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Sustainable Gardens of the Mind:

Beat Ecopoetry and Prose in Stewart Brand's *Whole Earth* Publications

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requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy
in English

by

Susan Elizabeth Lewak

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Michael A. North, Chair

Stewart Brand's *Whole Earth* publications (*The Whole Earth Catalog*, *The Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog*, *CoEvolution Quarterly*, *The Whole Earth Review*, and *Whole Earth*) were well known not only for showcasing alternative approaches to technology, the environment, and Eastern mysticism, but also for their tendency to juxtapose radical and seemingly contradictory subjects in an "open form" format. They have also been the focus of notable works of scholarship in the social sciences. Areas of exploration include their relationship to the development of the personal computer, the environmental movement and alternative technology, the alternative West Coast publishing industry, Space Colonies, and Nanotechnology. What is perhaps less well known is Brand's interest in the Beat poetry of Jack Kerouac, Gary Snyder, Allen Ginsberg, Michael McClure, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gregory Corso, Robert Creeley, David Meltzer, and Peter Orlovsky beginning with *CoEvolution Quarterly* in 1974.

Brand's decision to include ecologically based free-verse Beat poems is also indicative of

a particular way of seeing science and technology. The term “coevolution” itself is biological in origin and refers to the evolutionary relationship between predator and prey: a lizard may turn green to fade into the grass, but an eagle, with its highly developed vision, will be able to spot the lizard hiding among the green blades. Brand thus used the term “coevolution” as Edward Said used the musical term *contrapuntal*: the meeting of opposites or conflicting sources in either a contrived or forced juxtaposition that offers the potential for new meaning and understanding.

Brand’s decision to incorporate the humanities into his ecologically based publications reflected a paradigm shift in his vision of science and technology. In other words, poetry renders tools and technology more humane and sustainable as they all “coevolve” with Eastern mysticism in an “open form” or *contrapuntal* context, leading to (eco) consciousness expansion. In contrast to the notion that there is an inherent contradiction between poetry and technology within the realm of ecocriticism, or that the humanities lack relevance to the environmental debate, Brand’s *Whole Earth* publications provide one historic model for the “coevolution” of literature, science, and the environment.

The dissertation of Susan Elizabeth Lewak is approved.

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Introduction

The beat poets were a generation of friends who gave each other permission to be excellent. The astonishing thing is that they have continued to be friends and have expanded their excellence. They have produced a superb body of work, and they have kept doing what they set out to do, which is to try to help. Recently, someone who was writing a book about the beat poets asked me what I thought of them and the answer came from somewhere around my knee caps – ‘I owe them everything.’ I came to North Beach in San Francisco as a Stanford undergraduate about to be a graduate, and it was the most wonderful place in the world because they made it the most wonderful place in the world. Everything about me – who I am and what I think and how I live – started in that place and in their work. I am an aging beatnik. - Stewart Brand, *CoEvolution Quarterly (Journal for the Protection of all Beings)* No. 19, Fall 1978.

This is the list that launched a thousand hips(ters): Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, Gary Snyder, Michael McClure, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gregory Corso, Robert Creeley, David Meltzer, and Peter Orlovsky. Whether ascribing these names to the “Beat Generation,” members of the “San Francisco Renaissance,” or the “Raw poets” of Donald Allen’s *The New American Poetry*, the above allusion to both “battle” (The Trojan War) and “passion” (Helen of Troy) is remarkably appropriate. Few communities of American writers and poets have elicited the diversity of emotional responses that this one has, ranging from pure hatred and antipathy, to a kind of popular culture “rock star” (before the term was invented) mass hysteria. At the same time, it may come as a surprise to some that there was a relationship between Beat

poetry and American author Stewart Brand's ecologically-and technologically based *Whole Earth* publications (from 1974-2003). One origin of this surprise could lie in the kind of associations one typically makes about Beat poets.

One might think, for example, back to the 1940's, when a group of young intellectuals in New York strived to attain a "New Vision" for American poetry (a term coined by wealthy, eccentric, and rebellious Columbia undergraduate Lucien Carr). Carr shared and developed this idea with his circle of friends, which included (among others) the on- and off -again Columbia football player (later drop out) Jack Kerouac, Columbia freshman Allen Ginsberg, and the older Harvard graduate William Burroughs. Over time, both Kerouac and Ginsberg expanded upon the "New Vision" to encompass links between the writing process and enhanced states of consciousness.

Discussions of consciousness and the writing process could also lead one to the 1950's, when Ginsberg and Kerouac traveled west and settled in the North Beach region of San Francisco. This move instigated a series of notably public and eventually historic events: The *Six Gallery Reading* in 1955, the publication of Ginsberg's poem "Howl" by *City Lights Press* in 1956, the 1957 "Howl" obscenity trial, and publication of Kerouac's novel *On the Road* also in 1957. In addition, American poets Gary Snyder, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and Michael McClure (among others) were also added to the mix of what Jack Kerouac would refer to as the "San Francisco Renaissance" in his 1958 novel *The Dharma Bums*.

Indeed, *The Dharma Bums* outlined Kerouac's own theories of consciousness expansion. These concepts encompassed the Buddhism he encountered via Snyder and his period in California, as well as through what Kerouac termed "Spontaneous Prose." Other members of the "San Francisco Renaissance" (such as Ginsberg, Ferlinghetti, and McClure) would eventually

follow Kerouac through a shared interest in “spontaneous prose” and Eastern mysticism. I use the phrase “Eastern mysticism” here in order to encapsulate the conflation of Buddhism, Hinduism, Sufism, and Taoism that happened not only among the Beats, but a decade later with the Counterculture and the *Whole Earth* publications as well. Historian Theodore Roszak describes it as “a peculiarly west coast American reading of Zen-Taoist nature mysticism, a reborn sense of allegiance to the Earth and its rhythms which centered especially in the postwar Bay Area” (*From Satori to Silicon Valley* 10).

“Free Verse” or “Open Form Poetry” might further remind one of their national debut in Donald Allen’s radical 1960 Grove press publication, *The New American Poetry* (which itself was heavily influenced by the 1957 second issue of the little magazine, the *Evergreen Review*, coedited by Allen and Barney Rosset). Allen’s poets offered a “New Vision” of free verse poetry, offering a particular use of common language. In addition, he only selected poems that had previously appeared in independently produced (and often obscure) little magazines. In describing his poets and their work, Allen stated that they offered a “total rejection of all those qualities typical of academic verse,” thus creating “their own tradition, their own press, and their public” (xi).

This type of literary rebellion through forms of independent publication was interpreted as a rebuke of Donald Hall, Louis Simpson, and Robert Pack’s more conventional and mainstream 1957 anthology, *New Poets of England and America*. While Hall, Simpson, and Pack’s text highlighted new but still traditional poets whose works conformed to mainstream expectations, Allen’s community of poets thrived in the margins. Indeed, Poet Robert Lowell positioned these two anthologies (in a 1960 National Book Award speech) as engaged in a passionate battle between what he described as the “Raw” poets of Allen’s anthology and the

“Cooked” poets of Hall, Simpson, and Pack’s text.

What most likely will not come to mind when thinking about this group of poets is North Beach resident and Stanford graduate Stewart Brand’s scientific and technologically based *Whole Earth Catalog* and its descendants (*The Whole Earth Catalog*, 1968-1971; *The Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog*, 1969-1971; *CoEvolution Quarterly*, 1974-1984; *The Whole Earth Software Catalog*, 1984-1985; *The Whole Earth Software Review*, Spring, Summer, Fall 1984; *The Whole Earth Review*, 1985-1996; *Whole Earth* 1997-2002/3). And yet, works by Jack Kerouac, Gary Snyder, Allen Ginsberg, Michael McClure, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gregory Corso, Robert Creeley, David Meltzer, and Peter Orlovsky (whom Brand qualifies in the quote above as “Beat Generation”) were a part of his universe of “raw,” independently published magazines.

One reason that the involvement of Beat poets in *Whole Earth* publications has fallen into obscurity might lie in the fact that their involvement has not previously been a subject of study by *Whole Earth* scholars (typically academics in the fields of history, communications, and sociology). Instead, areas of research on Brand’s publications tend to highlight their impact on: the personal computer and the Internet, countercultural or “soft” technologies, the then-early environmental movement, the alternative west coast publishing industry, Space Colonies, and nanotechnology.¹

¹ For works of contemporary scholarship on Brand’s *Whole Earth* publications, see Roszak; McCray; Markoff, *What the Dormouse Said: How the Sixties Counterculture Shaped the Personal Computer Industry*; Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism*; Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism*; and Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle*

As a means of filling this gap, I would like to suggest that the humanities in general, and poetry in particular, were important components to the infrastructure of *Whole Earth* publications. Indeed, their history is marked by two distinct and separate phases, each of which is defined by a particular relationship with poetry. The first phase occurred during 1968-1971 (*Whole Earth Catalog* and *Supplement*) and is distinguished by the lack of Beat (eco) poetry, the dominance of the back-to-the-land movement, and the development of the “whole” person through a Thoreauvian removal from mainstream. It explored “access to tools,” “Eastern mysticism,” and “consciousness expansion” in an “open form” format that emphasized the creation of a new spiritual “whole,” or unity through separation from establishment.

In contrast, the second phase (which began with *CoEvolution Quarterly* in 1974 and lasted through the *Whole Earth Review* and *Whole Earth*, 1974-2003), was a period demarcated by the introduction of poetry and a larger role for the humanities within the *Whole Earth* universe. At its core was the dynamic interaction of opposing and sometimes contradictory forces that occurred through integration rather than separation. Brand alludes to this kind of relationship by means of the ecological term “coevolution,” which refers to the evolutionary relationship between predator and prey: a lizard may turn green to fade into the grass, but an eagle, with its highly developed vision, will be able to spot the lizard hiding among the blades. Thus, Turner suggests, for Brand, “coevolution” refers to the end of the countercultural “back-to-the-land” movement that dominated the period of *The Whole Earth Catalog*, as well as the integration of opposites: the return and reintegration of the counterculture into the mainstream (*From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 122).

I would further suggest that Brand metaphorically used the term “coevolution” in a

Consumption in the 1970. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

manner similar to Edward Said's application of the musical term *contrapuntal* (a form of counterpoint) to literature. Said clarifies his use of the term in *Culture and Imperialism*, commenting that:

As we look back at the culture archive, we begin to reread it not univocally but contrapuntally, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts. In the counterpoint of Western classical music, various themes play off one another, with only a provisional privilege being given to any particular one; yet in the resulting polyphony there is concert and order, an organized interplay that derives from the themes, not from a rigorous melodic or formal principle outside the work. In the same way, I believe, we can read and interpret English novels, for example, whose engagement (usually suppressed for the most part) with the West Indies or India say, is shaped and perhaps even determined by the specific history of colonization, resistance, and finally native nationalism. At this point alternative or new narratives emerge, and they become institutionalized or discursively stable entities. (51)

Brand likewise viewed his use of the term "coevolution" metaphorically. As he conveyed in *Harper's*, Brand believed that juxtaposing contrary or conflicting "objects" in either a contrived or forced manner, served as a means of consciousness expansion:

The term [coevolution] was introduced in 1965 by Paul Ehrlich and Peter Raven in their study of the predator-prey relationship of caterpillars and plants. They found that the eaters and the eaten progressively evolved in close response to each other-coevolved ... It seems that all evolution is coevolution. The beauty of the

term is that it adds to the concepts of ecology. Language such as ‘preserving the ecology’ suggests something quite perfect-static, knowable, oriented backward, unwelcoming to human foolishness...unreal. Ecology is whole system alright, but coevolution is whole system in TIME. The health of it is forward-a systematic self-education which feeds on constant imperfection. We coevolving watchers and meddlers are not left out of it. Ecology maintains. Coevolution learns. (105)

It was thus with the second phase of Brand’s *Whole Earth* publications that poetry began to offer an additional element to the thematically constant theme of Eastern mysticism, technology, and consciousness expansion in all of the *Whole Earth* publications. Furthermore, Brand’s decision to expand the use of the humanities beginning with *CoEvolution Quarterly* reflected a paradigm shift from the first phase. In other words, poetry contributed to an environment in which tools and technology became more humane and sustainable as they all “coevolved” with Eastern mysticism in an “open form” or in this case, *contrapuntal* context, leading to (eco) consciousness expansion.

In addition, in contrast to the notion that the humanities lack relevance to the environmental debate, Brand’s *Whole Earth* publications offer a potential model for the integration of the two. As Stacy Alaimo notes, it is not uncommon for people to assume that the “humanities were irrelevant for the serious business of sustainability” (560). Citing the “Contributions of the Humanities to Issues of Sustainability” by the Institute for the Humanities Research at Arizona State University she suggests instead that the “humanities are crucial for understanding and solving environmental crisis, since ‘humanists and humanities research’ ‘[c]hallenge reliance upon the authority of ‘nature’ or ‘science’ in order to address problems that in their origin and solution are primarily social and cultural’ ” (560). Stephanie Lemenager and

Stephanie Foote concur, seeking a “more open future for humanities education” (573). Brand’s inclusion of (eco) poetry mirrors these points, as they become part of his “coevolutionary” mix, one that defines ecological awareness as inclusive of the humanities.

In addition, Brand’s particular embrace of ecopoetry (within his contrapuntally based open form environment leading to consciousness expansion) mirrors the work of a few ecocritics. Jonathan Bate in *The Song of The Earth* also believes that “ecopoetics must concern itself with consciousness” (266). In addition, J. Scott Bryson, in the introduction to his edited collection *Ecopoetry*, notes that two primary characteristics of ecopoetry are “an ecocentric perspective” and “humility in relationships with both human and nonhuman nature,” both of which highlight an internal paradigm shift akin to consciousness expansion (5-6).

Moreover, Brand’s reconfiguration of alternative forms of technology in his environment of Eastern mysticism, consciousness expansion, and open form, renders it humane and sustainable. Thus Brand’s technology is not a reflection of what Bryson refers to when he calls for “an intense skepticism concerning hyperrationality, a skepticism that usually leads to an indictment of an over technologized world, and a warning concerning the very real potential for ecological catastrophe” (6). In a similar manner, Bate offers his book as an anecdote to a technology that does not correspond with Brand’s, as his text is: “about why poetry continues to matter as we enter a new millennium that will be ruled by technology. It is a book about the capacity of the writer to restore us to the earth which is our home” (vii). In other words, the “co-evolving” environment that Brand created with *CoEvolution Quarterly* and beyond works in conjunction with, rather than in opposition to, the ideological positions of Bate and Bryson. In other words, Brand’s philosophy of coevolution allows *Whole Earth* publications to serve as a model for ecocritics rather than its antithesis.

While both Bate and Bryson refer specifically to ecopoetry, they also reflect larger areas of debate in the field of ecocriticism, as demonstrated by Lawrence Buell, Ursula K. Heise, and Karen Thornber in their 2011 article, “Literature and Environment.” Buell, Heise, and Thornber suggest that the complex relationship between science, technology, and the environment is a contributing factor to the “ambivalent” relationship between literature and environmental science (422). They note that while ecocritics “rely on the insights of biologists, ecologists, and chemists” they also “see science and technology as root causes of ecological crisis” (422).

The authors then suggest that despite this criticism, it is still possible to intertwine science and literature, citing authors such as Don DeLillo for the rigor with which they integrate scientific data into stories of environmental crisis (423). They also suggest that “the hallmark of environmentalism has been a kind of prose and film that sits at the intersection of narrative and science, blending the endeavor to convey a scientific perspective on environmental crisis with the impulse to tell large-and small-scale stories about humans’ interaction with nature” (423). I would like to suggest that the milieu of *CoEvolution Quarterly* (and beyond) mirrors such an “intersection of narrative and science,” as it exhibits a form of technology partly modified by the inclusion of Beat ecopoetry. Thus in Brand’s universe, the dividing boundaries between poetry, technology, Eastern mysticism, and ecology are thin because they are all bound by a dedicated commitment to consciousness expansion.

As an example, the quote from Thoreau below may help to further elucidate this relationship. Except for the fact that a page number is not included, there is nothing particularly extraordinary about the passage below extracted from “Economy” (the opening chapter of 19th century American essayist and poet Henry David Thoreau’s *Walden*, 1854 and one of the first great works of American environmentalism):

Most of the luxuries, and many of the so-called comforts of life, are not only not indispensable, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind. With respect to luxuries and comforts, the wisest have ever lived a more simple and meager life than the poor. The ancient philosophers, Chinese, Hindoo, Persian, and Greek, were a class than which none has been poorer in outward riches, none so rich in inward. We know not much about them. It is remarkable that we know so much of them as we do. The same is true of the more modern reformers and benefactors of their race. None can be an impartial or wise observer of human life but from the vantage ground of what we should call voluntary poverty.

Indeed, the citation borders on cliché, one that reflects a reading of *Walden* as a series of internal revelations achieved through a marked shift away from the external, material world (or a man who separated himself from conventional society, to live simply and alone in the wilderness). As Thoreau indicates, while at Walden his life became one of engaged solitude, self-reliance, and “simplicity,” influenced by philosophies associated with the East. The sustainability of this independent lifestyle, however, was entirely dependent upon the selection and use of the right kind of tools to build his house, furniture, till and cultivate crops on the land, and to prepare healthy and simple foods for consumption (all of which he further documents in “Economy”). *Walden* is thus perhaps the first serious attempt in American literature to document the “sustainable” nature of certain forms of technology, influenced by lifestyle imbued with Eastern mysticism.

This reading of *Walden* shifts slightly, however, when the passage is cited as stand-alone content (in large font) for page one of the September 1977 issue of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, rather than in *Walden*. To the direct left of the passage (situated on the inside front cover) is a black and

white photograph of “the site of Henry David Thoreau’s cabin, built at Walden Pond in 1845, photographed in 1901 – the cellar still viable.” The cover of the issue itself is an original drawing by American underground cartoonist R. Crumb, depicting farmwomen engaged in unrestrained 20th century American modern dance moves as they hoe and seed barren land. Given the notable lack of a feminine presence in *Walden*, in addition to the level of irreverence created by the tone of the drawing, the thematic nature of Thoreau’s quote is subtly shifted through the contrapuntal juxtaposition of these contrasting themes and images.

The concept of “coevolution” is thus reinforced through Brand’s “New Vision” of “open form.” This argument is further evidenced through articles in the issue: “Computer Hobbyist Publications,” sections on *Soft Technology* (“The Transformation of a Tract Home,” “The Green Wood House,” “Thermal Energy Construction,”) and *Land Use* (“Mushroom hunting in Oregon,” “Environmental Seed Producers,” “Drought Gardening,”), in juxtaposition to a full page of poetry (108) by one of India’s most celebrated poets, Rabindranath Tagore. These selections speak to the “coevolution” of a kind of (eco) consciousness that relied on a special vision of technology enhanced by a relationship to the East.

Perhaps one of the most direct examples, however, lies in two main articles (both titled “Voluntary Simplicity”), each of which reworks the final lines of Thoreau’s quote (“voluntary poverty”). On the one hand, the articles (written as a rebuttal to an SRI report on the state of “voluntary simplicity” in 1977) appear to mirror the reading of Thoreau above. They define “voluntary simplicity” as:

Living in a way that is outwardly simple and inwardly rich [... it] has its roots in the legendary frugality and self-reliance of the puritans, in Thoreau’s naturalistic vision at Walden Pond; in Emerson’s spiritual and practical plea for ‘plain living

and high thinking'; in the teachings and social philosophy of a number of spiritual leaders such as Jesus and Gandhi. (Elgin and Mitchell 5)

Elgin and Mitchell thus appear to reinforce Thoreau's move towards material simplification and a strong "ecological awareness." They also state that the term "acknowledges the interconnectedness and interdependence of people and resources" as a means of self-reflection and discovery through "alternative technologies" (6).

On the other hand, the language of the final statement (alternative technologies) indicates a contrapuntal shift. In contrast to a standard reading of Thoreau, voluntary simplicity does not encourage the separation of a lone individual from conventional society as it "should not be equated with a back-to-land movement," of the prior decade (8). Indeed, it need not be associated solely with the counterculture at all but instead with all facets of society, as interlocking cooperation of opposites was a trademark of *CoEvolution Quarterly* (8). Furthermore, unlike Thoreau, (and a result of the nearly universal financial collapse of most communes and collectives formed during the back-to-the-land movement) voluntary simplicity "should not be equated with living in poverty" as "impoverishment is in many ways the opposite of simple living" (8).

In other words, this reading of voluntary simplicity highlights the paradigm shift that occurred when Brand transitioned from *The Whole Earth Catalog* to *CoEvolution Quarterly* in 1974, although both are equally informed by technology, Eastern mysticism and consciousness expansion. Brand described this shift as a move from "an engineering metaphor to a biological metaphor" (Kirk, *Counterculture Green* 165). This vision of voluntary simplicity is the result of a "coevolution" of conflicting ideals, leading towards a new reality that lies in direct opposition to the self-sustaining fantasy of alternative engineering environments (communes) envisioned

during phase one of the *Whole Earth Catalog*.

Brand's interest in Eastern mysticism, technology, and consciousness expansion did not originate with his *Whole Earth* publications, however. Rather, it began a few years earlier through a few key events: meeting Steve Durkee (USCO), Ken Kesey (The Merry Pranksters), and co-organizing the 1966 "Trips Festival" (part of "The Summer of Love"). The first, his friendship with Durkee, began in the early 1960s when Brand was completing post-ROTC military duty after graduating from Stanford University with a degree in ecology. Although Brand enjoyed the athletic aspect of being an Army Ranger, he could never adjust to the conformity of military life, and began instead his own creative journey as an army photographer.

Thus, on his weekends away from the military base, Brand began to notice the art world of New York, John Cage, and Robert Rauschenberg, leading him to become disenchanted with his vocational choice. Indeed, Brand began to "explore a social landscape at once deeply in synch with the systems perspectives he had encountered at Stanford [as an ecology student] and entirely out of synch with the relatively order, hierarchical world of cold war college and military life" (Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 46). It was at this time that Brand encountered Durkee and left the military.

Durkee's influence on Brand was so powerful that he would eventually play a role in *CoEvolution Quarterly*, a point I will return to in the third chapter (Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 46). An artist, spiritual leader, and co-creator of another "Summer of Love" event, "The Human Be-In" (with Richard Alpert/Baba Ram Dass), Durkee was the first to expose Brand to the integration of art, Eastern mysticism, and consciousness expansion through his experimental art collective USCO ("The US Company"). As USCO's

photographer from 1963-1966, Brand was initiated into “a psychedelic celebration of technology and mystical community that found its way into the burgeoning LSD scene in San Francisco” during the early 1960s (Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 49). More specifically, this included “diverse electronic technologies” (“strobe lights, light projectors, tape decks, stereo speakers, slide sorters”) that created art to “transform the audience’s consciousness ... founded on a fusion of Eastern mysticism and ecological systems thinking” (49). A specific example included Durkee’s installation, “Shrine,” which was featured at New York’s Riverside Museum:

Audience members sat on the floor around a large aluminum column. Around them, a nine-foot-high hexagon featured Steve Durkee’s paintings of Shiva and Buddha, as well as flashing lights and other psychedelic imagery. They inhaled burning incense and listened to a sound collage and stayed as long as they liked. USCO called the installation a ‘be-in’ because of the ways audience members were supposed to inhabit and not simply observe the work. On September 9, 1966, *Life* featured USCO’s ‘Shrine’ in a cover story on psychedelic art and introduced the notion of a ‘be-in’ to a national readership for what was almost certainly the first time. (51-2)

Durkee, however, was only half of the duo that inspired Brand in this manner; American novelist and fellow Stanford alum Ken Kesey was the other.

Brand’s friendship with Kesey began as a result of his work with USCO. It was during this time period that he developed a “heavily idealized” interest in Native American culture and history, leading him to read Kesey’s *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest*. Brand wrote a letter introducing himself to Kesey and developed a life long friendship, one that would resurface in *The Whole Earth Catalog* and *CoEvolution Quarterly* (Turner, *From Counterculture to*

Cyberculture 59-61). It was through this friendship that Brand would become a part of “The Merry Pranksters” and its extended social milieu, a community that included Richard Alpert/Baba Ram Dass and another Stanford alumnus, Gurney Norman (who would also become a regular contributor to Brand’s publications) (61).

Brand’s involvement with The Merry Pranksters proved critical to the initial development of *The Whole Earth Catalog*. Turner qualifies the Merry Pranksters as a “West Coast version of USCO ... drawing on the Bohemian energy of San Francisco’s Beatnik scene” (*From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 62). While “the Merry Pranksters thought the Beats offered a model of how to step outside mainstream American culture,” they also “played with the boundaries between self, community, and technology” in order to “expressly to create a New Consciousness” (62-63). In other words, if the work of USCO explored the relationship between technology and art, the Merry Pranksters focused specifically on the interactions of technology, the consciousness expansion, and community formation (63).

