The Twenty-Third Annual Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus

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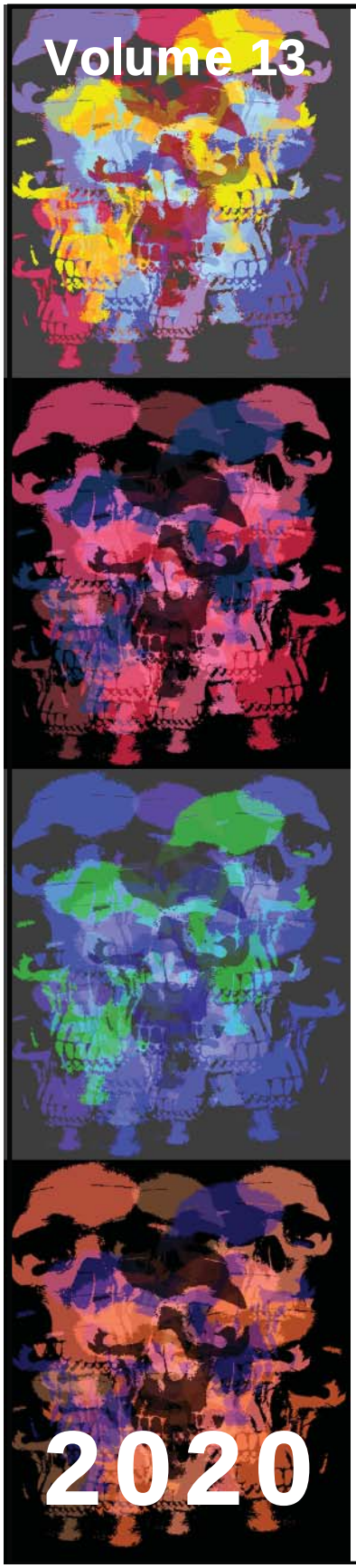

The Program of the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus

The Twenty-Third Annual

Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus


GRATEFUL DEAD
SCHOLARS CAUCUS

The Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus

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The Program of the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus

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Grateful Dead
Scholars Caucus

VOLUME 13 | 2020

The Twenty-Third Annual Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus. The Program of the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus, Volume 13.

The Program of the Annual Meeting of the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus at the Forty-First Southwest Popular/American Culture Association Conference, Albuquerque, New Mexico, February 19–22, 2020.

Edited by Nicholas G. Meriwether.

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With contributions by Susan Balter-Reitz, Christopher K. Coffman, Peter Conners, Robert Hunter, Jesse Jarnow, Nicholas G. Meriwether, Alan Trist, Robert G. Weiner, and Brent Wood. Back cover by Griffin Arts.

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Special Section: Remembering Robert Hunter

EDITOR'S COLUMN

Robert Hunter, the Twenty-Third Caucus, and the DNA of Grateful Dead Studies

Nicholas G. Meriwether

This year's meeting of the Grateful Dead area of the Southwest Popular/American Culture Association represents another milestone, one of several that have defined the history of this informal group. Nicknamed the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus, the area has provided a unique interdisciplinary forum for the discourse of Grateful Dead studies that has attracted hundreds of scholars from all over the U.S. and internationally since its founding in 1998. This year the Caucus features twenty-eight papers and two roundtables representing sixteen fields and disciplines, from art history to sociology. Four first-time presenters join twenty-six returning participants, four of whom presented papers at the area's first meeting. Although some scholars have attended only infrequently over the years, many are regulars, and their commitment gives the group's discussion a kind of continuity that is rare in academic conference areas.

That commitment, and the group's longevity, speak to the enduring appeal of our subject as well as the often surprising ways that manifests itself in our conference meetings. Caucus sessions are defined as much by

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what they set out to explore as what emerges in our discussions, the often hidden themes that connect papers and presentations in ways that panel abstracts can only sketch. Those connections wind throughout our conferences, producing some of our most spirited conversations and leaving impressions just as indelible and enduring as the ideas formally delineated in papers and sessions.

That phenomenon emerged early in the planning for this year's gathering. The prevalence of papers on Robert Hunter was already shaping this Caucus to be a celebration of his work when we heard the sad news of his death on September 23. That provided the impetus for the two roundtables and elicited several more presentations as well as reshaping a few others to highlight Hunter's contribution and impact. Like his role in the Grateful Dead, Hunter's work was powerful and complex, and this year's meeting provides a wide-ranging survey of his multifaceted output, including his lyrics, songs, poetry, prose, and performances.

The core of Hunter's achievement is the work he did for the Dead. His lyrics added a dimension to the band's music that calls for and rewards analysis in its own right, even as they formed an inextricable part of the power and appeal of the Grateful Dead phenomenon and a wellspring of its endurance. Several papers add to the growing body of work on his lyrics for the Dead, examining them in a wide range of historical, literary, and theoretical contexts, from Modernism to Romanticism, as well as their connections to religious traditions such as Buddhism, Sufism, Christianity, and Judaism.

While Hunter will always be known principally for his Grateful Dead lyrics, several papers and sessions offer insights into the broader range of his achievement, including his non-Dead lyrics, poetry, and prose. Our closing roundtable is a special session devoted to Hunter's work outside of the Dead, surveying his own performances and collaborations over five decades. Poetry is a critical dimension of Hunter's work, but one that has largely escaped critical scrutiny; the first roundtable provides an overview of that aspect of his craft with critical introductions and readings from his major published works. Both roundtables pay homage to Hunter's belief in the primacy of performance and orality, and both bring his voice into our conversation.

These papers and presentations provide a good outline of Hunter's oeuvre, but he is a prominent theme throughout the conference, even in presentations with no obvious tie to his work. Given his aversion to the spotlight, that shadowy presence might have pleased him as much as the direct acknowledgments of his work, but both mimic the range of roles he played in the Dead, which veered from overt to obscure. That was deliberate. More than any member of the band, Hunter wrestled with fame. He was wary of its price and mindful of its power: he saw the impact it had on his friends and colleagues and he understood the threat its klieg light glare posed to creativity. Yet he also recognized the consequences of its absence and the cruelty of obscurity.

The features in this volume pay tribute to Hunter and document the theme of the meeting. Longtime band associate Alan Trist's essay introduces this special section with a reflection on his old friend and their shared history, which informed so much of Hunter's poetry. That can be seen in the eight poems Hunter wrote for the band's newsletter in the early 1970s, which constitute some of his earliest published poetry. Trist was instrumental in securing permission to republish those poems, a project that Hunter finally blessed in 2010 but that circumstances prevented until now; it's completion here makes a fitting bookend to Trist's tribute.

Two features make a nod to traditional conference proceedings with essays presented at the meeting. Christopher Coffman's "On Robert Hunter's Elegiac Verse" assesses a central aspect of Hunter's poetry, and Jesse Jarnow provides a survey of Hunter's songs outside of the Dead. Both essays point to the wider scope of Hunter's work, highlighting the rewards it offers for scholarly analysis. Hunter's death marks the close of that oeuvre, a point that in textual studies traditionally calls for a checklist. The checklist published here represents a preliminary effort to catalog his poetry and prose, and though not definitive, its extent already underscores the degree to which Hunter's corpus invites and repays analysis. A collaboration between Caucus founder Robert Weiner, Christopher Coffman, and this author, the checklist is also a testament to the kind of interdisciplinary cooperation that defines the Caucus.

Hunter inspired creative writers as well as scholars, and the final two pieces trace that influence in poetry and prose. Brent Wood's poem

"Ghost at the Engine" and Peter Conners' poetic memoir "Hunter's Gold" gesture to the ways that Hunter's work has and will continue to touch readers and inspire artists in the years to come. The ways that art endures beyond the lives of the artists who forge it is part of its power, but that is an even greater part of its mystery, as these tributes show.

Hunter's death provided an indelible marker for this year's meeting, but finding a larger metaphor for a twenty-third anniversary is difficult, no matter how improbable or impressive that milestone may be. Hunter would have appreciated the challenge: he relished metaphor, even addressing it directly in a short story called "Metaphor 101." There he slyly referred to "the biologic aspects of metaphor" (2010, 107), a view his friend and colleague Michael McClure espoused, and who may have been the source of Hunter's conception. McClure was a central member of the Beats and a friend and neighbor of the Dead's during their time in the Haight; later, he and Hunter performed together in several well-received poetry readings, and Hunter wrote an admiring introduction to a volume of McClure's poems (1995). McClure was fascinated by biology and saw deep connections between science and art, a connection he saw as especially prevalent in the work of the Beats. In his memoir *Scratching the Beat Surface*, McClure cited Francis Crick's quotation of his own "Peyote Poem" as evidence of that connection (1982, 11), a comment that is particularly apt here since it describes a kind of interdisciplinarity that the Caucus embraces as well.

The lines that Crick quoted are: "THIS IS THE POWERFUL KNOWLEDGE / We smile with it" (1966, 29). But the connections sketched by Crick's reference go deeper, and that nested, circuitous set of links suggests an appropriate metaphor for this year's Caucus meeting. Crick's work was a vital part of the effort that identified DNA, the molecule that forms chromosomes, whose twenty-three pairs comprise the genetic code for the human species. And just as twenty-three pairs of chromosomes are the foundation for a human, twenty-three years of Caucus meetings have established a foundation for the discourse of Grateful Dead studies.

The link between peyote and DNA, between psychedelic insight and scientific knowledge, works on more levels than McClure recounts. "Peyote Poem" is about discovery; about learning about oneself and one's connection to nature, to the earth and to the cosmos. DNA represents an equally fundamental level of understanding: its explanatory capacity is as basic—as powerful, to use McClure's phrase—as the insight that peyote can reveal. Both offer windows into the foundation of life; both provide tantalizing glimpses into the mystery of existence.

Hunter's work and its role in the Grateful Dead phenomenon has a similar DNA-like quality: fundamental but hidden, why one early essay on Hunter called him "an invisible song poet" (Sarlin 1973). DNA offers insights into our heritage and our health, our past and our present and the possibilities of our future. Hunter's work plays a similar range of roles in the world of the Grateful Dead and Dead studies. His words deepened and extended the Dead's project, framing it in a wider literary context and connecting their work to older traditions and genres, just as his lyrics did, with allusions and references that owed part of their power to Hunter's catholic tastes and disciplined reading. That is part of why, for Dead studies, Hunter's work is fundamental, a kind of literary DNA that organizes and informs the Dead's project. His lyrics help to define the determinative core of the Dead just as DNA defines an organism's genetic blueprint; and in both cases, once discovered, they provide a basis for continuing exploration and discovery.

So it is fitting that Hunter be the major theme of this meeting and this volume of the *Program*: our twenty-third Caucus, a meeting that completes a map of Dead studies just as twenty-three pairs of chromosomes map our DNA; and with Hunter's death, that part of the foundation is complete.

In his poetic meditation on the band's history, "An American Adventure," Hunter wrote:

> And then the light dawns: the
> Whole implausible coda is not only
> Strictly necessary but ultimately
> Capable of withstanding dense

Critical scrutiny. It is what it is
And there is nothing else like it. (1993, 137)

His words could almost be a nod to the goal of the Caucus, whose work Hunter tacitly supported, though at an appropriately discrete distance. Hunter's death is a reminder that the terrain of Grateful Dead studies continues to shift, as the phenomenon we study steadily progresses from present to past. That is true of the Caucus's work as well. And just as Hunter's death marks another milestone in Grateful Dead studies, an endpoint that makes definitive assessment possible, that's true of the Caucus conference program, which also comes to an end with this volume.

The symbolism of that has a suitably Dead-like quality. This marks the thirteenth year of the *Program*, a number that echoes throughout the Grateful Dead: it had a particular significance for Owsley Stanley, who insisted that the band's trademark lightning bolt have thirteen points, connecting it with the dawn of Christianity and to American history and iconography as well. So it is appropriate that our thirteenth volume also mark the conclusion of the *Program*. Those thirteen volumes document the evolution of the Caucus as an incubator for Grateful Dead studies and as a forum for the discourse. It is especially fitting that this volume of the *Program* include a checklist, just as the first volume did, for a conference program is itself a kind of checklist, cataloging the papers and presentations of a meeting and their sequence. Though now more likely to be discussed in educational theory than bibliography, checklists have traditionally provided a critical function, often reclaiming an author from the margins and asserting a significance that scattered works make elusive (Crane 1973). That has been the fundamental goal of the Caucus's project: to show that serious study of the Dead is not only warranted but possible. After twenty-three years, the Caucus has established that.

The *Program* played an important role in that effort. Beginning as a few laser-printed sheets in a cardboard binder, the *Program* expanded into a full-fledged periodical, one that aspired to the goal of all scholarly journals, to be "a palpable cultural viaduct, allowing intellectual and literary production to flow into new spaces," as one scholar put it (Salum 2009, 138). The process of revising back issues for open-source online publica-

tion has begun, with the first volume published and the rest in process; once complete, the *Program* will provide a detailed survey of the work of the Caucus, augmenting the account found in *Studying the Grateful Dead* (2013).

That does not mean an end to the work. The advent of the Grateful Dead Studies Association marks the start of a new chapter in that effort. Much remains to explore, and interest in Dead studies continues to grow. The discovery of DNA did not end disease nor even initiate the human genome project—it just brought those possibilities into view. Likewise, Hunter's death simply defines an endpoint to his oeuvre, raising the prospect of definitive assessment at last. And thirteen volumes of the *Program*—and twenty-three years of the Caucus—means that the work of Dead studies is clear: its ambition and challenges, its potential and rewards.

There will be more discoveries and new challenges: discourses, like the communities that sustain them, follow unpredictable paths. But the scholars whose hard work, creativity, and collegiality defined the Caucus can be proud of the foundation they built. You made the work of editing the *Program* a pleasure.

A Note to the Revised Edition

After the Program went to the printer, there were two cancellation s, changing the panel abstracts and necessitating the removal of the presenter and prentation abstracts. This final edition incorporates those changes and serves as a definitive document for the area's conference meeting.

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FOREWORD

A Lovely View of Heaven

Susan Balter-Reitz

> *Sublimity is always an eminence and excellence in language; and that from this, and this alone, the greatest poets and writers of prose have attained the first place and have clothed their fame with immortality. For it is not to persuasion but to ecstasy that passages of extraordinary genius carry the hearer …*
>
> Longinus, *On the Sublime*

In 1994, during a course in Classical Rhetoric, I first entered the world of Grateful Dead scholarship. Our assignment was to select a rhetorical artifact that fulfilled the criteria for the sublime. *On the Sublime*, the first century CE Roman-era Greek work of literary criticism, proposed five sources of the sublime with "power of expression being presupposed as a foundation common to all five types" (Longinus 1906, 12). The five criteria are: (1) The faculty of great conceptions; (2) Passion, strong and impetuous; (3) The proper handling of figures; (4) Noble phraseology; (5) Dignified and spirited composition (1906, 12–13).

While one classmate quickly found his passage in the bible, my inspiration came from a different text. Only a few short months before, I had attended the Grateful Dead's penultimate run at the Seattle Center. While waiting in line, I was entranced by a T-shirt with the lyric, "Once in

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a while / you get shown the light / in the strangest of places / if you look at it right" (Trist and Dodd 2005, 230).[1] I knew immediately that this eminent lyric from "Scarlet Begonias" exemplified the sublime. Yet, despite my best effort to prove that, the lyric left me stymied; Robert Hunter's expression confounded my academic attempt to convey the nobility of his words.

A quarter of a century later and, I hope, a wiser and more well-read Grateful Dead scholar, I find myself reflecting on that early, admittedly feeble attempt to do justice to the beauty and truth of Hunter's work. Even now, as I am preparing for my tenth Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus, having heard dozens of papers on the lyrics penned by Robert Hunter, John Perry Barlow, and Robert M. Petersen, I still find myself awed and silenced by the beauty of an idea or feeling caught in just the right phrase. Despite the tomes that fill my bookshelves and the hours spent reading the literature of Grateful Dead studies, the essence of the Grateful Dead remains slippery, somehow beyond my powers of description.

Perhaps it is the elusiveness of the beauty of the music that brings the discourse community of the Caucus together. Our transdisciplinarity, focused on difference that creates unity, is possible because there is no easy answer to the question, "why the Grateful Dead?" Unlike the parable of the blind men and the elephant, in which bias and perspective prevent each from seeing the whole, at its best, the Caucus requires us to escape our disciplinary boundaries and opens us to different ways of seeing the world.[2] As Nicholas Meriwether notes in his introduction to *Studying the Dead*, the work of the Caucus "demonstrates the uniqueness of the conversation—in particular, the intensity of a personal stake in the experience. That commitment infuses the discourse with a sense of mission: to preserve and explain, to understand and share a powerful, transformative group experience" (2013, 16). In the conclusion to the book, Meriwether provides a compelling argument about the nature of the discourse community that has emerged as a result of the Caucus's commitment to complexity and interdisciplinarity. In a note to his preface Meriwether explains that his definition comes from John M. Swales, as refined by John Porter (2013, xvi, n1). Swales, reflecting on his theory of discourse communities twenty-five years after its initial publication,

refined his original definition by extending a new typology. His new formulation proposed that academic discourse communities fall into one of three subcategories: local, focal, and folocal. His category of folocal captures the essence of the Caucus: "These are hybrid communities whose members have a double—and sometimes split—allegiance, as they are confronted by internal and external challenges and pressure" (2016, 17). I suggest that our folocal community allows us to create a more profound understanding because we have these split allegiances to our disciplines and to the shared discourse of the Caucus.

Beyond our research, the community of the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus creates deep human connections for its members. Much has been written about the durability of the Deadhead community, and the Caucus embodies those values. In February 2018, while the Caucus was meeting in the Sierra Vista room atop the Albuquerque Hyatt, we received news of John Perry Barlow's death. We shared our grief, processing the loss of one of our poets and celebrating his work together.

This year, we meet after the death of Robert Hunter in September 2019. In keeping with his intensely private persona, his passing was announced with little fanfare and no explanation. The only detail released by his agent was that he had recently had surgery (Genzlinger 2019). Although the members of our community were geographically scattered, we reached out to one another through online fora, sharing tributes and stories to help make sense of our sudden loss.

