exploded in popularity. This boom reflected economic circumstances and it had different faces. Desperate runaways, earnest "drop-outs," and adventuring elites all traveled. Yet even as travel became a defining practice of the counterculture, it also became a youth fad, one keyed to popular existentialism and the "loose" self.

Chapter 3 examines the defining practice of the era's youth travel boom – hitchhiking. Seemingly on their way out in the 1950s, hitchhikers proliferated in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the United States, in Europe, and beyond, hitchhiking embodied the counterculture's hopes for an anti-materialist society built on trust and sharing. It also spawned a hitchhiking subculture, which itself became integrated into a larger network of natural sites and countercultural outposts. More importantly, hitchhiking became closely tied both to hopes for authentic human relationship and ideals of self – openness, spontaneity, and self-reliance chief among them. While its popular existentialist liberation did not *require* mysticism or metaphysical belief, it allowed and encouraged it.

The youth travel boom also spawned a material culture. Chapter 4 examines some of its most dramatic artifacts, hippie buses "housetrucks." With remarkable clarity, these vehicles constituted tactics in de Certeau's sense. Crafted from perhaps the ultimate industrial, consumer product– the automobile – these live-in vehicles incarnated and entangled a host of countercultural values. As utopian objects, they materialized aspirations for a complex wholeness beyond the divisions of modernity – of technical work from expression, of intuition from rationality, of work from meaning, of work from

home, of selves from each other – and from the cosmos. Yet in seeking to transcend the boundaries of particular places, "housetruckers" also discovered the limits of utopia.

The final chapter examines a series of guidebooks to "vagabonding," as well as fan letters to their author, Ed Buryn. Among the first guidebooks to embrace hippie sensibilities, the *Vagabonding* books explicitly linked travel to popular existentialism, codifying the relationship. Over time, they also came to interpret travel in terms of consciousness and New Age religiosity, linking travel to an important cultural evolution. The books' power, in turn, emerged in hundreds of fan letters, which collectively show how the books transformed fantasy into reality and turned vagabonding into a metaphor for the well-lived, seeking, life. While only a minority of these letters adopted Buryn's explicitly religious or metaphysical language, most adopted the popular existentialism that undergirded it.

In practice, material culture, and print culture then, travel became an arena for orientation and disorientation, for making and remaking the self. As both metaphor and practice, it launched journeys that were indivisibly physical and existential. And like the popular existentialism it expressed, travel blurred traditional distinctions between religious and non-religious phenomena, treating them as arbitrary lines on a worn-out map.

Chapter 1:

Itineraries of the Moral Imagination

The open road: no image, no trope, evokes the Romantic tradition of American travel as thoroughly as Whitman's. The poet himself traveled little, but his metaphorical road promised an absence of "limits and imaginary lines," as well as the "rough new prizes" of authentic, hard-won personal experience. As one interpreter has noted, Whitman's poems also contain an "existential element" – a persistent nudging away from abstract reading and toward the world of individual experience that Whitman celebrates.[1]

But while Whitman's open road flowed easily into the popular existentialism of the 1960s and 1970s, his Transcendentalist interlocutor, Ralph Waldo Emerson, had his doubts about travel. "It is for want of self-culture that the superstition of Travelling, whose idols are Italy, England, and Egypt, retains its fascination for all educated Americans," wrote Emerson in "Self-Reliance." "The soul is no traveller; the wise man remains at home." In 19th century elites' fashionable trips to Europe, Emerson diagnosed a pathetic desire to imitate the "Past and the Distant" rather than to seek wisdom in one's own mind, soul, and country. "We imitate;" he wrote, "and what is imitation but traveling of the mind?"[2]

The distance between the two literary allies stemmed not from philosophical disagreement but from different ways of imagining travel. Implicitly, Whitman's road offered freedom because the norms of place squelched it. Answering calls to "settle" with "passionate kisses of parting," the poet's travelers had no destination other than a constantly unfurling self. Emerson, in contrast, condemned travels to specific, European

destinations. More precisely, he condemned travel that surrendered moral and cultural self-reliance to the "ornaments," "opinions," "tastes," and "faculties" of others. Both men, of course, lauded expressive, individualistic self-determination.[3]

Nonetheless, their different understandings of travel suggest the diverse ways that imagination, place, and practice have intertwined to give travel moral meaning. While this chapter cannot give a full history of these meanings in the United States (much less beyond), it uses a series of historical case studies to reveal the major axes along which travel's moral meaning has moved. The most important – really, the master axis – runs between industrial, consumer modernity and a series of fraught anti-modernisms. This axis, with its most important origins in Whitman and Transcendentalism, flows directly into popular existentialism. Because travel silhouettes individual movement against the social background of place, it offers a natural arena for examining self, society, meaning, and the relationship between the three. Elective travel, in turn, has risen within a society marked by growing affluence, an expanding bureaucratic state, and an evolving corporate, industrial, consumer economy.

In this context, the meanings of travel have revolved around consistent tensions. On one hand, American modernity produced the affluence and transportation technologies that made travel possible. On the other, it bore the blame for the malaises travel has seemed to counteract. When imagined as a vigorous encounter with American places, as a way to rejuvenate workers, or as a wholesome family vacation, travel shored up the interlocking public and private moralities of white, middle-class life. But when linked to irregular labor and "undomesticated" lifestyles, it seemed to threaten that same social fabric. These moral distinctions, however, were not always clear. Vacationers

could be seen as idlers, and tramps as free, Romantic, and deeply American figures. Travel might cultivate patriotism and rejuvenate workers, or it might make them lazy. As popular existentialism rose in postwar America, the Beat writers, hippie Pranksters, and Easy Riders also pushed travel in new, wilder directions. In the background, as always, was a deep uneasiness about the place of the individual in complex, modern societies.

TRAMPS AND NATIONAL TOURISTS, 1820-1940

As they sailed for America, early English colonists left a land where "vagabondage" could still incur "whipping, branding, and hanging." Displaced from feudal lands by the rise of modern economies, vagabonds were dangerous, "masterless men."[4] As Zygmunt Bauman has explained:

> What made vagabonds so terrifying was their apparent freedom to move and so to escape the net of heretofore locally based control. Worse than that still, the movements of the vagabond are unpredictable; unlike the pilgrim the vagabond has no set destination. You do not know where he will move to next, because he himself does not know nor care much.[5]

English precedents informed early American anti-vagrancy laws. In colonial New England, for example, "[p]illorying, branding, flogging, or ear cropping" awaited wanderers, considered threats to local mores.[6]

The proliferation of tramps and hobos sparked particular concern in the Gilded Age. In the 1870s, economic depressions and the expansion of unstable, seasonal wage labor produced a population of men without regular jobs. Sneaking rides on the nation's expanding railroads, this "tramp army" drifted from job to job, swelling to "thousands, perhaps millions" of unattached white men. By the 1890s, they had birthed a subculture, widely known as "hobohemia." Centered in rural camps called "jungles" and urban flophouse districts called "main stems," hobohemia offered flexible labor for the nation's

industrial growth and westward expansion. In the 1920s, however, automobiles and labor-saving technologies, among other factors, eroded the pillars of hobo life. Nonetheless, the Depression repopulated the roads with a new set of homeless men, families, and even children. Despite New Deal efforts, only the GI Bill, the postwar economic boom, and urban renewal projects squelched hobohemia, more or less permanently.[7]

This capsule history, of course, cannot begin to capture the diverse ways in which tramping was practiced and imagined. On one hand, tramps and hobos generated fear, anxiety, and contempt. In large part, they did so because they constituted a crack in the interlocking moral logics of work, home, gender, race, and nation that governed middle-class visions of progress in Victorian America. In the economic sphere, independent artisans and farmers had given way to an industrial economy, corporate work, and wage labor – at least in the urban North. The free-labor republicanism that undergirded this configuration offered little sympathy for serial joblessness. Linking virtue and success, it instead attributed tramping to corrupt character. This corruption, in turn, supposedly derived from reprieves from market discipline. The idle life of Civil War camps took blame in tramping's "origin myth," as did "indiscriminate charity." Equally troubling, however, was tramps' challenge to the "cult of domesticity." In this common, Victorian logic, the warmth of the feminine sentimental home was to moderate the cutthroat, masculine influences of the market. Tramps and hobos refused this arrangement. While sensational and grotesque caricatures depicted the few women on the road, most tramps were men. Begging at backdoors, they seemed to physically threaten women. And as

"main stem" districts commodified nurture, laundry, sex, and food – staples of the Victorian home – hobohemia challenged the era's most basic assumptions.[8]

Tramps and hoboes were also pathologized, both as disordered bodies and as diseases of the social body. Medically, tramps were commonly linked to syphilis. Looking for deeper pathologies, late 19th century eugenicist Charles Davenport identified "nomadism" as a trait linked to "primitive societies and races." What separated the civilized from the savage, he argued, was a capacity for inhibition – including inhibition of the impulse to wander. For other observers, tramps were symptoms and agents of more social pathologies. In the first decades of the 20th century, tramps and hobos became one of the first major problems for sociology, a field pioneered at the University of Chicago. Among the most influential works to emerge from the school was Nels Anderson's 1923 *The Hobo*, which argued that perpetual mobility "undomesticated" men by detaching them from shared norms and loyalties. A democratic, capitalist country required some mobility. Excessive mobility, however, produced deviance and disorder – or so the argument went.[9]

At the same time, discontent with Gilded Age modernity fueled an opposing, anti-modern tendency – to romanticize tramps as free, American spirits. Popular by the 1890s, tramp narratives typically glorified a romantic life of riding the rails, living in jungles, and living a free, bohemian existence. The romantic tramp, in turn, merged with nationalism on the "wageworker's frontier." The phrase described a new incarnation of the frontier myth, "our oldest story of national origins," according to Todd DePastino's *Citizen Hobo*. Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 "frontier thesis" gave the story definitive form. By Turner's account, encounters with the Indian "savagery" and frontier hardship

had formed a distinctive, ruggedly individual, American character. The turn-of-the-century disappearance of the frontier, then, contributed to fears that "overcivilization" was weakening white men and, therefore, national character. The "wageworkers' frontier," then, resonated with Gilded Age anti-modernism and calls for the "strenuous life."[10]

It could also be turned to political ends. As what DePastino calls a "white, male counterculture," hobohemia was claimed by left and right. At the turn of the century, the International Workers of the World (the "Wobblies"), invoked the "hobo frontier myth" to name hobos as "natural" revolutionaries, hyper-masculine workers uncompromised by soft jobs and feminine homes. In this context, urban "main stems" – and, later, bohemian districts – became places of cultural interchange between political radicals, hobos, and bohemian, leftist intellectuals. At the same time, the decline of hobohemia after 1920 also allowed a conservative, folkloric appropriation of hobos. As exemplars of the hardy white manhood that, supposedly, conquered the West, hobos became nostalgic foils for "mass culture and the exotic subcultures of urban immigrants." In both the way it was imagined and practiced, then, the life of tramps and hobos signaled a threat to the modern social fabric – but also a healthy rebellion against its malaises.[11]

Early forms of American tourism navigated the same tension in different ways. Like tramping, tourism depended on the advance of transportation technologies – especially railroads and the automobile. Unlike tramping, it also depended on affluence and consumerism, participating in the broader shift from production to consumption in the turn-of-the-century economy. The difference between tramps and tourists, of course, was not total. In his typology of tramps, "Daredevil Hobo," James Moore had classified

the "tourist," "autoist," and "vacationist" as "tramps of society." However wry, Moore's scheme pointed toward a concern that tramps knew too well – that mobility corrupted character. Because the nation's Puritan and Republican heritages framed leisure skeptically (as a betrayal of vocation and as corrupting idleness, respectively), turn-of-the-century Americans needed to justify their vacations. For the most part, they did so by imagining tourism in ways that not only contained travel's risks but made tourism socially valuable and personally virtuous.[12]

Since its 1820s emergence, American tourism has often become virtuous by becoming patriotic. To "see America" requires defining "America," and John Sears has shown how early American tourist sites, as "sacred places," did exactly that. Beginning in the 1820s, sites like Niagara Falls and Yosemite revealed the new nation as a place of possibility and sublime natural grandeur. Likewise, asylums and prisons – as tourist sites – displayed the refined impulses of American reform. After the Civil War, visits to Gettysburg ritually reunited white citizens of North and South. Even Mauch Chunk, a Pennsylvania coal mine, showed tourists the nation's synthesis of natural and technological grandeur.[13]

After 1880, however, the rise of a national market, national transportation network, and modern nation-state required a different kind of national tourism. As anonymous cities replaced the intimate bonds of small communities, tourism became a new "ritual of American citizenship," as Marguerite Shaffer has shown. Promoted by Western businessmen, railroads, and eventually the federal government, the campaign to "See America First" asked "white, native-born, middle-and upper-class Americans to reaffirm their American-ness by following the footsteps of American history and seeing

the nation firsthand." Especially on trips to the West, travelers connected the nation's vast spaces in body and imagination, experiencing themselves and the land as part of one great, American drama (Indians, Mormons, and other minorities were exotic scenery). Such experiences, in turn, promoted what Shaffer calls "organic nationalism," which framed the nation as a natural outgrowth of the land itself. While they involved leisure and consumption, then, such tours were also virtuous. As practices in Charles Taylor's sense, they helped Americans re-arrange consumption, pleasure, personal vigor, and national identity in the social imaginary.[14]

The personal and economic benefits of tourism complemented, and overlapped with, its patriotic justifications. Before 1850, elite Americans sought to recover their health at resorts and spas, some of which offered metaphysically oriented cures like hydropathy or manipulations of "nervous energy." In the second half of the 19th century, the middle classes claimed vacations as status markers and strategies for "mental and spiritual renewal." They could do so, in part, because employers came to believe that white-collar "brain workers" benefitted from time off. By the late 1930s, a similar logic, along with hopes to pacify labor, had extended paid summer vacations to most of the working class. Immigrants, African Americans, and other minorities also found that cars put vacations in reach by the 1920s – even as discrimination led them to found their own Jewish or black resorts. In general, though, leisure travel gained legitimacy if it enhanced health and productivity. Such visions contained travel's disruptive capacity by embedding it in the larger social and economic framework.[15]

At the same time, tourism also promised moral benefits. In particular, English landscape aesthetics extended Sentimental and Romantic philosophy to early American

tourism. As the awe-full sublime or the tidy picturesque, beauty gave moral pleasure and, therefore, cultivated virtue. On an early American "grand tour" centered in the mid-Atlantic and Northeast, elite tourists – including Margaret Fuller, Henry David Thoreau, Edgar Allan Poe, and Washington Irving – experienced views that evoked pious awe. Such sentiment promised refinement, but it also fused aesthetic experience to an American identity inscribed on places. As John Sears suggests of Niagara in particular, the moral influence attributed to the nation's "sacred places" made tourism "one of the earliest activities in which consuming could be enjoyed as an end in itself rather than an effort to obtain necessities." From Niagara Falls to Central Park, natural beauty also had a civilizing effect on the working classes, at least in the mind of 19th century reformers. Even leisure found revaluation at mid-century. Liberal Protestant figures like Henry Ward Beecher, for example, allowed that "leisure and relaxation could be a route to God." And to calm any remaining doubts, middle class vacationers could also take "self-improvement vacations" – like attending the educational offerings of a Chautauqua gathering.[16]

Most powerfully, however, the Gilded Age's middle-class tourism gained moral heft by offering an antidote to modern malaises like "nervousness" and "overcivilization" – complaints that had also prompted the romanticization of tramps and the "wageworkers' frontier." As soft, impersonal, routinized work threatened to strip labor of its moral weight, authentic leisure experiences offered compensation. A late 19th-century boom in camping, for example, built on at least two Romantic strains: the vitalist (and masculine) cult of the "strenuous life" and the quietist revaluation of nature and interiority associated with the Transcendentalists. Some middle-class tourists even began

doing manual labor as parts of their vacations, picking fruit and doing other hobo-style tasks. Certainly, such experiences reflected the dawn of therapeutic culture, anti-modernism, and the shift from "salvation to self-realization" that T.J. Jackson Lears has described. But particularly in the case of patriotic journeys to national parks, tourism offered something more – what Shaffer calls "bounded fantasies." Tourist literature, she explains, had turned Western landscapes into "stage sets," places where people could experience their authentic selves while experiencing the authentic America. Steeped in fantasy, tourists could play cowboy or imagine themselves as pioneers. These enacted fantasies, in turn, had social import: they fused practice, place, and imagination in ways that offered a sense of authentic, "real life." And they did so in a way that tied "real life" to the nation and the market.[17]

In their practice and in their meanings, both tramping and tourism depended on modernity and reactions against it. In refusing the interwoven disciplines of home and work, tramps struck public moralists as threats to social body and to the nation. At the same time, fears of "overcivilization" and "weightlessness" led to the romanticization of tramps. In contrast, tourism contained travel's disruptive potential by confining it to the private, consumer sphere of leisure. Promising authentic experience, tourism not only compensated for the alienations of modern life but also promised rejuvenation for continued toil. At stake in both tramping and tourism, however, was the proper shape of the self vis-à-vis society. For romanticizers and Wobbly radicals, the strenuous life of tramping produced strong, "undomesticated" men. Whether understood as plagues or as organic revolutionaries, such men clearly challenged the middle-class social imaginary. In ways that shifted with philosophical and religious currents, tourism also offered moral

uplift. Beginning in the 1820s, sublime views connected tourists with nation, nature, and God. As consumer and therapeutic cultures rose, tourism offered a new "saving touch" of vigorous, authentic life. Natural wonder and inner feeling, in turn, fused with national pride. These trends would evolve, but they would not vanish. In their association with fantasy and hopes for authentic experience; in their simultaneous rejection of, and dependence on, the gears of modernity; and in their concern for the shape of the modern self, tourists and tramps journeyed together in the American imagination.

COLD WAR JOURNEYS: FAMILY VACATIONS AND THE BEAT GENERATION

While neither migrant labor nor tourism vanished during the Depression or World War II, the 1930s and 1940s provided the "strenuous life," unsought, to millions of Americans. The dance between travel, American modernity, and anti-modernism, however, returned with the extraordinary economic boom at war's end. During the postwar years, the G.I. Bill largely succeeded in a 70-year-old task: settling the tramp army. By offering veterans housing, education, and unemployment benefits, it diverted them from hobohemia – whose return policymakers feared – and directed them instead to the green pastures of suburbia. In the midst of the Cold War anxiety and affluence that followed, Americans again found competing ways to travel and to imagine travel's meaning. The most important were the wholesome family vacation and the ecstatic, bohemian ramblings of the Beat writers.[18]

As in earlier periods, both forms of travel depended on a transformative transportation technology – the automobile. Cars had begun to transform tourism, and American life generally, by the 1920s. The trend rapidly accelerated. Between 1945 and

1970, the number of automobiles registered in the United States more than tripled, from 25.8 million to 89.3 million. Likewise, the percentage of American families owning cars rose from 54 percent in 1948, to 77 percent in 1960, to 82 percent in 1970. Symbolically, cars jibed easily with the era's popular existentialism. In addition to demonstrating status, they symbolized their owners' distinctive personalities. Yet automobiles were, and are, more than status symbols. As Cynthia Golomb Dettelbach argues, "the car is not only rooted in the physical world, but functions also as a catalyst for the metaphysical, for the ideas and dreams synonomous (sic) with America's heritage." In particular, she notes, the car symbolizes the "particularly American union of space, romance, and technology." At the same time, the automobile also sits at a fault line in the American social imaginary. In a way that the railroad did not, the automobile evokes the self-reliant freedom of the open road, fusing autonomy and mobility. At the same time, as a product, it almost defines modern industry, and it gave rise to the suburban domesticity against which white men began to chafe. Promising individualism and adventure, cars also offered consumer safety, cocooning drivers from the unknown.[19]

Family vacations embraced the automobile and its tensions, updating the middle-class tourism of earlier decades. As Susan Sessions Rugh has shown, the "golden age of American family vacations" began in 1945 and lasted until the early years of the 1970s (neatly paralleling the rise of youth travel). Certainly, families had already traveled by car for decades. But the expansion of the Interstate system, automobile ownership, and paid vacation time turned the family vacation into a national, middle-class ritual at war's end. In the following decades, the American tourist industry marketed and catered primarily to families. Gas companies offered vacation planners and free tourist maps,

decorating them with images of parents and kids. Likewise, Detroit promoted ever-larger cars as extensions of the home. The station wagon, for example, appeared in the 1940s, promising ample room for kids, luggage, and the consumer comforts of the suburban home. Dad drove, mom might navigate, and the kids played games in the back seat. The scene is almost iconic.[20]

The moral meanings of family vacations built on earlier forms of national tourism, but they added a distinctive, Cold War, emphasis on the nuclear family. Specifically, family vacations reflected and reinforced the Cold War's middle class synthesis: bureaucratic work, mass consumption, national pride, and middle-class, suburban domesticity. On "civic pilgrimages" to destinations like Washington, D.C., families imagined themselves into national dramas scripted by tourist literature. Trips to the West – to dude ranches and to Western-themed amusement parks – allowed children to imaginatively enter TV Westerns and their mythical frontier. Likewise, camping offered not only affordability but also an imaginative connection to pioneer life. Ads for campers and RVs, for example, imagined their products as modern Conestoga wagons, taking adventurous Americans into the wilderness. The message resonated. Sales of camper trailers increased 273 percent between 1961 and 1965. Likewise, the number of visitors to national parks increased from 21.7 million in 1946 to 172 million in 1970. After an early 1970s dip, park visitation reached 216.5 million in 1976. For Cold War parents, Rugh summarizes, "the family vacation was a way to school their children in their own values, to acquaint them with their own heritage, and to see themselves as citizens of a mighty nation."[21]

As in earlier years, family vacations fused moral and patriotic uplift with consumption – yet now it was the full-throated mass consumption of what critics called mass society. Certainly, mass tourism was not entirely novel. Its defining incarnation, the package tour, was pioneered in 1840s Britain by Thomas Cook, a temperance preacher turned travel evangelist. Convinced of travel's morally broadening power and eager to extend it to the working class, Cook expanded his itineraries to the Continent, to the Middle East, and – by the 1870s – to trips around the world. His success spawned imitators in the United States and elsewhere. They also drew criticism. According to defenders of an earlier, elite tourism, Cook's tourist hordes destroyed destinations as they swarmed mindlessly across them. In part to differentiate themselves from such unsavory company, elites funded the rise of a new, luxury tourism. In the United States as in Europe, the turn of the century saw the rise of grand hotels, luxury ocean liners, posh rail cars, and elite destinations like the French Riviera. As traveling in ease became its own end, luxury tourism surrounded travelers with familiar, Western comforts.[22]

Those comforts migrated down the social ladder after World War II, as mass tourism promised family vacationers all the standardized, reliable comforts of home. Notably, an entire roadside industry catered to travelers. As the Interstate system grew, chain restaurants like Howard Johnson's replaced mom-and-pop diners. Motels also multiplied after 1945, followed by referral services, associations, and chains – like Holiday Inn – that offered reservations, standardized amenities, and reliable quality. At the same time, African Americans faced humiliating exclusion everywhere – from hotels to gas station bathrooms, especially in the South. While middle-class blacks did engage in national tourism, they also built parallel infrastructures, just as Jews had built their

own resorts during the interwar years. Nonetheless, mass tourism and the family vacation rose together, fusing family togetherness, national pride, and mass consumption. The American Way of Life included the road trip.[23]

Likewise, the widespread critique of mass society extended to mass tourism. Among the most cutting critics was Daniel Boorstin, who included mass tourism in *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America,* a book-length broadside against the empty artificiality of early 1960s American life. In Boorstin's declension narrative, travel had once served as a "universal catalyst," its "disturbing ideas" making travelers "think faster, imagine larger, want more passionately." No more. "Today what [the tourist] sees is seldom the living culture, but usually specimens collected and embalmed especially for him, or attractions specially staged for him; proved specimens of the artificial," Boorstin wrote. Abroad, chain hotels offered a "little America." At home, Americans insulated themselves in cars as they traveled new interstates that permitted them to see "nothing but the road." Insulated from locals and from foreign worlds, this new breed of visitor sought "all the thrills of risking his life without any real risk at all." Boorstin summarized this shift: "It was the decline of the traveler and the rise of the tourist."[24]

Boorstin's argument benefitted from convenient blind spots, but it clearly signaled an emerging, popular existentialist rationale for travel. As Dean MacCannell argued in *The Tourist* (1976), Boorstin overlooked the ways in which tourists sought authenticity. What MacCannell himself failed to notice, however, was that cultural change, not just competing interpretations, separated him from Boorstin. Mass tourism really did reflect the rise of mass consumption in post-war America. But in the 14 years between Boorstin's and MacCannell's books, Boorstin's elitist critique had become part

of mainstream popular existentialism. Indeed, Boorstin's distinction between "tourists" and "travelers" would become common among hip travelers.[25]

As MacCannell noted, Boorstin's travel also had a whiff of aristocracy to it – of nostalgia for the hearty, colonialist adventuring of the Victorian upper classes. Like Romanticism generally, however, "authentic" travel had both elite and bohemian versions. In the United States, the bohemian version came via the writers and carousers of the Beat generation. In 1944, the three major Beat writers – Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and William S. Burroughs – united as young men in New York City. Over the next decade and a half, they forged a lifestyle and literature that most critics viewed as artless and even nihilistic. Embracing drugs and unconstrained sexuality, the Beats experimented with Buddhism and found spiritual inspiration in the down-and-out "fellaheen" of skid rows. They worked irregularly and traveled frequently, hopping trains, hitchhiking, and driving cars that rarely belonged to them. In part, their revolt was against the conformity, materialism, and militarism that underwrote the Affluent Society – and which Ginsberg symbolized in Moloch, the ravenous god of his poem "Howl." Yet as Stephen Prothero has argued, their movement was not simply a "revolt against" but rather a "protest for."[26]

But for what exactly? John Modern has argued that the Beats pursued a "theology of experience," a metaphysical religion rooted in moments when the sacred shone through the textures of everyday life. The Beats' rebellious centering of experience, he contends, reflected an antinomian thread going back to Anne Hutchinson. More obviously, it drew from and paralleled Whitman's ecstatic verse, as well as the Transcendentalists' larger rebellion against the "corpse-cold" rationalism of Boston

Unitarianism. Yet the ecstatic transfiguration of the everyday happened only where the fabric of the Affluent Society had worn thin. Decisively influenced by German writer Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West*, the Beats saw the nation in spiritual crisis, part of a wider Western decline. Hope, then, lay in liminality – in people and practices marginal to Western social norms. On the religious margins, the Beats explored Asian religions, especially Zen Buddhism. On the social margins, they saw enlightenment in jazzmen, bums, exoticized minorities, and in grown-up street kids who became friends and muses. Famously, they also sought liminality in the same way as pilgrims, by traveling. Yet as Stephen Prothero (drawing on Victor Turner) has pointed out, the Beats did not seek the pilgrim's "center out there." Instead, they sought a "semi-permanent" liminality, an endless spiritual quest. "They aimed not to arrive but to travel," Prothero writes, "and, in the process, to transform into sacred space every back alley through which they ambled and every tenement in which they lived."[27]

No work expressed the Beat vision of travel as powerfully as Kerouac's 1957 *On the Road*, a novel that exerted a singular influence on the meaning and practice of hip travel. Structured as a series of transcontinental road trips, the book centers on Sal Paradise and Dean Moriarty, thinly fictionalized versions of Kerouac and Beat muse Neal Cassady, respectively. In Sal and Dean's constant motion, cultural geographer Tim Cresswell finds "a geographical expression of discontent with the hegemonic culture of the United States in the nineteen fifties." If Cold War mores resided in the nation's settled places, then Sal and Dean had to stay in motion. In addition to using "mobility as resistance," however, the novel's protagonists also use it to achieve liminality – as a mystical portal toward what they call "IT." While Sal and Dean do not stop to define

their terms, they associated "IT" with jazz musicians – with a mystical, creative immersion in each unfolding moment. Chasing such moments, in turn, meant "leaving confusion and nonsense behind and performing our one and noble function of the time, *move*." Engulfed in the instant, Sal could speak of "the purity of the road." He could "step across chronological time" and know "like mad that everything I had ever known and would ever know was One."[28]

The novel's celebration of marginality also drew on the romanticized hoboes of the nation's past. It did so through the fictional Dean Moriarty and his real-life inspiration, Neal Cassady. One of several Beat muses, Cassady had grown up following his father as he hopped trains, hitchhiked, and holed up in Denver's skid row. As a child, he had learned how to panhandle, navigate latter-day hobo camps, and treat the street as a playground. As an adolescent and young man, he had supposedly stolen some 500 cars (mainly to cruise), faced 10 arrests and six convictions, and spent time in both reform schools and in San Quentin. He was, in other words, a living connection not only to the sacred margins but to the hobo past that Kerouac romanticized. In *On the Road* and other Beat writing – Cassady published little himself – he exhibits spontaneity, constant movement, stream-of-consciousness talking, hyper-sexuality, and a kind of blissful criminality that "only stole cars for joy rides," as Kerouac put it. True, even *On the Road* reveals the extraordinary, callous disregard Cassady showed for women. To Kerouac, though, his ecstatic, impulsive, mobile refusal of "settled" social mores made Cassady a kind of saint, the "Holy Goof." As much a metaphor as a person, Cassady was also a bridge whereby, as Karen Staller puts it, "features of hard-core, street-acculturated

runaway existence were absorbed and promoted" from the Beats to their middle-class readers.[29]

For all its rebellion, though, Beat freedom simultaneously followed old scripts. Its glorification of rebellious, individual experience harkened back to the Transcendentalists, to Whitman, and to turn-of-the-century anti-modernism. At the same time, Kerouac also reinforced the gendered distinction between public and private. Sal and Dean pitted the masculine freedom of the road against the feminine constraints of home (to say nothing of their casual abandonment of wives and children). And even as they rebelled against middle-class norms, Sal and Dean also embraced traditional frontier mythology. Dean "looked like a young Gene Autry," and travel celebrated "holy America" – a "whole country like an oyster for us to open; and the pearl was there, the pearl was there." *On the Road*, then, did not just oppose the Cold War's Affluent Society. Instead, it offered a counterproposal: a sort of civil religious mysticism that mythically united the frontier, open spaces, and a freedom limited only by individual daring. Unlike the family-centered patriotism of family vacations, however, the Beats linked the nation's open spaces to individual experimentation at the boundaries of freedom and experience. If this vision rarely turned out well in practice, it could nonetheless intoxicate.[30]

And intoxicate it did. In a 1972 edition of *Harper's Magazine*, a writer named Gwyneth Cravens recalled that Kerouac placed a ticking "time bomb" in the Fifties, one that would soon launch a "rucksack revolution" in which a "mobile population of saints would take over the forests, mountains, and beaches and live on raisins, cracked wheat, and the Buddha nature." Cravens riffed on Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums* (1958) as much

as *On the Road.* It was the latter, though, that had the larger influence. Staller notes that *On the Road* was printed 22 times between 1957 and 1976, providing "a growing-up handbook for a generation of American Baby Boomers." Success also drew media attention to the Beats, turning them into celebrities, popularizing their work, and simultaneously glamorizing and demonizing their lifestyle. Perhaps most importantly, Kerouac also largely founded the modern road narrative. Road narratives, in turn, multiplied in the 1960s, when "[t]he idea was to move, to fly," as Cravens put it. "The whole goal was to stay high forever, and the road was the way to the goal."[31]

THE HIPPIE ROAD: MERRY PRANKSTERS, EASY RIDERS, AND DIVINE TRIPS

Since the 19th century, travel – as imagined and practiced – had both depended on and rebelled against modern social structures. Whether it ultimately amounted to resistance or accommodation, travel clearly expressed Romantic and anti-modern sentiments. After World War II, those sentiments flowed into popular existentialism, which updated and extended them. Unsurprisingly, travel also reflected this updating. In the realm of imagination, road narratives – in books, movies, and other media – reflected "social change within the realm of fantasy and desire," as Katie Mills has put it. If the *On the Road* provided a "master narrative" for this updating, as film scholar David Laderman has argued, it also previewed its countercultural context. Focusing on movies, Laderman correctly finds road narratives' source in "postwar youth culture rebellion."[32]

At the same time, road narratives intertwined with travel practices, containing within themselves the tensions between individual and society that had long structured travel's meanings. These tensions, in turn, provoked reflection on the meaning of

America, writ large. On one hand, road narratives continued to cast travel as a means to reject American social norms, a rejection now linked to the postwar critique of mass society and to that critique's countercultural apogee. On the other hand, countercultural road narratives did not simply reject American symbols and ideals, but rather claimed them for the counterculture. In particular, road narratives commonly reinterpreted frontier mythology to assert a hip version of freedom, and hence of American identity, as normative. Traveling via bus, motorcycle, or Volkswagen van, the heroes of hip road stories pioneered spiritual rather than civilizational frontiers. At the same time, they suffered blind spots. Although minorities and women produced travel narratives, the most influential road narratives tended to portray a white, and mainly masculine, freedom.[33]

A newer tension focused on the corruption and dangers of the counterculture itself; in road narratives, popular existentialism found a venue for self-critique. Like critics of the counterculture, hip road narratives asked whether hippies had "sold out," lapsed into solipsistic chaos, or become hardened and careless about freedom's casualties. As Laderman puts it, they explored the "*tension* between rebellion and conformity." Unsurprisingly, this tension also focused on the self, conveying the sudden vertigo that came at the psychedelic edges of popular existentialist freedom. With their dependence on the automobile, road narratives depicted the self as simultaneously *autonomous* and *mobile*. This pairing of existential and physical mobility made the road metaphorically synonymous with Whitmanesque self-expansion and open-ended transformation, usually understood as positive and liberating. At the same time, hip road narratives also linked the unbounded self to the unhinged self. Mystical immersion in

formless, infinite reality – promised by images of vast horizons and endless deserts – also demanded dissolution of self. While both psychedelic and road "trips" promised freedom, then, they also risked breakdown. Although multiple 1970s road movies and books expressed the chaos and disillusionment of the counterculture's decline, I focus on two late 1960s road narratives that established the ideal of hip travel while, sometimes quietly, also critiquing it. I end with a brief discussion of another work that suggested hip travel's broader context.[34]

The era's most celebratory narrative, debatably, was journalist Tom Wolfe's *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*. A zany, almost hallucinatory account of the Merry Pranksters, the "floating court" that surrounded author Ken Kesey, the book became a touchstone of hippie mythology. At its center was Kesey, already famous for *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's*, a novel that pit a rugged, macho individualist – Randle McMurphy – against the conformist repressions of a mental hospital, Kesey's cipher for the social order. Not only did the novel cleverly distill the mass society critique, it also took shape under the influence of LSD. A creative writing graduate student at Stanford, Kesey had volunteered for the university's government-funded research on the drug. He quickly became an acid evangelist. The Pranksters, which Mark Christensen has called "a cross between a cult and a twenty-year-long fraternity party," grew up around him. The group's most famous "prank," in turn, was a trip from California to the East Coast aboard a psychedelically painted bus they named "Furthur."[35]

Published in 1968, *Acid Test* catapulted the trip into the realm of hip mythology. In fairness, the Pranksters were themselves aiming at the mythological. Although the journey began as a plan to see the 1964 World's Fair and celebrate the publication of

Kesey's new novel, *Sometimes a Great Notion*, it became a self-conscious quest and missionary enterprise. Rigging the bus with microphones and speakers, the Pranksters took LSD and filmed their trip. "Our purpose was to use the drug to break up established patterns and, while in a heightened state of awareness, do our work as writers, musicians, rappers, cinematographers, social engineers, still photographers, and dramatists – and to record it while it was happening" explained Kesey's second-in-command, Ken Babbs, decades later. As Katie Mills explains, the Pranksters hoped their film might "help the masses to seek higher consciousness and thereby enhance human potential." It did not hurt their appeal that Neal Cassady, Kerouac's muse, drove the bus. In New York, the Pranksters visited Kerouac himself (drunk and hostile) and engaged in a dramatic, but failed, attempt to visit Timothy Leary, the former Harvard professor turned LSD guru. Deeply silly, the Pranksters often seem less cultural rebels than overgrown children on a cross-country sex-and-drugs bender – nothing more, nothing less.[36]

Yet the Pranksters refused the terms of such dismissals. They did so on grounds that drew from, then stretched to the breaking point, the logic of popular existentialism. On one level, the Pranksters pioneered the psychedelic extension of earlier romanticisms and anti-modernisms, as these evolved within the mid-century mass society critique. As Babbs suggested, the bus trip embodied the old, Romantic idea of making art of life itself, lived spontaneously and authentically. If it also ventured into the realm of the hedonistic and absurd – as it most certainly did – pleasure-seeking *irrationality* could also be understood as resistance to the calculating *rationality* of a repressive society. The new factor, of course, was LSD. Kesey had read Alduous Huxley's *The Doors of Perception,* which described psychedelic drugs as a way to restore the full flow of perception, which

was normally choked by the "reducing valve" of the conditioned mind. Fusing Kerouac and Huxley, the Pranksters played with travel's protean ability to move between symbol and practice. Thus, the LSD "trip" and the bus "trip" became a single, indivisible, and existential assault on what was now seen as repression's deepest stronghold: the conditioned psyche. As Wolfe presciently told an interviewer, he eventually came to see the Pranksters as "a curious, very bizarre, advance guard of this whole push toward self-realization."[37]

At the same time, the Pranksters' psychedelic experimentation did not quite end with the free self. Instead, it extended to hopes that Wolfe, compellingly, described as religious. On one level, the Pranksters reveled in symbol and mythology. Hinting at his basically libertarian politics, Kesey modeled himself after the superheroes of his childhood comic books, which he considered the "honest American myths." Likewise, it is no stretch to read Kesey as a moralist – to see both *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* and *Sometimes a Great Notion* as left-libertarian parables of a popular existentialist faith. In the bus, life, art, and symbol merged anew. Kesey regularly described the bus as his most important work – a "metaphor that's instantly comprehensible." With its destination sign reading "Furthur" and its progress toward what the Pranksters called "Edge City," the bus also tapped frontier mythology. It was, Wolfe wrote, an "allegory for life."[38]

As Wolfe described it, the Prankster quest also flirted with metaphysics and mysticism. *Acid Test* describes the Pranksters' dance with "the Unspoken Thing" – "an overwhelming new experience" that Wolfe understood via religious studies scholarship. Comparing the Pranksters' psychedelic mysticism with Joachim Wach's "experience of

the holy" and Max Weber's "possession of the deity," Wolfe also alluded to William James's work on religious experience and religious "musicality":[39]

> The world was simply and sheerly divided into "the aware," those who had had the experience of being vessels of the divine, and a great mass of "the unaware," "the unmusical," "the unattuned." Or: *you're either on the bus or off the bus.*[40]

"On the bus": among the Pranksters' signature sayings, it suggested total immersion in the unmediated, unfiltered spontaneity of the moment. Cassady fascinated Kesey, in part, because his seat-of-the-pants driving and steam-of-consciousness monologues suggested that he had nearly overcome the "lag" between the present instant and human perception of that instant. Yet the "Unspoken Thing" went deeper still. While never as intent as fellow acid evangelist Timothy Leary on marrying psychedelics to Asian religions, the Pranksters sought hidden connections and correspondences. On LSD, they felt the hidden unity of self and world, subject and object. They sought the psychic "synch" of the "group mind" and embraced the *I Ching*, whose coins promised connection to a hidden flows and patterns. Likewise, what Wolfe portrays as Kesey's growing interest in psychic power can be understood as Catherine Albanese's "mental magic." On one acid trip, for example, Kesey thinks he is God. While he attributes the experience to drugs, he nonetheless dreams that the Prankster "movie" could include, and direct, the entire world.[41]

Kesey's missionary project fell short of that goal, but it did much to inject the psychedelic, mystical, and metaphysical strain of popular existentialism into youth travel culture. After the 1964 trip, the Prankster's bus toured the West Coast, evangelizing for LSD via "acid tests" – light shows often featuring the Grateful Dead, the Prankster house band.[42] Yet even more than their own antics, Wolfe's book turned the Pranksters into hip

icons. Memoirist and Kesey biographer Mark Christensen remembers finding the Prankster's "clownish" but the book intoxicating:

> Before *Acid Test*, I figured I'd end up in Portland, twenty stories above the Willamette River, an anonymous executive nobody … But now, the Good News: I was saved, absolved of my Original Sin of ruling class Nobodyness. For Tom Wolfe had discovered that, from the cocoon of suburbia now flew hot-rodded, hallucination-headed surfer butterflies beating freak wings high in the sky: New Boys vital and ridiculous about to conquer the world.[43]

As scores of other interviews and texts affirm, *Acid Test* inspired fantasies of liberated, empowered, ecstatic, mystical, and previously undreamed identities and orientations to the world.

It also served many of the functions associated with mythology. Certainly, it became an origin story for the counterculture. At the beginning of the 2011 documentary *Magic Trip*, a narrator contends that Kesey "lit the fuse for the explosion of the Sixties." As memoirs and interviews suggest, the bus also became an authorizing and authoritative model for a generation of road trips and hippie buses – discussed in chapter 4. Finally, the book helped Kesey transform himself, like Hemingway before him, into a model personality type. As what Christensen calls the "Freest American Ever," Kesey became a "Pied Piper for a generation for whom the willing suspension of disbelief was the key to the Holy Grail." In short, he showed young Americans how to travel and how to be.[44]

In Kesey's vision, travel and drugs led to a popular existentialist utopia, one in which uninhibited individual expression harmonized with authentic, if wild, communal life. Even by the late 1960s, however, hip road narratives had begun to pair freedom with chaos and personal disintegration. Debatably the most important example was the film *Easy Rider*, starring Peter Fonda as Wyatt and Dennis Hopper as Billy. The plot is

simple: After a lucrative drug deal in Mexico, Wyatt and Billy ride their Harleys cross-country, aiming to party at Mardi Gras before settling down to the good life in Florida. Along the way, they visit a farmer, pick up a hitchhiker, sleep at a desert commune, spend time in jail, visit a brothel in New Orleans, and ultimately get gunned down by rednecks firing shotguns from a pick-up truck. Thematically, the film meditates on the ideals and corruptions of America, the counterculture, and freedom itself.[45]

Most powerfully for countercultural fans, *Easy Rider* celebrates Billy and Wyatt's ecstatic, mobile, and American freedom. At the beginning of their trip, Wyatt throws away his watch, symbolizing his liberation from schedules and the careful, rationalized use of time. Cruising across wide-open Western landscapes, the riders spread their arms like wings, free as birds, their hip liberation emphasized by a soundtrack of rock and folk music. Like *On the Road* and *Acid Test*, *Easy Rider* ties this hip freedom to frontier mythology. By their very names, Wyatt (Earp) and Billy (the Kid) evoke outlaws and the Old West. Early in their trip, eating with a farm family, Wyatt admires the ability to "live off the land" and "do your own thing in your own time." Of course, Wyatt's own symbolism could scarcely be clearer: he goes by the nickname "Captain America," and his helmet and gas tank bear the image of the stars and stripes. Like "See America First" tourism and family vacations, then, *Easy Rider* fused landscape, nationalism, mythology, and identity – though it was identity of a popular existentialist sort, full of the Beats' civil religious mysticism.[46]

At the same time, the film offered something different – a sharp suspicion that neither America nor the counterculture delivered the purity that they promised. In an atmosphere of rising antiwar and antiestablishment feeling, the movie's critique of

America sounded most clearly. When they join a small-town parade on their motorcycles, Billy and Wyatt are arrested for "parading without a permit"; Captain American himself is jailed. At a Louisiana diner, rednecks loudly discuss the bikers as subhuman "refugees from a gorilla love-in" who probably won't "make the parish line." At camp that night, the bikers discuss the day's events. "You know, this used to be a hell of a good country," says George, a liberal lawyer who joined up with Billy and Wyatt in the small-town jail. "I can't understand what's gone wrong with it." When Billy remarks that the people are scared of them, George replies that they are not scared of the bikers but rather of what they represent:

> What you represent to them is freedom. ... But talking about it and being it, that's two different things. It's real hard to be free when you are bought and sold in the marketplace. Don't tell anybody that they're not free, because they'll get busy killing and maiming to prove to you that they are.[47]

More than road mythology is at stake in this conversation. George's statement inverts the rednecks' (implicit) ideology, casting the hippies in the place of freedom-loving patriots and positioning rednecks as threats to American values.[48]

Ultimately, though, the film suggests that the rednecks remain in control of a newly dangerous American road. They ambush Wyatt, Billy, and George at their campsite, killing George. Wyatt and Billy press on toward Mardi Gras, but they are soon gunned down by the passengers of a pick-up that chances upon them. The murder firmly shifts road mythology. While the road may still offer freedom (especially in the West), its travelers could no longer identify with Dean Moriarty, who was "positive beyond doubt that everything will be taken care of" on the highways of a country he knew and trusted.[49]

Still, *Easy Rider* did not simply critique mainstream America; it also suggested that the counterculture suffered from internal rot. This thread of internal critique surfaces most powerfully in the greed, paranoia, and vapidity of Dennis Hopper's Billy. At a struggling desert commune, he wants to deny a ride to the residents because "[w]e're not no traveling bureau." Wyatt overrules him, pointing out that "we're eating their food." After George's murder, Billy takes George's wallet, then insists that he and Wyatt should still visit the New Orleans brothel George told them about. "He would've wanted us to, man," Billy whines. Finally, despite the wreckage they've left behind, Billy waxes exuberant at the trip's last campsite. "We're rich, man," he says. "We're retired in Florida now, mister." To this, Wyatt simply replies, "You know Billy, we blew it." Billy is dumbfounded. "What?" he asks. "Well, that's what it's all about. Like, you know, you go for the big money, and then you're free." Wyatt repeats: "We blew it." In the quick flow of the movie, the remark seems cryptic. Nonetheless, Wyatt's comment makes sense of a countercultural trip that failed to live up to its own values. After all, what could be more banally middle class than a comfortable retirement in Florida? Still, countercultural viewers could easily overlook *Easy Rider*'s chiding and focus on its more obvious celebration of hip freedom and condemnation of conservative reaction.