Indeed, the joint impact of USCO and the Merry Pranksters shaped Brand’s involvement with the third important event: the January 1966 “Trips Festival,” during The Summer of Love,” or more loosely the period of November 1965 to mid-January 1967. The Trips Festival was unique during this time period due its extensive emphasis on the integration of technology and art, theoretically without the additional use of LSD or other chemical substances, to lead to elevated forms of consciousness (Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 65). The genesis of the “Trips Festival,” however, lay in the earlier, legal LSD experiments conducted by the U.S. government and university in the Menlo Park/Stanford, California region faculty during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

These tests involved a few noted individuals. For example, Turner describes how Ken

Kesey, became involved in CIA cold-war sponsored tests that involved LSD and other experimental drugs at the Menlo Park's Veteran's Administration Hospital in 1959 (*From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 60). According to Markoff, the list of human guinea pigs also included Allen Ginsberg (*What the Dormouse Said* 59). In contrast, Stewart Brand's "acid test" was conducted by a different organization, the IFAS (International Federation for Advanced Study). Run by Myron Stolaroff (Ampex Corporation) and Willis Harman (Stanford University), IFAS explored the "psychological effects of LSD" (Turner 61). Stanford graduate student Jim Fadiman monitored Brand's experience with LSD (61). While none of them continued with the official experiments conducted by the government and universities, these experiences served as the foundation for the unofficial "acid tests" run by The Merry Pranksters. By 1965, they also led Kesey, Brand, and others to explore a venue for a larger, communal, independently run "acid test" that was open to the public.

Indeed, the original goals for "The Trips Festival" were grand. Gene Anthony *in Summer of Love: Haight-Ashbury at its Height* notes that they were initially inspired by a conversation that Brand had with fellow Merry Prankster Mike Keegan about a recent "acid test" conducted by Ken Kesey at Stinson Beach (107). Thus inspired, Brand (according to Anthony) concluded that:

The time had arrived for consolidation, to stop and develop the new planes of consciousness that were emerging around the Bay Area ... there was a need to celebrate the new feelings, the higher consciousness that people were trying to express. The time had come to commemorate all good trips with a Trips Festival.
(107)

By the time that the festival took place, however, the government had outlawed LSD use and

thus “posters [for the Trips Festival] promised an Acid Test – a full blown psychedelic experience – without LSD” (Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 66). Indeed, one of the posters described The Trips Festival as an “Electronic Performance! A new medium of communication & entertainment, a drugless PSYCHADELIC experience” that included Kesey and the Pranksters as well as Allen Ginsberg and Neal Cassady (Anthony 111). Despite the goal of a “drugless” experience, however, Turner notes that, “the Trips festival featured plenty of LSD. But more importantly, it represented a coming together of the Beatnik-derived psychedelic scene and the multimedia technophilia of art troupes such as USCO” (66). Thus, this combination of a Beatnik inspired arena of consciousness expansion, developed through a mixture of USCO and the Merry Pranksters, as well as the challenge of (theoretically) providing the experience an “acid test” without LSD, all provided the framework for what would eventually become *The Whole Earth Catalog* in 1968.

It is worth noting at this juncture the presence of Beat poets at the “The Human Be-In” (another “Summer of Love” event) organized a year later in January 1967. Planned by both Durkee and Baba Ram Dass, it also explored consciousness expansion through Eastern mysticism, but without the added focus on technology that was one of the distinguishing traits of The Trips Festival. It was advertised instead as a “Pow-Wow, gathering of Tribes” to be held on the Polo Grounds at Golden Gate. The Human Be-In sought to integrate (through consciousness expansion) “Berkeley Political Activists and the love generation of Haight Ashbury ... to powwow, celebrate, and prophesy the epoch of liberation, love, peace, compassion and unity of mankind” (Anthony 155). More importantly, it was an event that showcased the following Beat Poets: Gary Snyder, Michael McClure, Allen Ginsberg, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti (Anthony 157). Indeed:

The Be-In started with a blast from Gary Snyder's white-beaded conch shell. He blew long, mournful blasts which were lost on a crowd that stretched to the horizon. Drums and cymbals and tinkling bells broke into rhythm. Whistles and laughing. Singing and clapping. Hare-Krishna-Hare-Krishna-Hare-Hare-Hare-Rama-Hare-Rama-Rama-Rama-Hare-Hare. Allen Ginsberg, Michael McClure, Gary Snyder Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Suzuki Roshi. Ommmmmmmm Next to Snyder, Allen Ginsberg chanted: 'We are one! We are all one!' ” (Anthony 162)

Thus, while neither Brand, nor excessive uses of technology, were featured aspects of the “Be-In,” it is logical to assume that it was still influential on him. In addition, work by “Be-In” stars Snyder, Ferlinghetti, Ginsberg, and McClure appeared frequently in *Whole Earth* publications.

In addition, Brand's prior experiences as an ecology student at Stanford proved equally influential during the same period. For example, Brand conceived of his signature title (*Whole Earth*) during an “independently” conducted acid test. One evening in 1966 (two years prior to creating the *Whole Earth Catalog*), Brand took LSD and sat on the roof of his apartment complex overlooking the North Beach region of San Francisco:

[He] was suddenly struck by the fact that the city's buildings were not laid out in perfect parallel lines. It seemed to him that, since the surface of the earth was curved, they actually must diverge just slightly. And then it occurred to him that despite the fact that satellites had been circling the earth for almost a decade, he had never seen a photograph showing the entire earth's surface. He realized that an image of the whole earth might inspire others to have a more complete sense of man's place within the planet's ecology and all of the implications that flowed

from such a view of the world ... Brand ultimately began calling upon NASA to deliver a photograph of the entire surface of the planet. He created a button that read ‘Why Haven’t We Seen a Photograph of the Whole Earth Yet?’ and immediately hitchhiked to the East Coast selling copies along the way. (Markoff *What the Dormouse Said* 153-4)

The button became wildly popular and eventually led Brand and his wife Lois to establish the *Whole Earth Truck Store* in Menlo Park, California. Situated at 558 Santa Cruz, it was across the street from the current location for *Kepler’s Books* at 1010 El Camino Real (the historic and functional counterpart to independent bookstores *City Lights* in San Francisco and the now defunct *Cody’s* in Berkeley). This location also placed the *Whole Earth Truck Store* close to the Portola Institute, which would eventually publish *The Whole Earth Catalog*. Brand’s goal was to share “goods and information to a new wave of urban refugees who were ill equipped” for the back-to-the-land movement (154).

In addition, this geographic region influenced the kind of technological, ecological, or humanities based information that he would eventually distribute. As Brand notes in the opening to this introductory chapter, his deep connection to Beat poetry was partly due to his own residence in the North Beach district of San Francisco. Likewise, not only is Menlo Park a short distance south of North Beach, it is also exceptionally close to Stanford University, as well as SRI and SAIL. Markoff notes the importance of this particular geographic space as well:

If you put a stake in the ground at *Kepler’s* an eclectic bookstore run by pacifist Roy Kepler that was located on El Camino Real in Menlo Park beginning in the 1950’s, and drew a five-mile circle around it, you would have captured Englebart’s *Augment Research Group* at SRI, McCarthy’s *Stanford Artificial*

Intelligence Laboratory [SAIL], and Xerox's *Palo Alto Research Center*, as well as the hobbyists who made up the *People's Computer Company* and the *Homebrew Computing Club* (*What the Dormouse Said* xiv).

While Markoff does not mention *Whole Earth* or Brand's proximity to the Beat poets of North Beach in this particular quote (though he extensively explores Brand and *Whole Earth's* contributions elsewhere in the text), I would like to suggest that their geographic proximity is of equal importance.

Indeed, in addition to geography, the multitude of forces that led to the creation of the *Whole Earth Catalog* (first released in 1968) and *Supplement* (first released in 1969) contributes to their unique nature. As large as *Life Magazine*, *The Whole Earth Catalog: Access to Tools* was modeled as an advertising-free countercultural *L.L. Bean Catalog*, a periodical which Brand "viewed as a priceless and practical 'service to humanity' " (Kirk, *Counterculture Green* 1). While *The Whole Earth Catalog* was meant to serve as an information resource, it sold nothing that it promoted. Instead, it functioned as "an early model for reconciling environmentalism, technology, and consumerism" although it did not directly sell anything that it featured, unlike *L.L. Bean* (11). In essence, this model perpetuated self-sufficiency through what Brand deemed "access mobile" or all materials and tools that would help people "starting their own civilization hither and yon in the sticks" (Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 71). Brand summarized these radical goals and ideals in the mission statement, which adorned the inside, cover of every issue:

PURPOSE: We are as gods and might as well get good at it. So far remotely done power and glory - as via government, big business, formal education, church - has succeeded to the point where the gross defects obscure actual gain. In response to

this dilemma and to these gains a realm of intimate, person power is developing - power of the individual to conduct his own education, find his own inspiration, shape his own environment, and share his adventure with whoever is interested. Tools that aid this process are sought and promoted by the WHOLE EARTH CATALOG.

FUNCTION: The WHOLE EARTH CATALOG functions as an evaluation and access device. With it, the user should know what is worth getting and where and how to do the getting. An item is listed in the catalog if it is deemed:

Useful as a tool

Relevant to independent education

High quality or low cost

Easily available by mail

Of particular importance, besides the “spiritualization” of self-sufficiency, was the concept of *Whole Earth* as a type of tool, “an evaluation and access device.” This goal mandated the constant and perpetual dissemination of accurate and up to date information.

Brand quickly realized that the only way to fulfill his mandate was through the introduction of the quarterly *Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog*. As large as the *Catalog* but without a cover, the prose-based *Supplement* offered corrections and updates to the *Catalog*, as well as the look and feel of a newsletter and magazine for the community. Turner’s description of the *Supplement* is so comprehensive that I will offer it here in full:

The first issue of the *Supplement*, for instance, included letters from Pranksters Ken Kesey and Ron Bevirt, Peter Rabbit of *Drop City* and, more recently, the *Libre Commune*; and Steve Durkee from the *Lama Foundation*, and an exchange

between Steve Baer, who had designed the dome housing at *Drop City*, and Dave Evans, a staffer at Doug Engelbart's *Augmented Human Intellect* project at the *Stanford Research Institute*. It also featured a detailed description of how to build a solar water heater, four pages of free events and services in New York City, and announcements for several experiments in living and building, including an advertisement for Paulo Soleri's desert utopia, Arcosanti, and a proposal for a 'Libertarian Nomadic Association in Southern California.' As the *Catalog* gave access to tools, the *Supplement* gave readers a view of the communal world in which the tools were being used and a way to contact its members. (*From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 81)

While the internal design for the *Supplement* differed slightly from that of the *Catalog*, both shared Brand's investment in presenting text-based publications with an unpredictable and erratic layout that varied from issue to issue. I will refer to this approach as "open form" or the juxtaposition of material in an unconventional and irregular format.

Brand's approach is not entirely unique, however, as it was a part of the larger alternative West Coast publishing industry of the 1960's and 1970's. It was the outcome of the:

Print culture [of former] student radicals [whose expertise editing] campus broadsides [eventually] brought journalistic, editorial, and production skills that could be adapted to the more innocuous purposes of advising on gardening, small business, handicrafts, and food preparation (Binkley, *Getting Loose* 108).

More importantly Binkley suggests, an "open form" approach to countercultural publication functioned as a means of expressing cultural identity through visual form:

In the pages of this literature, a triumph of the personal was literalized in the

leveling of the status of the lifestyle expert, but also in the leveling of the production hierarchy that drew readers, producers, distributors, and retailers into a diffuse network unified by a grassroots local economy [... which were] personalized to suggest that all were involved in the same lifestyle described by the text. The caring ethic was more than just proselytized in the content of lifestyle texts, it was enacted in typography, layout, and physical features ... the print culture of the countercultural reading network, ever undermining the typographic control of space with the intimacy of chirographic ornament, sought to represent, metaphorically perhaps, a certain social informality, intimacy and group membership against anonymity and the authority of the ‘cold non-human facts’ propagated by traditional experts. In sloppy and uneven paste-ups, scrawled illustrations, and ornate handwritten letters, the tensions between formal and experiential expertise, and between uptight and loose ways of living, were, quite literally, spelled out on the page. (107-8)

As Binkley notes, the “caring ethic” of the West Coast publishing industry was represented through this egalitarian approach to typography, a method that resembled Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of the rhizome. In other words, these publications were an assemblage of non-hierarchical thoughts, ideas and images without a particular entry or exit point. With regard to the *Whole Earth Catalog*, Turner notes points out that it offered neither a linear nor coherent “narrative” through which the reader can travel. Instead it presented:

A cacophony of artifacts, voices, and visual design. Home weaving kits and potters’ wheels banged up against reports on the science of plastics. Bamboo flutes shared space with books on computer-generated music. Readers couldn’t

actually buy any of these goods through the *Catalog*- to make purchases they would have to visit *The Whole Earth Truck Store* or turn to other retailers. But they could write in to recommend new products, to respond to other contributors' reviews, or to simply describe experiences that might be of interest to other *Whole Earth* readers. Neither book, nor magazine, nor traditional mail-order outlet, the *Whole Earth Catalog* represented something new in American publishing, and no one at the time could say quite what. (*From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 71)

Consequently, Brand's application of "open form" was deliberately non-coherent in order to function as a means towards consciousness expansion, a technique that he would cultivate throughout phase one and phase two.

Brand's goal during phase one "to transform the consciousness of an individual user" (Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 93) was ultimately based, I would suggest, upon the creation of a new "whole" that would be achieved through separation and reformation. The *Catalog* was aimed in particular at the numerous communes which perpetuated the idea of "new civilizations" that were offered as an alternative to the war in Vietnam (74). They were an "escape" to new "wholes," or environments that sought to counter the chaos of Vietnam with an alternative vision of unity. *The Whole Earth Catalog* acted as a critical component in this process as it helped readers perceive the idea of "tool" as a "process" of consciousness expansion (83). What is missing in this assemblage of tools and books is the Beat poetry that would dominate during phase two, a deficiency I suggest that is reflective of the limited involvement of the humanities during phase one.

There were two notable exceptions to this rule during phase one. The first was Brand's decision to include Gurney Norman's countercultural novel *Divine Right's Trip* in the 1971 *Last*

Whole Earth Catalog (winner of the 1972 National Book Award). Brand created the 449 page *Last Whole Earth Catalog* as part of a move to end the *Whole Earth* enterprise. In addition, *Divine Right's Trip* is best described as a print-based “hypertext” novel and was highly influential on early and prominent hackers:²

In the *Last Whole Earth Catalog* of 1971, for example, [the early hackers] came upon *Divine Right's Trip*, a novel by Gurney Normal that Stewart Brand had decided to print one page at a time on each page of the *Catalog*. This was 'one of the best user interface ideas we had ever seen,' [Alan] Kay recalled. (*From*

² I use the term “hacker” here according to its original definition in Steven Levy’s classic 1984 text, *Hackers: Heroes of the Computer Revolution* (Levy himself would later become a contributor to Whole Earth publications). His text offers a full account of the computer hobbyists of the late 1960’s and early 1970’s who were pioneers in the development of the personal computer, such as Apple co-founder Steve Wozniak. The *Computer Desktop Encyclopedia (CDE)*, notes that the word “hack” literally translates as “program source code.” It also serves as a verb, which translates, to the act of writing code (Freedman 412). A “hacker” in the pure sense of the term thus refers to “a person who writes programs in assembly language or in system – level languages, such as C. Although it may refer to any programmer, it implies very tedious “hacking away” at the bits and bytes” (412). In noting current usage of the term, the CDE argues that the term “hacker” has become conflated with “cracker” or “a person that performs an illegal act” (412). *Wired Style: Principles of English Usage in the Digital Age* also makes this distinction by juxtaposing the original meaning of the word as “skilled computer programmer or engineer” with the caveat: “Not synonymous with ‘computer criminal’ or ‘security breaker’”(Hale 70).

Counterculture to Cyberculture 112)

Gurney was a classmate of Ken Kesey in the Stanford MFA program and an early contributor to Brand's *Whole Earth* publications. His fame, however, centered on the inclusion of *Divine Right's Trip* in a manner that tied the entire publication to a final inside and outside back cover related to space and the phrase "we can't put it together, it is together." Rather than the contrapuntal use of poetry in phase two, this "novel" simply reinforced the creation of a new "whole" or unity through consciousness – provoking tools.

The second exception (also published in 1971) is *The Last Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog* a publication that offered a better preview of what would eventually transpire. With a cover by R. Crumb and co-edited by Ken Kesey, the *Last Supplement* functions as an issue of Paul Krassner's *The Realist*, an underground, countercultural, satirical magazine. The contents, while radical and flippant, do not offer the cacophony of opposites that one would later find when the supplement "reincarnates" as *CoEvolution Quarterly*. Instead, articles such as "The Bible," and "The Parts That Were Left Out of The Bible," "Mantras," a recipe for bread, "Saving the Earth," and a cartoon by R. Crumb reinforce the themes of rebellion and spiritual irreverence. The end of the issue includes tributes to (among others) William Burroughs, City Lights Books Store, and Neal Cassady. It also includes a brief poem on war by an unknown poet (92) and a satirical article on the criminalization of drug addiction by Allen Ginsberg (103). While more reflective of Brand's ties to *The Merry Pranksters* and *The Trips Festival* than to Don Allen's literary anthology, the *Last Supplement* laid the groundwork for the literary transition that would transpire in phase two, thus rendering it a transitory piece.

If phase one was about the creation of a new "whole" through separation and rebirth, phase two reflected the need to "coevolve" through the mingling of opposites, a move which led

to the incorporation of the humanities into Brand's stew of alternative science and technology. Internal and external forces precipitated this move. On an internal level, Brand's decision to cease publication of *Whole Earth* was partially a reflection of his own loss of a private "whole" as he strove to reconcile a series of personal struggles. By 1971, Brand began to suffer from "deep bouts of depression" as he was "plunging into a nervous breakdown," and "was barely holding it together emotionally. His marriage to Lois Jennings ... was beginning to crumble. There was tremendous pressure to make each new *Catalog* bigger and twice as impressive as the last ... he began to contemplate suicide." Brand's initial solution at the end of phase one was "to get rid of things: first his marriage, and then the *Catalog*" (Markoff, *What the Dormouse Said* 194). Thus, in many respects, it was Brand's inner separation from the original vision of an alternative "whole" that set the stage for the new idea of "coevolution."

In addition, 1971 was not 1968. By the early 1970's most of the communes that were established during the back-to-the-land movement (primary source of inspiration for the *Catalog*) had failed primarily due to poor economic models. With this failure came a paradigm shift for Brand who started to question the soundness of his fully "Thoreauvian" approach. Kirk notes that:

The enthusiasm for communes and utopian escape apparent in the first *Whole Earth* faded fairly quickly as the publication matured, and Brand had serious second thoughts about the project of disconnecting from the grid of society and forging outlaw communities. By the early 1970's, Brand realized that *Whole Earth's* uncritical enthusiasm for self-sufficiency and dropout politics in the first editions may have caused more harm than good. In *Soft Tech* (1978), he wrote with some regret, 'Anyone who has actually tried to live in total self-

sufficiency... knows the mind-numbing labor and loneliness and frustration and real marginless hazard that goes with the attempt.’ ” (*Counterculture Green* 54)

In particular, Brand became disillusioned by what he referred to as the “sloth and hedonism” of communes. He has state that he became “tired of people who were not working on something” (55). Thus, by 1971, Brand no longer felt a connection to his former audience.

A few years after the release of the *Last Whole Earth Catalog* and *Supplement* and the well-publicized “Demise Party,” Brand decided to re-launch the enterprise (published now by the Point Foundation, established by funds distributed through the Demise Party). Part of the inspiration lay in Brand’s need to keep his creation relevant, as by 1973, the *Last Whole Earth Catalog* was “hopelessly outdated and becoming less useful by the day” which ultimately undermined the mission of “access to tools” (Kirk, *Counterculture Green* 161).

In addition, Brand reversed the focus of his publications. With phase two, *The Whole Earth Catalog* became secondary (and would be published with less regularity), while the revised *Supplement* would take the primary position as the new science and technology magazine, *CoEvolution Quarterly*. The emphasis on tools, Eastern mysticism, the environment, and consciousness expansion would remain, but as Kirk indicated above, it would move away from the “engineering” slant of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, to the “biological” or ecological approach of *CoEvolution Quarterly*. Furthermore, the new title, “coevolution,” Turner notes, was for Brand “more than a biological theory. It was a metaphor-derived from and carrying the legitimacy of science-for a new way of life” (*From Counterculture to Cyberculture* 121). This change was also reflected in the shift towards an enhanced biological presence as *CoEvolution Quarterly* “aspired to the prestige of a scientific research journal” (Binkley, *Getting Loose* 160).

CoEvolution Quarterly was, however, a scientific journal in the era of postmodernism:

borderless and multi-linear. Art Kleiner, a stalwart of the *Whole Earth* enterprise, highlights the movement beyond conventional boundaries in his introduction to the 1986 collection, *News That Stayed News 1974-84: Ten Years of CoEvolution Quarterly*. Kleiner notes that *CoEvolution Quarterly* “was a notoriously difficult magazine to describe to people who weren’t already familiar with it, because it wasn’t about any topic in particular-except quality” (xi).

The Summer 1975 issue (#6) of *The CoEvolution Quarterly*, offers a particularly good example of its borderless nature. Section topics range from “Understanding Whole Systems” which includes an article about a professor of ecology from the University of Barcelona, Ramon Margalef called “Introducing Margalef” by Stewart Brand, Michael McClure, and Peter Warshall; a section on “Land Use” which explores topics pertinent to the then-dwindling back-to-land movement; “Soft Technology” or alternative forms of environmentally-friendly tools; a contemporary folk-tale, “Jack and His Ego” by Gurney Norman; and a review of Allen Ginsberg's *Allen Verbatim: Lectures on Poetry, Politics, and Consciousness*.

It also contains a new section entitled “Personal Computers” with the following introduction by Stewart Brand: “Listen, it is very likely true that little computers are on the way to revolutionizing human behavior. And beneficially. That's a faith- and an experience - I share with everyone writing in this section ... Welcome to Wonderland” (136). The personal computers section contains articles such as “The Human Use of Inhuman Machines” with a review of the Altair 8800, then the only personal computer available for public use; reviews of Ted Nelson's *Computer Lib* and Brand's *Cybernetic Frontiers* (which were the only books at the time that linked the newly developing personal computer with the ideologies of the Counterculture); and articles on state of the art hardware and software as well as other guides for self-education on the use of a personal computer.

As the Summer 1975 issue (#6) of *The CoEvolution Quarterly* demonstrates, it was impossible to define what it was, except for the metaphorical use of the ecological term, “coevolution.” Typically about “144 black-and-white pages,” with an audience that never exceeded 30,000, *CoEvolution Quarterly* lacked advertising and “any stated editorial theme except, perhaps Gregory Bateson’s definition of information- ‘a difference that makes a difference’ ” Kleiner comments in a footnote, however, that *CoEvolution Quarterly* subsisted “mostly without advertising ... for its last two-and-a-half years CQ accepted ‘unclassifieds,’ text-only classifieds in the back of the magazine, only from subscribers. Otherwise, it was completely supported by its readers and by special projects” (xi). This special exception aside, it was the general lack of advertising (a critical component of the literary little magazine as well) that allowed Brand to freely experiment. Kleiner notes that Brand made decisions in:

Ways that a magazine with advertising can’t. Stewart was always trying something that no other magazine publisher would dream of doing. Guest editors, for instance: every four issues or so. Stewart would relinquish his normal ironclad control over the entire magazine, find someone with a special topic to cover, put the staff into their hands for a quarter, and disappear. CQ opened up many debates and topics for the first time. Space colonies: By printing Gerard O’Neill’s and his own arguments in their favor, Stewart annoyed many of his ecologically minded contributors and readers. So he printed their arguments. The controversy lingered over several issues (some old CQ readers can still get angry when they think about it). Other themes got early notice in CQ before becoming prominent somewhere. The Gaia hypothesis. Voluntary simplicity. Arguments against metric conversion. Personal computers. (xii)

Brand, himself, noted in the afterword to this collection that “*CoEvolution* was founded to see what would happen if an editor were totally unleashed. I would print anything that kept me turning its pages. I figured I had the requisite skills of an editor- I was a writer too lazy to write, a reader still curious about how the world might really work, and easily bored” (329). While neither Kleiner nor Brand references the use of poetry in *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Brand’s interest in forgoing limitations, in a context that replicates the goals of a little magazine, makes the inclusion plausible.

Perhaps one of the most significant changes was Brand’s attempt to “coevolve” the idealism of an advertising free scientific little magazine with a new set of financial pressures that were not a factor with *The Whole Earth Catalog*. During the first phase, the independent Portola Institute published virtually every issue of *The Whole Earth Catalog* and *Supplement*. A notable exception is *Random House’s* involvement with *The Last Whole Earth Catalog*. Beginning with Brand’s re-launch in 1974, and continuing throughout the rest of its history, Brand would waver between working with the independent press *The Point Foundation* and a series of mainstream presses, sometimes to his regret.