That process will continue at this year's Caucus, where our meeting will allow us all to gather and mourn together. This year's conference program is infused with Hunter's legacy, featuring reflections on his work by philosophers, musicologists, critical theorists, rhetoricians, historians, and literary scholars. Papers that will enrich our understanding of the art, performance, communication, business and community of the Grateful Dead share the program with traditional listening sessions and roundtables, with Hunter's lyrics as a unifying theme throughout. This year's Caucus includes opportunities for participants to revisit established topics as well as explore new areas of study. As usual, we have a healthy mix of veterans and new scholars, ensuring a robust discussion that continues to progress along with the larger discourse that the Caucus has done so much

to nurture, honoring the work of our pioneers and veterans and welcoming the contributions of younger voices and emerging scholars.

As the Caucus has evolved, so has the music and culture we study. While the Grateful Dead as a band dissolved nearly a quarter century ago, the music continues to grow. Direct descendants such as Dead and Company, Billy and the Kids, and Phil and Friends continue to perform, drawing audiences as large and committed as those in the band's heyday. Second-generation bands such as Joe Russo's Almost Dead, Golden Gate Wingmen and Dark Star Orchestra continue to attract a new demographic, exposing new generations to the Dead's remarkable songbook.

For the scholars drawn to the power and complexity of the Dead's legacy and impact, the ongoing appeal of the music represents a kind of clarion call as well as an affirmation, a reminder that what drew us to the Caucus remains as strong and vital as ever—even as it still thwarts definitive explication. Yet that, too, is reassuring, for it means that our community, both in the music and in the scholarship, still thrives, still letting us all bask in the sublime.

Notes

The opening quotation is from Longinus (1906, 2).

1. Serendipitously, many years later I found that Natalie Dollar, who also graduated from the PhD program at the University of Washington, used this lyric as the title for an article (Dollar 2013).

2. The parable of the blind men and the elephant is a folk tale that can be traced back thousands of years. For a modern retelling, see Baldwin (1896). Note: This is the children's author James Baldwin (1841–1925), not the African American author and civil rights pioneer (1924–1987).

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SUSAN BALTER-REITZ is Professor of Communication at Montana State University–Billings. Her current research project studies the intricacies of freedom of expression on university campuses, which builds on her work in argumentation theory, free speech, audience studies, and visual rhetoric. She has presented on the Grateful Dead to a variety of conferences and institutions, and is a frequent presenter at the Caucus, where she serves on the Program Committee.

Conference Schedule

Wednesday, February 19

Session 1 (1:15–2:45 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"Learning to See": The Model of the Grateful Dead

Chair: Nicholas Meriwether, Center for Counterculture Studies

Andrew Smith, Tennessee Tech University
"Psychedelic Sobriety: A Wharf Rat's Journey Back to the Dead Zone."

Sarah Moser, Academy for Jewish Religion, California
"Prayer is Dead."

Session 2 (3:00–4:30 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"A Song That's Born to Soar the Sky": Themes and Topics in Grateful Dead History

Chair: Michael Dolgushkin, California State Library

Nicholas Meriwether, Center for Counterculture Studies
"The Esoterica of the Haight and the Books of the Dead."

Michael Dolgushkin, California State Library
"The Grateful Dead's Hiatus from Touring."

Barry Barnes, Nova Southeastern University, ret.

"The Business of the Dead: Perspectives from Inside Grateful Dead Productions."

Session 3 (4:45–6:15 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**

Roundtable: The Poetry of Robert Hunter: A Reading and Appreciation

Chair: Nicholas Meriwether, Center for Counterculture Studies

Christopher Coffman, Boston University

Robert Cooperman, Independent Scholar

Christian Crumlish, Mediajunkie.com

Julie DeLong, Odessa College

Jon Ney, Independent Scholar

Opening Banquet (7 p.m.–) **Standard Diner**

320 Central Ave. SE (505) 243-1440

Please join us for our opening banquet honoring the twenty-third anniversary of the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus at this famous Albuquerque restaurant and historic location. Our group has a reservation. Carpools will form after Session 3.

Thursday, February 20

Session 4 (9:45–11:15 a.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"If You Let Me Be Your World": Performance Studies of the Grateful Dead

Chair: Sean Zwagerman, Simon Fraser University

Sean Zwagerman, Simon Fraser University

"What Was Jerry doing? Meaning, Intention, and That 1995 'Wharf Rat'."

Note: This panel was originally three papers but two cancellations reduced it to a single presenter.

Session 5 (11:30 a.m.–1:00 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"The Work of Her Day Measures More": Feminist Studies and the Grateful Dead

Chair: Susan Balter-Reitz, Montana State University–Billings

Beth Carroll, Appalachian State University
"Women of the Grateful Dead Ticket Office."

Rhoney Stanley, Independent Scholar
"Women's Oral History Protects the Legacy of the Grateful Dead and the Spirit of the Counterculture."

Session 6 (3:00–4:30 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"I Heard You Singing": The Lyrics of Robert Hunter

Chair: Jay Williams, *Critical Inquiry*, ret.

Matthew Lynch, University of the South (Sewanee)
"Dying Before You Are Dead, Stealing Your Face Right Off Your Head: Resonances of Sufi Mysticality in the Lyrics of Robert Hunter."

Nathaniel Racine, Texas A&M International University
"The Symbolic Landscape and Usable Past in the Lyrics of Robert Hunter."

Jay Williams, *Critical Inquiry*, ret.
"Robert Hunter's Lyric and the Grateful Dead Aesthetic."

Session 7 (4:45–6:15 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"Dream This Dream Anew": Art History and the Study of the Grateful Dead

Chair: Julie DeLong, Odessa College

Deepak Sarma, Case Western Reserve University
"A Long Strange Trip: The Use of a Twelfth-Century Indian Sculpture in the Cover Art of the First Grateful Dead Album."

Horace Fairlamb, University of Houston–Victoria

"Psychedelic Mandala: Rick Griffin's *Aoxomoxoa*."

Julie DeLong, Odessa College
"'The Last Rose of Summer': *Memento Mori*'s Legacy from the Sixteenth Century to the Grateful Dead."

Fire and Ice Reception (6:30–8:00 p.m.) **Grand Pavilion 4-6**

The Caucus is invited to join the entire conference for this reception and program featuring appetizers, dinner buffet, and no-host bar.

Evening Concert (8 p.m.–) **Moonlight Lounge**
120 Central Avenue SW Tel. (505) 764–0249

Caucus participants are invited to a performance by David Gans and Albuquerque's own Grateful Dead tribute band Let It Grow. $10 cover charge. The Moonlight Lounge is located a few blocks away from the Hyatt.

Friday, February 21

Session 8 (9:45–11:15 a.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"Let's See With Our Heart": Deadhead Community and Communication

Chair: Natalie Dollar, Oregon State University–Cascades

Rebecca Adams, University of North Carolina–Greensboro
"An Evolving Research Agenda: Foundations and Persistence of the Deadhead Community."

Natalie Dollar, Oregon State University–Cascades
"A Cultural Rhetorical Model of Identity: The Case of Jam Band Communication Communities."

Jesse Jarnow, Independent Scholar
"News From the Silk Trombone: *MIKEL* and the Birth of Deadhead Tour Culture, 1982–1985."

Session 9 (11:30 a.m.–1:00 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"Sing Sweet Song": Musicological Assessments of the Grateful Dead
Chair: Heather Laurel, New York Road Runners

Shaugn O'Donnell, The City College, CUNY
"Workingman's Dead?"

Heather Laurel, New York Road Runners
"Cataloging Instances of Chromaticism in the Songs of the Grateful Dead."

Session 10 (3:00–4:30 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"Keys to the Rain": Themes and Contexts in the Grateful Dead
Chair: Ryan Slesinger, Oklahoma State University

Rick Wallach, Nova Southeastern University, ret.
"Disturbing the Dead: Pre-Raphaelite Allusions in 'It Must Have Been the Roses'."

Peter Richardson, San Francisco State University
"Hunter S. Thompson: The San Francisco Years."

Ryan Slesinger, Oklahoma State University
"Wake Up to Find Out': Robert Hunter, Jack Kerouac, and Spiritual Nature Writing."

Session 11 (4:45–6:15 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**
"Many Worlds I've Come": Critical Theory and Philosophy in Grateful Dead Studies

Chair: Granville Ganter, St. John's University

Stanley J. Spector, Modesto Junior College, ret.
"Let the Words Be Ours: Grateful Dead Poetry and Merleau-Ponty."

Christopher K. Coffman, Boston University
"German Romantic Philosophy, Georgic Poetry, and 'Weather Report Suite, Part 2 (Let It Grow)'."

Granville Ganter, St. John's University
"The Dead That You Want: The Benefits and Perils of Modernization Theory."

Caucus Potluck and Hootenanny (7:30–11:00 p.m.) **Room**
Hyatt Regency **TBA**

Please join us for a Caucus tradition, a group potluck dinner and hootenanny. We will gather in one of the Hyatt's hospitality suites, which will be announced at the end of Session 11. Restaurants are listed on the back of the hootenanny flyer in the presenter packets. Bring an instrument and your favorite beverage.

Saturday, February 22

Session 12 (9:45–11:15 a.m.) **Sierra Vista**

"Cloud Hands Reaching From A Rainbow": Dimensions of Robert Hunter's Achievement

Chair: Timothy Ray, West Chester University of Pennsylvania

Janet Croft, Rutgers University
David Emerson, Independent Scholar
"'Some Rise, Some Fall, Some Climb': Three Ways of Looking at Robert Hunter's *The Giant's Harp*."

Timothy Ray, West Chester University of Pennsylvania
"'Without Love in a Dream It'll Never Come True': Aphorisms, *Kairos*, and the Rhetoric of Relative Truth in the Lyrics of Robert Hunter."

Christian Crumlish, Mediajunkie.com
"'Tsk, Tsk, Your Dead Head is Showing': Conversations with Robert Hunter after Jerry Died."

Session 13 (11:30 a.m.–1:00 p.m.) **Sierra Vista**

Roundtable: "No One May Follow": Robert Hunter Beyond the Grateful Dead, A Guided Listening Session

Chair: Jesse Jarnow, Independent Scholar

Panel Abstracts

Session 1: "Learning to See": The Model of the Grateful Dead.

Chair: Nicholas Meriwether

Andrew Smith, "Psychedelic Sobriety: A Wharf Rat's Journey Back to the Dead Zone."

Sarah Moser, "Prayer is Dead."

As early as 1966, journalists noticed that something deeper, something different from the typical band-fan relationship, defined the Grateful Dead phenomenon. This panel brings together three papers that explore the ways that the Grateful Dead's project provides a model for fans to construct meaning in their own lives. Andrew Smith traces how fans seeking sobriety used the Deadhead experience to support their recovery, underscoring a powerful but underrepresented theme in Dead studies. Wharf Rats, one well-known group of sober Deadheads, pursued a different approach to transcendence, one just as rooted in the band's project as any Dionysian inebriation. His focus on epiphany, informed by his own journey and ministry, evokes explicitly religious elements in the Grateful Dead phenomenon, which is the subject of Sarah Moser's presentation. Her comparative treatment shows how the band's work can inform the discipline of prayer in a range of faiths and religious practices. Both

papers demonstrate an intensely felt, first-person experience in their topics, a feeling that goes to the collective, communal nature of the Grateful Dead experience, as the title of the panel, a line from Hunter's lyrics for "Help on the Way," makes plain.

Session 2: "A Song That's Born to Soar the Sky": Themes and Topics in Grateful Dead History.

Chair: Michael Dolgushkin

Barry Barnes, "The Business of the Dead: Perspectives from Inside Grateful Dead Productions."

Michael Dolgushkin, "The Grateful Dead's Hiatus from Touring."

Nicholas Meriwether, "The Esoterica of the Haight and the Books of the Dead."

The Grateful Dead always had a sense of destiny, even when the destination was less than clear. This panel explores different aspects of that destiny, from its sources in esoterica to periods that tested it to how it manifested itself in their business practices. Building on his long-term project on the Dead's business practices, Barry Barnes's presentation focuses on three key figures in the band's organization, highlighting the contributions of participants whose roles in the band's project were often obscured. His work to bring to light hidden aspects of the Dead's history goes to the heart of the other two papers as well. *DeadBase* coauthor Michael Dolgushkin's paper explores an era that is equally obscure, the Dead's hiatus from touring in the mid-1970s, a time that reshaped their project in profound and lasting ways. The seeds of that capacity for reinvention can be seen at the beginning of their career, when the fledgling band's interests included an abiding fascination with esoterica, both historical and invented. Nicholas Meriwether explores three examples of esoterica, tracing their influence, both positive and negative, on the band's development. That influence, and the traces those works left, represent an unexplored dimension of the band's history that complicates and deepens the Dead's place in the counterculture of the 1960s. As the panel's title, a line from John Perry Barlow's lyrics for "Weather Report Suite, Part 1," suggests, the often hidden currents in the band's history can illuminate the

Dead's achievement in surprising ways.

Session 3: Roundtable: The Poetry of Robert Hunter, A Reading and Appreciation.

Chair: Nicholas Meriwether

Panelists: Christopher Coffman, Robert Cooperman, Christian Crumlish, Julie DeLong, Jon Ney

Robert Hunter is known as a lyricist, but he wrote poetry throughout his life, and beginning in the 1980s, he began to issue it more formally with increasingly mainstream publishers. His poetry ranges from traditional forms such as sonnets to free verse, and includes translations of Rilke along with elegies for fallen friends and colleagues. Much of his work remains uncollected, but his published oeuvre is substantial. This panel provides introductions and excerpts to his major published works: *A Strange Music*, *Glass Lunch*, *Idiot's Delight*, *Sentinel*, and his translations of Rilke's *Duino Elegies* and *Sonnets to Orpheus*. Each work will be introduced along with excerpts, with poems from *Sentinel* read by Hunter himself, from his spoken word CD.

Session 4: "If You Let Me Be Your World": Performance Studies of the Grateful Dead.

Chair: Sean Zwagerman

Sean Zwagerman, "What was Jerry doing? Meaning, intention, and that 1995 'Wharf Rat'."

The Dead's belief in the primacy of live performance was a pillar of their project, and this panel examines several aspects of their commitment to the stage. Yet the view of the stage could be deceptive as well, allowing viewers to see what it presented in often very different ways. Sean Zwagerman uses one controversial performance at the end of the band's career to examine the relationship between the intentions of the musicians and the meanings the audience can impute to performance.

After the band moved out of the Haight-Ashbury, Robert Hunter lived with Jerry Garcia in Larkspur, a remarkably productive time that

produced some of their early classics and cemented their working relationship. Garcia told Hunter then that they were creating a world, and that vision would be one that endured until Garcia's untimely death. The ways that performance shaped that world gives this panel its title, a line from Hunter's lyrics to the song "If I Had the World to Give," a lovely ballad the band only played three times in concert.

Note: This panel originally consisted of three papers but two cancellations reduced it to a single presenter.

Session 5: "I Heard You Singing": The Lyrics of Robert Hunter.

Chair: Jay Williams

Matthew Lynch, "Dying Before You are Dead, Stealing Your Face Right Off Your Head: Resonances of Sufi Mysticality in the Lyrics of Robert Hunter."

Nathaniel Racine, "The Symbolic Landscape and Usable Past in the Lyrics of Robert Hunter."

Jay Williams, "Robert Hunter's Lyric and the Grateful Dead Aesthetic."

For both fans and scholars, Robert Hunter's lyrics for the Grateful Dead play a central, defining role in the Grateful Dead phenomenon. The title of this panel comes from a song Hunter recorded for his first solo album, a meditation on the power of music, the bonds of community, and the ties of humanity. Those themes permeate his work, connecting his lyrics for the Dead to a wide range of contexts, as this panel explores. Jay Williams examines how Hunter's lyrics for the Dead reveal his aesthetic, demonstrating its debt to high modernism. Those lyrics were deeply American, as Williams notes, and they describe a landscape whose symbolism is the subject of Nathaniel Racine's paper explores. The sense of place that Racine finds in Hunter's lyrics is resolutely American, yet its imagined and imaginary elements also connect it more broadly, as Matthew Lynch explains. Using Sufi lyrical and ritual practices to tease out elements of Hunter's craft, Lynch finds deeper resonances between Sufism and the world of the Dead that help to explain both its enduring appeal and Hunter's essential contribution to that achievement.

Session 6: "The Work of Her Day Measures More": Feminist Studies and the Grateful Dead.

Chair: Susan Balter-Reitz

Beth Carroll, "Women of the Grateful Dead Ticket Office."

Rhoney Stanley, "Women's Oral History Protects the Legacy of the Grateful Dead and the Spirit of the Counterculture."

Continuing the theme of last year's panel on feminism and Grateful Dead studies, this session features follow-up presentations by Beth Carroll and Rhoney Stanley on their project to document the contributions of women in the Grateful Dead. Carroll's work on the women who helped to create and manage the band's in-house ticketing operation shows the degree to which women played critical but often hidden roles that were vital to the success of the band's operation. Rhoney Stanley brings her perspective as a participant in the band's early days to her work with Carroll, exploring the power of oral history as a technique for documenting these contributions, ensuring that the voices of these women are heard and preserved. The injunction to give voice to the voiceless is one that oral historians have long recognized as central to their work, which explains the title of the panel. Adapted from a line in Barlow's lyrics for "Let It Grow," the original verse specifies "his," not her, yet the song celebrates the work of women alongside men. Its adaptation here remedies an imbalance that these two papers address—and that is especially apropos of the song's message to "let it grow," which this panel honors.

Session 7: "Dream This Dream Anew": Art History and the Study of the Grateful Dead.

Chair: Julie DeLong

Bud Fairlamb, "Psychedelic Mandala: Rick Griffin's *Aoxomoxoa*."

Deepak Sarma, "A Long Strange Trip: The Use of a Twelfth-Century Indian Sculpture in the Cover Art for the Grateful Dead's Debut Album."

Julie DeLong, "'The Last Rose of Summer': *Memento Mori*'s Legacy from the Sixteenth Century to the Grateful Dead."