Acid Test and *Easy Rider* rode the front edge of a wave of popular road narratives that would weigh and re-weigh the promise and peril of personal freedom. I have focused on these two examples because of their popularity and influence, and because both contain an "ideal" image of hip travel (even if they quietly qualify it). At the same time, another, less popular work, Gurney Norman's *Divine Right's Trip*, hinted at an evolution in hip thinking. A Stanford classmate of Kesey's, Norman was on the fringes of the

Prankster circle. In *Divine Right's Trip,* he portrayed the road as a place of drugged-out pseudo-profundity and shallow relationships. At the same time, Norman aimed not only to critique but also to weave hippie and frontier mythologies into a new synthesis. When protagonist Divine Right Davenport permanently parks his VW van, Urge, near his late uncle's Kentucky homestead, he endorses the back-to-the-land communal movement of the later counterculture. Heavy-handed mythological tropes and readings from the *I-Ching* make the message clear: real pioneers eventually "settle." It was a position at home in *The Whole Earth Catalog*, the sprawling hip lifestyle guide where *Divine Right's Trip* originally appeared. I return to the *Catalog* in chapter 4.[50]

In the road stories of the 1960s and 1970s, more than a centuries' worth of modern anxieties and anti-modern hopes took new form. Ambivalence about the blessings and malaises of modernity had driven decades of ruminations – about the danger and romance of tramps, the corruption and virtue of tourists, and the wild ecstasy of the Beat writers' open road. The counterculture moved further, and more outlandishly, along the same axis. As before, place, practice, and imagination merged. With *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, the real life "trips" of the Merry Pranksters became imaginative models for young, would-be hippies. In *Divine Right's Trip* and *The Whole Earth Catalog*, former Pranksters made clear that self-directed travel was, at best one of many routes to an expressive, self-reliant, "loose," self. Yet it was a way that offered both ecstatic freedom and entrée into an alluring, countercultural world, as *Easy Rider* suggested. Certainly, Billy and Wyatt's murder offered a warning about the limits of freedom in American society. At the same time, their deaths also contained more than a

hint of martyrdom's righteous frisson. Unsurprisingly, those who took to the road sensed the ecstasy more clearly than they heard any warnings.

Chapter 2:

Unsettling Times: The Youth Travel Boom

On January 2, 1967, a 15-year-old runaway named Diana Phipps appeared on the front page of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Tall and "exceedingly pretty," Phipps fled home after a fight with her mother, who had insisted that she stay away from Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue, a hub for "beatniks" and their young imitators, dismissively called "teenyboppers." Phipps, apparently, was of no mind to listen. She had already covered the walls of her room with "record album covers" and hip leaflets. She had started writing mystical poetry, sometimes with erotic themes. During one fight with her mother, she bragged about taking LSD in her bedroom. The final straw, the paper reported, came when Diana's mother, desperate for an effective punishment, forcibly cut her daughters' long, blonde hair. Diana stormed out and had not returned for nearly seven weeks. Instead, the she had "vanished into the same abyss that has swallowed hundreds of other teen-ager fugitives from an adult world they feel does not understand them – the Beatnik communities of Berkeley, San Francisco and Los Angeles."[1]

Diana's story anchored a series on a "fugitive army" of "Beat runaways." Tellingly, the paper had sandwiched her picture between two other articles – one on Ronald Reagan's inauguration as California 33rd governor, the other on a New Year's party in the panhandle of the city's Golden Gate Park. Hosted by the Hell's Angels motorcycle gang and the Diggers – described by the paper as "a sort of hippie philanthropic organization" – the party drew 2,000 people to the panhandle, a strip of grass and trees that marked the northern boundary of the Haight-Asbury district. Folk

music blared, incense wafted through the air, and people basked in the sunlight filtering through the trees. The Haight-Ashbury district was entering its heyday as the unofficial, psychedelic capital of youthful beatniks – or hippies, as they were increasingly (and dismissively) known. Intentionally or not, the *Chronicle*'s juxtaposition perfectly captured Diana Phipps' flight from her parents' (and Reagan's) world to the hip one.[2]

Diana's runaway journey, however, was only one aspect of youth travel in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1972, *New York Times* columnist Russell Baker wryly described the extraordinary mobility of "big new people:"

> If they arrive in Washington, it may be to meet a friend they want to accompany them to Rome. And why do they want to go to Rome? Because there is somebody there whom they met last summer in Mexico City, and they want to ask him to make a trip to Boston with them.
>
> The point of going to Boston, of course, is that a girl they hitch-hiked across Montana with three months ago may be in Boston, and she might like to organize a camper trip to Winnipeg where they say things are really groovy during the third week of February.[3]

Diana Phipps' mother was not the only parent baffled that their children did not want settled security, which the Depression and World War II generations had fought so hard to achieve. "Can you tell me why so many young people want to travel today?" one worried parent asked a Chicago Tribune columnist. "Why are they so restless?"[4]

Travel exploded during the 1960s and 1970s, in part because it enacted and interpreted the era's youth rebellions. Although its precedents dated to the years just after World War II, a youth travel boom began between roughly 1964 and 1967, accelerated through 1968 and 1969, and peaked between 1970 and 1973. The boom occurred within North America, but, like the counterculture itself, it involved international flows of bodies, practices, and ideas. This dissertation focuses primarily on

travel's moral meanings within the context of U.S. culture. Nonetheless, it interprets not destinations but practice, and the imperatives of the hip travel style applied globally. To ignore the rise of international youth travel distorts a movement that challenged boundaries of all sorts. While this chapter will extend chapter 1's focus on the United States, then, it will also survey the rise of an overlapping, but not identical, boom in American youth travel abroad.

FROM CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TO THE "WOODSTOCK OF THE 1970S"

As in stateside journeys, astounding affluence and Cold War imperatives shaped Americans' travels abroad. Yet the specifics differed. For one thing, geopolitics played a more obvious role, partly because so many Americans were stationed in Europe. More importantly, though, cultural and educational exchanges became both a major part of Cold War citizen diplomacy and the backbone of a youth travel infrastructure. Still, students were not the only travelers. Just as Gilded Age tourists had pursued the vigorous life while supporting the nation, so too did a cohort of young adventurers win admiration for their all-American pluck –which sometimes carried the whiff of imperialist nostalgia. Beginning in the mid-1960s, however, "beatniks" begin to fill international travel circuits, often using the perks and infrastructure of student travel. By the early 1970s, youth travel abroad, especially to Europe, was booming. That did not mean that luxury, educational, and cultural travel disappeared; not all young travelers admired or aped the counterculture. Still, the hip travel style, undergirded by a widely shared popular existentialism, became both pervasive and, to some, culturally threatening.

Cold War politics, economics, and transportation technology shaped the evolution of travel in postwar Europe. Most obviously, nearly a million American

military families and civilian expatriates lived in postwar Europe and its military bases, demanding American products and conveniences. But short-term travel also boomed. Commercial airlines rapidly expanded, and the 1958 introduction of commercial jets cut travel time to Europe to as little as six hours. Likewise, the federal government encouraged Americans to spend dollars in Europe as part of the Marshall Plan, and a strong dollar made trips to Europe relatively cheap. In the early 1960s, a 3-week, all-inclusive trip to Europe (by plane) cost about as much as a 3-month European tour had cost in 1850. As one historian observed, that meant that a Europe vacation had "become relatively less expensive in terms of what it had once cost than perhaps any other feature of modern living." American travel to Europe soon reached record levels.[5]

In particular, young people benefited from an international effort to build goodwill through cultural and educational exchange. In the 1920s and 1930s, Western European countries had built hostel networks to promote nationalism among their own populations; after 1945, they promoted them to foreigners. In the United States, educational institutions, civic groups, religious organizations, and the federal government promoted educational exchanges as a kind of Cold War citizen diplomacy. In addition to the scholarly Fulbright program, the federal government even helped with logistics; students returned to Europe on a C-4 troop transport in 1947. Likewise, shipboard orientations stressed students' roles as "ambassadors." Alarmed by communist nations' own student exchanges, the CIA began secretly subsidizing the pro-travel National Student Association in the early 1950s.[6]

From this Cold War beginning, a much larger student and youth travel infrastructure grew. Exchange organizations like the Council on Student Travel (now the

Council on International Educational Exchange) facilitated transport and provided information on an ever-expanding range of destinations. The U.S. Army sold *The G.I.'s Guide To Traveling in Europe* for 50 cents, but its author, an ex-serviceman named Arthur Frommer, found far greater success with *Europe on $5 a Day*. First published in 1956, the book became a youth staple for decades. At Harvard, students themselves produced the enormously popular *Let's Go* series, beginning with the 1961 edition of *Let's Go: A Student Guide to Europe.*[7]

Young people also benefited from an array of bargains and student discounts. Most important were cut-rate tickets on charter airlines and special youth airfares on commercial carriers between 1966 and 1974. The upshot was that young Americans could often afford to travel cheaper, and better, in Europe than at home. In 1967, a *Los Angeles Times* columnist was already complaining about hordes of "barefoot, beaded, and unbathed" hippies on airplanes – an unintended consequence of budget fares launched when "the flower people were barely in the bud." By contrast, a declining dollar, rising fuel costs, and disappearing discounts marked waning of the boom in the mid-1970s.[8]

Their numbers would grow. In 1955, some 50,000 American students were going abroad annually. By 1966, the State Department had issued more than 400,000 student passports, 250,000 of them in 1965 alone. "The trip abroad," reported *The New York Times* in 1964, "is superseding the foreign car, the second house and private-school education as a status symbol for many American families." Yet as affluent, middle-class youth found cheap flights and turned to $2-a-day drifting, Newsweek could conclude that trips that once seemed a "privilege of class," had become "a birthright for a whole new

generation of Americans. A year later, *Time* estimated that a record 800,000 "blue-jeaned invaders" were traveling to Europe - "the same bunch of kids who would normally have had summer jobs life-guarding the pool or dispensing hamburgers at McDonalds." A summer in Europe, the magazine concluded, was "Woodstock of the '70s."[9]

At the same time, another set of young travelers recreated the elite, turn-of-the-century quest for the vigorous life – often with a whiff of imperialist nostalgia and Cold War military might. Into the 1960s, newspapers presented budget drifters as high-spirited, admirable adventurers. Carrying only one change of clothes and a jacket, a 24-year-old California graduate student hitchhiked Europe for three months and $134 in 1952, swimming the Blue Danube, hearing a speech by Winston Churchill, and crossing the Iron Curtain in Vienna. His trip won a write-up in *The Los Angeles Times.* The same year, a reporter found that half the residents of the Algiers Youth Hostel were Americans, most of them young women. In 1964, a widely reprinted story described five young women hitchhiking from Liberia to Algiers, across the Sahara Desert. All five served in the Peace Corps, another organization that provided ambassadors for Uncle Sam and outlets for adventurous, idealistic, and (usually) affluent youth.[10]

At the same time, American travelers were not widely known for their thrift or independence, at least until the mid-1960s. As European youth embraced hitchhiking after 1945, a sizable minority of American visitors also sought to get off the beaten path, often by car, in the 1950s. Nonetheless, far more paid for tightly scheduled package tours, and American military families and other expatriates demanded American-style conveniences abroad. Americans in Paris, once home to Hemingway's "Lost Generation," lacked even "[r]ebellion, that indispensable ingredient of Bohemianism,"

according to a 1959 article in *The New York Times*. Aside from a few drifters – mostly former GIs – expatriates in Paris studied earnestly, pursued careers, and carried their culture with them. They came, the *Times* wrote, "not to lose their purity but to impose it."[11]

As popular existentialism spread, however, the same channels used by earnest, Cold War cultural ambassadors filled with cultural dissenters. Defining themselves against the materialism, cultural insulation, and inauthenticity they attributed to luxury travel and mass tourism, a new breed of hip traveler sought authentic experience by traveling cheaply, independently, spontaneously and outside the tourist bubble. The first "beatnik" wave arrived in Europe between roughly 1964 and 1966. In those years, Americans joined an international set of youthful, bearded (and apparently largely male) "bums" sleeping under Paris bridges while seeing the world. With their tattered jeans and long hair, they panhandled, lounged by the Seine with guitars, did LSD in hotel rooms, and convinced reporters that they possessed neither ambition nor political commitment.[12]

By the late 1960s, the hip travel style was clearly in ascent, marked by hitchhiking, backpacks, blue jeans, loose itineraries and an obsessive attention to cost. For many, travel on the "poverty program" meant not only cheap hostels but sleeping outside in fields and public parks. In particular, Amsterdam's Dam Square became know as a place for sleeping out, until confrontations between police and tourists led officials to ban sleeping in the square in 1971. Even in damp London, 1 of 3 young visitors slept outside on a given night the same summer.[13] For critics, such postures represented "reverse snobbism" and disingenuous posturing – about, for example, whether a traveler

could "afford an apple." Just as some young people continued to travel in comfort, budget travelers could often get money easily. In 1969, an employee at Paris's American Express office noted that parent-and-child customers had been replaced by scruffy, wealthy, solo travelers hoping to pick up checks from home before heading to "Istanbul, Cannes, or North Africa."[14]

By the time summer in Europe had become the "Woodstock of the '70s," youth travel culture had spawned its own sources of information. Although *Let's Go*, *Frommer's*, and exchange-program guides still oriented travelers, many followed the grapevine and casual acquaintances to new "scenes" and destinations. Hip advice also appeared in print. By the late 1960s, mimeographed sheets and informal booklets on popular routes – like the "hippie trail" from Turkey to Nepal – had begun to provide information on drugs, crash pads, and transport. The first years of the 1970s, in turn, saw an explosion of travel guides geared toward the hippie ethos. Ed Buryn – the subject of chapter 5 – led the way with his self-published *Hitch-Hiking in Europe* (1969), a chapbook that promised experiences both "completely individual" and "totally involving." By 1972, the travel press noted an entire "new style" of guidebooks catering to "new audiences." Centering on Europe but covering the globe, these included information on hitchhiking, drugs, sex, hip destinations, and the authentic practice and meaning of travel.[15]

Although the Istanbul-to-Katmandu route gained almost iconic status, the youth travel boom centered in Europe and expanded to the post-colonial margins. Although travelers did visit traditional tourist magnets like London and Paris, socially tolerant Northern European cities – especially Copenhagen and Amsterdam – became famous for

their hip scenes. In an era when Amsterdam radio stations quoted market prices for hashish, one hippie writer called the city "a seething European Headopolis where countless wanderers celebrate their exile, smoke pot freely," and team with locals to form an alternative community. Spain, the Balearic Islands – especially Ibiza – and various Greek Isles also attracted young travelers seeking cheap, sunny destinations. Beginning in the mid-1960s, a floating community inhabited the seaside caves of Matala, Crete. North Africa, especially Morocco, was also on the hip itinerary – especially for travelers seeking hashish.[16]

Hippies also forged budget travel outposts far beyond Europe and the United States in the mid- and late 1960s. Durable hip outposts appeared in Israel (whose kibbutzim also attracted idealistic Jews); on Lamu Island, Kenya; in Goa, India; in Katmandu, Nepal; and in other places that combined natural beauty with low costs of living.[17] Such outposts also ebbed and flowed by word of mouth, as Paul DiMaggio noted of Mexico:

> There is a kind of informal network of young American travelers in Mexico. People meet each other on the road, find out where others are going, and arrange to meet at a later point. At any time there are a number of places where freaks congregate – ruins, beaches, small coastal towns. Surfers hit the beaches in Guaymas and Mazatlan. A lot of freaks go to the beautiful ruins of Chichen-itza and Teotihuacah (sic). Young American intellectuals haunt Cuernavaca (where the local hippie hang-out is the Burger-Boy Drive-in.)[18]

Because hippies commonly angered locals by ignoring traditional mores, a wave of crackdowns roughly maps the frontiers of hip travel. One hip writer noted immigration restrictions, deportations, forced hair-cuttings, and other crackdowns in France (1966), Greece (1967), Nepal (1967), Laos (1968), Yugoslavia (1968), Mexico (1968), Argentina (1968), Turkey (1968) and Singapore (1970). Media and politicians also complained

about hippie cultural disruption in the Middle East (1967), Italy (1968), and India (1968). Although apparently ineffective, such crackdowns made news into the 1970s.[19]

Even among low-budget drifters, however, considerable diversity existed. Budget travelers included not only hippies but "straights" who detested the image hippies gave America. One of the earliest scholars of tourism, Erik Cohen, found three axes of difference among what he called "nomads from affluence": 1) level of immersion in the "hippie sub-culture," 2) the duration of travel, and 3) interest in destinations vs. interest in fellow travelers. In other words, young people could drift indefinitely or for a summer holiday; they could immerse themselves in destinations or use them as colorful backgrounds to hang out and smoke pot. Among his category of "full-time drifters," for example, Cohen differentiated between the "adventurer," who sought immersion in host cultures, and the "itinerant hippie," who moved between hip enclaves and drug scenes. Hip writer Richard Neville spun similar classifications differently when he imagined "Alf," a sort of belated imperialist with a "school blazer" and "maps, a compass and a paraffin stove." Clearly an adventurer, the imagined Alf falls in with beatniks, tries kif, and returns home "in a Moroccan djellaba and Indian sandals," carrying the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* and a bamboo flute."[20]

Overwhelmingly, however, the varieties of youth travel shared a common moral grounding in popular existentialism. Obviously, travelers leaving the United States could interpret their departure as an embodied rejection of the nation's mores. Quite often, they also understood their travels as personal quests. "I left my country to find what my values are, and in a cave there's no TV set blaring next door," a disillusioned Peace Corps veteran told a *Life* reporter who visited Matala's caves in 1968. While worried

about his country, the same traveler averred that "before anyone can remake society, he has to remake himself." Such earnest questing mixed easily with hedonistic, bodily release.[21]

Likewise, lonely adventure promised to strip away comfort and cultural conditioning, leaving only the authentic self. "[O]n a lonely trek from Marrakesh to Agadir, in the Atlas Mountains, or 17,000 feet up the Himalayas, there is no one *but* yourself to come face to face with," as hippie writer Richard Neville put it. Liberated from homebound constraints, authentic travelers could also open themselves to authentic encounters with other places and cultures. Instead of touring a museum, Neville argued, travelers could "canoe down the Mekong River, nibble aphrodisiac chocolate in a South Thailand teenage brothel, [or] be massaged in a steaming Moroccan bathing-dungeon by a fastidious Arab. … Drift with the current and end up in places you never knew existed."[22]

On such trips, stoned hedonism mixed with what Brian T. Edwards has called "hippie Orientalism." Again, both found footing in popular existentialism. Just as Norman Mailer and Jack Kerouac had both exoticized and idolized African Americans, many hippies saw a saving "otherness" in colonized destinations – even, to some degree, in Europe. At the same time, many destinations served as little more than wallpaper for sex, drugs, and the pleasures of the (unrepressed) body.[23] In a combination tent, hostel, and drug den on an Istanbul rooftop, for example, a *Life* reporter engaged a Vietnam veteran. Stoned on hashish, the veteran pointed to a picture of Jesus in a Bible.

> "How many arms does Christ have?" he asks me [the reporter].
> "Twelve?" I volunteer, hoping my number will be cool and not straight, hoping I will be young and not old. "Sixteen, man. Sixteen."[24]

Sixteen, man, sixteen: even silly, stoned hedonism could acquire a moral sheen via the Romantic logic that linked pleasure to nature and nature to authenticity.

In multiple ways, then, international travel practices carried profound meaning. As a "Letter from Katmandu" put it an underground newspaper, "there is a kind of emergent feeling that the road is its own cure for what ails you (spiritual-political-total)." As a "spiritual-political-total" practice, hip travel promised escape from, and transcendence of, the alienating divisions of modern American life.[25]

IF YOU'RE GOING TO SAN FRANCISCO: MOBILITY IN THE EARLY U.S. COUNTERCULTURE

Youth travel boomed in the United States in the same years it exploded abroad. At the same time, travel in the United States depended more deeply on automobiles and on the counterculture itself. When it first began to accelerate in the mid-1960s, youth travel seemed less an activity in its own right than one part of the broader hippie lifestyle. If Kerouac had seeded a "rucksack revolution," it had grown slowly during the late 1950s and early 1960s, as "hitch-hikers, freight-hoppers, and cross-country drivers" sought out beatnik bohemias like San Francisco's North Beach – even as the major Beat writers abandoned it. In the mid-1960s, "hippies" supplanted "beatniks," Haight-Ashbury replaced North Beach, and the East Village challenged Greenwich Village as the hip, bohemian capital of New York City. Just as importantly, media coverage inspired new waves of alienated young people to seek out the flower children.[26]

They found them not only in big cities, but in rural encampments, communes, and wherever a hip host opened land or lodging, free of charge, to fellow travelers. Especially in urban areas like Haight-Ashbury and the East Village, newcomers found

lodging in "crash pads," frequently just apartments with shared mattresses thrown on the floor. Bedding down with others, writes Jay Stevens, "[y]our inhibitions and frequently your virginity were the first things to go" in a "progressive shedding that was hastened along by your first acid trip." Despite pervasive reports of filth and chaos, some crash pads were well run, even functioning as "full-blown social service agencies." Among the best known was "Galahad's Pad," a former East Village tenement opened to teenage crashers (a 1967 murder there dimmed its luster).[27]

The rural counterparts to crash pads were encampments and transient communes on "open land" – areas where anyone could camp or take up residence. Early examples included a chaotic encampment on Gorda Mountain, in Big Sur, and Morningstar Ranch, a famous northern California commune with close ties to the Haight-Ashbury scene. Colorado's Drop City, founded in 1965, sprouted geodesic domes and art, becoming a kind of hip "pilgrimage site" and hitchhiking layover en route to San Francisco. Yet travelers also cycled through other types of improvised communities, including a former hotel in Ben Lomond, California (in the Big Sur area), and a short-lived encampment in Yosemite National Park. More stable communes also sprung up elsewhere, especially northern New Mexico and New England. At least for those tied closely to the counterculture, these sites served as nodes of a floating community of hard-core hippies, part-time sympathizers, roving hitchhikers, and "teenyboppers," as the scenes' adolescent hangers-on were sometimes called.[28]

As even sympathetic writers allowed, such communities frequently had serious problems. The San Francisco press gleefully reported on the filth, drugs, and high incidents of venereal disease in leaderless "tribes" governed by the imperative to "do

your own thing." Yablonsky, the sociologist, reported disturbing images from California and the East Village. In New York, middle-class teenagers lived in squalid tenements, sleeping and having sex on greasy mattresses thrown on the floor. Local Puerto Rican toughs, unimpressed by the love ethic, threatened physical and sexual assault. Yablonsky found similar violence, and tragic child neglect, at Morningstar Ranch. Even the Diggers, the psychedelic anarchists who acted as the Haight's hip aid organization, criticized predators who took advantage of naïve newcomers.[29]

The most famous wave of arrivals arrived in 1967, during San Francisco's so-called Summer of Love. With its own unofficial theme song – Scott McKenzie's "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flower in Your Hair)" – the summer attracted "only fifty or seventy-five thousand young pilgrims," according to Todd Gitlin, "but they were at the center of the nation's fantasy life." Music, drugs, free love, and personal liberation drew teenagers from around the nation; among the most striking things about photos from the era is how astonishingly *young* many arrivals appear. Yet the summer also signaled the end of the Haight-Ashbury's golden era; a "Death of Hippie" procession marched down Haight Street in October 1967, and the district rapidly soured into a crime-ridden youth slum. Oblivious about the shift, young people kept coming, often finding harder drugs and sexual predation.[30]

Concern over the dark side of hippie scenes and travel congealed around the issue of runaways. As talk of a "generation gap" became common, a wave of runaways fled the "domestic containment" of Cold War homes. The *San Francisco Chronicle's* coverage of 15-year-old Diana Phipps, mentioned earlier, revealed that she had gone to Berkeley, moving "from one pad to another, frequently sleeping on the floor, sharing

whatever food was available." As Phipps moved between Haight-Ashbury and Los Angeles' Sunset Strip, modeling and working in coffee shops, her mother fretted. She was not alone; in October 1967, photos of missing children blanketed the bulletin boards at Haight-Ashbury's Switchboard, a hip referral service. Parental panic peaked that same month, with news of the rape and murder of 18-year-old Linda Fitzpatrick, daughter of a wealthy Connecticut family, and her 21-year-old boyfriend, a drug dealer nicknamed "Groovy," in Galahad's Pad in New York's East Village.[31]

Hip publications did not deny that runaways faced problems, but they interpreted them differently. In 1967, New York's hip *Village Voice* described running away as a "space-age rite of purification" and quipped that a 14-year-old boy became a "folk hero" when his mother bought huge ads in the *Berkeley Barb*, an underground paper, reading "LARRY KEMP COME HOME."[32] As runways became a constant, growing problem, others expressed annoyance. As one reporter put it:

> The 1969 runaway leaves home because he thinks his parents, teachers, the world and God are all frauds.
>
> He travels 2000 miles via a few jerks of his thumb, quickly meets up with other youngsters who confirm his suspicions about parents, teachers, the world and God, and spends six months touring the country at the expense of the Establishment he holds in contempt.[33]

The reporter was not far off. Influenced by post-scarcity thinking, the *Village Voice* argued that, by shedding material values, runaways could live off society's waste and escape parental control. Still, it cautioned, Bay Area streets were "a rough scene for a kid from the suburbs."[34]

Yet not all runaways or young travelers came from the suburbs. In July 1969, a free-dinner program in Berkeley surveyed its clientele of transient youth. It found that

that visitors came from across the country, indicated that 12.2 percent were runaways, and discovered that the amounts of money they left home with ranged widely. If 35.5 percent left home with more than $100, another 26.2 percent left with less than $10. In San Francisco, a traditional relief organization called Traveler's Aid surveyed clients aged 18-22 in 1966 and 1967. Noting the inspiration of popular music about travel and the accepting ethos of the Haight-Ashbury district, the organization found more evidence of destitution – mental illness, missing teeth, prostitution. Obviously, aid organizations reached only those needing aid. Still, affluence clearly mixed with destitution on the road. While Yablonsky, the sociologist, estimated that 70 percent of hippies in 1966 and 1967 came from middle-class or affluent families, he also noted that 40 percent were addicted to "speed" (stimulants, not psychedelics) and that 20 percent were "severely emotionally disturbed." The latter category found "refuge and personal immunity" from mental health treatment in hippie enclaves.[35]

Hippie aid organizations emerged to help transient youth. In San Francisco, the Diggers helped house and feed thousands of ill-prepared, underage visitors during the Summer of Love. As time went on, other sympathetic groups organized hostels, homes for runaways, hotlines, and community switchboards. The latter were phone-based referral services for informal "crash-pads," free medical clinics, and other sources of aid. In Berkeley, mainstream churches funded what came to be called the "Berkeley Free Church," an organization that fused the hippie style with radical Christianity. Although such agencies first appeared in the Bay Area, they soon emerged in college towns and in major cities nationwide, becoming part of a youth travel ecology.[36]

Of course, individuals charted their own, particular routes around the nation. In his self-published *Autobiography of a Hippie*, Delbert Christopher Totten describes mobile life on the counterculture's underbelly. After running away from a violently abusive father at 14, Totten survived by prostituting himself to Los Angeles men cruising for sex. Authorities repeatedly sent him home, and Totten ultimately avoided juvenile prison only by faking insanity. As a result, he spent a year in a California psychiatric hospital, enduring abusive orderlies before, finally, escaping. After hitchhiking as far as Texas and Mexico, Totten ended up on Los Angeles' Sunset Strip in early 1966. There, he encountered the nascent hippie scene, accepted marijuana from affluent peers, and eased into a hippie identity. In the ensuing years, he rarely stayed long in one place. At 16, he lied about his age to marry his 18-year-old girlfriend – who then joined him as he hitchhiked east. They caught rides in hippie vans, followed the grapevine to crash pads, and joined an orgy in Columbus, Ohio. When sexual jealously split the couple, Totten and a new flame drove their own hippie van to Florida, where they ran afoul of the law.[37]

Legal troubles eventually landed Totten, still underage, back in California. Shortly after arriving, he and a lover hitchhiked to Haight-Ashbury in a Volkswagen bus full of hippies, eventually "turning on" to acid (while having sex with his girlfriend) at communal crash pad. Totten was soon on the move again. Later in 1966, he hitchhiked east, experimenting with every drug to cross his path and ultimately arriving in New York City. There, he moved between crash pads, all-night coffee shops, and subway cars. He played the drums for change, panhandled, and holed up with an older man, who he suspected of drugging and abusing him. Visually, Totten fit the hippie mold - long hair, a

jean jacket covered in anti-war buttons, and a bizarre, full-length fur coat. He headed West again in 1967.[38]

Just before the Summer of Love, Totten caught a ride across San Francisco's Bay Bridge with a Volkswagen Beetle full of hippies. Scott McKenzie's anthem, "San Francisco ("Wear Some Flowers in Your Hair"), was, literally, playing on the radio. For the next several months, the 17-year-old lived the Summer of Love experience: near constant acid trips (good and bad), frequent and casual sex, sleeping in crash pads and in Golden Gate Park. He sold underground papers for money (common for runaways), joined a band, and traveled around northern California's hippie scene. Although he arrived late to the Monterrey Pop Festival, a Woodstock precursor, Totten saw Jimi Hendrix and Stephen Stills jamming around a campfire at the Esalen Institute (he had snuck into the famed human potential center). He left Haight-Ashbury as it decayed, but he also disliked the chaotic "communes" at Big Sur's Gorda Mountain and northern California's Wheeler Ranch. Like other hippie teenagers, he eventually migrated across the Bay to Berkeley, joining the street scene centered on Telegraph Avenue.[39]

Totten's memoir also details religious exploration. While he primarily depicts his teenage years as a grand, debauched adventure, Totten also writes that "hippie 'freaks' like myself" used drugs as means to "higher consciousness" and possibly "doorways to parallel dimensions." During the Summer of Love, when proselytizers were everywhere, he spoke with Buddhists and Hare Krishnas, attended a séance and briefly joined a UFO religion (he left after it became clear his main job was washing dishes in the group's restaurant).[40]

He spent the most time with Jesus Freak evangelicals. In spring 1968, watching an Easter celebration in Golden Gate Park, Totten professed exhaustion with "depraved debauchery." Not long after, he hitchhiked north with a carload of Jesus Freak communalists, who asked him if wanted to accept Jesus. Sensing it was "meant to be," Totten soon found himself trying to imitate a car full of Jesus Freaks speaking in tongues. Although ultimately unsettled by that group's "cultish" commune, Totten eventually joined the Jesus Freaks in Berkeley, drawn by their communal warmth. In the end, however, constant demands that he "crucify" his old self clashed with Totten's desire to be a "free and easy vagabond." Unwilling to condemn other religions and never quite successful with celibacy, Totten nonetheless continued to move in Jesus Freak circles, ultimately joining a group in Oregon. He ends his memoir in midst of spiritual struggle, but notes that he would eventually experience "deep cathartic self-realization" and "awareness of the meaning of things." Framing Jesus as a teacher of reincarnation, Totten asserts humans' purpose on earth: "to learn and experience, and to grow spiritually." The road and the road milieu, in other words, had led Totten, the teenage runaway, to become a spiritual seeker.[41]

"PANZER TROOPS OF THE AGE OF AQUARIUS": THE PEAK OF THE YOUTH TRAVEL BOOM

As counterculture became youth culture in the late 1960s and early 1970s, youth travel exploded, and the road became a destination in its own right. In this second phase of the counterculture, hitchhiking became an activity with intrinsic value, not just a means to move from scene to scene. As hitchhikers multiplied, so too did colorful hippie buses and "housetrucks." Around the nation (but especially in the Southwest and on the

coasts) young travelers drifted between sites of natural beauty, urban bohemias, communes, and friends' property. Travel, in turn, became a constituent part of the larger counterculture and the youth culture it spawned.[42]

As abroad, however, some travelers sought not hippie immersion but adventure and authenticity. *Let's Go*'s first guide to the United States, published in 1969, promised "excitement, surprise, and fun" with a "side-benefit" of education. Its Harvard-student authors covered skiing in the West, surfing in Hawaii, climbing Mt. Whitney, and rafting the Mississippi River, Huckleberry Finn-style. It also profiled encounters with the nation's own, "authentic" cultures. One feature, for example, recommended joining a wheat-harvesting crew as it moved across the Great Plains. "There is something vital and elemental," the author wrote, "about following the crop and the summer north." Similarly, bus travel was a "way of life" for the "modern pioneer" interested in encountering "the Other America," its deprivations, and its "surplus of humanness." Of course, the guide also recommended hitchhiking and visiting Haight-Ashbury while stoned – an experience it compared to "being a tourist in a foreign country." Written by and for an educated elite, *Let's Go* treated both hippies and the working class as exotic bearers of authenticity. Doing so, it showed the blurry line between an older, macho yearning for the vigorous life and popular existentialism, which paired that yearning with a sharper critique of mass society.[43]

At the same time, travel also became intimately linked to the *sine qua non* of lifestyle rebellion – "dropping out" out of the traditional labor force and corporate economy. Communes proliferated in the late 1960s and 1970s, arising from shared religious commitments, political ideals, or the simple fact that someone had property he

or she was willing to share. Additionally, a few high-profile communities became semi-permanently mobile. The Merry Pranksters, of course, had set the mold. But a second group with ties to the Pranksters, the Hog Farm, carried the torch flamboyantly. Beginning in 1965 as a playful, acid-drenched community on an actual hog farm above the San Fernando Valley – free rent in exchange for caring for hogs – the group had by 1967 acquired land in New Mexico and a small fleet of wildly painted buses. The buses, in turn, became "traveling theaters" to tour the country, put on light shows, and stage events intended to expand consciousness and reveal "the interconnectiveness of all living things." Most famously, the Hog Farm ran the kitchen and helped with the makeshift infirmary at Woodstock. Less playful but spiritually similar was the group that formed around Steven Gaskin, a former San Francisco State instructor whose spiritual "Monday Night Class" grew large enough to fill a rock-and-roll auditorium. In 1970 and 1971, a caravan of some 30 buses followed Gaskin on a nationwide speaking tour. At the end of the tour, the group settled in Tennessee and founded The Farm, a commune that has survived into the 21st century.[44]

At the same time, thousands of individuals also traveled in Volkswagen vans, hippie buses, and wilder homes on wheels. Certainly, the vehicles enabled camping in parks, near mountains, besides hot springs, and in other sites of natural beauty. Yet they also formed part of a youth travel ecology, picking up hitchhikers and moving between communes. Because they carried their shelter with them, bus dwellers could stay at a stop for days, months, years, or indefinitely (as was the case with The Farm's buses). Chapter 4 discusses these vehicles in greater detail.

When the youth travel boom peaked between 1969 and 1973, however, it focused on one practice more than any other: hitchhiking. Examined in depth in the next chapter, hitchhiking began as one feature of a broader hippie lifestyle, but it quickly became a fad in its own right, with its own discourse and subculture. Although hitchhiking had seemed to wane in the 1950s, it returned among runaways and others headed for hippie redoubts. In 1966 and 1967, for example, Bay Area police worried about a surge of hitchhikers, especially female ones. Los Angeles, in turn, saw a "floating population of hitchhikers" appear along Sunset Avenue, around college campuses, and at other youth hot spots. In the same years, wildly attired "freaks" also began hitching cross-country to cities, concerts, and other hip events."[45]

By 1970, the road had become its own destination, and hitchhiking a fad in its own right. That year, *Newsweek* sent a reporter "undercover" (he grew a "three-week beard") to the Pacific Coast Highway. His assignment? To investigate the "proliferating hundreds … living on and for the road, bumming rides, scrounging change, missing meals, dropping pills, drifting as rootlessly as Bedouins from no place to anywhere." His subjects were not hard to find. In 1971, the California Highway Patrol estimated that hitchhikers had doubled in two years. In Santa Barbara, they "lined up 50-deep." These "Panzer Troops of the Age of Aquarius," as the *Newsweek* reporter called them, were two-thirds male, largely middle class, and 19 years of age on average. They did drugs and suffered from rampant venereal disease. In Big Sur, among the nation's most popular hitchhiking destinations, their ranks included characters like a self-identified communist who named his dog Cannabis – "after marijuana."[46]

Hitchhikers' own reports were less sensational and more positive, but they did not differ dramatically on the facts. "California is a freaks' Disneyland," read one underground paper. "Out there if you wanna get stoned and you got no bread, you just start thummin." In addition to drugs, he added, people on the road "turned me on to far-out religion, mysticism, occultism, the clap, and many other groovy things."[47]

No formal study quantified the surge in youth hitchhiking, but it thrived far beyond its California epicenter. "[F]rom Boston to Berkeley," authorities reported a surge in young people on the roads, with New York state hitchhiking arrests growing from 1965 to 1968 before doubling in 1969 and 1970. In the next several years, new hitchhiking guidebooks also offered advice for seeing the entire nation – legal prohibitions and motorist attitudes varied by state – and for getting rides, dealing with danger, finding shelter, carrying drugs, and much more. Of the era's youth, one columnist observed, "Now that their confident thumbs can wangle trips to anywhere, that is where they are."[48]

Just as Delbert Christopher Totten picked his own route through the early counterculture, travelers also followed idiosyncratic routes at the height of the youth travel boom. In a memoir of seven years on the road, Robert Roskind describes many of the youth travel culture's most important features – hitchhiking, hippie buses, and circulation within the hip subculture, to name a few. His travels took place in the counterculture's later phase. Raised in an affluent Jewish family in Atlanta, Roskind discovered LSD in 1968, when he was a student at the University of North Carolina. He joined the counterculture almost immediately thereafter. After avoiding Vietnam via a stint in the National Guard, Roskind headed west in a Volkswagen bus plastered with

peace signs and flower stickers. He hopscotched between friends' homes, arrived in Southern California, and then traveled up the coast. Everywhere he turned, Roskind saw scores of hitchhikers headed to "communes, campgrounds, the Haight, hippie crash pads, pop festivals, spiritual ashrams, Grateful Dead concerts, anti-war rallies and just the road itself." Naturally, he picked them up. At night, he and these "instant friends" would stop at campgrounds, cook, smoke joints, and tell travel stories. It was, Roskind opined, part of shared search for a new lifestyle – "some kind of a cosmic and philosophical migration."[49]

Travel drew Roskind deeper into the counterculture and his own search for meaning. His decision to forego career security led to quarrels with his father, a Russian immigrant. Yet Roskind himself also wrestled with a need to be productive. Between trips, he made money building and renting A-frame homes around Chapel Hill. In California, he spent a month-long hitchhiking trip weighing (then rejecting) an offer to become a humanistic psychologist. On that trip, he camped in Big Sur, soaked in hot springs, visited the Esalen Institute, and discovered Forgotten Works, an Oregon commune he would visit repeatedly. Founded by educated Easterners, Forgotten Works involved a life of spontaneous work projects, casual relationships, pot smoking, and trips to concerts or natural areas. A steady stream of visitors also brought new lovers and new members, although some were troubled, parasitical, and destructive. Of course, Roskind's own travel companions could also be taxing. One, a wealthy, would-be guru from Texas, gave pretentious philosophical discourses at campgrounds and burned money to show its illusory nature.[50]

On a later trip, Roskind acquired his own bus. Immediately, he transformed it into a psychedelically decorated living space and named it "Louise" after his "black nanny." Oblivious to the name's racism, Roskind drove back to Forgotten Works, picking up hitchhikers out of commitment to the counterculture's "communal mindset." Over the next several trips, Roskind had myriad adventures in his "cosmic covered wagon," camping in out-of-the-way places, getting high, listening to music, and exploring the natural world. When two "straight" childhood friends came for a visit, Roskind gave them LSD and drove to a hot springs packed with other hip homes-on-wheels. And when he decided to audit some humanistic psychology courses at Sonoma State University, Roskind simply parked in an encampment of similar vehicles and went to class.[51]

Roskind's traveling life ended in 1975, when the counterculture was clearly a spent force. When he "settled," however, Roskind looked both backward, to hippies' popular existentialism, and forward, to the expressive and "conscious" lifestyles that became their legacy. From his inaugural LSD trip, Roskind had interpreted his travels in spiritual terms congruent with popular existentialism. If the counterculture had begun as a "social and political protest, as well as a hell of a party," Roskind argued that it necessarily became more:

> If you are seeking freedom from your social and emotional conditioning, if you are striving for greater meaning and value in your life, and if you are going to stir consciousness-raising substances into the mix, the result will be spiritual, whether you intend it to be or not.[52]

Roskind had mapped the route from popular existentialism to "consciousness" and "spirituality."

Certainly, his journey also intersected with religion, traditionally conceived. In addition to exploring humanistic psychology, Roskind, like Totten, traveled through a cultural world impressed by Asian religions, enamored of psychedelic illumination, and teeming with freelance spiritual teachers. He also saw the New Age dawning. Toward the end of his time on the road, Roskind dropped in on Ken Kesey (he was friendly) and visited "Pearl," a Mt. Shasta teacher associated with the I AM movement. Pearl, who Roskind would visit repeatedly, sharpened his belief that God dwelled in everyone, guiding each to his or her true identity as a being of "unconditional love." The same spiritual mentor also helped Roskind embrace his new career – as a teacher of homebuilding techniques to people interested in building their own homes.[53]

Roskind's new career perfectly matched the liberated lifestyles and "loose" selves that became part of the counterculture's legacy. As a friend pointed out, his homebuilding courses were of a piece with the do-it-yourself liberation distilled in *The Whole Earth Catalog* and incarnated in meditation, yoga, and holistic health centers. When he opened the "Owner Builder Center," then, Roskind did not worry that he had "sold out." Instead, he understood his business as a means to "put into practice the philosophy I had adopted during my years on the road." With a clean conscience, he could "stop judging society and embrace it."[54]

Before that embrace, though, came the formative experience of travel. For all their travel, and for all their engagements with religious orientations to self and world, neither Totten nor Roskind often stopped to specify precisely how their inner and outer journeys intertwined. Like others, they traveled through a youth culture thick with explicitly religious currents – but they rarely specified how those currents fit with travel.

Instead, as with other hip phenomena, they left connections unstated, linked only by resonant juxtapositions. In the next chapters, however, I examine how three crucial elements of youth travel culture – hitchhiking, live-in vehicles, and guidebooks – became connected to countercultural values and the popular existentialism that undergirded them.

Chapter 3:

Hitchhiking as Spiritual Practice

"On the road," wrote the young man. "There is a decisively ominous ring to those words."

It was May 21, 1976. Mark Smith,[1] as I will call the self-described "young, longhaired vagabond," had just hitchhiked across Vermont to Troy, New York. There, he opened his journal and penned the first entry in a diary that would eventually chronicle five months of hitchhiking across the North American continent. From the beginning, his journey, and his journaling, took on spiritual dimensions. "It is an extension of my growth," he rambled on that first day, "like a ring on my tree to shed the awful bark that keeps me closed in, is the calling of the road, tapping an unknown pool, to feel these words as my own, free from the pretzel logic of dark-aged past futility." The elusive, stream-of-consciousness introspection that characterized this first entry would remain constant, its intensity unwavering, as Smith moved west.[2]

As he traveled toward Michigan, for example, Smith mused that hitchhiking's intensity could produce a "glazed-over psyche" but also "heightened awareness to the myriad forms of energy flowing by." He read Krishnamurti on Lake Superior's Isle Royale National Park, and delved into Chogyam Trungpa in Yosemite. His focus, however, fell less on any particular religious teaching than on personal transformation. A week into his trip and suffering from swollen tonsils, he longed "[t]o grind down the waxen image I conceive of myself." He was, he added, a "lone wolf … without destination, driven by the underlying belief in the expansion of his oneness with the deity

of the self." The wolf's wandering would end, he concluded, "as he comes to live oneness with all."[3]

Why did Smith attribute such extraordinary power to hitchhiking? American hitchhikers, after all, had not always understood their travels in light of Asian religious teachers or as purifying spiritual disciplines. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, youth movements embraced travel by thumb, interpreting it as both a symbol and an embodiment of a hip orientation to the world. Certainly, Kerouac had already given hitchhiking the frisson of dissent, and the practice soon provided entrée into the youth subculture. But at least in the rhetoric that grew up around it, hitchhiking also did more: it offered an embodied answer to modernity's various alienations – from nature, from self, from others, and even from ultimate reality.

In his own language, Smith would grapple with all these alienations. But the day after describing himself as a "lone wolf," he sat in the rain, watching cars drive past Lake Huron and reflecting:

> I know I've got shit to work through, karmic overload … ego hindrances to dissolve. Seeing myself all the time in relation to the world makes for an honest mirror, and wonder-wandering stabs to the heart of the anti-matter. Yes … unravel the knots, go crazy in the name of selfhood, transcend logic, burn away the strata of normality.[4]

Smith's intensity was unusual, and he traveled after the peak of the hip hitchhiking boom. Nonetheless, his musings bring a bright, sharp focus to moral meanings that, over decades, hitchhiking had come to carry.