Brand began with the mainstream *Harper’s Magazine*, using the April 1974 issue to announce the revival of *Whole Earth*. This move was followed by the launch of three successive periodicals in 1974 as well: The first issue of *CoEvolution Quarterly* (published by *Point*), in March, an updated reissue of *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* (published by *Point* and *Random House*), issued in May/June, and its sequel, *The Whole Earth Epilog* (published by *Point* and *Penguin*) released in September. The decision to use *Penguin*, however, proved problematic, one that “Brand and the *Point Foundation* regretted later as there were considerable problems with the relationship almost from the start. These problems included disagreements regarding

responsibility for production costs and delivery that delayed the project” (Kirk, *Counterculture Green* 163). Never as popular as *The Whole Earth Catalog*, *CoEvolution Quarterly* and its successors faced numerous financial complications, as:

The mounting costs became a major concern for Michael Phillips and The Point Foundation and proved a harbinger of leaner times for the *Whole Earth* publishing ventures. Even while *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* continued to sell very well, it was becoming clear that the salad days were near an end and that future ventures would require much more concentrated marketing efforts and very careful management to succeed over the long term. (163)

The four successive publications that Brand launched in 1974 (*Harper's*, *CoEvolution Quarterly* #1, the reissue of *The Last Whole Earth Catalog*, and *The Whole Earth Epilog*) initiated phase two and established the tenor of “coevolution.” Interestingly enough, of all four choices, it is the April 1974 issue of *Harper's Magazine* that offers the most insight to Brand's resurrection. The choice itself was based upon coincidence: at around the time Brand was considering a revival of the *Catalog*; he had also been invited to guest edit the “Wraparound” section of *Harper's*. He used the opportunity to launch *CoEvolution Quarterly* (Brand, “History” 753), yet *The Epilog* and *CoEvolution Quarterly* dwarfs the rest of the issue. The front cover contains nine images of the earth from quarter, to half, to whole, and back again, with a single headline that reads: “Stewart Brand returns: *The Whole Earth Epilog*, How to live more with less.” *Harper's* special feature entitled “Wraparound” printed on the same type of paper that *The Whole Earth Catalog* was composed of, opened with an introduction to *The Whole Earth Epilog* (pages 3-10), and closed with an introduction to *CoEvolution Quarterly* (pages 105-112).

While *Harper's* gave Brand free reign on the project, its editors did offer the following

commentary, which attempted to eliminate the line between little and “big” or mainstream magazines:

This month “Wraparound” launches the *Whole Earth Epilog*, an unexpected sequel to Stewart Brand’s famous *Whole Earth Catalogs*. Like the *Catalogs*, the *Epilog* will offer ideas, information and tools for anyone concerned with matters of sufficiency and Self-sufficiency. Like “Wraparound” itself, the *Epilog* will rely for its vitality on the willingness of its readers to share their experiences with one another. It is this sense of a family tie between the two enterprises that brought Stewart Brand and “Wraparound” together, so it is a special pleasure to turn the section over to him as this month’s guest editor. (3)

This note also allowed Brand to recontextualize the pledge he made only a few years earlier to cease publication, thus reconfiguring *The Whole Earth Catalog* as the *Epilog*, or a “sequel” to the *Last Whole Earth Catalog*.

The Epilog began on page 450 (following page 449 of the *Last Whole Earth Catalog*) in order to create a connection to the past. Despite the new title, Brand offers assurances that what once was, will be again:

Re-Introduction

The Whole Earth Catalog crew is six months into the preparation of a companion to the *Last Catalog* called the *Whole Earth Epilog* (to be published Fall 1974).

This preliminary issue skims as much cream off our research as we can cram into the *Harper*’s format. As before, the *Epilog* is a compendium of ‘access to tools’, which are available by mail, high quality/low cost, and fostering of independence. As before, our research relies considerably on an active readership which sends in

suggestions, reviews, and sundry for publication and payment ... The back part of this 'Wraparound' is a preliminary issue of the resurrected *Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog* now called *The CoEvolution Quarterly*. (3)

At the same time, Brand also needed to establish that *CoEvolution Quarterly* would be introducing a radical break from the past:

Editor Breaks Promise

Some explanation is owed. In May 1971 we ceased making *Whole Earth Catalogs* forever sincerely enough on the expectation that someone would quickly come along and fill the niche better than we did. Well, 1) They didn't; 2) *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* continued to sell 5000 copies a week with increasingly outdated information; 3) The North American economy began to lose its mind, putting people in need of tools for independence and the economy as a whole in need of greater local resilience; and 4) After burning our bridges we reported before the Throne to announce, 'We're here for our next traffic idea.' The Throne said, 'That was it.' SB 1 Feb '74. (3)

The section itself also displayed the old and the new: a repeat of the traditional sections from *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* ("Whole Systems," "Land Use," "Shelter," "Craft," "Community," "Nomadics," "Community," and "Learning") while introducing a new section and terminology that was deficient in phase one: "Soft Technology." As I will discuss in chapter three, the *Whole Earth Catalog* alluded to "appropriate technology" or "alternative technology" (synonyms for each other as well as the term "soft technology") but there was never a section dedicated to it. The move to the term "soft" will prove to be an important thematic change away from the goals of phase one.

The last few pages of *Harper's Magazine* offer a similar introduction to *CoEvolution Quarterly* that includes definitions and explanations. These new areas of exploration lay the groundwork for a contrapuntal integration of opposites, thereby engaging technology in a radically new way, which renders it humane and sustainable. They also clearly demarcate the difference between phase one and phase two:

The CQ

We always used to have the most fun with the *Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog*. We would bandy about half – baked research, personal enthusiasm, new layout ideas, correspondence from readers, ideological arguments, news and speculation, burps and farts and occasional song. We plan to do that again. In addition, *The CoEvolution Quarterly* will focus on what has been called The Energy Crisis, our deepening encounters with sure enough, the Limits to Growth. We'll work mainly on these areas: 1) Short-term forecasting – secondary shortages, threatened jobs, converging efforts etc. 2) Home remedies – from personal to County-scale; 3) understanding Wholesome-reprinting and initiating coevolutionary papers in cybernetics, sociology/economics, religion, self-anthropology, language and whatnot. Plus ongoing access to tools. (105)

With the exception of the detailed prose history of *Whole Earth* that Brand writes for *The Whole Earth Epilog*, his brief summaries in *Harper's Magazine* offer far more detailed insights into the ideology behind *CoEvolution Quarterly* than the first issue did itself (the reprint of *The Last Whole Earth Review* updated factual information but did not reference the revival of the enterprise). This is slightly ironic given the fact Brand would later comment: “in retrospect, *Harper's* was not the best place for us. Their audience was unresponsive; their editor-in-chief

didn't like our birth photographs or our presumption. Still, as Andrew said, it was a good shakedown cruise" ("History" 753). At the same time, Brand established a premise of contradiction that would become the trademark of the magazine through the appearance in *Harper's* (a mainstream magazine).

It is in this context of contradiction that Brand introduced poetry in general, and Beat poetry in particular, to the general framework of *CoEvolution Quarterly*. Occasional references to Jack Kerouac, Neal Cassady, or Gary Snyder did occur in *The Whole Earth Catalog*, but not very often. However, with the first issue of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, their presence became thematically important. As I will discuss in the next chapter, Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and Gary Snyder all appear in an article entitled "Beginning Buddhism" in the context of Naropa, *The Dharma Bums*, and *Earth House Hold*. In addition, *CoEvolution Quarterly* #2 (Summer 1974) could be given the subtitle: "The Michael McClure issue" as his script for the play GORF is published in full. McClure also offers general commentaries throughout the issue, including his own vision of contrapuntal meetings when he states that:

Poetry and theatre are organisms and biological extensions of the artist ... my unusual line and shape of poems is a feedback between poems as living beings and knowledge of traditional shapes. I believe in inspiration. I am especially fond of wild flowers, mastodons, and stars. (165)

With *CoEvolution Quarterly* #4 (Winter 1975) Brand begins to include Beat poetry. This issue contains work by McClure and Gary Snyder, in addition to a quote by Coleridge (appearing as a thematically related "filler" in the "Shelter" section next to an article about "A Builder's Sources") that states: "poetry is certainly something more than good sense, but it must be good sense...just as a palace is more than a house, but it must be a house" (56). A full article on

Naropa (by Anne Waldman) appears with a previously unpublished poem by Jack Kerouac, in *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Winter 1975 #8 and four full poems by Gary Snyder appear in *CoEvolution Quarterly* Spring 1976 #9. By the time that the poetry issue (*CoEvolution Quarterly*, Fall 1978 #19) or *The Journal For the Protection of All Beings* appears, Beat poetry has become a regular feature of this scientific publication, rendering it a hybrid scientific/literary little magazine. I would suggest that this unique addition to the structure of Brand's works is its defining feature, and a critical element in its contrapuntal transformation of technology.

While the title *CoEvolution Quarterly* would not last more than ten years, Brand's commitment to a contrapuntal method remained throughout the two subsequent transitions. A notable example (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2) is Brand's merger of the short-lived (and far more conventional) *Whole Earth Software Review* and *Whole Earth Software Catalog* with *CoEvolution Quarterly*.³ The resulting hybrid (*Whole Earth Review*, January 1985, No. 44) was presented to readers of all three periodicals as a multifaceted amalgam that brought together opposing ideas in an exciting way.

Indeed, Brand readies his disparate audiences for a contentious but fruitful meeting of divergent ideas by juxtaposing the cover title of the new *Whole Earth Review* ("Computers as Poison") with a contrapuntal subtitle ("Also: *Whole Earth Software Catalog* Update"). The first half of the issue offers a number of articles that portray the personal computer in a negative light. Brand then inverts his course and produces a second half that is the reconfigured *Whole Earth*

³ Brand also established The WELL (*Whole Earth 'Lectric Link*) in 1985, the first viable virtual community and a far more successful enterprise. For more on the history of The WELL, see Rheingold; and Turner "Where The Counterculture Met the New Economy: The WELL and the Origins of Virtual Community."

Software Catalog. In the introduction to this new version of the *Software Catalog*, Brand states: “Having presented harsh words about computers in general, we here reveal our true colors with a whole section of largely kind words about computers in particular” (74). Brand then addresses all three audiences, encouraging them to see “coevolution” as an ultimately positive growth in consciousness (74).

While Brand was no longer directly involved in 1997 when the *Whole Earth Review* transitioned into *Whole Earth*, the coevolutionary theme remained. By that time, the oppositional potency of *Whole Earth* publications had been radically reduced by the new technologies that had become so intrinsic to the fabric of daily life. Thus (and somewhat ironically), *Whole Earth* now found itself in competition with the very digital realm that it had predicted for decades. So while the final issue of *Whole Earth Review*, Spring 1996 #89 contained an enthusiastic endorsement from Gary Snyder who stated: “*Whole Earth Review* has the highest quantity of good information of any magazine today” (2), it would take more than a year to release the next issue. Furthermore, when it did appear in the summer of 1997, #90, it bore a new title (*Whole Earth*). It was also an experiment in size, measuring half an inch longer in length and a quarter of an inch taller in height than either *The CoEvolution Quarterly* or *The Whole Earth Review* (*Whole Earth* would also become progressively smaller in width over the years, containing fewer pages than its predecessors).

With a new title and a glossy finish to the covers, *Whole Earth* Summer 1997 #90 would mark the third and final paradigm shift for Brand’s signature publications. Long-time contributor Peter Warshall, now the editor, opened the first issue of *Whole Earth* with an essay that visually connected itself to its predecessors (*The CoEvolution Quarterly* and *The Whole Earth Review*). He also introduced a new subtitle as a means to distinguish this incarnation from the previous

ones:⁴ “Over the last quarter-century, we’ve learned that access to tools and ideas is not enough. Practice and experience refine handwork and wisdom, make it better, secure a more subtle touch. So we’ve changed our motto from ‘access to tools and ideas’ to ‘access to ideas, tools, and practices’ ” (1). It was an attempt on Warshall’s part to acknowledge that the world envisioned by *The Whole Earth Catalog*, *CoEvolution Quarterly*, and *The Whole Earth Review* had in fact materialized, and that times had changed.

Whole Earth continued the tradition of Beat and Eastern references. As we shall see in chapter one, the transitional issue to *Whole Earth*, Summer 1997 #90 offered a memorial to Allen Ginsberg. A few years later, the Summer 1999 #97 issue highlighted City Lights and Lawrence Ferlinghetti. The next issue, Fall 1999 #98, features an interview with Diane DiPrima (one of the rare female poets associated with the Beat generation). Gary Snyder, however, offered the most consistent presence, particularly as a member of the board. His work also continued to appear in issues such as Winter 1997 #91 (*Turtle Island* and “For All”). In addition, Salman Rushdie appears in the same issue as Diane DiPrima, while a short work of fiction by Bharati Mukherjee is included in the same issue as Ginsberg’s memorial.

While Brand often selected literature that emphasized the environment or Eastern mysticism at the expense of science and technology throughout phase two, he also dedicated

⁴ Brand’s original subtitle to *The Whole Earth Catalog*, “Access to Tools”, became the signature trademark of these publications. *The Whole Earth Review* initially modified it to: “Tools and Ideas for the Computer Age,” only later shortening it to “Access to Tools and Ideas.” With *Whole Earth*, the new subtitle became “Access to Tools, Ideas, and Practices.” The exception to this rule lay in *CoEvolution Quarterly*, whose original subtitle “Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog” eventually became: “Published by The Whole Earth Catalog.”

space to science fiction. One notable example is the Summer 1989 issue of the *Whole Earth Review* (edited by Kevin Kelly rather than Brand), which is dedicated almost entirely to the then-new genre of Cyberpunk. Subtitled “Is the Body Obsolete,” the issue includes essays by and interviews with or about a number of notable authors. In addition to discussions with Bruce Sterling and William Burroughs, additional articles include: “The Coming Divorce in Human Nature: Humans are evolving into robots,” “Redesigning the Body: Redefining what is human,” and a long interview with William Gibson titled, “The Cyberpunk Era.” A “Cyberpunk 101” reading list consists of an eclectic work of both fiction and science fiction including Burroughs’ *Naked Lunch*, Philip K. Dick’s *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep*, Thomas Pynchon’s *Gravity’s Rainbow*, Gibson’s *Neuromancer*, and Sterling’s *Islands in the Net*.

More than a decade later, Bruce Sterling in particular would become more deeply involved with the future of *Whole Earth*. Sterling edited the Summer 2001 #105 which offers a number of essays on digital life by Sterling, William Gibson, and Neal Stephenson. Sterling had also previously contributed the piece, “The Viridian Manifesto of January 3, 2000,” to the Summer 1999 #97 issue, which detailed a new environmentally based technophile community. He would reverse the process in 2003 when he published the following blurb on the Viridian website titled “*Whole Earth Needs You*”:

Our Viridian friends at *Whole Earth Magazine* have experienced a funding crunch so severe that the Spring 2003 special issue (#111) on Technological Singularity, edited by Alex Steffen of the Viridian curia, hasn't been printed and distributed. *Whole Earth* is soliciting donations to get the issue printed, and has put some of the content online at <http://www.wholeearthmag.com>, including Bruce Sterling's *Old Genies in New Bottles: How to Prevent the Singularity*

from Happening.

Sterling was not exaggerating the desperate state of the *Whole Earth* staff, which felt compelled to place portions of the still unpublished Spring 2003 issue online. Their hope is that it would inspire people to financially support the magazine. The issue included new poetry by Antler, alongside numerous articles on the current state of computer technology. Unfortunately, the time for *Whole Earth* had passed. The needed revenue did not appear and Whole Earth closed its doors, leaving the Spring 2003 forever unfinished – partial and solely digital. As with the failed *Whole Earth Software Review* and *Catalog*, as well as the poetry issue, *Whole Earth* itself could no longer maintain its contrapuntal “edge,” and thus its value subsided.

In the chapters that follow, I break Brand’s phase two introduction of Beat poets and their poetry down into three parts. The first chapter, “Zen and the Art of CoEvolution Maintenance” begins in the 1940’s, with Lucien Carr, Jack Kerouac, and Allen Ginsberg musing over Carr’s “New Vision” for American poetry. As Kerouac and Ginsberg developed it in conjunction with the rise of American Buddhism during the 1950’s, the “New Vision” gradually developed into the national phenomenon of the “New Consciousness.” It also contributed to the atmosphere of “Hippie Orientalism,” partially inspired by Kerouac’s *The Dharma Bums*, Ginsberg and Snyder’s travels to India, and the permeation of Eastern mysticism into the culture of the 1960’s. This chapter also links the birth year of *CoEvolution Quarterly* to the rise of Naropa and the *Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics*.

The second chapter, “Essentials of CoEvolution,” concentrates on the importance of “open form” to the perpetuation of a contrapuntal or “coevolutionary” environment. It begins with Kerouac’s theories of spontaneous prose and develops it into Ginsberg’s vision of free verse (a synonym for “open form”). It was this “New Vision” of the writing process that led editor and

critic Don Allen to group Kerouac and Ginsberg with other marginal young poets (who had only appeared previously in self-published little magazines) such as Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Michael McClure, and Gary Snyder in his noted 1960 anthology *The New American Poetry*. Brand's choice of poets in *CoEvolution Quarterly* reflects Allen's text. It also speaks to Robert Lowell's choice of the term "raw" to describe the Beat poets, a reference to the war that developed between Allen's poets and those of a rival anthology by Donald Hall, Robert Pack, and Louis Simpson, *New Poets of England and America*. Robert Lowell's metaphor of the raw and the cooked proved an apt metaphor for Brand's attempts to create an unconventional or raw magazine that borrowed elements from little magazines.

The final chapter, "From Science to Poetry and From Poetry to Science" focuses specifically on Brand's modification of technology in *CoEvolution Quarterly*. In the early years of the publication, Brand concentrated on "soft technology" (although he would feature articles on space colonies and the early personal computer as well). Particularly notable about Brand's discussions is his preference for the term "soft" over appropriate or alternative. As he was thinking about terms such as "sustainable technology," "soft" offered Brand a connection to Eastern mysticism and therefore larger discussions of consciousness expansion. It also introduces the relatively new concept of techno-orientalism as a means of understanding the relationship between technology and Eastern mysticism.

I conclude with a discussion of 2009 text, *Whole Earth Discipline: An Ecopragmatist Manifesto* by suggesting that rather than reversal of the approach he advocated for decades with *Whole Earth*, this book offers a different means of advocating the same methodology. In other words, his current beliefs that "Cities are Green. Nuclear Energy is Green. Genetic engineering is Green" (205) is a reflection of the contrapuntal juxtaposition of opposing forces that lead to an

enhanced level of consciousness (as evidenced by these recent changes in ideological position). In other words, while the content has shifted, the method has stayed the same, a method deeply influenced by Lucien Carr, Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and other members of the Beat generation. The method is important as it offers a viable model for ecocritics who are interested in developing sustainable environments for the successful integration of poetry, ecology, and technology.

Chapter 1:
Zen and the Art of CoEvolution Maintenance

We [“Beat” poets] were opening up an area of another consciousness, a planetary ecological consciousness, in a sense. – Allen Ginsberg (*Composed on the Tongue* 70).

Before we can understand Brand’s move during phase two to incorporate Beat poetry and prose in his *Whole Earth* publications, it is useful to first turn to the “Zen Lunatic,” Japhy Ryder (a thinly veiled fictionalization of 20th American poet Gary Snyder), one of the protagonists of Jack Kerouac’s 1958 novel, *The Dharma Bums*. Japhy serves as a useful “tool” towards understanding how Brand reconfigured his use of Eastern mysticism and consciousness expansion in *CoEvolution Quarterly*. In addition, Japhy also represents a particular “way of seeing” the East, beginning with a movement that began during the late 1940s and that constructed a particular type of consciousness expansion reflective of the West (sometimes referred to as American or “Hippie” Orientalism).

In *The Dharma Bums*, narrator Ray Smith (Kerouac’s own doppelganger) introduces Japhy (who is Caucasian) as potentially “East Asian.” Japhy is framed as wearing a “little Goatee, strangely Oriental looking with his somewhat slanted green eyes” (Kerouac, *The Dharma Bums* 10), indeed eyes “like the eyes of old giggling sages of China” (11). When asked how he met Ray, Japhy replies, “Oh I always meet my Bodhisattvas in the street” (10). Japhy lives in a simple “shack,” sparsely furnished except for his “famous rucksack” (18) and multiple crates of books “some of them in Oriental languages, all of the great sutras, comments on sutras,

the complete works of D.T. Suzuki and a fine quadruple-volume edition of Japanese Haikus” (18).

A graduate student, Japhy spends his days translating poetry, particularly that of Chinese rebel poet, Han Shan, whom Japhy identifies with. Japhy describes him as “a poet, a mountain man, a Buddhist dedicated to the principle of meditation on the essence of all things, a vegetarian” (22). It is through his own role as poet-“mountain man” that Japhy is able to elevate Ray’s consciousness. Near the top of a treacherous hike up the Matterhorn, Ray sees Japhy racing down from the top. Ray’s consciousness is thus awakened through a connection with nature and an “Orientalized” Eastern mysticism, as he realizes that “it’s impossible to fall off mountains” (85).

Kerouac’s interest in consciousness expansion began far earlier than *The Dharma Bums*, however, dating back to his time at Columbia University during the 1940’s. It was there, through fellow Columbia University undergrad Lucien Carr that Kerouac first began to experiment with what Carr referred to as a “New Vision” for American poetry. Carr and Kerouac first bonded over a mutual interest in ideas related to the avant-garde. They eventually shared this interest with a few more of Carr’s friends, Columbia freshman Allen Ginsberg, and Harvard graduate William Burroughs.⁵

Thus from approximately 1943-1944, Ginsberg, Kerouac, Burroughs (and a few others) engaged in discussions of the avant-garde and the “New Vision.” According to Ginsberg, this was a philosophy that “assumed the death of square morality, and replaced that meaning with a

⁵ For the New York/Columbia University origins of the Beat Generation, see Blank; Watson; Schumacher; and Morgan, *The Typewriter is Holy: The Complete, Uncensored History of the Beat Generation*.

belief in creativity” (Watson 39). Ginsberg also notes that the “New Vision” was based on a “rich reading list,” that included Yeats, Kafka, Gide, Camus, Vico, Pareto, Joyce, and Spengler (39). To this list, Ginsberg also adds Arthur Rimbaud, noting that it was a “Rimbaud-like enterprise” (Blank 5-6).

While we will return to the topic of method as it relates to the “New Vision” in the next chapter, it is important for the moment to focus on Carr’s specific investment (via Rimbaud) in “consciousness.” Ginsberg later summarized this concept in the following manner: “The artist’s consciousness is expanded through non-rational means: derangement of the senses, via drugs, dreams, hallucinatory states, and visions” (Watson 40). A.R. Blank connects Ginsberg’s words to Rimbaud’s theory of “transcendence”:

To transcend, one must become a voyant (from the French, meaning “seer,” with implication of prophetic powers as well as conspicuousness and showiness), seeking knowledge of one’s own soul, or ‘self-knowledge,’ ‘through a long, immense and reasoned deranging of all his senses.’ Through ‘love,’ ‘suffering,’ and ‘madness,’ the voyant ‘tries to find himself, he exhausts in himself all the poisons, to keep only their quintessences.’ The poet needs ‘all his faith’ and ‘superhuman strength’ for this quest to become ‘among all men the great invalid, the great criminal, the great accursed one – and the supreme Savant! – for he arrives at the unknown!’ (Blank 7-8)

Initially, they pursued the goal of transcendence or becoming the “supreme savant” of poetry, through experimentation with a variety of drugs (including LSD by Ginsberg as noted in the introduction), as well as alternative lifestyles. Gradually, the investment in drugs subsided in favor of a deeper investment in Eastern mysticism, particularly Buddhism (with the exception of

Kerouac who abandoned his spiritual quest by the early 1960's).

Though the talk of the "New Vision" began with Carr, it was refined and developed over the years by Ginsberg and Kerouac. Ginsberg contributed a sense of "humanitarian" values, as the "art of personal transcendence extends far beyond the personal realm, with many social applications" (Blank 16). As for Kerouac, while he shared ideas with both Carr and Ginsberg, he had already begun to develop his own philosophy prior to meeting Carr (19). Kerouac believed in a special role for the artist as a marginal, outcast figure as a means of achieving enlightenment (21).

The phrase "New Vision" was eventually dropped and replaced by the broader philosophy of the "New Consciousness," a concept connected primarily to Ginsberg and Kerouac after Carr left their circle.⁶ Indeed, while Ginsberg concurred with Carr that "Rimbaud's prescribed derangement of the senses was a requirement for would-be seers" (Blank 16), his vision of the "New Consciousness" moved beyond Carr's initial concepts. In an interview that he gave during the 1970s, Ginsberg defined the "New Consciousness" through an eclectic approach to alternative ways of "seeing":

⁶ On August 14, 1944, Carr murdered another member of the circle, David Kammerer, in self-defense. Ruled an "honor killing," (as Carr claimed that Kammerer made sexual advances towards him), Carr spent two years in Reformatory and was later pardoned by the Governor of New York. After he was released from the Reformatory, Carr disengaged himself from Kerouac, Burroughs, Ginsberg and the rest of the group. He also abandoned all talk of the "New vision," settling into a conventional life as an editor and family man. Carr is thus rarely (if ever) included in discussions of the Beat generation, except from a historical perspective. For more on this topic, see Blank.