The ways that visual art reflects and extends the Dead's project connects their work and aesthetic to deeper currents in art history, which is the focus of this session. From their inception, the Dead commissioned and inspired a dazzling array of art to illustrate and complement their music. This panel brings together three art historical perspectives to assess themes and artworks that outline this dimension of the band's legacy. Deepak Sarma explores Alton Kelley's use of a famous Indian sculpture in his collage for the Dead's debut album, showing how this artistic borrowing provides insights into the counterculture's interest in South Asia and Hinduism. Rick Griffin shared that interest in Asian art, using the Buddhist mandala as a shaping motif for his celebrated cover for the Dead's third album, *Aoxomoxoa*. Bud Fairlamb traces that influence in his paper on Griffin's masterpiece, the first of many pieces he created for the band over the years. Visual art manifested itself in the band's work in other ways as well, as Julie DeLong explains in her exploration of *memento mori* in the Dead's lyrics. The Dead understood that artists participated in the traditions that shaped them, and saw their work in those terms, as the title of this panel makes plain. A line from Hunter's song "Must Be the Moon," the lyrics represent Hunter's own vision of that debt, couched in the terms of a love song that can also be read as a paean to the power of art to endure.

Session 8: "Let's See With Our Heart": Exploring Deadhead Community.

Chair: Natalie Dollar

Rebecca Adams, "An Evolving Research Agenda: Foundations and Persistence of the Deadhead Community."

Natalie Dollar, "A Cultural Rhetorical Model of Identity: The Case of Jam Band Communication Communities."

Jesse Jarnow, "News From the Silk Trombone: *MIKEL* and the Birth of Deadhead Tour Culture, 1982–1985."

When the Dead issued their celebrated invitation to fans to join their mailing list in 1971, it marked a formal acknowledgment of the central role the audience played in their project. Though journalists often mis-

construed Deadhead devotion as uncritical adulation, thoughtful critics recognized the power of the bond the audience shared with the band. As scholars increasingly focus on audience studies as a vital interdisciplinary subject, the Dead phenomenon provides a remarkably fertile arena for analysis. This panel brings together three perspectives on Deadhead community.

Rebecca Adams discusses how her study of Deadheads has evolved over the years, connecting that to the ways that the community itself has evolved and survived. Communication is a central mechanism for that survival, as Natalie Dollar explores in this update of her own long-term study of Deadhead and jam band fan rhetoric and identity. Fanzines were one of the ways that Deadheads communicated and expressed their identity, and *MIKEL*, a simple photocopied sheet handed out at shows in the early to mid-1980s, is the subject of Jesse Jarnow's presentation. In a world now defined by digital media and online forums, *MIKEL* offers a window into Deadhead communication at a critical point in the band's history. These papers show how Deadheads challenged stereotypes and defied dismissal in the ways they created community, as the title of this panel urges: a line from "Blues for Allah," Hunter's moving meditation on war in the Middle East, here it also speaks to the timeless links between art and humanity and the enduring power of both in forging community.

Session 9: "Sing Sweet Song": Musicological Assessments of the Grateful Dead.

Chair: Heather Laurel

Shaugn O'Donnell, "Workingman's Dead?"

Heather Laurel, "Cataloging Instances of Chromaticism in the Songs of the Grateful Dead."

In 1985, Phil Lesh wrote that "Grateful Dead is more than music, but it has always been *fundamentally* music." This panel brings together two papers that address that foundation of the band's work in equally fundamental ways. Musicologist Shaugn O'Donnell assesses the Dead's seminal album *Workingman's Dead* from a musicological perspective, revealing its debts to, and roots in, their earlier experimental, psychedelic

period. That hidden dimension in an album otherwise considered a return to the band's roots in American roots music is a theme that also informs musicologist Heather Laurel's survey of chromaticism in the band's work. Traditionally associated with bluegrass and gospel music, chromaticism takes on more ambitious functions in the Dead's songbook, forging a unique fusion that unifies the band members' otherwise disparate influences. Both papers help to elucidate why the band's music manages to remain appealing while still hinting at the vast reservoir of thought and learning that defined the Dead and repays analysis. Part of that was their discipline and drive, even in the face of tragedy and adversity. That describes the events surrounding the band during the recording of the song "Brokedown Palace," whose lyrics provide the title for this panel.

Session 10: "Keys to the Rain": Themes and Contexts in the Grateful Dead.

Chair: Ryan Slesinger

Peter Richardson, "Hunter S. Thompson: The San Francisco Years."

Rick Wallach, "Disturbing the Dead: Pre-Raphaelite Allusions in 'It Must Have Been the Roses'."

Ryan Slesinger, "'Wake Up to Find Out': Robert Hunter, Jack Kerouac, and Spiritual Nature Writing."

Central to the Grateful Dead's scholarly appeal is the degree to which they connected to and invoke a rich array of literary, artistic, and cultural contexts. This panel explores three of those contexts, from contemporary to historical. The bohemian milieu of the Haight-Ashbury played a critical role in the creation of the Dead's project, and fellow traveler Hunter S. Thompson was an important participant in and chronicler of that time and place. Peter Richardson's paper traces the evolution of Thompson's literary voice during his time in the Haight, where he interacted with and developed a strong affinity for the Dead, drawing on many of the same influences and forces to develop his own signature style. Robert Hunter found his muse in the same stew, which included members of the Beats such as Neal Cassady and Michael McClure, both of whom were friends with the band and with Hunter in particular. Ryan Slesinger

explores the links between Hunter's approach to nature with Kerouac, highlighting another important connection between the two postwar bohemian scenes that demonstrates Hunter's achievement. That achievement tapped literary and artistic currents that went far beyond the U.S., as Rick Wallach shows. His paper addresses one of Hunter's more powerful songs, "It Must Have Been the Roses," exploring its evocation of themes in the work of Pre-Raphaelite painter Dante Rosseti.

All three papers help to tease out why the band's work invokes such a wide range of topics that interest scholars working throughout the humanities, as the title, a line from an unrecorded Hunter lyric by the same name, suggests. Phil Lesh loved the lyric and took it as the title of a symphonic project built around Grateful Dead music. Though that project remains unfinished, the idea behind it is a tantalizing nod to the range of genres, writers, and worlds the Dead invoke.

Session 11: "Many Worlds I've Come": Critical Theory and Philosophy in Grateful Dead Studies.

Chair: Granville Ganter

Stanley J. Spector, "Let the Words Be Ours: Grateful Dead Poetry and Merleau-Ponty."

Christopher K. Coffman, "German Romantic Philosophy, Georgic Poetry, and 'Weather Report Suite, Part 2 (Let It Grow)'."

Granville Ganter, "The Dead That You Want: The Benefits and Perils of Modernization Theory."

The Dead's time in the Haight-Ashbury gave them a lifelong association with the counterculture, a link that has intrigued scholars for decades. The counterculture raised profound philosophical and critical questions at the time, and those continue to ripple throughout the scholarship on the band, in both traditional and innovative ways. This session brings philosophy, literary studies, and critical theory together to examine how different dimensions of the band's project can be illuminated by issues and thinkers from a range of philosophical and critical perspectives. Stanley Spector's paper provides a close reading of arguments in Merleau-Ponty's work that highlight the Dead's answers to fundamental

philosophical questions, teasing out some of the psychedelic resonances in Hunter's and Barlow's lyrics. Granville Ganter grounds his analysis of the Dead's project in the work of Ronald Inglehart and Steven Pinker, interrogating their view of modernization by showing how the band's project departs from a Euroamerican understanding of the concept, especially as expressed in Robert Hunter's lyrics. Christopher Coffman uses German Romantic philosophy to show how the Dead's embrace of lyric fragments and partly-told narratives informed their achievement, drawing on a range of philosophers for his argument, from Virgil to Friedrich Schlegel. All three papers show how the band's achievement requires and rewards explication from a remarkable range of philosophers and critics, as the title of the panel suggests. A line from "Brokedown Palace," the title refers to the place for all of these diverse themes and theories in Grateful Dead studies.

Session 12: "Cloud Hands Reaching From A Rainbow": Robert Hunter's Artistic Achievement.

Chair: Timothy Ray

Janet Croft and David Emerson. ""Some Rise, Some Fall, Some Climb": Three Ways of Looking at Robert Hunter's *The Giant's Harp*."

Christian Crumlish, "'Tsk, Tsk, Your Dead Head is Showing': Conversations with Robert Hunter after Jerry Died."

Timothy Ray, "'Without Love in a Dream It'll Never Come True': Aphorisms, *Kairos*, and the Rhetoric of Relative Truth in the Lyrics of Robert Hunter."

This final paper session returns to the central theme of this Caucus meeting, the work and legacy of Robert Hunter. His lyrics for the Grateful Dead form the core of that work, and Timothy Ray's paper explores how those lyrics derive part of their power from Hunter's use of aphorism, which can be traced back to the Aristotelean debate over the nature of truth. That quality can be found in Hunter's prose as well, which is the focus of Janet Croft and David Emerson's presentation. Their discussion of Hunter's *The Giant's Harp* approaches it as fantasy literature, using J.

R. R. Tolkien's literary theory as well the work of mythographers Mircea Eliade and Joseph Campbell to assess its achievement. Hunter peppered his correspondence with references to those and other writers, and for a brief time in the 1990s, he shared those allusions and more with fans who emailed him at the band's website. Christian Crumlish was one of those fans, and his email correspondence with Hunter provides an important window into Hunter's thought and writing. For Hunter to have shared so much to so many so directly, however briefly, goes to the heart of his work as a writer and his role in the Dead, all three of the papers in this session reveal. The title of the panel, a line from "Crazy Fingers," acknowledges that generous outreach, which was such a defining quality of Hunter's work.

Session 13: Listening Session: "No One May Follow: Robert Hunter Beyond the Grateful Dead."

Chair: Jesse Jarnow

When Robert Hunter passed away in September 2019 at age 78, he was eulogized mainly as the primary lyricist for the Grateful Dead. But, in addition to being a poet, Hunter was a folk musician before he met future Dead guitarist Jerry Garcia, and he created a remarkably diverse body of work outside the Dead. This listening session will begin with Hunter's roots in the West Coast folk scene and move through his first steps outside the Dead in the early 1970s, concluding with his last solo compositions and collaborations in the 2000s. With an oratory singing voice that could border on shouting, this listening session will trace a quieter thread through Hunter's music, a kind of "greatest hits" survey that illustrates the complexity of his work, touching on richly arranged folk-pop, live bands, concept albums, stark late-night confessionals, covers, guitar loops, and original lyrics sung by a vast array of people besides members of the Grateful Dead, including Bob Dylan and members of Animal Collective.

Presentation Abstracts

Rebecca Adams, "An Evolving Research Agenda: Foundations and Persistence of the Deadhead Community."

This presentation will describe the University of North Carolina–Greensboro Deadhead Community Project from its inception in 1987 when four independent study students surveyed Deadheads on Summer Tour through last year's series of events called "Another Year of the Dead at UNCG." This presentation will describe the data generated, discuss the pedagogical motivation and products, outline the evolution of the research goals of this project, and summarize the conclusions reached over time.

The initial major research question (1986–1995) was, "How is it possible for such a vibrant community to form and continue despite its large size and lack of permanent shared territory?" After summarizing the conclusions of the research conducted to address that question, the forces undermining the solidarity of the community during the Grateful Dead's last tour in Summer 1995 will be reviewed. Next the conclusions of publications addressing the revised research goals (Will we survive and will the center hold?) will be presented. Finally, the presenter will pose a future research question, which someone else will have to address: Will the community survive the death of its original members?

Barry Barnes, "The Business of the Dead: Perspectives from Inside Grateful Dead Productions."

Starting in the late 1990s through early 2000 I interviewed several people who had worked for the Grateful Dead. Their insights and perspectives provided vital background for the book, *Everything I Know About Business I Learned From the Grateful Dead* (Business Plus, 2011). In addition to documenting what it was like to work inside the Grateful Dead organization, these narrators also frankly discussed challenges and difficulties they encountered. This presentation focuses on three key players in the business history of the Dead: David Parker, Jan Simmons, and Peter McQuaid. Each played different roles at different times; each had a unique perspective on the band's business. David Parker was one of the first employees to bring some business discipline to the organization; his views are informed by his longtime participation in the larger scene, beginning as a member of Mother McCree's Uptown Jug Champions. Jan Simmons went to work with the Dead in 1990 after twelve years with promoter Bill Graham Presents. She served as assistant to Peter McQuaid, who was named CEO of GDP after Garcia's death in 1995. Simmons and McQuaid witnessed and helped usher in the dramatic changes in the Dead's business model after the formal end of the band in 1995, including notable successes, controversial decisions, and challenging failures. This presentation focuses on insights and lessons from these often hidden figures with an eye towards what this kind of testimony suggests for Grateful Dead studies.

Beth Carroll, "Women of the Grateful Dead Ticket Office."

In 1983 the Grateful Dead began selling tickets to their shows directly to fans through a mail-order service, Grateful Dead Ticket Sales (GDTS). As an alternative to corporate ticket vendors, GDTS merged the business of selling tickets with anti-corporate Grateful Dead values, and prioritized the quality of fans' experiences above all else. Using data from interviews with women who ran GDTS, this presentation will describe the values, practices, and principles of GDTS and draw some conclusions about the roles women played in developing an office culture based on relationships, community, and devotion.

Christopher Coffman, "German Romantic Philosophy, Georgic Poetry, and 'Weather Report Suite, Part 2 (Let It Grow)'."

My paper's governing contention is that the power of the Grateful Dead's lyrics derives in no small part from their compositional openness to narrative inconclusion and lyric fragmentation. A corollary argument is that these qualities allowed the band to proffer songs that not only work in themselves, but also perform a reflexive meta-function: they teach listeners hearing a given Grateful Dead song how to listen to Grateful Dead songs in general. This listener education guides the audience's apprehension of, among other points, the value of indeterminacy, the necessity of destruction to creation, and the parallels between aesthetic activity and the nature of the self.

My arguments take shape in relation to three varieties of evidence: the band's observations that fragmentary yet evocative lyrics are an important component of their songwriting; the ancient literary heritage of "Let It Grow," particularly the song's debt to Hesiod's *Works and Days* and Virgil's *Georgics*; and commentary on the genre of the literary fragment by leading figures of German Romantic philosophy, especially Friedrich Schlegel. Taken together, these three elements ground my consideration of how the concept of the literary fragment can help us to understand better what Robert Hunter, John Perry Barlow, and others in the band's songwriting community achieved.

Robert Cooperman, "Beggar's Tomb."

Robert Hunter and others created highly evocative lyrics for the melodies created by Jerry Garcia and Bob Weir. Indeed Hunter once observed that his lyrics were only a possible way of looking at the songs. Bearing that in mind, I have written a collection of poems, *Beggar's Tomb*, that offer alternative versions and plot lines to the lyrics in some of the Dead's more iconic songs. Rather than sticking to the plot lines of these narratives, I have created new ones. In the Weir-Hunter version of "Jack Straw," for instance, two desperadoes commit a series of crimes, including murder. My three poems that were inspired by the song are from the points of view of the murdered night watchman, his sister, and his brother-in-law, a railroad engineer who got him the job that got him killed. My

version of "Uncle John's Band" takes off from the line, "I live in a silver mine," to tell the story of a prospector who stayed in the mountains long after the mine was depleted. He lives alone and realizes he's going a little nuts for lack of companionship. I think of this project as an homage to Robert Hunter in particular, and the Grateful Dead in general.

Janet Croft and David Emerson, "'Some Rise, Some Fall, Some Climb': Three Ways of Looking at Robert Hunter's *The Giant's Harp*."

This presentation builds on Jesse Jarnow's presentation at the Caucus last year, continuing the exploration of the world of Terrapin provided by Robert Hunter's novel *The Giant's Harp*. As scholars primarily in the area of fantasy literature and Tolkien studies, we will bring some of the tools of this field to bear on Hunter's work. First, we want to look at the deep world-building behind the novel: does it create what in fantasy studies we call a legendarium, like the world J. R. R. Tolkien built? Second, how does it stack up as a mythology? What do we see when looking at it through the lenses of some of the classic works on comparative mythology—Eliade, Campbell, and so on? Third, is the stand-alone story of *The Giant's Harp* mythopoeic? Is it a tragedy with a satisfying catharsis? Is it a fairy tale with a satisfying eucatastrophe, as Tolkien defines in his essay "On Fairy Stories"? Is there enough of the numinous about it to raise it to the level of high mythopoeic fantasy? We will close with some considerations of Hunter as a writer, what flaws and gems we saw in the tale, and why it is worth reading.

Christian Crumlish, "'Tsk, Tsk, Your Dead Head is Showing': Conversations with Robert Hunter after Jerry Died."

For several years, starting in late 1995, Robert Hunter maintained a public diary on the Grateful Dead website and welcomed feedback and commentary. For those of us who dared to reach out to him, he could be a generous and prolific correspondent on a range of topics. I found comfort after the death of Jerry Garcia in the direct and humane accessibility of this sage songwriter. A charming, riffing email correspondence ensued, which led eventually to an interview, and even some on-the-spot fact-checking before a Dead Caucus meeting. This presentation adds to our understanding of Hunter and his role in the Dead and larger phenomenon

during a unique window of time in which he opened the "eagle winged" kimono and invited us to explore his creative process, read his novel-in-progress, and exchange ideas with him about music, fandom, the online world, and obscure blues legends from the dawn of amplification.

Julie DeLong, "'The Last Rose of Summer': *Memento Mori*'s Legacy from the Sixteenth Century to the Grateful Dead."

Memento mori and mourning art have been described as understudied forms of art that are not indicative of high style, a dismissal that echoes criticism of the Grateful Dead. *Memento mori* art flourished in the golden age of Dutch art and its tradition continued in early American mourning art. The Dead, mourning art, and *memento mori* art are riddled with arcane symbols, expressive of timeless concerns of life and death. The concept of *vanitas* is explored in these works to meditate upon the futility of intellectual pursuits and of pursuing immortality, notably with the Dead's "Stella Blue," among other songs. Stark, grotesque imagery in these works present us with the abject and force us to consider our mortality, evidenced with the Dead's performances on murder ballads. The Dead, however accidentally, brought *memento mori* back to the forefront of American consciousness, forcing us to choose fun in a world that couldn't promise tomorrow.

Mike Dolgushkin, "The Grateful Dead's Hiatus From Touring."