POPULAR EXISTENTIALISM AND THE RESURRECTION OF HITCHHIKING

Although young people hitchhiked throughout the world, the practice took on sharp meaning against the background of postwar American wealth and car culture. In

the immediate postwar years, public opinion toward hitchhiking remained in what Jeremy Packer has called its "civic Samaritan" phase. Because the Depression and wartime rationing had limited mobility and automobile ownership, offering a lift supported the war effort and served as a neighborly way to help fellow Americans – especially those seen as deserving. Such "worthy" hitchhikers included GIs on leave, teenagers headed to class, and "college boys" traveling between home and school. Even hitchhiking women, traditionally interpreted as adventurous "flappers" or refugees from abusive homes, received a blessing from no less than etiquette columnist Emily Post – as long as they were traveling to wartime factory jobs.[5]

By the 1950s, however, civic Samaritans had become potential victims, and hitchhiking discourse had entered what Packer calls its "Homicidal Hitchhiker" phase. Automobile registrations had more that doubled from 1945 to 1955, reflecting an affluence that made the *need* to hitchhike more suspicious. More importantly, anti-hitchhiking campaigns by automobile associations, the FBI, and self-appointed morality instructors highlighted the risks of picking up strangers. Magazines ranging from *Readers Digest* to *Cosmopolitan* inveighed against the practice. And in an era when children commonly hitchhiked, schools showed films by movie producer Sid Davis, which warned against taking rides from strangers, who might prove to be "perverts" and predators. As John Reid has argued, suburban isolation and McCarthy-era paranoia also imbued the era with a general anxiety about hidden motives.[6]

Yet just as vigorous forms of tourism compensated for "soft" work during the Gilded Age, hitchhiking promised vitalizing adventure to members of the Affluent Society. When Europe's ex-servicemen and adventurous youth continued the hitchhiking

habits they had developed in wartime, Americans slowly joined them. As early as the late 1940s, U.S. newspapers covered the adventurous drifters mentioned in the last chapter – travelers who almost always traveled by thumb. As female Peace Corps volunteers hitchhiked the Sahara, and as young men thumbed from New York to Alaska –17 days, round-trip – to win a bet, *Sports Illustrated* lauded this "Sport of the Open Road." Even as the hippie era dawned, hitchhikers bragged about their speed records in letters to *Rolling Stone*.[7]

As adventurers, hitchhikers could quest for Romantic experience without embracing beatnik dissent. For example, J. Walker, a Southern Christian, distanced his American and European travels from Kerouac's "mad dashes" and "more or less sodden sex affairs." Instead, he found inspiration in the early 20th century adventure writer Richard Halliburton. At the same time, Walker also anticipated counterculture rhetoric by casting hitchhikers as spiritual frontiersmen enrolled in an experiential "school of life." On his journeys, for example, Walker gained insight into segregation from educated black drivers in the South – benefactors not permitted to dine with him in roadside restaurants. Yet Walker was also a middle-class moralist. On the road, he summarized, "[t]here is hatred, small-mindedness, prejudice, and downright cussedness, and there is a glory in seeing it – *not necessarily in diving head-first into all of it* – but in seeing it all" (emphasis added). Still, by embracing personal experience as the truest form of education, Walker had one foot in popular existentialism.[8]

As always, "adventure" appeared against a background of modern comfort, control, and "progress." As Jack Kerouac had eulogized the vanishing hobo, a young Hunter S. Thompson predicted hitchhiking's demise at the hands of a new, modern,

rational way of organizing space and movement: the Interstate Highway System. Hitchhikers, Thompson wrote in 1963, now languished at on-ramps while long-distance drivers zipped efficiently past. Romanticizing hitchhiking as a remnant of a simpler past, he asked, "Can any bus, plane, or train match the feeling of standing out on a morning road with the sun on your face and the smell of new-cut grass all around and no worry in the world except how far the next ride will take you?"[9]

Reports of hitchhiking's death were greatly exaggerated. As concern with conformity and alienation turned into full-throated dissent, hitchhiking made a comeback – and not only with apolitical hippies. From Civil Rights activists headed south to protesters converging on Washington, young, white radicals hitchhiked. Tom Hayden, a major leader of Students for a Democratic Society, traveled by thumb. So, too, did Jo Freeman, who hitchhiked from Berkeley to the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, N.J., where she supported the racially integrated delegation from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Quite likely, getting a ride to Washington was indeed easiest during "periods of 'national mobilization,'" as one guidebook claimed. "To be part of the radical youth scene," Packer rightly argues, "was to participate in the hitchhiking enterprise, either offering rides to or taking rides from other youth."[10]

Despite its connection to New Left activism, hitchhiking's early 1970s explosion came from the beatnik-to-hippie counterculture. The "time bomb" Jack Kerouac lit in 1957 exploded not only in Tom Hayden, but in Bob Dylan, Janis Joplin, and Hunter S. Thompson – as well as scores of other hitchhikers inspired by on the road. The hitchhiking experience, however, changed as hitchhiking became less a hip transportation strategy and more a fad, and a "scene," in its own right. In 1971, for example, one young

man noted that California hitchhiking had changed since summer 1967, when hitchhikers needed "to look halfway straight" so they "wouldn't scare people off." By 1971, a hippie style helped to get rides from other members of a mobile youth subculture, and it was possible to "hitchhike up and down the coast without ever talking to a straight person."[11]

Unsurprisingly, concerns about the explosion of young hitchhikers mirrored earlier concerns about hoboes. As Jeremy Packer notes, J. Edgar Hoover's FBI viewed hitchhiking, with its link to dissent, not merely as a threat to public safety but as an incubator of dangerous social disorder. Although the FBI's campaign against hitchhiking focused on the impossibility of discriminating between dangerous and harmless strangers, Hoover also worried that the disorder associated with youth mobility "allowed for potential redirection" in deviant, communist directions. To flee the nation's ordered places and rationalized routes, in other words, could loose hitchhikers from the ideologies those places imprinted. In this, at least, Hoover agreed with hitchhiking's new proponents.[12]

For all its rhetoric of freedom, however, hip hitchhiking followed clear patterns and moved toward routinization via guidebooks and aid institutions. To begin, hitchhikers followed fairly predictable patterns and circuits, circulating among hippie buses, crash pads, communes, rural encampments, and other nodes of the youth culture. Outside of hip outposts, hitchhikers sought out areas of natural beauty, including national parks, the Pacific coast, the desert Southwest, and the New England mountains. Canada, where authorities opened cheap hostels to cater to young hitchhikers, became a popular hitch.[13] As U.S. publishers noticed the boom, guidebooks to hitchhiking also multiplied – at least 10 were in print by 1973, not counting guidebooks that mentioned hitchhiking

as one travel option among others. For the most part, these books assumed an audience that would seek out the mobile youth culture, and they advised readers to find more travel information in underground newspapers, at natural food stores, via other travelers, and on college campuses. More importantly, they began to codify hitchhiking as "part of the ethic created by the hippies and their sympathizers." That ethic, in turn, grew from a kind of elective affinity between hitchhiking and the countercultural strand of popular existentialism, a loose fit that made hitchhiking both practice and symbol, an enactment of hip values and a lens for understanding them.[14]

HITCHHIKING TO REALITY

Near the beginning of his 1976 hitchhiking journal, Mark Smith hitchhiked to Copper Harbor, Michigan, and caught a boat to Isle Royale National Park. Upon landing, he came face to face with a moose and basked in "an incredible rush of primeval energy." The next day, he set out on a 5-day, solo trek across the 45-mile-long island, located near the Canadian edge of Lake Superior. Making camp after one 8-mile day, he listened to the birds and frogs at dusk, gazed at a "not quite half-moon," and watched his campfire burn to coals. His legs were thinner, more muscular. Straining to see his journal, Smith noted that he had been reading Krishnamurti, finding it of "utmost importance, yet difficult to apply." On the next night, wishing to feel more at ease, he trusted that "I'll find the real rhythm soon enough … the one way that always lurks in the heart of all matters." Yet by the trip's end, Smith felt down. He lamented that he was "hardly a product of natural rhythms" and confessed that he placed "tensions" between himself and others, blocking "a deep flowing love from bonding us all together in word, deed, and

thought." His inner turmoil led him to "doubt the solidity of any ego base I cultivated living in the city."[15]

In the terms of this dissertation, Smith faulted society – "living in the city" – for a familiar series of linked alienations. Because society had inculcated an unnatural ego, Smith had become separated from the ultimate, flowing reality that organically connected him to all things – if only he could let it. To repair the breach, Smith had fled society for both the wilderness and the road. His hopes reflected both the popular existentialist imperative of personal liberation and its optional extension toward deeper, metaphysical realities.

Hitchhiking's power began with nature – with both the natural world and the human body. In the United States and abroad, hitchhikers frequently sought out unspoiled natural areas; Smith trekked through the California redwoods, hiked through Arizona's desert canyons, and camped in Yosemite National Park. Yet hitchhiking also pushed travelers out of the artificial "lobster shell" of a vehicle and "against the boundaries of [their] own skin," as one guidebook put it." If Smith complained of black flies and hunger, other hitchhikers wrote of enduring rain and snow, heat and cold – all while watching drivers pass them by. Stripping away artificial protections for the traveling body, in turn, stripped away social accretions on the traveling soul. At the same time, stripping away cultural, placed mores made space for "natural" desire and tactile sensation. "Paradise found by the banks of the Merced River," wrote Smith on July 19, 1976, while camped in Yosemite National Park. "I see the glittering water, feel the hot sun drying me off." He also felt intense sexual desire, recorded masturbation without shame, and occasionally found fulfillment with a woman, including an all-night tryst on

the banks of the Merced. Of course, hitchhikers and drivers alike also faced another type of bodily exposure – to violence, a point to which I will return.[16]

Some writers presented hitchhiking itself as a "natural" act. Guidebook writer Paul DiMaggio described it as part of a wandering tradition that was timeless and universal (and, therefore, implicitly natural). He reported his first time hitchhiking as an almost unconscious act: "Suddenly, like the petals of a rosebud on a fine spring day, my fingers unfurled, my arm drifted from my flank, and my thumb extended heavenward, pulsating gently in the cool April breeze." Others spoke similarly, calling hitchhiking "one of the few natural and spontaneous activities left in this world," or construing it as a reminder "of what a non-computerized planet must have been like – or rather, what it was like when people *used* machines and didn't *depend* on them." Hitchhiking also promised to free travelers from another social distortion – the rationalization of time. A looseness about schedules set hitchhikers apart from mass, package tours, which left sites on time "even if Lady Godiva were going to parade by a half hour later." In hitchhiking, read one guidebook, "time passes without the aid of a clock."[17]

At the same time, hitchhiking reflected not only the Romantic emphasis on the natural but also the existentialist emphasis on freedom, choice, self-making, and anxiety. To stand by the road for the first time was "a moment of truth," as Ed Buryn put it in his self-published *Hitch-Hiking in Europe* (1969):

> You can't make a gradual transition from whatever you were before into whatever you are afterwards. It is always an abrupt experience, a what-the-hell leaving behind of the mother self, when you select a spot and decide to do it, to hitch, to give yourself to whatever comes. When you first put your thumb out, you go through all kinds of changes as you realize the nakedness of your appeal. You offer the frailty of your humanity to juggernaut forces swirling by, seeing you, searching you, and ignoring you. You feel shamed somehow, your valuable ego-self-me-wonder is bypassed

> again and again while you importune in frustration. Hey, see me, take me, redeem me with your black sedan or your delivery truck, your compact station wagon or other agent of human recognition and love. This soul-testing is very much a part of hitchhiking and you must make your peace with it in whatever way you can.[18]

Other writers also described loneliness and exposure as part of hitchhiking's capacity for soul-testing and self-revelation.[19]

In hitchhiking rhetoric, this existentialist emphasis on freedom and choice merged with an older emphasis on self-reliance. With roots in both Transcendentalist intuition and the utilitarian skill of the mythical frontier, hip rhetoric insisted that hitchhikers, unlike package tourists, charted their own routes. To do so, they needed basic skills and knowledge, which a raft of writers provided. Authors dispensed advice on where to stand (near on-ramps, not on curves) and when to hitch (early morning was good, night somewhat less so). They advised readers to get let off before entering cities, thus avoiding roads full of merely local traffic. As to getting rides, they reminded readers to look clean, make a destination sign (witty, if possible), smile, and make eye contact. They also provided advice on packing, "crashing," dealing with police, stashing drugs, and finding like-minded people. Although differences of opinion existed, hitchhiking guidebooks showed a remarkable level of agreement on "best practices."[20]

At the same time, hitchhiking rhetoric faced a characteristic tension of religious liberalism – that between freedom and self-surrender. More precisely, the logic of popular existentialism *demanded* liberation of the individual, but it *allowed* a further leap – over culture to ultimate reality. Paul Coopersmith, for example, described three schools of thought about catching rides. For the first school, getting a ride was "all a matter of luck." For the second, "hitchhiking's no less than a pure and simple science," with

reliable techniques for winning lifts. And for yet a third school, "the only relevant factor involved in getting a lift is good vibes. Good vibes and instant karma. And of course the proper manna." These contradictory orientations coalesced in the "practiced release" and "loose selves" of the 1970s.[21]

When travelers linked hitchhiking to ultimate realities, they transformed it into a mystical practice. In his journal, Mark Smith yearned to loosen the grip of neurotic self-questioning, to cease fantasizing about the future and ruminating about the past, and especially about women. He complained of the "torpid sluggishness that befuddles the seeker, dependence (of) the rational mind upon plans, methods, analysis, explanation and reality." Instead, he sought **"**the easy flow that [I] know exists to be felt," adding that "I should go gently with no expectation of reward or outcome, doing whatever will bring sense of mastery without attachment."[22]

Smith's hopes jibed with author Tom Robbins, who updated Kerouac's vision of hitchhiking in *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (1976). Published the same year as Smith's cross-country trip, the novel uses hitchhiking as the central symbol of a popular existentialist amorality tale. Its central character, the beautiful and earthy Sissy Hankshaw, possesses an innate drive to hitchhike – a drive symbolized by her enormous thumbs. Importantly, Sissy does not seek illumination or search for "America" when she hitchhikes. Instead, she simply accepts nature's "dare" to live as her idiosyncratic self. When she does so, she turns her hitchhiking into art, mixing long and short runs into "melodies, concerti, entire symphonies of hitch." Because hitchhiking purely expresses Sissy's nature, it also allows provides her with what Mark Smith longed for – an easy

alignment with the deepest levels of reality.[23] "I am the spirit and the heart of hitchhiking," she claims:

> And when I am really moving, stopping car after car after car, moving so freely, so clearly, so delicately that even the sex maniacs and the cops can only blink and let me pass, then I embody the rhythms of the universe. I feel what it is like to be the universe. I am in a state of grace.[24]

Robbins' cosmos, however, is characterized not by order, but by idiosyncrasy, particularity, and surprise. It calls not for otherworldly mysticism but for everyday "magic" – which occurs, Robbins writes, "through *the acting of one thing upon another through a secret link."* Robbins' "magic" connected him to the American metaphysical tradition. More importantly, he had expanded existentialist authenticity into a mystical principle, a kind of hip, cosmic "courage to be," to borrow from Paul Tillich. Inserting Kerouac himself into the story, Robbins writes that, upon hearing of Sissy's superior artistry, he simply "got drunk for a week." Kerouac was searching. Sissy was being.[25]

Robbins satirized hippies for seeking gurus instead of looking within. And on the road, hitchhikers did seek religiously, often interpreting their travel through the explicitly religious and metaphysical currents coursing through the counterculture. In an interview, one counterculture veteran spoke of a "yoga of the road." Another remembered hitchhiking under a vow of silence, as advocated by spiritual teacher Ram Dass. When drivers stopped for him, he showed them a sign explaining that he could not speak but could hear and write. As when hip travelers referred to karma or used the *I Ching* to determine routes, such techniques typically reflected a broadly metaphysical, mystical, and magical sensibility rather than an immersion in older religious traditions.[26]

As Mark Smith's journal illustrates, reading and socializing in the road milieu could also shift the felt meaning of hitchhiking. On the banks of the Merced River in

Yosemite National Park, Smith dug into Chogyam Trungpa's *Cutting Through Spiritual Materialism*. In the book, Trungpa uses the Buddhist denial of a stable, essential self to critique Western seekers' obsession with spiritual self-cultivation. The message hit Smith hard. Even as he reveled in a great August day, he ruminated on how insistent self-cultivation had kept him from living out his "oneness with all things." Even as he craved sex, he also aspired to let go: "I'll just flow like the rivers and shine like the sun and my intent will realize itself," he wrote.[27] The next day, happily ensconced in Mendocino, California, he foreswore thinking of travel in terms of "more or better." Instead, he wrote,

> the director of this play should be out to lunch for good because the play must go on without regard for intention or consequences. I see it. I am ripe at every moment. I can just let go; pry my fingers from their death grip on the cliff's edge and fall.[28]

Was Smith a Buddhist? An existentialist? A Romantic? The loose, practical logic of popular existentialism allowed him to improvise interpretations of his travels that drew, unsystematically, on all these sources.

In any case, letting go of the "cliff's edge" proved elusive. On August 9, Smith confessed that "[m]y ego doesn't want to die, but my enjoyment of these travels will not be real until there is no judge, no one assigning a value to the event." Still, he persisted. Although it is not clear if he had meditated before reading Trungpa, he did so afterward. On September 29, 1976, near the end of his travels, Smith spent a solitary day at 8,000 feet in mountains, "meditating freely in the meadow, climbing about on a talus-strewn low ridge, rereading the four noble truths," all while watching "birds scissoring through the clean air or jumping about in the gnarled pines…" For a moment, he felt clarity:

"Absolute twilight, calm, silent, but for the subdued cracking of a warm fire. The sun is below the horizon. Om…."[29]

THE POTHOLED ROAD TO UTOPIA

Whether liberating the self or connecting it to ultimate reality, hitchhiking's hip interpreters recognized a common barrier – mass society and its conditioning power. Yet they did not necessarily view hitchhiking as a solitary, individualist enterprise. As Ben Lobo and Sara Links argued in their hitchhiking guidebook:

> Such a definition of freedom makes us "free" when we are alone and most vulnerable to the hostilities of our surroundings. The freedom we are talking about cannot be grasped alone; for it to survive, this freedom must be defended by those who seek it and by those who may have already found it. We are a mobile culture, part of a mobile army, moving in and out now together, now alone.[30]

For all their generational posturing, the authors nonetheless spoke to an important hope: that rather than merely sloughing off an alienating society, hitchhiking could also lead to a more authentic one.

On and off the road, the youth movements of the 1960s and 1970s aspired to harness imagination and enact fantasy – not only to live into fantasy selves but to produce social change by acting as if it were already occurring. According to Todd Gitlin, the New Left's "founding impulse" was to "[c]reate the future in the present; sit in right now at the lunch counter, as if race didn't count." Without running comparable risks, the Merry Pranksters also described their communal experiments as "fantasies" – which they lived into reality. Perhaps the boldest proponents of enacted fantasy, however, were the Diggers, the loose group of psychedelic anarchists who aided Haight-Ashbury's runaways and famously gave away soup in Golden Gate Park. Hoping to reveal the

possibility of a non-capitalist world by acting as if it already existed, the Diggers also opened a "Free Store," a shop filled with scavenged, pilfered, or donated goods – all free for the taking. Likewise, as New Left activists soured on traditional politics, they turned to a "pre-figurative politics" – one that understood their own, small communities as examples of, and catalysts for, the way forward. The hope that imagination could be willed and lived into reality, in short, animated a wide range of young dissidents in the 1960s.[31]

Hitchhiking rhetoric partook of the same spirit. In fairly obvious ways, hitchhiking expressed the utopian communalism of flower child rhetoric. As a free form of transportation, one that limited pollution by pooling resources, hitchhiking could easily be interpreted as resistance to consumer materialism. "The hitchhiker, almost by definition, cannot be materially oriented," asserted one writer, who stressed that hitchhikers had to carry as little as possible. At least in theory, hitchhiking depended instead on a countercultural ethic of sharing. "Freaks" were supposed to stop for "freaks," as did Robert Roskind, whose travels appeared in the last chapter. Likewise, hitchhikers looked to like-minded drivers for places to "crash" at day's end.[32]

Sharing took other forms. Whether honored or not, a hip "road code" demanded that hitchhikers' share among themselves – "[t]obacco, food, information, tall tales, money, work," as one guidebook summarized. To drivers, hitchhikers offered entertainment, time at the wheel, the warm feeling of giving back, a chance to pontificate, and more. As writer after writer noted, every driver wanted something. That meant that some expected sex, from women but also from men, and that "paying with your ass" could be glossed over as "free love." Yet despite such alternative forms of exchange, the

basic logic of hitchhiking still fit cleanly with the trusting, sharing logic of communal utopianism. As one guidebook put it: "We get by with a little help from our friends."[33]

Because it required sharing a car with a stranger, hitchhiking also involved trust. Certainly, it embodied a rejection of the American Automobile Association's and the FBI's efforts to paint every hitchhiker as a potential killer-in-disguise. "It is a sad comment on civilization," one hitchhiker lamented, "when trust is equated with danger." Indeed, hitchhikers frequently used public acceptance of hitchhiking as a barometer of a society's openness, a measure that usually produced glowing reviews of Europe and California. Few hitchhiking advocates entirely dismissed its dangers, but they more commonly insisted on the rewards of trust. Among the most common tropes of hitchhiking literature was the kindness of strangers; seemingly every hitchhiker told stories of motorists who took them home and fed them out of simple kindness. "People shouldn't be afraid to be emotionally naked with each other, even with strangers," opined one woman. Although she had dealt with "uncomfortable situations" and traveled with a dog for safety, she still insisted that "[i]t's this cloak of fear we wear that makes us strangers in the first place."[34]

Personal encounters with drivers also broke down stereotypes and provided profound cultural education, hitchhikers insisted. Writer after writer contended that the best reason to hitchhike was to meet people. For one thing, it required travelers to become personally "involved" in a destination rather than observing it from a window. Paul DiMaggio reported that he had gotten rides gotten rides "from truck drivers, acid dealers, Black Panthers, Russian Orthodox prelates, rock musicians, fashion models, and venetian blind salesmen." Abroad, "[e]very lift is a confrontation with an alien culture,"

another guidebook argued.[35] Even in the United States, (presumably white) hitchhikers might receive a political education. As one countercultural essayist put it:

> Travel is … the best way to meet people and learn about their lives. Poverty, racism, violence, and sex occur very differently in the lives of ghetto Blacks, southwestern whites, and American Indians, for example.
>
> Traveling by car is fast, but doesn't put you in touch with the people; in fact it insulates. Hitch-hiking does the opposite – you need to talk to your drivers. And so you learn. I've learned about the Mafia from truck drivers, a few words of Spanish in Mexico, the intricate reasons of racism, and volumes about the geography and highways of the U.S.[36]

Whether political or not, the knowledge gained from hitchhiking carried special weight because of its personal, unmediated nature. To go beyond mass communication and second-hand education was to test "culture myths."[37]

While Mark Smith did not write about his drivers as much he reflected on his spiritual quest, he did note some particularly interesting figures. Certainly, he caught plenty of rides with hippies who shared their drugs and alcohol, effectively recognizing him as a "brother." But "straight" people helped him, too. In Michigan, a mother and restaurant owner gave him turkey sandwiches, milk, and birthday cake for the road. In northern California, a compassionate older couple gave a bed to Smith, who had trouble reconciling the husband's kindness with his job building missile carriages for Lockheed. "You got to have just as big a stick as the other guy," he told Smith, who pronounced himself flummoxed.[38]

Although Smith found the conversation maddening, it was of a piece with hitchhiking rhetoric, which contended that the practice provided a venue for unusually direct and honest conversation. In an honors thesis that preceded and gave rise to his guidebook, Paul DiMaggio theorized the interaction between driver and hitchhiker.

Synthesizing insights from Erving Goffman, George Simmel, and Victor Turner, DiMaggio understood himself as following an academic trajectory interested in "the creation of a world in which man is one with nature and brother to his fellows." Perceptively, DiMaggio argued that major sociologists and young cultural dissenters shared a common concern with the alienating effects of modern societies. He then set out to identify the conditions under which individuals could shed their social roles and interact with each other as sacred, equal individuals – a form of authentic interaction that was its own end. Although his conclusions were not decisive, DiMaggio analyzed hitchhiking as just such a liminal situation – one that, perhaps, could provoke the egalitarian fellow-feeling Turner had analyzed as "communitas." Whether he knew it or not, DiMaggio was working along the seam of academic and popular culture, attaching "communitas" to hitchhiking even before Turner attached it to pilgrimage. Both men, in turn, explored travel's ability to crack open alienating social structures.[39]

In spatial terms, the problem was boundaries. In defining what she calls "ordinary religion," Catherine Albanese describes "boundaries" that bind groups together and separate them from others. And just as it promised to purify the self, hip hitchhiking rhetoric also promised to break down needless interpersonal, social, and political barriers. "I don't believe in countries," said one male hitchhiker. "I'm here. I believe in the world." Others used "vibrations," "energy," and similar metaphysical language to laud hitchhiking's unifying power. "Basically, it's entrusting yourself to somebody," said one female hitchhiker. "That's what hitchhiking is. And when you stop and think about it, that's what love is."[40]

In his journal, Mark Smith also reveled in the "little spontaneous sunbursts of

direct love and psychic energy that can accompany our meetings with each other if we only let them." Yet he seemed unsure about "whole world love." He was not alone. As even hitchhiking proponents could allow, the realities of hitchhiking often fell far short of its utopian rhetoric. Dangers existed, appearances mattered, and the old boundaries of gender and race proved easier to dismiss on the page than on the road. In common advice for dealing with such realities, hitchhiking's boundary-less rhetoric betrayed itself.

For all its insistence on rupture and novelty, hitchhiking drew on the same frontier mythology as Kerouac and Kesey. "We are the Mutant Stepchildren of the Men Who Broke a Continent," wrote Ben Lobo and Sara Links. "Only now they drive Ford Customs and they're out to break us." With explicit reference to manifest destiny and "pioneer myth," the writers insisted "for every Overland Trail there was a 'Trail of Tears.'" Still, they noted the racial and imperial elisions of myth only to blow past them, extending hitchhikers' genealogy to tramps, hobos, and even the "technologists and technocrats" who moved West for jobs.[41] They confessed:

> The whole mobility trip is a bit blurry because the Wanderin', Ramblin', Movin' Man is glorified while (or maybe after) he's being vamped on: mythified in story and scorned in reality.
>
> And so the myth of the road is derived from the saga of the Heroic Pioneer and the tales of the Noble Outcast."[42]

Unusually self-conscious about the mythological nature of road freedom, the writers nonetheless insisted that "it's real as far as we seek it out and defend it against attack from those whose presence and methods are equally real."[43]

Still, for a practice that aspired to go beyond social structure, cultural assumptions, and superficial appearances, hitchhiking deeply depended on them all. Almost unanimously, hitchhikers acknowledged that appearance mattered in getting lifts.

Guidebooks routinely counseled readers to look clean, to smile, to make eye contact, to stop eating or smoking. "The important thing to remember about flagging down a ride is that you are advertising," wrote one. "You have to make your product, i.e. yourself, obvious and eye-appealing." It was a remarkable statement for a book that insisted on the non-materialistic, spiritual nature of hitchhiking. Others noted that a hitchhiker's personal style marked his or her social identity, and therefore tended to attract motorists with the same affinities – "freaks" picked up "freaks." Particularly in hitchhiking scenes like California Highway 1, such homogeneity undercut claims that hitchhiking offered an education in the diversity of human life.[44] Instead, it could create its own pressures to conform, as one hitchhiker observed:

> Among especially the California breed of hippies there's this fantastic pressure to show you're a person – that you're hipper than they are, and so nobody tries to reinforce anybody, everybody tries to be as cool as they can, so they can get worked out which one of them is coolest.[45]

Similarly, many young travelers in Europe attempted to follow the grapevine to the next big scene, from Amsterdam to Copenhagen to Ibiza. "Scene groupies," warned one European guidebook, "are sort of pathetic." Of course, a hippie appearance carried tangible dangers as well. Most famously, long hair might attract attention from police and "local toughs" in conservative areas, especially the Deep South.[46]

More fundamentally yet, hitchhiking remained deeply reliant on racial privilege. Although pictures do show a handful of non-white hitchhikers on the road, writers who mentioned race conceded that African Americans (usually treated as the "default" minority) faced danger, especially in the South. More insightfully, at least one hip writer noted the converse: "If you want to trade on something like what movement people call 'white skin privilege' you can wear university sweatshirts, neat slacks, and have your hair

trimmed." Of course, would-be cultural revolutionaries also cultivated their own sense of persecution. "It's pretty well known that longhairs are one of the new minorities," said one. "Although we do have an advantage because we're white and we're fairly new."[47]

Although the presence of runaways and homeless young people complicates discussions of class, hip hitchhiking rhetoric assumed a middle class status. Obviously, almost anyone who could travel abroad came from the middle class or above. A more subtle yet fundamental distinction, however, was that hitchhiking's proponents assumed their readers hitchhiked by choice. "We are the first generation to *voluntarily* place ourselves adrift, en masse, on the roads of America," wrote Ben Lobo and Sara Links in their hitchhiking guidebook (emphasis added). Quite likely, Mark Smith was also a voluntarily poor, nomadic child of the middle class. Offhand comments in his journal suggested that he had been hitchhiking for at least three years and that he had previously visited North Africa. Although Smith traveled with little cash, he also mentioned not knowing what to do with $3000 he had somehow acquired. Periodically, he called home to talk to his mother.[48]

If class could be invisible in discussing hitchhiking, gender could not be avoided. First, women's advantage in getting lifts found universal acknowledgement. After discussing the three "schools of thought" about how to land rides, Paul Coopersmith slyly noted that technique, luck, "vibes," and appearance all played a roll – but that sex outweighed them all. As almost everyone acknowledged, no one landed rides faster than a single female hitchhiker. At the same time, no one faced comparable dangers. "For the woman hitching alone, sexual tension pollutes the atmosphere of nearly every ride," read the *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*. Although guidebook writers offered advice for warding

off assault – mention a relative waiting for you, vomit on the driver, present yourself as a "daughter figure," hitch with a partner – multiple writers doubted a woman hitchhiking alone could ever be truly safe.[49]

As Jeremy Packer notes, women hitchhiking alone came to be popularly perceived as "asking for it," even by some police. On the other hand, if hitchhiking could protest the current social structure and enact a better one, it gained even more power when women engaged in it. After all, women on the road had literally "stepped out of their place."[50] Paul DiMaggio challenged this logic in his *Hitchhiker's Handbook:*

> Some women feel that they have to hitch alone to prove that they are the equals of men. This attitude is really a kind of counter-*machismo* – self-definition on other people's terms. The reality of sexism makes it objectively dangerous for women to hitchhike by themselves. To do so for political reasons is less a step towards liberation than a closing of the eyes to the imperfect nature of society.[51]

I return to women's experience of the road in chapter 6. Clearly, however, the sphere of freedom opened by hitchhiking faced severe limitations.

As with the counterculture generally, the freedom to "do your own thing" could also degenerate into callousness and chaos. The long tradition of films and books that had linked hitchhikers to danger and chaos received a noteworthy, if still pulpy, addition with Don Mitchell's 1971 novel *Thumb Tripping* and the 1972 film of the same name. The story focuses on an idealistic hippie couple named Gary and Chay as they hitchhike the West Coast. Rather than a utopia of trust and sharing, they catch rides from a series of violent or irresponsible drivers. In the book, a truck driver pressures Gary to "share" Chay, a hippie pushes drugs on his lover's prepubescent son (he eventually partakes), male drivers relish their ability to intimidate, and nearly everyone is careless with life – their own and those of others.[52]

Hitchhiking began its disappearance, now almost complete, around 1975. Packer attributes the decline to a "discursive reorganization" that interpreted hitchhiking exclusively "along the continuum of safety and risk." Certainly, that shift reflected the passing of the hippie style and the decline of the hippie-inspired youth culture – a culture that had given hitchhiking positive meaning and supported it with rides, crash-pads, communes, and the camaraderie of huge volumes of fellow travelers. Whether or not hitchhiking had actually grown more dangerous, press accounts of assaults, rapes, and murders – including a series in Boston – made old claims about "trust" and "sharing" seem dangerously naïve. At the same time, hitchhiking's disappearance was neither immediate nor total. In 1975, *The New York Times* noted that hitchhiking had survived both the gruesome headlines and the counterculture itself, becoming a common and accepted practice.[53]

Instead, hitchhiking moved in the opposite direction, persisting among a hard core of young bohemians and neo-hippie groups that carried the countercultural torch. In a 1976 masters thesis submitted to Chico State University, a California Highway Patrol sergeant described mid-1970s hitchhikers as neither communards nor students, but as longhaired drifters and paroled prisoners – with an increase of hitchhiking women and hippie couples, sometimes with small children. The switchboards and aid networks that had arisen to help transient youth also persisted, and belated hippies continued to hitchhike to Grateful Dead concerts and neo-hippie events like the annual Rainbow Gathering, which began its July wilderness camp-outs in 1972. As a "nomadic utopia," the Rainbow Family continues to include full-time drifters, hitchhikers, freight-hoppers,

people who live in vehicles, and others who explicitly consider themselves latter-day tramps and hobos.[54]

This was the world in which Mark Smith moved in 1976. Before hiking Isle Royale, he had used a local switchboard to find shelter in Michigan. Heading west to Missoula, Montana, he stumbled upon fellow "nomads" headed to the Rainbow Gathering. Joining them at a backcountry campsite along the Teton River, Smith passed a peace pipe with "brothers and sisters," listening to everyone forthrightly speak his or her minds. Eventually, though, he grew tired of the "general stupor." On July 3, 1976, tanning naked on a log above a waterfall, he wrote that he was "really tired of crowds and the hippy far-out brother/sister groovy spiritual trip. It's like a college city here with the same manifestations of who's more far-out than whom."[55]

Smith departed for the desert Southwest, but he continued to move among fellow drifters and seekers. Near Zion National Park, a group of "hitch/packers" traded stories "under a full moon, getting stoned…" In Arizona, he hiked through desert canyons with a couple that picked him up in a Volkswagen bus. Arriving in California on July 17, Smith initiated three and a half months of drifting up and down the Pacific Coast, regularly running into friends from the Rainbow Gathering and the road milieu generally. He drifted around Oregon, enjoying the drugs and misty nudity at hot springs, then caught a ride north with "three star struck hippies" in a VW bus. They shared peyote and whiskey, and Smith slipped into "dreamless unconsciousness."[56]

Sobering up, he hitched on to Duncan, British Columbia, running into Rainbow Gathering friends at a crafts festival – another magnet for counterculture holdouts. Although he found the event "tainted with money, alcohol and an air of detachment,"

Smith also found a "life-giving spark" among the artists. "[L]ighted candles and troubadours wandering about" created a "a medieval mood" that put Smith in a spiritual frame of mind. "God is love and we all have that light with us, it comes in varying degrees," he wrote. He then continued on the bohemian circuit, contemplating apple picking in Chelan, Washington, but feeling suddenly awkward and "neurotic." He decided to leave. "All those somehow lost new age nomads, seekers, neophytes, roadies and lonely brothers and sisters need the apples and the meetings amongst the sagging trees more than I," he wrote. For good measure, Smith even stayed with a "Jesus Freak" near Mt. Shasta.[57]

Near the end of his trip, Smith arrived at perhaps the most famous site of the nation's transient youth culture: Berkeley, California. After eating at a soup kitchen on Telegraph Avenue, he rambled about the street scene and its

> ever changing pageantry of restless youth, a place to pick up tidbits of dubious wisdom from the potency of informational energy exchange hereabouts. Magic greases the air, the liveliest street scene I've taken in for a long, suspenseful while…[58]

In the city's People's Park, he smoked a few joints with "another deluded lost prophet, clothed in multicolored robes, claiming to be the present day incarnation of a past master." Smith tolerated his "rap on consciousness" for a while, accompanied him to a Catholic-sponsored spaghetti dinner, and then split. The same night, he slept on the grounds of a Vedanta Center, two blocks from Telegraph, after climbing over its wall. Overall, Smith felt at ease in Berkeley, where he repeatedly ran into friends. At the same time, he feared getting "too caught up in the order of insanity" and tired of journaling. "It doesn't mean anything to me anymore," he wrote. "I want poetry-light-truth to shine in

my prose! Instead, I've got this cork up my ass." His journal ended two weeks later in Tucson, Arizona.[59]

If Mark Smith did not find enlightenment in 1976, it was not for lack of looking. Yet he could not have even conceived of his quest without nearly two decades of hip hitchhiking and, more importantly, a rhetoric that interpreted the practice with increasing precision. In Sausalito, California, an acquaintance hosted Smith for an evening and helped him sum up the hitchhiker's quest:

> Jack mentioned last night that hitch-hikers are, by their role as travelers, required to be social, if they want anything beyond tolerance or acceptance, and that means putting yourself on the line, always being open and flexible, really flowing with what's at hand, if there's little to work with, then you reap a little less. This life is a subtle but constant discipline. No one can fathom my actions or life on the road unless they're willing to drop everything and do it themselves without hopes or fears. There are very few who will even let go enough to just think about it and that's what feels so empty when I stay with people who are caught up in the petty intrigues and neuroses. Ah but I can always go on the wayfarers way, the nomadic now. The vagabond's virtue [is] in the perfect rhythm of the spheres.[60]

To drop everything, to overcome hopes and fears, to be open, to be disciplined, to enter the "nomadic now" and flow with the "the perfect rhythm of the spheres": Smith had summarized a rationale for hitchhiking that leaped from existentialist liberation to mystical, metaphysical surrender. Drifting through an alienating society, he hoped to strip away its artifice and effortlessly merge with what was real – in himself, in others, and in existence itself.

Chapter 4:

Vehicles of Enlightenment

On a fall day in 1972, the people of London, Arkansas, stared in silence as two strange buses rolled through town streets. Smokestacks jutted through the vehicles' roofs and curtains hung in their windows. Above the buses' windshields, psychedelic lettering announced the vehicles' names: Blunder and Maynard. As long-haired men piloted the buses through the small town, the "constable … fixed his eyes on the intruders." To children and others who stopped to stare, "the buses were a kind of parade to be watched in silence."[1]

Or so the buses drivers' imagined. One of them, Rob McGraw, dramatized the moment in a 1973 article in the *Boston Globe*. In it, he celebrated his life as a "truckee," his idiosyncratic term for a person who had chosen to live in a bus or truck converted into a home. Such motorized nomads had built homes in "Volkswagen buses, surplus post office vans, ambulances, step-vans, school buses, and, by far the most popular, piggy-backs mounted on pick-up trucks." With their decorations and handcrafted designs, such vehicles could "rival the ancient art of the European gypsies," McGraw contended. Just as important, they enabled an entire lifestyle marked by liberation – from unfulfilling work, urban life, and "the vicious earning-paying-for-the-right-to-live-and-eat cycle that most people are caught up in."[2]

Vehicles like "Blunder" became icons of the youth counterculture, proliferating in roughly the same years that hitchhiking boomed. But they were also something more – utopian objects, forms of material spirituality built to overcome the alienating divisions of modern American society. As both artistic creations and modern machines, buses and

"housetrucks" reconciled romantic expressivism and technical reason. As "tools" for personal liberation, they participated in the counterculture's broader, sometimes mystical, *rapprochement* with technology. As affordable housing and mobile workshops, they promised escape from an economy full of alienating divisions – of work from home, of labor from expression, and of consumption from need. Finally, as strategies to convert every place into home, they aimed to jump local loyalties and realize a planetary, even cosmic, unity.

Hip buses and housetrucks also involved practice. As a tactic in de Certeau's sense, building a "rolling home" meant appropriating products of mass society – automobiles – and turning them to idiosyncratic and unintended uses. The result was not a clean rejection of consumer society but an attempt to craft utopia from its spare parts. At the same time, building and inhabiting a bus or truck also served another function of practice – inculcating the particular, hip admixture of self-expression, self-reliance, and self-surrender.[3] As McGraw put it, living in a truck offered both "creative fulfillment" and "time and space to breath (sic) in a crowded world."

> I'm not sure yet what is really wrong with us and our times … to what extent it is wrong or the complicated reasons. But I have the feeling that if I continue to live as simply as possible, taking my time, and existing in a natural, ecological way that I may come to find the answer to those and other important questions. I don't want to be part of the mad and blind insanity that engulf many in this century. For me, being a truckee is a step in the right direction.[4]

Truckees, he summarized, were "looking for America and for ourselves too, I suppose." Whatever they found, their vehicles raised a thorny question that hitchhiking did not: how to build a new home, or even a new society, without "settling."[5]

FROM ART TO CRAFT: BUSES AND HOUSETRUCKS AS EXPRESSION

As rolling canvases, hip vehicles proclaimed their owners' creativity and announced their open, uninhibited authenticity. The prototype was Further, the bus that bore Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters on their LSD-fueled, cross-country romp in 1964. If the trip became part of the counterculture's mythology, as I have argued, so too did the bus. Multiple pictures and accounts suggest that Tom Wolfe got it right when he wrote that Further looked "as if somebody had given Hieronymus Bosch fifty buckets of Day-Glo paint and a 1939 International Harvester school bus and told him to go to it." When she first saw the bus in Calgary, Prankster Linda Breen saw "no rhyme, no reason to the painting … just spray paint here, spray paint there…".[6]

The Pranksters, however, had not painted the bus to display skill but to express themselves playfully and without inhibition. In one of the fullest accounts of the bus's beginnings, Prankster George Walker recalls that the group began painting "[a]ll kinds of things, from trees to cars to furniture to ourselves" at hallucinogen-fueled parties in spring 1964. Another version reports that painting began after a neighbor "serendipitously" stepped in green paint and walked on the roof. The main idea, according to Prankster Ken Babbs, was "taking back painting from the painters, releasing the artist within." Such uninhibited release, in turn, fit with the classically Romantic goal of transforming life itself into art. If drugs catalyzed that quest, the bus symbolized and enabled it. Although the Pranksters never finished their movie of the 1964 trip, Kesey routinely described the bus as his most important work. Similarly, Wolfe called Further "perhaps *the* artifact of the psychedelic era, the very embodiment of the trip."[7]

Wildly painted vehicles multiplied in Further's wake, propelled by music and celebrity. Singer Janis Joplin drove a psychedelically painted Porsche, and Beatle John Lennon owned a psychedelic Rolls Royce. In 1967, a brightly painted bus ferried all four Beatles around England on *Magical Mystery Tour*, a badly received TV special. They weren't the only British rock stars to advance the trend. In 1968, The Who released *The Magic Bus: The Who On Tour*, an album whose cover showed the band clowning around on a double-decker bus covered in flowers and brightly colored swirls. For rock bands, of course, buses had pragmatic functions – they carried people and gear on tour, and they advertised the band while burnishing its image. In a more wholesome vein, a bus painted in the style of Piet Mondrian featured in ABC's *The Partridge Family*, a musical sitcom that ran from 1970 to 1974 and followed a family who took its music on the road.[8]

Buses also appeared at Woodstock, the 1969 music festival that became cultural shorthand for the entire hippie counterculture. In Michael Wadleigh's widely seen concert movie, *3 Days of Peace and Love,* buses belonging to the Hog Farm commune served as the backdrop for several scenes. Similarly, one of the most widely published photographs from the festival showed a young man and woman sitting atop an intricately painted Volkswagen bus. The man's shirt was open, his bushy hair in wild disarray. The woman gazed into the distance, holding an umbrella against the rain. Both wore jeans and sandals.[9]

But the star of the picture was the bus, which had a largely unreported story of its own. Named "Light" after the band that drove it, the bus advertised the metaphysical beliefs of Bob Hieronimus, a Baltimore artist who painted it on commission. A designer of posters and album covers, Hieronimus had already spent a summer on tour with Jimi

Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and the Doors. Still, he covered the bus in images he considered not psychedelic but metaphysical. On the front, for example, he painted a set of wings, symbolizing spirit, which stood atop a cross, which represented "air, earth, fire and water." A fish – the astrological Pisces – swallowed the vibrations pouring from an urn on the roof – the astrological Aquarius. At the bottom of the VW's face, a UFO symbolized "extraterrestrials, inner-terrestrials, inner dimensionals and spiritual hierarchies of the universe."[10] Hieronimus summarized:

> The symbolic story on the front of the bus is basically this: As we enter the age of Aquarius, humanity will once again become conscious of the builders and hierarchies of the universe by aligning themselves with the divine plan through cosmic vibration.[11]

This summarized the front of the bus; Hieronimus painted it bumper-to-bumper.[12]

As hippie buses multiplied, they continued to bear decorations that expressed their owner's identity and – sometimes – their metaphysical views. Photographs show vehicles covered in delicately painted flowers and mythological animals, as well as in statements like "Peace" or "Power to the People." Bus owners also drew from the Asian religious currents. Photos show multiple vehicles bearing the symbol for the sacred syllable "Om" and for the Taoist yin-and-yang. The Buddha, Krishna, and Shiva also adorned hip vehicles, as did a variety of images that referred to Native American cultures.[13]

Hip buses and trucks also expressed their owners through fine craftwork and inventive design. Photographic collections of "housetrucks" picture vehicles that often looked like mountain cabins on wheels. Often built on converted logging trucks or school buses, the most elaborate vehicles featured charming porches, filigree woodwork, shingled roofs, and bay windows. Inside, builders installed wood burning stoves, wood

cabinetry, and cozy sleeping lofts (often above the driver's seat). Some vehicles had accent windows of beveled or stained class. For skylights, some welded the top halves of VW microbuses (wrap-around windows) atop larger school buses. At least one used an airplane canopy for the same purpose. "For every housetruck or housebus, there is an artist who has built it to meet their individual needs," wrote Roger Beck, who lived in a housetruck while selling hand-made jewelry at fairs. "A lot of care, thought, artistic ability and love … goes into building a home on wheels."[14]

Still, how could a machine count as art – a category closely associated with nature and organic creativity? Ornate housetrucks suggested one answer: the notion of craft. Since the Industrial Revolution, the mechanization and specialization associated with the division of labor had seemed to strip work of its personal meaning and moral weight. In the Gilded Age, the Arts and Crafts movement sought to recover the expressive, independent forms of labor associated with hand-made furniture, cloth, glass, fabric, and other items turned over to the factory. Housetrucks updated the trend. As Oregon architecture student Jane Lidz noted in a 1979 book, homes on wheels constituted an "original and artistic cultural movement" that merged "technology and economy with style." That merger, however, also reflected a broader trend, one that understood technology not as a source of alienation but as an arena for expression and a tool for personal freedom.[15]

FROM MACHINE TO NATURE: MEDITATIVELY BLURRING BOUNDARIES

Raised with the fear of nuclear holocaust and steeped in an intellectual world that considered the industrial economy a dehumanizing machine, many "flower children" had sought salvation in the Romantic natural. In the late 1960s and 1970s, however, a

movement grew to revalue "appropriate technology" as a tool for building lives of personal freedom and meaning. Yet technology, as well as technical reason, had to themselves become meaningful if buses and housetrucks were to become more than new sources of alienation. A series of publications showed the way forward, charting technology's popular existentialist redemption.[16]

No publication advanced the hip revaluation of technology as powerfully as *The Whole Earth Catalog*, the pacesetter for the hip lifestyle publications of the 1970s. The brainchild of Merry Prankster Stewart Brand, the *Catalog* first appeared in 1968, growing rapidly in scope and popularity. On its inside cover, the Catalog declared its intent in deceptively simple language: "An item is listed in the CATALOG if it is deemed":

1) Useful as a tool,
2) Relevant to independent education
3) High quality or low cost
4) Not already common knowledge
5) Easily available by mail.