In fact the phrase “New Consciousness” was already being used way back in the 50s. I think there was a little interview essay with Burroughs and Corso and myself which uses the phrase with capital letters too ... As it proved, in America, it was necessary to go through a long period of change of consciousness before people could be liberated from the hypnotic hallucination that they'd been locked in. It would have been premature to speak in political terms in those times. In fact we were definitely thinking in non-political terms, apolitical terms. The first necessity was to get back to Person, from public to person. Before determining a new public, you had to find out who you are, who is your person. Which meant finding out different modalities of consciousness, different modalities of sexuality, different approaches to basic identity, examination of the nature of consciousness itself finally - on a very serious level, meaning not only psychoanalysis and drugs but also medication and ascetic experience, isolation and solitary experience, and shabda yoga and jazz and sexual exploration. (Le Pellec 76)

As implied above, Ginsberg linked the Beat-generated “New Consciousness” to a type of internal revolution that would later be classified as a spiritual or religious movement.⁷ He links this transformation directly to Kerouac’s poetry collections such as *Mexico City Blues* as well as his Buddhist-based novels (LePellec 65). Kerouac, who initially coined the term Beat, would later recontextualize it as a spiritual term, one that spoke to a multicultural approach to religion as he wanted “to speak out for things ... for the crucifix I speak out, for the Star of Israel I speak

⁷ Stephen Prothero argues that the “Beat Movement” should be viewed as primarily a spiritual one, in the same vein as Transcendentalism. See “On the Holy Road” 205-22.

out, for he divinest man who ever lived who was a German (Bach) I speak out, for sweet Mohammed I speak out, for Buddha I speak out, for Lao-Tso and Chuang-tse speak out” (Prothero, “On the Holy Road” 206-7). Kerouac described this new spirituality in an August 9, 1957 letter to Ginsberg as “the Second Religiousness of Western Civilization as prophesied by Spengler” (Ginsberg and Kerouac, *Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg: The Letters* 353). Indeed, in contrast to Carr’s original concept of “New Vision,” Kerouac’s “Second Religiousness” was a key component of the “New Consciousness.”

The “Second Religiousness” was also a product of the renaissance in American Buddhism that the Beats encountered after moving West during the 1950’s. While an interest in Eastern mysticism was not unheard of in American letters (Walt Whitman, H.D. Thoreau, and Ezra Pound are primary examples of pre-Beat writers and poets who were influenced by Eastern philosophy), their new home in the North Beach/San Francisco Bay Area brought the Beats into the heart of a new movement which they also came to represent.⁸

Michael K. Masatsugu in his article “Beyond This World of Transiency and Impermanence: Japanese Americans, Dharma Bums, and the Making of American Buddhism during the Early Cold War Years” argues that this renaissance in American Buddhism developed as a response to the vilification of Japanese Americans and consequently of Buddhism during World War II. Indeed, Masatsugu notes that after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941:

Buddhist priests and lay leaders were targeted for surveillance and arrest by various branches of the U.S. government. Japanese Buddhists were misrepresented in national newspaper coverage and in U.S. popular culture as

⁸ For a comprehensive study of the history of Buddhism in America, see Fields, *How the Swans Came to the Lake: A Narrative History of Buddhism in America*.

ultranationalist terrorists and part of a hidden 'fifth column' waiting to strike at the United States. This demonization of Buddhism reinforced stereotypes of those of Japanese ancestry as part of an 'enemy race.' (432)

Thus, after World War II ended, a movement arose to revive a national interest in Buddhism, one geared towards non-Buddhists as well as Buddhists. The ultimate goal was to counter stereotypes: "Japanese American Buddhists sought to counter the demonized representations of Buddhism by appealing to racial and religious tolerance and by renewing efforts to present Buddhism as an American ethnic religion" (433). In particular, there was a concentrated effort to promote Buddhism in the San Francisco Bay Area that resulted in, "increased interaction between convert and ethnic Buddhists," (437). Masatsugu emphasizes Beat poets in this regard, giving special attention to Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums*.⁹

While all of the individuals involved with the *Six Gallery Reading* were involved with Buddhism and Eastern mysticism, the origins of "Beat" involvement usually begins with Kerouac and Snyder. This a reflection not just of the general impact of *The Dharma Bums*, but of additional works from both poets/authors inspired by Eastern mysticism:

Snyder and Kerouac provided the two points around which Buddhism and the Beat Generation came together. Snyder who was becoming more immersed in formal Buddhist practice than any other Beat, would no doubt have exerted even more influence on the Beat movement if he had remained in the United States. Instead, it was Kerouac who as the most prolific of the Beat Buddhists became their official spokesperson. Buddhism commended itself to Kerouac because

⁹ For another response to the impact of *The Dharma Bums* on the rise of "American Buddhism" see Watts.

rather than denying suffering and death, it faced squarely to both. Moreover, by tracing the origin of suffering and death to craving, desire, and ignorance, Buddhism also offered a way to transcendence. Finally, and most important, Buddhism seemed to be teaching that the phenomenal world was dreamlike and illusory. All of these teachings comforted Kerouac, especially the notion that the apparent world is ‘mind-only.’ (Prothero, “Introduction,” *Big Sky Mind: Buddhism and The Beat Generation* 16)

Snyder’s formal studies of the East began while an undergraduate at Reed College with Philip Whalen and Lew Welch, where they studied Ezra Pound’s translations, Blyth and T.D. Suzuki.¹⁰ They were also encouraged to study Buddhism by noted Reed Calligraphy teacher, Lloyd Reynolds, someone whom I will return to in chapter three (15-16). Snyder would continue his study of Eastern languages and religions as a graduate student at UC Berkeley (a path which Kerouac fictionalized in detail via Japhy Ryder in *The Dharma Bums*), culminating in more than a decade of study in Japan itself.

Kerouac, on the other hand, pursued an informal course of self – study in Eastern mysticism, largely influenced by Snyder, whom he first met at the *Six Gallery Reading* in October 1955 (an event that he likewise fictionalized in *The Dharma Bums*).¹¹ Prior to meeting

¹⁰ For both Kerouac and Snyder’s early interest in Eastern mysticism, see Prothero, “Introduction”; and Fields, *How the Swans Came to the Lake: A Narrative History of Buddhism in America*.

¹¹ For historical accounts of the San Francisco-based *Six Gallery Reading* on October 7, 1955 (which brought Gary Snyder, Michael McClure, Philip Lamantia, Philip Whalen, Kenneth Rexroth, Lawrence Ferlinghetti) and others into the “Beat” circle, see Schumacher 211-216; and

Snyder (c.1953), however, Kerouac began with his own concentrated study of Thoreau's *Walden* and:

Was so inspired by its discussion of Indian philosophy, especially the Bhagavad Gita, that he was prompted to read other Hindu scriptures [... however] he had some difficulty discriminating between the Hindu and Buddhist traditions. When he went to the library in search of Hindu holy books, Kerouac picked up instead an English translation of Ashvaghosa's fourth century *The Life of Buddha*."

(Prothero, "Introduction," *Big Sky Mind: Buddhism and The Beat Generation* 1-2)

Kerouac also became entranced with Dwight Goddard's *The Buddhist Bible*, which led to readings in numerous Eastern religions including *The Vedas*, works by Lao Tzu, and Confucius (Prothero 2).

Kerouac, whom Burroughs referred to as a "Catholic-Buddhist" (Prothero, "Introduction," *Big Sky Mind: Buddhism and the Beat Generation* 17), perpetually strove to conflate the teachings of both Catholicism and Buddhism without denigrating either. He was frustrated, however:

By Snyder's apparent hostility toward Christianity. Like Kerouac, Ray Smith [his alter ego in *The Dharma Bums*], happily conflated Jesus Christ with Avalokitesvara, the bodhisattva of compassion. 'After all,' he explained, 'a lot of people say he is Maitreya [which] means 'Love' in Sanskrit and that's all Christ talked about was love. (17)

While Kerouac does not reference this conflict with Snyder in *The Dharma Bums* (with regard to McClure, *Scratching the Beat Surface: Essays on New vision From Blake to Kerouac* 3-38. For a fictionalized account see Kerouac, *The Dharma Bums* 13-16.

Christianity only – their fictionalized counterparts Ray and Japhy perpetually argue over various approaches to Buddhism), Kerouac does offer a hint of conflict through the fictionalized portrait of his mother who yells at Ray: “You and your Buddha, why don’t you stick to the religion you were born with?” (144). By the early 1960’s, Kerouac acquiesced to this (fictional?) mother’s wishes- he returned to the religion of his birth and abandoned his studies of the East as well as his Beat friends (18).

Kerouac and Snyder were not the only members the Beat generation who influenced the youth of the counterculture in this manner, however. Allen Ginsberg’s trajectory from Judaism to Hinduism to Buddhism during the 1960’s and 1970’s, as well as his 1970 publication, *Indian Journals* were equally influential. *Indian Journals* (a collage of travel writing, political commentary, historical record, memoir, poetry, doodles) is a published account of his 1962-1963 stay in India (as part of a period of extensive travel through the Middle East and North Africa, India, Japan, and Southeast Asia). Although Ginsberg would eventually transition into a devoted study of Tibetan Buddhism, I would suggest that his experience in India (along with Snyder, Snyder’s then-wife, Joanne Kyger, and his partner Peter Orlovsky) and exposure to Hinduism shortly after his first visit to Israel contributed to his investment in Eastern mysticism as a method of consciousness expansion.

Ginsberg came away from India enraptured both with Hinduism and what he believed to be an innovative paradigm for consciousness expansion. Indeed, some of the best instances of Ginsberg’s deep identification with Hinduism and related symbols of consciousness during this period appears in his *Indian Journals*. One example is the poem he wrote on May 8, 1962, with

the first line “DURGA-KALI-MODERN WEAPONS IN HER HANDS” (*Indian Journals* 21).¹² The goddess Durga/Kali, who represents the physical states of creation, destruction, and rebirth, becomes conflated with, Ginsberg the person through the course of the poem. Ginsberg initially reviews the entire Hindu pantheon (Vishnu, Shiva, Brhma, Indra etc.) through a series of analogies, correlating mythological figures with either weapons, cultural systems, or symbols of consumption. Eventually, the poem begins to conflate Western images with symbols central to Hinduism as if Ginsberg himself is seeking this kind of amalgamation. Finally, towards the end of the poem, Ginsberg claims “I am this/ten armed Durga/red tongued Kali” (24) indicating that Ginsberg has transformed himself into the Hindu paradigm.

If Ginsberg’s mirroring of Durga/Kali references a physical transformation, another poem in *Indian Journals* “Saraswati’s Birthday” (the goddess of knowledge, music, nature, and poetry), focuses on internal transformations. Ginsberg alludes to the transformation initially

¹² Ginsberg spent time in Calcutta where Durga/Kali is particularly revered in the four-day October festival *Durga Puja*. Both are maternal symbols of protection (Maa Durga, Maa Kali) but mostly represent the cyclical nature of Hinduism itself – creation, destruction, and then rebirth. As the story goes, Durga in her first incarnation is Parvati, the wife of Shiva. When the world is besieged by a terrible demon, Parvati is transformed by a legion of male gods into the ten-armed warrior goddess Dura who rides a lion (or a tiger in some versions) and carries a weapon in each hand. When even Durga is not able to destroy the demon, the ferocious figure of Kali pops from her forehead and engages in a bloody killing spree that finally destroys the demon – however, she only is able to stop killing when she accidentally steps on her husband Shiva and is so ashamed that she sticks out her tongue.

through symbols of fertility and rebirth including phrases such as “springtime’s fifth day” and “flowers resting...buds over the flat fields” (158). In this particular case, Saraswati’s role in the creation of knowledge and poetry is contextualized within an atmosphere of experimentation. In other words, “Saraswati’s Birthday” is a highly visual poem that transitions from text, to doodles that span over three pages, back to lines of text that replicate the chaotic movement of the doodles, to the integration of text and visual images, and back to text again. Thus Ginsberg, through the image of Saraswati is creating a new kind of poetry related to consciousness as indicated through the visual design of circular, intertwining, unending doodles that implies a state of “free association,” eventually turn into a staircase of words. The text itself describes, “a continuous descent thru miles of space floating freely after awhile rising,” and “falling under complete control” to a realm of the “black void” (164) If Durga/Kali gave Ginsberg the body, Saraswati gave him the path to consciousness expansion.

Ginsberg’s experiences with Hinduism in India and his *Indian Journals* proved as influential as Kerouac and Snyder and their works. However, the trajectory that he followed away from his religion of birth (to become a Jewish-Buddhist”) was slightly more complex and the subject of scholarly debate. One theory by Craig Svonkin in *Manishevitz and Sake, the Kaddish and Sutras: Allen Ginsberg's Spiritual Self-Othering* suggests that in moving to Hinduism and Buddhism, Ginsberg was merely reacting to his dislike of monotheistic religions such as Christianity, Islam, and Judaism (Svonkin 172) which he perceived to be “inherently problematic in their hierarchical univocalism” (173). Instead his preference for polytheism, Svonkin suggests, was a reflection of his search for multiplicity:

Ginsberg’s rejection of Jewish monotheism and his embrace of

religious...polytheistic Eastern belief systems, such as Hinduism and Buddhism, as needed multivocalism His writing of sutras and haikus, his embrace of Buddhism and Hinduism and other spiritual practices indicates a desire to avoid external definition by a culture seemingly intent on clear, unbending identities. (190)

I would suggest that another potential answer may lie in the opening of his *Indian Journals*, which reproduce two pages of his Israel journal. The juxtaposition of these pages with the entirety of his India journal (as demonstrated through the sections discussed above) suggests that Ginsberg's choice was influenced by his back to back experiences first in Israel in 1961 and then in India (1962-3).

To the end of his life Ginsberg always identified himself as biologically and culturally Jewish. In an interview given a year prior to his death, when asked about the impact of Judaism on his life, Ginsberg replied: "My mother, my father, my grandparents were all Jewish. My whole family is Jewish and that is just the whole thing in my bones" (Pacernick 25). This perspective was also reflected in his poetry. For example, in addition to his masterwork, "Kaddish" (the term for the Jewish prayer of mourning, used to metaphorically meditate on his mother's passing), Ginsberg notes in the poem "Yiddishe Kopf" that:

I'm Jewish because love my family Matzo ball soup.

I'm Jewish because my fathers mothers uncles grandmothers said Jewish, all the way back to Vitebsk & Kaminetz-Podolska via Lvov.

Jewish because reading Dostoyevsky at 13 I write poems at restaurant tables

Lower East Side, perfect delicatessen intellectual. (1012)

At the same time, Ginsberg acknowledged that he didn't read Hebrew, did not have a Bar

Mitzvah, and was “kicked out of Hebrew School for asking questions” (Pacernick 24). This duality was more reflective of the intellectual and secular household that he grew up in, influenced by his Russian-born mother, Naomi, a committed communist, and American-born father, Louis, a socialist who was religiously lax while ethnically aware.

By 1965, however, as indicated in the poem “Kral Majales,” Ginsberg began to both refer to himself as a “Buddhist Jew,” and to embrace a multicultural view of religion:

I am of Slavic parentage and a Buddhist Jew
who worships the Sacred Heart of Christ,
the blue body of Krishna,
the straight back of ram
the beads of Chango
the Nigerian singing Shiva Shiva

in a manner which I have invented. (Ginsberg, *Collected Poems: 1947-1997* 361)

Indeed, by commingling Judaism and Buddhism with Hinduism and Christianity, Ginsberg also returns to Kerouac’s concept of “Second Religiousness.” By the early 1970’s, Ginsberg would devote himself to completely Tibetan Buddhism under his teacher the Tibetan Buddhist Monk Chögyam Trungpa, with whom he (and Anne Waldman) eventually co-founded the *Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics* at the Naropa Institute in 1974.

This “co-mingling” first began in 1962 when Ginsberg arrived in India where he lived for over a year. He arrived there after a long and difficult stay in Israel that was longer than he had originally planned due to a mistake made by customs when he first entered the country. The trip to Israel itself occurred after extensive journeys throughout the Middle East (initially inspired by Burroughs). His father, Louis, encouraging him to visit Israel as well as indicated in this letter

dated September 2, 1961:

In case as you hinted, you might go to Israel, there, too, you will find hallowed light where the momentous still shines through every moment in the current times of Israel; in the Judean Hills of Israel, something timeless learned down into time, which the centuries has sanctified as the heritage of the Jews; so that apart from religion or institutionalized religion, there is a heritage there, which, if you believe the validity of the 'subjective unconscious,' flows deep in the subterranean psyche of all Jews, whether he knows it or not. So I believe."

(Family Business 161)

Allen complied with his father's request, rearranged his travel plans, and went to Israel, recording his experiences in his Israel journal (later published as part of *Journals: Early Fifties, Early Sixties*). Ginsberg would eventually use the November 7, 1961 entry from the Israel journal as the first two pages for the *Indian Journals*. This entry, titled "Premonition Dream," juxtaposes a fantasy of what India would be like in contrast to his actual experiences in Israel.

Allen offers the dream in great detail. He begins the entry by stating: "Dream, after week of unhappiness and mood arriving by Ship on the Shore and walking along vast boulevard by Sea, Street of Lucknow Chickens in INDIA-first dream of India" (*Indian Journals* 5). In the dream, Ginsberg is walking through what he describes as a "fairylane gate," where he is "deliriously happy" as "it's my promised land (I'm writing this in the promised land)" (5). Seeing lights, he comes to "a big church front" where he sees a sign that reads "Christian All India Church" (5). He notes that the door is "just made for me in concrete" which he compares to a "blind one-eyed skull, with Sacred hearts in the bottom" but as he bends to kiss it, notices a "funeral inscription" (5). Ginsberg realizes that he is experiencing a form of death and rebirth,

stating: “Well it’s too bad but goodbye” (5-6) and that he is “happy” because “it is like a sign thru death here for me-the cosmic joke’s come true in happy way” (6). Soon, he realizes that he can settle in India and “live free” as he is “wandering in India, it’s like a new earth and I’m happy” (6). Ginsberg then wakes from his dream to find that he is Israel rather than India and notes: “Morning in Haifa, my ass aches from a colitis or clap or Amoeba-morn light – time to get up soon it’s 6:45- light to write this prophecy by” (6).

Ginsberg reflects some of the themes of this dream through letters and poetry as well. In the letters that he exchanged with his father, Ginsberg details his experience in Israel. For example, the following excerpt from a letter written while he was living in Haifa during November 1961 best expresses one of the most common areas of contention between them:

All I’m saying that is that unless you have a pronounced single-minded dedication to an exclusive Jewish frame of reference in life, this place is not so exciting. Granted it’s fine as a refuge for the persecuted, and granted also that the persecuted themselves are not so kindly to their own Arab minority. (*Family Business*167)

Ginsberg would likewise express his desire for an environment of “multivocalism,” as he had “a more pronounced tendency to feel at home among Indians and Arabs in Mexico or Tangier – and that Oriental atmosphere is slowly disappearing here to the dismay of many Sabras” (*Family Business*167) He would later capture these sentiments in the 1963 poem “Angkor Wat,” written while in Cambodia after his period in India:

Jerusalem’s hated walls--
I couldn’t get over the holy side
and weep

where I was supposed to by History
Laws got confused and stamped
in my passport, lost in the refugee
Station at Calcutta. it
winds in and out of space and time
the physical traveler--
Returning home at last, years
later as prophesied, "Is this the
way that I'm supposed to feel? (*Collected Poems*, 314)

A decade later during the early 1970's, Louis (as with Kerouac's fictional mother in *The Dharma Bums*) turned the argument against Allen's deep involvement with Buddhism by stating: "How about your reaching for Jewish Israel bonds instead of hungering after alien gods?" (339) Ginsberg, however, ignored his father's advice and continued to devote himself and his poetry to Eastern mysticism. Indeed, while Ginsberg would become perhaps the most visible member of the Beat generation to promote Eastern mysticism in his poetry and counterculture events, Kerouac and Snyder's involvement with Buddhism were of equal importance.

All three, however, exerted a remarkable influence on the mass migration of countercultural youth engaging in "spiritual treks" to India, Middle East, and East Asia during the 1960's and 1970's. Indeed, Ginsberg's *Indian Journals* and Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums* both contributed to this movement (somewhat ironically for Kerouac who would later reject the counterculture and his influence on it). Japhy (as the fictionalized counterpart to Snyder), in *The*

Dharma Bums proved remarkably prescient in a statement made during the mid-1950's. He said that he envisions:

A great rucksack revolution thousands or even millions of young Americans walking around with rucksacks, going up to mountains to pray, making children laugh and old men glad, making young girls happy and old girls happier, all of 'em Zen Lunatics who go about writing poems that happen to appear in their heads for no reason. (98)

Meanwhile, Ginsberg's *Indian Journals*, according to the back cover of its 1996 reprint, "catalyzed a large movement of young Western pilgrims to explore India and Eastern thought."

Both Ginsberg and Kerouac, however, contributed to what Brian T. Edwards' referred to as "Hippie Orientalism" (while Edwards focuses specifically on Morocco, the same ideas easily apply to those expressed both by the Beats as well as what appeared in *Whole Earth* publications). In citing Edwards, however, I am referring to a general rather than specific notion of "Hippie Orientalism." Edwards cites Jane Kramer's critique of hippies in Morocco, noting that she "could not imagine a Ginsberg in Morocco" (despite the fact that he did indeed visit Morocco) as an example of the kind of contradictions posed by the notion of "Hippie Orientalism" (259). Despite this contradiction, I will apply the term to Ginsberg (as well as other Beat's) ventures to the East.

While Edward Said had little to say about forms of Orientalism that originated outside of Europe, later scholars used his theories to refer to the United States as well. With regard to the United States, Said describes the "specifically American contribution to the history of Orientalism" as a tendency to privilege the social scientist over the specialist in languages (Said 290). Though he acknowledges the American Transcendentalist movement, Said states that

“there was no deeply invested tradition of Orientalism” in the United States (290).

However, not all scholars agree on this point. Philip D. Beidler offers a precedent for “Hippie Orientalism” though he does not use this term. He suggests that two synergistic movements shaped American literature. One, which he refers to as “a peculiarly American Orientalism” began with the first contact between settlers and Native Americans, only later developing into what he refers to as “a Far Eastern ‘orientalism’ - an orientalism of China, Japan, Korea, and the Pacific Rim (Beidler 9). The other, he notes, is a “deeply interiorized conception of spiritual selfhood” (9) that traces itself through “the deistic freethinking of figures such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine” (9-10). To this list he adds the writings of Poe, Emerson, Whitman, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Melville, and Dickinson (10).

By the 20th century Beidler suggests that the two “traditions” interlocked, first through “Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, T.S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens, and William Carlos Williams” (10) and later through “the Zen popularizations of D.T. Suzuki, Alan Watts, and J.D. Salinger, and such Beat figures as Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, Gary Snyder” (10). Finally, by the 1960’s, the trajectory moved beyond the Far East to the “new enterprises of such figures as Baba Ram Dass, the Maharaj Ji; or the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi- as seemingly endless train of self-promoting swamis, gurus, spiritual masters, and assorted other purveyors of transcendental consciousness” (11).

Edwards expands upon Beidler. He notes that by the “early 1970’s, large drifting communities of American hippies” were congregating throughout the major cities (Edwards 248) until they were found to be “economically expendable” and blocked at the borders (249). The Vietnam War served as the cultural trajectory for these youth who saw in Morocco everything that they did not want to see in Vietnam. In this respect, Edwards suggests, their experience in

Morocco mirrored “the temporal lag familiar to Orientalism, suggesting the limits of the counterculture’s global imaginary and its inability to counteract the official global perspective of the U.S. state it so deeply criticized” (249). If one were to remove the specific context of Morocco and apply the Edwards’ overarching themes to Beidler’s multi-linear model, the end result could conceivably be a Beat-centered, *Whole Earth* narrative of 1960’s and 1970’s of consciousness expansion through Eastern mysticism.

While there is a clear relationship between *The Dharma Bums* and *Indian Journals* on the development of Hippie Orientalism, their relationship with *CoEvolution Quarterly* (which debuted in 1974) may be less obvious. By this point in American history, the countercultural exodus overseas had radically diffused. In addition, Kerouac and Ginsberg were less symbols of the counterculture and more symbols of the mainstream by 1974 (only five years later, in 1979, they would be canonized in the first edition of the Norton Anthology of American poetry). Would it be thus misleading to imply that there is a logical connection between them and *Whole Earth* publications? I would suggest that there is indeed logic behind this suggestion, given a few other important factors about Brand’s new perspective with *CoEvolution Quarterly*.

Brand’s move to a stronger ecological emphasis in phase two (thus an interest in the environment), along with a continued interest in consciousness expansion and Eastern mysticism, creates an environment that is a natural match for Beat poetry. Michael McClure, who established a strong presence in the *Whole Earth* universe with the second issue of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, notes the primary importance of these areas to Beat poetry as “much of what the Beat Generation is about is nature—the landscape of nature in the case of Gary Snyder, the mind as nature in the case of Allen Ginsberg. Consciousness is a natural organic phenomenon. The Beats shared an interest in Nature, Mind, and Biology” (McClure *Scratching*

the Beat Surface, 11).