The Grateful Dead's hiatus from touring lasted from October 1974 until June 1976, and is one of the most interesting and least understood periods in the band's history. Rumors ran rampant throughout this time and during the period leading up to it. Communications between the band and its fans were often ambiguous or even cryptic, such as "we realize this message is rather vague, but as we've learned before, 'loose lips sink ships'." The music the Grateful Dead produced during this time was quite different from what came before and after, primarily because it was created from scratch in the studio rather than being allowed to develop in a live setting. Their attempts at self-determination, in the form of handling their own business affairs and operating their own record company, came to a halt during this period. It was also during this time that drummer Mickey Hart rejoined the band after a hiatus of his own. Perhaps most

importantly, the band's musical activities came to a complete halt, live and in the studio, for about seven months, which affected their musical continuity. This presentation assesses this murky period in Grateful Dead history by reviewing extant recordings, available documentation, and interviews with principals. However anomalous, "The Hiatus" is far from ancillary, and represents a time in the band's story that deserves detailed attention.

Natalie Dollar, "A Cultural Rhetorical Model of Identity: The Case of Jam Band Communication Communities."

Community members rely codes of communication and cultural discourses to express who persons are; which social relations, social actions, and feelings are meaningful; and how we dwell in these communities (Carbaugh, 2012). That these codes of communication and cultural discourses differ across communities is demonstrated in a large body of literature addressing the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1989; Johnstone and Marcillino, 2010; Philipsen and Carbaugh, 1986), speech codes theory (Hart and Philipsen, 2015), and cultural discourse theory (Carbaugh, 2007, 2010; Carbaugh, Gibson, and Milburn, 1997; Scollon, 2011). Throughout these lines of research, identity is understood as a communicative accomplishment. This paper takes seriously these interests in the context of communities without a physical, geographic 'hometown,' or what some have referred to as dispersed communities, and proposes an identity model for one particular type of dispersed community, jam band communities.

This model's utility may not be limited to jam band communities. Members of dispersed communities face challenges in being, relating and interacting due to the absence of a shared geographic "home" that members of most communities rely on to enact their personal, social, and cultural identities. This presentation argues that to understand identity is to understand culture and communicative actions, such as those posed when one has rare occasions to engage and enact a prominent shared identity. How members of these communities respond to the exigencies of identity creation, engagement, and embodiment warrants a consideration of cultural rhetorics. Examining cultural codes of communication, cultural moments, cultural discourses, and rhetorical actions provides one way of

exploring identity in response to such challenges.

We have created a model we are referring to as the cultural rhetorical identity model. Through this model, we identify a loose four-stage process—Individual Starting Point, Personhood, Re-Membering, and Embodiment—in which the moments "betwixt and between" these stages are equal in importance to the stages themselves. One's "individual starting point" is informed by different levels of access to and understanding of the communicative landscape for each participant. When individuals engage this identity process, each stage potentially gains greater nuance and meaning every time they are encountered. As such, the model emphasizes that the development of the communicative landscape, the shared folk knowledge among members, is an inherently recursive process.

This model describes how members of jam band communicative communities use cultural moments and individually experienced trepidations as part of the expressive system to learn about identity; communicative landscapes or the 'world according to shows' as rhetorical resources to experience a communal personhood prioritizing a nomadic identity, a commitment to memory of place (shows); and amnesia to embody their shared identity. We are claiming that place—as both geographical and communicatively evoked when membering outside of physical place—is essential to understanding the challenges experienced by jam band community members and the culturally intelligible communicative actions for responding.

Bud Fairlamb, "Psychedelic Mandala: Rick Griffins *Aoxomoxoa*."

Rick Griffin is widely recognized as a master of psychedelic art. He is best known for his contributions to Zap Comix and his Grateful Dead posters, especially the image he created for the cover of the Dead's 1969 album *Aoxomoxoa*. According to numerous critics, that album was the first the embody the range of the Dead's eclectic mix of elements and idioms in a single, accessible package. Likewise, the album cover and poster synthesized key trends in Griffin's and others artists' psychedelic techniques into a single image, recalling microcosmic syntheses of Buddhist mandalas. This presentation will trace some of the themes of Griffin's early work as a prelude to their culmination in *Aoxomoxoa* album cover.

Granville Ganter, "The Dead That You Want: The Benefits and Perils of Modernization Theory."

One of the ideas discussed at recent Caucuses has been the Dead's association with various forms of modernization, from their avant garde art to their technological innovations that developed alongside the military-industrial complex. (This discussion has sometimes been framed as the problem of counterculture—exactly what constitutes the "counter" and against what is it posed?) For some Dead scholars, the challenge has been to sort some of the good technological aspects from the bad, and I think this gesture is a healthy one, given current celebrations of western democratic modernization from Ronald Inglehart to Steven Pinker.

In this paper, I sketch some of the claims of Pinker and Inglehart about the redemptive aspects of modernization, and argue that their sunny view of "modernization" is far too broad to apply to Grateful Dead, even though there is some shared territory. Drawing on the cultural anthropology of Native American traditions, which recognize growth and change in contrast to Euroamerican modernization, I argue that it is possible to define different kinds of "modernization" which would be more amenable to Dead studies, using examples from Robert Hunter's lyrics to illustrate the dialectic between the modern and the traditional.

Jesse Jarnow, "News From the Silk Trombone: *MIKEL* and the Birth of Deadhead Tour Culture, 1982–1985."

Published from 1982 through 1985, Michael Linnah's fanzine *MIKEL* provides a singular glimpse into the emergent traveling scene surrounding the Grateful Dead in the years before their return to the mainstream. A one-sheet flyer distributed at nearly every tour stop (and available by subscription in return for self-addressed stamped envelopes), *MIKEL* included recent concert set lists, gossip, folklore, fan poetry, surveys, news clippings, and unclassifiable doggerel. Its classified section linked Dead fans from around the world to wherever the Dead were at the exact moment of publication.

Examining their contents some thirty-five years later reveals each issue of *MIKEL* to be a postcard from the Dead's outpost in the middle of Ronald (and Nancy) Reagan's '80s, each an invaluable piece of a blurry

historical record showing the exact intersection of fan-driven subculture with more radical counterculture. As the Dead's touring scene continues to evolve, receiving its own fetishization via Instagram and expanding collectors' market for vintage bootleg shirts, *MIKEL* provides a do-it-yourself corrective.

Heather Laurel, "Cataloging Instances of Chromaticism in the Songs of the Grateful Dead."

The Grateful Dead use chromaticism in their songs and improvisations in a variety of ways. A typical example might be the use of a secondary dominant in a retransitional moment, as in the turn-around in a song's chorus, such as "Ripple" ("nor wind to blow"). This type of chromaticism stems from the Dead's roots in gospel and bluegrass music, where such a progression is standard. Another common type of chromaticism, mode mixture, can be found in songs such as "Loser," where the chorus emerges in the parallel major. Other, less typical examples include augmented sixth chords and common-tone diminished seventh chords. These rare harmonies are used as musical word painting and more commonly in their improvisations. A clear example is the augmented sixth chord used to word-paint the images "broken dreams," "lonely street," and "all this life" in "Stella Blue." The rare (for rock) common-tone diminished seventh chord is used in "The Music Never Stopped" to musically describe the "rainbow full of sound" and "fireworks, calliopes, and clowns" the band brings with them. This paper explores instances of secondary dominants, modulation, mode mixture, and more complex types of chromaticism in the Grateful Dead's songs. Though useful for the music theory classroom, this survey will help the Dead's academic community better understand how the band members' diverse musical backgrounds affected their songwriting techniques.

Matthew Lynch, "Dying Before You are Dead, Stealing Your Face Right Off Your Head: Resonances of Sufi Mysticality in the Lyrics of Robert Hunter."

As the title suggests, this paper examines how themes, tropes, and techniques found within the Sufi literary tradition resonate within the lyrics of Robert Hunter. Sufism provided an immense array of resources

for American spiritual and countercultural movements of the sixties and onward. Rather than try to go back in time to find a causal relationship between Sufi ideas and Hunter's writings, this paper will take that influence as a known unknown: we know Sufi thought was in the air, but cause and effect is a tough thing to prove in poetry. Instead, I will illustrate how approaches to the study of Sufism can shed more light on Hunter's techniques as a poet and lyricist.

Using existing studies of lyrical construction and cognitive affect (Keshavarz), of apophasis and negative theology (Sells), of esotericism and light and love-based mysticism (Corbin, Schimmel), this paper will compare elements of the Sufi mystical lyric tradition from the writings of poets like Rumi, Hafez and others to aspects of Robert Hunter's lyrics. (As an example, the tropes of the "wine boy" and singing birds appear frequently in Sufi poetry; in comparing existing analyses of these in Sufi Studies to analyze Hunter's usage, we get a window into how he adapts and/or inverts these tropes in songs like "Bird Song" and "So Many Roads.")

Ultimately, I postulate that Hunter's lyrical tropes and techniques, and their usage within the dynamic social and communal spaces of Grateful Dead concerts, resonate well with elements of Sufi lyrical and ritual practices. Thus, approaches to Sufi studies can provide a powerful prism by which we can perceive Hunter's lyrics and their place in the pantheon of the Grateful Dead in a different light—if we look at it right.

Nicholas Meriwether, "The Esoterica of the Haight and the Books of the Dead."

The Dead's most celebrated foreign concerts were the three they performed in Egypt in September 1978, in the shadow of the Great Pyramid on the Giza plateau. Their explanations, then and later, made reference to a long-standing interest in esoterica, writings that trace alternative, hidden, or buried themes and that depart from mainstream ideas and accepted knowledge. Band member interviews date the roots of that interest to the Dead's formative years, showing how it informed the genesis and development of their project.

While several works that sketch that interest have been mentioned in standard band histories, few have been explored by scholars, and none

with an eye toward explicating the Dead's interest in what could be called the Haight's "invented esoterica" and its role in their early thought. This presentation focuses on three works that cast light on that interest but have received no substantive analysis and scant discussion in the work on the band. The ideas in these works left only tantalizing traces and often only a palimpsest of their actual, often negative impact, but the models they offered, and the lessons of their creation and reception, offer insights into how the Dead developed such a singular, extraordinary, and enduring music and example.

Sarah Moser, "Prayer is Dead."

This paper explores how clergy and lay-leaders from religious communities in America utilize Grateful Dead lyrics, instrumentation, and themes in service of prayer. What purpose does Grateful Dead music and culture serve in spiritual life and how are religious leaders inspired by the legacy of the Dead? This study examines and illuminates the ways in which the Dead's influence increases spiritual intimacy within Jewish, Christian, and other communities, making prayer feel more accessible, genuine, and personal to participants.

Shaugn O'Donnell, "Workingman's Dead?"

Revisiting *Workingman's Dead* in honor of its fiftieth anniversary quickly confirms its status as a radical sonic departure from the band's previous albums, a turning point in their repertoire. But despite the comfortable Bakersfield sound and tighter arrangements, the album's songs are far from typical, hiding an abundance of Grateful Dead weirdness just below their surface. Focusing primarily on harmonic progression and chromaticism, this paper explores some of the ways in which these songs are as "far out" as those in the band's earlier catalog.

Nathaniel Racine, "The Symbolic Landscape and Usable Past in the Lyrics of Robert Hunter."

In this essay, I explore the American landscape as it appears in those Grateful Dead lyrics written by Robert Hunter. Throughout Hunter's lyrics, one finds a long list of references to specific places across the continent (and the world) that can be mapped, offering points of departure

into the many possible meanings of the songs themselves through the almost endless patterns of allusion. One way to understand the American landscape as presented in Hunter's lyrics is as a network of "symbolic landscapes." Existing somewhere between the real landscapes of the physical environment and the imaginary landscapes of the mind, one finds the symbolic landscape: the image of a place that solidifies over time, an impression that comes to be held in common in the collective imagination of a people. Such imagery moves beyond simple references to earlier generations, creating a feeling of continuity between past and present.

In this sense, Hunter partakes in a recurring project seen among American artists and intellectuals: the search for a "usable past"—those aspects of culture and tradition that find continued resonance in the current cultural moment, however great the shifts in norms and priorities this new era might present. I suggest that it is this sense of place found in Hunter's lyrics that, in part, creates a sense of timelessness within the lyrics he contributed to the Grateful Dead's catalog. Drawing primarily from the field of cultural geography, I suggest that the parallel imagery of movement present in the songs (as well as in the band's touring schedule and in the major cultural shifts taking place when many of the songs were first written) is balanced by this sense of place, lending a type of permanence to the American landscape despite its vast expanse and ever-changing character.

Timothy Ray, "'Without Love in a Dream It'll Never Come True': Aphorisms, *Kairos*, and the Rhetoric of Relative Truth in the Lyrics of Robert Hunter."

The nature of truth has always been elusive. In ancient Greece, the Platonists and the Sophists had completely different views of the nature of truth: the Platonists viewed truth as an absolute quality, while the Sophists believed that truth was more relativistic, malleable, and negotiable, and could vary from situation to situation. Plato's student Aristotle sided with the Sophistic view of truth as negotiable and situated, and in defining the field of rhetoric, he invoked the Greek term *kairos* (one of two ways the Greeks had of looking at time) to discuss how rhetoric (and, by extension, truth) varied from situation to situation. The ancient rhetor Gorgias (one of the Sophists) also believed that the purely aesthetic sounds of words,

when manipulated with skill, could capture audiences and thus help with persuading an audience about the truth of a statement or claim, as James A. Harrick notes in *The History and Theory of Rhetoric* (2017, 16).

Fast-forward 2,500 years and we can see these same qualities of relative truth at work in the words of Grateful Dead lyricist Robert Hunter. For many Deadheads, Hunter's lyrics are kairotic in that truths are frequently revealed at particular moments in time, frequently coinciding with life events or the state of mind of the listener. The truths often "sound right" in the moment, regardless of how often the listener has heard the song before, and in "sounding right," they can often be viewed as aphorisms—concise statements of "truths" that may or may not actually be true but sound true in the moment. This paper identifies and explores many of these "truths" in Hunter's lyrics, illuminating the rhetorical quality of relative truth in Hunter's work.

Peter Richardson, "Hunter S. Thompson: The San Francisco Years."

This paper focuses on Hunter S. Thompson's literary formation, especially his years in San Francisco. Like the Grateful Dead, one of his favorite bands, Thompson was influenced by the Beats, crossed paths with Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters, and was famously associated with the Hells Angels. Also like the Grateful Dead, he left the city for greener pastures, but his subsequent work with two San Francisco editors birthed Gonzo journalism and made him a cultural celebrity. Although his biographers focus largely on his time in Woody Creek, Colorado, where Thompson lived from 1966 until his suicide in 2005, this paper argues that his literary formation was mostly a San Francisco story, which Thompson acknowledged shortly before his death. It also maintains that his San Francisco sojourn, which reflected many of the same forces that shaped the Grateful Dead, produced an equally distinctive but often contrastive body of work.

Deepak Sarma, "'A Long Strange Trip': The Use of a Twelfth-Century Indian Sculpture in the Cover Art for the Grateful Dead's Debut Album."

The late 1960s saw the increasing appropriation and use of South Asian art in popular American culture. One interesting example of this occurred in the cover art for the Grateful Dead's debut album, a collage by

artist Alton Kelley that incorporated a low-angle shot of a twelfth-century Chola sculpture of Yoga-Narasimha (The Man-Lion form of Visnu) held at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City (http://art.nelson-atkins.org/objects/13316/yoganarashimha-the-manlion-form-of-vishnu).

Kelley's collage raises several questions: How did South Asian images and imagery enter mainstream and popular American art forms? How were Hindu images and imagery used? What did the artists who were using and appropriating these images know about South Asia, and about Hinduism? How, then, did these images and imagery fit into their artistic imaginations, visions, and stereotypes? This presentation describes the sleuthing and research required to determine Kelley's process and sheds light on the use of South Asian (and Asian) art in the late 1960s and the place of Hinduism in the imagination of American bohemian artists.

Ryan Slesinger, "'Wake Up to Find Out': Robert Hunter, Jack Kerouac, and Spiritual Nature Writing."

When Grateful Dead lyricist Robert Hunter writes of nature, he writes of the material world as infused with immaterial essence. In lyrics such as "Box of Rain" and "Eyes of the World," Hunter creates vital imagery of an illuminated natural world by writing of the spirit embedded in physical objects to convey the robust metaphysical depth of those objects—a depth that goes beyond simple descriptions of the element's tangible aspects.

Hunter's approach to the fusion of matter and spirit in writing of natural phenomena gestures back towards Jack Kerouac and other Beat Generation poets, who similarly portray their notion of spirituality as rooted in natural landscapes. While Kerouac also gestures back through time to the American Transcendentalists, he looks forward to the next generation—the Grateful Dead's generation—by calling for a "rucksack revolution" in *The Dharma Bums* (1958) and elaborating a lifestyle in pursuit of freedom, mobility, sustainability, equality, and mystic visions of the immaterial in matter. This paper addresses Kerouac's visionary descriptions of nature and their influence on the lyricism of Robert Hunter, tracing the rich vein of American spirit-imbued nature writing in which they both take part.

Andrew Smith, "Psychedelic Sobriety: A Wharf Rat's Journey Back to the Dead Zone."

Hello, my name is Andrew, and I am a Wharf Rat. Back in the 1980s, I dabbled in the Grateful Dead. A scraggly, vegan "hippypunk" who preferred the desert psych of the Meat Puppets to the pure origins of American folk rock, I probably resented the Deadhead label, even as I was utterly fascinated by it and by what one friend called her encounter with "the acid god." The attraction of potent mind medicines and the encouragement of long-haired mentors got me to two Grateful Dead shows: the first at Alpine Valley in summer 1987 and again at Detroit's Joe Louis Arena in spring 1988. But if someone told me (and someone probably did) that the Dead's actual music only "worked" when I was high, I might have believed them. In fact, I probably believed this myth. So are the narrative arcs and mystic architectures of the psychedelic experiences inherent to the Grateful Dead somehow lost to the flashback of faded memories? Can a person fully embody the Deadhead experience, especially the live show, without drugs, not even one over-priced beer?