Growing out of Brand's desire to aid fellow travelers who had moved to rural communes, the catalog defined "tools" broadly; an enormous percentage of its items were books. Shoehorning hundreds of items into dense, folio-sized pages, the Catalog also included items on "whole systems," organic farming, engine repair, hitchhiking, wilderness survival, sexuality, meditation, children's education, and much, much more. The guiding principle was to free individuals from dependence on mass society by providing them "tools" to take personal control of their lives.[17]

While the *Catalog* did not itself feature buses or housetrucks, it carried a number of items that contributed to the hip redemption of machines. Among the most significant was John Muir's *How to Keep Your Volkswagen Alive: A Manual of Step by Step*

Procedures for the Compleat (sic) *Idiot*. First published in 1969, the book had sold 2.3 million copies as of 2006 –one for every four U.S. sales of relevant VW models. The author, a descendent of the famous naturalist, had "dropped out" of an aerospace engineering career that had included work on Lockheed missiles. By 1968, he was firmly ensconced in northern New Mexico's hip, communal scene; the entire Hog Farm attended his wedding that year. A technologist among hippies, Muir tired of requests for his automotive help. Yet he recognized a problem: mechanical manuals assumed a level of knowledge that most people lacked. To bridge the gap, he created a VW repair guide that assumed its reader was an "idiot mechanically."[18]

Muir's focus on VWs was no accident. A famously shrewd advertising campaign had long since turned Volkswagens into hip identity markers, cars "for people who thought for themselves and were worried about conformity." As subjects of a cult following even before the counterculture, VWs spawned clubs, joke books, and a "Volkslore" replete with stories of VWs crossing deserts, getting speared by elephants, and bobbing through floods. But their appeal also had a practical basis. Inexpensive new and cheaper used, Volkswagens also employed an air-cooled engine that was simpler, cheaper, and easier to repair than fluid-cooled models. In addition to saving money, VW buses could carry surfboards, provide shelter at concerts, and handle extended travel over rough terrain. The back was also a great place for sex. Sure, the bus had the same engine as the Beetle, leaving it badly underpowered. But why hurry?[19]

Muir appreciated and built on these practical aspects of Volkswagens. The vast majority of his book consisted of carefully drawn diagrams and clear, detailed mechanical advice; its practical usefulness was legendary. Stylistically, though, the

Idiot's Guide flew its freak flag proudly. Artist Peter Aschwanden's illustrations resembled the work of psychedelic comic-book artist R. Crumb, and Muir took a casual tone, speaking of a "plastic thing" and a "complicated gizmo." If a green light came on, Muir explained, it indicated an oil problem. The engine needed to cool for a while, so "it might be a good time to go in the back and ball."[20]

More importantly, Muir prescribed the proper attitude for mechanical work. "You must do this work with love, or you fail," he wrote. "You don't have to think, but you must love."[21] A few pages earlier, he had explained why love was required.

> While the levels of logic of the human entity are many and various, your car operates on one simple level and it's up to you to understand its trip. Talk to the car, then shut up and listen. Feel with your car; use all of your receptive sense and when you find out what it needs, seek the operation out and perform it with love. The type of life your car contains differs from yours by time scale, logic level and conceptual anomalies, but is "Life" nonetheless. Its Karma depends on you desire to make and keep it --- ALIVE![22]

Similarly, both rationality and intuition mattered in buying a used VW. If a "cold" and "objective" inspection turned up no problems, potential buyers should leave the final decision to their intuition. "Sit in the driver's seat and scrunch your butt around. Hold the wheel and close your eyes and FEEL!" Then, buyers should "assume the good old Lotus" and allow "revelation" to gently steer them toward or away from purchase. For good measure, illustrations showed a man meditating atop a VW Beetle.[23]

What did it mean to perform mechanical work with "love?" While Muir did not detail his philosophy until a later book (discussed below), Robert Pirsig explicated a similar approach to mechanics in his bestselling *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974). A philosophical treatise structured as a novel, the book uses a father and son's cross-country motorcycle trip as an occasion to inquire into the nature of

rationality and the source of value – or "quality," as Pirsig puts it. Narrated by the unnamed father, the book begins by asking why the pair's riding companions, John and Sylvia Sutherland, detest and avoid even basic mechanical maintenance, preferring instead to risk expensive repairs.[24]

The narrator locates the problem in the anti-technological Romanticism that the Sutherlands share with much of the counterculture. More precisely, he argues, they do not hate technology as much as the (instrumental) rationality behind it. In raising Western society from disease, poverty and abject want, the "classical understanding" (as Pirsig terms it) has achieved real progress. Once basic needs are satisfied, however, the "genetic defect" of Western, instrumental rationality becomes clear. It is "emotionally hollow, esthetically meaningless and spiritually empty." In such phrases, Pirsig recapitulates the post-scarcity thinking that had informed decades of postwar social criticism. Likewise, he aptly associates the Sutherlands, and the counterculture, with an anti-technological "Romantic understanding."[25]

At the same time, however, he defends technology from its cultured despisers. "If [the Sutherlands] can't stand physical discomfort and they can't stand technology, they've got a little compromising to do," the narrator quips. "They depend on technology and condemn it at the same time." Put another way, the romantic pleasures of motorcycle riding depend on the technological reason involved in motorcycle maintenance. For that reason, the narrator finds an anti-technological stance self-defeating.[26]

For the bulk of the book, Pirsig attempts to reconcile the "Romantic" and "Classical" views. Just as hitchhiking proponents argued that tourists did not become "involved" in destinations, Pirsig suggests that most people do not become "involved" in

machines – that they do not seek a deep, immersive, caring understanding of what makes them tick. The narrator does. When undertaken with such attention and care, mechanical work becomes a dialogical, mutually constitutive project between mechanic and machine. Motorcycles, like VWs, reveal distinctive personalities. In dialogue with them, the Western subject/object dichotomy collapses and, Pirsig implies, the ego dissolves. In this Americanized sense, motorcycle maintenance becomes Zen – and something like Muir's "love."[27]

The Zen approach to mechanics marked other guides to living in vehicles. In *Roll Your Own*: *The Complete Guide to Living in a Truck, Bus, Van or Camper* (1974) Jodi Pallidini and Beverley Dubin included not only advice, but poetry and drawings for children to color (of housetrucks, of course). One long poem spoke of "cracked bearings" and "low oil pressure," of grease on the hands and oil in the eyes. It asked how the truck could continue "bearing my nomadic soul thru America/ carrying me & women from city to commune." It concluded:

> all steel it seems
> whispering thru rainstorms
> pistons hum when
> they are new
>
> the work of eight days
> brings the song
> of the American Chevrolet
> in tune once more
>
> timed perfect with
> a red strobe light
> I can sit staring once more
> at American neon road signs
>
> eating revolutionary ice cream[28]

Like the book as a whole, the poem integrated the mechanical know-how essential to truck-living with the creative, child-like expressiveness that made it worthwhile in the first place.

In an era of rising ecological consciousness, influential lifestyle publications also sought to meditatively merge human homebuilding with the natural environment. Perhaps the most influential guide to hip homebuilding was *Shelter*, a folio-sized compendium of dwellings ancient and contemporary. Its author, Lloyd Kahn, had edited the "Shelter" section of *The Whole Earth Catalog*. While *Shelter* continued the *Catalog*'s constitutive disavowal of mass produced housing (or anything else), Shelter also centered on Kahn's disavowal of Buckminster Fuller's geodesic domes, structures that he had once championed. Fuller, Kahn wrote, had presented the dome's distinctive shape as the "building block of the universe" and suggested that dome-builders were "somehow in touch with the universe." But Kahn had learned that domes almost always leaked, that their rounded shapes proved difficult to inhabit, and that their artificial materials aged poorly and derived from the environmentally destructive petroleum industry.[29]

> In the past year, we have discovered that there is far more to learn from the wisdom of the past: from structure shaped by imagination, not mathematics, and built of materials appearing naturally on the earth, than from any further extension of whiteman technoplastic prowess.[30]

Shelter should not be standardized, the book insisted throughout. Instead, it should co-arise from the particularities of local environments and individual lifestyle preferences. As examples, *Shelter* profiled Bedouin tents, Mongolian yurts, and American adobes, among other structures. As one contributor put it, "Mind process and Planet process

have become too close, too inter-mixed, too woven to separate thought and atmosphere, action and ocean, attitude and Earth."[31]

By refusing the Western ego's distinction between subject and object, between self and world, hip thinkers reconciled Romantic feeling and technical reason, as well as human homebuilding and the natural environment. Both of these reconciliations, in turn, applied to hip trucks and buses. In *Shelter,* they appeared just after a page titled "No-Mad Living," whose author claimed to have spent four years traveling by packhorse and living in tipis. At its center, the page featured a "visual/prayer" that included the yin-yang symbol and extolled balance in life. Motorized nomads came next. The builder of one truck, home to his family of five, had not systematically planned his vehicle. Instead, he experienced "more freedom in my building designs" by letting ideas come from found and salvaged materials.[32]

By advising builders to make intuitive use of salvaged materials, *Shelter* and similar publications found a way to "involve" builders in both the U.S. environment and its preservation. If yurts had to arise from the Mongolian plains, American shelters had to arise from the American environment – which included roads, junkyards, and old automobiles. McGraw, the "truckee," wrote of collecting materials from Boston alleys, construction sites, dumps, and wrecking contractors. As a tactic in de Certeau's sense, such scavenging did not mean that the American "environment" dictated lifestyle, but rather that it became the ground for individual freedom, creativity, and self-making. As a *Mother Earth News* contributor argued, would-be housetruckers "will not be trying to warp [their] living patterns to fit a space designed to attract the mythical average buyer."[33]

Such opinions were of a piece with popular existentialist thought on travel and place. If places and homes inculcated psychic constraints and abridged perception, freedom might lie in travel. On the other hand, freedom might also come from building *different kinds of places*, environments that grew from personal values and expanded perception. From psychedelic light shows to visionary architecture, an understudied strand of hip thought looked to "radical environments" to shift consciousness. Geodesic domes, light shows, *avant garde* art installations, housetrucks, organic homebuilding, and crash pads where everyone sat on the floor: all connected the dissolution of spatial boundaries with the dissolution of the ego. "No matter where you are, you're always at the center of the web," summarizes Alistair Gordon in his *Radical Environments.* "So all those landmarks and monuments are meaningless after all." Hip "rolling homes," then, attempted a kind of spatial double play, seeking transformation via both traveling and reconstructed homes. Doing so, they also addressed a larger question: how to build an entire world, or at least a life, unmarred by the larger divisions of an alienating society.[34]

FROM CRAFT TO DWELLING: BUILDING YOUR OWN UTOPIA

However meaningful mechanical work might be, it did not necessarily solve the larger issue: an economic system that counseled meaningless work for needless consumption. Well before the Arts and Crafts movement, Karl Marx's analysis of the division of labor had named the problem – alienated labor. In the later 1960s, the New Left had fused this Marxist humanism with humanistic psychology, transforming meaningless, alienated work into both a barrier to self-actualization and fuel for revolution. According to this "new class" analysis, a college system bent on making students cogs for the capitalist system had actually transformed them into a potentially

revolutionary class. For those skeptical of revolution, however, another, hip option existed: building utopias in small groups or via personally crafted lifestyles.[35]

John Muir revealed the broader thinking behind the *Idiot's Guide* in *The Velvet Monkeywrench* (1973), a book-length "blueprint for a consensual society." Although it advocated a complex restructuring of government and society, the core principles were de-centralization and an anarcho-libertarian version of freedom.[36] But any social transformation, Muir argued, had to derive from personal change:

> Changing you is your job and only you can do it. It takes Juice to Change, can you dig it? JUICE OF CHANGE! variously (sic) called *Qi, Kundalini, Righteousness, Go Power, Neural Energy*, you name it. I call it *Juice*.[37]

As had hitchhiking rhetoric, Muir's utopia asked each individual to extract herself from culture, leap existing society, and land in a monistic metaphysical reality. Thus freed and empowered, individuals could and would build a consensual society.

Such a society, however, required particular sorts of citizens. In an unusually explicit recognition of the need to *form* (not just liberate) hip selves, Muir advocated travel as an exercise in character building. Because he regarded traditional schooling as a form of external conditioning, Muir instead advocated travel as a means of "conditioning your own reflexes." His utopia, then, would give 12-year-olds "a party, a knapsack, a sleeping bag, a mess kit and a big kiss" – and then send them off, with government support, "to wander where they will." Between the ages of 12 and 19, they could alight at government supported homes, places where they could "make their own rules, schedule their own lives, do their own thing – at least, start to find out what their own thing is." Parents, Muir argued, should aim to raise confident children who could fend, and decide, for themselves. Anticipating *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, Muir also

asked readers to honestly assess their dependence on machines, which, he insisted, could "give life" if people spoke "their language."[38]

For all Muir's radical vision, personalized forms of liberated lifestyles proved a more popular option. Again, *The Whole Earth Catalog* led the trend with its advocacy for any tool, ancient or modern, that individuals could use to create their own, personalized worlds. The *Catalog's* opening emphasized a popular existentialist version of self-reliance:

> We are as gods and might as well get good at it. So far, remotely done power and glory – as via government, big business, formal education, church – has succeeded to the point where gross defects obscure actual gains. In response to this dilemma and to these gains a realm of intimate, personal power is developing – power of the individual to conduct his own education, find his own inspiration, shape his own environment, and share his adventure with whoever is interested. Tools that aid this process are sought and promoted by the WHOLE EARTH CATALOG.[39]

As Fred Turner has convincingly shown, the *Whole Earth* network and philosophy informed the development of *personal* computers (as tools), the Internet, and "digital utopianism."[40]

Denizens of hip buses and trucks adopted a similar philosophy but applied it differently. For many, and probably most, buses or trucks served as tools for dropping out of an alienating economic system. Writer after writer stressed a common message: by offering a cheap means to own a home, live-in vehicles offered freedom from the whims of landlords and the pressures of conventional economic life. In a March 1971 edition of *Mother Earth News*, several housetruckers insisted that they lived well, independently, and at minimal expense. "There is nothing preventing a good life on the road," one insisted, "except a lack of guts and gall."[41]

Trucks and buses could facilitate communal or individual versions of "dropping out." Especially during the late 1960s and early 1970s, communal groups used buses both to spread their messages and to go "back to the land." Perhaps the best known "trucking family" was the Hog Farm, best known for running the kitchen at Woodstock. Wavy Gravy, the named adopted by Hog Farm leader Hugh Romney, described the group as "an expanded family, a mobile hallucination, a sociological experiment, an army of clowns." With six buses, sundry other vehicles, plenty of LSD, and a 400-pound pet pig, the group staged playful "happenings" that aimed to include the audience as co-creators. As "traveling theaters" for these events, buses could help audiences personally experience the "interconnectiveness of all living things."[42]

As serious as the goal sounded, its enactment stressed the playful, eclectic, and absurd. For the 1968 summer solstice, the Hog Farm met with allied groups on a meadow at the Tesuque Indian Reservation, where they combined Yoga and a Huna prayer.[43] The gathering also featured a race between a half-dozen buses, including the Hog Farm's "Road Hog" and the Pranksters' "Further." Careening around an alpine meadow, celebrants sat on rooftops as stoned drivers narrowly avoided bystanders. A page of *The Whole Earth Catalog* celebrated the event with gusto – and, doing so, advertised the trucking life to a generation of readers.[44]

Other communal groups incorporated buses and trucks into more settled communities. Chapter 2 has already mentioned the 30-bus caravan that followed San Francisco spiritual teacher Stephen Gaskin on speaking tour in 1970 and 1971. When the group settled in Tennessee, on a still-extant commune called The Farm, the buses became cheap housing. For yet other communes, buses provided transportation for collective

endeavors. Southern Colorado's "Red Rockers" commune, for example, may have lived in an enormous geodesic dome, but they used a wheezing, psychedelic school bus dubbed Dr. Gonzo for communal journeys. As memoirist Roberta Price has recounted, the bus once carried a group to do seasonal labor in a peach orchard – a trip full of relaxation and sexual liaisons.[45]

More broadly, rolling homes fit a communal impulse characterized as much by perpetual movement as by permanent homesteading. A *Mother Earth News* writer described a commune in Eastern Canada that lasted perhaps a year, planted no crops, lived mostly off purchased brown rice, and saw around 20 people cycle through. At the time of the writing, the last two members had just left for a Vancouver commune "two days walk from the nearest road." The writer explained:

> There are commune residents who are migratory. They travel a great and varied route that leads from the deserts of the American southwest to California, or Vancouver Island, or northern Ontario; wherever there are friends with communes.[46]

On the more peripatetic end of the bus-dwelling population were travelers like Robert Roskind, who used his bus to drift between friends' homes, rural campsites, hot springs, communes, and other sites of lifestyle experimentation. Multiplied by thousands, the result was kind of floating, itinerant community from Berkeley to Vermont.[47]

As strategies to refuse alienating forms of labor, hip buses and trucks also enabled expressive forms of work unmoored to particular places. Vehicles served as creative spaces for making music or handicrafts, which some bohemians sold at craft fairs, markets, festivals, and other places where the hip ethos lived on after the hippie heyday. Yet others used their trucks as bases for more traditional labor and odd jobs, including moving furniture, hauling homegrown produce, and paperhanging. Living with his

family on a mountaintop, surrounded by 77 acres of forest, one writer exulted that "I neither have to work … or not work … traveling slowly … being free.[48]

At the same time, live-in vehicles also facilitated more sedentary versions of dropping out. R. "Sparks" Scott, for example, built a housetruck to flee his life as a Los Angeles television repairman. Inspired by *Mother Earth News* and back-to-the-land publications, Scott drove his first housetruck to Oregon in 1975. Although he settled on a friend's land, a falling out forced Scott to move to a loose community based in an abandoned schoolhouse. Several years later, he moved his truck to 40 acres belonging to "The Church of the Creative," a commune that chose its site after a propitious casting of the *I Ching*. Lacking water or electrical service, the commune floundered in the 1980s. At that point, Scott became caretaker of different property in exchange for rent. As his story suggests, rolling homes were also strategic accommodations to the ephemeral nature of communes and other dropped-out settlements.[49]

Of course, hip vehicles also appealed to people who wanted to travel actively. Because they were smaller and more gas-efficient that lumbering buses and trucks, Volkswagen microbuses better served active and shorter-term travelers. In addition to their hip reputation, their affordability, and their ease-of-repair, VWs also offered a distinctive travel experience. In a self-published memoir of VW bus travel, Johnny Bock writes that early buses had a top speed of 59 miles per hour, slower than highway speed limits (65) and much slower than people actually drove. Lines of cars piled up behind buses; truck drivers tailgated and honked; drivers yelled profanities and gave profane "mono-digital salutes"[50] Bock continued:

> So most drivers of Early Buses learned to take the roads less traveled. Whenever possible, the Splitty driver chose roads that held off on

> demands and instead posed questions. Questions like: Is most of speed just a rush to a time of no value? How much value is there in a time where, before you even get there you already want to be somewhere else? Would you rather have a sense that life is a thing emerging or that life is an emergency?[51]

Such sentiments run through VW literature, but others remember choosing VW buses for other reasons. Back from a three tours in Vietnam and determined to "make up for lost time," John Sutton bought a VW because it offered entrée to parties and "hippie chicks." VW buses, then, allowed hip travel without demanding a fully "dropped-out" life. For all their hip appeal, rolling homes allowed diverse uses and interpretations.

FROM UTOPIA TO NO-PLACE: ROLLING HOMES, CULTURAL TENSIONS

If rolling homes promised escape from modern alienation, they did so by mounting a spatial challenge to modernity's constituent divisions. As both material and spatial tactics, rolling homes sought to unite public and private, work and leisure, individual and community, production and consumption. In aiming for an almost mystical placelessness, however, truck- and bus-dwellers also discovered the drawbacks of utopia, a word derived from the Greek "no-place." They hoped their vehicles would carry them to undivided selves, lives, and communities. Instead, they often found that being at home everywhere meant being at home nowhere.

Living in a bus or truck directly challenged the mid-century version of the public/private divide, which juxtaposed the corporate job and male breadwinner to the suburban home and housewife. As I have already argued, building and living in a bus or truck resisted meaningless, alienating labor via both expressive craft and "dropping out" of the corporate economy. Rolling homes could also serve as studios for making craft goods or as rolling bases for artisan labor, restoring at least a hint of the pre-industrial

unity of home and workshop. Likewise, entire families could and did live in a bus or truck, refusing the traditional construction of the road as public, masculine space. Certainly, hippies could re-enforce gender roles as rigidly as anyone, with communal women cooking, cleaning, and caring for children. Nonetheless, pictures of housetrucks show families, children, and ingeniously designed cribs and places to keep toys. In *Roll Your Own,* Jodi Pallidini and Beverley Dubin also asserted that life on the road allowed children an experiential, existential education rather that detached classroom learning. Lessons in map reading, geography, and astronomy were as near as the window, and the road offered children other lessons. "What animal has been hit by a car?" the authors rhetorically asked. "Shall we skin it? How can we tan it?"[52]

Proponents of truck- and bus-living also expanded the meaning of "home" in grander ways, aiming to stand outside local loyalties and human boundaries. "Everywhere you are on the planet is HOME," wrote Digger, actor, and activist Peter Coyote in *Roll Your Own*. "Take care of it, clean up after others." At the same time that they sought to be at home everywhere, housetruckers also interpreted travel like hitchhikers – as a means to escape imposed norms by fleeing the human places that carried them. One mobile couple speculated that more Americans could become nomadic, destabilizing "the new-American-everyone-is-registered-by-social-security-numbers state." Not only might people migrate to areas with looser laws, but they might have eye-opening experiences of more permissive governments, like Canada's.[53]

In claiming to be at home everywhere, however, residents of buses and trucks risked being at home nowhere. The issue took the form of a very practical question: where to park the bus? When "truckee" Rob McGraw tried to park his bus near a friend's

house in Ann Arbor, Michigan, neighbors "poured from their middle-class-suburban-ranch-houses with brooms or baseball bats" and promise to call the police. Certainly, hip young people could exaggerate this sort of persecution; Robert Roskind, for one, recounts a warm, curious welcome when he parked "Louise" in a relatives' middle-class neighborhood. Nonetheless, even the most "open" cities treated hip buses as unwelcome invaders in the early 1970s. In the Bay Area alone, Sausalito, San Francisco and Berkeley were among the cities that outlawed overnighting on municipal streets. The official reasons involved citizen complaint and public health, as many (though far from all) housetrucks lacked water, sewer, or electrical systems. If live-in buses and trucks allowed owners to shun the norms of particular places, then, particular places could also shun them. One contributor to *Mother Earth News* recommended blacking-out windows at night to hide the sleeping bodies inside.[54]

Less problematic parking spots often involved close relationships, anonymity, isolation, or property ownership. Some bus- and truck-dwellers had relatives that would let them park in their driveways, and travelers might get a night's sleep in rest areas or shopping center parking lots. Temporary encampments might form at the end of logging roads, by the beach, or by an isolated mountain lake. Buses also massed at rural, Western hot springs, drawn by the possibility of relaxing in the nude in "the ultimate natural hot-tubbing experience," as housetrucker R. "Sparks" Scott put it. Secluded and abandoned rural properties sometimes presented opportunities for more extended squatting, but long stays in the city or country often required a personal touch. Several housetruckers advised readers of *Mother Earth News* to ask rural landowners for permission to park on their land, often in exchange for upkeep or repairs. "Like many other self-liberating

activities," one writer explained, "mobile living is safest in the largest city or wildest wilderness."[55]

It was a telling dynamic. If living in a bus freed people from the constraints of places, it could also signal their lack of commitment to them. For that reason, even communes, favorite stops for countercultural drifters, did not uniformly welcome buses or housetrucks. In his online "Thirty Years in a Housetruck," R. Sparks Scott remembers that fellow residents of his Oregon schoolhouse were sometimes reluctant to admit "bus people" to their commune because they rarely committed to the community. Likewise, the Hog Farm had to discuss how they could continue their traveling mission while feeding 150 people with supplies meant for 30. Rather than throw people out of the caravan, Hog Farmers decided to ask guests to "search their hearts as to whether they can serve as an integral part of this family or find their own scene in a commune of a more stationary fashion." Because they visibly retained the right to depart if life became too demanding, bus- and truck-dwellers, like hitchhikers, easily became parasitic.[56]

Of course, residents of buses could argue that they did contribute – at least to the planetary society they imagined. While not every driver stopped, buses and housetrucks did often pick up hitchhikers. "If we pool the tools, then each of us gets to share more energy," wrote one contributor to *Roll Your Own*. His friends living "close to the land" often needed help, and the writer found they could learn from each other. Another writer framed live-in buses and trucks as carriers of people and information, each one an "electrical impulse creating its own circuit." By substituting for traditional media, the writer argued, bus- and truck-dwellers could connect "groups of people living on the land who identify with the planet." This "planet/local" consciousness fit perfectly with the

utopian and metaphysical strands of popular existentialism. If particular, human places contributed to social conditioning, and if social conditioning divided people from their true selves and from each other, then forsaking particular places might yield a "planetary" unity. Again, the trick was jumping local, particular cultures and loyalties.[57]

Union with the planet suggested an environmental consciousness, another source of interpretive tension. In using salvaged building materials and forsaking the corporate, consumer economy, residents of trucks helped preserve the planet, advocates argued. Several writers also noted that inhabiting a vehicle required living simply and pairing possessions to a minimum. Nonetheless, enormous vehicles carrying handcrafted homes guzzled gas, an environmental issue that became an economic one with the energy crisis of the early 1970s. In response, multiple do-it-yourself guides endorsed conversions to more environmentally friendly propane engines. Other mobile-living advocates argued that long-term stays compensated for poor mileage and that buses created an informal, but efficient, public transit system by picking up hitchhikers.[58]

Nonetheless, live-in vehicles did not so much extract residents from consumer society as renegotiate and reinterpret their relationship to it. The limitations, and cultural politics, of hip buses and trucks appears clearly in their relationship to another phenomenon of the 1960s – commercial motor homes. The urge to convert cars to sleeping spaces is almost as old as the automobile itself, but sales of commercially built recreational vehicles surged in the same years as youth travel. In *Homes on Wheels*, Michael Aaron Rockland notes that motor home sales surged from 9,000 in 1967 to 119,000 in 1977 – a jump that might have been larger if not for the era's energy crisis. If hippies used handcrafted buses and housetrucks to reject middle-class conventions, then

"affluent suburbanites" bought ready-made motor homes to display and enjoy their success. Rob McGraw, the truckee, regarded such travelers as mere "campers" who adhered to "middle-class values." Yet their vehicles served essentially the same function as his.[59]

As with other elements of travel, the meanings of these rolling homes emerged through dueling claims on American frontier mythology. Ads for Winnebago – the era's preeminent brand – implored readers to experience the pioneer spirit in "their *Own* Covered Wagon," and RV owners themselves adopted frontier tropes. They caravanned behind "wagon masters," ate "chow," and kept their eyes peeled for "lawmen." Proponents of hand-built housetrucks also staked claims on the frontier. Many of the most ornate trucks clearly strove for a pioneer aesthetic, featuring pot-belly stoves, heavily wooden interiors, and stove-pipes protruding from the roof.[60] McGraw interpreted this aesthetic directly:

> When I think about truckees I get the kind of vision that you would probably get of a mellow, pioneer type such as once peopled the wilderness. I have visions of sharing meals with them at a table made of logs, set up in the middle of a circle of buses deep in the woods at night. Everyone in my vision is smiling and the tensions that I have felt in apartments and houses in the city are not there.[61]

McGraw's use of "vision" is telling. In building and living in his housetruck, he was also enacting a fantasy of himself as a new kind of pioneer, leaving urban limits to hack a new life – a new lifestyle – from the wilderness.

At the same time, hip bus rhetoric also nuanced and sharpened claims on the frontier. *Roll Your Own* juxtaposed pictures of handcrafted buses and trucks with images of both covered wagons and the horse-drawn drag sleds, or travais, used by some Indian tribes. At the same time, the book also included images of Roma ("Gypsy") caravans and

Dust Bowl jalopies. Together, these images framed hip travelers as persecuted, organic outsiders pioneering a new society on the margins of the old. Equally importantly, hippies identified with pioneers because they built their mobile homes with their own hands; almost by definition, a hip vehicle could not be purchased new. McGraw, the "truckee," claimed to have taught himself "woodcraft," as well as chopped and cured his own wood. An interpretive connection with craft labor, self-reliant skill, and communal ideals, in other words, was part of what made a vehicle a "hippie" vehicle.[62]

Nonetheless, the distinction was not total. As tactics in de Certeau's sense, hip buses and trucks did appropriate the products of modernity for idiosyncratic and unintended uses. Yet even if they used salvaged materials, buses and trucks remained industrial products, and they depended on both a public road system and on markets for gasoline, parts, and a host of other materials. Rolling homes' connections to communal ideals were also tenuous. As publications like *The Whole Earth Catalog* and *Mother Earth News* sometimes noted, the desire for personal empowerment appealed to "far-Right, Ayn Rand-type libertarians" as well as to countercultural utopians. One *Mother Earth News* contributor noted that his truck gave him a stable residence; the opportunity to save; freedom from urban rules and congestion; and the "freedom and security offered by mobility." While happy to trade and socialize with the likeminded, he also noted that "my liberty does not depend on their decisions." In any case, the desire for a personalized lifestyle was far from radical – even Winnebago framed custom options as expressions of individualism.[63]

In practice, too, the line between consumer culture and hip counterculture could blur. Take the story of Larry Rosenberg. A self-described "Rising Executive,"

Rosenberg found himself ruing 32 years as an "automaton in drag." Living in a neighborhood of "stuck-together formica cubicle sets," Rosenberg "thought fruit and vegetables grew on supermarket shelves." He had no choice but to overpay for car repairs he could not handle himself.[64] He explained:

> I was a prisoner of my environment. Suddenly, I wanted to live, to get into this existence of mine before it existed no longer.
>
> And the first step was the VW bus.[65]

Yet Rosenberg knew the script. He could not simply buy a hip vehicle; he had to customize it himself. "Not only would I be saving money," he wrote. "but I'd be putting my skills to work while carving out a hunk of my environment."[66]

Unfortunately, a hip truck, life, and self required more than aspiration. Lacking tools or building skills, Rosenberg turned to a handy friend for help. On a freezing Philadelphia day, the friend insisted that he'd finish the job faster alone.

> I looked at him. 'But man, I'm trying to relate to my environment and if I don't --"
>
> "Either you relate to your environment by yourself or I relate to it for you and get the job done."[67]

Rosenberg continued to mock his awkward attempt to become a hippie. He made love at "high noon on one of the busiest intersections of one of the largest cities in America" – only to discover that his bus had rolled into the intersection.[68] He wanted wilderness, but kept finding "2 and 3 dollar/night campsites full of families with battery powered TVs." Yet in the end, Rosenberg shifts his farce into a tale of blundering self-transformation, of learning "how seriously to take the No Trespassing signs," chopping wood, developing blisters, seeking backroads, and bonding with other VW owners. After 2-1/2 months and 800 miles, Rosenberg parked near the Vancouver surf. "I'd learned many things" he

muses, "but more importantly, I *felt* many things for the first time, including the wonderment of the absence of the city in my bloodstream."[69]

To feel differently, work differently, live differently, *be* differently: in diverse ways, hip trucks and buses were vehicles for such desires and their attendant contradictions. In one fell swoop of automotive steel, they aimed at nothing less than overcoming the alienating divisions of modern life in a single, utopian tool. In applying a craft ethic and meditative technique to construction and mechanical work, promoters of hip vehicles sought to bridge the divide between object and subject, reason and intuition, world and self. By providing cheap, mobile lodging, hippie buses and housetrucks facilitated "dropping out" of an alienating economy, often into a communal scene. By merging the private space of the home with the public space of the road, they fit the aspiration to be "planetary citizens" unconstrained by purely local boundaries – or loyalties. What they achieved was not so much freedom from places and placed values but a personalized and endlessly revisable relationship to them. Utopia, indeed, was no-place.

Chapter 5:

"Dear Mr. Vagabond": A Guidebook Writer And His Readers

In 1971, a bored young attorney named Luke Albright walked into a shop on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley, California.[1] There, he purchased a new and unusual guidebook. Titled *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa*, the guide included no information on tourist sites, restaurants, hotels, or local history. Instead, its preface announced a different purpose:

> This book tells you how to visit Europe as a way of blowing your mind and enriching your life. It says that tourism is bullshit unless you get involved. To do that, you avoid your travel agent like he was the cops and go find out about the world by yourself, for your own self. Go as a wayfarer open to all experience; go as a courier over the map of Europe, bearing messages to your secret self.[2]

Inside, Albright found advice on hitchhiking, drugs, police, and sex, as well as tips on sleeping in parks, fields, crash pads and communes. Mostly, however, the book proclaimed the personally transformative power of a particular style of travel: spontaneous, low-budget, independent, and more interested in meeting people than seeing sites. Author Ed Buryn called his hip version of travel vagabonding, and he believed it could transform both readers' trips and their lives.

His message was at home in Berkeley, whose countercultural reputation attracted traveling youth long after San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury had degenerated into a harder-edged vice district. Among travelers mentioned in this dissertation, runaways Diana Phipps and Christopher Delbert Totten, hitchhiker Mark Smith, and "truckee" Rob McGraw all spent time in Berkeley. Telegraph Avenue, just south of the University of California campus, was the center of this

transient culture and an unsurprising place to find Buryn's book. Yet this was not Albright's world, at least not yet. As he carried his book home, almost certainly passing Telegraph's population of hitchhiking drifters, he was still "a 27-year-old, secure, bored budding attorney who had never been out of a dull script of routine in his life."[3]

But Buryn's book changed everything. Albright said as much in two letters to the author, dated 1972 and 1974, respectively. In the first, Albright told how he quit his job and hitchhiked across Europe, accumulating rich, authentic, human encounters. At a temporary job digging ditches in Germany, for example, Albright found himself trapped in a snowstorm with two Hungarian co-workers. They taught him Hungarian folk songs to pass the time, a moment of human connection on a European sojourn that had left Albright "happier than I've ever been before." Apparently, the impact was lasting. By the time of his 1974 letter to Buryn, Albright had returned home, but as a transformed person. "My trip has become an important part of my lifestyle and outlook," he wrote. "Though I've returned to responsibility (a regularly paying job), my life is neither confined nor boring. One who has tasted the fruits of vagabonding simply will not allow his life to get stuck in a rut."[4]

It was a testimony that perfectly fit Buryn's evolving understanding of vagabonding as both a "religious action" and as a gateway to a more spiritual "vagabonding approach to life." Buryn's guidebooks, and the reader letters they generated, provide an unusually clear window on the intertwined evolutions of travel and popular existentialism in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Beginning with a rejection of mass tourism, Buryn's guides moved toward a broad denouncement of

mass society and an increasingly systematic, metaphysical account of travel. Between 1969 and 1980, Buryn described travel first as a way to "blow your mind," then as a means of psychedelic deconditioning, and finally as a way to become a New Age "energy dancer." Just as importantly, Buryn explicitly discussed vagabonding as both an embodied practice and as a symbol for a broader orientation to the world – a "vagabonding approach to life." As an early contributor to a new wave of hip guidebooks, Buryn stood out for his ability to systematically explain connections that often remained implicit and inchoate.[5]

Even as Buryn codified the practice and meaning of vagabonding, his readers responded in their own ways. In 241 letters stored in Buryn's California basement or on his computer, readers responded to vagabonding as both practice and symbol, often as excited by how Buryn imagined the world as by how he described travel. Although they did not often recapitulate Buryn's careful metaphysical thinking, readers overwhelmingly affirmed the broader, popular existentialist milieu in which he moved. At the same time, they embraced not only vagabonding, but Buryn's ability to imagine a world in which it made practical and moral sense. In the end, many embraced his social imaginary as much as his travel advice, the vagabonding self as much vagabonding travel. In such cases, the vagabond's path merged with the seeker's.[6]

VAGABONDING AS SPIRITUAL PRACTICE

Published between 1969 and 1983, Buryn's guidebooks surfed the leading edge of a new wave of guidebooks geared to the youth market and the hip travel style. While old standards like *Frommer's Europe on $5 a Day* and *Let's Go* remained

popular, publishers eagerly courted a new generation with new titles. By 1972, travel columnists had noted a "new style" of guidebooks geared to the young and tailored to specific interests, like finding budget airfares or camping. As chapter 4 noted, at least 10 guides specifically focused on hitchhiking were published in the United States between 1969 and 1973, including titles on the United States, Asia, Latin America, Europe, and North Africa. Among the most hip new entrants was *The People's Guide to Mexico,* first published in 1972 by John Muir Publications, the press founded by the author of *How to Keep Your Volkswagen Alive*. While not written by Muir, it shared his spirit, and Buryn's.[7]

Even in the hip crowd, Buryn's work stood out. His travel-writing career began with his self-publishing *Hitch-Hiking in Europe* (1969), a 72-page pamphlet whose sales benefited from reviews in California newspapers and inclusion in *The Whole Earth Catalog*. He caught a bigger break when Berkeley-based Bookworks, a pioneer in hip lifestyle literature, acquired *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa* for Random House. The publisher printed 55,000 copies between 1971 and 1973, and the book sold so well that they asked him to write a sequel on the United States. *Vagabonding in America: A Guidebook About Energy* first appeared in 1973, and Buryn published self-published three revised editions over the next decade. The last two, re-titled *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.,* included substantial new material and more intricate metaphysical speculation. Even without a major press behind them, Buryn's later guides were reviewed both in major newspapers and in alternative-lifestyle publications like *Mother Earth Earth News.* In 1987, a *New York Times*

article remembered *Vagabonding in America* the "a kind of *Michelin Guide* for the itinerant young people who took to the road 20 years ago."[8]

While its spiritual interpretations evolved, the practice of vagabonding remained constant in Buryn's work. As with hip travel generally, its hallmarks were independence, flexibility, a focus on authentic encounters with people, and a commitment to long-term, low-budget wandering. Buryn would elaborate, but never deviate from, the definition of vagabonding first advanced in 1971's *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa.* Following the dictionary definition of "vagabond" as "following an irregular or vagrant course," Buryn deduced that such a course was inherently unpredictable, and thus an adventure in coping with the unforeseen. Such coping was a profound and personal education, producing a "gypsy knowledge only wanderers learn." Yet the vagabond was not a purely solitary creature. Buryn insisted that meaningful travel required genuine encounters with other human beings because "it is only when you touch people that you are yourself touched." He summarized: "What I mean by vagabonding, therefore, is a wandering seeker who finds adventure and knowledge by personally contacting the world of people."[9]

Consistently, Buryn advocated a style of travel that cultivated authentic selves and allowed authentic encounters with others. Both required meeting people, whether locals, relatives, or friends-of-friends willing to spend time with a stranger. Americans should see vagabonding in America as a chance to grasp the broader forces that "created" them – "economically, socially, politically, historically," Buryn contended. "Know thyself also means know thy place."[10] Of

course, genuine encounters with foreigners also enriched the soul. Among the many hitchhiking anecdotes in *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa,* Buryn told of the big-hearted, politically radical Italian delivery driver who taught him and a friend songs and insisted on stopping for drinks to toast "the workers of the world":

> At ride's end in Padua, despite our objections (because he was obviously poor), he bought us a small lunch of wine and sandwiches, during which he cursed the police, denounced the Church and castigated Nixon. And melted us with his concern for our well-being, charmed us with his humanity and soul.[11]

Such moments merged travel's intertwined authenticities of self, human relationships, and destinations. Only those who adopted the vagabond's open, authentic persona and her concomitant posture toward the world could access the authenticity found in, say, Italian truck drivers. Vagabonds had authentic encounters because they themselves lived authentically.[12]

Nothing undercut authenticity like money – or, more precisely, money spent on scheduled, comfortable travel arrangements. "If you go as a vagabond," Buryn wrote, "you're going to do it about as cheaply as can be done." Although Buryn allowed that money bought time to vagabond, he shared hitchhikers' and housetruckers' disdain for an economic system that imprisoned people in a cycle of constant work for needless things. For travelers, money could produce a different sort of alienation, purchasing luxuries and conveniences that insulated travelers from local people and from the energizing challenges of independent travel. Indeed, Buryn reserved his most vitriolic disdain for the tourist industry, which both cocooned tourists and robbed them of the ability to chart their own paths. "This is not travel; this is butchery of the soul," he concluded. On the other hand, Buryn also

advised readers of *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa* that they should not pretend to be anything *other* than tourists, a status that allowed asking questions and making mistakes. Doing so, he used authenticity to finesse a tension that had marked vigorous forms of tourism sense the Gilded Age – between the fantasies that made tourism meaningful and the social realities that made it possible. "It's cool to be just what you are: a tourist," Buryn summarized. "It's uncool to pretend to be anything else."[13]

Likewise, Buryn deftly linked vagabonding to both self-reliance and a relaxed ability to go with the flow. Planning, he argued, had some value because it involved travelers in charting their own courses. At the same time, "[t]he best laid plains of mice and men are often a stone drag if you don't chuck them when they hang you up." Advocating total self-guidance, of course, presented serious tensions for an advice-spouting guidebook writer. Buryn handled the issue with humor. In *Vagabonding in America*, he allowed that guidebooks could provide a useful reference until vagabonds found their own courses. Yet he also quipped that "I've been writing guidebooks of one kind or another for many years, and I'm coming to feel that there isn't much you can get out of them." An Ed Buryn book aimed to inspire, to give confidence, to suggest possibilities, and to give "a kick in the butt to get started." But if readers found a guidebook made them "uptight," Buryn admonished, "for catfish sakes throw it away." Vagabonding, he asserted, "is the antithesis of being guided."[14]

In their style of travel, then, vagabonds tried on, and lived out, the sort of self that came to be associated with mass, middle-class American spirituality.

Expressive, intuitive, flexible, suspicious of (tourist) institutions, and determined to chart their own, authentic, individual paths: vagabonds traveled as seekers were supposed to live. Mixing self-reliance and self-surrender, vagabonding fit the longstanding ethos of American religious liberalism, as well as the 1970s' quest for "conscious" lifestyles and "loose" selves. Buryn's books also re-enforced this expressive ethos visually. In particular, hand-written poems and ink-pen drawings festooned *Vagabonding in America*, representations of the creative, poetic, and authentic life found on the open road.[15]

In 1973's *Vagabonding in America*, Buryn explicitly fused vagabonding's meaning as a practice with its significance as a symbol. Although he certainly wanted readers to travel differently, he also sought to convert them to an alternative way of being in the world – to teach them to make the ethos of vagabonding the ethos of their lives. He devoted a full chapter to "staying a while," by which he meant finding the means to permanently "drop out" of the corporate economy. In addition to offering ways to save money (eat less meat, etc.), Buryn advised tactics familiar to other hip travelers – living in a van or truck, selling craft products, harvesting fruit, and performing an instrument, among others. Likewise, the 1973 and 1976 guides offered communes as possibilities, and they included a description of Buryn's visit to The Farm, the Tennessee commune founded by San Francisco spiritual teacher Stephen Gaskin. While recommending expressive lifestyles, however, Buryn was no Marxist revolutionary. He also recommended starting a small business, or even buying and renting out a duplex. "Drop out: Become a capitalist," he wrote, admitting to owning a building of his own. Of course, even

those who returned to a "regular job" – as did the young lawyer who purchased Buryn's book in Berkeley – could maintain their new, natural, "loose" selves. What mattered, it seemed, was the ability to freely craft a lifestyle that fit one's ever-evolving self.[16]

Yet this shift in lifestyle was not to be undertaken casually. Even Buryn's first guide, 1969's *Hitch-Hiking in Europe*, presented the decision to vagabond as a conversion experience. Although chapter 3 quotes Buryn's description of a hitchhiker's first time on the road, it bears repeating:

> No doubt about it, it's a moment of truth. The road has a life of its own, and to join it is not an easy thing. You can't make a gradual transition from whatever you were before into whatever you are afterwards. It is always an abrupt experience, a what-the-hell leaving behind of the mother self, when you select a spot and decide to do it, to hitch, to give yourself to whatever comes. When you first put your thumb out, you go through all kinds of changes as you realize the nakedness of your appeal. You offer the frailty of your humanity to juggernaut forces swirling by, seeing you, searching you, and ignoring you. You feel shamed somehow, your valuable ego-self-me-wonder is bypassed again and again while you importune in frustration. Hey, see me, take me, redeem me with your black sedan or your delivery truck, your compact station wagon or other agent of human recognition and love. This soul-testing is very much a part of hitchhiking and you must make your peace with it in whatever way you can.[17]

If jettisoning a "mother self" in a soul-testing surrender to juggernaut forces sounded religious, Buryn believed it was. He said so explicitly in 1973's *Vagabonding in America*, noting that vagabonds trusted their journey to "an agent called chance."