Furthermore, both the *Naropa Institute* and *The Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics* were established in 1974, the same year as the debut of *CoEvolution Quarterly*. Both would frequently appear in particularly early issues of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, consequently highlighting a connection with Beat poets. For example, in the very first issue of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Rick Field's "Beginning Buddhism" metaphorically adheres to Brand's thematic trajectory through an indirect reference to Naropa through its founder (and Ginsberg's guru), Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche:

Buddhism as a tool, maybe the sharpest and kindest tool held by us sentient beings, a tool for dismantling, cutting away and through, unmasking, demystifying ... A tool, like an alarm-clock, for waking up. As Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche said, meditation is manual labor ... The tool of sitting is best used with some periods of longer practice ... Another good place to experience an all – day sitting is at one of the Dharmadatu centers (see below) inspired by Trungpa. (78-79)

Indeed, *The Naropa Institute* is one of the many centers offered in the "see below" region and is described there as "an environment in which the Eastern and Western intellectual traditions can interact and in which these disciplines can be grounded in the personal experience and practice of staff and students" (85). Faculty listings include Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche, Gregory Bateson, Ram Dass, Allen Ginsberg, John Cage, and Theodore Roszak are all listed members of the visiting faculty (85). In addition, directly below this box on Naropa lies a description of Gary Snyder's poetry collection *Earth House Hold* with the first line: "Snyder inspired Kerouac's great Buddhist novel, *Dharma Bums*" (85). *Earth House Hold* is likewise

framed in the Buddhist mold as it:

Contains the seed-essay ‘Buddhism And the Coming Revolution.’ For example:
‘Institutional Buddhism has been conspicuously ready to accept or ignore the inequalities and tyrannies of whatever political system it found itself under. This can be death to Buddhism, because it is death to any meaningful function of compassion. Wisdom without compassion feels no pain.’ (85)

In addition, the *CoEvolution Quarterly* Summer 1977 issue #13, offers a rare article by William Burroughs (who appears only infrequently throughout the history of *Whole Earth*). A selection from Burroughs’ *The Retreat Diaries*, describes a Naropa faculty retreat that included Anne Waldman, Allen Ginsberg, Philip Whalen, and W.S. Merwin. Burroughs attended the retreat as a special guest of Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche, and spent much of the article debating the wisdom of his choice. Likewise, *The Jack Kerouac Institute of Disembodied Poetics* is prominently featured in *CoEvolution Quarterly*’s Winter 1975 issue # 8, through Anne Waldman’s article “A Brief Memoir.” Written as a history of the founding of *The Jack Kerouac Institute of Disembodied Poetics*, Ginsberg, as well as Gregory Corso, William Burroughs, Philip Whalen, Chögyam Trungpa, and Jack Kerouac all appear in her article. Thus, the special emphasis on both the *Naropa Institute* and *The Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics* offers one of the strongest justifications for Brand’s use inclusion of Beat poetry during phase two.

These influences also point to a particular way of seeing both the Beats and their poetry that influenced the poems he chosen to highlight and publish. Given the ecological emphasis of phase two along with the continued interest in Eastern mysticism, Brand specifically chose poems that highlighted these areas. In other words, Brand was more likely to publish Kerouac’s

short, previously unpublished poem, “How to Meditate,” than he was to include selections from *On the Road*. In other words, Brand used Beat “New Consciousness,” through the lens of Eastern mysticism and “Hippie Orientalism,” to encourage expanded awareness of environmental and ecological issues.

While *CoEvolution Quarterly* would experience two more “reincarnations” throughout its three-decade history (first as *The Whole Earth Review* when it merged with the *Whole Earth Software Catalog* and *The Whole Earth Software Review* in 1985 and later as *Whole Earth* in 1997) the environment and Eastern mysticism remained as constant features. It is thus not surprising that works by Gary Snyder appeared regularly throughout its history. While his works appear throughout phase two, three poems in particular are representative of the connections to ecology, “Hippie Orientalism,” and the East: “Song of The Taste,” “The Hump-backed Flute Player,” and “For All.”

Somewhat fittingly, Snyder’s “Song of The Taste” was chosen for the inside cover of *The CoEvolution Quarterly* Fall 1984, #43. This is a special issue, advertised on the front cover as “The Last* *CoEvolution Quarterly*,” with the following note next to a second asterisk: “Next issue is *Whole Earth Review*: livelier snake, new skin.” Functioning as the preceding issue to *The Whole Earth Review* (a topic explored in chapter two) this issue thus serves as a transitional space. Editor Kevin Kelly’s states in a note at the bottom of page one that his decision to place Snyder’s “Song of Taste” on the inside front cover (surrounded by a “sand mandala” in offset grey tones, and directly adjacent to Snyder’s work of prose, “Grace”) serves as “Mindfulness, out front” (1).

Indeed, Snyder’s “mystical offerings,” listed under the category “Articles” in the Table of Contents, act as an opening prayer or meditation to the issue. The two works are also juxtaposed

to Brand's typical fare: an examination of the concept of "Gaia," an exploration of oil and the Middle East, and entire sections on the general topics of "Whole Systems," "Land Use," "Soft Technology," and Nomadics. In other words, Snyder is positioned as the guide who serves to lead the read away from the past of *CoEvolution Quarterly* to the future in *The Whole Earth Review*.

Yet, his pathway is one of contrapuntal contention, juxtaposing images of life and fertility with death and horror, and "non-harming" to harm, all in order to convey the contradictions of survival. The structure of Eastern mysticism itself acts as a form of juxtaposition, a means of conveying that the path towards enlightenment is one of contentious interaction. In the prose essay, "Grace," Hindus, Jains, and Buddhists all serve to represent a state of what he terms "non-harming" as proponents of vegetarianism: "in the eastern traditions, 'cause no unnecessary harm' is the precept behind vegetarianism" (1). However, Snyder, contends, even non-vegetarians can develop methods of "non-harming," such as Eskimos who "know that taking life is an act requiring a spirit of gratitude and care, and rigorous mindfulness. They say 'all food is souls.' Plants are alive too. All of nature is a gift exchange, a potluck banquet, and there is no death that is not somebody's food, no life that is not somebody's death" (1).

The very act of eating therefore becomes a battlefield of opposing virtues – to grant life, there must be death, and according to Snyder, to create a balance one must "say Grace" in order to elevate awareness of this binary (1). "Song of the Taste" on the adjacent page thus serves as this form of "Grace," a series of dualisms that juxtapose the concept of "non-harm" through plant

life, and harm through the gnarled remains of dead animals serving as food. Life, fertility, and sexuality all blend together with death, carnage, and the grotesque:

Eating the living germs of grasses
Eating the ova of large birds

the fleshy sweetness packed
around the sperm of swaying trees

The muscles of the flanks and thighs of
soft-voiced cows
the bounce in the lamb's leap
the swish in the ox's tail

Eating roots grown swoll
inside the soil

Drawing on life of living
clustered points of light spun
out of space
hidden in the grape.

Eating each other's seed
eating
ah, each other.

Kissing the lover in the mouth of bread:
lip to lip.

Thus, "Song of Taste," as a meditation on the end of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, highlights the "coevolutionary" nature of life, destruction, death, and rebirth, all themes common to Eastern mysticism.

Similar themes appear in Snyder's "The Hump-Backed Flute Player" which appears in full in *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Spring 1983, # 37. Snyder's work is once again listed under

“Articles” rather than “Fiction” (which contains a work by Ken Kesey), repeating his role as a guide or a type of “shaman.” This role is reinforced through the back cover which represents in visual images and texts the mythological “Kokopelli: The Humpbacked Flute Player-A Native American Patron Saint for conserving agricultural diversity as a community responsibility.” Articles in the issue include “Deforestation in Disguise,” “Devolution,” a prose essay by Snyder on the Sung Dynasty in China (“Walls within Walls”), a “Soft-Tech” section with guidelines for building your own home, generating your own electricity, and powering your own engines, as well as a “Practical Guide to Small Computers.”

Snyder’s poem “The Hump-Backed Flute Player” is included in this context as an “embedded” box within Gary Nabhan’s long eponymous essay on the “hump-backed flute player.” This phrase refers to the Native American God of agriculture and fertility, Kokopilau, whom Nabhan metaphorically uses to discuss land conservation. If the intent of Nabhan’s essay is to raise awareness about conservation, Snyder draws upon the theme of “Hippie Orientalism” in this poem to create a greater awareness of the human relationship to the earth.

He does so through the juxtaposition of two non-Western figures: the Native American traveling God Kokopilau and the Chinese Buddhist Monk “Hsuan Tsang” (who trekked through India for 16 years studying Buddhism and seeking enlightenment). This integration of two unrelated figures that only find union within the countercultural tendency to conflate non-western shamanistic figures is reflective of a contrapuntal juxtaposition that originates as an Orientalist vision of the “Other.”

Indeed, Snyder develops a higher consciousness of nature through the unification of Hsuan Tsang with The Hump-Back Flute Player, as the joining of these two unrelated figures leads to “emptiness” and “mind only” (or what both Hsuan Tsang and The Hump Back Flute

Player carry on their backs). At one point the narrator asks, “what am I carrying? What’s this load?” (9) to which the same narrator also provides a tentative answer (“old Jack Wilson”), but then contradicts this response by stating it is an “empty hat,” and a “bottomless sky.” The “West” (Jack Wilson) is thus erased and replaced with the “spiral wheel or breath of mind” (9) of an artificial amalgamation of an “East” that incorporates that which is “not the West” (ie Native American mythology). This poem is thus reflective of Stewart Brand’s own “New Vision” in phase two, a method of creating a “whole” through the coevolution of disparate forces.

Brand’s particular approach to the “New Vision” is also strongly reflected in *Whole Earth*, Winter 1997 # 91, both through the Table of Contents, as well as through Snyder’s poem, “For All.” This issue is a special one, with the subtitle: *The Earth in Crisis: Religion’s New Test of Faith*. It compares numerous spiritual alternatives to mainstream interpretations of Christianity or Judaism: nature religions, Judeo-Christian interfaith (and other interfaith approaches to religion as well), alternative forms of Christianity, paganism, Native American religions, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism. In addition, the term “CoEvolution” appears as one of the categories in the Table of Contents, indicating its continued thematic relevance, despite the fact that it was dropped from the title 12 years prior. Beneath the sub header lies Warshall’s specific vision of coevolution that highlights unity in diversity: “Competition and cooperation, symbiosis and parasitism, mixed together by chance, emotions, and reason. Butterflies, milkweeds, farmers, and birds. Ecosystems, market systems, techno-spiritual systems. Tools and practices for folks caught up in dynamic, interactive time” (1). Snyder’s “For All” in particular replicates Warshall’s vision of “mixed together by chance.”

While the two previous poems were published in privileged spaces at the beginning of each issue, “For All” appears as part of one of Brand’s most common contrapuntal features, what

I refer to as a “non-advertisement.” As a countercultural hybrid little magazine that conflated ecology, technology, and the humanities, *CoEvolution Quarterly* (as with *The Whole Earth Catalog* before it and *Whole Earth Review* and *Whole Earth* after it) was advertising-free. This means that information was shared with no financial gain to the *Whole Earth* enterprise itself. His method of sharing was the “non-advertisement, which showcased tools or books with reviews, as well as poetry from the profiled book, with purchasing information through a third party vendor. Indeed, many of the poems by Beat poets that appeared in *Whole Earth* publications were part of non-advertisements, which emphasizes Brand’s practice of co-opting established practices and making them “humane” and “stable.”

“For All” thus appears as a “non-advertisement” for three of Snyder’s poetry collections: *Turtle Island*, *A Place in Space*, and *The Practice of the Wild*. Though the non-advertisement only contains a fraction of “For All,” what is reproduced highlights Brand’s coevolutionary method. The ecopoem itself, a reworking of the *American Pledge of Allegiance*, seeks a unity not only between human beings and the earth, but also among the entirety of humanity. This stanza is particularly important due to its emphasis on the words “one,” “ecosystem,” “diversity,” and “interpenetration”:

I pledge allegiance to the soil
of Turtle Island,
and to the beings who thereon dwell
one ecosystem
in diversity
under the sun
With joyful interpenetration for all. (59)

In other words, the ecosystem may be “one” but the term itself implies a coevolutionary labyrinth of parts that interact in a complex series of ongoing interactions. By its very nature, it requires “diversity,” “interpenetrations” of multiple objects, interacting in a shared space for survival. The prose portion of the non-advertisement (written by an anonymous contributor) underscores these concepts by stating that: “Anglos, Black people, Chicanos, and others beached up on these shores all share such views at the deepest levels of their old cultural traditions- African, Asian, or European. Hark again to these roots, to see our ancient solidarity, and then to the work of being together on Turtle Island” (59). This selection from “For All” is thus not reflective of phase one’s concept of “whole.” It is instead a mirror of phase two’s “coevolutionary” vision of an ecological unity through the contrapuntal juxtaposition of Eastern mysticism (as “interpenetration” is a Buddhist concept) and opposing forces.

Snyder was not the only Beat poet who created poetry that matched Brand’s objectives, however. After his transition to Eastern mysticism in the 1960’s, Allen Ginsberg began to write poetry that reflected a similar ideological shift. Likewise, when Brand published Ginsberg’s poetry and prose, he (and his editors) tended to choose work that explored Eastern mysticism in a contrapuntal, “open form” format in order to develop a higher state of consciousness. This framing of Ginsberg’s work is particularly evident when juxtaposing two different memorials to Ginsberg that appeared after his death in April 1997: *The American Poetry Review*’s testament to Ginsberg’s legacy in its July/August 1997 issue and the *Whole Earth*’s, Summer 1997, # 90 countercultural tribute to his perpetuation of the “New Consciousness.”

The American Poetry Review’s memorial to Ginsberg is one that his father Louis might have written, as it constructs Ginsberg life and legacy entirely through his identity as a Jewish poet. In other words, it omits virtually all references to his involvement with Eastern mysticism

and consciousness expansion. This perspective is evidenced through two prose works, Gary Pacernick's interview with Ginsberg and Alicia Ostriker's opinion piece on Ginsberg's legacy. Both frame Ginsberg almost entirely within his Jewish heritage. While Pacernick does indicate that Ginsberg refers to himself as a "Buddhist Poet" (25), no additional references are made to Eastern mysticism.

Likewise, Alicia Ostriker's essay, "'Howl' Revisited: The Poet as Jew" focused entirely on the scholarly debate concerning Ginsberg's complex relationship to Judaism. Ostriker's article defends Ginsberg from critics who suggested that he exhibited "reluctance" towards identifying himself as a Jew, with the hope that he could "pass" as a gentile among the European avant-garde" (31). Instead she argues, analysis of his work supports her belief that his poetry emanated from a deeply embedded "Jewishness." Indeed, the *The American Poetry Review's* memorial to Ginsberg seems to function as a reinforcement of Ostriker's defense.

In addition, *The American Poetry Review's* memorial consisted almost entirely of non-fiction prose, with only a single work of poetry by Ginsberg, "Homeless Compleynt." Written in December 1996 just a few months before Ginsberg died, its selection (as the sole representative of Ginsberg's oeuvre) is as significant for what it omits as well as for what it reinforces:

Pardon me buddy, I didn't mean to bug you
but I came from Vietnam
where I killed a lot of Vietnamese gentlemen
a few ladies too
and I couldn't stand the pain
and got a habit out of fear
& I've gone through rehab and I'm clean

but I got no place to sleep
and I don't know what to do
with myself right now
I'm sorry buddy, I didn't mean to bug you
but it's cold in the alley
& my heart's sick alone
and I'm clean, but my life's a mess
Third Avenue
and E. Houston Street
on the corner traffic island under a red light
wiping your windshield with a dirty rag. (48)

As a work of social justice, “Homeless Compleynt,” embodies some of Ginsberg’s legacy. It exemplifies his vision of poetry (as he discussed with Lisa Meyer in another interview that appeared in the memorial issue) as work that is “composed of the diction and syntax of ordinary speech ... identical with living language. (Meyer 22) The poem also reinforces specific signature trademarks associated with Ginsberg: his involvement with anti-Vietnam war demonstrations during the 1960’s and his commitment to creating poetry that gave voice to the marginalized. “Homeless Compleynt,” however, also notably omits any reference to Ginsberg’s immersion in the practice and expression of Eastern mysticism. This is consistent with *The American Poetry Review*’s thematic approach of the memorial itself.

In contrast, *Whole Earth* Summer 1997, # 90 takes the exact opposite approach. Through a long poem (“Mind Writing: Exercises in Poetic Candor”), this memorial frames Ginsberg solely through his commitment to Eastern mysticism. Thus, rather than a rejection of his

relationship with Judaism, *Whole Earth*'s construction of Ginsberg is a reflection of Brand's "New Vision": the creation of a memorial in which Eastern mysticism is the primary source of its contrapuntal method, with Ginsberg as its metaphorical representative. This perspective is further reinforced through the small amount of prose that is included: a brief farewell by editor Peter Warshall that falls at the end of the poem. In it, Warshall constructs Ginsberg as a mass of contradictions. On the one hand, he highlights Ginsberg's essence as one of the "heroes of sweetness, purifiers of desire, angels of loving kindness, healers of anxieties, voices of bardic hope" (88). Conversely, Warshall makes these mental notes while observing Ginsberg illegally feeding wildlife, as if to accentuate the fact that Ginsberg's essence is one of consistent inconsistency.

Indeed, appearing almost a year after the last issue of *The Whole Earth Review*, *Whole Earth* Summer 1997 # 90 itself seems to be a mass of contradictions. Given that it was also the first issue of the third incarnation of the *Whole Earth* enterprise, Ginsberg's memorial functions as part of what Ginsberg refers to as "Samsara": the Hindu/Buddhist concept of birth, death, and rebirth. Consequently, the inside front cover capitalizes on the theme of rebirth by describing itself as: "*Whole Earth* Revived." However, the "Eternity: Life 'n Love" section in the Table of Contents is a meditation on death, beginning with its tribute to Ginsberg, "Mind Writing: Exercises in Poetic Candor." The poem is then followed by two non-advertisements for the books *American Poets Say Goodbye to the Twentieth Century* and *Poems for the Millennium* (2-3). Equally important, the Table of Contents maintains the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth, with articles on recycling, new ways of creating fiber, ecological catastrophe and global capitalism, bioregional disasters, and the dangers of synthetic chemicals. The East is also present in the issue through a short story by Bharati Mukherjee ("Danny's Girls) and a study of women's art in

Southern India (“Inviting the Goddess into the Household”). Finally, the entire theme of phase two is represented in a subject header entitled: “CoEvolution,” with an article on the “CoEvolution of Ranching and Conservation Communities” (3).

This perspective is also supported through the poem chosen to represent him, “Mind Writing: Exercises in Poetic Candor.” The poem itself is shaped as a “homework” exercise in the “practice” of applying central aspects of Eastern mysticism to life. In many respects, this “poem” serves as homage to the method Ginsberg first began to develop with his *Indian Journals* thirty years prior. In contrast to the poem chosen by *The American Poetry Review*, “Mind Writing: Exercises in Poetic Candor” reiterates not just Ginsberg’s work as an activist, but also his own “New Vision”: it forces the reader to enter a new state of consciousness, through techniques related to Eastern mysticism, in order to engage in Kerouac’s method of “spontaneous prose.”

This method is reflected both through editorial context and Ginsberg’s text. First, the decision of editors to include three visual images (two by artist Ken Botto on pages 86 and 87 as well as one by Ginsberg on page 88) is reflective of Ginsberg’s own journals, which embed text in doodles that occasionally incorporate the text itself as part of his method of consciousness expansion. Thus, two drawings of Ginsberg engaged in the act of writing (and inserted into notepads), is a reflection not only of Ginsberg’s method, but of his “rebirth” after death as a reincarnation of his own poetry. This point is further indicated through the inclusion of Ginsberg’s own drawing of random people in Café Bonaparte, Place St. Germain, Paris, December 1957 (88): Just as Botto integrates Ginsberg’s image into his poem, Ginsberg incorporates the reader as well. In this manner, the journey into consciousness is connected to the visual as indicated in “Exercise 6: Visualization Poem”:

3 Verses each one sketching panoramic landscape visualized; each verse one

breath long.

4th verses ending the quatrain – an afterthought, zigzag

from nowhere, a switcheroo or capping verse.

Furthermore, the poem itself is a form of print-based hypertext that links to an adjacent article of “endnotes” (“Mindwriting Slogans” 89) attributing quotes used by Ginsberg to their authors (Beat poets and Buddhist priests). This print-based hypertext reflects a “coevolutionary” “open form” format as the exercises do not cohere or transition to each other in a linear fashion, except perhaps in the larger schema of Eastern mysticism. Thus, “Exercise I: After a 5 minute meditation” encourages not just the practice of meditation but the kind that moves the reader into a state of consciousness that is connected (through specific quotes) to his guru Trungpa (“First Thought, Best Thought”), himself (“Notice what you notice”), and poets John Ashbery (“Instruction Manual”) and Gary Snyder (“Bubb’s Creek Haircut”).

Once the process of meditation begins, Ginsberg creates numerous exercises to “clear the mind,” based on a form of “coevolutionary” contradiction. Exercise 7 may be devoted to “Mind Clearing” in the form of a 21 syllable haiku, for example, but it is done so “with samsaric neurotic confusion.” To juxtapose the Hindu/Buddhist term Samsaric (as noted above) with the psychological concept of “neurosis” (a “hell-like” state which serves as its opposite) would appear to be a contradiction of terms outside of the milieu of “coevolution.” Yet, such juxtapositions work towards the larger method of consciousness expansion precisely because they entangle a web of opposites.

This point is further evidenced through one of Exercise 7’s sample haikus titled “Not Dead Yet” (written in September 1991). The poem begins by highlighting the neurotic state of urban life that leads to the lack of physical and mental health:

Huffing puffing upstairs downstairs telephone
office mail checks secretary revolt-
The Soviet Legislative Communist bloc
inspired Gorbachev's wife and Yeltsin
to shut up in terror or stand on a tank
In front of White House denouncing Putschists- (87)

However, it is through the state of juxtaposition that the phase "with samsaric neurotic confusion" becomes less contradictory and implausible. Poor health, labor issues, and contemporary politics all serve to create an atmosphere of almost unbearable anxiety that makes "neurotic confusion" a normal part of daily existence. It is mediated only by Ginsberg's unique juxtaposition of the Samsaric cycle:

September breezes sway branches and leaves in
A calm schoolyard under humid grey sky
Drink your decaf Ginsberg old communist *New*
York Times addict, be glad you're not Trotsky.

Thus, through his eyes, the cycle occurs out of order as rebirth (a new school year in September) is integrated with death (the coming of Fall as wind removes leaves from the trees) as well as birth (a "calm" school yard in "humid" grey sky could also imply the coming of summer and end of the school year. Furthermore, "health" is perpetuated through a processed substance (decaffeinated coffee), while Ginsberg's youthful idealism is destroyed through illness (addiction) and age. Ginsberg's poem is thus an apt choice for *Whole Earth's* form of memorial: an instruction guide not just to Eastern mysticism but to the unique "formula" provided by Beat methodology as well.

An equally important aspect of this formula is the practice of meditation, which becomes a form of art in the hands of both Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac. *The Whole Earth Review*, Winter 1990 #60 contains the full text of Ginsberg's poem "Do the Mediation Rock" as part of a "non-advertisement" for the book *Dharma Gaia: A Harvest of Essays in Buddhism and Ecology*. In terms of form, Ginsberg moves away from the Whitmanesque inspired long lines that characterized "HOWL," back to meter and rhyme. Word choice, however, continues to echo the language of the street and the salacious form of "Howl," favoring slang, irregular use of grammatical rules, and replacement of symbols such as the ampersand for words. This indicates that it is poem of contradictions and thus works within the contrapuntal use of Eastern mysticism:

If you want to learn how to meditate
I'll tell you now 'cause it's never too late
I'll tell you how 'cause I can't wait
it's just that great that it's never too late ...
If you feel a little bliss don't worry about that
give your wife a kiss when your tire goes flat
you can't think straight & ya don't know who to call
it's never too late to do nothing at all. (127)

In fact, as this passage indicates, the entire tone of the poem is one of sardonic glee in direct contrast to the solemn and serious atmosphere that typically reflects Western discussions of the distinctly Eastern practice of meditation. Thus, the kind of existential questions that are often linked to this practice are converted to a form of lyrical mischief:

Sit yourself down on a pillow on the ground

or sit in a chair if the ground isn't there
if the ground isn't there. (127)

Eventually, the satirical tone takes over the entire poem, enabling an environment for meditation that legitimatizes the impossible:

If you see Apocalypse in a long red car
or a flying saucer sit where you are. (127)

However, by the end of the poem, what initially appeared to be a rambling set of contrapuntal juxtapositions are instead revealed as a push towards a higher level of consciousness: a populist plea to utilize meditation in what might appear to be absurd circumstances, but in truth replicate the kind of political action that Ginsberg was famous for:

If you sit for an hour or a minute every day
you can tell the Superpower to sit the same way
you can tell the Superpower to watch and to wait
& to stop & meditate 'cause it's never too late. (127)

The tone of another poem on the act of meditation by Jack Kerouac, entitled "How to Meditate," is far more serious than Ginsberg's but is none the less likewise reflective of Brand's objectives. Published for the first time in *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Winter 1975 # 8 (it would later appear in *Poems All Sizes*) it served as the epitaph to Anne Waldman's "A Brief Memoir," on the origins of *The Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics*. As a poem, it displays simultaneous respect for the traditions of Buddhism in conjunction with (like Ginsberg) the language and imagery of the streets. Such an interchange allows the poem to "coevolve" in a *Whole Earth* manner through images of fertility and sexuality or birth (fluid), death (heroin and morphine), and rebirth (Holy):

-lights out-
fall, hands a-clasped, into instantaneous
ecstasy like a shot of heroin or morphine,
the gland inside of my brain discharging
the good glad fluid (Holy Fluid) as
i hap-down and hold all my body parts. (121)

For Kerouac, the contrapuntal use of Eastern mysticism reflects Brand's vision of "open form," or an approach to the act of writing that seeks enlightenment through alternative approaches to existing paradigms. Even the act of "emptying" the mind becomes one of playful irreverence, much like Ginsberg, as a means of both embracing tradition and reinventing it through the new method:

even the shred of a "I-hope-you" or a
Loony Balloon left in it, but the mind
blank, serene, thoughtless. When a thought
comes a-springing from afar with its held-
forth figure of image, you spoof it out,
you puff it off, you fake it. (121)

Indeed, as we shall see in the next chapter, free verse poetry such as Kerouac's becomes emblematic of the primary role "open form" would take in Brand's, Whole Earth universe, a vital means of consciousness expansion.