Fast-forward a few decades to find a rock bottom alcoholic and hardcore music fan volunteering at a major music festival with only forty days dry after decades of drunkenness. Some yellow balloons called me to a circle of folks sitting in a field. These were my people, recovering alcoholics and addicts who were still heads. They gave up the drink and drugs but not the dance. Sobriety support meetings at shows? Yes, please. Who were these people and where did they come from? These were the Yellow Balloon meetings, which I soon learned descended from the Wharf Rats, a group of Deadheads who got clean and sober on tour way back in the inebriated '80s, fans who initiated twelve-step meetings during set breaks so abstinent fans could stay on the bus and continue to boogie. Perhaps if the Deadheads could spawn a movement as meaningful and strong as twelve-step meetings at major music festivals and on jam-band tours, the Grateful Dead itself might be worth a closer look.

This creative and autobiographical presentation offers the story of a Wharf Rat, shares his journey to the Dead and Deadheads when already in recovery from addiction, and recounts some discoveries he made about

the psychedelic musical carnival that is the Dead and all its spinoffs and descendants. It is my audacious claim that the sober Deadheads can receive psychedelic epiphanies at shows, enjoy some of the best sober support meetings around, get home safely, and remember the set lists in detail the next day. Not only is there life after active addiction, it can be a miracle every day on the shakedown street of the spirit with china cat sunflowers and scarlet begonias all around.

Stan Spector, "Let the Words Be Ours: Grateful Dead Poetry and Merleau-Ponty."

Merleau-Ponty followed the publication of *The Structure of Behavior* in 1942 with *The Phenomenology of Perception* in 1945. In these works he systematically described human behavior and experience in terms of perception and its relation to our bodies. In 1948, he gave a series of radio lectures, eventually published as *The World of Perception,* in which he showed how dominant the idea and act of perception had become in the modern worlds of physics, art, philosophy, music and literature. In this paper, I follow Merleau-Ponty's analysis and treat some of the lyrics penned by Robert Hunter and John Perry Barlow, first in terms of Merleau-Ponty's general discussion of the Modern Age, and then, more specifically, in terms of his discussion of poetry in the Modern Age.

After showing how the psychedelic visions expressed in "Dark Star" meet Merleau-Ponty's criteria for Modern poetry, I then discuss how Grateful Dead lyrics offer answers to the three traditionally fundamental questions of philosophy: What is real? What can I know? And how should I act? However, Hunter, Barlow, and the Grateful Dead answered these questions in ways that express their original psychedelic vision and are more in tune with Merleau-Ponty's description of how philosophy had changed in the Modern Age than more traditional answers. Finally, after suggesting the usefulness of organizing the Dead's thirty-year tenure in three sets—an early period comprising the first ten years of their playing and ending with the break in 1974, a middle period whose landmark record and experience is *Blues for Allah*, and a late period beginning with Garcia's diabetic coma and his triumphant return—I argue that the original psychedelic visions of Hunter and Barlow are always present in their songs. What is new in the middle period is a maturity that came with

reflection during the year and a half break, and what is new in the late period is the fact of their facing their own mortality. The content of the songs in each of these periods, although reflecting their various processes of living a life, still reflected the psychedelic twists found in the songs of the early period.

Rhoney Stanley, "Women's Oral History Protects the Legacy of the Grateful Dead and the Spirit of the Counterculture."

In the sixties, mainstream culture considered both the men and the women of the counterculture—defined by the anti-war movement, racial equality, feminism, psychedelics, and bands such as the Grateful Dead—threatening and revolutionary. The portrayal of the women was even more damaging as traditionally women had no power and did as they were told. I am one of the women who was part of the original Grateful Dead family. We wanted choice, and this freedom of choice made all the difference in our status as independent women, changing the nature of culture. However, as the ones without power, as the ones on whom power was wielded, our stories were not told. Women's voices are underrepresented in most of the books and films about the Grateful Dead and the sixties. My purpose in interviewing Grateful Dead family is to tell the stories of the women behind the men with power, revealing how power can inspire women to innovate. For example, women in the Grateful Dead office played key roles in the Dead Heads mailing list, the travel agency that arranged the band's tours, and the band's in-house ticket agency.

The technique of interviewing people to preserve the inside story of the time became part of academia in 1948 with the founding of the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University. Generally the documentation comes from people with power. In 2019, however, President Barack Obama chose Columbia as the repository for his archives, based on their agreement "to go beyond the standard recollections of cabinet members and legislators … to ordinary people, plain and humble people who came together to shape their country's course." I believe interviewing the women of the Grateful Dead is in keeping with Obama's belief in the importance of "getting the full expanse and truly telling this story." This presentation argues that oral histories of the women of the Grateful Dead family fills in what is missing in the cultural record.

Rick Wallach, "Disturbing the Dead: Pre-Raphaelite Allusions in 'It Must Have Been the Roses'."

"It Must Have Been the Roses" sounds, on first listening, like another Hunter-Garcia 'period piece' akin to "To Lay Me Down" or "Brokedown Palace." On closer examination, though, it proves to be one of the band's darker, even most macabre, compositions involving the obsessive theft and private display of a dead body with overtones of Hitchcock's *Psycho*. Hunter acknowledged the influence of William Faulkner's short story "A Rose for Emily" on the lyrics, as Nicholas Meriwether has explored, but the lavish display of roses and theft of Annie's corpse also suggests Dante Gabriel Rossetti's exhumation of the body of his wife Lizzie Siddal, made famous by his painting of her surrounded by roses, and as the drowned Ophelia, to retrieve an original volume of his poetry. In this paper I examine several of the many allusions in this song to the Pre-Raphaelite painter and poet's desecration of his wife's grave and its aftermath.

Jay Williams, "Robert Hunter's Lyric and the Grateful Dead Aesthetic."

Given the recent resurgence of interest in the lyric form, it seems an auspicious time to attempt some generalizations about Robert Hunter's aesthetic. Even though there is a significant difference between a rock lyric set to music and the traditional lyric form of poetry, the latter has now been granted equal art status thanks to Bob Dylan's Nobel prize. With the affinities between lyrics and the lyric no longer in doubt, then, this paper seeks to define the aesthetics of Hunter's artistic output, with particular attention paid to the lyrics he wrote for the Grateful Dead.

We will reach what I think is a surprising conclusion: Hunter's art in general worked against the grain defined by his principal collaborators, the Grateful Dead. Hunter's lyrics, poetry, and translations all show him to be a high modernist at odds with his own generation's embrace of Beat poetry. If there are two major strands of American poetry defined by Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman, Hunter defiantly embraced the former while his peers turned to the latter.

Sean Zwagerman, "What was Jerry doing? Meaning, Intention, and That 1995 'Wharf Rat'."

In 1995, the Grateful Dead were, in one sense, going strong. They

were playing to packed football stadiums, and major acts like Bob Dylan were opening for them. In another sense, though, the Dead were on their last legs: July 9, 1995 would be the final Grateful Dead performance, and Jerry Garcia, ill from addiction, diabetes, and heart disease, would die one month later. On the Internet Archive, where one can listen to and rate over 13,000 Grateful Dead concert recordings, ratings for these 1995 shows are highly polarized; those who were there give five stars for the memories, while those claiming greater impartiality give no stars at all and regret even listening to the recordings. But since the former are rating the experience and the latter the music, the five-star reviews are not actually at odds with the one-star reviews; the appearance of an argument is illusory.

Yet there is one show—in fact, one song from one show—which does invite genuine controversy. On June 18, 1995, the Grateful Dead performed for 50,000 fans at Giants Stadium and, as they often did, performed the song "Wharf Rat" late in the second set. But Garcia did not play the opening of the song in the usual way, and the other band members seemed at a loss as to how to join in. As he so often was in his 1995 performances, was Garcia himself lost, too drugged to play a song he had performed nearly 400 times over twenty-five years? "He wasn't lost at all during that performance," insists one reviewer, "but, on the contrary, knew precisely where he was and he shared that with us." Other reviewers call this "Wharf Rat" "exploratory" and "a conscious experiment," one calling it "the most creative I'd seen Jerry 'remake' a tune in a long time."

Those who disagree are having none of this, using words like "pathetic," "horrid," and "sad, even calling it "the single worst performance of a song by the Grateful Dead." My purpose in this paper is not to choose a side, but to uncover the word choices common to both positions in the seventy-seven reviews of this show. To do so is to see a question emerge that is important for both improvisational art and the philosophy of language: what role does conscious intention play in determining the meaning of a speech act or performance?

Even in the case of a Grateful Dead concert—where attendees believe that the audience is integral to the performance, and that "the music plays the band"—we see the writers of both the positive and the negative reviews basing their interpretation of this "Wharf Rat" upon a

determination of the performer's intentional state, about what Garcia is or is not consciously doing. I will argue that not only are these reviewers on the right track, but that in determining the meaning of any performance—a song, a text, an utterance—one is necessarily making assumptions about the performer's intentions, even performers as spontaneous as the Grateful Dead.

Presenters

Rebecca G. Adams, a sociologist who is Professor and Undergraduate Gerontology Coordinator at the University of North Carolina–Greensboro, has published five books, including her coedited *Deadhead Social Science* (2000), and more than seventy-five scholarly articles and book chapters, including more than a dozen on Grateful Dead fans. During Spring semester 2019, she taught an online gerontology course on the Grateful Dead legacy. She regularly presents on the topic of Deadheads at the Grateful Dead Caucus of the Southwest Popular/American Culture Association, at the meetings of other professional organizations, and to student audiences at various colleges and universities. She has written popular press articles about Deadheads, and continues to attend as many performances of the remainders of the Grateful Dead as possible.

Susan Balter-Reitz is Professor of Communication at Montana State University–Billings. Her current research project studies the intricacies of freedom of expression on university campuses, which builds on her work in argumentation theory, free speech, audience studies, and visual rhetoric. She has presented on the Grateful Dead to a variety of conferences and institutions, and is a frequent presenter to the Caucus, where she serves on the Program Committee.

Barry Barnes is Professor of Management Emeritas at the H. Wayne Huizenga School of Business and Entrepreneurship at Nova Southeastern University. His corporate training includes clients in the US, Germany, China, the Bahamas, and Brazil, including DHL, Exxon, Centex Construction, TracFone Wireless, Burger King, GEICO, and Visa International. He has published articles in *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, *International Journal of Business Research*, *Journal of Applied Management and Entrepreneurship*, and others. He is the author of *Everything I Know About Business I Learned from the Grateful Dead* (Business Plus, 2011), and with Bob Trudeau, *The Grateful Dead's 100 Essential Songs: The Music Never Stops* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), as well as numerous research articles, book chapters, and case studies on the Dead. A frequent presenter to the Caucus, he served as Area Chair (2001–2005) and continues to serve on the Program Committee today.

Beth Carroll is Associate Professor at Appalachian State University in Boone, NC, where she directs the University Writing Center and teaches courses in rhetoric, composition, and women's studies. Since 2003, she has presented regularly at the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus and has published several scholarly articles that grew out of those presentations. Her current research focuses on women's contributions to the Grateful Dead and is partially supported by a University Research Council grant.

Christopher K. Coffman is a Senior Lecturer in Humanities at Boston University. His publications include the coedited film studies reader *Framing Films* (Kendall/Hunt, 2009) and *William T. Vollmann: A Critical Companion* (University of Delaware Press, 2015), as well as a special issue of the journal *Textual Practice* on the topic of "American Literature after Postmodernism" (2018). His latest book is *Rewriting Early America: The Prenational Past in Postmodern Literature* (Lehigh University Press, 2019).

Robert Cooperman earned his PhD in Creative Writing from the University of Denver, where he specialized in nineteenth century British literature. He has taught English at the University of Georgia and Bowling

Green State University, and is the author of nineteen collections of poetry and several chapbooks, including *Saved by the Dead* (Liquid Light Press) and *A Tale of the Grateful Dead* (Main Street Rag), and most recently, *Their Wars* (Aldrich Press) and *Draft Board Blues* (FutureCycle Press). His *In the Colorado Gold Fever Mountains* (Western Reflections Books) won the Colorado Book Award for Poetry in 2000.

Janet Brennan Croft is Liaison to English, Cinema Studies, and the School of Communication and Information at Rutgers University Libraries in New Jersey. She has written on J. R. R. Tolkien, Terry Pratchett, Lois McMaster Bujold, Joss Whedon, and other authors, TV shows, and movies. She is editor of many collections of literary essays, the most recent being *Sisterhood, Science, and Surveillance in* Orphan Black: *Critical Essays* (McFarland, 2019). She edits the refereed scholarly journal *Mythlore*.

Christian Crumlish received his AB in philosophy from Princeton. A writer and technologist, he has designed and built online social environments experienced by millions of users, most recently a free online emotional support network. The author of *Designing Social Interfaces* (O'Reilly, 2015) and *The Power of Many* (Wiley, 2004), he has appeared on CNN as a Grateful Dead commentator and has been an active participant in the Caucus. His writing on the band has been published in a variety of periodicals and books, including *DeadBase*, *The Deadhead's Taping Compendium* (Owl/Holt, 1998–2000), *Dead Letters, The Grateful Dead in Concert* (McFarland, 2010), and *Reading the Grateful Dead: A Critical Survey* (Scarecrow, 2012).

Julie DeLong is Associate Professor of English at Odessa College in Odessa, TX. Her research interests include sixteenth-century and eighteenth-century British poetry, hip hop music, early medical history, feminism, and the Grateful Dead, the lens through which she sees the world. She has presented on the Grateful Dead and Sir Phillip Sidney, the British Romantic poets, and using film and hip hop as literature in the classroom. Her journey to eat at every taqueria in Odessa is chronicled in her blog, Tacopalooza.

Michael Dolgushkin is Manuscript Processing Librarian at the California State Library. A veteran of 291 Grateful Dead concerts, he is coeditor of the *DeadBase* series, the definitive performance reference on the Grateful Dead. He earned an MA in history from California State University–Sacramento and an MA in Library and Information Science from San José State University. An active poster artist, his Hot Tomato Studios has created hundreds of posters, flyers, and advertisements for musicians and bands throughout the Bay Area. His current research focuses on the early history of San Francisco's streetcar system.

Natalie Dollar is Associate Professor of Speech Communication at Oregon State University–Cascades, where she teaches courses in intercultural and interpersonal communication, community dialogue, communication theory, youth communication outreach, and group communication. Her scholarship focuses on identity, culture, and communication. She has published articles and book chapters on "houseless" and street-oriented youth, members of a musical speech community, and ethnographic approaches for studying cultural and intercultural group interaction. In March of 2003, she founded The Community Dialogue Project (CDP) that provides educational opportunities for Central Oregonians interested in learning about dialogue as an intentional, distinct form of communication. Her current research interests focus on dialogue as a means for co-constructing relationships among individuals or groups in conflict, cultural communication codes, and negotiating identities in intracultural interactions.

David Emerson is an independent scholar living in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In addition to the Grateful Dead, his interests include J. R. R. Tolkien, science fiction, popular media, and literary analysis. He plays weekly in a rock band, but his day job is as a systems administrator for a local governmental institution.

Horace (Bud) Fairlamb is Professor of Humanities and Interdisciplinary Studies at the University of Houston–Victoria. His main focus is intellectual history with an emphasis on ethics and social philosophy. A performing musician, his professional band experiences began in the 1960s, including an early run-in with the Dead at their first New York City gig.

He and his bandmates still treat enthusiastic audiences to the delights of "Goin' Down the Road, Feeling Bad" and "Not Fade Away."

Granville Ganter is Associate Professor of English at St. John's University in Queens, NY. His research focuses on nineteenth-century oratory and he has edited a collected edition of the speeches of Sagoyewatha, or Red Jacket, a Seneca diplomat of the early 1800s. He is currently working on lecturing in the early national period, and is writing a cultural history of Anne Laura Clarke, a history lecturer who toured the U.S. from 1825–1832, illustrating her speeches with a magic lantern and her own historical charts and paintings. His first essay on Grateful Dead was presented at the first Caucus meeting in 1998 and later published in John Rocco's *Dead Reckoning* (Shirmer Books, 1999). He is interested in the interaction between fan culture and how we talk about the sound of the Dead's music.

Jesse Jarnow is the author of *Big Day Coming: Yo La Tengo and the Rise of Indie Rock* (Gotham, 2012), *Heads: A Biography of Psychedelic America* (Da Capo, 2015), and *Wasn't That a Time: The Weavers, the Blacklist, and the Battle for the Soul of America* (Da Capo, 2018). His work has appeared in the *London Times*, *Rolling Stone, The Village Voice*, and other periodicals. He has written liner notes for the Grateful Dead, Phish, Numero Group, and others, and he hosts the *Frow Show* on Jersey City freeform radio station WFMU.

Heather Laurel taught music theory courses for over twenty years at several institutions, including the Mannes College of Music, Oberlin Conservatory, Ithaca College and for eleven years at The City College of New York. She holds a Bachelor of Music in Vocal Performance from Mannes, as well as a Master of Philosophy in Music from The Graduate Center of the City University of New York, where she was the recipient of the Goodman Fellowship for Studies on Women and Music. Her research includes the music of Baroque composer Barbara Strozzi as well as popular artists Ani DiFranco, Billy Joel, Phish and the Grateful Dead. An active soprano specializing in contemporary music, she is a coach and event manager for the New York Road Runners.

Matthew B. Lynch is a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Dept. of Religious Studies at the University of the South in Sewanee, TN. His pri-

mary research interests include medieval Muslim community and cultural production, the history and practice of Sufism, critical Islamic studies, as well as Persian language and literature. He received his PhD in Religious Studies at the University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill and his MA from the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Chicago.

Nicholas G. Meriwether is editor of the journal *Grateful Dead Studies* and cofounder of the Grateful Dead Studies Association. His work on the Dead has appeared in a variety of popular and scholarly books and periodicals, including *Reading the Grateful Dead: A Critical Survey* (Scarecrow, 2012) and *All Graceful Instruments: The Contexts of the Grateful Dead Phenomenon* (Cambridge Scholars, 2007), which he edited.

Sarah Tziporah Moser is a seminary student at the Academy for Jewish Religion–California, where she is pursuing a masters degree and Rabbinic ordination. She holds a BA in English Literature from Bryn Mawr College and has worked with Wilderness Torah, a Jewish outdoors nonprofit. Her work centers around reclaiming the sacred in nature and the divine feminine in spiritual spaces, as well as inclusive ritual practice and herbal medicine.

Jon Ney teaches freshman English at the University of California–Irvine, where he also serves as the coordinator of the UCI Poetry Club. A published poet, he participates in poetry readings throughout Southern California and organizes poetry readings with local colleges for the UCI Poetry Club. His work on the Grateful Dead has been published in *Dead Letters* and elsewhere, and he was one of the first presenters to the Grateful Dead area of the Southwest Popular/American Culture Association, which became the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus.