> It may sound strange but becoming a vagabond is a *religious action*. Ordinary tourists try to control their fate to protect their tender delusions from the shocks of reality. By pre-planning every aspect of their trip – whether vacation trip or life trip, they think they can circumvent the will of God or Fate. Vagabonds know better, and let things take their natural course[18] (Emphasis added).

In such passages, Buryn's opposition to the utilitarian, controlling orientation of mass society drowned out his insistence on self-reliance. But both remained.

Most powerfully, Buryn testified to his own conversion experience. Sprinkling selected biographical details throughout his books, Buryn revealed that he was born to Polish immigrant parents in 1934; that he had dropped out of high school to join the Navy; and that he had parlayed his electronics training into a job as a "junior executive in the advertising industry." Toward the end of *Vagabonding in America*, Buryn even included a picture meant to illustrate his old life. In it, he is wearing a tuxedo, propping his feet on a desk, and reading *The Wall Street Journal*. Obviously posed (and hence inauthentic), the picture projects a smug air of conventional success. Below it, Buryn remembers his stifling, routine job, concluding that "I was comfortable but I wasn't free." Juxtaposed against the irreverent, funny, unconventional, and passionate persona that inhabits the rest of the book – not to mention other, full-frontal pictures of Buryn skinny-dipping – the message was unmistakable. Here was a somewhat older man whose experience as an "organization man" verified the worst suspicions of his readers. Thankfully, he had used travel to transform himself into a beautiful person - as could anyone, if only they'd dare to believe.[19]

FROM PERSONAL LIBERATION TO THE NEW AGE

But believe in … what exactly? In many ways, Buryn's evolving thought about travel matched the evolution of popular existentialism itself, particularly the strand that passed through the psychedelic counterculture. Like popular

existentialism generally, Buryn's "travelosophy" rolled into itself earlier, Romantic precedents. In particular, Buryn invoked Walt Whitman throughout his travel-writing career. The first chapter of *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa* begins with an epigraph from Whitman's "Starting from Paumanok," and several chapters in Buryn's final guides to America begin with epigraphs from "Song of the Open Road." In interviews (though not in print), Buryn cites a more specific influence: Richard Halliburton, whose early 20th century books chronicle exploits that included swimming the Panama Canal and flying past Mt. Everest. Halliburton, like Theodore Roosevelt and other turn-of-the century promoters of the "vigorous life," advocated adventurous travel as a spiritual antidote to the enervating effects of affluence and ease. Buryn also remembers enjoying other adventure stories as a boy, including the nautical adventures of Howard Pease. With time and travel, Buryn's desire for adventure and freedom – popular existentialism's Romantic thread – led him to a more robust, countercultural, and metaphysical approach to both vagabonding and life.[20]

Vagabonding in America (1973) signaled this growing metaphysical bent. Subtitled "A Guidebook about Energy," the book named "Energy" as the substance of all reality. In particular, energy was both a "vitalizing force" that originated in the cosmos and "a primal juice that runs thru us." Echoing the logic of psychedelia, Buryn contended that humans had learned to cope with the universe's overwhelming flows of energy by channeling and constraining them with "patterns" – civilizations, laws, customs, routines, and patterns of perception. Such patterns and predictabilities aided survival and gave comfort, Buryn allowed. Unfortunately,

Americans had overdone things, suffocating free energy with a near-total control of their environment. Protected from threat and challenge by petrified social patterns and rigid personal routines, Americans had drained life of its energetic vitality. In the end, Buryn was offering a metaphysical and psychedelic version of popular existentialism, and of the "mass society" critique in particular.[21]

Luckily, there was an answer: pattern disruption. Disrupting patterns liberated energy and got people "high." Psychedelic drugs certainly did the trick, but so did vagabonding:

> When you leave home for new places, experience new adventures, and meet new people, your habitual patterns are altered and psychic energy is released. Uncertainty, even fear, become part of your life, but this new energy kicking around makes you able to cope, and to get excited about it, too.[22]

Vagabonding, blessedly, was a legal, natural, and socially approved psychedelic. And like all forms of pattern disruption, Buryn argued, it also contributed to evolutionary fitness. Vagabonds tested their patterns for adequacy and obsolescence, sharpening their senses, their understanding of reality, and their coping skills in the process. In an oblique way, Buryn's analysis anticipated contemporary critiques of "spirituality" – that it links identity to consumption, and that it forms fluid subjectivities suited to the uncertainty of a globalized, neo-liberal, service economy.[23]

More obviously, Buryn's metaphysical language signaled a deeper immersion in the counterculture's eclectic, fluid spiritual currents. Tellingly, Buryn dedicated *Vagabonding in America* to psychedelic evangelist Timothy Leary, whom he dubbed "vagabond extraordinaire." But Leary was one influence among many. The "recommended reading" lists appended to most of Buryn's American guides could

serve as crash courses in the religious and secular frameworks that became entangled in the counterculture. Buryn's 1973 guide to the U.S. recommended, among others, William Kaysing's *How to Live in the New America*, a manual for "dropping out"; Stephen Gaskin's *Caravan*, a collection of spiritual lectures; Carlos Castañeda's various *Don Juan* books, which purported to describe Native American shamanism; and Ram Dass's *Be Here Now*, a popular Westernization of Indian religious thought by Leary's old partner at Harvard, the former Richard Alpert. Also on the list were the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the *I Ching*, multiple books on yoga, and – for good measure – the Bible. Although these books' connections with travel were not always explicit, their mere presence affirmed that vagabonding could go beyond personal liberation to metaphysical meaning, variously understood.[24]

Buryn's American guides also associated vagabonding with a coming social transformation – an upheaval linked not to politics or institutions, but to consciousness. Although he admired the nation's natural beauty and founding ideals, Buryn also "hate[d] its lack of reverence for the land, its hypocrisy, its spiritual decay, its accumulating karmic burdens." But he also saw hope. Drawing on the evolutionary scheme described in Charles Reich's *The Greening of America*, *Vagabonding in America* saw hitchhikers, drop-outs, health-food aficionados, and their fellow-travelers as talismans of the waning of "old consciousness" – homogenized, materialist, polluting, racist – and the waxing of a "new consciousness." Marked by simpler living, individually meaningful work, and self-exploration, the "new consciousness" manifested itself in those who were perpetually "learning, always moving toward sources of information and sources of

energy." Like Peter Coyote's endorsement of hip housetrucks, Buryn's mature account of vagabonding imagined a society in which individuals, once extricated from mass society, realized a more fundamental, energetic unity. Shifting their consciousness by traveling, vagabonds prepared for, and contributed to, this epochal shift.[25]

By 1980's *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.*, Buryn had recast his millennial vision in terms of a coming New Age. Buryn read the signs of the times (gasoline shortages, for one), predicted "the finis to the Christian era," and asserted that "all this hyperbolically multiplying energy is directed toward totally blowing away our quaint notions of reality, once and for all."[26]

> We may see, perhaps in our own lifetime a "miracle" of this sort, a psychic or mental development that will be both the sign and the means to successfully establish the New Age. In any case, it is clear that the times call for energy-dancers, for people who can function in the midst of personal and societal chaos, and prosper.[27]

Vagabonds – loose, free, and open to constant change – fit the bill.

Even so, Buryn eventually had to deal with the same limits as hitchhikers, housetruckers, and others who sought to travel beyond the boundaries of place. From his earliest guides, Buryn had named fear as a primary obstacle to vagabonding and a "vagabonding approach to life." He had survived a cancer scare after his European travels, and the experience reminded him of the inevitability of death and the need to live life fully, to find happiness in change. In 1980's *Vagabonding in the U.S.A*, Buryn also stressed the illusory nature of control. Giving up this illusion, in turn, meant confronting fear and embracing "magic."[28] Again mixing self-direction and self-surrender, Buryn added that vagabonds sometimes

> become aware of having wandered into a subtle network of coincidence and serendipity that eludes explanation. On tiptoes, magic enters. … You find that you do not feel endangered in the "chaos" beyond the patterns; on the contrary, you grow confident and exhilarated. The mystery of life enormously enlarges, but surprisingly there is no fear. The mystery is suddenly understood to include you: this is the magic of vagabonding.[29]

In embracing magic, Buryn placed his increasingly elaborate New Age beliefs firmly in the metaphysical tradition. But his advice was not simply about cognitive assent: magic required readers to face fear, reject "cultural indoctrination," and "trust what is."[30]

But could everyone simply "trust what is?" Despite occasionally acknowledging the issue, Buryn's thought had little place for social realities, especially race, class, and gender. As to class, Buryn insisted that "shortage of money" actually facilitated true vagabonding. At the same time, he also harbored no illusions about his readership. Advising readers to carry a credit card, he playfully admitted that "[t]hey may brand you as being bourgeois, but look at it this way: You probably are." The response playfully acknowledged reality without admitting to limits on vagabonding's universality.[31]

As to race, *Vagabonding in America* urged African Americans to travel despite pervasive racism. "The need to travel as a quest for self-identity applies as much to black travelers as to anyone else, perhaps even more so," Buryn contended, adding that they would find reasons to both despair and hope.[32] He spoke more cautiously in 1980's *Vagabonding in the USA*:

> It's true, I think, that the romantic appeal of traveling freely in new realities is essentially a "white" trip, a middle-class dream beyond reach of most nonwhites, who are still struggling for viable footholds in the socioeconomic game.[33]

Nonetheless, Buryn insisted that vagabonding "held up" for anyone. Non-whites would just have different sorts of experiences within different sorts of support networks. Again, Buryn acknowledged the issue while maintaining the primacy of individual choice over social reality.[34]

Buryn's attitudes to gender and sexuality offer an intriguing variation on the same pattern. His 1971 guide to Europe and North Africa, which casually mentioned that travel had ended his first marriage, included sections that were both homophobic and sexist. Listing the "less than wonderful" people one might meet while hitchhiking, Buryn included "homosexuals." He also included sections on sex –"for men" – and romance – "for women" – all while putting the responsibility for birth control squarely on women's shoulders. After several furious reader reactions, Buryn's revised edition dropped the homophobic line, described the earlier, sexist language as parody, and encouraged men to use condoms. Remarkably, he also admitted to his own youthful homosexual experimentation in *Vagabonding in America*, calling it "interesting and educational," although ultimately not for him. Yet Buryn also had to face the question of whether women could safely vagabond. In response, he advised women to dress conservatively, avoid hitchhiking at night, follow their intuitions in declining rides, and hitchhike anyway "to break down the barriers by personal effort." Notably, his later guides excerpted a long letter from a female hitchhiker giving advice from a woman's perspective. While I will discuss the letter later, Buryn's almost ontological individualism remained clear – sexuality was a matter of choice, and safety on the road was a matter of skill and will.[35]

Nonetheless, both men and women found Buryn's guides intoxicating. Inspired not only by his description of vagabonding, but by his description of a world in which it made sense, Buryn's readers demonstrate how hip travel interacted with a broader social imaginary morally undergirded by popular existentialism.

THE OPEN ROAD EXISTS: IMAGINATION AND TRANSFORMATIVE READING

Luke Albright, the young lawyer from Berkeley, testified to exactly the sort of conversion Buryn promised. Yet his was only one of many responses to Buryn's guides, which prompted letters from college students, prison inmates, yearning housewives, hippie "drop-outs" and would-be runaways, among many others. Of course, Buryn's collection of letters records the responses of the passionate, not representative reader reactions. Nonetheless, the letters provide fine-grained information about the reception of Buryn's work, the ecstasies it provoked, and the imaginary that it both responded to and helped to shape.

Who replied to the *Vagabonding* books? Not surprisingly, only 2 of 241 letters – less than 1 percent – came from writers who identified as non-white. Almost as marked was the writers' youth: of those who stated their age, 84 percent were under 30 and 24 percent were high school-aged. The gender gap, however, was less pronounced, with sixty percent of letters coming from males and 38 percent from females (2 percent were unclear on the question). Although a handful of letters speak of low-wage or working class jobs, the letters lack clear markers of class. More frequently, they revealed the writer's region. Of American letter writers

whose home could be identified, thirty percent came from the Eastern seaboard and 30 percent came from California alone. The Midwest and Plains states accounted for another 20 percent, and the South generated 8 percent of letter writers, making it easily the most underrepresented region. If Buryn's message was most at home on the coasts, it was also penetrating the heartland via the discontented young. Among high-school-aged writers, 42 percent came from the South or Midwest, a much higher percentage than among letter writers generally. So while the most representative writer would have been a male Californian in his 20s, readers like Susan Monroe, a 15-year-old girl from Kentucky, also made up an important portion of Buryn's readership. Via such readers, Buryn helped spread hip ideals from the coasts to the heartland.[36]

Among the various themes that mark Buryn's collection of letters, nothing stands out more clearly than his ability to generate an excitement that verged into ecstasy. Multiple letters suggested that simply *reading* Buryn's books – without traveling anywhere – released flows of pent-up fantasy. Writing from Missouri in 1975, Grace Shannon claimed she was uninterested in Buryn's style of travel before discovering *Vagabonding in America* in a public library. "Well, after just reading a few pages, my imagination and adventurous longings began to take hold of me and I felt like ripping loose of all the shackles and just "taking off." She was not alone. Only 15 pages into *Vagabonding in America*, for example, Californian Felicia Peterson "tuned in to the person behind the words." The book, she added, has "already changed my life."[37]

No one felt Buryn's power to provoke fantasy more than those who found their movements constrained by parents, law, or circumstance. Among the most

ecstatic writers was a 20-year-old prison inmate in Missouri, whose response to *Vagabonding in America* strung together run-on sentences like a Beat poet:

> I learned some from it & have done some Vagabonding myself but at this time I'm doing time but come spring hopefully I will be Truckin' on. … Your book tells the truth and that's what I dig. Keep on Keeping on. I'm 20 years young & learning and getting out on the road out there with the people is where the learning is in this school called earth.
>
> I'm just a prisoner physically and a good book like yours sets me free. … Traveling is in my blood and I'm just a youngster but I've been thru the cold and slept in hard places and your book turned me on to new ideas, thank you for the new space to explore."[38]

By affirming the value of experiential education and the possibility of inner liberation, the writer became a vagabond behind bars.

Parental walls and middle-class expectations constrained the roughly two-dozen high-school-aged readers of Buryn's works. Two 14-year-old Kentucky boys, for instance, asked Buryn to endorse their plan to run away to Europe in search of "adventure." Slightly more patient was a 16-year-old California girl facing pressure to attend college instead of traveling America. In trouble at home and having run away once, she could "flap [the book] in everyone's face and say, 'See! I'm not the only one whose (sic) thought of this!'" Wrestling with a "build-up of energy like you described," the writer intended to "plan and replan, fantasize and prepare until that golden day when I can go in search of America."[39]

Adults' described their vagabonding fantasies no less enthusiastically then teenagers. While some military personnel found that deployments to Europe enhanced their ability to travel, others longed for their enlistment to end so they could vagabond, perhaps forever. Poignantly, a 35-year-old North Carolina

housewife declared her love for Buryn and enclosed her letter in a drawing of a rose. Inside, she explained:

> Why does a 35 year old (going on 80) wife and mother suddenly decide to write the author of a book she read almost a year ago? Well, mainly because she was sitting at a concert one night last week, so far gone into a fantasy trip about back-packing through Europe that she wasn't even conscious of the end of the program.[40]

Too fearful or too committed to home to fulfill her dream, the woman simply thanked Buryn for "a completely beautiful dream book." Bolder letter writers were already planning their trips. Serving "leering and drunken" men during the midnight shift at Dunkin' Donuts to save for her European trip, a Wisconsin college student wrote that *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa* "served to heighten my excitations to a berserk madness."[41]

But what about a guidebook could generate "berserk madness"? In large part, Buryn's books provoked ecstasy because they imaginatively reconfigured reality, revealing fantasies as real possibilities. "Wonderland" became "reality," as one female writer put it. The proof, to a significant degree, was Buryn himself. Once a tuxedo-wearing stiff, Buryn now spoke as a liberated globetrotter, an expert surfer of the magical currents of serendipity. Letter after letter gushed admiration, extolling Buryn's "sweetness and gentleness," or his "patience and love of humanity." The moral tenor of such compliments was no coincidence. Not only did Buryn's readers learn how to vagabond, they entered into a moral universe in which they *should*. To do so was not self-indulgence, but a means to escape and reject a rapacious, constraining, and environmentally devastating status quo that forced them to sacrifice their true selves. To become a vagabond, then, was both possible

and morally right. "I want to thank you," one young man summarized, "for letting me know that the open road does exist."[42]

Just as hitchhikers and bus-dwellers attempted to live into the unalienated worlds they imagined, many of Buryn's correspondents also decided to vagabond themselves. A 21-year-old man wrote that Buryn provided a "push" to "to get me 'off my ass.'" Two IBM employees wrote of quitting their jobs, and a 27-year-old Phoenix woman spoke of "shedding house, job, boredom, cat." Buryn also inspired a handful of college students to act against parents' wishes. "As a direct result of reading [your book], I am going to Europe for a year in the spring," wrote a young Canadian man. "My folks want me to stay in school but to hell with them."[43]

Buryn's books, then, did substantial cultural work before readers ever left their homes. For many, the books prompted intense fantasies of being different selves living different lives – a purely mental exercise that, in turn, provoked some to actualize their daydreams. At the same time, Buryn also made those fantasies both logical and ethical by fitting them into an evolving popular existentialist framework, one whose best proof was the author's own authentic, open, funny, charming persona.

If Buryn's guidebooks reframed the world and its moral possibilities, they also provided frames to interpret travel experience. In particular, Buryn taught his readers to understand even bad travel experiences in terms of personal growth and self-education. This framing function extended to people who read Buryn's books *after* their trips, many of whom adopted Buryn's vision as an articulation of what they had dimly felt and inchoately intuited. For such readers, Buryn provided

primers on what travel should mean, how it should feel, and how it related to the selves they were becoming.

To risk stating the obvious, Buryn's books affected readers' styles of travel. Traveling Europe in 1972, one California couple wrote that, "'[d]oing an Ed Buryn' has entered the vocabulary. That applies to any loony activity, done for the hell of it, done spontaneously." Others thanked Buryn for providing "an always available surface for joint-rolling" occasionally useful for its "handy traveling tips." Bouncing across the United States in a Volkswagen bus in 1976, one man thanked Buryn for providing a "Bible." "As a plug for our adventures," he wrote, "we read Ed Buryn (our hero) to each other." To read Buryn on the road, of course, was also to see the experience, and one's traveling self, through Buryn's spiritual lens.[44]

Nothing illustrates the framing function of Buryn's books so well as readers' understandings of travel hardships. "When I'm down and depressed, I just open it up and get cooled out by your wise advice," read one letter from "somewhere in Tunisia" and addressed to "Mr. Vagabond." Even the worst moments, then, could become chances for self-education and personal growth. "I'll never forget, I landed in Madrid and man was I lost!!" wrote Pennsylvanian Thomas Curran. "So I sat their (sic) and read your book. For me you said what I couldn't quite grasp and put into words. I could 'relate' to every page."[45]

For multiple readers, Buryn gave clear meaning to otherwise unruly travel experiences. With Buryn's help, Curran re-imagined his travels as part of a narrative of self-liberation and self-education that had led him to quit college. A

North Dakotan named Rick Rova, who had embraced gestalt psychology and the pop Buddhism of Alan Watts, also found clarity in the message of *Vagabonding:*

> [W]hen I first got it all I could say was 'Wow he wrote this about me!' Realizing that what you said was what I felt was quite a good high. I guess it was the first book on Europe that wasn't sugar-coated in hype and other messed up shit like that.[46]

To understand one's travels in Buryn's sense was necessarily to grasp the shape of one's own self-development. And no one grasped the long-term import of that project more clearly than Rova, who "crashed" and began to fall "into ruts" upon returning stateside. He again wrote Buryn, this time encouraging him to write about "how to keep together what you learn-live-feel in Europe and how to start putting it together in the States." Apparently, Buryn listened. He quoted Rova at the start of *Vagabonding in America*, which included a chapter on how to "drop out" as a permanent lifestyle. More broadly, Rova was wrestling with the same question as other hip travelers – how to make vagabonding less a vacation than an orientation to self and world.[47]

THE VAGABOND'S WORLD: COSMOS, COMMUNITY, SELF

As exciting as many readers found Buryn's worldview, few explicitly adopted his metaphysics, at least in their letters. Instead, most located themselves within the broad contours of popular existentialism, focusing more on its embrace of expressive freedom and personal growth than its New Age elaboration. Among letters that did use Buryn's metaphysical language, mentions of energy and energy flows were most common. Two writers explicitly mentioned the need to escape "false conditioning" and change "patterns of thought," respectively. Others

employed Asian religious terms circulating in the counterculture, though these did not feature prominently in Buryn's books. A 17-year-old exchange student in Paris signed his three letters to Buryn "OM-Shanti;" another writer mentioned getting "naturally high through a mantra." Karma also appeared repeatedly and sometimes incoherently. "[May] all your karmas be real and without forethought," one young man wrote Buryn. References to Asian currents were sometimes visual instead of textual. In addition to numerous drawings, one writer included a picture of guru-to-Americans Meher Baba, smiling above a caption reading, "Don't worry, be happy." More charmingly clueless, a G.I. and former freight-hopper stationed in Europe sent Buryn a nude picture of himself badly imitating the lotus position near Mt. Blanc.[48]

Other letters mixed more diverse influences. A New Yorker who had visited India began her letter with a poem she attributed to Native Americans, then mentioned that studying photography gave her a "sense of wholeness and at-one-ment." In a similar vein, a student at the University of California at Santa Cruz surrounded an ecstatic letter about hitchhiking across Montana with quotes from Hermann Hesse and Henry David Thoreau. Worried about losing the perspectives he had found on the road, yet another writer mentioned exploring Gestalt psychology, reading the pop Buddhism of Alan Watts, and taking a class on Indian classical sitar music taught by one of Ravi Shankar's students. Another worried about maintaining a macrobiotic diet while traveling. Together, such letters indicate that the specifics of Buryn's worldview mattered less than his ability to describe vagabonding in the popular existentialist vernacular – which his correspondents spoke in different religious and metaphysical dialects.[49]

If Buryn's correspondents did not recapitulate his precise metaphysics, many embraced his vision of personal liberation and perpetual self-transformation. "I am now divorced and unemployed and searching for a more meaningful way of living," a former systems analyst wrote from Latin America, "and I've discovered I love the search itself."[50] Others agreed with the existentialist emphasis on personal, experiential education. After working the night shift at a summer job stacking lumber in New Mexico, an "intermittent student at Stanford" sent Buryn a "condensed version of my travels" in the form of a poem titled "What Have I Learned." It began:

> I learned how to say good-bye (You never learn)
> I learned I could hitchhike
> I became one through the road
> I went to a riot in Miami
> To learn how much I cared –
> There I got naturally high through a mantra
> And later in Athens and Argvinigon (sic)
> I got unnaturally high in Amsterdam
> And Munster, and Crete and Istanbul, and Spain
> And of course in Morocco.
> I started writing poems outside Vienna
> Because I had to.
> On Crete I grew a beard
> learned to embroider
> learned to love without owning
> learned how to live with a chronic cough
> and faint from hash
> and vomit from fear …[51]

The writer continued, describing haggling angrily in Istanbul, being sick in a squalid hut in the Canary Islands, "living stoned" in Morocco, hitchhiking in France, and camping in Austria's snows with a woman. He concluded:

> I saw Dachau and a concert in Munich
> I learned – but it's hard to say just what.

> I went to England and learned how to drink ale
> and watch rugby and spend money.
> Went to Luxemburg and learned how to be alone again.
> Then I flew to New York and hitched 3300 miles home.
> I learned I could charm an Illinois cop
> but not a Nebraska sheriff
> and how to be paranoid in Wyoming
> Then I went home
> And learned things don't change
> They [illegible]
> And people don't change
> They get better.[52]

Physical sensations, craft skills, mystical hitchhiking, intimate relationships, drug-induced highs, and explicitly religious experiences: it was all there, entangled in a traveling, constantly evolving self perpetually open to new insights and to the cosmos itself.

At the same time, Buryn's correspondents also affirmed a vagabonding approach to authentic encounters with others. In a rambling defense of Montana as a hitchhiking destination, Michael DeJesso celebrated a ride with "18-year-old cowboys – shaved close haircut with beers & drunk pistol shooting whoopee."[53] More gentle were the three "Swiss boys" that took in one of Buryn's female readers when she was sick.

> I'll never forget these people as long as I live. It's very cold outside, and it's nice being in a warm house with a typewriter. As soon as I'm well I'll be off again, it will be hard to say good-bye to these people.
>
> I don't think I shall ever get tired of traveling, because to me there is nothing better than change and people, so different that every day you get your fucking head blown right off.[54]

It was a neat chain: authentic forms of travel led to authentic form of relationship, which led to an authentic, if evolving, self.

While excited about genuine human encounters on the road, Buryn's correspondents also showed interest in another community – the hip traveling community mediated by Buryn's books. Some readers wrote simply to share their own stories, which both corroborated Buryn's vision and established the letter writer as a fellow traveler. Letters described teaching in Japan; meditating in India; traveling overland from Europe to Nepal; and hitchhiking through the South American Andes – none of which Buryn covered. In one extended correspondence, an Oregon woman told Buryn how she had hitched across Europe before winding up on Naxos, Greece, where she was modeling for a sculpting class and belly dancing at a club. Although Buryn's files do not include his own responses to this woman, her letters indicate Buryn shared his own joys and struggles, including a split with his girlfriend and difficulties with publishers.[55]

In replying to almost every letter he received, Buryn also traded authorial distance for a privileged position in a hip community linked by shared information – a kind of travelers' grapevine. Scores of letters asked questions on mundane topics: buying camping gear, traveling with children, and jobs abroad, among others. Yet others asked advice on whether descendants of the Polish royal family would face danger in communist Poland; how to smuggle a dog into Great Britain; and whether to run away from home. Bolder yet, some readers asked Buryn to share his personal contacts in Europe. In such letters, readers treated Buryn as a trusted node in a loose, anti-establishment community. "Are contraceptives illegal in some Euro countries?" one woman asked Buryn. "I just don't know who else to ask."[56]

If readers asked advice, many also offered critiques and new information for subsequent editions – suggesting that they saw compiling hip travel information as a collaborative process. Some advocated forms of travel Buryn initially overlooked; skydiving, freight-hopping, and joining the carnival all found boosters. Others protested on behalf of places wrongly maligned or simply neglected (Ireland, Portugal, Wyoming, Detroit). Multiple letters questioned Buryn's advice about backpacks and gear, and others gave advice on meeting people, saving money, and getting rides. Well-traveled readers, in other words, wanted to weigh in.[57]

Some letters offered sharper critiques, especially where they felt Buryn betrayed shared ideals. Three letters objected that the first edition of *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa* listed homosexuals among "less wonderful people" hitchhikers might encounter. One Californian invited Buryn to a Bay Area bar "to meet the hip gays – and get over your hang-up. … Everyone should get over the false conditioning we're all exposed to since childhood and see the homosexuality within themselves." Similarly, a number of women criticized Buryn for the sexist portions of *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa*. Such comments showed that some readers sought not only to contribute to a body of hip travel knowledge, but also to police it for residual cultural baggage and cultural constraints.[58]

Still, Buryn and his readers also imagined their own community along common, hip lines - as a network of free individuals that shared information, resources, and sometimes themselves. Some 30 percent of letters expressed a desire to meet Buryn personally, and his replies generated at least 31 extended, often intimate, correspondences. Readers addressed Buryn as a "close friend,"

"brother traveler," and "buddie." For his part, Buryn sometimes asked readers for updated information, or even if he could spend the night when passing through their part of the world. Mirroring the broader culture that surrounded hitchhiking, hip buses, and *The Whole Earth Catalog*, Buryn and his correspondents implicitly agreed that sharing resources and information broke down alienating interpersonal barriers and created a world of individual, but harmonious, quests for undivided lives of constant growth.[59]

More than Buryn, however, several of his correspondents wrestled intensely with the limits of self-reliance and the wisdom of "trusting what is." While Buryn insisted that individual women could break down barriers by choosing to vagabond, his female correspondents found themselves caught between two poles: the dangerous realities of a gendered world and a fierce insistence that women should have equal access to the open road. Such concerns appear in nearly 30 percent of letters from women. Many held fantasy and fear in tension, as did a self-proclaimed "semi-attractive 21-year-old female" from California. Planning to hitchhike in Europe, she worried about guys who wanted to "get too familiar" but added she "wouldn't mind if it didn't happen all the time." Trying to shove fear aside, she added: "I feel that I am independent enough to want to do it on my own. I am more open to people when alone than with a companion."[60]

A handful of female writers passionately opposed the idea that the open road was too unsafe for women. A Wisconsin student agreed that female hitchhikers faced dangers but noted that they got more rides and received more generous hospitality. "A woman traveling alone is breaking through some type of social code,"

she wrote. "The highs this creates are worth any insecurities." Others spoke directly about sexual harassment that, for them, could be surmounted with a confident attitude. "They always ask the same questions," wrote one. "A 'I don't hassle you, why do you hassle me' will usually deter trouble." Among other advice, she suggested pulling the emergency brake "to return a driver's hands to the wheel." With less swagger, other female vagabonds simply considered come-ons and sexism part of experiencing, and dealing with, different cultures.[61]

Buryn also solicited letters of advice from two female hitchhikers, one of which he published in later editions of his guides to America. Both women struck a tone of realistic determination, acknowledging that most of the men who picked them up were, at some level, interested in sex. Both, however, also believed that female hitchhikers could cut risks to acceptable levels by carefully screening rides, reading personalities, trusting their intuitions, and learning how to confidently steer conversations in non-sexual directions. Yet the advice could be disturbing:

> Rape. Sometimes it happens, too. Most times it can be avoided if the woman is sharp enough to spot trouble ahead of time and take calm, firm action the first time it's needed. The power of Motherhood can be called on in many cases to influence your opponent. A final, maternal tone to your voice and the implication of infinite confidence in them to do what you say will squelch many an unwanted approach. A no-nonsense attitude. If you run into a weirdo and lose control of the situation, well, that's another time you have to make the best of it. … I've only once had dealings with someone who was determined to finish the deed. Fortunately, he was not interested in torture or humiliation or violent retaliation, but only in getting off, so I was able to make a deal and just do it orally, which was somehow less offensive to me and was an acceptable compromise to him. It was an unpleasant experience nonetheless. He was unpleasant and it pissed me off to be forced. … [I]t is a risk you take. However, it is a risk not necessarily related to traveling. The wierdo (sic) can come in your window at night at home and do even more horrid things, so it's a risk you take with life. One of those things. You can't direct your life from

> a fear of weirdoes, or soon you'll find yourself afraid to cross the street.[62]

Not all women, to put things mildly, assessed risk similarly. At the same time, Buryn also solicited insights from a woman who worked for a rape crisis center and had hitchhiked for 10 years without being assaulted. In a 19-page, double-spaced, typewritten article – edited and included in *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.* – this female hitcher took a similar position, concluding the decision to hitch was "a trade-off between the potential dangers of hitchhiking and the freedom of movement and the existential freedom of believing that the world is your oyster as much as anyone's." Despite such determination, women's concerns called attention to the fact that, while vagabonds asserted their independence from social realities, they did not erase them.[63]

Still, the possibilities intoxicated. In his guidebooks, Ed Buryn offered vagabonding as a means to a multi-tiered seeker salvation from a life of stifling conformism and corporate servitude. On the metaphysical plane, Buryn's American guides framed travel as a psychedelic, metaphysical practice that revealed travelers' unity with the energy that constituted the cosmos. But it was his hopes for individual selves – hopes that rested on the broadest, foundational assumptions of popular existentialism – that most thrilled readers. Framing vagabonding as both a saving orientation to the world and a practical means to adopt it, Buryn also detailed an ideal self – intuitive and spontaneous, confident yet open, self-sufficient yet engaged in perpetual personal growth.

Multiple correspondents understood the point. One reader of *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa* put things succinctly by calling it "more a lifestyle book

with travel thrown in."[64] Other writers also blurred the physical and metaphorical meanings of "journey," including one enthusiastic New Yorker who gushed about *Vagabonding in America*:

> As I'm reading your book I feel like I'm right there with you; saying over and over and over again to myself, yes, yes, that's it! Oh how true! Yes its (sic) so important, come on everybody jump on and join the bandwagon. This is what life is all about. It's not only vagabonding but a kind of downright living your life to the fullest and getting a constant high from whatever you do.[65]

Traveling in Europe, the writer had "mellowed out and at the same time became stronger to help carry on the message to all worldly friends." More alive, stronger, and mellower: these were the ideal fruits of vagabonding.[66]

Another letter, from a woman living near Chapel Hill, North Carolina, summarized the blurry boundaries between physical and spiritual journeys that marked Buryn's vision – and hip travel generally. Back from a Buryn-inspired trip to Europe, the woman asserted that everyone should travel for a year:

> And if possible, the journey should continue forever. I learned that everyday is an adventure, a cause for celebration.
>
> Am living in N. Carolina for a wee bit, staying with some people who wrote to me while I was on a kibbutz in Israel. On my agenda for the next few years, order unimportant, Brazil, Vancouver, Swaziland, Cuba, India, Morocco again, Greece, Peru ……. The cosmos.
>
> Travelling keeps one high. Even the lonely parts.[67]

In this letter, the writer proposed a lifelong itinerary that crisscrossed the earth en route to "the cosmos." It was certainly an ambitious itinerary. But, during the 1960s and 1970s, it was not an unusual one.

Conclusion

On Labor Day weekend of 2009, Ed Buryn was parading around Nevada's Black Rock Desert in underwear whose crotch read, simply, "Why am I God?" Deep in his 70s, Buryn had for years attended Burning Man, the anarchistic, wildly expressive, "techno-pagan" festival held annually in the salt flats of northwestern Nevada. In 2009, he took on a new role, joining an encampment of "digital vagabonds" and serving as honorary dean of the "Roads Scholar" program – a handful of modest grants for aspiring travel writers. The primary force behind the program, an Internet entrepreneur named Patrick Hennessey, had involved Buryn because, Hennessey contends, Buryn's work changed his life. On his blog, digitalvagabonding.com, Hennessey testifies that reading *Vagabonding in America* in the 1980s inspired him to leave his Catholic college. He spent a year on the road and never looked back. "The book became my bible," Hennessey explains, "and vagabonding became my new religion."[1]

While his degree of devotion makes him an outlier, Hennessey and his Burning Man campmates carry forward the cultural strands that coursed through hip travel culture. Because his digital business allows him to work from the road (he owns an RV), Hennessey can travel semi-permanently – a lifestyle his website links to pleasure, expressive freedom, and perpetual personal growth. "I have worked online in the middle of Golden Gate Park and made business calls on the edge of an active volcano in Costa Rica," Hennessey notes. "The digital vagabond can roam free and yet remain connected. Their [sic] world is their playground and work place." In addition to overcoming the alienating division between work and play, Hennessey also describes encounters with

neo-paganism, spiritualism, and consciousness-expansion broadly.[2] Yet his most fundamental advice centers on the self:

> Be your own hero in your personal epic journey. Don't live by "default" in the place you came to by accident of birth. Set sail and explore the world and all its possibilities and find your place in it. Where you came from will always be where you left it if you do choose to return. Discover who you truly are and what your greatest loves, talents and passions are and offer them generously to the world! Let love be the guiding impulse that draws you through and past the fear of the unknown and into the place of your heart's true home.[3]

At the same time, Hennessey is also pragmatic. Echoing *The Whole Earth Catalog*, his website endorses digital technologies as tools for building a mobile and liberated lifestyle. Yet as Hennessey discusses his favorites – Apple products, Verizon wireless service, and Sony digital cameras, among others – he also criticizes corporate media and consumer culture. Counting a few blog posts about picking up a hitchhiker, Hennessey's approach to life distills and updates almost every thread – and every tension – running through this dissertation.[4]

It is no coincidence that he and Buryn came together at Burning Man. According to its website, the week-long event is a "vibrant participatory metropolis generated by its citizens" and dedicated to "community, art, self-expression, and self-reliance." As the event nears, participants build a sizeable-yet-temporary city, an ornate art-world, on the empty "playa" of the salt flats. While the festival does sell tickets, rules ban most other uses of money in favor of a "gift economy." Likewise, a "no spectators" rule requires attendees to co-produce the festival with their participation – a policy very much in keeping with the Hog Farm and Merry Prankster legacy. As a whole, then, Burning Man carries forward the radical vision of imagination and fantasy that hip travelers often

embraced. Like them, it asserts that bold and creative individuals can will imagination into (alternative) reality.[5]

Is Burning Man religious? Spiritual? In its own way, the festival raises the same definitional issues as the hip travelers of the 1960s and 1970s. Yet according to Lee Gilmore's *Theater in a Crowded Fire*, "burners" often refuse the terms of the question, insisting instead that Burning Man "can be what you want it to be." Of attendees Gilmore surveyed, however, 52 percent identified as "spiritual" in some sense. Six percent reported affiliations with "nonhistorically Western" traditions, like Buddhism. Another 28 percent identified as secular. Finally, a mere six percent identified with Judaism or Christianity. As 21st century religion scholars track the rise of the "nones" – the 19 percent of Americans who are religiously unaffiliated – Burning Man represents a place where their ascent is, effectively, complete.[6]

At the same time, it also highlights one of this dissertation's repeated dynamics: a slippage between sacred and secular that depends, yes, on individuals' interpretations of their own experiences, but which also assumes a practiced, institutionalized, and codified orientation to the world. Like Burning Man, travel could be what you wanted it to be. But as a flywheel between metaphor and enacted metaphor – between spiritual journeys and bodily journeys – travel quietly governed the existential shape of that very wanting. In telling travelers how to be free, it defined freedom itself, placing it not in Congress, not in town-hall meetings, not on picket lines, but on the open road. Spirituality, in turn, also exists within this bounded freedom.

FROM POPULAR EXISTENTIALISM TO MOBILE SELVES

If hip travel enacted rebellion, it rarely took specific aim at institutional religion. Instead, it rejected a whole social system, one whose contours were themselves imagined according to popular existentialist critique. As a single package of suburban domesticity, routinized work, compensatory consumption, utilitarian rationality, and institutional religion (to hit the high points), this unit fell somewhere between Will Herberg's "American Way of Life" and Theodore Roszak's "technocracy." Almost necessarily, its hip critics imagined it in monolithic terms, as the Establishment, the system, or the machine. By contrast, its alternatives could seem to lack any order or unity. Free love, rock and roll, communal living, nudity, ecology, hitchhiking, housetrucks, Zen mechanics, international drifting, and countless experiments in living – what held them together seemed to be little more than what they opposed. So, too, with contemporary spirituality, deeply and pervasively defined by being "not religious." The "religion" in question, of course, was and is the institutional faith linked, in popular existentialism, with other "Establishment" collectivities. As imagined within this system, "religion" dispensed generic, conformist, mass-produced meaning – a plastic facsimile of existential authenticity. Again, though, the alternatives seemed to exist in bizarre disarray, mixing psychedelic mystics, occult experimenters, Asian gurus, humanistic psychologists, and more. The cumulative effect could seem like freedom, chaos, or both. Spirituality, like Burning Man, can be what you want it to be.[7]

Yet chaos did not reign, then or now. Curiously, many individuals freely choose the same things – creative expression, open sexuality, intimacy with nature, and the like. For all the wild creativity of an event like Burning Man, and for all the open exploration

of contemporary spirituality, devotees of both tend to be fellow travelers – pun very much intended. I have grouped the historical sources of this unity as "popular existentialism," though other terms may describe it as well. As with constellations of stars, however, what holds these practices and movements together is not an inherent unity but a particular way of seeing, one linked to a distinctive sort of self and orientation to the world. Borrowing Sam Binkley's terminology, I have often called this a "loose" self, marked by hip virtues like independence, spontaneity, existential openness, and personal authenticity. Equally important, however, are the *explicit* ways that cultural rebels imagined and lived into the new selves, and new orientations to the world, that they sought to adopt. As I have tried to show, travel guided imagination and practice in precisely this way. As metaphor and enacted metaphor, it defined the spiritual self as a mobile self.[8]

The intelligibility of the mobile self depended, in turn, on the social nature of place. When hitchhiker Mark Smith finished his hike on Isle Royale, for instance, he wrote that he doubted the "solidity of any ego base I cultivated living in the city." Female hitchhikers, for their part, understood that they violated social norms about women's places when they drifted by thumb. Housetruckers also rubbed against the power of place. In building and inhabiting rolling homes, they rejected the cycle of deadening work and compensatory consumption linked to settled, middle-class notions of home. More explicit in his thinking, Ed Buryn attributed petrified patterns of perception to the conditioning power of settled, comfortable routines.

For all these travelers and writers, the road acted as a catapult to a different way of being. Because it valued perpetual freedom, the logic of the open road also militated against "settling" in any sense.[9] As Whitman himself had put it,

> You but arrive at the city to which you were destin'd, you hardly settle yourself to satisfaction before you are call'd by an irresistible call to depart,
> You shall be treated to the ironical smiles and mockings of those who remain behind you,
> What beckonings of love you receive you shall only answer with passionate kisses of parting,
> You shall not allow the hold of those who spread their reach'd hands toward you.[10]

From Whitman to hippie bus dwellers, mobile selves imagined themselves as free individuals because they refused to be defined by any particular place.

How we fantasize about our lives – and how we live into those fantasies – matters. To examine orientation in the ultimate sense, we must attend to how orientation itself is understood. For many of the travelers described here, the first step to a better orientation was *dis*orientation – the use of travel to slough off the inauthentic, social "baggage" they had spent a lifetime internalizing. Travel light: it was both practical and spiritual advice. At the same time, travel's power extended to a subtle re-orienation. Especially since the 1960s, hip travel has acted as a lens and prism, refracting and focusing the white light of cultural dissent that constituted popular existentialism. To be free, it clarified, was to be mobile. At the same time, the lens also worked in reverse: popular existentialism also refracted and focused what it meant to travel. Of course, it did so differently as times changed. For Ed Buryn, travel morphed from a way to "blow your mind" to a means to become an "energy dancer" between 1971 and 1980.[11]

In other words, the refractory power of travel depended both on its intrinsic nature and on the forces of culture and history. Hitchhiking, by its very nature, offered an easy fit with hip values. It did not require materialist acquisition (of a car); it was free; it required trust and sharing; and it demanded an individual decision to open oneself to whatever came, literally, down the road. The same could not be said of buying a car, taking a train, or booking passage on a boat. At the same time, hitchhiking's interpretation also evolved. Even among hip travelers, hitchhiking went from a way to move between "scenes" to a meaningful practice (and fad) in its own right. The shift reflected a consistent interpretive effort, by hip hitchhikers and hitchhiking writers, to explain what hitchhiking meant and why it was worth doing. Inevitably, they did so in terms of the broader popular existentialist ethos that surrounded them, making hitchhiking morally appealing in the process. Likewise, by defining what was good about hitchhiking, its proponents necessarily re-imagined and re-defined the good life. Thanks in part to their interpretive work, hitchhiking took on clear, countercultural meaning during its early 1970s boom. At the same time, young travelers did not need to read anything in particular to interpret their trips along hip lines. As ideas about hitchhiking diffused into the hip vernacular, conversations at on-ramps and campsites could do the trick. In this way, again, travel gave a diffuse popular existentialism a bright new focus. Whatever its sources, and beyond any particular system of belief, the authentic self was a mobile self.