Chapter 2:

The Essentials of *CoEvolution*

I was telling Mimi West last summer how I was searching for a new method in order to release what I had in me, and Lucien said from across the room, “What about the New Vision?” The fact was I had the vision...I think everyone has...what we lack is the method. All Lucien himself needed was the method. – Jack Kerouac, letter to Allen Ginsberg, September 6, 1945 (*Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg: The Letters* 24).

Beginning in 1974 with phase two and the launch of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Brand initiated a new literary emphasis in his works that served to enhance the existing themes of Eastern mysticism, “open form,” ecology, and consciousness expansion. Though he published poetry and fiction by a variety of authors, Brand placed a particular emphasis on Beat ecopoetry or poetry that was embedded in Eastern mysticism. This is an apt choice, given their primary relationship with the term “free verse” poetry, for as M.H. Abrams notes in the eighth edition of the *Glossary of Literary Terms* “free verse is sometimes referred to as ‘open form’ verse” (110). Furthermore, just as “free verse” is notably “free” from conventional expectations of rhyme, meter, and conventional line length, the phrase “open form” is used here to highlight freedom from conventional structural expectations associated with periodicals, particularly scientific ones.

I would like to suggest that an “open form” format was a critical aspect of Brand’s

“method” of consciousness-expansion through ecology, Eastern mysticism, and Beat poetry (particularly in his new “coevolutionary” setting). Indeed, an “open form” format proved so important to the success of this method (and his magazines) that special issues of *Whole Earth* publications (regardless of content) would fail if they appeared in “closed form.” Conversely, if the identical material was reinstated back to an “open form” format, the material was embraced by Brand’s readership. Thus, as a hybrid of a scientific journal and literary little magazine, *CoEvolution Quarterly* depended entirely upon its “open form” contrapuntal juxtaposition of opposites as a means of consciousness expansion.

Referring to *CoEvolution Quarterly*, as a quasi-literary little magazine is less contentious than it may at first appear. One reason lies in the fact that *The Evergreen Review*, published by Grove press, and edited by Barney Rosset and Donald Allen, was one of its models. Art Kleiner, one of Brand’s veteran editors, emphasizes this point in the introduction to the 1986 anthology *Ten Years of CoEvolution Quarterly: News That Stayed News, 1974-1984* when he states that:

Just by existing, a great magazine defines a community of people with a common language of thought, and propels those people into a common experience - an amusement-park ride that takes place over years instead of minutes. Truly great magazines are rare: *Fortune* in the 1930s; *The New Yorker* in the 30s and the 40s; *Esquire* in the 50s and 60s; the *Evergreen Review*, and the *Realist* in the 60s; and the magazine anthologized here, *CoEvolution Quarterly* between 1974-1984. (xi)

Of particular significance is the connection to Donald Allen, as *CoEvolution Quarterly* offered a thematic mirror of the type of “self” or “independent publishing” that Allen privileged in *The New American Poetry, 1945-1960*.

The tradition of self-publication through little magazines and independent presses (or

forms of technology) in American literature did not begin with Allen's poets, however. Rather, as Harter notes,

The Beats were following a tradition in American literature of self-publication, the foundation of small publishing houses and periodicals sympathetic to their own work, and collective promotion that traces back through the Modernists in the early decades of the 1900's to Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman in the mid-nineteenth century- a tradition they were very conscious of. ("Their Own Press, Their Own Public...Editing and Promoting the Beat Generation 20)

Clay and Phillips also trace this tradition back to 19th century American poets Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson, and place a particular emphasis on the mode of production:

The model figure here [for self-publication....] was surely Walt Whitman, whose 1855 *Leaves of Grass*, self-published, was the work of his own hands as well as mind, from manuscript to printed book to first reviews ghost-written by the man himself. And contemporaneous with that, our second founding work was that of Emily Dickinson, who would never be published in her lifetime but, more secretly and privately than any, hand-wrote and stitched together a series of single-copy booklets ... as testimony to her own experiments with voice & line. Along with William Blake before them, she and Whitman are the poets of our language who first brought inspiration and production back together as related, undivided acts. The work of the (still) present century is the continuation and expansion of those acts. (9)

Emily Dickinson's hand "stitched" collections also serve as an early example of the primary role of accessible "technology" in art of self-publication.

This was particularly during the 20th century. The turn of the century in particular experienced a renaissance in the area of little magazine publication. Mark Morrison in *The Public Face of Modernism* correlates the rise of new technologies with this phenomenon:

Cheap paper, the rotary press, the Linotype machine – at the most mundane level, these inventions led to the explosion of mass market print publications and advertising at the end of the nineteenth century in Britain and America ... the relatively low cost of producing a small-scale magazine – to return to those technological advances in paper making, printing, and typesetting – and the fantastic success new advertising techniques and print venues were having with vast audiences presented the seductive possibility of intervening public discourse.

(3, 9)

Furthermore, another little magazine renaissance developed both after World War II and during the 1960's. The later movement, now referred to as the "Mimeograph Revolution," was concurrent with the development of *The Whole Earth Catalog*, and played an important role in its success. It is also another important fact that link's Brand's publications with the literary little magazine. In both cases:

Methods of production included mimeograph, rexograph, offset, and letterpress – the term is more a description of the ethos of the individuals – writers, editors, and publishers, - who wished to present a new style of writing that reflected the times. The lower costs of printing technologies led to a 'do-it-yourself' aesthetic, which was in many ways, the polar opposite of the era's increasingly corporate business model idea in mainstream publishing, ranging from notions of book design to methods of distribution and advertising. (Harter, *Author Index to Little*

Magazines of the Mimeograph Revolution ix)

Of particular thematic importance to the *Whole Earth Catalog* is the “do-it-yourself aesthetic” of the Mimeograph revolution that mirrored Brand’s interest in self-sufficiency during phase one:

Developments on the side of business and technology aided in this shift: the availability of an easily rented computer typesetter (by the mid-1970s an IBM Selectric typesetting machine with interchangeable typefaces could be rented for \$150 a month) enabled shoestring publishers to freely manipulate and paste down cold-type compositions, allowing hand-lettered headlines, drawings, and any kind of graphic experiments that might emerge during the typesetting process. (Binkley, *Getting Loose* 108)

Markoff specifically underscores the importance of the IBM Selectric to *Whole Earth* as it “allowed different fonts with its easily replaceable ‘golfball’ print head, while a Polaroid MP-3 camera made it possible to copy graphics directly from books and created halftones that could be pasted into layout sheets” (*What the Dormouse Said* 154). It is important to note however, that ideology was as important as changes in technology as “not all mimeo era productions employed mimeography. Instead, as I noted in my book *Small Press: An Annotated Guide*, ‘The appeal of the term [Mimeo Revolution] is the idea of self-sufficiency in producing literary texts; this idea fueled the movement and provided a model for decades to come’ (Glazier, Note 21,183).

Furthermore, Brand displayed a commitment to featuring work by unpublished poets, a vital aspect of literary little magazines. One notable example is the poem “Factory,” by the poet “Antler” which is granted privileged space throughout *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Winter 1979/1980 #24. It serves as the central theme for the front cover, represented through the image

of a sardonic cartoon character by R. Crumb, a factory drone hypnotized by a system that functions as Nazi Germany did (represented through Hitler's version of the swastika in each eye). The prominent subtitle: "Factory By Antler" is placed in its lower right hand corner. Brand published it in this issue as a "non-advertisement" as a means to "advertise" its future release as a book by City Lights Press. In the sidebar to the poem, Stewart Brand states that only a few selections of the poem appear on pages 4-17, and that he "wish[es] we had space for more" (4).

Though an unknown poet, Antler's "Factory" would appear to be a particularly good choice for *CoEvolution Quarterly* due to its Beat connections beyond Ferlinghetti's City Lights Press. Just as American poet William Carlos Williams had written the introduction for "Howl," Allen Ginsberg wrote the introduction for "Factory":

'Factory' inspired me to laughter near tears. I think it's the most enlightening and magnanimous American poem I've seen since 'Howl; of my own generation and I haven't been as thrilled by any single giant work like that by anyone of 60's and 70's decades as I was by your continuing inventions and visionary transparency. More fineness than I thought probably to see again in my lifetime from younger solitary unknown self-inspirer US poet- I guess it's so beautiful to see because it appears inevitable as death, that breakthrough of beauty you've allowed yrself and me. – Allen Ginsberg (from 8/2/76 letter) (5)

Equally important, Ginsberg's presence creates an automatic connection to "Howl," a poem that shares many similar traits with "Factory." Indeed, in "Factory," Antler mimics Ginsberg's use of Whitmanesque free verse and focuses on the destructive nature of "monstrous" capitalism. However, instead of a mythological "Moloch," the factory itself serves as a representative of the systematic and heartless machine:

I

The machines waited for me.
Waited for me to be born and grow young,
For the totempoles of my personality to be carved,
and the slow pyramid of days
To rise around me, to be robbed and forgotten,
They waited where I would come to be,
a point on earth,
The green machines of the factory,
the noise of the miraculous machines of the factory,
Waited for me to laugh so many times,
to fall asleep and rise awake so many times,
to see as a child all the people I did not want to be,
And for suicide to long for me as the years ran into the mirror
disguising itself as I grew old
in eyes that grew old
As multitudes worked on machines I would work on,
worked, ceased to exist, and died,
For me they waited, patiently, the machines,
all the time in the world (4-5).

These opening lines further replicate the horror of “Howl” ’s opening lines. However, the marginalized street poets of “Howl” are replaced in “Factory” by corporate slavery of the worker, who is “robbed” of a soul, leaving him or her isolated from the natural environment, and

offering no hope of rebirth after the factory's induced death. In other words, much like "Howl," the poem did not contain the allusions to Eastern mysticism found in Ginsberg's later poetry. It also did not offer the series of contrapuntal juxtapositions that *Whole Earth* publications depended upon.

Thus, Antler's only other major appearance in Brand's publications came a few years later with *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Summer 1984 # 42. His short poem, "Raising My Hand," about the isolation incurred by an ignored poet accompanies the more prominent article, Ginsberg's "Rejection Letters to Famous People." Both works reflect the level of rejection experienced by Antler, whose poem "Factory" did not prove popular either with publishers or the public. In fact, Ginsberg was so angry over this level of rejection that his article reprinted Antler's rejection letter, followed by imaginary rejection letters written to a number of noted individuals including Dostoyevsky, Jesus, Mallarme, Buddha, Einstein, Blake, and Marx. While Antler faded from *Whole Earth* publications, his initial presence indicates a willingness by Brand to experiment with unknown poets.

It is also a reflection of Brand's commitment to poetry in general and Beat poetry in particular, its strongest tie to the little magazine genre. As Christopher Harter notes in "Their Own Press, Their Own Public...Editing and Promoting the Beat Generation," Beat poets were notable not only for "producing" a new body of work, but equally for being the "publishers and promoters of their work" through little magazines (20). Harter cites a letter exchange between LeRoi Jones (later Amiri Baraka) and Allen Ginsberg's father, Louis who critiqued Jones for beginning the Beat little magazine, *Yugen*. Louis, deeply offended by the nature of this independent periodical, described it to Jones as an "arrogant mutilation and falsification of the manifold nature of American poetry" (20). Jones responded to Louis by critiquing the exclusive

nature of “big” or mainstream literary magazines: “I think it’s mags lk [sic] *Poetry*, *PR* [*Partisan Review*] *Kenyon* [*Review*] that do that, we are just patiently trying to show the other side of American poetry (20). This exchange between Jones and Louis Ginsberg proved highly prescient: in just a few years, the radical nature of Beat little magazines would generate the much larger (and far more virulent) debate between the “Raw” and the “Cooked” approaches to American poetry, a debate that would also mirror the radical (and at times controversial) nature of *Whole Earth*.

The origins of this debate began with the second issue of *The Evergreen Review* published in 1957 by Barney Rosset and Donald Allen. Subtitled: “San Francisco Scene,” it introduced a group of marginalized free verse poets (including Ginsberg, Ferlinghetti, McClure, Snyder, Kerouac all referred to as “The San Francisco Poets”) many of whom were not affiliated with the academy or traditional venues of poetry. As little magazine poets, they were tied to the innovators of modernism, a point Ginsberg particularly focused on. He would credit his approach to free verse as a method based on a:

Tradition that went from Walt Whitman to Ezra Pound to William Carlos Williams, proposing a poetry that was composed of the diction and syntax of ordinary speech, measuring the verse line by breath stop, including syllabic count or cadences or vernacular or idiomatic measure, rather than a metronomic measure. In other words, we prepared a mode of poetry that was identical with living language (Meyer 22).

Ginsberg emphasized the same point in the poem “Improvisation in Beijing,” where again notes the connection to (then) radical poets of the modernist period:

I write poetry because Walt Whitman opened up poetry’s verse-line for

unobstructed breath.

I write poetry because Ezra Pound saw an ivory tower, bet on one wrong horse,
gave poets permission to write spoken vernacular idiom.

I write poetry because Pound pointed young Western poets to look at Chinese
writing word pictures.

I write poetry because W.C. Williams living in Rutherford wrote New
Jerseyesque “I kick yuh eye,” asking, how measure that in iambic pentameter?
(*Collected Poems* 937)

Thus as with Pound, Ginsberg would utilize the power of little magazines to initiate a new movement in American poetry, one in which was capitulated by this particular issue of *The Evergreen Review*.¹³ In addition, *The Evergreen Review* modeled two areas that would prove vital to *Whole Earth* publications. The first was an emphasis on Beat poetry, though while “not the first magazine to publish the Beats [...it] was certainly among the first, and it was definitely the most important” (Jordan, “Introduction,” no page numbers given). *The Evergreen Review* also influenced *CoEvolution Quarterly*’s global, multi-cultural, and multi-vocal perspective as it:

Added to the mix voices from Africa, South America, and Japan – alongside political commentary, sexy comics, and healthy taste for the subversive. It not only helped to define the literary avant-garde of the fifties and sixties, it helped create an audience for this new kind of writing. *Evergreen Review* as the matrix of a new cultural alignment.” (Jordan, “Introduction,” no page numbers given)

In the same year as the second issue of *The Evergreen Review* (1957), another anthology

¹³ For a complete history of Rosset, Grove, and *The Evergreen Review* and its incorporation of the European avant-garde with Beat generation poetry, see Glass.

of poetry was published, Donald Hall, Robert Pack, and Louis Simpson's *The New Poets of England and America*. Unlike *The Evergreen Review*, which was a little magazine published by the independent press, Grove, Hall, Pack, and Simpson's publication was a mainstream paperback published by Meridian Books (with an introduction by Robert Frost). While young and often unknown, Hall's poets (including Robert Bly, Philip Larkin, Robert Lowell, and James Merrill) produced poetry that adhered to conventional patterns of rhyme and meter and were products of the academy or traditional poetic venues. Indeed, the editors described them merely as part of a generation born between 1917 and 1935. In addition, Robert Frost, in his introduction to the volume, also focuses on youth (even offering the title of the essay as "Maturity No Object") as a mark of distinction stating that no poet in the book is over 40. He also encourages – despite their age – a correlation between scholarship and poetry.

Three years after the publication of these opposing works, Donald Allen released the Grove Press publication, *The New American Poetry, 1945-1960*. Modeled after the 1957 "San Francisco Scene" issue of *The Evergreen Review*, *The New American Poetry* used ten of the same poets, but also added a significant number of new ones.¹⁴ More importantly, Allen subdivided his poets geographically; creating titles that would eventually achieve a canonical stature in American poetry. Allen noted this method in his preface, stating that he adopted the:

¹⁴ Both *The New American Poetry* and the second issue of *The Evergreen Review* featured works by Antoninus, Robert Duncan, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Michael McClure, Jack Spicer, James Broughton, Gary Snyder, Philip Whalen, Jack Kerouac, and Allen Ginsberg. In addition, of these ten, only the work of one would reappear in *The New American Poetry*: Ginsberg's "Howl." Finally, of this group Brand would only regularly showcase works by Ferlinghetti, McClure, Snyder, Kerouac, and Ginsberg.

Unusual device of dividing the poets into five large groups, through these divisions are somewhat arbitrary and cannot be taken as rigid categories ... The first group includes those poets who were originally identified with the two important magazines of the period, *Origin* and *Black Mountain Review* ... the second group, the *San Francisco Renaissance* ... *The Beat Generation*, the third group ... the fourth group, the *New York Poets* ... the fifth group has no geographical definition; it includes younger poets who have been associated with and in some cases influenced by the leading writers of the preceding groups, but who have evolved their own original styles and new conceptions of poetry. (xii-xiii)

Following Brand's lead (as quoted in the Introduction), I have chosen to refer to all of the Brand's choice of poets as "Beat." However, Allen divided them somewhat differently. Of all of the poets that appeared in *Whole Earth* publications, only Ginsberg, Kerouac, Corso, and Orlovsky were designated as part of the *Beat Generation*. In addition, Allen placed Ferlinghetti with the San Francisco Renaissance, Creeley with the *Black Mountain /Origin* group, and Snyder, McClure, and Meltzer in a fifth group that Allen stated had "no geographical designation." (xiii)

In many respects, the vast differences between Allen's poets and Hall's poets helped to clarify a larger discussion about the nature of contemporary American poetry during the early 1960s. The discussion was enhanced by the gap between the two anthologies one which was emphasized by the vastly different nature of the two communities:

It helped, of course, that none of those included in *The New American Poetry* appeared in the *New Poets of England and America* ... Reading at random in *The*

New Poets and *The New American Poetry*, it should be immediately apparent just how drastically different were the two approaches represented. With no duplication whatever in the two tables of contents, this developed as a real battle of the anthologies. These were clearly two quite separate and, as it developed, mutually hostile groups. The academic poets were on top and meant to stay there, and those who followed in the Williams-Pound tradition meant to unseat them. (Cook, *The Beat Generation* 125)

Indeed, while all were very young, they were in every way diametrically opposed to each other:

There was no more significant poetry anthology in the second half of the twentieth century than *The New American Poetry, 1945-1960*, edited by Donald M. Allen and published by Grove Press in 1960. Poised almost at mid-century, it provides a summing up of a very particular situation in poetry as it looks back to the achievements of the 1950s and ahead to the possibilities of the 60s. Allen's anthology was a self-conscious counter to *New Poets of England and America* edited by Donald Hall, Robert Pack, and Louis Simpson and published by Meridian in 1957. It was to prove prophetic (the two anthologies have not one poet in common) and to serve as both a calling for and a permission to younger writers." (Clay and Phillips 9)

In addition, part of the "battle" between the two collections of poetry lay in the sheer audacity of Allen's claims. Despite their unknown and unaffiliated status, Allen (as with Ginsberg) directly links them to modernist poets William Carlos Williams, Ezra Pound, H.D., E.E. Cummings, Marianne Moore, and Wallace Stevens as well as then-contemporary poets Elizabeth Bishop, Edwin Denby, Robert Lowell, Kenneth Rexroth, and Louis Zukofsky.

The most significant difference between the two anthologies, however, is the radically different tone of Allen's Preface. While he, as with Frost in his "Introduction" to Hall's anthology, also notes that age (youth) is one criteria for selection, it is not the only one. Rather, Allen makes other far more radical claims. He states that this group of young poets "has shown one common characteristic: a total rejection of all those qualities typical of academic verse" (xi). In addition, rather than appear in mainstream literary magazines, Allen's poets are self-published, appearing only in "a few little magazines, as broadsheets, pamphlets, limited editions, or circulated in manuscript" thus "these poets have already created their own tradition, their own press, and their public" (xi). Finally, Allen's poets are notable for their close ties to the avant-garde in other art forms as they are "closely allied to modern jazz and abstract expressionist painting" (xi).

Allen's radical (and perhaps confrontational) tone was identified and categorized by poet Robert Lowell (who appeared in the first edition of Hall's 1957 anthology but was omitted in the 1962 second edition). In his acceptance speech for the 1960 National Book Award (*Poetry Award for Life Studies*), Lowell qualifies the contentious differences between Allen's anthology and Hall's anthologies as a battle of the "Raw" free verse poets and the "Cooked" academic poets who adhered to traditional patterns of rhyme and meter:

Two poetries are now competing, a cooked and a raw. The cooked, marvelously expert, often seems laboriously concocted to be tasted and digested by a graduate seminar. The raw, huge blood-dripping gobbets of unseasoned experience are dished up for midnight listeners. There is a poetry that can only be studied, and a poetry that can only be declaimed, a poetry of pedantry, and a poetry of scandal. I exaggerate, of course. Randall Jarrell has said that the modern world has

destroyed the intelligent poet's audience and given him students. James Baldwin has said that many of the beat writers are as inarticulate as our statesmen.

("Robert Lowell Accepts the 1960 National Book Award for Poetry for Life Studies")

While the terms "Raw" and "Cooked" would eventually fall out of favor, the hostility of this juxtaposition, particularly with reference to form, would remain for the next decade.

Furthermore, this "battle" was reflected through two antagonistic comments written in response to Lowell, one in the early sixties by Robert Pack, the other published a decade later by Warren Tallman. Pack's response appeared in his introduction to the Second Edition of *New Poets of England and America* (1962), edited by himself (American poets) and Donald Hall (British poets). A decisive attack both at Beat poetry as well as Lowell's labels, Pack's comments reveals how threatening Allen's poets were once considered.¹⁵

¹⁵ Nearly two decades later, "Poems by Robert Pack" appeared in the *Whole Earth Review* (Summer 1987, No. 55). Covering four pages (11-14), Pack linked the five poems to the *Whole Earth* universe through a scientific theme ("Number," "Einstein," "Neutrinos"). The collection of poems followed computer journalist Steven Levy's article "The Reality Club," which explored the "new" sense of reality in a growing virtual world. Pack, himself, is identified as a poet who had read at a meeting of "The Reality Club," and a professor at Middlebury College. His easy integration into *Whole Earth Review*, a realm that had been dominated by the "Raw" or Beat poets for over a decade, however, speaks to the fallacious nature of his 1962 introduction. In 1993, he co-edited the anthology *Poems for a Small Planet: Contemporary American Nature Poetry* with Jay Parini in which he includes two poems by one formerly "Raw" poet, Gary Snyder, one of which ("Night Song of the Los Angeles Basin") appears in *Whole Earth Review*

Dividing American poetry today into two camps, the Academics and the Beats, has obscured the distinction between good and bad, honest and pretentious writing, and it has corrupted the unprofessional audience concerned with modern poetry by turning their attention from the poem to the personality of the poet ... Robert Lowell has cleaved poetry into the 'cooked' and the 'uncooked.' The connotations attached to cooked are: prepared, digestible, tamed, civilized – in effect, academic; dry, the emotion boiled out. The connotations attached to the 'uncooked' are raw (as raw-brutal-sexy in the daily movie ads, implying that the truth at last will be told), barbaric (implying that the repressions of society have been broken) and original, liberated, and natural. The idea of raw, unaffected, or spontaneous poetry misleads the reader as to what is expected of him. It encourages laziness and passivity. He too can be spontaneous, just sit back and respond ... Nowhere has Marx or any social ideology taken the place of God. For most of these poets, nothing has. Where God is loved or feared, the emphasis is on the poet's personal emotion as a Jew or a Christian. There is no esoteric wisdom, no erudite reference to Eastern religions, no easy, half-assimilated mysticism.

(177-182)

Nearly a decade later Warren Tallman responded to Pack through the preface he wrote for Don Allen's sequel to "*The New American Poetry, 1945-1960*" entitled *The Poetics of the New American Poetry*. His response questions both Hall's oversight as well as the antagonism directed towards poets of the Beat generation:

That the blank places in *Understanding Poetry* stayed blank well beyond 1939

85 (Spring 1995).

begins to come clear in 1957 with the appearance of yet another ‘official’ anthology, *New Poets of England and America*, edited by Donald Hall, Robert Pack, and Louis Simpson with a preface by Robert Frost. Given the enormous vogue for *Understanding Poetry* in university circles it’s scarcely surprising that most of the American poets in the Hall-Pack-Simpson anthology are discussible in light of the distinctions Brooks and Warren had established 18 years earlier. The surprise comes in 1960 in the form of *The New American Poetry, 1945-1960*, edited by Donald Allen, who somehow managed to conjure 44 poets into the presence from some blue beyond the range of ‘official’ attention ... It must have required a considerable effort of attention for the editors of *New Poets of England and America* to look so completely past Olson’s generation. It’s difficult to believe that their work was so desperately fugitive as to have escaped notice entirely; more reasonable to assume that the news they had to offer was still too new. (x-xi)

By the time that Brand released *CoEvolution Quarterly* in 1974, just a few years after Tallman published this preface, Beat poets were no longer Raw, marginal figures, and *The Evergreen Review* had ceased publication. Yet, Brand’s publication was a clear dedication to the “Raw,” perhaps filling the gap that was left by the end of *The Evergreen Review* in 1973. Thus, while the Beat poets were inside rather than outside of the margins, their presence metaphorically connects *CoEvolution Quarterly* to the kind of innovation that Donald Allen’s publications offered. In addition, for Brand, much of this innovation was dependent upon his use of “open form.”