Shaugn O'Donnell is a musicologist specializing in the twentieth century with analytical interests ranging from post-tonal "classical" music to rock music. He is also an active guitarist and gear nerd. He is currently Chair of the Music Department at the City College of New York, where he just launched a new degree in Popular Music Studies last semester.

Nathaniel Racine is a visiting assistant professor of English at Texas A&M University in Laredo. He received his PhD in American Literature from Temple University and holds a Master's degree in Urban Planning from McGill University. His research in hemispheric American Studies currently focuses on the cultural exchange between the U.S. and Mexico through the intersections of literature and visual art with geography, urbanism, and architecture in the twentieth century.

Timothy D. Ray is Associate Professor of English at West Chester University of Pennsylvania where he teaches a wide variety of undergraduate and graduate courses in writing, rhetoric, and cultural studies. He has authored encyclopedia entries on the Merry Pranksters, Perry Lane, Furthur/Further, and Wavy Gravy for the encyclopedia *Beat Culture: Lifestyles, Icons, and Impact* (ABC–CLIO, 2005), and he has presented papers on the Grateful Dead at the University of Oregon's Ken Kesey Symposium and the American Culture Association conference. A frequent presenter to the Caucus, he is working on a scholarly monograph focusing on current iterations of Deadhead culture.

Peter Richardson teaches humanities and American Studies at San Francisco State University. His publications include books about the Grateful Dead, *Ramparts* magazine, and Carey McWilliams. He won the National Entertainment Journalism Award of Online Criticism in 2013 and serves on the board of the Bay Area Book Festival and the editorial board of *Grateful Dead Studies*.

Deepak Sarma is Professor of Indian Religions and Philosophy in the Department of Religious Studies at Case Western Reserve University. The author of *Classical Indian Philosophy: A Reader* (2011), *Hinduism: A Reader* (2008), *Epistemologies and the Limitations of Philosophical Inquiry: Doctrine in Madhva Vedanta* (2005) and *An Introduction to Madhva Vedanta* (2003), he earned a BA in religion from Reed College and a PhD in the philosophy of religions at the University of Chicago Divinity School. His current reflections concern cultural theory, racism, bioethics, and post-colonialism. He credits his study of religion and Indian

philosophy as a result of being on tour with the Dead on the West coast in 1988.

Ryan Slesinger is Visiting Assistant Professor in the English Department at Oklahoma State University where he teaches courses in American literature and composition. Last semester at OSU he taught an honors course in "The Music, Film, and Literature of the 1960s Counterculture," and will be teaching "The American Road Narrative" next semester. His research focuses on mysticism in twentieth-century American fiction.

Andrew William Smith teaches writing, literature, and religious studies at Tennessee Tech, where he is also a deejay on the college radio station and the Faculty Head of the Treehouse environmental living and learning village. He is also a poet, blogger, fanzine editor, traveler, hardcore music fan, and part-time pastor in the Presbyterian Church USA.

Stan Spector is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Modesto Junior College. He has written on the Grateful Dead phenomenon in light of philosophers such as Nietzsche, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Buber and others. A frequent presenter to the Caucus, his work on the Grateful Dead has been published in *All Graceful Instruments: The Contexts of the Grateful Dead Phenomenon* (Cambridge Scholars, 2007) and *Countercultures and Popular Music* (Ashgate, 2014). His coedited volume, *The Grateful Dead in Concert: Essays on Live Improvisation*, was published by McFarland in 2010. His current research focuses on the interface between the Grateful Dead phenomenon and the body, specifically in terms of Merleau-Ponty's analysis of perception.

Rhoney Stanley directs a holistic orthodontic practice based in West Saugerties, NY, that also provides acupuncture, nutritional counseling, and cranial therapy. The author of numerous academic papers on dentistry and related issues, she is the coauthor of *Owsley and Me: My LSD Family* (Monkfish, 2013), and has lectured on the book in a wide variety of forums, including the San Francisco Beat Museum, the Woodstock Writers Festival, and Poetry Science Talks: New York City. A graduate of the University of California–Berkeley, she earned a Doctor of Dental Surgery from Columbia University College of Dental Medicine and a

Masters of Public Health from Columbia University School of Public Health.

Rick Wallach taught literature, American comparative cultural studies and critical writing at Roosevelt University, the University of Miami, and Nova Southeastern University. He was a founding member of the Cormac McCarthy Society in 1993 and has been the editor of the Casebook Series of critical essays on McCarthy since 2010. He is the coeditor of *Sacred Violence: A Reader's Companion to Cormac McCarthy* (Texas Western Press, 1995), a two-volume study of McCarthy's fiction and dramatic works. He has edited numerous issues of literary journals and published over forty articles on the literature of the American South and Southwest, including criticism of Faulkner, Louise Erdrich, Jim Harrison, jazz history, Japanese cinema, and British television drama.

Jay Williams has published on Jack London, Edith Wharton, Sinclair Lewis, Frank Lloyd Wright, the Grateful Dead, and the theory of the footnote. A frequent presenter to the Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus, he served as Senior Managing Editor of *Critical Inquiry* for thirty years. He is completing the second volume of a projected three-volume study entitled *Author Under Sail: The Creative Imagination of Jack London* (University of Nebraska Press, 2014–).

Sean Zwagerman is Associate Dean for Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and an Associate Professor in the Department of English at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, BC. His interests focus on rhetoric and writing, in the compositional relationship among the word, the self, and the world. He tends to use the terminology of speech-act theory to analyze and define the role of rhetoric in social ontology, and to understand what we try to do, are able to do, and fail to do in our purposeful acts of writing and speech.

Hunter Gathering

Alan Trist

After Robert Hunter's death in 2019, I was invited to participate in an event called "Hunter Gathering: A Celebration of the Life and Art of Robert Hunter" at the Colony Club in Woodstock, NY. I gave a reading and talk about his poetry; this note is an expanded version of my remarks that night.

The apposite cultural term "hunter gatherers," for a nomadic tribe of foragers, took me back to my time at university where I studied anthropology and archaeology. I met Robert Hunter in Palo Alto in 1961, a year before those studies, where I lived in a gap year after school in England, hanging out with a group of artists and free spirits looking to find a way—a creative way—into adulthood.

This coterie included several members of what would later become the Grateful Dead and their extended community—Jerry Garcia, Robert Hunter, Phil Lesh, Bobby Petersen, Willy Legate, Laird Grant, and myself—along with a number of others: future Prankster Page Browning, musicians Lester Hellums and David McQueen, artist Paul Speegle, and Brigid Meier and Elaine Hiesey Pagels, who would go on to become

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writers and in the case of Pagels, an internationally reknowned scholar of religion.

Those Palo Alto roots, sixty years ago now, supported several little bohemias: the Chateau, Perry Lane, St. Michael's Alley, Kepler's Bookstore, and their offshoots extended as far south as Monterey and as far north as North Beach, and in the years that followed, to Oregon and New Mexico. Much has sprung up since then, and little of it more helpful to our world than the lyrics that Hunter wrote for the Grateful Dead, and the culture of hope and friendliness they spawned. That legacy continues. In a recent interview in the New York Times Magazine, bewailing the fate of rock and roll, The Who's Pete Townshend said, "Rock 'n' roll was a celebration of congregation ... what we were hoping to do was to create a system by which we gathered in order to hear music ... that in some way served the spiritual needs of the audience" (Marchese 2019). Townsend doubted that rock and roll had succeeded in this project but I see it differently: I believe that we *have* succeeded, at least in some parts of that movement, for here we are still; and still we gather in congregation, as do new generations of Deadheads with the musical subculture they and the Grateful dead created.

My part in this story picked up again when the band came to England in 1970 and Hunter and Garcia called me back to manage their song catalog with Ice Nine Publishing Company. It was at that time that they emerged nationally out of the San Francisco music scene and they needed more "family members" to run their growing enterprise. Band, crew, office, management, Deadheads—we all worked together and somehow made it come out right, or right enough for rock and roll. I worked in various capacities at the Office throughout the seventies and early eighties, mostly concerned with the administration of the songs. Eventually that catalog grew to almost 300 titles, of which Hunter had the lion's share, working as he did with all the band members and a number of other musicians as well, notably Jim Lauderdale, David Nelson, Bob Dylan, and Greg Anton.

In the mid-eighties I moved from the Bay Area to Eugene, Oregon, home to several Merry Pranksters and Grateful Dead alumni, cofounding the cooperative publishing house, Hulogosi, and working as editor, agent,

and book designer. Among other titles, several financed by Ice Nine, we published autobiographies of early Dead pianist Tom Constanten, Merry Prankster Paul Foster, a version of the Grateful Dead folktale, and the history of the remarkable Oregon tree-planters, the Hoedads, who were part of a post-1960s diaspora of the "tribes" that included communities of Merry Pranksters, Grateful Dead family, and Hog Farmers that congregated in Eugene and coalesced around the Oregon Country Fair. That sprawling coalition, a true open society, still exists today.

When Jerry died in 1995, Hunter called me back to California again to manage Ice Nine, for with the end of Grateful Dead touring, the songs took on new significance as a creative wellspring for others of like mind. It was a privilege to witness at close hand for the next twenty years the interest and influence the catalog had for the continuity of the impulse of the 1960s. It was a telling process, licensing the songs to musicians of all stripes and granting quotation permissions for hundreds of books, from the academic to the creative, from high-brow scholarship to Deadhead memoirs. I did this work until we finally outsourced Ice Nine's administration to Universal Music a few years ago. That position gave me another perspective on what Hunter had been doing with his work, especially in the late eighties and early nineties. Much of his time then focused on activity outside his songwriting career for which I often acted as agent. Though we might say a poet is responsible for both forms, Hunter often drew a distinction between a song lyric and a poem, and he clearly set out to master both.

He published two books of poems with Viking Penguin's Modern Poets series, *Night Cadre* and *Glass Lunch*, both under the guidance of editor David Stanford, and a chapbook, *Infinity Minus Eleven*, illustrated by Eugene artist Bob Devine. He also published a pocket-poet book, *Idiot's Delight*, the sort of treasure you might find by the checkout till in a bookstore, and a spoken word recording, *Sentinel*, which includes a very long poem, "An American Adventure," that is essentially about the band and the Dead scene. He also wrote a long, dark, and culturally incisive poem, *A Strange Music,* about the first Gulf War, which he believed was the first TV war, and published it online. Hunter went on tour with his poems and songs, often solo, but also with two eminent Beat poets: Anne

Waldman, of the Outrider community, and San Francisco's own Michael McClure. Hunter and McClure both read poems to the accompaniment of pianists, Michael with Doors keyboardist Ray Manzarak, and Robert with the Dead's keyboardist Tom Constanten.

Poetry with a musical accompaniment was an important part of the San Francisco Renaissance, but Hunter also set about mastering older traditions. One of the journeyman tasks of a poet is to translate poetry from a language not native to him. Hunter did this for Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926), and brought the original German into English in a way reflective of his own language sensibility, its coloration, and directness of speech. His translations of the First and Ninth Elegies are particularly apt for those considering Hunter's work: these images and words, I believe, speak to the ideas and hopes of the generations of readers and listeners he has inspired.

From the First Elegy[1]:

Who, though I cry aloud,
would hear me in the angel orders?
[…]
Beauty is as close to terror
As we can well endure.
Angels would not condescend
To damn our meager souls.
That is why they awe
and why they terrify us so.
Every angel is terrible! (1993, 3)

From the Ninth Elegy:

Since this short span might
well be lived as lives the laurel,
deeper in its green than
all other green surrounding,
[…]
then why, destiny overcome,
must we still be human
and long for further fate?

[…]
[…] because to be here
means so very much.
Because this fleeting sphere
Appears to need us—
in some strange way
concerns us: we ....
most fleeting of all.
[…]
So we persevere,
attempting to resolve it
and contain it in our grasp,
in overfilled eyes and
within our voiceless heart;
attempting to *be* it,
as a gift—for whom?
For ourselves, forever! (1993, 63–64)
[…]
Is not the undeclared intent
of Earth, in urging lovers on,
to make creation thrill to
the rhythms of their rapture?
Threshold.
[…]
it was ever so. (1993, 65)

Here, is the home and
the time of the tellable!
Speak out and testify!
This time is the time when
the things we love are dying
and the things we do not love
are rushing to replace them,
shadows cast by shadows:
[…]
Between its hammer blows

the heart survives—as does,
between the teeth, the tongue:
in spite of all,
the fount of praise.

Exalt no ineffable,
Rather a known world
unto the Angel.
[…]
Show him creature joy,
without blame, entirely our own;
how grief's bitter wail
can live as song or
transcend the utmost
eloquence of violin (1993, 67)
in service of sorrow.
These things that live upon
the gesture of farewell know
full well when they are praised:
dwindling away, they demand rescue!
And that, through us—
the most dwindling of all!
[…]
Earth, is this your will?
An invisible resurrection
within ourselves?
Is it your desire
one day to vanish?
Earth! Invisible!
What do you demand
but transformation?
Beloved Earth, I will!
Further springtimes are
not required to win me—
On my word, a single May
is too heady for my blood.

[…]
Ever you spoke true
and your holiest idea is
Death, our constant friend.

Look, I live! On what?
Neither childhood nor future
grows less … prodigious springs
of being swell within my heart. (1993, 69)

Note

1. Bracketed ellipses indicate editorial elisions; unbracketed ellipses in original.

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ALAN TRIST served as longtime manager of the Grateful Dead's Ice Nine Publishing Company. He cofounded Hulogosi Communications, a Eugene-based publishing house where he published *The Water of Life: A Tale of the Grateful Dead* and edited *Alleys of the Heart: The Collected Poems of Robert M. Petersen*, among other volumes. His poetry and essays have appeared in a variety of books, journals, and other periodicals.

Poems for *Dead Heads*

Robert Hunter

This series of poems was published in the Grateful Dead's newsletter beginning with the October 1972 issue and concluding in the November 1973 issue. Six of the poems were typewritten; two were written in Hunter's distinctive calligraphic style, which represented some challenges to transcription. Readers are encouraged to consult the originals, available online at Dead.net, to see how Hunter's artistic rendering shaped the words as well as the larger context that framed them.

Other than the numbers distinguishing the poems and the addition of the date of the issue in which they appeared, the poems appear here as they were first published. A few minor editorial emendations are listed below.

Poem 1, L 22: "impedance" *replaces* "impedence".

Poem 3, L 33: "spinach" *replaces* "spinich".

Poem 6, L 4: "*compadre mio" replaces* "compadre mio" [Spanish, "my friend"].

Poem 7, L 24: "saviors" *replaces* "saviours".

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1.

Now that we've got a moment to stand
what have we got
do we like it or not?
Kindly King of Light will explain the fine details
in the long run
but for the short run
the usual ambition, greed and just a touch
of goodwill
we put what faith we can muster there
not much and not often
but not Never, this far.
We build a way to get time
We build a way to grab on to chunks of it,
choke on it but would not spit it out
when so much effort has gone into getting
the damned thing half swallowed
(cf: Amoeba That Ate the World by Lefty Lamont)
One day perhaps all ambition will subside
leaving only eternity
pipers poets killers and men of state
in one drunken reel
given enough microphones of right impedance
we will record it
thanks for supporting us

October 1972

2.

In being something rather than about something
impersonal truth is refused
put a mirror before a mirror in imagination
and follow the stars to the sea
down, we go down
win around lose into metamorphosis
equation is mythos
nothing equals anything else
alive, we are reaching out
to no purpose
to predictably no avail
hellohellohellohellohellohello

December 1972

3.

gimme little lovin 'fore I . . .

things and things creep up on you
go behind the scenes to change a mask
creep up again in different faces
what has no end is only that it
keeps on spinning?
why is a mouse when it spins—
what is more serious than this jest?
behind this mask: the INTOLERABLE
what is hidden must be kept unknown
in such a beginning the void knows itself
that instant is creation
all which lives shys from that (this) instant
here a mask abides for us to wear
who dare not go

past the flimsy curtain of the ghastly
beyond that curtain is the INSTANT
how do I know this?
what is certain?
it is so

in this instant is the seed of tigers
of tastes eyes fords freeways
unknown and unknowable
the germ of all instants

there's eggs and meat upon the shelf
thick blood, rickety tickity
want any more go sing it yourself
rickity tickity carriage to ride
up in the morning and down to the mine
with a heigh-ho, gammon and spinach
heigh-o says what's his name
    hi-o

January 1973

4.

up off your knees
spit out that gum
N. York City
here we come

here's the lead in, Gideon
wrapped up just in time
don't get stoked on soapsuds, Sally
or let the pool cue rule you

you been shakin that ketchup bottle
shakin it much too hard
don't you know, it always shows
got to dust off your boogie card

we'll sit and look at you
Ol' Cauldroon
fuzztone fiddle & 50's jazz
oh yes, it's got to be so bad
you'll wonder why you came

but don't get lost in the frost, Moss
bring it home in a jif 4U
such a meeting you only hear of
two weeks straight sweet dreams
let you in on the big loud secret
give it all back for nothing

you got the power, Bower
we got the do re mi
you got the key to the safe, Rafe
far as I can see

come on, get out your bat hat, Benny
shake it one more time for me
yazoo

February 1973

5.

Here's what you'll hear
when you're trying to neat up
and come home on a groundslide
they'll say "don't expect no results
and you won't be
disappointed"
slam on the brakes in
all the right places
but don't drag heels
you wear out your boots

Here's why you'll never shake them
in spite of all, they like you
and you like them
so best to figure out how to play
what you been dealt
yeah?

you want some scores
now and again, certainly,
you know there's something going on
you see them running here and there
but never hear a score
ok, tell you the score
then just forget it
because it doesn't count
it's 6–0, a shutout
but you don't let them know that,
right?

when we rig our ship
we skip the sails
no wind there
but endless water
on which to drift

April 1973

6.

there's a meatshop down the block
where you can hock your tune
but don't sell your song
compadre mio

everytime the answer freezes
the question becomes someone new
I been singing this to you
since you collapsed on the track
confusing the locomotive
with your ticket home—
just before the horsemen came
the bishop & the striptease dancer
faded away in a cabaret at twilight
things won't be the same without them

takes a bit of hanging out
to figure out who's talking straight
there's not much that doesn't cancel,
don't give that bird a feather
till it learns not to come
sing around a waiting cage
not at any price

may the westwind wash you clean
give you tales to tell
and rock your babe to sleep
here come the nine bright shiners:
goodnight, goodnight
the wind the cradle rock
the bough may break and come down baby
down o'er the steeple
the southwind will catch you
never let you fall too far,
no

you can change the way you walk
but I know it's you by how you knock
don't kick the door
I'll burn it down for you
but please
don't
come knocking at my window
your heart a loaded pistol
aiming nowhere

October 1973

7.