Still, the result allowed for ambiguity. Once one passed through the road's "space age rite of purification, which usually begins with de-purification" – as *The Village Voice* put it – was what remained a true and authentic self? Was that self linked, somehow, to

an underlying reality? Or was what remained something more akin to the Black Rock Desert, a blank slate for constant self-making and re-making? This ambiguity reflected popular existentialism's diverse sources, including a range of existentialisms and a distinctively American religious liberalism with roots in Transcendentalism. Young travelers rarely articulated these tensions, but they employed a variety of practical strategies to harmonize them. Perhaps the most revealing were rolling homes. As individual works of art, hip buses and housetrucks expressed their makers' authentic, creative selves. As mobile homes, they allowed their owners to freely chart their own courses – but also to remain open to new, transformative experiences and surprising turns in the road's mystical now. Spirituality's constituent tension between self-reliance and self-surrender, as well as a related tension between existentialist self-making and mystical self-discovery, was materialized, symbolized, and overcome in artistic appropriations of automotive steel.[12]

FROM IMAGINATION TO CONSUMPTION: MAPS OF THE OPEN ROAD

If hip travel helped to define the good and free life, it also became increasingly institutionalized and codified after the 1960s. Many of this dissertation's sources, especially guidebooks, contributed to this process. Collectively, they told readers how to travel cheaply, how to (not) plan a trip, how to hitchhike, how to fix their VW buses, how to live in a housetruck, and how to make travel a gateway to a "vagabonding approach to life." Frequently, they also explained why. At the same time, hip travel literature also directed readers to a growing, parallel set of tourist institutions geared to the budgets and values of young travelers. Although hip travelers celebrated sleeping out – in fields, in

Amsterdam's Dam Square, or in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park – articles and guidebooks mentioned hotspots like Istanbul's Gulhane Hotel and Pudding Shoppe. Such businesses catered specifically to the hip, youth travel market, cashing in on a growing trend. Indeed, perhaps the most obvious legacy of the youth travel boom is today's international backpacker circuit, which continues to attract primarily young Westerners (including Australians, New Zealanders, and Israelis). Focused on traveling independently and cheaply, such travelers carry on the vagabonding ethos.[13]

The guidebook brands that have most decisively shaped contemporary international backpacking did not reach prominence until the 1980s or later. Nonetheless, their roots lay in the hip travel culture of the 1960s and 1970s. Lonely Planet, the most dominant brand of the last 30 years, began with Tony and Maureen Wheeler's 9-month trip across Asia in 1972. Upon their return to Australia, the Wheelers produced the 96-page *Across Asia on the Cheap*. As Nicholas T. Parsons notes, by 2004, Lonely Planet had "650 titles in 118 countries and had annual sales of more than six million guidebooks, about a quarter of all English-language guidebooks sold."[14]

While not as dominant as Lonely Planet, Berkeley-based Avalon Travel carries on the legacy of hip, American travel writers. One of Avalon's most prominent lines, Moon Guides, began when founder Bill Dalton decided to peddle notes from his early 1970s trip to Indonesia – six mimeographed sheets, stapled together. After using the GI Bill to study in Copenhagen, Dalton had traveled to Nepal, taken meditation lessons in India, and hitchhiked across Africa. He came up with the name "Moon Guidebooks" in Goa, India, "after writing 21 hallucinogenic-fueled poems to the moon." In 2001, Avalon also acquired John Muir Publications, publisher of *The People's Guide to Mexico*, John

Muir's *How to Keep Your Volkswagen Alive!*, and the guidebooks of travel impresario Rick Steves. Perhaps the best-known American advocate for the transformative, opening power of independent travel, Steves founded his business, Rick Steves' Europe, in 1976. Inspired by his own youthful travels, he has since produced guidebooks, public television programs, public radio shows, syndicated columns, and an array of other products. As his publisher, Avalon is one of many institutions that have codified the hip travel culture of the 1960s and 1970s for contemporary independent travelers.[15]

Travel evolved differently in the United States. Outside of a few subcultures and neo-hippie enclaves, the hip travel culture has not continued in an obvious way. At least in part, its waning reflects American distances and infrastructure – including a car-focused transportation network and a relative dearth of hostel-style lodging. During the early 1970s, of course, the buses, "crash-pads," and communes of the counterculture culture had provided precisely such institutional supports. When the counterculture waned, then, so, too, did the hip travel style. At the same time, it did not disappear totally or immediately; a handful of entrepreneurs tried to fill the gap. Among the most successful was Gardner Kent, who was driving buses for a Sonoma County, California, commune before founding Green Tortoise in 1975. As one of several "underground" bus services that sprung up in the 1970s, Green Tortoise linked cross-country transportation to a hip ethos and a relaxed, recreational pace. As of 2015, Green Tortoise still operated "adventure bus tours" to U.S. and Central American destinations, as well as hostels in San Francisco and Seattle. Such exceptions aside, however, the counterculture's decline removed structural supports for cheap, independent travel in the United States.[16]

More importantly, travel continues to serve as an institutional site for harnessing spirituality – as personal growth, discovery, and transformation – to consumer culture. "Getting off the beaten path" can very easily become a version of "buy this to be different," as the endless variety of niche, specialty tours suggests. David Brooks, who has ironically dissected spiritualty for decades, has written about the declining prestige of "mass" hotels and the rise of boutique lodgings – spaces, he writes, that aim to make guests "feel like they are entering an edgy community of unconventional, discerning people like themselves." Here, then, is an elite, consumerist incarnation of the open road – life as a journey through a series of boutique hotels, each of them reinforcing a self that is free in precisely the right way. Perhaps the best distillation of travel's seamless union of movement, spirituality, and consumption, however, came from a recent ad campaign for California tourism. "Find yourself here," the tagline punned – before subdividing "life in California" into "adventure," "indulgence," "romance," and "delight."[17]

Spiritually oriented travel writing has often reinforced the same trend. Elizabeth Gilbert's *Eat Pray Love* (2006), a bestselling travel memoir that spawned an eponymous Julia Roberts movie, fused spirituality, consumerism, and travel as well as any piece of travel writing in the new millennium. Sparked by Gilbert's need to recover from a painful decision to divorce her husband, the book overlays spirit and movement. Savoring food in Italy, meditating in an Indian ashram, and falling into a torrid love affair in Bali, Gilbert writes 108 chapters to correspond to the 108 beads on a mala, an Indian prayer necklace. Likewise, she divides her book into three sections: pleasure (on Italy), devotion (on India), and "balance" (on Indonesia). Juxtaposing these concepts via three nations, all of which begin with "I," Gilbert makes a now familiar point: that the well-

lived life refuses provincial commitments, preferring to remain open to pleasure and personal growth, all of it held together in a self-actualizing balance. While criticized as a product of neo-colonial privilege and a vacuous, narcissistic spirituality, the book's success nonetheless reflects travel's ongoing power as a symbol and enactment of the seeker's path.[18]

If hip travel culture's connections to consumerism have intensified, its connections to expressive work and cheap living have also persisted. The first decades of the new millennium have seen an explosion of interest in "tiny houses," from tree houses and remodeled shipping containers to handcrafted campers and – yes – housetrucks. As of March 2015, at least 3 TV shows focus on tiny houses, many built on trailers. Their innovative designs have also inspired documentaries, a profusions of websites, and an assortment of entrepreneurs selling plans and kits – or simply offering their own building services. While not the driving force of the current boom, Lloyd Kahn's *Shelter* is its ancestor. Additionally, Kahn's Shelter Publications has produced several new books on small homes, including one focused on mobile living. Such publications mark another institutional way in which the hip travel ethos has been codified and carried forward.[19]

FROM RELIGION TO SPIRITUALITY: STRUCTURE, FREEDOM, AND AMERICAN ROAD MYSTICISM

Of all the tensions hip travelers negotiated, none was more fundamental that that between individual freedom and social structure. That tension, and solutions to it, periodically bubbled to the surface. The widely acknowledged risks faced by hitchhiking women, for example, involved questions about social realities. Could individual women overcome risks through sheer self-assertion and savvy? Could they break down barriers

by refusing their power? Or was a woman's decision to hitchhike, and especially to hitchhike alone, a foolhardy denial of power's hard realities? Travel also raised other questions of power and privilege. American notions of open roads and wide-open spaces rhetorically erased Native Americans, just as they assumed a freedom of movement that has accrued primarily to whites.

Equally importantly, hip travelers wrestled with a tension that has marked American travel since the early 19th century: their travels depended on the very modern structures they protested. Obviously, hitchhikers depended on roads and on the cars of others. Likewise, residents of rolling homes inescapably depended on the auto and oil industries – not to mention the modest affluence and leisure required to buy, build, and equip a live-in truck or bus. Certainly, housetrucks promised cheap living, thereby lessening the pressure to conform to middle-class norms of work and consumption. Nonetheless, minimizing living expenses did not eliminate the need for money, and even housetrucking advocates mentioned strategies for finding acceptable work. To a large degree, travelers' freedom depended on modernity's cage.

Still, hip travel *did* issue in freedom – of a particular sort. In this dissertation, I have repeatedly referenced Michel de Certeau's notion of tactics. For tacticians, agency comes not in controlling or constructing cultural spaces but through creatively moving through them, as they are given. In "Walking in the City," for example, de Certeau suggests that walkers' individual trajectories may refuse the rational designs of urban planners and authorities, instead "using" the city according to their own, idiosyncratic purposes. Hip travelers sought freedom in precisely this sense. Hitchhikers used cars they did not possess, and they moved along roads and highways in a way that

policymakers did not plan. Likewise, housetruckers treated mass-produced automobiles as raw material for creative expression. Not only did they repurpose vehicles as homes, but, in doing so, they also turned roadways to unintended purposes.[20]

Rolling homes' material "rhetoric" (to again borrow from de Certeau) connected housetrucks with post-scarcity thinking, the once-common belief that postwar affluence had made abundance permanent. When *Shelter* and *Mother Earth News* suggested scavenging building materials, for example, they implied that American affluence had become so exaggerated that one could live off its waste products. In de Certeau's language, housetruckers believed they could "vampirize" the system, refusing its disciplines by creatively re-appropriating its trash. For those willing to learn a few skills and live by their wits, freedom was there for the taking.[21]

Spirituality partakes of the same, tactical logic. Just as walkers can pick their own, idiosyncratic routes through cities, so, too, can mobile selves imbue any aspect of life with personal meaning. Certainly, spiritual seekers have freely "vampirized" ideas and practices commonly categorized as religious, from the *I-Ching* to spiritual channeling. Nonetheless, popular existentialism unsettled the category of religion because it refused its mid-century boundaries. Certainly, spirituality has come to define itself against institutional, creedal, and collective religion. But it arose from a rebellion that imagined a much larger menace – an entire social order glossed as technocracy, mass society, the Establishment, and the like. Critics have rightly criticized spirituality for a radical individualism that is blind to power and dismissive of social reality. Ironically, however, the reactions that gave rise to spirituality recognized, at least implicitly, that neither alienation nor authenticity derived from a privatized religious sphere, but rather

from a densely interwoven network of social structures and social norms. Once they escaped to the open road, however, young people could imagine themselves as independent and self-reliant – in short, as mobile.[22]

Mobile selves, in turn, upset standard definitions of religion in another way. As popular existentialism made the self the ground and gauge of value, spiritual travelers could name anything, everything, or nothing as sacred. Throughout this dissertation, I have noted how hip travel rhetorics *demanded* individual liberation but *permitted* individual re-orientation to the ultimate, however conceived. Re-consider a passage from one hitchhiking handbook, Paul Coopersmith's *Rule of Thumb.* Pitched as a "guide for the independent traveler, the … not-necessarily-so-innocent free spirit abroad," the book's first chapter acknowledged that hitchhikers differed on why they got rides. For some, it was dumb luck. For others, it was "a pure and simple science," requiring skill and savvy. For a third group, it required only "good vibes. Good vibes and instant karma." Coopersmith had summarized the spiritual logic of travel: after the foundational requirement of being an "independent … free spirit," individual hitchhikers could interpret their movements as materialistically or as mystically as they chose. In this sense, travel practices suggest that the study of spirituality is really the study of hermeneutics.[23]

Of course, as I have suggested, the power of travel lay in its ability to define freedom itself – to form travelers' hermeneutic lens. After all, the hip meaning of freedom was not the only one on offer. Instead of simply walking in the city, for example, one might participate in democratic processes that shape it. Instead of expressive freedom, one might hope for freedom from social chaos, hunger, or physical

want. Or, to borrow from Paul's Epistle to the Romans, "slaves to sin" might find, in Jesus Christ, freedom to live differently. My point is not to criticize any particular version of freedom but rather to argue that hip travel naturalized a particular kind of freedom, then formed young people in its image. In this sense, travel practices that acted as *tactics* in de Certeau's sense also structured *habitus* in Pierre Bourdieu's sense. They defined freedom. As such, they made its contours part of the unseen presuppositions of thought – what Bourdieu calls *doxa.* Travelers, in short, wanted the freedom that travel itself helped to define.[24]

As I have noted throughout this dissertation, critics of both the counterculture and contemporary spirituality have linked both to developments within American capitalism. At a minimum, hip freedom has been congenial to consumerism and neo-liberalism. Whether by blessing a Romantic cycle of fantasy and fulfillment or by linking identity and commodity – buy this to be different! – hip values have propelled consumption. Similarly, to the extent that it counsels people to creatively navigate the world-as-given rather than organize politically to transform it, hip values counsel adjustment to the status quo rather than resistance. In the 21st century, spirituality has become a strategy for branding products, becoming more productive at work, and coping with the myriad stresses of a middle-class world of eroding security.[25]

Because discussions about travel and spirituality are also discussions about individualism, they involve American identity. In *On the Road,* Jack Kerouac merged the flow of the road with the mystical now, joining both to "holy America" – which lay "like an oyster for us to open; and the pearl was there, the pearl was there." *Easy Rider* featured a main character nicknamed Captain America, who wore the flag on his jacket.

Similarly, Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters flew the flag from their bus, wore red, white and blue outfits, and nodded to the frontier as they raced toward "Edge City." In calling himself a pioneer, Kesey also pointed to hip travel culture's appropriation, and re-interpretation, of frontier mythology. It was no coincidence, as I have argued, that housetrucks so often looked like wilderness cabins, complete with wood-burning stoves and stove pipes. Nor is it surprising that one hitchhiking guidebook described youthful hitchhikers as "Mutant Stepchildren of the Men Who Broke a Continent." Together, such sentiments constituted a kind of civil religious mysticism – a belief in America as a place where individualism itself exceeded all frontiers.[26]

Scholars have debated the consequences of such a vision of America, and of freedom. For Robert Bellah and his *Habits of the Heart* co-authors, a radically individualistic spirituality undercuts the moral communities and shared moral languages necessary for collective self-governance, understood as the bedrock of individual freedom. More recently, Jeffrey J. Kripal has used the story of Esalen, Big Sur's famous human potential center, as an argument for "America as a mystical ideal." According to Kripal, Esalen's constant deferral of final answers – its "religion of no religion" – parallels the American separation of church and state. As such, he argues, the ideal of America is deeply spiritual (but not religious) precisely *because* it is secular and, thereby, open and empty. Courtney Bender, in turn, has criticized Kripal and warned of "spiritual imperialism" – a claim to a higher, cosmopolitan vantage point without history, one from which the underlying unities and flaws of other, particular religions may be discerned. Rather than accepting such claims, Bender argues, "we must approach spirituality and

'the spiritual' as deeply entangled in various religious and secular histories, social structures, and cultural practices."[27]

In centering travel practice and the formation of the loose, or mobile, self, I have largely followed Bender's advice. Yet I hesitate. Bender's deconstructive approach, dominant among cultural studies approaches to religion, allures because it totalizes. If we will look, such methodologies promise, all identities and experiences, including spiritual ones, will find their sources in the social structures, cultural hierarchies, and broader configurations of power that, effectively, constitute all human realities. Such claims include their own (anti) metaphysical assumptions and involve their own epistemological imperialism. The resulting interpretive closure, premised on a culturally constructed self, is precisely what hip travel and contemporary spirituality reject. However analytically persuasive – and I hope my dissertation shows that they are persuasive – such methodologies also enclose (or re-enclose) human experience and creativity within categories amenable to rational analysis. This enclosure is not an innocent or self-evident analytical move; the social scientific study of religion has its own ideological motives.

I hesitate for other reasons as well. For one, Bourdieusian analysis assumes away the possibility of disruption that hip travelers courted. Ed Buryn, for example, *knew* that travelers had been socially formed. Vagabonds left home, in part, to open themselves to experiences that upset their habitual orientations to the world. The point is not simply that travel broadens minds or undercuts provincial prejudices. Instead, it is that that, to the degree that it remains open to the unexpected and to the other, travel involves not only orientation in the ultimate sense but the possibility of *dis*orientation in the ultimate

sense. Theologian Frederick Ruf has spoken of seeking "ruptures" in travel. Pioneering tourism scholar Dean MacCannell, in *The Ethics of Sightseeing*, has also argued that cultural faux pas, foreign norms, and experiences of the unexpected may be opportunities for recognizing and grappling with the cultural forces that would shape the self, define destinations, and constitute reality. The mobile self, in other words, contains the potential for its own, reflexive undoing.[28]

Such unpredictability unsettles theory and scholarship. De Certeau contends that theory necessarily seeks to find and domesticate what is "wild," which includes myth, madness, religion, death, revolution and whatever else seems to stand outside its totalizing hermeneutic. The list might also include hitchhiking. In *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues,* Tom Robbins writes that Sissy Hankshaw's virtuoso hitchhiking unites her with the "rhythms of the universe." Directly addressing readers, Robbins then suggests that those rhythms are gloriously irregular. How, he asks, would we would feel if we woke up to find the world harmlessly and slightly *off* – buildings slightly askew and streams running outside their channels. Besides confusion, might we experience delight, "a kind of wild-card joy"? Might we thrill to mystery and to the possibility "that that there are superior forces 'out there,' forces that for all their potential menace, nevertheless might, should they elect to intervene, represent alleviation for a planet that seems stubbornly determined to perish?" For Robbins, hope comes from an ultimate reality that fits hitchhiking, one that is ultimately unpredictable and playful – in other words, wild.[29]

Hitchhiking did not necessarily entail such hopes. Rolling homes did not, in and of themselves, mean anything definite. "Vagabonding" could simply be a slow and uncomfortable way to travel. As with contemporary spirituality, the meaning, and the

ecstasy, required imagination and interpretation. In the 1960s and 1970s, hip travel arose alongside popular reaction against a world that seemed conformist, closed, meaningless and all-too-settled. The way out, for some young people, was the particular freedom of hip travel. As imagined and practiced, it taught them to pick their own routes, taught them who they were, taught them to be open, and taught them how to be free. In short, hip travel showed how to orient oneself to the world and sift its experiences for the sacred. It invited young people to wander and wonder, to spread their arms wide, and to embrace all of life as an endlessly open road.

Notes

Note on abbreviation: I abbreviate the ProQuest Historical Newspaper database as "PQHN."

Notes to Introduction

1. The Christian genealogy of the category of religion has been a scholarly obsession for several years. See, e.g., Jonathan Z. Smith, "Religion, Religions, Religious," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 269-284; Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions, or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). The literature on spirituality is also vast. For a discussion of the shift in the term's meaning – from its 1950s connection to Catholic mystical and devotional traditions to a post-1960s descriptor of a personal, experiential, and existential orientation toward meaning and depth, see Catherine L. Albanese, introduction to *American Spiritualities: A Reader*, ed. Catherine L. Albanese (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 1-15. I am particularly informed by a series of influential sociological studies on spirituality as a form of religious individualism: Robert N. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, updated ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*, HarperCollins paperback ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993); and Robert Wuthnow, *After Heaven : Spirituality in America since the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

2. Charles H. Long, *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 9. For a discussion of the prominence of spatial metaphors for religion, see Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 50-52.

3. John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress: An Authoritative Text, Contexts, and Criticism*, ed. Cynthia Wall (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009).

4. Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1968), 68-120. Wolfe's is the classic and myth-making account of the Pranksters journey. The notion that the Prankster's bus trip launched the Sixties of popular imagination is pervasive. See, e.g., *Magic Trip*, DVD, directed by Alex Gibney and Allison Ellwood (Austin and New York: Magnolia Pictures, 2011). The

documentary features the celebrated, but notoriously difficult, film footage of the trip. On the "quest for the ideal self" in the 1960s and 1970s, see Peter Clecak, *America's Quest for the Ideal Self: Dissent and Fulfillment in the 60s and 70s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984). For a brief discussion of Wolfe's famous characterization of the 1970s as the self-absorbed "me decade," see Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 79-80 and Clecak, *Ideal Self,* 246.

5. Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 9; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 96-158; Steven M. Tipton, *Getting Saved from the Sixties: Moral Meaning in Conversion and Cultural Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 14-17. Tipton summarizes the monistic assumptions of counterculture lingo. On the religiously liberal traditions rolled into popular existentialism, see Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005); see also Albanese, introduction to *American Spiritualities,* 9. Albanese argues that the 1960s saw the combination of older, Catholic notions of spirituality with "the religious vernaculars of the three movements – a newly arrived Asian presence, the theosophical legacy, and the New Thought tradition … in overlapping ways." Yet she makes almost no mention of authenticity, existentialism, psychology, or therapy; indeed, the terms do not even appear in the index of *A Republic of Mind and Spirit.* I argue that popular existentialism was informed by both the religiously liberal tradition described by Schmidt and the metaphysical traditional Albanese details, but that its existentialist orientation provided a conceptual base that bridged "religious" and "secular" frameworks.

6. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 473-504; Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, third ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 91-107.

7. Bourdieu, *Outline,* 96-158.

8. For a summary of the relationship between practice and social imaginaries, see Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, Public Planet Books ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 23-30; on authenticity, Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 473-504.

9. Writers on tourism commonly dismiss the distinction between "traveler" and "tourist" as identity-based self-positioning. For an early and insightful commentary on youth travelers as a subspecies of tourist, see Erik Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism," *International Journal*

of Comparative Sociology 14, no. 1-2 (1973): 89-103. See also MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 9-10.

10. Schmidt, *Restless Souls*, 1-62, places Transcendentalism at the center of the American spiritual tradition; Walt Whitman, "Song of the Open Road," in *Leaves of Grass*, Comprehensive Reader's Ed. (New York: W. W. North & Company, 1965), 149, 151.

11. T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace : Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981); T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of Consumer Culture, 1880-1930," in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, ed. Richard Fox Wrightman and T. J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 1-38; on religious liberalism and its participants, see Schmidt, *Restless Souls*, 6-7. The classical articulation of the link between Protestantism and capitalism is Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Routledge Classics, 2001); a much larger discussion continues to analyze the Protestant roots of American culture, and even American secularism. See, e.g., Catherine Albanese, *America: Religion and Religions*, 4th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thompson Wadsworth, 2007), 10-12, 256-264; David Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Tracy Fessenden, *Culture and Redemption: Religion, the Secular, and American Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

12. Literature on the postwar order is vast. On the postwar boom from the vantage point of 60s historiography, see , e.g., Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 11-17; Todd DePastino, *Citizen Hobo: How a Century of Homelessness Shaped America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), xxi, 224-235. DePastino details how, under the GI Bill and larger postwar settlement, "the suburban home became the centerpiece of a new corporate liberal order that promoted masculine breadwinning, feminine child rearing, and the steady consumption of durable goods within the context of the nuclear family." Part of the goal, he argues, was to end the pattern of veteran-filled "tramp armies" after wars. On the role of the nuclear family in Cold War ideology, see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era (*New York: Basic Books, 1988). For a brief discussion of the vague but occasionally committed "Eisenhower spirituality" of "In God We Trust," see Patrick Allitt, *Religion in America since 1945: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 21-25, 31-33; Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955), 88.

13. Central occupation of … society": Donald Oken, "Alienation and Identity: Some Comments on Adolescence, the Counterculture, and Contemporary Adaptations," in *Alienation: Concept, Term, and Meanings*, ed. Frank Johnson (New

York: Seminar Press 1973), 83. Other articles in the same volume provide an overview of the term, whose meanings had grown diffuse and imprecise by the early 1970s. Better on alienation's sociological meanings, from Romanticism, Hegel, and Marx through Herbert Marcuse, Georg Simmel, and C. Wright Mills, is Joachim Israel, *Alienation: From Marx to Modern Sociology* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971). On alienation's evolution in elite and popular culture, see George Cotkin, *Existential America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 237-241. Cotkin argues that "[a]ll social criticism, in the 'modern sense,' presupposes a sense of alienation. I am deeply informed by the resonant discussion of alienation, authenticity, and a "youth existentialist movement" in Douglas C. Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), esp. 2-8, 15-20; 53-100; 159-164; 247-295. On the intertwining discourses of secularization, alienation, and totalitarianism, see Jason W. Stevens, *God-Fearing and Free: A Spiritual History of America's Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 10. Stevens connects several trends, including Cold War paranoia, neo-orthodoxy, revivalism, the mass society critique, and the rise of therapy.

14. Rossinow, *Politics of Authenticity,* 2-4. The list of mid-century writers to worry about the links between modernity, alienation, and totalitarianism includes Eric Fromm, Hannah Arendt, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Rollo May. Broadly, they worried that the alienation and isolation characteristic of modern, liberal, industrial democracies made their citizens vulnerable to the thick – even religious – systems of meaning and belonging totalitarianism purportedly offered. Thinkers variously diagnosed existentialism and therapy as the problem or the solution; see also Cotkin, *Existential America,* 54-78, 135; and Paul Tillich, *The Courage to Be*, 2nd ed., (1952; repr. New Haven, CT: Yale Nota Bene, Yale University Press, 2000), 156-186. Stevens, *God-Fearing*, 10-13. On the shift toward concern about the alienation of affluence and conformity, see Oken, "Alienation and Identity," 87; Stevens, *God-Fearing*, 161; and Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 10-18. Frank summarizes the academic, popular, and literary currents that informed the "mass society critique"' see also Gitlin, *The Sixties:* 12, 17-20; Israel, *Alienation*, 162-204; and Gitlin, *The Sixties,* 12.

15. J.D. Salinger, *The Catcher in the Rye* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951); for these and other "intimations" of the 1960s in the pop culture of the 50s, see Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 26-54; Norman Mailer, "The White Negro," in *The Portable Beat Reader*, ed. Ann Charters (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), 582-605. I draw on the discussion of Mailer in Cotkin, *Existential America*, 184-209; on Mailer as apogee of the mass society critique and forerunner of hip consumerism, see Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 12-13.

16. Cotkin, *Existential America*, 1; on Christian existentialism and its bridging function, see Rossinow, *Politics of Authenticity*, 60 (quote), 53-84 and Paul Tillich, *The Courage to Be*; on the influence of French existentialism, especially Camus, on activists and on Mailer's existentialism, see Cotkin, *Existential America,* 225-251; 184-209.

17. For the intellectual history of authenticity, from Hegel to psychoanalysis, see Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1971). A simplified account of the term's debts to Rousseau and Herder appear in Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 25-30; see also Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 475-476. He notes the concept arrived in the 1960s from the Romantic age "in part through the continuing chain of related counter-cultures, and in part expressly through the influence of writers like Marcuse." For an account of the fusion of psychology, existentialism, theology, and Protestant pastoral care, see Stevens, *God-Fearing,* 185-219 and Rossinow, *Politics of Authenticity,* 8; Esalen, the famous human potential institute, offered a somewhat different blend of authenticity that drew on the metaphysical tradition, the energy-based "Freudian left," and gestalt psychology. See Jeffrey John Kripal, *Esalen: America and the Religion of No Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 135-180; Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970).

18. Rossinow, *Politics of Authenticity*, 1-20 115-155, 187-196, 247-295; "youth existentialist movement": ibid., 8.

19. Rossinow, *Politics of Authenticity*, 249, 159-207, 247-295; Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969), 66; Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, introduction to *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), 10.

20. Braunstein and Doyle, *Imagine Nation*, 11-13, contend for two stages of the counterculture and outline the history of the first. But they link the second only to the fragmentation of the counterculture, not to the hippie-informed youth culture that followed it. That second phase, illustrated by the shift in yearbook photos, is summarized in Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), xvi, 1, 17-20. Schulman argues that "the Sixties" ended in in 1968 and that a "long Seventies" stretched from 1969 to 1984.

21. Survey data on youth discontent is in Schulman, *The Seventies,* 16; Frank, *Conquest of Cool* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). Frank's powerful indictment of "hip consumerism" paints the counterculture as an almost-pure, if

culturally transitional, moment in consumer culture. The effect is to automatically class bohemianism as consumerism or proto-consumerism. That move occurs in Margueritte Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 3. Shaffer claims that Kerouac's "*On the Road* came to embody a new permutation of the very consumer culture Kerouac sought to escape"; see also David Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How they Got There* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000). For an argument against the critical tendency to read travel almost exclusively as an act of power and oppression, see Katie Mills, *The Road Story and the Rebel: Moving Through Film, Fiction and Television* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006), 8-14.

22. Multiple sources address the linkage between expressive values and their institutionalization in the home and in childhood. See, e.g., Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), esp. 217-227; Steven M. Tipton, *Getting Saved from the Sixties: Moral Meaning in Conversion and Cultural Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 26-28; and Roszak, *Making of a Counter-Culture*, 30-34; Rossinow, *Politics of Authenticity*, 297-333; and Debra Michals, "From 'Consciousness Expansion' to 'Consciousness Raising': Feminism and the Countercultural Politics of the Self," in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), 41-68. Roszak specifically and critically links youth travel to a childish adolescence. Rossinow's interpretation of the New Left's existentialist politics includes female resistance to male-dominated leadership and the related equation of authenticity with virility. Michals describes early feminist "consciousness raising" groups in relation to other consciousness-based politics.

23. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, introduction to Section One: Deconditioning," in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), 15. The logic of deconditioning was everywhere, but for a summary see David Farber, "The Intoxicated State/Illegal Nation: Drugs in the Sixties Counterculture," in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), 23-33; see also Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 23-50.

24. Albanese, *Republic of Mind and Spirit*, does not consider the bigger, cultural currents that surrounded metaphysical religion and "mental magic" in the postwar period. Schmidt, *Restless Souls*, points in the right direction by considering religious liberalism broadly, but he leaves off before my time period. I argue that we fail to understand religion or spirituality in the 1960s and 1970s if we do not understand the larger, cultural dynamics of postwar popular existentialism.

25. On band names as movement metaphors, see Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 206; "on the bus": Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1968), 83, 98, 130-130; Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*, HarperCollins paperback ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993); M. Scott Peck, *The Road Less Traveled* (New York: Touchstone, 1978); on seeking and dwelling, see Robert Wuthnow, *After Heaven: Spirituality in America since the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 3-10; on "quest culture," see Wade Clark Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace: Baby Boomers and the Remaking of American Religion* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999). I detail tourism studies' use of religion later in this section.

26. Robert N. Bellah, "Religious Evolution," in *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 40. Bellah briefly mentions "modern" religion's debt to Kant.

27. Robert S. Ellwood, *The Sixties Spiritual Awakening: American Religion Moving from Modern to Postmodern* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 7-10, 17. Ellwood describes "modern religion" as a "parallel institution" in "symbiosis" – or at least not in conflict – with the state, corporations, and other modern institutions; see also Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 486-495.

28. Bellah, "Religious Evolution," 20-45; Robert N. Bellah, "Between Religion and Social Science," in *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 227.

29. Charles A. Reich, *The Greening of America: How the Youth Revolution Is Trying to Make America Livable* (New York: Random House, 1970); for a series of essays on various "religious" and "quasi-religious" movements, see Charles Y. Glock and Robert N. Bellah, eds., *The New Religious Consciousness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Catherine L. Albanese, introduction to *American Spiritualities: A Reader*, ed. Catherine L. Albanese (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 3-9; Albanese argues that "spirituality," which denoted Catholic devotionalism in the mid-20th century, had begun to take on its present contours by 1980; Donald Oken, "Alienation and Identity: Some Comments on Adolescence, the Counterculture, and Contemporary Adaptations," in *Alienation: Concept, Term, and Meanings*, ed. Frank Johnson (New York: Seminar Press 1973), 92-96. Oken describes "new consciousness" as summarizing the identity search of the whole counterculture.

30. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask, 1st American ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959); Victor Turner, "The Center out There: The Pilgrim's Goal," *History of Religions* 12 (1973): 191-230; Erik Cohen, "Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences" (1979) in *Defining*

Travel: Diverse Visions, ed. Susan L. Roberson (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2001), 29-55; Cohen notes especially Shils and Turner as part of a sociological interest in "centers"; Long, *Significations,* 9; Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*. 4th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2007), 3-13; Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*, (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 289-310.

31. Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling : A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 54.

32. Ibid.,74.

33. Ibid., 80-163.

34. On the prominence of spatial metaphor in recent cultural theory, see Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 9-10.

35. Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3-10, 149-162.

36. Ibid. For a summary of theories of sacred space, and a strongly social constructivist take, see also David Chidester and Edward Tabor Linenthal, eds., introduction to *American Sacred Space* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 1-31.

37. Eric J. Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 46-47. For a theologian's account of disorientation in travel and religion, see Frederick J. Ruf, *Bewildered Travel: The Sacred Quest for Confusion* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 8-22.

38. How travel has been imagined is, in large part, the subject of chapter 1.

39. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 2-4.

40. Ibid., 37-42; 137-142, 146-150, 299-321, 476, 488-490.

41. Turner, "Center Out There," 191-230.

42. Victor W. Turner and Edith L. B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 20.

43. Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion,* 4th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2007), 5-7; the fluid (or non-existent) boundaries

between tourism and pilgrimage has been discussed widely. For a summary of the trend, see N. Collins-Kreiner, "Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations," *Annals of Tourism Research* 37, no. 2 (2010): 440-456, accessed August 2, 2010, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2009.10.016. Several collections provide a variety of perspectives. See, e.g., Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman, eds., *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004); William H. Swatos, ed., *On the Road to Being There: Studies in Pilgrimage and Tourism in Late Modernity* (Boston: Brill, 2006); and William H. Swatos and Luigi Tomasi, eds., *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism: The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety* (Westport, CT.: Praeger, 2002).

44. MacCannell, *The Tourist,* 2-3, 14, 41, 91-107; on tourism and social structure, see ibid., 1-56; "religious symbolism of primitive peoples,": ibid., 2; "the totality of the modern spirit": ibid., 15.

45. Erik Cohen, "Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences," in Roberson, *Defining Travel,* 179-201; Nelson Graburn,"The Anthropology of Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983): 9-33; accessed Dec. 7, 2008, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(83)90113-5. Drawing on Turner, Shils, Eliade, and Talcott Parsons, Cohen classified tourists according to their relationships to "centers" of society. Given the prevalence of alienation and the advent of the postmodern, de*centralized* (emphasis mine) personality, Cohen argued that tourists could not simply be understood as adherents to the "centers" of their home societies. A tourist in the "experimental mode," for example, embarked on a "quest for meaning" and "in search of himself." If they made the "essentially religious leap of faith" to another center, they entered the "existential mode" of tourism, which involved "switching worlds"; Nelson H. H. Graburn, "Tourism: The Sacred Journey," in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, ed. Valerie L. Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 21-36.

46. "Spiritual marketplace": Wade Clark Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace: Baby Boomers and the Remaking of American Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Frank, *Conquest of Cool*, 30.

47. Robert Orsi, "Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, ed. David Hall (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7; "we must approach … cultural practices": Courtney Bender, *The New Metaphysicals: Spirituality and the American Religious Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010): 5-18, 182. Of course, a number of post-colonialist scholars have showed the constructed nature of "religion," as a category (see note 1). My argument is somewhat different, examining how the meaning of "religion" was expanded and exploded by logics internal to the (Western) category of "religion" itself, especially changes linked to ontological individualisms, both Romantic and existential.

48. Orsi, "Everyday Miracles," 7.

49. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 88-94; Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, 1st paperback ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xi-xxii, 91-110. De Certeau also sees tactics as substitutes for myth, ritual and what is "other" to productive rationality. For an excellent summary discussion of different approaches to both practice theory and American religious history, see Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, Leigh E. Schmidt, and Mark Valeri, eds., introduction to *Practicing Protestants: Histories of Christian Life in America, 1630-1965* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 3-5.

50. For a handful of photos of non-white hitchhikers, see Phil Wernig, *The Hitchhikers* (Millbrae, California: Celestial Arts Publishing, 1972), 25-26, 53; "white trip": Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.: A Guide for Independent Travelers and Foreign Visitors* (Berkeley, CA: And/Or Press, 1980), 357.; "open season": Ben Lobo and Sara Links. *Side of the Road: A Hitchhiker's Guide to the United States* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 94; "highs created": H.A.M. (f) to Buryn, December 30, 1973. Buryn, the guidebook writer at the center of chapter 5, has granted me access to his reader correspondence. See introduction to chapter 5's notes for an explanation of how I cite them while preserving anonymity of the writers, who may be living.

51. Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); see also Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization," 1-38.

52. Frank, *Conquest of Cool,* 31.

53. Erik Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 14, no. 1-2 (1973): 89-103.

54. Daniel T. Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011); Sam Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle Consumption in the 1970s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 6.

55. Binkley, *Getting Loose,* 9.

56. Ibid., 101.

57. "Elective affinity": Max Weber, "The Social Psychology of the World Religions," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. and trans. C. Wright Mills and

H.H. Gerth, 267-301 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 284-285; Linda A. Mercadante, *Belief without Borders: Inside the Minds of the Spiritual but Not Religious* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); "Superstructure," of course, is Marx's term: Karl Marx, "Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*," *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978), 4-5; On contemporary Jesuit pilgrimage: Chris Manahan, "With $35 and a One-Way Bus Ticket," *America*, February 25, 2008, accessed February 7, 2015, http://americamagazine.org/issue/646/article/road; on disorientation, see Frederick J. Ruf, *Bewildered Travel: The Sacred Quest for Confusion* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 8-22.

58. Campbell, *Romantic Ethic*, 212-216; Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 14.

Notes to Chapter 1: Itineraries of the Moral Imagination

1. Walt Whitman, "Song of the Open Road," *Leaves of Grass*, Comprehensive Reader's Ed. (New York: W. W. North & Company, 1965), 149-159. On the "existential element" in Whitman's poetry, see David Kuebrich, *Minor Prophecy: Walt Whitman's New American Religion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 5, 66-67.

2. Whitman, "Song of the Open Road," 149-159; Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance," in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Brooks Atkinson (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 149-150.

3. Whitman, "Song of the Open Road"; Emerson, "Self-Reliance," 149-150.

4. "whipping, branding, hanging": Todd DePastino, *Citizen Hobo : How a Century of Homelessness Shaped America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 5-6; "masterless men": Tim Cresswell, *The Tramp in America* (London: Reaktion, 2001), 17-18.

5. Zygmunt Bauman, "From Pilgrim to Tourist - or a Short History of Identity," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Ltd., 1996), 28. Bauman's major purpose is to describe the shift from modern to postmodern identities using the metaphors of the pilgrim (modern) and the stroller, vagabond, tourist, and player (post-modern).

6. DePastino, *Citizen Hobo*, 6.

7 . bid., 2-91. DePastino frames 1870-1920 as the "rise of hobohemia." On the definition of tramp ("migratory non-worker"), hobo ("migratory worker"), and bum ("non-migratory non-worker") see Creswell, *The Tramp*, 49. On depressions and railroads in the rise of white, male tramps, see DePastino, *Citizen Hobo,* 7-17. DePastino notes that various forms of violence and discrimination excluded most women and blacks from the ranks of tramps. On hobohemia, its decline, the Depression, and the GI Bill, see DePastino, *Citizen Hobo,* 58, 59-167, 173-185, 195-227.

8. On tramps' supposed origin in Civil War camps and charity; on their threat to free labor; on their menace to the public/private division centered on the sentimental home; and on their supposed threat to women, see DePastino, *The* Tramp, 17-28. On the Gilded Age equation of moral and material progress, along with virtue and success, see T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 22; and Henry F. May, *The Protestant Churches in Industrial America*, (New York: Harper, 1949), 13-16; 44-45; On hobohemia's commodification of domesticity, see DePastino, *Citizen Hobo*, 138-139. On the gendering of the tramp as a male threat to the Victorian home, see Cresswell, *The Tramp*, 87-109.

9. "nomadism … primitive races and societies": Cresswell, *The Tramp*, 116-118. On the tramp as a diseased body and as a social contagion, see ibid., 110-129.

10. On romantic, masculine tramp narratives, see DePastino, *Citizen Hobo*, 47-62, 116. On Turner's "frontier thesis," the wageworker's frontier, and hobos' political use of frontier mythology, see ibid., 62-65, 117-126.

11. On the IWW the wageworkers' frontier, see ibid., 117-127; on the intellectual and cultural world of hobohemia, see ibid., 99-102; 185-188; on folkloric romanticization of hobos, see ibid., 192-193.

12. On the dependence of tourism on the transportation networks and infrastructure of the modern nation state, see Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 3-4. Shaffer also differentiates the middle-class tourism of the late 1800s, rooted in burgeoning therapeutic ethos, from the picturesque tours of early American elites, who sought "sublime transcendence" rather than self-actualization. On "tramps of society," see Cresswell, *The Tramp*, 82. On Republican and Puritan suspicions of leisure, see Cindy Sondik Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 6-8.

13. John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

14. Shaffer, *See America First*, 3-4, 121-122, 221-259, 278-283. I discuss Charles Taylor's concept of the "social imaginary" in the introduction.

15. On health, Aron, *Working at Play*, 18-22; on middle-class health and spiritual renewal, ibid., 33-34; on "brainworkers," ibid., 47; on vacations' extension to working class, ibid., 4, 184-198, 238; On minorities and immigrants, see ibid., 207-227. Aron's thesis is that vacations required justification because they cut against the middle-class work ethic.

16. Beth L. Lueck, *American Writers and the Picturesque Tour* (London: Routledge, 1997), 3-30. On the early American "grand tour," see also Sears, *Sacred Places*, 4-5. On morally uplifting and civilizing power of Niagara, parks, rural cemeteries, and more, see ibid.,12-29, 119-121, 189. On "consuming enjoyed as an end in itself," ibid., 18. On the liberal Protestant revaluation of leisure and on self-improvement vacations, see Aron, *Working at Play*, 37-43, 101-126. See also Shaffer, *See America First*, 3-4, 12, 175-180, 277-279.

Shaffer distinguishes 1) early 19th century, elite tourism rooted in the moral influence of sublime and picturesque views; and 2) turn-of-the-century, middle-class tourism located in the therapeutic ethos and self-actualization. Still, as she notes, the former also persisted.

17. On vitalist and quietist forms of Romanticism and the associated therapeutic ethos, see César Graña, *Bohemian Versus Bourgeois: French Society and the French Man of Letters in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Basic Books, 1964), 167-170 and Lears, *No Place of Grace,* esp. 57. In his description of the early Romantic rebellion against "alienation" and the bourgeois rationalization of life, Graña identifies a quietist form ("inner possession of transcendental mysteries") and a vitalist form ("individual self-assertion over the bulk of humanity via raw, individual will"). Lears also finds "activist" and "inward-turning" forms of antimodernism, ranging for craft labor and adventure tales to meditation and aesthetic forms of Catholicism. On camping, doing labor on vacation, and compensatory leisure, see Aron, *Working at Play*, 156-177, 208, 233-234, 291-292; On "salvation to self-realization," see T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of Consumer Culture, 1880-1930" *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, ed. Richard Fox Wrightman and T. J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 1-38. On "bounded fantasies," see Shaffer, *See America First*, 301-309.

18. On the GI Bill settling the tramp army, see DePastino, *Citizen Hobo:* xxi, 224-235.

19. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, *Bicentennial Edition*, Part 2 (Washington, DC, 1975), 716-717. On the car, American myth, and American selves, see, e.g., Cynthia Golomb Dettelbach, "In the Driver's Seat: A Study of the Automobile in American Literature and Popular Culture," (Ph.D. Diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1974), iv, 3, 53; Jeremy Packer, *Mobility Without Mayhem: Safety, Cars, and Citizenship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 1-12. John A. Jakle and Keith A Sculle, *Motoring: The Highway Experience in America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 4, 31; Cotton Seiler, *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). Packer and Seiler offer Foucauldian readings of the disciplines and dualities associated with "auotomobility" and driving, respectively. On car advertisements as the height mid-century consumerism's excesses, see Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 61-62.

20. Susan Sessions Rugh, *Are We There Yet?: The Golden Age of Family Vacations* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008), 2-4, 15-33. Rugh notes that by the 1950s, "93 percent of collective bargaining agreements contained vacation provisions." Remarkably, "only 18 percent of hourly employees were held to a two-week ceiling of vacations" – the contemporary standard.

21. On visits to patriotic sites, see ibid., 41-42, 54-67. On Western fantasy adventures, see ibid., 92-117. On RV sales, see *Motor Vehicle Facts and Figures* (Detroit: Motor Vehicle Manufacturers association, 1976), 27, quoted in Roger B. White, *Home on the Road: The Motor Home in America* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000). 154. On national park visitation, see Rugh, *Are We There Yet,* 131-132.

22. Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915* (New York: W. Morrow, 1997), 135-195, 234-235, 258-259, 271-272.

23. Rugh, *Are We There Yet*, 35-39, 68-91. On Jewish exclusion and Jewish resorts in the interwar years, see Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 219-221.

24. Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), 79, 102, 98, 113, 79-80, 84-85.

25. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 9-10, 103-107. MacCannell argues that the traveler vs. tourist distinction dates at least to Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad* and that "it is part of the problem of mass tourism, not an analytical reflection on it." He does note Boorstin's "nostalgia for an earlier time with more

clear-cut divisions between the classes and simpler social values based on a programmatic, back vs. front view of the true and the false." What he misses is the sheer expansion of Boorstin's perspective between the early 1960s and the mid-1970s.

26. Stephen Prothero, "On the Holy Road: The Beat Movement as Spiritual Protest." *The Harvard Theological Review* 84, no. 2 (1991): 205-215; Allen Ginsberg, *Howl and Other Poems*, reissue ed. (San Francisco: City Lights Publishers, 2001).

27. John Lardas, *The Bop Apocalypse: The Religious Visions of Kerouac, Ginsberg, and Burroughs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 6-7. Prothero, "On the Holy Road," 211. For a perspective on Cassady and other beat muses that centers the social construction of runaways and public responses to them, see Karen M. Staller, *Runaways: How the Sixties Counterculture Shaped Today's Practices and Policies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 23-24, 52-66.

28. Tim Cresswell, "Mobility as Resistance: A Geographical Reading of Kerouac's 'On the Road,'' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 18, no. 2 (1993): 255-257; Jack Kerouac, *On the Road*, Rev. ed., Penguin Twentieth-Century Classics (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 127-128, 135, 173, 147.