It is important to remember, however, that “open form,” is synonymous with “free

verse,” Brand’s poetry of choice for his *Whole Earth* publications. If form equals content, Brand’s interest in free verse is reflective of his “open form” approach to layout, content and design. In particular, Brand’s emphasis on the work of Jack Kerouac in particular is reflective of his call for a method to “invoke” Lucien Carr’s “New Vision.” To thus understand the connection between Brand’s approach to “open form” and its connection with Beat poetry, it’s important to turn back to Carr’s theories.

In Lucien Carr’s “New Vision,” the ability to arouse consciousness from slumber was only possible through the creation of a new type of language, an idea that Carr borrowed generously from Arthur Rimbaud. A.R. Blank notes this relationship in *My Darling Killer*, describing Carr’s “New Vision” as “a contemporary revisiting” of the “romantic vision” of Rimbaud (Blank 7). Thus the elevation of consciousness creates for Rimbaud a “voyant” (7) or “supreme savant” (8) who “arrives at the unknown” (8). It is only through arriving at this destination that the “voyant” can produce a new kind of language: “In this new place, with this fresh perspective, and with his poetic and creative abilities, the voyant discovers a new language ‘of the soul for the soul, epitomizing everything, scents, sounds, colors, through seizing through and reaching forth’ ”(8).

In addition, Rimbaud directly links this idea to a concept similar to free verse when he states that: “poetry will no longer suit action to a rhythm; it will be in the vanguard” (8). Unfortunately, as Blank notes, Rimbaud (and the others who influenced Carr) offered him ideas but not a method to enable them. Without a technique for achieving the “New Vision,” Carr’s theories remained just that-abstract ideas. It would take the involvement of Jack Kerouac (followed by Allen Ginsberg) to initiate the development of a method.

Indeed, one could frame much of Kerouac’s life as a search for this “method.” During the

time period that he became involved with Eastern mysticism, Kerouac also worked on theories of language and writing that eventually shaped works such as *On The Road* and *The Dharma Bums*. He outlined these ideas in his essay “The Essentials of Spontaneous Prose.”¹⁶ While there is a debate among scholars as to exactly how “spontaneous” Kerouac’s prose was, for the sake of this discussion I will simply focus on the theory behind this writing style rather than the actual execution of it.

As Stephen Prothero notes, Kerouac summarized his method for invoking the “New Vision” in his essay “The Essentials of Spontaneous Prose.” Kerouac’s ultimate goal was to move away from writing methods that sought to evoke the “stream of consciousness” of literary characters. Instead, his objective was to “use the movements and patterns of his own mind as his subject matter. His aim was to create an honest record of the writer’s modes of perception” (*Big Sky Mind: Buddhism and the Beat Generation* 24). Kerouac outlines this method in nine steps: “Set-Up,” “Procedure,” “Method,” “Scoping,” “Lag in Procedure,” “Timing,” “Center of Interest,” “Structure of Work,” and “Mental State.”

While all nine steps touch upon his central theme, a few capture Kerouac’s essential ideas. The central goal of every step, however, is to achieve a state of enhanced consciousness in order to produce “trance writing”:

If possible write ‘without consciousness’ in semi-trance (as Yeats’ later ‘trance writing’) allowing subconscious to admit in own uninhibited interesting necessary and so ‘modern’ language what conscious art would censor, and write excitedly, swiftly, with writing-or-typing-cramps, in accordance (as from center to

¹⁶ Kerouac’s “Essentials of Spontaneous Prose” is often read alongside his later essay, “Belief and Technique for Modern Prose.” See *Evergreen Review*. Vol. 2, No. 8. 57.

periphery) with laws of orgasm, Reich's 'beclouding of consciousness.' Come from within, out-to relaxed. ("The Essentials of Spontaneous Prose" 73)

In addition, this state of trance writing could only be achieved through the act of continuous writing, unimpeded by grammatical conventions that needlessly obstruct flow of thought: "No periods separating sentence-structures already arbitrarily riddled by false colons and timid usually needless commas-but the vigorous space dash separating rhetorical breathing (as jazz musician drawing breath between out blown phrases)" (72). Kerouac does not make this connection to jazz lightly – "spontaneous prose" is the equivalent of a jazz musician's improvisations: "Time being of the essence in the purity of speech, sketching language is undisturbed flow from the mind of personal secret idea-words, blowing (as per jazz musician) on subject of image"(72).

Ultimately as Kerouac indicates in "Center of Interest," these techniques allow the inner resources of the mind to produce the kind of poetry envisioned by Carr:

Begin not from preconceived idea of what to say about image but from jewel center of interest in subject of image at moment of writing, and write outwards swimming in sea of language to peripheral release and exhaustion-Do not afterthink except for poetic or P. S. reasons. Never afterthink to "improve" or defray impressions, as, the best writing is always the most painful personal wrung-out tossed from cradle warm protective mind-tap from yourself the song of yourself, blow!-now!-your way is your only way-'good'-or 'bad'-always honest ('ludi- crous'), spontaneous, 'confessionals' interesting, because not 'crafted.' Craft is craft. (72)

Furthermore, though these selections from "The Essentials of Spontaneous Prose" may seem

abstract, his signature style was the application of them in his novels. For example, Japhy's definition of "Dharma Bums" in Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums* reads differently if the entire quote is given (in contrast to the partial one in the previous chapter). It is in fact one long sentence, unimpeded by conventional grammar, ultimately evoking all of Kerouac's nine steps:

I've been reading Whitman, know what he says, *Cheer Up slaves*, and *horrify foreign despots*, he means that's the attitude for the Bard, the Zen Lunacy bard of old desert paths, see the whole thing is a world full of rucksack wanderers, Dharma Bums refusing to subscribe to the general demand that they consume production and therefore have to work for the privilege of consuming, all that crap they didn't really want anyway such as refrigerators, TV sets, cars, at least new fancy cars, certain hair oils and deodorants and general junk you finally always see a week later in the garbage anyway, all of them imprisoned in a system of work, produce, consume, work, produce, consume, I see a vision of a great rucksack revolution thousands or even millions of young Americans walking around with rucksacks, going up to mountains to pray, making children laugh and old men glad, making young girls happy and old girls happier, all of 'em Zen Lunatics who go about writing poems that happen to appear in their heads for no reason and also by being kind and also by strange unexpected acts keep giving vision of eternal freedom to everybody and to all living creatures, that's what I like about you Goldbook and Smith, you two guys from the East Coast which I thought was dead. (98)

Kerouac's theories of "spontaneous prose" were highly influential. LeRoi Jones, in lengthy response published in 1959 issue of *The Evergreen Review*, credits Kerouac's essay as

“an amazing document because it not only outlines exactly how he writes (and is therefore unattackable), but also offers a general description of the process involved in spontaneous writing” (253). In addition, Philip Beidler notes that Ferlinghetti’s poetry exemplified “the studied lack of mechanical correctness, the jazzy line placement, the spontaneous, just-off-the-typewriter look of the page, attempted as with Kerouac, Ginsberg, and other Beats, to make print a conduit for spontaneous performance” (72).

In addition, in the introduction to the first publication of Kerouac’s poetry collection *Pomes All Sizes*, Ginsberg notes that his own poetry was “always modeled on Kerouac’s practice of tracing his mind’s thoughts and sounds directly on the page” (ii). Furthermore, Ginsberg states that “all the San Francisco Renaissance poets were curious, interested, impressed, sometimes inspired by Kerouac’s solitary autochthonous strength, ear, Kerouac’s sound, his unobstructed grasp of American idiom” (iv). Finally, Ginsberg ties the origins of the *Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics* at *The Naropa Institute* to Kerouac’s particular approach to free verse:

Poetry can be ‘writing the mind,’ the Ven. Chögyam Trungpa phrased it, corollary to his slogan ‘First thought, best thought,’ itself parallel to Kerouac’s formulation ‘Mind is shapely, Art is shapely.’ Reading *Mexico City Blues* to that great Buddhist teacher from the front carseat on a long drive Karne Chöling Retreat Center (1972 called Tail of the Tiger) to New York, Trungpa laughed all the way as he listened ... as we got out of the car he stood on the pavement and said, *It’s a perfect exposition of the mind*. The next day he told me, I kept hearing Kerouac’s voice all night or yours and Anne Waldman’s... I’d given him a new idea of American poetry-Thus Turngpa Rinpoche’s last decade’s open-form international spontaneous style *First Thought Best Thought* poetry collection.

Thus two years later, the ‘Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics’ was founded at Naropa University. (ii-iii)

Though he died in 1969 (just a year after Brand first established the *Whole Earth Catalog*), Kerouac and his work were a constant presence in Brand’s *Whole Earth* publications, thus indicating a link between them and his theories of “spontaneous prose.” As I noted in the previous chapter, references to Kerouac began with the first issue of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, with a special note on *The Dharma Bums*.¹⁷ References to Kerouac and his work would appear in future issues, including the poem (which I will explore in the next chapter), “Berkeley Song in F Major,” in *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Fall 1978 #19 and his “Belief & Technique for Modern Prose” appeared the Spring 1995 issue of *The Whole Earth Review*. Kerouac is also the subject of a number of articles such as Michael Ventura’s article “Off the Road: Beyond the Myth of Jack Kerouac and Neal Cassady” and Daniel Barth’s “Reading Kerouac and the Beats” (*The Whole Earth Review*’s Winter 1988 #61). In addition, *Whole Earth Review* Spring 1995 #85 issue offers the “Jack Kerouac Survey,” *Tristessa* (review by Allen Ginsberg), *Visions of Cody* (review by HH), *The Portable Jack Kerouac* (review by HH), and *Jack Kerouac: Selected Letters, 1940-56* (review by HH) (94-95).

Finally, in the *Whole Earth Review*, Fall 1995 #87 Allen Ginsberg offers prose meditations on Kerouac entitled: “Two Dreams of Jack Kerouac: “Kerouac’s Labors” and “The Vast Valley of The World.” (88) Written two years prior to his death, they are the only works of

¹⁷ This is the first of two direct references to Kerouac’s *The Dharma Bums* in Brand’s *Whole Earth* publications. The second occurred in *CoEvolution Quarterly* Summer 1979, #22 with R. Crumb’s cartoon parody, “Those Dharma Bums” (78-81). Crumb concluded the last cartoon panel with the statement: “... and Good-Night, Jack, Where Ever You Are!!”

his fictionalized prose that were published in *Whole Earth* publications (the rest were either poetry or interviews). The resurrected Kerouac in one of Ginsberg's dreams highlights his importance to the *Whole Earth* universe. The dream titled "Kerouac's labors," (with a young and healthy Kerouac) serves to remind him of his own greatness. Ginsberg tells him: "You've already done so much you don't have to strain to live ... you don't have to work so hard, you're already immortal in your work, but you're valuable to the world" (88). Ginsberg's words of comfort also serve as a means of resurrection, thus mirroring the larger *Whole Earth* project of "reviving" Kerouac through its adherence to his vision of "the method": "take it easy... You should stay around on earth till old age maybe 80 or 90 years ... you don't have to write a book every six months... just record of a few flowers of thought over the ten year cycles- that should be easy, it would write itself. That way you can survive without straining" (88). Thus Ginsberg's final question to Kerouac, "when will we see each other again?" is in effect rhetorical. We saw him again – and again, through the *Whole Earth* project that is ultimately a product of his method, Brand's unique approach to a contrapuntal "open form" format.

Indeed, this "method" was so essential to the infrastructure of *Whole Earth* publications that any time Brand attempted to publish works outside of it, they would flounder regardless of content. This is particularly true of two of his financial failures: The "Poetry Issue" or *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Fall 1978 #19 (*Journal For the Protection of All Beings*) and *The Whole Earth Software Review* (three issues in 1984) and *The Whole Earth Software Catalog* (one issue in 1984 and one issue in 1985). In each circumstance, these special releases were devoted to a single topic (Beat poetry or personal computers respectively) and thus existed in what I call a "closed form" format, one that replicated a conventional magazine in its genre. Neither topic was unusual with regard to the *Whole Earth* universe; Beat poetry and personal computers were a

fundamental component of it. However, their appearance was customarily in an “open form” format, juxtaposed in a contrapuntal fashion to opposing ideas that led towards a higher level of consciousness. Without this constant state of opposition, the method was nullified and both projects failed as a result.

The Whole Earth Software Review and *The Whole Earth Software Catalog* should have succeeded given Brand’s (and thus *Whole Earth’s*) interest in the personal computer dating back to the late 1960s.¹⁸ In addition, the commercial publisher Doubleday published *The Whole Earth Software Catalog* and gave it a substantial amount of funding. However, in contrast to the innovative format and style of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, and the inventive choices of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, *The Whole Earth Software Catalog* was indistinguishable from the numerous other computer magazines that were already in the marketplace. Rather than an innovative “open form” format typical of the independent little magazine, *The Whole Earth Software Catalog* was commercial, “closed,” and thus outside of Brand’s “method.”

The same held true for the three issues of its companion magazine, *The Whole Earth Software Review* published by the *Point Foundation*. Miniaturized to the size of a greeting card, *The Whole Earth Software Review* was as sophisticated as a commercial publication in appearance (printed in color and on expensive glossy paper), but was otherwise unoriginal and thus “closed” in form. As *The Whole Earth Software Review* lacked a “coevolutionary” agenda, it also lacked a larger thematic purpose. The reductive nature of the articles was perhaps too simple for “hackers.” At the same time, without additional content to attract the attention of

¹⁸ For more on the relationship between the personal computer and Brand’s *Whole Earth* publications see Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, The Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism*.

“non-hackers,” these same articles probably did not reach a “lay” audience either.

Thus the venture folded after the third issue, and Brand decided to merge it (and the failed *Whole Earth Software Catalog*) with *CoEvolution Quarterly* to create the unusual hybrid *Whole Earth Review* (beginning with issue No. 4, January 1985). Of this failure, Turner commented:

From a business point of view, the *Catalog* was a failure ... For one thing, it had come too late to the party. By the Fall of 1984, when the first *Software Catalog* appeared, the market for publications devoted to evaluating software was becoming crowded. For another, it was expensive to produce ... more importantly, the print-based catalog format, with its comparatively slow production process, simply could not keep up with the speed which new titles were being released. (From *Counterculture to Cyberculture* 130-1)

Thus with the merger and the creation of *The Whole Earth Review*, Brand returned the personal computer back to an even more unusual “open form” format dependent upon contrapuntal opposition. In other words *The Whole Earth Review* was an experiment in which the personal computer of the 1980’s was forced to “coevolve” with the countercultural ecological approach to tools and living of *CoEvolution Quarterly*.

In light of this failure, it is thus not surprising that the similarly “closed” “Poetry Issue” or *The CoEvolution Quarterly* #19, Fall 1978 (*Journal For the Protection of All Beings*), was also not a successful venture. I use the term “closed” somewhat loosely here to reflect not so much a commercial publication like the *Whole Earth Software Review* and *Catalog*, but rather a traditional literary little magazine that lacked the contrapuntal interaction with science and technology *Whole Earth* readers were accustomed to. If the issue did not reflect the expectations of the loyal readership, it was due in part to the fact that it was created entirely by four guest

editors without oversight from the *Whole Earth* staff: Beat poets: Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gary Snyder, Michel McClure, and David Meltzer. This was not an unusual decision on Brand's part. As part of his untraditional format, Brand believed that issues created by occasional guest editors provided new and inventive approaches to his magazine.

The CoEvolution Quarterly #19, Fall 1978 was also an homage to the 1961 Beat little magazine also titled *Journal for the Protection of All Beings*, published by City Lights, a practice Brand repeated a few more times. Notable examples include the *Last Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog* (1971), which was homage to *The Realist* and co-edited by Ken Kesey. Issue #3 of *CoEvolution Quarterly* was edited entirely by the Black Panthers as a part of their general newsletter. Brand chose the original 1961 *Journal for the Protection of All Beings* (of all the potential possibilities) for his template, as it reflected his interests in both ecology and Eastern mysticism. The final page of Brand's 1978 revival discusses the original *Journal for the Protection of All Beings* and its importance to the future environmental movement: "The first *Journal for the Protection of All Beings* was published in 1961. It had a small circulation and enormous impact – it was one of the beginnings of environmental consciousness and conscience" (144).

The cover of Brand's revival replicates the original cover of the 1961 City Lights publication. Highlighting the title in a stylized font on a tan background, the 1961 *Journal for the Protection of All Beings* featured works by Gary Snyder ("Buddhist Anarchism"), Gregory Corso (an interview with Allen Ginsberg), Michael McClure, David Meltzer, Robert Duncan, Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and Norman Mailer among others. In addition, Ferlinghetti, Meltzer, and McClure (Brand would later add Snyder to his revival) edited the original 1961 issue which they saw as:

An open place where normally apolitical men may speak uncensored upon any subject they feel most hotly and coolly about in a world which politics has made. We are not interested in protecting beings from themselves, we cannot help the deaths people give themselves, we are more concerned with the lives they do not allow themselves to live, and the deaths other people would give us, both of the body and spirit. (3)

Mixing photography, free verse poetry, prose, and interviews, the periodical targeted a literary audience with an interest in the environment. Although it was short lived with limited publication, it was none the less was successful with its literary audience.

In contrast, Brand's 1978-revival was guest edited by Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gary Snyder, David Meltzer, and Michael McClure (the poetry of which will be explored in greater detail in the next chapter). It contained a more ambitious agenda that they summarized in the editor's note:

This version of *Journal for the Protection of All Beings* (originally published by *City Lights Books* in the Sixties as "A Visionary and Revolutionary Review") was conceived when Stewart Brand suggested a rebirth of it disguised as a *CoEvolution Quarterly*. We aimed at an issue centered on how to liberate mind and body and protect endangered species (including ourselves) from pathogenic industrial civilization. (3)

Not surprisingly, these editors created a little magazine that spoke to the audience they knew: poets, authors, or teachers and professors of poetry and literature. It may have been called *CoEvolution Quarterly*, but it was a carbon copy of a typical Beat literary little magazine and included works by Creeley, Ginsberg, Kerouac (poetry only), Orlovsky, Ferlinghetti, Meltzer,

Snyder, McClure, as well as Whitman, and Thoreau. However, while the topic of each work of free verse poem or “open form” prose focused on the environmental crisis, they existed within a magazine framed by a “closed form” format (that is, it was limited entirely to the humanities). The 1978 revival of *Journal for the Protection of All Beings* thus lacked the contrapuntal juxtaposition of the humanities with science and technology that was the signature trademark of *CoEvolution Quarterly*.

Thus, while the poetry itself adhered to Carr’s “New Vision,” Kerouac’s theories of “spontaneous prose,” and Ginsberg’s “New Consciousness,” it lacked Brand’s “coevolutionary” approach to environmental topics. It is in this respect only that I suggest that the issue falls into a “closed form” format. Indeed, as Art Kleiner later commented in the appendix to *News That Stayed News 1974-84: Ten Years of CoEvolution Quarterly*: “Partly because of its unfamiliar format, [*CoEvolution Quarterly* #19, Fall 1978 (*Journal For the Protection of All Beings*)] becomes one of the most controversial (and worst-selling) issues CQ has published. Future guest-edited issues will usually involve at least one *Whole Earth* staffer as editor” (333-4). It is notable, however, that despite its failure with readers, the work of Beat poets as well as the poets themselves continued to appear and thrive throughout the following three decades.

Both the failure of *The CoEvolution Quarterly* #19, Fall 1978 (*Journal For the Protection of All Beings*) and *The Whole Earth Software Review and Catalog* are important to note, however, as they call attention to the following: in order to successfully perpetuate an atmosphere of (eco) coconsciousness expansion in his *Whole Earth* publications, Brand had to uphold a commitment to “open form” or the contrapuntal juxtaposition of Eastern mysticism, poetry, ecology, science and technology. Indeed, the success of Brand’s approach to technology was entirely dependent upon “open form,” or what he would refer to as “Soft.” Indeed, it is with

the concept of “Soft” that poetry, Eastern mysticism, ecology, and technology find a contradictory harmony as they “coevolve.”

Chapter 3:

From Science to Poetry and From Poetry to Science

[There is an] important, yet little known reaching out from science to poetry and from poetry to science that was part of the Beat movement [...] Much of what the Beat Generation is about is nature - the landscape of nature in the case of Gary Snyder, the mind as nature in the case of Allen Ginsberg. Consciousness is a natural organic phenomenon. The Beats shared an interest in Nature, Mind, and Biology - areas that they expanded and held together with their radical political or antipolitical stance. –Michael McClure (*Scratching the Beat Surface* 11).

I have suggested in the preceding chapters that Stewart Brand's interest in Eastern mysticism and an "open form" format functioned as a *method* of (eco) consciousness expansion throughout both phase one and phase two of his *Whole Earth* publications. At the same time, with the addition of poetry during phase two (particularly Beat poetry), Brand experienced an ideological shift. In other words, poetry contributed to an environment in which tools and technology became more humane and sustainable as they all "coevolved" with Eastern mysticism in an "open form" format, leading to (eco) consciousness expansion.

Brand's vision of "coevolution" is especially pertinent given that one does not usually associate Beat poetry (or the Beats themselves) with technology. This point appears to be reinforced by Bruce Cook who asked Allen Ginsberg in an interview how "he might sum up the

Beat movement as an idea. What was at the heart of it intellectually?” Ginsberg responded: “Well, there was the return to nature and the revolt against the machine” (104).

Ginsberg’s response reflects a generally negative concept of technology (tied to a culture of consumption), which he particularly conveyed through the image of Moloch in “Howl”:

Moloch whose mind is pure machinery! Moloch whose
blood is running money! Moloch whose fingers are ten
armies! Moloch whose breast is a cannibal dynamo!
Moloch whose ear is a smoking tomb!

Moloch whose eyes are a thousand blind windows! Moloch
whose skyscrapers stand in the long streets like endless
Jehovas! Moloch whose factories dream and choke in the
fog! Moloch whose smokestacks and antennae crown the
cities! (“Howl,” *Collected Poems* 139)

As Alan Liu indicates in *The Laws of Cool*, the technological culture represented by Moloch was a product of the computer culture of the 1940’s and 1950’s, best represented by the now obsolete Mainframe computer (or Moloch “whose mind” Liu states “was pure machinery”). Liu notes that the Mainframe computer was indeed a monstrous device, that usually “consumed” an entire room and was the privileged object of the military-industrial complex (Liu 135-6). This argument is further reinforced through Ginsberg’s piece “Brother Poet” (1972), a work of prose about his brother Eugene in which Ginsberg states that “after all, the human heart’s the center of our nation, not the computer in the bank tower” (*Deliberate Prose* 224).

However, Ginsberg's dismissal of technology was not absolute. In a 1961 interview with poet Gregory Corso that appeared in the original *Journal for the Protection of All Beings*, Ginsberg makes a distinction between technology that supports "the system" and the ability to transform existing technologies through a "revolutionary" populist co-option of them (using language that proved to be remarkably prescient with regard to the future world wide web). Ginsberg stated that:

Individuals must seize control over the means of communication. That's my solution. The techniques applied by poets for altering the world of literature can be easily applied over telephone lines, radio stations, TV control rooms, wire services, newspaper desks, movie sets and projectors, all the way down to the minutest ramification of the vast electronic spider web network that controls all civilized portions of the globe. (24)

In the same interview, Ginsberg also advocates the use of chemical technologies (such as the then-legal drug LSD) towards the "activation of unused brain areas, like, consciousness expanded so [that man] can communicate more deeply than present Neanderthal mass communication" (26). Thus Ginsberg does not dismiss "technology" outright, as long as it is used in a fashion that is not reflective of "the machine."

Brand's vision of a "humane" technology throughout the entire history of *Whole Earth* concurred with Ginsberg's "revolutionary" populist co-option of existing technological paradigms. With phase two and the launch of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, however, Brand directed this concept towards what he referred to as "Soft Technologies" or environmentally based alternative/appropriate technologies (which he defines in both the first issue of *CoEvolution*

Quarterly, as well as in *Harper's Magazine* and *The Whole Earth Epilog*). Indeed, this particular approach to technology was successful precisely because of the way in which Brand integrated the humanities and science in a contrapuntal fashion in his periodicals.

The importance of Brand's method is particularly emphasized by the failure he experienced when he deviated away from it (such as the unsuccessful poetry issue, *CoEvolution Quarterly* #19, Fall 1978). More reflective of its four guest editors Ferlinghetti, Snyder, McClure, and Meltzer than of Brand's coevolutionary "method," *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Fall 1978 #19, Fall 1978 framed all forms of technology as "the machine." In other words, there is a radical difference between the way in which the guest editors constructed Beat poetry and prose for this issue and in Brand's method of integrating their poetry with science, technology, and ecology throughout other *Whole Earth* publications.