Very little will be for free: the coin of
this & that realm is just and only first and
in finishing—as it was so to begin:
so shall and must it: be right on and up into
the very most and final undoubtable end
the cultivated power to attend
there is nothing of value
truthful action, the gift for music
a sweet taste in the heart
these are incidental

With this understood
We can go for a ride:
All aboard … all aboard, that means you
toot a too chukachuka
you two, Sunny, it was
your mother's dyin' wish …
And if you want to know what that could mean
Put down that & that will put down you
Pick this up & put down that flashlight,
under the cover comic book readers:
should the dove appear as if in a dream of sunlight
that dream is more to behold than others
of angels or of saviors or speaking Mice
but enough of these matters intelligible
Our freedom shall be to brave the Spectre of
Insanity and make it for the depths—
Anyway you're holding up the train
Which means you're either a bandit or a
track.

November 1973

8.

The tree is still waving its
arms as before
though I seldom go down
to the shore anymore
Every thing is drear but Music
Nothing remains unspoiled:
Music alone
sustains us
Nothing else is quite true
Not quite lies

November 1973

On Robert Hunter's Elegiac Verse

Christopher K. Coffman

We have reached the point at which thinking about Robert Hunter's life and work also entails thinking about his death. I often assert that Grateful Dead songs, in addition to doing whatever else they do, are always teaching us how to listen to Grateful Dead songs. Lately, in reading Hunter's poetry, I sense that his works, in addition to doing everything else they do, teach us how to think about his absence. Anyone familiar with the shape of Hunter's career as a poet will recognize that his 1987 translation of Rainer Maria Rilke's *Duineser Elegien* was a watershed event, one that, for a wide variety of reasons, opened the door to the explosion of publications bearing Hunter's name in the 1990s. Few poets do more than Rilke does in that collection to explore the nature of loss, but even fewer articulate so powerfully the degree to which the darkness of loss sharpens the light in what remains. Hunter learned that lesson, and the following remarks attend to how he explored the theme in his own work in the poetic genre of the elegy.

The poet Edward Hirsch defines the elegy as "a poem of mortal loss and consolation" (2014, 196). This is a good pocket definition, but, as Hirsch acknowledges, hardly the whole story. The ancient Greeks,

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whose term for the funeral lament, *élegos*, gives us our name for the genre, composed *élegoi* about losses of many sorts. Like most ancient Greek poetry, this sort of poem had a musical component; it was affiliated most closely with the flute. Yet, the elegy was distinguished by not only musical accompaniment and thematic content, but also formal qualities. For the Greeks, elegiac poems were any of those written in what we call elegiac distichs, couplets that alternate between lines of dactylic hexameter, which are relatively long, and slightly shorter lines that scan as pentameter (Hirsch 2014, 196–97). Rilke's elegies sometimes offered such a distich, and a fairly good example in English can be found in Longfellow's "Elegiac Verse" of 1882: "So the Hexameter, rising and singing, with cadence sonorous, / Falls; and in refluent rhythms back the Pentameter flows" (1910, 275). As Longfellow's poem asserts, there is something of an aural cycle here, with lines alternately extending into new territory and returning home informed by the excursion. Too, this form offers a complex tonal mix, combining hexameter, which has historically been associated with an elevated tone, with pentameter, which has a wider range. This combination can provide a powerful blend of the highly formal and the deeply personal. We can thus view the elegy as a subgenre of the lament, one that brings public and private together to deal with death.

While the Greeks may have crystallized the genre, there are many great elegies in every language. In English, we could point to John Milton's "Lycidas," Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," Percy Bysshe Shelley's "Adonais," Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, Walt Whitman's "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed," and W. H. Auden's "In Memory of W. B. Yeats." It is already an imposing set, and we are still touching only the very tip of the iceberg. Peter M. Sacks points out that, in almost every case, the conventions of the genre follow "ancient rites in the […] passage from grief or darkness to consolation and renewal" (1987, 20). In this sense, the genre is custom-built to display that same sort of exchange between chaos and order that the Grateful Dead offered on stage just about every night.

Hunter discusses his efforts to think and write about death in his foreword to *Alleys of the Heart*, the posthumously produced collected poems of Robert M. Petersen. In that piece, Hunter describes his search

for words when asked to deliver a eulogy for Petersen. He writes that he eventually turned to the writings of French symbolist poet Arthur Rimbaud, and he includes the passage from one of Rimbaud's letters upon which he eventually focused. The quote does much to encapsulate Hunter's poetic sensibility:

> The task of a man who wants to be a visionary poet is to study his own awareness of himself. He must seek out his soul, inspect it, test it … learn all forms of love and suffering; search until he exhausts within himself all poisons and preserves their quintessences. He must endure unspeakable torment, where he will need the greatest faith and superhuman strength, where he becomes among all men the great invalid, the great criminal, the great outcast—and the Supreme Scientist! For he attains the unknown! And if he finally loses the understanding of his visions, he will at least have seen them! (qtd. in Hunter 1988, v)

Rimbaud's words offer us something of the high seriousness of those who regard the work of the wordsmith as a spiritual endeavor, mediating between eternal truths and the languages of humans. Hunter's work did indeed tread that hermetic ground. His chapbook-length poem *Idiot's Delight* is one example: it shuttles between the quotidian and weighty meditations on the way our culture's cultivation of empty appetites creates a sort of spiritual sickness. Although Hunter told Steve Silberman that he began the poem as a sequence of Spenserian stanzas (1992b, 7), that genealogy seems to have melted away entirely. Instead, the text is divided into eleven sections, each of which contains eleven stanzas of eleven lines. While there is something of an echo here of the eleven-syllable lines that Dante uses in his *Commedia*, and of the eleven-line stanzas of Swinburne's roundels, Hunter's poem is not governed by strict structural or formal principles, as can be seen here:

> Summer sickness
> is followed by
> Autumn sickness
> with a little space
> for the legitimate
> illnesses of Winter.
> There is another

season, I can't
remember what,
stuck between now
& the day I die. (1992a, 69)

These lines are reminiscent of "Black Peter." But, what stands out in them most strikingly is that the speaker refrains from mentioning Springtime; the season conventionally viewed as a period of rebirth and recovery is forgotten, missing from the litany of ills. We may think there is some saving grace here, that the hidden season will be a delight in contrast to the ill-winds of its siblings, but the following page of the poem undercuts this assumption, declaring it even worse than them. Spring is the season,

when Nature
lets fly the
full battery
of lascivious
poisons—wind
so thick with
sweet sting it
clots the eye
& clings to
the lungs like
syrup of sin. (1992a, 70)

These lines might be read as Hunter's version of the opening of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, with its assertion that "April is the cruelest month" because it awakens "Memory and desire" (2005, 57). Perhaps a truer ancestor is the opening poem of Rimbaud's *Une saison en enfer*, which tells us "Spring brought me the idiot's frightening laugh" (1991, 4; my translation of "*le printemps m'a apporté l'affreux rire de l'idiot*"). Hunter here reminds us of the hard truth of our world: our experience is shaped by the persistence of suffering and delimited by death. *Idiot's Delight* does eventually propose an alternative, one that envisions existence as an ongoing process rather than an endless war to satisfy our baser selves. The following lines illustrate the point:

It seems we
must learn to
value the place

of becoming:
the almost but
never quite—
the sense of
impending as
opposed to the
consummation
of any desire. (1992a, 115)

While *Idiot's Delight* contains some elegiac passages, it is not an elegy as a whole. But, some others of Hunter's poems are.

Hunter's best-known elegy may be "An Elegy for Jerry," the poem he first read at Jerry Garcia's funeral in 1995. Instead of turning attention to that relatively familiar piece, it is perhaps valuable to close with remarks on one that he wrote in late 2001, the "Lament for Kesey":

all away all away all away all
draggin 'em all away
down into down with
a scream or a sigh
a smile and a nod,
quiet or in full cry
here comes Death
draggin 'em all away

sneak around corners
up out of grates
eagles and the ants,
spiders and the cormorants,
draggin 'em all away

Damn you Death,
I piss on your shoes,
Father of Blues
get offa my land
or I'll run you through!

And who'll be there to
get you when I do?
Never could say goodbye
like it had any kind
of final rectitude,

any essential rightness.
Whatever's right, yeah?
Whatever's true—
later, not farewell.
As in, see you around.

Death is senseless
unless we just pop over
into some other place,
along with the eagles and ants,
the spiders and cormorants
the destitute and shameless
the brightest and best—
born to be banished
banished to be born.

One stood in the moonlight
One stood out in the crowd
One stood under star blue sky
his daydream turned up loud.

How did this come to pass?
Don't gimme no don't gimme no …
this tractor don't run on horseshit,
Deboree, just natural gas.

Some folk come
to stir it up
and when it's stirred
they split—simple as that (2003, 243–44)

There are a number of things to admire about this poem. The witch at the start provides a touch of the supernatural; this links it to the ritualistic origins of the elegiac genre. The reliance on animals as a key to understanding death likewise ties the poem to the many earlier elegies that find in nature emotional consolation and a model for personal renewal. The lines, "Whatever's right, yeah? / Whatever's true," assess the difficulty of final farewells by hearkening back to the moral weight of *The Bible*, specifically Philippians 4.8: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things *are* just, whatsoever things *are* pure, whatsoever things *are* lovely, whatsoever things

are of good report; if *there be* any virtue, and if *there be* any praise, think on these things." On the other hand, lines like, "this tractor don't run on horseshit," balance the formality of the Biblical material with the sort of down-home sensibility that Ken Kesey's own words so often brought to the table. Finally, the "Damn you Death / … / Father of Blues" not only makes space in the poem for the angry reaction grief often entails, but also echoes the e. e. cummings poem Kesey himself read, as part of a eulogy to Bill Graham, during the "Space" segment of the Halloween, 1991, Grateful Dead show. That poem concludes, "how do you like your blueeyed boy / Mister Death" (1994, 90).

Overall, Hunter manages, in this poem of mourning, to synthesize a tremendous number of ideas and influences, from the history of the elegiac genre to a key text of American Modernist poetry, from sacred writings to passages in Kesey's own style. Indeed, here, as in so many other cases, it all rolled into one as it flowed from his pen.

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Robert Hunter's Poetry and Prose: A Preliminary Checklist

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Scholars and readers interested in Hunter's lyrics have been well served by Alan Trist and David Dodd's coedited *The Complete Annotated Grateful Dead Lyrics* (Free Press, 2002) and Hunter's own collected lyrics, *A Box of Rain* (Viking, 1990; rev. ed., Penguin, 1993). Yet Hunter's work included much more than lyrics, and those other efforts add a critical dimension to any understanding of his craft. The following list of Hunter's poetry and prose provides a first step toward documenting that wider achievement.

A number of these titles are listed in David Dodd and Robert Weiner's bibliography, *The Grateful Dead and the Deadheads* (Greenwood Press, 1997), but Hunter continued to write until the end of his life. This checklist focuses on published works, including self-published efforts Hunter made available online that have achieved wider recognition, but we recognize

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that this list is preliminary. We were unable to locate all of the music releases to which Hunter may have contributed liner notes, for example. Likewise, Hunter read several otherwise unpublished works in his poetry readings, which exceed the scope of this checklist.

Works have been divided into two main categories, poetry and prose, with entries listed by date of publication. Some pieces challenge genre: Hunter's cartoons for the newsletter *Dead Heads* defy category, often pure whimsy but at times veering into poetry; likewise, several of his prose pieces read like poems, and his book-length poem *A Strange Music* incorporates long blocks of prose. Genre interested Hunter, and confusions and complexities in classification are part of why his larger corpus repays analysis.

Likewise, although we have aimed for accuracy, copyright dating for many of the texts Hunter self-published online is complicated by several factors: he was dilatory in updating the formal copyright statements on his website; dates of posting and/or composition indicated on his pages sometimes contradict one another; many of his texts were posted on pages that have been discontinued; and those materials accessible via the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine tool are often unevenly preserved. We have provided the date of composition for a number of Hunter's electronic publications, in the interest of helping scholars locate the materials more easily. In those cases, we have used the date of composition to help organize the publications.

Those ambiguities are also why this checklist is only preliminary, designed to provide a starting point for scholars wishing to explore Hunter's wider oeuvre. Traditionally, a checklist was seen as part of a continuum in textual studies, compiled as a precursor to a full-length bibliography that would in turn make possible the production of a complete, authoritative edition of an author's works. Hunter calls for that kind of treatment, which his death now makes timely, and pressing. This checklist underscores that need, but it should be useful to scholars wishing to begin a survey of this wide-ranging, protean writer.

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Robert Hunter Beyond the Dead: An Annotated Listener's Guide

Jesse Jarnow

Robert Hunter is credited with "The Words" on the Grateful Dead's 1969 album *Aoxomoxoa*, and it is for this function that Hunter is remembered by Deadheads and music fans at large. Alongside his long partnership with Jerry Garcia that ended with the guitarist's death in 1995, Hunter would provide also lyrics for the other four founding members of the Grateful Dead between 1967 and 2019, and a range of other musicians as well, including Bob Dylan, David Nelson, Mickey Hart, Jim Lauderdale, and David Gans—not counting the many thousands (perhaps millions) who have sung his words in their own performances.

But for thirty years, Robert Hunter had his own career as a recording and performing musician, releasing more than a half-dozen studio albums, and generating a vast body of recorded work that included song cycles, reinterpretations, and—thanks to Deadhead tapers—a catalog of unofficial live tapes that includes more than another full album of unreleased original material as well as cover material. Hunter performed with several Bay Area bands in the 1970s and early '80s, playing guitar and

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bass alongside other local music luminaries in Roadhog, Comfort, and the Dinosaurs, the most notable of these efforts. Yet despite being the coauthor of many Dead favorites—and the sole author of several songs—Hunter's solo work can be divisive among Deadheads, and often simply ignored.

There are reasons for that. A lyricist of breathtaking nuance, Hunter possessed—to put it charitably—less subtlety as a vocalist and performer. He shouted a lot. Instead of a mild-mannered and erudite wordsmith with a key to the cosmos, he could come across like a bellowing pirate exiled from Margaritaville. But scattered inside Hunter's discography of yawped truths and impossible-to-track concept albums are dozens of recordings that create a compelling, powerful, and rewarding sub-discography within his body of work. When Hunter sings in a soft voice with gentle accompaniment, it's everything I might want out of the author of masterpieces like "Attics of My Life" and "Box of Rain." But with the exception of 1974's *Tales of the Great Rum Runners* and 1980's *Jack O' Roses*, it's a body of work that I love more through individual song performances than albums or even specific live shows.

This essay provides a highly personal survey of my favorite Robert Hunter recordings. It contains mostly standalone performances or historical curiosities that particularly fire my imagination, such as the lone 1980 tape documenting Hunter with Keith and Donna Jean Godchaux's Ghosts. While this takes in the full scope of Hunter's recording and performing career, it disregards a number of notable oddities, for the simple reason that I wouldn't put them on a mix tape, like his pepped-up appearances with the Jerry Garcia Band in 1980, or the faux-metal thunder of the music he cowrote for the soundtrack for a 1985 movie script based on a George R. R. Martin novel that was never made. Instead, I imagined this as a solo Hunter anthology I might want to listen to at home.

"Santy Anno" (with Jerry Garcia)
Home recording, May 26, 1961, Palo Alto, CA

As did his partner Jerry Garcia, Robert Hunter began his musical career in the bosom of the sixties folk revival, with a repertoire that borrowed heavily from Pete Seeger and the Weavers. What is labeled "Santy

Anno" on *Before the Dead* is virtually lifted from *The Weavers at Home*, recorded after the left-wing folk quartet found a path back from the blacklist. Many of the songs on the tape of Hunter and Garcia at Brigid Meier's sixteenth birthday can be traced to the Weavers' repertoire. The distinctive over-the-top vocal style Hunter would develop a decade later might be associated with the oratory, bardic tradition, but it drew just as much from the song-leading aesthetics of Pete Seeger by way of the Palo Alto teenage folk scene. This can clearly be heard as Jerry and Bob lead a room of teens on sing-alongs, revealing the hardwired connection between Garcia and Hunter's songwriting and the folk revival.

"Harry Pollitt"
Amateur recording, July 1961, Boar's Head, San Carlos, CA

During his years on the Palo Alto folk scene, Hunter was almost exclusively a supporting performer, and seemingly had little interest in developing himself as a solo performer. The only example of Hunter as frontman was long labeled "Bolshevik in Hell," but (with a more easily searchable database of lyrics on the internet) has now been identified as "Harry Pollitt," a topical satire by post-Weavers folk revivalists, the Limeliters. The surviving recording of Hunter's performance is all of 46 seconds, but it's a reminder that contemporary pop acts like the Limeliters were a model for the emerging Peninsula folk scene alongside more authentic-seeming sources such as the Beats, James Joyce and the ancient folk ballads internalized in Hunter's lyrics.

"Friend of the Devil"
"trumpet solo"
"Dead or Alive"
"Train Song"
"No Eggs Today"
Home recording, ca. 1969–1970, Larkspur, CA

In mid-1969, after roughly two years writing lyrics for the Dead, Hunter began to take a quietly more active role as a musician. That year the Dead debuted "Easy Wind," the first song with music and words credited solely to Hunter, and within a few months he was rehearsing on bass with the New Riders of the Purple Sage. Though he wouldn't appear

onstage with that band, the pairing would yield "Friend of the Devil," largely a collaboration between Hunter and New Riders' frontman John "Marmaduke" Nelson. As Hunter told it, Garcia would discover the demo on the kitchen table the following morning, finish the song, and claim it for the Dead. It's also the first song on an alluring but short work tape Hunter compiled of various fragments from late 1969 and early 1970, recorded while he lived with Jerry Garcia in Larkspur. There is a fragment of a trumpet solo—which Hunter said he used to get his brain into a properly psychedelic state to write lyrics—and three tiny song pieces. None are lost classics, and all seem the type that may have been forgotten the moment Hunter hit stop on the recorder. But their existence is tantalizing, a hint that perhaps many more such tapes might exist, an entire shadow body of music that could change and deepen our understanding of Hunter's working process.