29. On Cassady as street kid, see Staller, *Runaways*, 57, 62-66. Cassady was not the only former street kid to become a Beat muse, but he was the most famous and influential; Kerouac, *On the Road,* 7, 194.

30. On gender, American mythology, and other ways in which Kerouac was both traditional and rebellious, see Cresswell, "Mobility as Resistance," 252-253, 257, 259-260. Cresswell understands Kerouac as "involved in a struggle over the representation of mobility." For a feminist response to Cresswell, see Linda McDowell, "Off the Road: Alternative Views of Rebellion, Resistance and 'the Beats,'" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21, no. 2 (1996): 412-419. Kerouac, *On the Road*, 138.

31. Gwyneth Cravens, "Hitching Nowhere: The Aging Young on the Endless Road," *Harper's Magazine* (September 1972): 66-70. Cravens writes from a position of later disillusionment, but her memory of Kerouac is telling nonetheless. For *On the Road*'s printings and influence, see Staller, *Runaways*, 21, 67-69. On Kerouac as launching the contemporary road narrative, and on the Beats' transformation to celebrities, see Katie Mills, *The Road Story and the Rebel: Moving through Film, Fiction and Television* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006), 15, 35-36, 51, 65-66.

32. Mills, *Road Story*, 3-10; David Laderman, *Driving Visions Exploring the Road Movie* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 10, 19.

33. On female and minority road narratives, see Mills, *Road Story*, 10-15, 133-159.

34. "Tension … rebellion and conformity": Laderman, 20. On selves as autonomous and mobile, see Mills, *Road Story*, 3; on existential and Whitmanesque mobility, see Mills *Road Story*, 18, 38. On dissolving self, see Laderman, *Driving Visions,* 15.

35. "floating court": Mark Christensen, *Acid Christ: Ken Kesey, LSD, and the Politics of Ecstasy* (Tucson, AZ: Schaffner Press, 2009), 56; Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1968). On Kesey's pre-bus background, see Wolfe, *Acid Test,* 32-66; "a cross between a cult": Christensen, *Acid Christ,* ii.

36. Wolfe, *Acid Test,* 67-123. Wolfe's version of the bus trip remains the definitive account; Ken Babbs is quoted in Paul Perry et al., *On the Bus: The Complete Guide to the Legendary Trip of Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters and the Birth of the Counterculture* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1990), xxii. See also Ken Kesey, *The Further Inquiry* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1990). Kesey recounts the bus trip in the form of a trial of Neal Cassady.

37. On irrationality as resistance, Perry, *On the Bus,* 43; On Kesey reading Huxley, Wolfe, *Acid Test,* 136; for an excellent summary of psychedelics' hip history and their link to the counterculture, the human potential movement, Asian religions, and existentialist mysticism, see Robert C. Fuller, *Stairways to Heaven: Drugs in American Religious History* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 57-89. See also Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, 2nd ed. (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2011), 1-25. Wolfe is quoted in Christensen, *Acid Christ*, 125.

38. On Kesey's love of superheroes, see Wolfe, *Acid Test*, 41-42. On Kesey claiming the bus as his most important work and a "metaphor that's instantly comprehensible," see, e.g., Jeff Barnard, "The Original Magic Bus," *The Newcastle Herald* (January 28, 2006), accessed February 8, 2015, LexisNexis Academic, http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic; "Edge City," "Furthur," "allegory": Wolfe, *Acid Test,* 35-41, 69, 73.

39. Wolfe, *Acid Test*, 125-148.

40. Ibid., 130-131.

41. On Kesey's fascination with Cassady, ibid., 63, 145-147, 160; on synchronicity, cosmic fusion, group mind, ibid., 140-148, 231-245; Kesey imagines directing whole-world "movie" as God, ibid., 197.

42. Ibid., 231-285.

43. Christensen, *Acid Christ,* 218.

44. *Magic Trip*, directed by Alex and Allison Ellwood (Magnolia Pictures, 2011), DVD (Magnolia Home Entertainment, 2011). I am not making a claim about the nature of myth or its evolution as a category, but rather focusing on functions associated with myth. On myth as a form of authorizing charter, see Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1954), 101. I read Malinowski's classic, but monolithic, account of myth partly through contemporary texts including Wendy Doniger, who describes myth as a "gun for hire." By that, she means: three things: "(1) any single telling may incorporate various voices (2) any myth may generate different retellings, different variants, each with its own voice; and (3) any single telling is subject to various interpretations, both within the tradition and from scholars outside the tradition." Wendy Doniger, *The Implied Spider: Politics and Theology in Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 80. While they have dominant perspectives, then, myths are also protean, incorporating and allow dissenting perspectives. On Kesey and Hemingway as personality and lifestyle models, see Christensen, *Acid Christ*, 19; "Freest American Ever" and "pied piper": Christensen, *Acid Christ*, 15-16.

45. *Easy Rider*, directed by Dennis Hopper (Columbia Pictures, 1969), DVD (Columbia Pictures, 1999).

46. Ibid. Although I offer my own interpretations of *Easy Rider*, I am also informed by David Laderman, *Driving Visions,* 43-44, 66-68, and the critical reading in Katie Mills, *The Road Story and the Rebel: Moving through Film, Fiction and Television* (Carbondale, IL, 2006), 105-107, 126-130.

47. *Easy Rider.*

48. On myth as a venue for establishing social hierarchy, see Bruce Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 147.

49. *Easy Rider*; Jack Kerouac, *On the Road*, Penguin Twentieth-Century Classics (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 121.

50. Gurney Norman, *Divine Right's Trip: A Folk-Tale* (New York: Dial Press, 1972). The novel originally appeared, page by page, in Stewart Brand, ed., *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* (Portola Institute & Random House), 1971. It appeared on the outside edges of pages throughout the *Catalog.*

Notes to Chapter 2: The Youth Travel Boom

1. Jonathan Root, "'Beat' Runaways – A Fugitive Army" *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 2, 1967.

2. Ibid.; David Swanston, "Angels Join the Hippies for a Party," *San Francisco Chronicle,* January 2, 1967.

3. Russell Baker, "The Nomadic Big New People." *New York Times*, February 3, 1972, ProQuest Historical Newspapers (hereafter "PQHN").

4. Mary Merryfield, [Untitled Column], *Chicago Tribune*, May 11, 1967, PQHN.

5. Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1964),169-170, 173-174; "become relatively less expensive": ibid., 169. Dulles provides an excellent summary of American travel in postwar Europe. On Frommer, see Nicholas T. Parsons, *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook*, (Stoud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2007), 258-259. Parsons notes that Frommer's earliest guides were for GIs and were sold by the military.

6. On European use of youth travel as cultural diplomacy, see Richard Ivan Jobs, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968." *American Historical Review* 114, No. 2 (April 2009): 379, accessed March 26, 2009, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/ahr.114.2.376. On C-4 transports, being "ambassadors," and American civic, religious, and governmental promotion of educational exchanges, see Council on International Educational Exchange, *A History of the Council on International Educational Exchange* (2002): 1-2, 8, accessed January 23, 2014, https://www.ciee.org/research_center/.../2002HistoryOfCIEE.pdf. One of the leading promoters of educational exchanges, CIEE's history is central to the history of postwar study abroad programs. See also Dulles, *Americans Abroad,* 170. On the CIA funding the National Student Association, see Russell Freeburg,. "Admit CIA Aid to Student Unit." *Chicago Tribune*, February 15, 1967, PQHN.

7. Council on International Educational Exchange, *A History;* on Frommer, see Parsons, *Worth the Detour,* 258-259; "Our History," Let's Go, accessed February 9, 2015, http://www.letsgo.com/our-history/; *Let's Go* and *Frommer's* remained among the most referenced youth travel guides into the 1970s.

8. The following articles give a sense of the rise and fall of discount youth airfares between 1966-1974. "New Youth Fares Bring Big Turnout." *New York Times*, January 28, 1966, PQHN; "Youth Fares Boom Travel," *Washington Post*, July 10, 1971, PQHN; Robert Lindsey, "Airlines Widen Battle on Atlantic Youth Fare," *New York Times*, June 11, 1971, PQHN; **"**Icelandic Youth Fare Cuts Rate to New Low," *Washington Post*, July 3, 1971, PQHN; Robert Lindsey, "Youths Returning from Europe Flooding Kennedy," *New York Times,* September 1, 1971, PQHN; Robert Lindsey, "Thousands Bet Youth Fare's End," *New York Times*, June 1, 1974, PQHN. See also "Exodus 1971: New Bargains in the Sky," *Time,* July 19, 1971, 62-67. On hippies on planes, see James J. Kilpatrick, "The Unhappy Vs. The Unwashed," *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 1967. Articles near the end of the travel boom describe the role of the exchange rate. See Robert Lindsey, "Era of Cut-Rate Air Fare Fading," *New York Times*, January 6, 1974. See also, e.g., "Notes: Travel to U.S. Is Up," *New York Times*, March 24, 1974.

9. 1955 statistics: Council on International Educational Exchange, "A History," 1-35. For 1966 statistics, see William McPherson, "The World Is a Summer Campus," *Washington Post*, April 3, 1966, PQHN; "superseding the foreign car…": Marylin Bender, "Teen-Agers Who Plan to Spend the Summer Abroad Are Offered a Wide Choice of Travel Programs," *New York Times*, May 13, 1964, PQHN. See also Stan Delaplane, "Around the World with Delaplane," *Chicago Tribune*, August 11, 1968. Delaplane notes the eclipse of big-spending travelers by $2-a-day drifters. On travel as new "birthright" and larger youth travel trends, see "Summer '70: Young Americans Abroad," *Newsweek*, August 10, 1970, 44-48. On numbers of travelers and the "Woodstock of the '70s," see "Rites of Passage: The Knapsack Nomads," *Time*, July 19, 1971, 66; Estimates of the number of young travelers varied, but writers agreed that they were unprecedented.

10. "Student Tours Europe Three Months for $134," *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1953, PQHN. On the Algiers Youth Hostel: Richard C. Miller, "European Travel: Vagabond's Report," *Los Angeles Times*, December 21, 1952, PQHN; "U.S. Girls Conquer Sahara," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 5, 1964, PQHN. See also Erik Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Driver-Tourism," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 14, no 1-2 (1973), 89-103.

11. On European youth hitchhiking after 1945, see Mario Rinvolucri, *Hitch-Hiking* (Cambridge: Mario Rinvolucri [self-published] 1974), 99-101. On Americans traveling off the beaten path, but more frequently on package tours, see Dulles, *Americans Abroad,* 176. On the "end" of bohemian, rebellious, Paris, see P.E. Schneider, "Rebellion Fades on the Left Bank," *New York Times*, April 19, 1959, PQHN.

12. Thomas Nuzum, "Paris Tramp Roundup Finds Third Are Aliens," *Washington Post*, November 10, 1964, PQHN**;** Dick Aronson, "Beatniks in Full Bloom in Paris," *Chicago Tribune*, August 29, 1965, PQHN; Herbert R. Lottman, "A Baedeker of Beatnik Territory," *New York Times,* August 7, 1966, PQHN.

13. "poverty program": June Goodwin, "Would the Medicis Approve?" *Christian Science Monitor*, July 25, 1972, PQHN. Ralph I. Hubley, "How Youths Travel in Europe," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 7, 1970, PQHN; for Amsterdam and wider-ranging discussion of the youth travel scene, see Bernard Weinraub, "Cheap Lodging Scarce as Big Influx Nears," *New York Times*, June 1, 1971, PQHN; see also Paul Goldberger, "On the Champs-Elysees: 'Hey, Aren't You the Girl Who Sits across from Me in Abnormal Psych?,'" *New York Times*, June 13, 1971, PQHN. On sleeping out in London, see Robert Nelson, "Vagabond Youth," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 5, 1971, PQHN.

14. "Reverse snobbism": see "Rites of Passage," *Time*, 66; "afford an apple": June Goodwin, "... Or Across Europe in Summer," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 13, 1972, PQHN. On the rise of budget travel from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, see, e.g., Horace Sutton, "Touring on a Shoestring Becomes a Fine Art," *Chicago Tribune,* April 23, 1967, PQHN; and "Summer '70: Young Americans Abroad," *Newsweek*, 44-48. On the Paris Amex office, see Daniel M. Madden, "'C/O American Express, Paris,'" *New York Times*, September 14, 1969, PQHN.

15. Detailing the 1960s and 1970s evolution of the travel information would require an entire chapter, or even a book. In summary, guidebooks covered an increasing percentage of the earth and increasingly catered to niche markets and niche interests. A copy of an early, informal hip guide to the "hippie trail" to Katmandu is available in as an appendix to Richard Neville, *Play Power: Exploring the International Underground*, First American Edition (New York: Random House, 1970), 302-309. For the provenance of Neville's guide, see Erik Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 14, no. 1-2, 96. Newspaper travel columns regularly recommended, guidebooks, providing insight into the evolving youth guidebook market. In chronological order, see, e.g., Philip O'Connor, "Europe for the Young Needn't Be Costly," *Chicago Tribune*, September 12, 1965, PQHN; William McPherson, "The World Is a Summer Campus," *Washington Post*, April 3, 1966, PQHN. Barbara Belford, "Tips for Student Travel Abroad," *Chicago Tribune*, April 21, 1968, PQHN. Susan Nelson, "'Must' Books for Student Travelers," *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1969, PQHN; Tom Grimm, "Vagabond Youth: Factual Books for Summer Journeys," *Los Angeles Times*, March 19, 1972, PQHN; Curtis W. Casewit, "Thumbs up for the New-Style Travel Guide," *Chicago Tribune*, April 30, 1972, PQHN; Tom Grimm, "Books to Turn You on to Adventure," *Los Angeles Times*, March 11, 1973, PQHN; Sheridan Pressey, "Innocents Abroad," *Washington Post*, June 17, 1973, PQHN; Tom Grimm, "Vagabond Youth: Guidebooks Tell the Travel Story," *Los*

Angeles Times, May 19, 1974, PQHN. Perhaps the earliest conventionally published guide to hip travel was Ed Buryn, *Hitch-Hiking in Europe: An Informal Guidebook* (San Francisco: Hannah Associates, 1969). In 1969, *The Los Angeles Times* debuted its "Vagabond Youth" column, written by Dori Lundy. *The Chicago Tribune* launched "The Student Traveler," by William Grout, in 1970. Established brands like *Frommer's*, *Fielding's*, and *Let's Go* -- and even Pan-American Airlines – continued to print popular budget guides geared to young people.

16. On youth travel's European center and hippie "spearheads" to the margins, see Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence," 95-96; Endless reports noted the popularity of Amsterdam and Copenhagen, as well as other hippie hot spots. See, e.g., "'Summer '70,'"*Newsweek*, 45F. On Amsterdam's hashish prices, see Bernard Weinraub, "Amsterdam Radio Quotes Hashish Prices," *New York Times*, June 29, 1971, PQHN. Amsterdam as "seething headopolis": Neville, *Play Power*, 29. For a fascinating set of recollections and links about life in the caves of Matala, Crete, see "How Was it? Matala in the 60's and 70's," accessed January 21, 2014, http://www.matala.nl. See also Thomas Thompson, "Crete: A Stop in the New Odyssey," *Life*, July 19, 1968.

17. On global hip outposts, see Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence," 95-96; Thompson, "Crete," 20-28 also describes Turkey. On Lamu, see John Aubrey, "Lamu Island: Headquarters for a 'Hippie' Invasion," *Washington Post*, January 9, 1972, PQHN. For a hip perspective on the hippie travel scene and crackdowns on it, see Richard Neville, *Play Power.* For a popular history and contemporary retracing of the "hippie trail," see Rory MacLean, *Magic Bus: On the Hippie Trail from Istanbul to India* (New York: Viking, 2006).

18. Paul DiMaggio, *The Hitchhiker's Field Manual* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1974), 298.

19. On lists of crackdowns, see Neville, *Play Power*, 203-205. On later crackdowns in places like Costa Rica, Uganda, and Malawi, see John Brannon Albright, "Notes: Tailored for Travel," *New York Times*, April 29, 1973, PQHN; On Colombia, see Marvine Howe, "'Hippie Paradise Fades in Colombia," *New York Times*, May 5, 1974, PQHN. For a Greek Orthodox prelates prayer for resistance to hippie invaders, see "Exodus 1971: New Bargains in the Sky," *Time,* July 19, 1971, 62.

20. Multiple writers discussed the diversity of youth travelers. Here, I draw primarily from "Summer '70: Young Americans Abroad," *Newsweek*, August 10, 1970, 44-48; Thompson, "Crete: A Stop in the New Odyssey" 20-28; and, most analytical, Cohen "Nomads from Affluence," 100-101. On "Alf": Neville, *Play Power*, 208.

21. Thompson, "Crete," 24-25.

22. Neville, *Play Power*, 215-216, 209, 219-221. Neville argues he is not just being romantic but also implores readers not to underestimate the "barbarities, injustices and unpleasant superstitions which abound in primitive communities, and which are sometimes overlooked by myopic itinerants." He does suggest that the "simplicity" of such cultures may yet permanently affect visitors.

23. On hippie orientalism, see Brian T. Edwards, *Morocco Bound: Disorienting America's Maghreb, from Casablanca to the Marrakech Express*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 249-301.

24. Thompson, "Crete," 28.

25. Richard Horn, "Letter from Katmandu," *East Village Other,* quoted in Neville, *Play Power,* 217.

26. On "rucksack revolution … hitchhikers, and freighthoppers," see Gwyneth Cravens, "Hitching Nowhere: The Aging Young on the Endless Road," *Harper's Magazine* (September 1972): 66. Cravens is referencing Jack Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums*. On the decline of North Beach and the rise of the Haight, see Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*. 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 1984), 5; Allen Brown, "Life and Love Among the Beatniks," *San Francisco Chronicle,* June 15, 1958; Michael Fallon, "Bohemia's New Haven," *San Francisco Examiner*, Sept 7, 1965; Dick Nolan, "Hippie is Right," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 3, 1967. On the East Village, see Lewis Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip* (New York: Pegasus, 1968), 97-146. On the media-fueled allure of the Beats and urban bohemias to the teenagers and students of the early 1960s, see Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 52-54; see also Karen M. Staller, *Runaways : How the Sixties Counterculture Shaped Today's Practices and Policies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) 38-41.

27. On crash pads, see Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 44-46. See also 97-146, Yablonsky, *Hippie Trip*, 61-198, 201, 205-223; "Your inhibitions": Jay Stevens, *Storming Heaven: LSD and the American Dream* (New York: Grove Press, 1987), 305. On the murder at Galahads, see Miller, *60s Communes,* 405. These summary sources largely agree with contemporary press accounts.

28. On early encampments, "open land" communities, and Drop City see Miller, *The 60s Communes,* 20-40, 46-56. On hip encampments and communes in California, and on crash pads in Haight-Ashbury and New York's East Village, see Yablonsky, *Hippie Trip*, 61-198; "Your inhibitions": Stevens, Jay. *Storming Heaven: LSD and the American Dream*. New York: Grove Press, 1987) 305. On hitchhiking hippies "invading" California natural spaces, see: "A Record Haul --- 33 Beatniks,"

San Francisco Chronicle, August 5, 1966; Mary Crawford, "Ben Lomond Is Hipped on Hippies," *San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle*, April 16, 1967; "Yosemite Uptight," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 28, 1968, 2; Jonathan Root, "'Beat' Runaways – A Fugitive Army," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 2, 1967; Jonathan Root, "The Teen Runaways." *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 3, 1967; "Underground Railway to Hippie Land," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 7, 1967; "Runaways in Hippieland Tire Police," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 19, 1967.

29. For mocking media reports on hippie filth, see, e.g., "Hippie Pads Condemned," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 14, 1967; "Sox Orders Diggers Out of Hippie HQ," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 13, 1967; Larry Dunn, "Hippies Give Big Sur Some Big-City Worries, *San Francisco Examiner*, May 12, 1968. On the Diggers' concern for runaways, see Karen M. Staller, *Runaways: How the Sixties Counterculture Shaped Today's Policies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 88-93.

30. Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 215. For a photo of young arrivals and the "death of hippie," see Perry, *Haight-Ashbury,* 213, 243-44. On the deterioration of the Haight, see, e.g., Robert Patterson, "SF is Mecca for Today's Teen Cop-Out," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 28, 1969; and Robert Patterson, "Those Kids Come Here Looking for Love – and Find Haight," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 30, 1969, 30.

31. On the rise of middle-class, countercultural runaways, their cultural context, and the panic they generated, see Staller, *Runaways,* 15-23, 36-49. I discuss "domestic containment" in the introduction. See Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). For continued coverage of Diana Phipps, see Jonathan Root, "The Teen Runaways," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 3, 1967; for a mention of the bulletin board at the switchboard in a story about runaways, see Don McNeill, "Parents and Runaways: Writing a New Contract," *Village Voice*, Dec. 14, 1967, 26. A huge number of other newspaper stories also chronicled runaways in the area, usually painting them as ingénues pulled into a world of violence and exploitation, a characterization that seems, in many cases, to have contained a grain of truth. See, e.g., Root, Jonathan. "'Beat' Runaways – A Fugitive Army." San Francisco Chronicle. January 2, 1967, p. 1, 6; In addition to the *New York Times* reporting summarized by Staller (above), the *San Francisco Examiner* ran a series on teen runaways in 1969, a good example of the social-concern reporting on the eras teen nomads. See Robert Patterson, "SF is Mecca for Today's Teen Cop-Out," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 28, 1969, 1, 16; Robert Patterson, "Youngsters Goal: Get By for Free," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 29, 1969; Robert Patterson, "Those Kids Come Here Looking for Love – and Find Haight," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 30, 1969; Patterson, "The Predators: Parasites Who Live Off Runaways," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 31, 1969; Patterson, "City Not Geared to Help in Rescue of Runaway Youth," *San Francisco Examiner*.

August 1, 1969; Patterson, "An Involved Public Must Help Runaway Youths," *San Francisco Examiner,* August 2, 1969.

32. McNeill, Don. "Parents and Runaways: Writing a New Contract," *The Village Voice*, December 14, 1967, 1, 21.

33. Robert Patterson, "Youngsters' Goal: Get By for Free," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 29, 1969.

34. "rough scene": McNeill, "Parents and Runaways," 26.

35. For the survey of patrons of the Berkeley dinner program, see Raymond P. Jennings, "What Are They Really Like," box 3, folder 43, Berkeley Free Church Collection, Graduate Theological Union Archives (hereafter BFCC-GTUA). On the same survey, see also "Statistical Summary," box 7, folder 21, BFCC-GTUA; Marjorie Montelius, Final Report of the Travelers Aid Society: Demonstration on Transient Young Adults in San Francisco (San Francisco: Travelers Aid Society, 1968), San Francisco History Collection, San Francisco Public Library, SFH 18: Travelers Aid of San Francisco, box 2, folder 6. Also, in the same collection folder, see Marjorie Montelius, "Youth In Flight," paper presented at the Fifteenth Biennial Convention of the Travelers Aid Association of America, April 29, 1968, Detroit, MI. On hippies' class status and drug use, see Yablonsky, *Hippie Trip,* 26, 36. Of course, an influential line of anti-psychiatry thought contended that mental hospitals existed to constrain and pathologize non-conformists – just as in Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. Yablonsky notes histories of mental illness among many of the "tribes" he visited in 1966 and 1967. Countercultural leaders who had been institutionalized included Richard "Dick" Price, one of the co-founders of the Esalen Institute, where human potential psychology and psychedelics fused. See Jeffrey J. Kripal, *Esalen: America and the Religion of No Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 69-84. For a window into hip aid networks and the pathologies of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury in particular, see Staller, Runaways, 71-121. Unlike previous systematic aid to runaways, hip models generally sought to grant the young person autonomy.

36. On the Diggers' hip aid to newcomers and nationwide network of imitators, see Karen M. Staller, *Runaways: How the Sixties Counterculture Shaped Today's Practices and Policies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006). For a history of the Berkeley Free Church, see Harlan Stelmach, "The Cult of Liberation: The Berkeley Free Church and the Radical Church Movement, 1967-1972" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1977). For newspaper sources on hip services, see e.g., Robert Patterson, "Those Kids Come Here Looking for Love – and Find Haight," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 30, 1969. On the Switchboard, see George Gilbert, "'Hot Line' Between Hip and Straight," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 10, 1967. On the Switchboard and other aid services, see Robert Patterson, "City Not Geared to Help in Rescue of Runaway Youth, *The San Francisco Examiner*, August 1, 1969.

37. Delbert Christopher Totten, *Autobiography of a Hippie: 1964 through 1969* (LuLu Online Publisher, 2007), 4-129.

38. Totten, *Autobiography*, 146-198.

39. Ibid., 199-283.

40. On "higher consciousness" and Haight Ashbury proselytization, see ibid., 223-227.

41. On "depraved debauchery," and Totten's first Jesus Freak conversion, see ibid., 263-270; On return to, and disillusionment with, Jesus Freaks in Berkeley, see ibid., 284-290. On "deep cathartic…" and Totten's ending spiritual statements, see ibid., 311-312.

42. I discuss this two-phase model of the counterculture in my introduction.

43. John Anderson Wurster, ed., *Let's Go: The Student Guide to America 1969*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Student Agencies, Inc., 1968), 16-22, 82-89, 90-92, 105-109, 113-119.

44. The best summary of these mobile groups as aspects of the communal movement is in Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 17-20, 41-43, 118-123.

45. Chapter 3 discusses the evolving practice and meaning of hitchhiking in detail. On its re-emergence, see "L.A. is Hitchhikers' Paradise," [Newspaper Unknown], July 9, 1967, "Hitchhiking: 1970 and previous" folder *San Francisco Examiner* morgue, San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, CA; David Swanston, "A Worry Over Thumbs," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 15, 1967; Jane Leek, "Pace Picking up on Hitchhiker Pike," *Los Angeles Times*, August 30, 1971, E1.

46. For the full report on "Panzer Troops of the Age of Aquarius," see Karl Fleming, "Tripping Down Hippie Highway," *Newsweek* July 27, 1970, 22-24. For the California Highway Patrol's estimates of hitchhikers, see Jane Leek, "Pace Picking up on Hitchhiker Pike," *Los Angeles Times*, August 30, 1971, PQHN. The media covered the hitchhiking boom frequently in 1970 and 1971. See, e.g., Tom Grimm, "The Thumb as Travel Agent: Pleasures and Perils," *New York Times*, December 13, 1970, PQHN; Steven Roberts, "Youths Seeking Freedom on the Road," *New York Times*, July 15, 1971, PQHN; John Kifner, "They Use the Thumb to Roam the Land," *New York Times*, August 8, 1971, PQHN; Tom O'Donnell, "On the Road – A Way Of Life," *San*

Francisco Chronicle, August 16, 1972; Robert F. Levey, "Traveling by Thumb Grows in Popularity," *Washington Post*, April 10, 1972, PQHN.

47. For youth culture writers critical of the crowding and unsanitary conditions of the Big Sur hitchhiking scene, see Ben Lobo and Sara Links, *Side of the Road: A Hitchhiker's Guide to the United States* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 85.; On California and hippie hitchhiking practice, see Paul DiMaggio, *The Hitchhiker's Field Manual* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973) 255-6; "California is a freak's Disneyland": Ropeman [pseud.], "On the Road with Ropeman," *Burning River News* 3:2 (1969), 6.

48. For attempts to quantify hitchhiking growth, see Tom Grimm, "The Thumb as Travel Agent: Pleasures and Perils," *The New York Times*, December 13, 1970, PQHN. For mentions of hitchhikers outside small towns and en route to national parks, see Ted Sell, "Middle America: It's Part of the Land but a Land Apart," *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 1970, 1, 17; For the explosion of guidebooks to hitchhiking in the early 1970s, see chapter 3, note 14. "Now that their confident thumbs": T. Morris Longsteth, "Trainby Wades In," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 3, 1968, PQHN.

49. Robert Roskind, *Memoirs of an Ex-Hippie: Seven Years in the Counterculture* (Blowing Rock, N.C.: One Love Press, 2001), 1-61; all quotations, ibid., 51

50. On Roskind's father, see ibid., 65; on anxieties about not being productive, see ibid., 108, 131; on building and renting A-Frames, see ibid., 38, 68-69, 134, 164-5; on Roskind's hitchhiking trip to discern his vocation, see ibidl, 88-124; on the Texas guru, Truckin' Jim, see ibid., 96, 105-106; on Forgotten Works and its visitors, see ibid., 119-130.

51. On building and naming "Louise," as well as picking up hitchhikers, see ibid.,150-152; on "cosmic covered wagon," see ibid., 169; on visiting the hot spring while stoned, see ibid., 171-178.

52. Ibid., 103-104.

53. Ibid., 195-197, 216-217.

54. Ibid., 213-217; "put into practice… stop judging and embrace it," ibid., 217.

Notes to Chapter 3: Hitchhiking as Spiritual Practice

1. Mark Smith, transcript of hitchhiking journal, May 21, 1976-October 2, 1976, private archive of Ed Buryn. Mark Smith is a pseudonym, used because the journal's author may still be living. He gave his journal to a California guidebook writer name Ed Buryn, whose work is featured in chapter 6. According to the journal, a romantic partner introduced Smith and Buryn while the latter was visiting a school in Troy, NY (likely the Emma Willard School, a preparatory school), and Smith gave Buryn his journal at an unknown date. It is housed in Buryn's personal files in his home in California. I am working from a typed transcript. From this point forward, I will cite the journal as follows: Smith, (entry date).

2. Smith, May 21, 1976.

3. "Glazed over psyche" and "heightened awareness": ibid., May 24, 1976; Reading Krishnamurti: ibid., June 4, 1976; Reading Chogyam Trungpa, ibid., July 26, 1976; Smith continued reading Trungpa for several weeks on the West Coast; "Waxen image" and "lone wolf": ibid., May 28, 1976.

4. Ibid., May 29, 1976.

5. Jeremy Packer, *Mobility without Mayhem: Safety, Cars, and Citizenship* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008). Multiple histories mention lift-giving's association with patriotism, as well as women and children hitchhiking. See Marc Francis Roddin, "Notes on a Social History of Hitchhiking," (Bachelor of Science thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1971), 26-27; John T. Schlebecker, "An Informal History of Hitchhiking." *The Historian: A Journal of History* 20, no. 3 (May 1958): 319-320; John Reid, "The Acceptance of Hitchhiking in American Culture, 1929-1988" (M.A. thesis, Southern Illinois University, 2010) 43-53.

6. Packer, *Mobility Without Mayhem*, 84-87; On car-ownership statistics and campaigns against hitchhiking: Schlebecker, *Informal History*, 326; On Sid Davis, Cold War paranoia, and other anti-hitchhiking campaign, see Reid, "Acceptance of Hitchhiking," 67-82.

7. On wartime and postwar European hitchhiking, see Mario Rinvolucri, *Hitch-Hiking*, (Cambridge, UK: Mario Rinvolucri [self-published] 1974), 93-103. On adventurous postwar hitchhikers, see, e.g.,: "Student Tours Europe Three Months for $134," *Los Angeles Times,* November 3, 1952, PQHN; Bob Robertson, "How Two Girls Discovered the Wide World," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 27, 1961; and Ron Fimrite, "The Champ Thumber Pauses Here," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 21, 1961. On hitching from New York to Alaska, see Roddin, "Notes on a Social History of Hitchhiking, 26-27. On hitchhiking as sport, see Janet Graham, "Rule of Thumb for

the Open Road," *Sports Illustrated*, June 6, 1966, 76-90. On speed records, see Kevin O'Rourke, letter to the editor, *Rolling Stone*, August 31, 1972, 3. For a quick summary of these trends, see Packer, *Mobility Without Mayhem*, 91.

8. J. Walker, *Only by Thumb* (New York: Vantage Press, 1964); 11, 23-24. 95-96, 36.

9. Jack Kerouac, "The Vanishing American Hobo," in *Lonesome Traveler*, New Evergreen ed. (New York: Grove Press, 1989), 172-183; Hunter S. Thompson, "The Extinct Hitchhiker: When the Thumb Was a Ticket to Adventures on the Highway," *The National Observer*, July 22, 1963.

10. Tom Hayden's hitchhiking is mentioned in Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 54; Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties: The Education of an Activist, 1961-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 125-132; on hitchhiking being easier during "national mobilization," see Ben Lobo and Sara Links, *Side of the Road: A Hitchhiker's Guide to the United States* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 66; Packer, *Mobility Without Mayhem,* 88.

11. On Kerouac's *On the Road*, as a "time bomb": Gwyneth Cravens, "Hitching Nowhere: The Aging Young on the Endless Road," *Harper's Magazine* (September 1972): 66-70. Cravens' disillusioned hitchhiking retrospective, which mentions Janis Joplin's hitchhiking, appears in chapter 1. For summaries of Dylan's, Hayden's, and Thompson's hitchhiking, see John Reid, "The Acceptance of Hitchhiking in American Culture, 1929-1988" (M.A. thesis, Southern Illinois University, 2010) 86-90. On the changing California hitchhiking scene, "halfway straight" and "hitchhiking up and down…", see Paul DiMaggio, "Sociability and the Hitchhiker" (B.A. honors thesis, Swarthmore College, 1971), 25, 68. I am quoting from DiMaggio's anonymous informants.

12. Packer, *Mobility Without Mayhem*, 88-89.

13. On popularity of areas of natural beauty, see note 22 on hippies invading natural places. On popularity of Canada and natural areas, see also, e.g., John Kifner, "They Use the Thumb to Roam the Land," *New York Times*, August 8, 1971, PQHN.

14. In counting ten hitchhiking guidebooks, I exclude titles by non-US presses, but include hitchhiking guides to regions besides the United States. In chronological order, they are: Ed Buryn, *Hitch-Hiking in Europe* (San Francisco: Hannah Associates, 1969); Ken Welsh, *Hitch-Hiker's Guide to Europe* (New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1971); Tom Grimm, *Hitchhiker's Handbook*, (New York: Plume Book, an imprint of New American Library, 1972); Jeff Kennedy and David E. Greenberg, *The Hitchhikers' Road Book* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday &

Company, 1972); Ben Lobo and Sara Links, *Side of the Road: A Hitchhiker's Guide to the United States* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972); Mik Schultz, *Asia for the Hitchhiker* (Chicago: TEJ/BESTS, 1972). Paul Coopersmith, *Rule of Thumb: A Hitchhiker's Handbook to Europe, North Africa and the East* (New York: Fireside Books, an imprint of Simon and Schuster, 1973 Paul DiMaggio, *The Hitchhiker's Field Manual* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973); Ken Hicks, *The Complete Hitchhiker: A Handbook for Bumming around America*(New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973); Mik Schultz, *Latin America for the Hitchhiker: A Guide to Low Cost Travel in Mexico, Central America and South America* (Chicago: Information Exchange, 1973); "part of the ethic": DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*, 14. In agreement on hitchhiking's status as a legacy of the counterculture, see Robert McG. Thomas, "Americans Have Turned Their Thumbs up on Hitchhiking Despite Laws and Propaganda Again," *New York Times*, October 6, 1975, PQHN.

15. Smith, June 3-5, June 9, 1976.

16. Hiking in the redwoods: ibid., August 29, 1976; hiking in Arizona's desert canyons: ibid., July 14, 1976; camping in Yosemite: ibid, July 18, 19, 26, 30, August 5, 1976; "lobster scale … own skin": DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*, 7; "paradise found": Smith, July 19, 1976; Smith's sex in Yosemite: ibid., Aug. 5, 1976. Hitchhiking's ability to strip away comfortable protections, revealing one's truest self, was a common theme of writing on hitchhiking.

17. DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual,* 3; "natural and spontaneous": Kennedy and Greenberg, *Hitchhikers' Road Book*, xi; "what a non-computerized planet…" and "time passes": Welsh, *Hitch-Hiker's Guide,* 13; "even if Lady Godiva": Grimm, *Hitch-Hiker's Handbook*, 17. On contrasting hitchhikers use of time/space with that of tourists, see also Kennedy and Greenberg, *Hitchhikers' Road Book,* 5.

18. Buryn, *Hitch-Hiking in Europe*, 10.

19. Welsh, *Hitch-Hiker's Guide,* 15.

20. Similar advice is found, repeatedly, throughout the guidebooks listed in note 14.

21. On American religious liberalism's characteristic tension between freedom and self-surrender, see Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 17; Coopersmith, *Rule of Thumb*, 1; on "practiced release" and "loose selves," see Sam Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle Consumption in the 1970s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 2, 16.

22. Smith, June 24, 1976.

23. "nature's dare": Tom Robbins, *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 43-44; "melodies, concerti": ibid., 47.

24. Ibid., 47.

25. "magic … secret link": ibid., 303. Catherine Albanese includes practical magic in her discussion of the American metaphysical tradition. See her *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 6-7, 14-15 Because metaphysical religion characteristically presumes a monistic, integrated cosmos, whose levels are connected energetically, metaphysical ritual takes the form of "symbolist practice" "enacted metaphor." Hip hitchhiking fits the bill. For "got drunk for a week": Robbins, *Cowgirls,* 47.

26. "Yoga of the road": Dale Roddy, interview with the author, Nevada City, CA, June 10, 2010. On maintaining silence on advice from Ram Dass: Scott Johnson, telephone interview with the author, May 19, 2011. I met Johnson through a website for vintage Volkswagen enthusiasts.

27. Reading Trungpa: Smith, July 26, 1976; "flow like the rivers": Smith, August 7, 1976.

28. Ibid., August 8, 1976.

29. "My ego": ibid., August 9, 1976; meditating in mountains: ibid., Sept. 29, 1976.

30. Lobo and Links, *Side of the Road*, 8.

31. Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties,* 213. On the Prankster's experiments and Acid Texts as fantasies, see Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1968), 35-41. On the Diggers, see Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 41-44. On the imaginative, "as if" politics of the Diggers, the Yippies, and other avant garde groups, see Gitlin, *The Sixties,* 222-241.

32. As practical advice, almost all hitchhiking guidebooks advised traveling light. See, e.g., Grimm, *The Hitchhiker's Handbook,* 20; Kennedy and Greenberg, *Hitchhikers' Road Book,* 3; "The hitchhiker … materially oriented": Phil Wernig,*The Hitchhikers* (Millbrae, CA: Celestial Arts Publishing, 1972), 103; See also Jane Leek, "Pace Picking up on Hitchhiker Pike," *Los Angeles Times*, August 30, 1971, PQHN. On the duty of "freaky" vehicles to stop for fellow "freaks," see, e.g., Robert Roskind, *Memoirs of an Ex-Hippie: Seven Years in the Counterculture* (Blowing Rock, NC: One

Love Press, 2001), 151-152. On the symbiosis of hitchhikers and hippie buses, see Jodi Pallidini, and Beverly Dubin, *Roll Your Own: The Complete Guide to Living in a Truck, Bus, Van, or Camper* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), 168-9. On "crashing" with rides, see, e.g., John Kifner, "They Use the Thumb to Roam the Land," *New York Times*, August 8, 1971, PQHN. On conversation and entertainment as "payment" for ride, see Wernig, *Hitchhikers,* 103-107. On an informal exchange system of "gas, grass, or ass" for rides, see Jeremy Packer, *Mobility without Mayhem: Safety, Cars, and Citizenship* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008), 90.

33. On sharing as "road code," see Lobo and Links*, Side of the Road,* 26. On conversation and entertainment as "payment" for rides, see Wernig, *The Hitchhikers,* 103-107. Packer describes, but may exaggerate, an informal exchange system of "gas, grass, or ass" for rides. Packer, *Mobility Without Mayhem*, 90; "we all get by …": Lobo and Links, *Side of the Road*, 26.

34. "It is a sad day… danger": Wernig, *The Hitchhikers,* 79. "It's this cloak of fear …": ibid., 76.

35. DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*, 4; "confrontation with an alien culture": Kennedy and Greenberg, *Hitchhikers' Road Book*, 3-4; see also Grimm, *Hitchhiker's Handbook*, 15.

36. John D. Vanden Brink, "Hitching Fast and Free," *Outside the Net* 1 no. 1 (1970), 10.

37. Lobo and Links, *Side of the Road*, 85. Lobo and Links mention the unpleasant scene at Big Sur as a means to challenge "our own culture myths." See also Wernig, *The Hitchhikers*, 102.

38. On generous Michigan family: Smith, May 30, 1976; ride with California defense-industry engineer: ibid., Aug. 8, 1976.

39. DiMaggio, "Sociability and the Hitchhiker"

40. Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*, 4th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007), 2-13; "I believe in the world," "one in harmony," and "entrusting yourself to somebody": Wernig, *The Hitchhikers*, 73, 107, 124.

41. Lobo and Links, *Side of the Road*, 10-11. See also J. Walker, *Only by Thumb*, 21-22. Walker explicitly links hitchhiking to Frederick Jackson's Turner's frontier thesis.

42. Lobo and Links, *Side of the Road,* 10. For a similar genealogy that includes Jack Kerouac's "romanticization of the road" as crucial inspiration,

see DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*, 7-16.

43. Lobo and Links, *Side of the Road,* 10-11.

44. On the importance of appearance, see Kennedy and Greenberg, *Hitchhikers' Road Book*, 24; Welsh, *Hitch-Hiker's Guide to Europe*, 17-18; Wernig, *The Hitchhikers*, 34; Coopersmith, *Rule of Thumb*, 2; DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*, 46. On "advertising … your product," see Wernig, *The Hitchhikers*, 30-31; "freaks" pick up "freaks": DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual,* 44-46.

45. DiMaggio, "Sociability and the Hitchhiker," 34; on the same point, see also DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual,* 55.

46. On following scenes as "pathetic", see Kennedy and Greenberg, *Hitchhikers' Road Book*, 9, 17. On danger from "local toughs," see Grimm, *Hitchhiker's Handbook*, 26.

47. For images of non-white hitchhikers, see Wernig, *The Hitchhikers*, 25-26. On threats facing blacks, see DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*, 152. For a mention of "white skin privilege," see John D. Vanden Brink, "Hitching Fast and Free," *Outside the Net* 1 no. 1 (1970), 10. For hippies as "new minorities," see Wernig, *The Hitchhikers*, 27.

48. Lobo and Links, *Side of the Road*, 9. On hitchhiking by choice, see also Hunter S. Thompson, "The Extinct Hitchhiker: When the Thumb Was a Ticket to Adventures on the Highway," *The National Observer* (July 22, 1963), 12; Grimm, *Hitchhiker's Handbook*, 39. On his $3000, see Smith, June 4, 1976. Entering California on July 17, 1976, Smith mentions passing through same place three years earlier.

49. Coopersmith, *Rule of Thumb*, 2-3; "for the woman hitchhiking alone…": DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*, 57; see also Kennedy and Greenberg, *Hitchhikers' Road Book,* 26; Lobo and Links, *Side of the Road*, 94-96; "mention relative" or "gag self": Grimm, *Hitchhiker's Handbook*, 63; "daughter figure": DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*, 61. on doubts that women hitchhiking alone could be truly safe see Grimm, *Hitchhiker's Handbook,* 33 and Coopersmith, *Rule of Thumb*, 5-6.

50. "asking for it": Packer, *Mobility Without Mayhem*, 95-97. On the perception of hitchhiking women as sexually available, see also Lobo and Links, *Side of the Road*, 95-96, 101-2; Grimm, *Hitchhiker's Handbook*, 33; DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Field Manual*, 58.

51. DiMaggio, *Hitchhiker's Handbook,* 30.

52. Don Mitchell, *Thumb-Tripping*, Bantam edition (Boston: Bantam Books, in arrangement with Little, Brown and Company, 1971).

53. Packer, *Mobility Without Mayhem*, 103. On the question of whether hitchhiking had grown more dangerous or simply less accepted, see John Reid, "The Acceptance of Hitchhiking in American Culture, 1929-1988" (masters thesis: Southern Illinois University, 2010), 2. On hitchhiking's enduring appeal in 1975, see Robert McG. Thomas, "Americans Have Turned Their Thumbs up on Hitchhiking Despite Laws and Propaganda Again," *New York Times*, October 6, 1975, PQHN.

54. William Pittenger, "Three Studies in Northeastern California: Organized Religion, Hitchhiking, and Street Christians" (masters thesis, California State University, Chico, 1976), 44-46. Pittenger also surveys and interviews hitchhikers passing through northern California. Of those responding to the relevant question, none had traveled less than two years, and the median time on the road was five years. This, despite the fact 22 of 29 were 23 or younger. Pittenger's methods are foggy and his sample size is unclear, so his study doesn't permit generalization. On the persistence of hip aid organizations and their gradual conversion into the dominant model for helping runaways, see Karen M. Staller, *Runaways: How the Sixties Counterculture Shaped Today's Practices and Policies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 97-121. On the history of the Rainbow Family and its ties to current-day nomadic lifestyles, see Michael I. Niman, *People of the Rainbow: A Nomadic Utopia*, 2nd ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011), 31-37, 99-105, 112-113.

55. Smith, June 14-18, June 21-23, June 25, July 3-5, 1976.

56. "Hitch/packers": ibid., July 11, 1976; "three star-struck hippies": ibid., September 4, 1976.

57. On the arts festival in Duncan, BC: ibid., September 6 and Sepember. 8, 1976; on deciding not to pick apples in Chelan, WA: ibid., Sept. 12, 1976; on staying with Jesus Freak: ibid., Sept. 27, 1976.