"On Our Way Back Home"
Unreleased studio recording, ca. 1973-1974

Apparently taped for an unreleased album tentatively entitled *Roadhog*, after Hunter's solo band of the same name, this 1973 or 1974 recording has murky origins. Several recordings would appear in different mixes on *Tales of the Great Rum Runners,* Hunter's 1974 debut LP on Round Records. Some were sung by other musicians. Some would never appear again. One of the most captivating lost Hunter pieces is "On Our Way Back Home," with drumless folk-pop backing, angelic accompanying vocals that recall 1950s Hollywood cowboy pop, and acoustic lead guitar that sounds remarkably Garcia-like.

"It Must Have Been The Roses"
"Children's Lament"
Studio recording, 1974

Hunter's solo debut, *Tales of the Great Rum Runners*, was released on the Dead's offshoot label Round Records in 1974, and (to my ears) is the most fully realized folk-pop that Hunter ever made. The whole album is gorgeous, and the arrangements are filled with tasteful and tasty surprises. "It Must Have Been the Roses" is also credited to Hunter alone,

though in 1991 interview he credited Garcia for one crucial chord change (Jackson 1992, 215).The studio version contains pedal steel by Buddy Cage, Garcia's replacement in the New Riders of the Purple Sage, as well as banjo by Rick Shubb, one-time Warlocks housemate and inventor of the Shubb guitar capo. On "Children's Lament," Hunter plays the highland pipes, reattaching himself to his Scottish roots. (On "Elijah," from the unreleased *Roadhog* sessions, he can be heard singing in a Scottish accent.)

"Yellow Moon"
Studio recording, 1975

There is some fun rock music on Hunter's second solo album for Round Records, but most lovely track is the album closing "Yellow Moon," the only post-1961 recording whose personnel consists solely of Robert Hunter and Jerry Garcia. The rest of the album (again, to my ears) suffers from over-the-top performances, not achieving the intimacy I find in my favorite Hunter performances. What I wouldn't give for a whole Hunter album in this lineup.

"Box of Rain"
Studio recording, 1980

When Hunter began to tour regularly starting in 1978, his arrangements of Grateful Dead songs became staples of his set lists, surely confounding some Deadheads in the audience with a range of new strategies, from fingerpicking to harder rock attacks. But *Jack O' Roses* is in a different class, Hunter's new arrangements standing apart from the Dead versions, separate and glowing, none more so than the album-opening version of "Box of Rain." With a rolling pattern picking out Phil Lesh's elegant but convoluted chord sequences, I might listen to it more than any version by the Dead.

"Franklin's Tower" (with the Ghosts)
Live recording, March 17, 1980, Masonic Hall, Seattle, CA

One of the more unlikely alternate realities in the Grateful Dead universe existed for three performances in the Pacific Northwest in the spring of 1980: Robert Hunter fronting the Ghosts, a band featuring Keith

and Donna Jean Godchaux. The couple had left the Dead the previous spring in search of new musical endeavors, but remained connected to the broader Dead family. Only one recording from this tour seems to have survived, a chatty audience tape from Seattle, and it is certainly odd to hear Hunter delivering his own lyrics atop Keith's conversational piano with the aid of Donna's voice. The shows were performed revue-style, so there were only a few places where all three musicians appeared together. It's more curiosity than lost classic, but given Keith's death only a few months later, it's hard not to wonder what might have come of the collaboration.

"Touch of Grey"
Live recording, August 21, 1980, The Other End, New York, NY
"West L.A. Fadeaway"
Live recording, November 18, 1981, Cellar Door, Washington, DC

After the Grateful Dead introduced "Althea" in August 1979, it would be another three years before they debuted another Garcia/Hunter song, the longest break in a dozen years. As Garcia seemed to lose interest in new material, Hunter seemed to became doubly engaged. In the early '80s, Hunter began playing early drafts of several songs that would end up in the Dead's repertoire by 1982, eventually make it 1987's *In the Dark*, and the Top 10. The live drafts are lessons in how Garcia's songwriting might filter Hunter's lyrics, the guitarist applying his own irresistible rhythmic read to the words. But there is something charming and homespun about these early versions. "Touch of Grey" is even more pointed and "West L.A. Fadeaway" is even seedier. It is easy to imagine other Hunter songs as early drafts that Garcia might have taken up, even if it's less easy to imagine what might have resulted.

"**Silvio**"
November 17, 1990, Boulder Theater, Boulder, CO

For 1988's *Down in the Groove*, Bob Dylan wrote music for Hunter's "Silvio" and "The Ugliest Girl In the World." The former became a hard grooving staple of Dylan's live shows for the next decade and, in a way, a prototype for the down-on-the-heels persona Dylan would adopt in the late '90s. It's a pleasure, then, to revisit Hunter's own version of "Silvio," more restrained and perhaps even more sly than Dylan's oratory approach.

"Shelter From the Storm"
Live recording, May 11, 1997, Palace Theater, Albany, NY
"Gentle On My Mind"
Live recording, April 25, 2002, Belcourt Theatre, Nashville, TN

When Hunter returned to the road in 1997, playing shows for the first time following Garcia's death, he began to increase the number of cover songs in his sets, including Bob Dylan's "Shelter From the Storm" and "Lily, Rosemary, and the Jack of Hearts," both from 1975's *Blood on the Tracks*, along with songs by Phil Ochs, John Hartford, and others. Hearing Hunter sing the words of his contemporaries with reverence is both revealing as well as a quiet joy. I'm drawn to tender and wounded figures in Hunter's official and unofficial discography, like this "Shelter From the Storm" from 1997 and John Hartford's "Gentle On My Mind" from 2002.

"High Timberline"
Live recording, April 23, 2002, New Daisy Theater, Memphis, TN

The post-Garcia years would connect Hunter with a number of new collaborators, including Jim Lauderdale of Donna the Buffalo. Most often, those songs remained in the repertoires of others, but "High Timberline" made the jump to Hunter's own shows in 2002 and 2004, a singsong bit of Americana that might be a parlor tune, an ancient campfire song, or a scrap of lullaby.

"Dreamland"
Live recording, May 2, 1997, Moore's Egyptian Theater, Seattle, WA
"Scrap of Moonlight"
"The Song Remains"
Live recording, June 11, 2003, Museum of Science and Industry, Seattle, WA
"Eulalie"
Live recording, June 18, 2004, Red Rocks, Morrison, CO
"Into the Blue"
Live recording, June 19, 2004, Red Rocks, Morrison, CO
"Serafina Magdelena"
Live recording, June 20, 2004, Red Rocks, Morrison, CO

During his tours in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Hunter introduced a dozen new songs that could have been a final studio album. In fact, a taper assembled one out of live versions, titled *Gravity's Rainbow*, which included these six performances. More than a half-dozen of the songs cross the threshold into my personal canon of ethereal compositions that I want to listen to over and over, with complex lyrics floating across ineffable melodies. Lush with delay pedals and loops, Hunter's last songs—including the only-taped-once "Dreamland"—occupy a secret space that seems to exist beyond the elegiac grace of "The Days Between," "Lazy River Road," and Hunter's other last songs with Jerry Garcia. Many of Hunter's own final original works play like an arrival, a realization of a set of aesthetics pointed at long ago, another dream from another time, coming awake now wherever ears and hearts are listening.

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Hunter's Gold

Peter Conners

I learned time travel from Jerry Garcia. I learned the words that go along with it from Robert Hunter. It's true, I wouldn't lie to you. I was 15 years old sitting in my bedroom listening to "Ripple" by the Grateful Dead over and over: "If my words did glow with the gold of Sunshine / and my tunes were played on the harp unstrung…" The harp unstrung? What the--? I didn't know what it meant, but I knew what it meant. I wanted more. I knew *The Outsiders* "Stay golden, Ponyboy," and I knew Robert Frost "Nothing Gold Can Stay," and now there were words glowing with the gold of sunshine and harps unstrung and then there was "a fountain / that was not made by the hands of man" and I was all in.

I had already discovered sex, booze, pot, and the disconnect between the ideals espoused by adults versus the reality of their choices, and now I had discovered the Grateful Dead. Finally someone was telling me the truth. Or weaving a lie I could believe in. And maybe that was enough.

Do you believe in time travel? When I said that, did you believe me? When I told you I wouldn't lie to you, did you buy that too? I do. I buy it all the time. Lie to me. It's all matter. It's all that matters—truth, lies, the consciousness that spools into a story we call reality.

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Robert Hunter sure could tell that story. I remember once he told me, "The Dire Wolf collects his dues / while the boys sing 'round the fire, 'Don't murder me'," and I believed every word of it. In fact, I raced out and bought a bag of tickets and spent the next lifetime absorbing the contours of his colorful mind. (I almost said: *the colorful contours of his mind*).

Did I say that? "I spent a little time on a mountain spent a little time on a hill / things went down we don't understand / but I think in time we will." I think we will. I think we do right now. I think we have all the time in the world. That all time is happening now and we better learn to breathe underwater in the shadowy pools between memory and delusion because your searchlight split them open and turned out all my lights, and my oh my oh my oh my what spilled out was pure Grateful Dead.

You're realer than a bag of soup dropped off the Lincoln Tunnel at rush hour.

You're a hallucination I can believe in. I vote for you.

I mean, time is an ouroboros. I am sitting in my bedroom and I am 15. I am dancing in a hallway in Louisville, Kentucky, and I am 22. I am singing "Ripple" to my baby and I am 31. I am watching the sunrise over Alpine Valley. I am dancing with my wife. I am at work. I am dreaming. What's become of the baby? He is 18. I am 49. Tomorrow I turn infinity.

I am a skeleton. You are a rose.

PETER CONNERS is the author of seven books of nonfiction, fiction, and poetry, including *Cornell '77* (Cornell University Press, 2017), *Growing Up Dead* (Da Capo, 2009), *JAMerica* (Da Capo, 2013), and *White Hand Society* (City Lights, 2010). He has edited dozens of volumes of poetry and prose, and is publisher of BOA Editions, Ltd.

Ghost at the Engine

for Robert Hunter

Brent Wood

they gave you a key to a door they couldn't see behind
you walked right in and sat in the lap of the muse
watching ancient starlight splinter into rainbows
whipped into mist by whirring invisible wheels
your body strummed by the hands of a thousand giants from everland

your stanford fellow took a bus further
but you rode the rails home dreaming
bright blue boxcars freedom trains mystery trains
against-the-grain gospel truths glimpsed by firelight through masks and mirrors
tuning in to spirit voices amid the din

and suddenly you were at the engine

you raced past at the crossing

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and we watched the words roll behind you in an endless chain
and knew how they sang of our nights and our days
as we kicked sacks skyward in arcs tracing turquoise trails
sticky flowers dropping from beards and squirming organ pipe conundrums
drumbeasts bursting through tarmac cracks and weeds alive with pollen
shimmering in the breeze you breathed life into the ragged chanting
that swung open gates to a magic theater

you saw smirking Dionysus tip his hat
rip our tickets shower the crowd in astral confetti
kamikaze origami crashing the marriage of heaven and hell
and you rang with love the noisy gongs and clanging symbols inside
wrote poems for choruses of herkyjerky noodle arms and doublejointed jivers
sketched shadow portraits glazed by slippery chromaticism in driplet triplets
wove tales to be told by fat cats padding down five-tone scales
    down climbing ivy
    through persian rugs and fugs
    into the well where twisting mythic
creatures of the deep chased our legs into motion and then

you dropped lines through the surface
hauled us up amazed by steel wind chimes and cool sea air our minds
tossed by waves by swirling skirts like fans like petals fragrant incense
puffs and dragon's breath

and when we found ourselves on the back of a turtle
listening to the whistle of an evening train across the bay
    we knew this terrain was our destiny station
    and we were all on board this great north special detroit lightning cannonball run
    and we knew the words and we were the words

and the words were with us
and the words were creation
and liberation

and smirking Dionysus peered out from a crater on the moon
as the brakeman snoozed and the train broke through to the sun

and we were blown into the sky on the last sighs of our fallen heroes

and here we fly
aloft in the purple murky dusk
as stars throw down their spears
and the word train rolls below along its timeless track
boilers stoked by a skeleton crew

waving our new wings
to the ghost at the engine
as he vanishes from view

BRENT WOOD is a scholar, writer, and musician. He is the author of *The Tragic Odes of Jerry Garcia and the Grateful Dead* (forthcoming from Routledge) as well as articles on Robert Hunter and Phil Lesh, a chapbook, and many uncollected songs and poems. He teaches creative writing and poetry at the University of Toronto–Mississauga.

About the Caucus

The Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus is the nickname of the Grateful Dead area of the Southwest Popular/American Culture Association, an interdisciplinary academic conference formed in 1979. Organized in 1998 by Robert G. Weiner, who served as the first Area Chair of the group, the Caucus has hosted more than 500 papers, 56 roundtable discussions, and a dozen special events in its twenty-three years. More than a fourth of the presentations given at the Caucus have been revised for publication.

More than 170 scholars representing 27 different disciplines and fields have participated in the group's meetings, most attending for several years. A hallmark of the Caucus is its interdisciplinary nature, which is noteworthy for its range. As a conference area, the Caucus adheres to the SWPACA's inclusive philosophy, welcoming scholars at all levels, from undergraduate to professor, and encouraging independent scholars to participate as well.

Members of the band's organization such as John Perry Barlow, Alan Trist, and David Lemieux have participated in Caucus meetings, as well as noted Deadhead writers such as Steve Silberman. An account of the group's first fifteen years, *Studying the Dead*, was published by Scarecrow Press in 2013.

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Grateful Dead Scholars Caucus

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Robert G. Weiner (1998–2000)

F. Barry Barnes, Robert G. Weiner (2001–2002)

F. Barry Barnes, Nicholas G. Meriwether (2003–2004)

Gary D. Burnett, Melinda L. Belleville (2005)

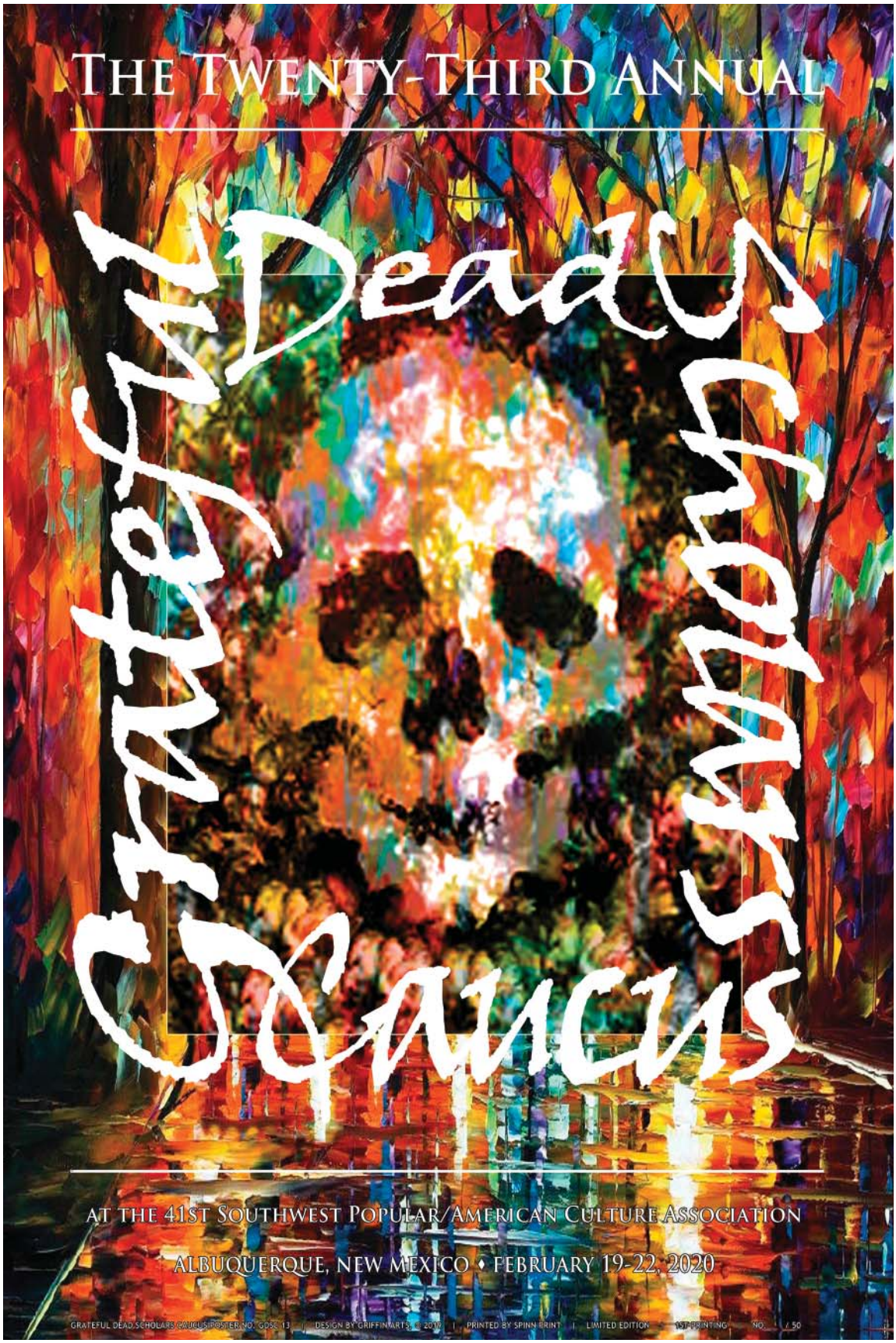
Gary D. Burnett (2006)

Gary D. Burnett, Nicholas G. Meriwether (2007)

Nicholas G. Meriwether, Stanley J. Spector (2008–2009)

Mark E. Mattson, Stanley J. Spector (2010)

Nicholas G. Meriwether (2011–2020)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