58. Ibid., Oct. 2, 1976

59. Ibid., Oct. 4, 1976.

60. Ibid., July 30, 1976.

Notes to Chapter 4: Vehicles of Enlightenment

1. Rob McGraw, "My Old Truckee Home," *The Boston Globe*, July 15, 1973, accessed March 30, 2012, PQHN.

2. Ibid.

3. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, (1984; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xi-xxii. For a discussion of the different treatments of practice in American religious history, see Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, Leigh Eric Schmidt and Mark R. Valeri, eds., introduction to *Practicing Protestants: Histories of Christian Life in America, 1630-1965* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 3-6. The authors rightly classify practice theorists into two rough camps: 1) critical theorists interested in, and suspicious of, power (de Certeau, Bourdieu, Catherine Bell, Talal Asad); and 2) moral philosophers and constructive theologians interested in practices that form distinctively Christian selves in a morally fractured world. I am arguing that hip travel combined both forms of practice, consciously seeking freedom (so de Certeau) but less consciously sculpting particular sorts of hip selves.

4. McGraw, *Truckee Home.*

5. Ibid.

6. Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1968), 13; Linda Breen, interview by Rick Dodgson, July 11, 2001, in *Spit in the Ocean #7: All About Kesey*, ed. Ed McClanahan (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 127. *Spit in the Ocean* includes other first-hand recollections of the bus. For two of the many bus-dwellers to explicitly site Kesey's influence, see McGraw, *Truckee Home*, and Robert Roskind, *Memoirs of an Ex-Hippie: Seven Years in the Counterculture* (Blowing Rock, NC: One Love Press, 2001), 194-195.

7. George Walker, "Definitely the Bus," in *Spit in the Ocean #7: All About Kesey*, ed. Ed McClanahan (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 46-47; Painting "serendipitously": Paul Perry et al., *On the Bus: The Complete Guide to the Legendary Trip of Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters and the Birth of the Counterculture* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1990), 63. *On the Bus*, a celebration of the 1964 trip, includes accounts from many Pranksters. Wolfe quoted in ibid., back cover.

8. John Lennon and Janis Joplin's cars featured in Christoph Grunenberg and Jonathan Harris, eds. *Summer of Love: Psychedelic Art, Social Crisis, and the Counterculture in the 1960s* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 185-215;

also Eric Dregni and Ruthann Godollei, *Road Show: Art Cars and the Museum of the Streets* (Golden, Colorado: Speck Press, 2009); The Who on Tour (album cover), pictured in Greil Marcus, review of Magic Bus: The Who on Tour, *Rolling Stone*, November 9, 1968, accessed February 8, 1968, http://www.rollingstone.com/music/albumreviews/magic-bus-the-who-on-tour-19681109; "The Lost History of the Partridge Family Bus," *Telstar Logistics* (blog), January 28, 2008, accessed Feburary 8, 2015, http://telstarlogistics.typepad.com/telstarlogistics/2008/01/on-the-road-in.html.

9. *3 Days of Peace & Music*, directed by Michael Wadleigh (Wadleigh-Maurie, Ltd., 1969), 40th Anniversary Edition, DVD, (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2009); For famous pictures and information on "Light," the Woodstock bus, see Robert Hieronimus, "Why I Paint Automobiles," Hieronimus & Company: 21st Century Radio, accessed February 8, 2015, http://21stcenturyradio.com/woodstockbus.htm. The site belongs to Hieronimus's Baltimore-based radio show, which focuses on esoteric topics.

10. Bob Hieronimus, phone interview with author, January 16, 2012; Bob Hieronimus and Laura Cortner, *Light: Woodstock 1969 Bus: The History and Symbolic Interpretation of "Light" the Woodstock Bus*, (Hieronimus & Co., Inc., 2009), 9, accessed September 16, 2011, http://woodstockbus.com/wb_booklet.pdf.

11. Ibid., 9.

12. Ibid. Elsewhere, symbols represented America's role in the dawn of the New Age; major world religions; the balance of masculine and feminine; and much more. Taken as a whole, the bus described "advanced beings in the universe in various dimensions that are assisting planet Earth's evolution toward cosmic consciousness" (14).

13. For photographs of vehicles referenced, see Jodi Pallidini and Beverly Dubin, *Roll Your Own:The Complete Guide to Living in a Truck, Bus, Van, or Camper* (New York,: Macmillan, 1974) 4, 11, 27, 107-107, 113, 130, 135, 137, 141, 148-152; 159, 177-178; and Roger D. Beck, *Some Turtles Have Nice Shells* (Eugene, Oregon: TruckingTurtle Publishing, 2002), 33, 35, 68, 115, 147, 159-160, 163-164; and Lisa Law, *Flashing on the Sixties* (Santa Rosa, CA: Squarebooks, 1987), 82.

14. For collections of photographs of original and finely crafted housetrucks, see Beck, *Some Turtles;* and Jane Lidz, *Rolling Homes: Handmade Houses on Wheels* (New York: A & W, Inc., 1979); and Pallidini and Dubin, *Roll Your Own.* More pictures were also available at *Mr. Sharkey's Home Page*, accessed December 10, 2012, http:// http://www.housetrucks.org/. The site lost its hosting in 2013, but for an archived version, see Mr. Sharkey's Homepage, archived by Wayback Machine, accessed February 8, 2015,

"http://web.archive.org/web/20121102044127/http://www.mrsharkey.com/; "For every.." and "a lot of care": Beck, *Some Turtles,* 8, 12.

15. On the arts and crafts movement and antimodernism, see T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 59-96; Lidz, *Rolling Homes*, 5.

16. For a helpful summary of the relationship between the counterculture and the "appropriate technology" movement, see Andrew Kirk, "'Machines of Loving Grace': Alternative Technology, Environment, and the Counterculture" in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 353-378. For the argument at book length, see Andrew G. Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007). As Kirk notes, the counterculture remained divided between those who continued to see technology as the cause of environmental degradation and alienation and those who saw it as part of a solution. This chapter follows the latter thread.

17. Stewart Brand, ed. *The Whole Earth Catalog: Access to Tools* (Portola Institute, 1968), accessed February 6, 2015, http://www.wholeearth.com/index.php. Because of its unconventional publication, the Whole Earth Catalog is not easy to cite. After it first appeared in 1968, the publication generated multiple supplements and ever-larger updated editions, whose names often varied slightly. Of particular note is *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* (Portola Institute and Random House, 1971), which won the 1972 National Book Award and solidified the *Catalog's* status as a cultural force. Likewise, *The Whole Earth Catalog*, spun off volumes on particular themes, as well as periodicals, including *CoEvolution Quarterly.* For a helpful bibliographic summary of publications linked to the *Whole Earth Catalog,* see Kirk, *Counterculture Green*, 220 (note 9);

18. On sales of the *Idiot's Guide* compared to VW sales, see Miles A. Kimball, "Cars, Culture and Tactical Technical Communication," *Technical Communication Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 75. Kimball interprets Muir's guide as a tactic in de Certeau's sense. On Muir's background and countercultural connections, see Phil Patton, *Bug: The Strange Mutations of the World's Most Famous Automobile* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002), 116-117. The book's continued popularity and Muir's distant relationship to the eponymous naturalist is mentioned in Roxanne Farmanharmaian, "Avalon Publishing Acquires John Muir Publications," *Publisher's Weekly* 245, no. 46 (November 15, 1999), accessed February 6, 2015, http://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/print/19991115/30723-avalon-publishing-acquires-john-muir-publications.html; "idiot mechanically": John Muir, *How to Keep Your Volkswagen Alive! A Manual of Step by Step Procedures for the*

Compleat Idiot: For 1950-1971 Sedans, Ghias & Transporters, Types I & II, 1971 ed. (Santa Fe, NM: John Muir Publications, 1969), 5.

19. "people who thought for themselves": Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 65. On VWs famous ad campaign and VW's cult following, see Walter Henry Nelson, *Small Wonder: The Amazing Story of the Volkswagen*, rev. ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), 231-267. Unlike Frank, Nelson attributes some of VW's reputation to the brand's straightforward quality, which journalists and buyers noted even before Doyle Dane Bernbach began its VW campaign in 1959. In addition to Nelson, for the practical appeal of the VW microbus in particular, see David Eccles and Cee Eccles, *Campervan Crazy: Travels with My Bus: A Tribute to the VW Camper and the People Who Drive Them (*London: Kyle Cathie Limited, 2006) 12-13, 78. Eccles, who is British, argues that the "hippie bus" was a largely American phenomenon, but he also associates individuality, spontaneity, and other hip virtues with the vehicle. VWs, in effect, fit the model of "appropriate technology" before the movement was underway, according to Patton, *Bug*, 123.

20. "plastic thing" and "complicated gizmo": Muir, *Idiot's Guide,* 80; "it might be a good time…": ibid., 70.

21. Ibid., 7.

22. Ibid., 3.

23. Ibid., 17, 25.

24. Robert M. Pirsig, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance: An Inquiry into Values* (New York: William Morrow & Company Inc.), 1974, 18-26.

25. "classical" and "romantic" understanding: ibid., 73-75; "genetic defect" and "emotionally hollow": ibid., 117.

26. Ibid., 51.

27. Ibid., 275-279, 281-297; "involved": ibid., 196; personality of motorcycle: ibid., 50.

28. Pallidini and Dubin, *Roll Your Own*, 24-25.

29. Lloyd Kahn, ed. *Shelter* (Bolinas, CA: Shelter Publications, Inc., 1973), 112-115.

30. Ibid., 112.

31. "Mind process…": Peter Warshall, "Earth Shelter," in *Shelter*, ed. Lloyd Kahn (Bolinas, CA: Shelter Publications, Inc., 1973), 87; On Kahn's rejection of mass-produced and conformist architecture, as well as his move from techno-utopianism (embodied in Fuller's domes) to "traditional craft" and "biological models," see Kirk, *Counterculture Green*, 85-87. Kirk also notes that Stewart Brand shifted *The Whole Earth Catalog* away from domes as well.

32. Ben Eagle, "No-Mad Living," in *Shelter*, ed. Lloyd Kahn (Bolinas, CA: Shelter Publications Inc., 1973), 88; "more freedom to build": "Joaquin & Gypsy's Housetruck," in Kahn, *Shelter*, 90.

33. On using waste and salvaged materials as adaptations to the American environment, see "Materials and Methods," in *Shelter*, ed. Lloyd Kahn (Bolinas, CA: Shelter Publications Inc., 1973), 60. The ensuing section mixes American salvaged materials with adobe, stone, thatch and other locally distinctive materials. For uses of salvaged materials in housetrucks, see, e.g., "Joaquin and Gypsy's Housetruck," 90; Pallidini and Dubin, *Roll Your Own,* 38; Rob McGraw, "My Old Truckee Home," *The Boston Globe*, July 15, 1973, accessed March 30, 2012, PQHN; "will not be trying to warp": Don Stephens, "Custom Design Your Own Mobile Home," *Mother Earth News*, March 1971, *Mother Earth News 1970-2010*, DVD-ROM (Topeka, KS: Ogden Publications, 2011).

34. On the range of "radical environments" and their spiritual goals, see Alistair Gordon, *Spaced Out: Radical Environments of the Psychedelic Sixties* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2008). Gordon strongly connects the perceptual "softening" of the psychedelic experience with specific spatial environments. On spatial and architectural tactics to transform self and society, see also Barry Curtis, "Building the Trip," in *Summer of Love: Psychedelic Art, Social Crisis, and the Counterculture in the 1960s*, ed. Christoph Grunenberg and Jonathan Harris (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 161-188.

35. On alienated labor as alienation from humans' "species essence": Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978), 66-105; On the New Left, Marxist humanism, and utopian enclaves, see Douglas C. Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 7, 162-163, 187-196, 247-252. Rossinow argues that the quest for authenticity united the counterculture and the more activist New Left, despite their differences. In particular, they merged in "pre-figurative" politics, in which an avant-garde community seeded change by showing the way forward.

36. "blueprint": John Muir, *The Velvet Monkey Wrench* (Santa Fe, NM: John Muir Publications, 1973), 5.

37. Ibid., 8.

38. "conditioning your own reflexes": ibid., 138; "a party …wander where they will": ibid., 61-62; "make their own rules" and parenting advice: ibid., 135; on honest relationship to technology; ibid., 11; Muir also shared Pirsig's desire to reunite intuition and rationality. To ward off the power of social conditioning, Muir suggested pausing before taking any action to give the "computer of your mind" time to assess. Then, all the facts rationally understood, people should act according to their feelings (20-21).

39. Brand, *Whole Earth Catalog:* np, inside front cover, accessed February 6, 2015, http://www.wholeearth.com/index.php.

40. Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

41. "There is nothing preventing…": Al Fry, "Two Letters from Al Fry," *Mother Earth News,* March 1971, *Mother Earth News, 1970-2010,* DVD-ROM, (Topeka, KS: Ogden Publications, 2011). In the same issue, and on the same DVD-ROM, see also, e.g, Bill Lulay, [title unclear]; Steven Kovaka, "Keep on Truckin."

42. "expanded family…" Wavy Gravy, *The Hog Farm and Friends* (New York: Links Books, 1974), 20; "travel theaters" and "interconnectiveness": Wavy Gravy, quoted in Roger B. White, *Home on the Road: The Motor Home in America* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 173.

43. Wavy Gravy, *Hog Farm,* 25

44. On the bus race, ibid., 65-68; Stewart Brand, ed. *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* (Portola Institute, 1971), 245.

45. Stephen Gaskin, *The Caravan*, rev. ed. (Summertown, TN: Book Publishing Company, 2007); This revised edition includes some narration of the trip in addition to Gaskin's talks, which constituted the first edition; Stephen Gaskin, *Hey Beatnik!: This Is the Farm Book* (Summertown, TN: Book Publishing Company, 1974); See also White, *Home on the Road*, 175-176. The Red Rockers and Dr. Gonzo are mentioned in Roberta Price, *Huerfano: A Memoir of Life in the Counterculture* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 202; 221-229.

46. Dale Grant, "Visit to the CANADIAN Hog Farm," *The Toronto Telegram Weekend Magazine* (n.d), repr. *Mother Earth News*, March 1971, *Mother Earth News, 1970-2010,* DVD-ROM, (Topeka, KS: Ogden Publications, 2011).

47. Robert Roskind, *Memoirs of an Ex-Hippie: Seven Years in the Counterculture* (Blowing Rock, NC: One Love Press, 2001). Roskind follows the sort of loose itinerary I describe. See also McGraw, *Truckee*; and Roger D. Beck, *Some Turtles Have Nice Shells* (Eugene, Oregon: TruckingTurtle Publishing, 2002), 179-188; Memoirs of communal life frequently include details about circulation between communes. See, e.g. Peter Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall: A Chronicle* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2009); Among the best known of the Diggers, Coyote traveled among a network of communes.

48. On housetrucks, crafts, and craft fairs, see Beck, *Some Turtles,* 179-188. Beck traveled between art fairs in a series of housetrucks between 1969 and 1976 or 1977. He pictures buses from the "Northwest Touring Company," which attended fairs and traveled together; see also Rick Auerbach, "American Nomad Rigs," in Lloyd Kahn, *Tiny Homes: Simple Shelter: Scaling Back in the 21st Century* (Bolinas, CA: Shelter Publications, 2012), 192. Auerbach took to the road after spending the early 1970s working against the Vietnam war. He became "part of a large, far-flung tribe of musicians and artists performing and selling crafts from summer through fall at festivals and fairs throught the West. Between gatherings we camped together in our rigs at friends' farms or high in the mountains alongside lakes and hot springs wher we work on our crafts and make music through the night 'round the fire'"; "I neither have to work…": Tom Terrific, *Mother Earth News*, March 1971, *Mother Earth News, 1970-2010,* DVD-ROM, (Topeka, KS: Ogden Publications, 2011).

49. R. Scott, phone interview with author, August 7, 2011; As "Mr. Sharkey," Scott had an extensive webpage dedicated to housetrucks that had lost Internet hosting as of February 2015. For updates, see R. Scott, "MrSharkey.com," accessed February 8, 2015, http://www.housetrucks.org/. For an archived version dating to November 2012, see R. Scott, "Mr. Sharkey's Homepage," accessed Feburary 8, 2015, http://web.archive.org/web/20121102044215/http://www.mrsharkey.com/index.html.

50. Johnny Bock, *A Bus Will Take You There* (Oshkosh, WI: Lunchbreak Press, 2005), 14-17.

51. Ibid., 17.

52. Judy Berg, quoted in Pallidini and Dubin, *Roll Your Own*, 115.

53. "Everywhere you are…": Peter Coyote, quoted in ibid., *Roll Your* Own, 124; "the new-American …": Chandler and Lynne [no last names given], quoted in ibid., *Roll Your Own*, 136.

54. McGraw, *Truckee;* Roskind, *Memoirs of an Ex-Hippie*, 185-186. In his sister Susie's middle-class neighborhood in Silver Springs, Maryland, Roskind finds a welcome from neighbors, most of whom have hippie loved ones. On San Francisco's ban on sleeping in vehicles, as well as profiles of those affected, see: Dexter Waugh, "There's No Place for Home," *San Francisco Examiner*, March 8, 1971; Lincoln Kaye, "Home Just Rolls Along," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1971; Lincoln Kaye, "Some Local Outlaws Who Live at Home," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 4, 1971, 4; Pallidini and Dubin, *Roll Your Own,* 127. On Berkeley's ban: Don Mitor, "Peerless Princes of Pitch, *Berkeley Barb*, February 20-27, 1970; "Camper Fans Battle City Shit Freaks," *Berkeley Barb*, Feburary 27-March 5, 1970. On Sausalito become "a little hardnosed" and on blacking out windows, see Al Fry, "Two Letters from Al Fry, *Mother Earth News,* March 1971, *Mother Earth News, 1970-2010,* DVD-ROM (Topeka, KS: Ogden Publications, 2011); McGraw, *Truckee*, also includes complaints about cities passing ordinances banning buses.

55. For an example of parking in family member's driveway, see Roskind, *Memoirs of an Ex-Hippie,* 185-186. On parking lots, rest areas, and other strategic parking locations, see McGraw, *Truckee*; see also Pallidini and Dubin, *Roll Your Own*, 124-136. Dubin and Pallidini cite multiple articles available directly from *Mother Earth News*, March 1971, *Mother Earth News, 1970-2010,* DVD-ROM (Topeka, KS: Ogden Publications, 2011). In the same issue, and on the same DVD-ROM, see Al Fry, "Two Letters from Al Fry"; "Letter from a Nomad"; and untitled articles by Tom Terrific, Bill Lulay, and Joel Randall. For pictures of buses in out-of-the-way parking spots, also see Beck, *Some Turtles*; see Lloyd Kahn, ed., *Tiny Homes: Simple Shelter: Scaling Back in the 21st Century* (Bolinas, CA: Shelter Publications, 2012), 192-195. On buses parking at hot springs, see Roskind, *Memoirs of an Ex-Hippie,* 171-178; also R. "Sparks" Scott, interview with author, August 7, 2011. See note 50 on Scott, who also described hot springs as relaxing, often nudist, and "the ultimate natural hot-tubbing experience." "Like many other self-liberating activities…": "Letters from a nomad," *Mother Earth News,* March 1971, *Mother Earth News 1970-2010,* DVD-ROM, (Topeka, KS: Ogden Publications, 2011).

56. Sharkey [pseud. of R. Scott], *30 Years in a Housetruck*, accessed February 8, 2015; http://web.archive.org/web/20111109041944/http://www.mrsharkey.com/busbarn/30years/page20; on Scott's webpage, see note 50. In a phone interview with the author on August 7, 2011, Scott explained a friends' doubts about renting to "bus people": "If you had a bus and you got mad, or a better deal came along, all you had to do was twist the key and drive away." Yet bus people, he said, turned out to be less transient than others. See also Roskind, *Memoirs of an Ex-Hippie*, 129. Roskind

notes that the "wounded" and "troubled" could become "[n]on-contributing or destructive," weakening communes. On the Hog Farm's visitor troubles, see Wavy Gravy [pseud. of Hugh Romney], *Hog Farm,* 27-28; Memoirs of communal life frequently mention the burden of parasitical visitors. See, e.g., Roberta Price, *Huerfano: A Memoir of Life in the Counterculture* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 32, 71-73, 105-111.

57. "pool the tools" Walking Horse [pseud.], quoted in Palladini and Dubin, *Roll Your Own,* 170; "electrical impulse … identify with the planet": Ibid., 167; See also Peter Coyote, quoted in ibid., 126. Coyote calls truckers "the missing link in trade routes between existing families."

58. "Letter from a Nomad," *Mother Earth News,* March 1971, *Mother Earth News 1970-2010,* DVD-ROM, (Topeka, KS: Ogden Publications, 2011). The writer claims that "surprising as it may seem these full time gypsies generally claim they operate internal combustion engines less now than before they began living on the road." Other articles in the same issue of *Mother Earth News* describe longer stays rather than non-stop travel. On installing propane tanks: see ibid., 26-27; See also Jane Lidz, *Rolling Homes: Handmade Houses on Wheels* (New York: A & W, Inc., 1979), 76. Lidz repeats the common argument that housetrucking families, overall, consumed less energy than families with a house and car. On propane conversion and cutting pollution by picking up hitchhikers, see Pallidini and Dubin, *Roll Your Own*, 26-27, 170.

59. For an excellent, comprehensive history of motor homes in the United States, see Roger B. White, *Home on the Road: The Motor Home in America* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000). On motor home sales growth, see Michael Aaron Rockland, *Homes on Wheels* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 90; On hip vs. "suburbanite" views of rolling homes, see White, *Home on the Road,* 163; Rob McGraw, "My Old Truckee Home," *Boston Globe*, July 15, 1973, accessed March 30, 2012, PQHN.

60. On Winnebago ads and RV owners' frontier vocabulary, see Rockland, *Homes on Wheels*, 94, 16. Any of the several books of photographs of housetrucks reveal this aesthetic. See esp. Beck, *Some Turtles,* and Lidz, *Rolling Homes.*

61. McGraw, *Truckee*. McGraw aimed to give his bus's interior the "feeling … that cabins in the wilderness have."

62. Pallidini and Dubin, *Roll Your Own,* 28, 124-5, 128-9; McGraw, *Truckee.*

63. "far right…": "Letter from a nomad," *Mother Earth News*, March 1971, *Mother Earth News, 1970-2010,* DVD-ROM (Topeka, KS: Ogden Publications, 2011): "freedom and security…" quoted from an untitled article in *Mother Earth News* issue.

64. Rosenberg, Larry. "Life in a Bus." *Clear Creek*, no. 15 (1972), 65.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., 65-66.

67. Ibid., 66.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., 67.

Notes to Chapter 5:
Dear Mr. Vagabond: A Guidebook Writer and His Readers

Note on citation of letters: Because letter writers may still be living, I have omitted most names in favor of pseudonyms. However, Buryn also published reader letters, with names, in his own books. To avoid confusion, I use actual names if Buryn already published a letter I am quoting. In all other cases, I use pseudonyms (in the body of the text) or pseudonymous initials in my citations in order to show when I am quoting repeatedly from the same letter, as well as to differentiate multiple letters cited within the same note. Where available, I also include the writer's age and gender (both in parentheses by the pseudonym) and the letter's date. I signal uncertainty about age or date with (?). All letters are found in the private archive of Ed Buryn, so that information will be omitted after first reference.

1. L.A. (27-m) to Buryn, April 15, 1972, private archive of Ed Buryn (archive omitted hereafter).

2. Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa* (New York: Random House, 1971), n.p. (preface).

3. Albright (m-27?) to Buryn, April 15, 1972.

4. Albright (m-27?) to Ed Buryn, April 15, 1972; L.A. (m-27?) to Buryn, January 20, 1974.

5. "blowing your mind": Buryn, Ed. *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), preface (n.p.); on vagabonding as psychedelic deconditioning and energy liberation, see Ed Buryn and Stephanie Mines, *Vagabonding in America: A Guidebook About Energy* (New York: Random House, 1973), 8-10; While listed as a co-author, Buryn's partner Stephanie Mines is credited only with poems, drawing, and abstracts, not the body of the text or the photographs. "energy dancer":, Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.: A Guide for Independent Travelers and Foreign Visitors* (Berkeley, CA: And/Or Press, 1980), 10; "vagabonding approach to life": Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.: A Guide to Independent Travel*, Revised ed. (San Francisco: Ed Buryn Publications, 1983), n.p., inside of back cover..

6. I mention social imaginaries in my introduction. See Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 23-30. Because I include a small number of later e-mail to Buryn in my 241 letters, the number is not fixed. The vast majority of letters arrived during the 1970s.

7. For extended notes on the emergence of a "new style" of youth travel guides, see chapter 2, note 15 and chapter 3, note 14. Carl Franz, et al, *The People's Guide to Mexico* (Santa Fe: John Muir Publications, 1972).

8. Buryn, Ed. *Hitch-Hiking in Europe* (San Francisco: Hannah Associates 1969); *The Whole Earth Catalog* was first published in 1968; Buryn's guidebook first appeared in the Spring 1969 edition. Stewart Brand, ed., *The Whole Earth Catalog*, Spring 1969 (Menlo Park, California: Portola Institute), 106; on California reviews of *Hitch-Hiking*, see, e.g., Dori Lundy, "Thumbs up on Hitching Rides in Europe," *The Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 1969, PQHN; Ed Buryn *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971) (New York: Random House, 1971); In interviews, Buryn described his dealings with Bookpeople and Bookworks founder Don Gerrard, whom he described "the guru of West Coast hippie publishing"; Ed Buryn, interview with author, Nevada City, CA, June 8, 2010. On Gerrard's and Bookworks' key place in West Coast "lifestyle literature," see Sam Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle Consumption in the 1970s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 117-119; In a follow-up interview with the author on June 10, 2009, Buryn estimated his books saw 100,000 total printings. While full printing information is not available, Buryn's estimate seems reasonable. The copyright page of the 1973 edition of *Vagabonding in Europe (1971)* notes total printings of 55,000. The copyright page of the first edition of *Vagabonding in America* notes a first run of 25,000. Buryn used smaller publishers in later editions to his US guide, self-publishing the last edition: Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in America: A Guidebook About Energy*, 2d ed. (San Francisco: ExPress, distributed by Book People 1976); Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.: A Guide for Independent Travelers and Foreign Visitors* (Berkeley, CA: And/Or Press, 1980); Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A: A Guide to Independent Travel*. Rev. ed. (San Francisco: Ed Buryn Publications, 1983). Even after losing his major distribution deals, Buryn's

books still received regular reviews in newspaper travel columns and hip lifestyle publications. See, e.g., William Grout, "A Good Guidebook for Vagabonding," *Los Angeles Times*, January 30, 1972, PQHN; Sheridan Pressey, "Innocents Abroad," *The Washington Post*, June 17, 1973, PQHN; Richard Joseph, "Not Like Baedeker's: New Travel Guides Cover All," *Chicago Tribune*, September 30, 1973. On Vagabonding as a "Michelin" guide see Robert Lindsey, "20 Years After a 'Summer of Love,' Haight-Ashbury Looks Back," *New York Times,* July 2, 1987, PQHN. *Mother Earth News* and *The Baltimore Evening Sun*'s reviews of Buryn are quoted on the back cover of the 1976 edition of Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in America: A Guidebook About Energy*, 2d ed. (San Francisco: ExPress, 1976).

9. Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), 2-3. I describe the main features of vagabonding throughout this section.

10. Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 13-14.

11. Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), 62.

12. I am here referencing types of authenticity discussed in my introduction. See Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 3rd. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 2-3, 14, 91-108; (Taylor, Charles. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007) 473-504; MacCannell's foundational *The Tourist,* discussed in the introduction, argued that tourists sought to go beyond artifice to "backstage" authenticity. Charles Taylor, by contrast, argues for a more Romantic and existential authenticity in his work. In a summary of thinking on tourism, see Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience," *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 349-370. Wang discusses "existential authenticity" as one of several meanings of "authenticity" present within tourism studies.

13. "As cheaply as can be done": Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), 11; Buryn on money's relationship to work, materialism, travel, freedom, and energy, Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 65-69, 249-251. Tourism as "butchery of the soul," Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.: A Guide for Independent Travelers and Foreign Visitors* (1980), 7. For more of Buryn's attacks on tourism see also Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973)*, 3-4, 12, 65-69*. On accepting status as a tourist, Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), 50.

14. "Best laid plans," "kick in the butt," and "antithesis of being guided": Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), 24,14, 3; Uselessness of guidebooks and "for catfish sakes": Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 7-8.

15. “Loose” selves,” Sam Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle Consumption in the 1970s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007). On changing ideals of the spiritual self, see Robert Wuthnow *After Heaven: Spirituality in America since the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 142-167. For summary views of these issues vis-à-vis travel, see my introduction.

16. On various ways to drop-out, see Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 249-275; “ “Become a capitalist,” ibid., 254. Although Buryn’s later guides dropped communes, they continued to list odd-jobbing, fruit picking, performing, selling arts and crafts, and similar jobs.

17. Ed Buryn, *Hitch-Hiking in Europe* (San Francisco: Hannah Associates, 1969), 10.

18. Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 3.

19. Buryn provides a summary biography in Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A: A Guide to Independent Travel*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Ed Buryn Publications, 1983), n.p., inside of back cover. For a picture and description of Buryn’s life before vagabonding, see Buryn and Mines, Vagabonding in America (1973), 257.

20. Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), 1. See also Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A* (1980), 19, 157, 209, 229. On Halliburton and Pease: interviews with author, June 8 and June 10, Nevada City, California.

21. On energy and vagabonding, see Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 8-10.

22. Ibid., 10.

23. Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 8-10.; On the argument that “hip” ideology served consumer capitalism, see (Frank, Thomas. *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). On the argument that “hip” selves suited late-modern labor markets and social life, see Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle Consumption in the 1970s*, 72-73, 81-84.

24. For the most telling sections of Buryn’s recommended reading in his 1970s guides, see Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973) 332-333.

25. “hate … karmic burdens”: ibid., 5; On American materialism, environmental destruction, homogenized culture, and meaninglessness see ibid., 5-7, 18-26; “ new consciousness,”: ibid., 27; “learning … energy”: ibid, 28. Although he does not reference it, Buryn’s account of evolving consciousness is clearly informed

by Charles A. Reich, *The Greening of America; How the Youth Revolution Is Trying to Make America Livable* (New York: Random House, 1970).

26. "the finis to the Christian era," Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A* (1980), 9; "all this hyperbolically multiplying energy": ibid., 10

27. Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A* (1980), 10.

28. "vagabonding approach to life": Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A: A Guide to Independent Travel* (1983), n.p., inside of back cover. On Buryn's cancer scare and response, see Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1971), 30-32. On "magic," see Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A* (1980), 28.

29. Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.* (1980), 28

30. *Ibid.*

31. "shortage of money": Buryn *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), 11. "This may brand you ": Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 74.

32. On Buryn's advice to black travelers, see Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 295.

33. Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.* (1980), 357.

34. Ibid., 357.

35. On gays and gendered contraception responsibility, see Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), 58, 151-153; I discuss reader complaints later in this chapter. For an allusion to these complaints and contraception advice for men, see Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe and North Africa*, rev. ed. (1973), 180, 182; on Buryn's homosexual experimentation and advice that all "face their homosexual sides," see Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in America* (1973), 220. On advice for women and encouragement to "break down the barriers," see: Buryn and Mines, *Vagabonding in* America (1973), 204-206; on advice for female hitchhikers in Europe, see Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), 59-60. For female hitchhikers' stories and advice, see Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.* (1980), 274-281.

36. Assessing the age and race of letter writers who do not explicitly provide it presents difficulties; only two writers explicitly identified as non-white. For writers who did not state their age directly, I used clues in letters to make an educated guess. For example, I assumed writers who spoke of running away were under 18, and I assumed that people who mentioned attending or recently graduating from college were under 30. Additionally, it seems likely that people

who considered them unusually young or old to read Buryn's guides were more likely to state their ages than those who felt themselves to be in a "typical" age bracket. For that reason, I suspect that these groups are somewhat overrepresented among writers who directly state their ages. In calculating the regional background of letter-writers, I included only letters that designated a home region of the United States (even if they were abroad). I refer to this group of letters as "U.S. letters." It does not include 21 letters from foreigners, soldiers stationed abroad who did not name an American home region (6), or exchange students who did not name a home region (3). I broke the country into regions for purposes of comparison. The "Eastern seaboard" includes two regions: the mid-Atlantic states (Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania; 27 percent of U.S. letters); and the Northeastern states (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont; 3 percent U.S. letters). The West comprises Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming; it accounted for 43 percent of all U.S. letters, with California alone accounting for 30 percent. For purposes of calculation, the Midwest included Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The Midwest accounted for 20 percent of all letters. Finally, the South includes Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, Virginia and West Virginia. Eight percent of letters came from the South. The regions, so-defined, held the following percentage of the national population in the 1970 census: Eastern Seaboard: 27 percent; Mid-Atlantic: 21 percent, Northeast: 6 percent); West: 17 percent (California : 9.8 percent); Midwest: 29 percent; South: 27 percent. These numbers reveal the West (and especially California) is overrepresented among letter writers. The Eastern seaboard is slightly overrepresented, the Midwest is somewhat underrepresented, and the South is badly underrepresented.

37. "ripping off shackles": G.S. (f) to Buryn, February 8, 1975; "tuned into the person": F.P. (f), February 12, 1975.

38. T.A.D. (m-20) to Buryn, September 1, 1976.

39. D.T. (m-14) and R.M. (m-14) to Buryn, January 17, 1972; H.W.B. (f-16) to Buryn, January 18, 1975.

40. D.S.S. (f) to Buryn, June 28, 1973.

41. "dream book": Ibid.*;* H.A.M. (f) to Buryn April 15, 1973.

42. "wonderland": Y.T.C. (f) to Buryn, July 1, 1972; "sweetness and gentleness": C.N.Y. (f) to Buryn March 27, 1973; "patience and love": J.R.B (f) to

Buryn April 8, 1972: "I want to thank you … does exist": E.B.G. (m) to Buryn, March 20, 1973.

43. **"**Off my ass": B.K.A. (m-21) to Buryn, May 10, 1974; "IBM employees": R.H.S. (m) to Buryn, 1972 or 1973; "shedding house": A.L.R. (f-27) to Buryn, April 7, 1973; "As a direct result … to hell with them": F.L.D. (m?) to Buryn, November 18, 1973.

44. "Doing an Ed Buryn": G.R.J. (m) and L.M.K. (f) to Buryn, December 3, 1972; "an always available surface … handy traveling tips": K.H.W. (m) to Buryn, August 27, 1973; "Bible" and "As a plug … each other": C.S. (m) to Buryn, August 5, 1976.

45. "down and depressed"; W.C.G (m) to Buryn, May 22, 1973; Thomas Curran [pseud.] (18?-m) to Buryn, July 3, 1973.

46. Rick Rova (m) to Buryn, February 27, 1972. Rova mentions his spiritual experimentations in a later letter to Buryn, dated March 22, 1972. I use Rova's real name because Buryn quotes him by name; see following note.

47. Rick Rova (m) to Buryn, February 27, 1972.; Rova quoted in Buryn and Mines, 1.

48. "rejuvenating energy": S.O.C. (f) to Buryn, February 12, 1975; "energy start flowing": C.D.N (M) to Buryn, March 12, 1975; "false conditioning" : T.L.S. (m) to Buryn August 5, 1975; "patterns of thought": R.W.S. (35-m) to Buryn, 4 May 1975; "OM-Shanti": B.P.R. (m) to Buryn, January 15, 1972; "naturally high through a mantra": P.G.C. (m) to Buryn, July 27, 1973; "may all your karmas": N.H.P. (m) to Buryn, July 9, 1973; Meher Baba photo: B.L.D. (m) to Buryn, April 29, 1974; lotus: L.L.B (m) to Buryn, December 28, 1974.

49. "Sense of wholeness…": C.N.Y. (f) to Buryn, March 27, 1973; quoting Hesse and Thoreau: Michael DeJesso [pseud.] (m-20) to Buryn, June 1, 1978; on exploring gestalt psychology, Alan Watts, and the sitar: Rick Rova (m) to Buryn, March 22, 1972. Because Buryn cites Rova by name; see note 48. "Macrobiotic diet": M.D.A. (m) to Buryn, February 27, 1972.

50. S.B.L (m) to Buryn, January 31, 1972.

51. P.G.C. (m) to Buryn, July 27, 1973.

52. Ibid.

53. Michael DeJesso (m-20) to Buryn, July 1, 1978.

54. I.R.T. (f) to Buryn, March 1, 1973.

55. On Japan: I.C.N. (f) to Buryn, 197? [date unclear]; on India: M.J.B. (m) to Buryn, March 31, 1973; on Europe-to-Nepal: J.G.P. (m) to Buryn, October 18, 1973; On South America: R.T.S. (f) to Buryn, July 31, 1975. The woman in Greece wrote at least three letters to Buryn: O.N.J. (f) to Buryn, March 12, 1974, June 1, 1974, July 1, 1974.

56. When Buryn replied, he noted it on the original letter; on Poland and royalty: P.O.L. (m) to Buryn, July 3, 1973; on dog smuggling: S.C.E. (f) to Buryn, November 19, 1973; on running away: D.T . (m-14) and R.M. (m-14) January 17, 1972; on asking for personal contacts: e.g., X.H.D. (m) to Buryn, June 25 1976 and T.A.D. (m-20) to Buryn, October 1, 1976. "Are contraceptives illegal …": J.A.G. (f) to Buryn, February 1, 1972.

57. On skydiving: O.T.C. (m) to Buryn, November 1, 1973; On freight-hopping: L.L.B. (m) to Buryn, February 11, 1972; On the carnival: W.W.R. (m) to Buryn, March 22, 1974; On Ireland: Q.A.D. (m) to Buryn, March 7, 1973; On Portugal: Z.M.T. (f) to Buryn, 1973?; on Wyoming and on advice on gear, appearance: Michael DeJesso (m-20) to Buryn, June 1, 1978; on Detroit: N.H.P. to Buryn, July 9, 1973; This last letter is among many offering travel advice.

58. Complaints about Buryn's homophobia: T.L.S. (m) to Buryn, August 5, 1975; A.L.D. (m) to Buryn, August 14, 1972; F.E.W. to Buryn, August 4, 1972; "to meet the hip gays … within themselves": T.L.S. (m) to Buryn, 5 August 1975; on Buryn's sexism, e.g.,: N.G.F. (f) to Buryn, 2 May 1972.

59. "Close friend": A.M.H. (m) to Buryn, July 29, 1976; "brother traveler": P.G.C. (m) to Buryn, July 9, 1973; E.L.F. (m) to Buryn, April 6, 1973. Statements in multiple letters imply that they are responding to some sort of a request from Buryn.

60. W.A.F. (f-21) to Buryn, December 1, 1975.

61. "A woman traveling alone … worth any insecurities": H.A.M. (f) to Buryn, December 30, 1973; "they always ask .. hands to the wheel": M.O.D. (f) to Buryn, May 18, 1973.

62. Judi B. (f) to Buryn, February 13, 1977. Excerpts from her letter appear in Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.* (1980), 280-281.

63. "trade-off": Nancy Connolly (f) to Buryn, November 17, 1978. Connolly is also extensively quoted, by name in Buryn, Vagabonding in the U.S.A. (1980), 274-279.

64. P.S.O. (f) to Buryn, July 5, 1973.

65. G.O.L. (m) to Buryn, October 29, 1973

66. *Ibid.*

67. N.E.T. (f) to Buryn, 4 April 1973.

Notes to Conclusion

1. Patrick Hennessey, "Burning Man 2009," accessed February 15, 2015, http://www.digitalvagabonding.com/nevada/burning-man-2009/; Patrick Hennessey, "Birth of a Vagabond," accessed February 15, 2015, http://www.digitalvagabonding.com/about/.

2. "I have worked … playground and workplace": Patrick Hennessey, "Brand New Wi-Fi World," accessed March 25, 2015, http://www.digitalvagabonding.com/brave-new-wifi-world/; on Hennessey's spiritual/religious encounters, see, e.g., "My New Age Make Over," accessed April 1, 2015, http://www.digitalvagabonding.com/california/new-age-make-over/.

3. Patrick Hennessey, "Who's The Digital Vagabond?" accessed March 25, 2015, http://www.digitalvagabonding.com/about/.

4. On technological tools, see Patrick Hennessey, "Vagabonding Technology: Marking it Work for You," accessed March 25, 2015, http://www.digitalvagabonding.com/vagabond-enabling-technology/; for Hennessey's description of picking up a hitchhiker, see "Hitchhiking on the Wind," accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.digitalvagabonding.com/california/hitchhiking-on-the-wind/.

5 . "The Event," Burning Man Project, accessed March 24, 2015, http://burningman.org/event/; for other details on the event, see Lee Gilmore, *Theater in a Crowded Fire: Ritual and Spirituality at Burning Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 1-2, 17-44.

6. Gilmore, "Theater in a Crowded Fire," 2, 46-49; "'Nones' on the Rise," Pew Research Center, accessed April 1, 2015, http://www.pewforum.org/2012/10/09/nones-on-the-rise/.

7. Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955), 88; Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969), 66.

8. Sam Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle Consumption in the 1970s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 6, 101.

9. Mark Smith, transcript of hitchhiking journal, June 3-5, 9, 1976. On citing the journal of Mark Smith, a pseudonym assigned by the author, see the beginning of endnotes to chapter 3.

10. Walt Whitman, "Song of the Open Road," in *Leaves of Grass*, Comprehensive Reader's ed. (New York: W. W. North & Company, 1965), 149, 151.

11. Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in Europe* (1971), n.p; Ed Buryn, *Vagabonding in the U.S.A.: A Guide for Independent Travelers and Foreign Visitors* (Berkeley, CA: And/Or Press, 1980), 10.

12. Don McNeill, "Parents and Runaways: Writing a New Contract," *Village Voice*, December 14, 1967, 21.

13. Erik Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 14, no. 1-2 (1973): 89-103. Cohen was perhaps the first to note that countercultural "nomads from affluence" were catalyzing the formation of their own, parallel, tourist infrastructure. On Istanbul's hip hangouts (and Crete's caves) see Thomas Thompson, "Crete: A Stop in the New Odyssey," *Life*, July 19, 1968, 27-28. See also Jeff Kennedy and David E. Greenberg, *The Hitchhikers' Road Book* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1972), 148 and Rory MacLean, *Magic Bus: On the Hippie Trail from Istanbul to India* (New York: Viking, an imprint of Penguin Books, 2006), 24-26. Ken Kesey, *The Further Inquiry* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1990).For an introduction to scholarship on international backpacking, see Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, eds., *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice* (Buffalo, NY: Channel View Publications, 2004).

14. Nicholas T. Parsons, *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2007), 265-266.

15. Bill Dalton, "The Founding of Moon Publications: For the Love of Travel," Moon Travel Guides, accessed February 16, 2015, http://moon.com/2014/05/the-founding-of-moon-publications-for-the-love-of-travel/; "About Rick Steves," Rick Steves' Europe, accessed February 15, 2015, https://www.ricksteves.com/about-rick; Roxane Farmanfarmaia, "Avalon Publishing Acquires John Muir Publications," *Publishers' Weekly*, November 15, 1999, accessed February 16, 2015, http://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/print/19991115/30723-avalon-publishing-acquires-john-muir-publications.html.

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17. "Buy this to be different" is my gloss on a source I have referenced frequently: Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); David Brooks, "The Edamame Economy," *New York Times*, January 7, 2014, accessed January 8, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/07/opinion/brooks-the-edamame-economy.html. On California's tourist campaign, see Ben Brazil, "Serendipity," *Killing the Buddha*, accessed March 24, 2015, http://killingthebuddha.com/mag/dispatch/serendipity/. The "Find Yourself Here" campaign has ended, and the website is no longer available.

18. Elizabeth Gilbert, *Eat Pray Love: One Woman's Search for Everything Across Italy, India and Indonesia* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2006). For criticism of Gilbert, see, e.g., Joshunda Sanders and Diane Barnes-Brown, "Eat Pray Spend: Priv-Lit and the New, Enlightened American Dream," *Bitch Magazine,* accessed August 1, 2010, http://bitchmagazine.org/article/eat-pray-spend; Roger Ebert, review of *Eat Pray Love,* accessed August 2, 2010, http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/eat-pray-love-2010; and Sandip Roy, "The New Colonialism of Eat Pray Love," *Salon*, accessed August 24, 2010, http://www.salon.com/2010/08/14/i_me_myself/.

19. The television shows are Tiny House Nation (fyi network), Tiny House Builders, and Tiny House Hunters (both on the HGTV network); Lloyd Kahn, *Tiny Homes: Simple Shelter: Scaling Back in the 21st Century* (Bolinas, CA: Shelter Publications, 2012), 52-69, 166-197; see also Lloyd Kahn, *Tiny Homes on the Move: Wheels and Water* (Bolinas, CA: Shelter Publications, 2014). For one of many articles on the movement, see Alec Wilkinson, "Let's Get Small," *New Yorker*, July 25, 2011, accessed April 1, 2015, http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/07/25/lets-get-small.

20. Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City," ch. 7 of *The Practices of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 91-110.

21. On "vampirizing" and "rhetorics," see de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 49, 100-102.

22. The ability of Westerners to "vampirize" nonhistorically Western religions, like Hinduism, suggests a level of neo-colonial power that does not square with "tactics," which de Certeau describes as the recourse of the weak. Still, the notion of creative appropriation does seem tactical. More broadly, the most important rejection of religion as a privatized entity, separate from power, is Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

23. Paul Coopersmith, *Rule of Thumb: A Hitchhiker's Handbook to Europe, North Africa and the East* (New York: Fireside Books, an imprint of Simon and Schuster, 1973), 1.

24. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 159-171.

25. For an overview of the critiques of spirituality, see Jeremy Carrette and Richard King, *Selling Spirituality: The Silent Takeover of Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2005). Among the vast critical literature on spirituality, I am particularly influenced by Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Frank, *Conquest of Cool;* Sam Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle Consumption in the 1970s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); and Robert N. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, updated ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

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29. Tom Robbins, *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 47, 49-50.

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