Thus, the difference lies not just in *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Fall 1978 #19's lack of "open form" (as discussed in the previous chapter), but also in the absence of any attempt by the guest editors to render technology humane and sustainable in an ecological context. Their approach is emphasized in an editor's note that simply states that the four guest editors "aimed at an issue centered on how to liberate mind & body and protect endangered species (including ourselves) from pathogenic industrial civilization" (1). Consequently, all forms of technology in this issue serve to create a "pathogenic industrial civilization." None are therefore thematically relevant to the liberation of the "mind & body."

This approach to technology is clearly conveyed through the design of the back cover of *CoEvolution Quarterly* #19. A "raised" or "clenched" fist that is emblematic of 1960's solidarity movements is framed within a list of the poets who appear in the issue. There is one significant

alteration to the standard image of this fist, however: it is soaked in oil. This symbol of environmental destruction, clearly linked to the list of Countercultural and Beat generation poets that surround it, suggests an issue dedicated to social justice. What the image (and the issue) lacked, however, was Brand's "Soft Technologies" that would strive to wipe it clean.

CoEvolution Quarterly #19 does include content that would have been familiar to Brand's audience by 1978, as had had slowly introduced Beat poets and poetry in previous issues. Contributors to *CoEvolution Quarterly* #19 include "Raw" poets Robert Creeley, Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and Peter Orlovsky, as well as the guest editors Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gary Snyder, Michael McClure, and David Meltzer.¹⁹

Specific works by these poets perpetuated the lack of a contrapuntal or coevolutionary approach, however. Jack Kerouac's then-unpublished poem from *Pomes All Sizes* (which Ginsberg would help to publish twenty years later), "Berkeley Song in F Major" is the third poem to appear in the journal. Given the setting of the poem (Berkeley, California) and the presence of Walt Whitman, "Berkeley Song in F Major" reflects Ginsberg's poem "Supermarket in California," particularly through its juxtaposition of the loss of the natural environment to artificial and technological surroundings. In the opening lines of the poem, Walt Whitman is presented as a biblical figure ("oh Eloheim") whose mere presence disrupts Berkeley's Lawrence Lab:

¹⁹ Additional contributors include: Robert Aitken, Haruo Aoki, Antonin Artaud, Bertolt Brecht, Sterling Bunnell, Peter Blue Cloud, Peter Coyote, Stephen Crane, Richard Felger, Sean Griffin, Jack Kornfield, William La Fleur, Vachel Lindsay, Peter Marin, Henry Munn, Scoop Nisker, Herbert Read, Ishmael Reed, Nanao Sakaki, Ben Shahn, Henry David Thoreau, Anne Waldman, Peter Warshall, Robert Wilkinson, and Walt Whitman.

Walt Whitman is striding
Down the mountain of Berkeley
Where with one step
He abominates & destroys
The whole atomic laboratory. (11)

Whitman's almost supernatural presence is based on a form of Eastern mysticism that offers no possibility of "coevolution" with a form of soft technology. Thus, Whitman goes:

East & gobbles
up Burma & Tits
the Mock Top Peaks of Thibetha
Returning, like the sun
 the shield
Around the other side
Where we first though
We saw him visioning
Down the shuddering mount
Of Berkeley's Atomic
Test Laboratory of mice & men

Kerouac's work is followed by poetry and prose that adheres to a similar trajectory. Ginsberg's prose essay, "Nuts to Plutonium" co-authored with Col. Sutton Smith (William Burroughs), is a decisive attack against the use and cultivation of nuclear power. Anne Waldman's "Plutonium Chant" as well as the first publication of Ginsberg's long poem "Plutonium Ode" follows it.

Waldman's "Plutonium Chant" is an unabashed attack against nuclear technology that

positions a world engulfed by “nukes” as “Hell.” Virtually every line of the poem contains the word “glow” or objects that are “glowing.” The word “glow,” however, is a potentially contrapuntal one as it implies joy (and perhaps fertility as in the “glow” of a pregnant woman). However, as with Kerouac, there is no opportunity for “coevolution.” Waldman undermines the possibility of authentic joy through a tone of sarcastic excitement: “Fuck plutonium! Love it? Hate it? WE’LL ALL BE GLOWING FOR A QUARTER OF A MILLION YEARS” (20). As the poem indicates, it is not just the face or body that glows (teeth, nails, knuckles, angles, hair etc.) but also everything (underwear, pages of words, microfilm, antlers, etc.) creating a technological realm that is ultimately unsustainable.

Ginsberg’s “Plutonium Ode” is a poem reminiscent of “Howl” in form and in tone but varies in content. As with the previous poems, the concept of technology in his poem never leaves the realm of “Moloch.” Rather it is emblematic of “the machine,” an object that is only worthy of being destroyed before it instigates destruction itself. Thus, Ginsberg issues a direct plea to his reader to:

destroy this
mountain of Plutonium with ordinary mind and body speech,
thus empower this Mind-guard spirit gone out, gone out, gone beyond, gone
beyond me, Wake space, so Ah! (23).

In some respects, it functions as the antithesis to “Supermarket in California,” an apostrophe dedicated to Walt Whitman, whom he beseeches to rescue him from the artificial lights of the suburban supermarket. In a similar manner, the poem “Plutonium Ode” also functions as a multi-layered apostrophe, addressing and anthropomorphizing nuclear energy. However, Ginsberg’s tone is more reminiscent of a fallen Satan in Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. There is no hope of

salvation, no introduction of any form of spiritual ideology that can “save” this form of technology from itself:

Radioactive Nemesis were you there at the beginning
black dumb tongueless unsmelling blast of Disil-
lusion?
I manifest your Baptismal Word after four billion years
I guess your birthday in Earthling Night, I salute your
dreadful presence last majestic as the Gods,
Sabaot, Jehova, Astapheus, Adonaeus, Elohim, Iao,
Ialdabaoth, Aeon from Aeon born ignorant in an
Abyss of Light (23).

Thus, if Snyder’s earlier poems elevated “emptiness” to a form of divine enlightenment, Ginsberg’s “Abyss of Light” functions as its counter opposite. Contextualized in an issue without an “open form” format that encourages “coevolution,” there is nothing within “Plutonium Ode” but a void that ultimately invalidates Brand’s methodology.

Thus, for Beat poets and their poetry to succeed within Brand’s universe, they had to exist in a coevolutionary fashion with alternative approaches to technology and science. That is, technologies were rendered humane and sustainable in Brand’s works when they were framed within the contrapuntal integration of the humanities and the science that reflected the Beat investment in Eastern mysticism and consciousness expansion. This “method” in fact mirrors Robert Thayer’s discussion of “sustainable” technologies in his text, *Gray World/Green Heart*. That is, Thayer’s text echoes Brand’s distinction between technologies of pure consumption and “sustainable” or “humane” technologies that reinforce and replicate a certain set of principles.

Thayer (as with Brand) argues that tool use is a part of the human experience as “scarcely a day goes by in the life of most Americans without at least some form of interaction with nature, land, and technology ... on a day-to-day basis, however, we don’t comprehend the relationship between nature, technology, and landscape in a deliberate or conscious manner” (Thayer xiii). Therefore he suggests, if we lack this “conscious manner,” we could be susceptible to “an appetite for technology” (xiv) that is driven by economic forces: “Perhaps the greatest obstacle to be overcome by everyday people trying to establish a more sustainable world is the corporate marketing pressure to consume a without purpose, meaning, or ethical control other than that provided by advertising” (328). In other words, it is this form of corporate control, rather than the technologies themselves, that leads to “the destruction of personal value in our everyday landscape” (xiv).

Thayer thus suggests that a more sustainable approach to technology lies within the concept of *Topophilia* (a term he borrows from geographer Yi-Fu Tuan) or “the range of positive human emotions relating to affection for land, earth, and nature” (5). When *Topophilia* is linked to technology, it offers a useful alternative to *Technophobia* and *Technophilia*. The first, *Technophobia*, refers to an all encompassing “suspicion, fear, and aversion to certain technologies and their physical manifestations” (50). In the absence of an elevated consciousness, it can also lead to its opposite *Technophilia*. This term refers to the development of a type of “mythological” approach to technology, where its innovators become objects of reverence:

America still holds breakthrough scientific discovery, individual invention, and maverick technological entrepreneurship as its reigning social ideal; iconoclastic computer wizards Steve Jobs, found of *Apple Computer*, and Bill Gates of

Microsoft, occupy the pinnacle of the American technological spirit.” (32-3)

However Thayer states, both Technophobia and Technophilia are misleading ideological trajectories as they operate equally within the void of an underdeveloped consciousness and thus lead to technological excess and waste. A humane or sustainable approach to technology is best achieved through the application of Topophilia to scientific innovation that leads to consciousness expansion. Thayer then illustrates his argument through Gary Snyder’s ideal of “the wild”:

Modern technology may be natural, but it is not wild, and it is wildness that Gary Snyder implores us to preserve; not a reckless irresponsible wildness a but a thoughtful, loving connection to actual wild places on earth as well as the wild places inside each of us. As an avid spokesperson for bioregionalism, Snyder asks his students and listeners to learn where they are as they travel or live on the earth not by artificial politically determined boundaries such as states, counties, or towns, but by reference to physiographic features such as river watersheds, geological and topographic formations, plant/animal ecosystems and relative elevations above sea level. (22)

Above all, Snyder calls for the development of a relationship with the environment, one that would restore “the wild” within us:

Perpetuating the bond with wildness requires wild places, and Gary Snyder has become a larger-than-life in the wilderness movement. His enthusiasm, however, is not limited to the obvious, large, and spectacular road-less areas being formally proposed for wilderness classification, but extends to the subtle, fragmentary, wild pieces including the remnants of former logging operations and old mine

tailings. It is this type of environment – Snyder’s locally loved pockets of wildness – which is most rapidly disappearing from the American landscape. (23)

In other words, both Thayer and Brand use Snyder’s ideological approach to poetry as a metaphor for their respective applications of Topophilia and coevolutionary uses of Eastern mysticism towards technology.

Snyder is an apt choice for both of them, not only because of his prominence in the modern environmental movement, but also because of his wide-ranging approach to the concept of “technology.” As with Ginsberg, Brand, and Thayer, Snyder’s interactions with technology are dependent upon a particular state of consciousness. If technology is used without an advanced state of consciousness, it becomes destructive. On the other hand, if it is mediated by an enhanced state of consciousness (which occurs for Snyder through “the wild” and Eastern mysticism) technology is rendered sustainable and humane.

Thus, for Snyder, urban blight lends itself to the former, as he demonstrates in “Walking the New York Bedrock, Alive in the Sea of Information,” (published in *Whole Earth Review*, Winter 1988 #61). While I will return to Snyder’s relationship with his Apple Macintosh and Steve Jobs at the end of this chapter, the dominant image in this poem is that of a generic personal computer (such as a 1980’s IBM-PC) that is embedded into the framework of urban life: “Ex-Seamen stand watch at the stationary boilers/give way to computers/that monitor heat and power/Webs underground; in the air/ In the Sea of Information” (24).

The poem itself is a “meditation” on strangulation – of space, of breath, of life, and most importantly, of “the wild.” The title indicates that “the wild” (“Bedrock” and “Sea”) is powered (“walking”) through the infrastructure of the digital age (“information”). This leads to a state of “gridlock” in which a technology whose “center of consciousness” is blind market capitalism

(“wide and waving in the Sea of Economy”) has replaced nature (“New York is like a sea anemone”). Indeed, the gridlock refers not just to the physical but to the aural as well. Indeed, sound itself is imprisoned: “Vibrating with helicopters/the bass tone/ of a high jet” (24). Natural objects (“maple, oak, poplar, gingko,/New leaves, ‘new green,’ on a rock ledge/Of steep little uplift, tucked among trees”) thus only “wake up” when they encounter a situation of “rare people” (24).

Snyder, however, as with Ginsberg, Brand, and Thayer believes in the concept of a sustainable or humane technology if it is influenced by “the wild” and/or “Eastern mysticism.” Indeed, “the wild” does appear in this poem, and “breathes” life into existing technologies, rendering them more “humane”:

Claus the Wild man
Lived mostly with Indians
...
empty eye sockets of buildings just built
soul-less, they still wait the ceremony
That will make them too
New, Big
City Gods
Provided with conduit, cable, and pipe,
They will light up, breathe cool air,
Breathe the minds of he workers who work there-(25, 27)

Once revived via “the wild” urban blight is transformed into “beautiful buildings we float in, we feed in/foam, steel, gray/Alive in the Sea of Information” (29).

This type of a “humane” technology is further enhanced through Eastern mysticism. In “Night Song of the Los Angeles Basin,” (published in *Whole Earth Review*, Spring 1995 #85), the “gridlock” of urban blight leads to a soulless technology where “pollen dust blows ... swirl of light strokes writhing, knot-tying light paths, calligraphy of cars” while in contrast, the “Owl” lives free of the labyrinth with a voice that “calls.” Without the influence of Eastern mysticism or “the wild,” Snyder notes that the streets of Los Angeles become “dragons of light in the dark.” They perpetuate a hellish never-ending artificial light created by “drivers all heading somewhere” (62). In such an atmosphere, rivers are haunted by “The jinja that never was there.” However, hope is offered if Eastern mysticism is integrated into the urban jungle:

Into the pools of the channelized river

the Goddess in tall rain dress

tosses a handful of meal (62).

Thus, Snyder’s views of technology and technological environments share common elements with Brand and Thayer, particularly with regard to the environment. In other words, for all of them, this form of alternative technology is more reflective of Lucien Carr’s “New Vision,” and a Beat interest in consciousness expansion, than it is of engineering. It is a realm of possibility that renders technology in Brand’s periodicals “humane.”

For Thayer, this approach to technology advocates an ecologically balanced landscape supported by humane values and an elevated consciousness. In other words he is referring to what he calls, “sustainable technologies ... which when employed productively by humans, results in no loss of ecosystem carrying capacity, resource availability, or cultural integrity” (100). Furthermore, they make possible “a sustainable landscape” that “is a place where human

communities, resource uses, and the carrying capacities of surrounding ecosystems can all be perpetually maintained” (100). Sustainable technologies thus:

Rely on renewable resources and more locally available materials, may be smaller in scale and more dispersed throughout the landscape rather than concentrated in a few centralized locations, and will likely emit only outputs and by products that are easily reabsorbed and utilized by surrounding ecosystems. Sustainable technologies may abandon the tendency to save time rapidly consuming energy and wasting resources in favor of preserving ecological stability, human community, self-sufficiency, and essential quality of life. (242)

Maintaining this level of “self-sufficiency” and “ecological stability,” however, is dependent upon the contrapuntal interaction of Topophilia, Technophobia, and Technophilia (100). Indeed, Thayer suggests that his vision of a sustainable technology is both a byproduct of and a solution to the tension created by these three areas. He also notes that a move towards sustainable landscapes and technology is as much a matter of developing an elevated consciousness as it is of engineering:

In terms of human ecology, ‘sustainability’ is a hollow buzzword unless there is a culture code of common human values and behaviors which can itself be sustained. Far from being a solely technological solution, sustainability is only possible if there are stable and continuing human cultures and subcultures that value the regenerative use of resources and the longevity of dynamic but stable ecosystems ... Without sustainable values, landscapes designed to be sustainable will be misused, become unsustainable, and fail. (249)

Likewise, Brand’s “coevolutionary” theory of a “humane” technology is remarkably

similar to Thayer's concept of a *Sustainable Technology*. His idea refers to a form of technology that is environmentally sound and connected to a state of elevated consciousness. The significant difference between Brand and Thayer's methods lies, however, in Brand's pronounced investment in Eastern mysticism. In fact, Eastern mysticism becomes such a prominent motif with regard to Brand's vision of technology that it speaks to a "cousin" of "Hippie Orientalism" which is sometimes referred to as "Techno-Orientalism."

While "Techno-Orientalism" is traditionally used to refer to digital culture, I will recontextualize it here to describe Brand's integration of Beat poetry, Eastern mysticism, and alternative forms of technology in his *Whole Earth* publications. David Morley and Kevin Robins originally coined the term in 1995 to describe the Western anxiety towards the then-Japanese dominance of the global technological market. Morley and Robins note that this Western conflation of Japanese imagery with technology reinforced within literature and film

A culture that is cold, impersonal and machine-like, an authoritarian culture lacking emotional connection to the rest of the world ... This creates the image of Japanese as inhuman. Within the political and cultural unconsciousness of the West, Japan has come to exist as the figure of empty and dehumanized technological power. (169-70)

Greta Aiyu Niu later modified this term to mean the "practice of ascribing, erasing and/or disavowing relationships between technology and Asian peoples and subjects" (74). Lisa Nakamura prefers Niu's version, describing it as "creating a vision of Asia that is predictable, anachronistic, and reified as oriental" (64). Stephen Hong Sohn also concurs and states that:

In traditional Orientalism, the East often is configured as backwards, anti-progressive, and primitive. In this respect, Techno-Orientalism might

suggest a different conception of the East, except for the fact that the very inhuman qualities projected onto Asian bodies create a dissonance with these alternative temporalities. Even as these Alien/Asians conduct themselves with superb technological efficiency and capitalistic expertise, their effectual absence resonates as an undeveloped or, worse still, a retrograde humanism. (8)

In discussing Brand's vision of technology in his *Whole Earth* publications, I will be following the essence of Greta Aiyu Niu's definition of the term, with the caveat that it is being applied to a print (rather than digital) based paradigm that is likewise infused with "Hippie Orientalism." In other words, a fruitful way to categorize the Beat vision of Eastern mysticism and consciousness expansion in an open form contrapuntal format that renders technology "humane" and "sustainable" is through my version of "Techno-Orientalism."

This is perhaps best represented through the cover of a joint 1978 Point Foundation and Penguin release: *Soft-Tech: A CoEvolution Quarterly Book*, edited by J. Baldwin and Stewart Brand. The original cover design is by Steve Durkee's Greenman Cooperative, his follow up to the Lama Foundation. Durkee (as previously discussed in the Introduction) was the first individual to introduce Brand to the intersections of art and consciousness in the early 1960's, the two thematic areas that shaped the *Lama Foundation* commune which Durkee and his wife founded near Taos, New Mexico in 1967 (Hedgepeth 161).

An outgrowth of USCO and his involvement with the Human Be-In, The *Lama Foundation* focused almost entirely on consciousness expansion through the integration of Eastern-based spiritual practices into daily life:

The Lama Foundation was established as a non-profit corporation complete with

a board of trustees, back in straight society ... The idea of founding such a commune developed a few years ago in New York, where Steve and a group of other artists (all of them involved in jointly creating large, unsigned 'environmental art pieces), discovered that in their work they 'became an unconscious community ... Enlarged environmental art, and it is also a community. But its purpose, explains Steve, 'is to awaken consciousness. We would sacrifice the community aspect of it before we would sacrifice that. We try to awaken consciousness on the physical, emotional, and mental levels. A person awakened on all three levels is my idea of what a spiritual person should be.'

(162)

Brand likewise notes Durkee's affiliation with the *Lama Foundation* in the biographical note printed on the inside front cover of the fourth issue of *CoEvolution Quarterly* (Winter 1974). Durkee (who had by that time converted to Islam thus becoming Abdullah Nooruddeen Durkee) had painted a portrait of a flying dove for the cover of this issue. Brand thus identifies the cover artist as:

Noor (Stephen Durkee). This 6'4" 36 year, red-headed original is an old crony of mine (since 1960). In the early sixties he was a precocious New York artist riding the pop-op high ground. He co-founded with Gerd Stern the artist-engineer group USCO, centered at Stony Point, that aimed much of the early psychedelic art-performance medium. In the Bay Area in 1965 he invented the Human Be-In, which his partner Richard Alpert then fostered in Golden Gate Park. In 1966-67 he founded, with his wife Barbara and Jonathan Altman, the Lama Foundation eclectic religious commune near Taos, New Mexico and designed most of its

remarkable buildings. When Alpert returned to Lama fro India as Baba Ram Dass, Steve organized, designed, co-illustrated the book *Be Here Now* that became a word-of-mouth best seller.

Of equal importance to a greater thematic understanding of *Soft-Tech* is (as Brand notes above) Durkee's role in the design of the cover for Baba Ram Dass' classic 1971 text, *Be Here Now*. A testament to "Hippie Orientalism," *Be Here Now* documents Richard Alpert's spiritual path, as he leaves his position in academia, spends time in India, converts to Hinduism, and becomes Baba Ram Dass. The layout of the book is (like *CoEvolution Quarterly*) an experiment in "open form" as it contains sections that combine the "visual style of the 60's poster or underground comic with a kind of catechism, drawn equally from various hip oracles and spare parts of the worlds major religions" (Beidler 35). Likewise, Durkee's cover art for *Be Here Now* offers a radical design that "shows the title in mantra-like arrangement around a string art sphere. Contained within the sphere is the drawing of a simple caned chair" (35).

Seven years later, Durkee would orchestrate the cover for *Soft-Tech* which, while clearly influenced by the one he designed for *Be Here Now*, is a book about technology rather than Eastern mysticism. Composed of selections from past issues of *CoEvolution Quarterly* that focused on "soft-technology," *Soft-Tech* is a publication that elevated the mechanical, technical, and scientific to a spiritual level, yet preferring the work of the scientist and engineer to that of a priest or guru. In truth, despite the "Technology/General" classification on *Soft-Tech*'s back cover, little on either the front or back covers indicates that the book has anything to do with tools or machines.

Rather, the design of the covers appears to be closer to imagery associated with *Whole Earth*'s traditional investment in Eastern mysticism. Indeed, both the front and back covers (with

pink as the primary color and blue, orange, and white as secondary colors on the front cover and a black and white back cover) contain images that are modeled after a style associated with a form of Islamic mysticism, Sufism (also a reflection of Durkee’s new religious identity). As Brand notes in *Soft-Tech*:

[Cover] by Greenman Cooperative, Taos, New Mexico, S.N. [Steve] Durkee, proprietor. Steve is an old Soft Tech hand. At Lama commune near Taos, he built two of the most spectacular ‘zomes’ designed by his friend Steve Baer. The Lama ‘Growhole’ was an early development in ground storage of heat for winter gardening. The cover design is based on “Naqshband geometry” and a high pressure water wheel. (3)

A variant of Sufism, Naqshbandi geometric designs share the look and spiritual holistic qualities of Hinduism’s geometric Yantras (which in turn inspired the geometric Buddhist Mandalas, a multi-faceted variation on *Whole Earth*’s tendency to conflate a number of religions from the East).²⁰ The back cover repeats the “Naqshband geometry” motif along with text-based definitions of both “Soft” and “Tech” that appear to defy conventional notions of what constitutes a tool.

The covers also replicate Durkee’s work on the cover for *Be Here Now*, using a geometric design instead of the “mantra-like arrangement around a string art sphere” and a “water wheel” instead of a “simple caned chair.” This combination of elements is perhaps one of the most substantial pieces of evidence that indicates Brand’s strong intention to conflate Eastern

²⁰ For more on the strong relationship between Sufism and Hinduism (including Yantras), see Ernst.

mysticism and technology in a Techno-Orientalist mode. It is also a testament to the power of his contrapuntal method that the 1978 book *Soft-Tech* is considered today to be “important,” as it is “one of the best sources on AT [Alternative Technology]” currently available (Kirk, *Counterculture Green*, 166). It also served as “a distillation of a decade of evolving thought about alternative technology at *Whole Earth* and the primary document for the history of the movement” (240 n69).

The use of the term “Soft-Tech” also shaped the move from phase one to phase two. While alternative and appropriate technologies were features of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, Brand used these terms interchangeably with “soft-tech” without showing either a preference or an interest in one term over another. However, Brand introduces a new category in the Table of Contents for *The Whole Earth Epilog*: “Soft Technology.” This new classification coupled with Brand’s distinct preference for the term signaled a paradigm shift in his approach to technology.

Soft-Tech co-editor Jay Baldwin discusses this ideological shift in the opening pages of the text:

After the wave of protest and doom books, a consequent wave of what I call ‘suppress’ books appeared. Some of the phenomena to be suppressed turned out to be science and technology in general. Technological excess begets anti-technological excess. Fortunately, there are people who can think in terms of process rather than mere labels. They see a future in which technology is steered with an eye towards helping to make Experiment Earth a success. They see that we are going to have to live here in large numbers without trashing the place. Some have already made dramatic progress in utilizing technology to augment rather than oppose natural systems (4).

In addition, Brand also offers an explanation as to why he prefers the prefix “soft” as opposed to “alternative” or “appropriate”:

As for the book’s title, ‘Soft Tech’ is a term we’ve used and defended since the late sixties. It first emerged in Great Britain but then dropped out of fashion to be replaced by Alternative Technology (AT) and Appropriate Technology (AT).

Recently the publication of Amory Lovin’s landmark book *Soft Energy Paths* has helped revive the better language. ‘Soft’ signifies something is alive, resilient, adaptive, maybe even loveable. The other terms are administrative. (4-5)

Indeed, Brand’s preference for the word “soft” over its synonyms “alternative” or “appropriate” resembles Thayer’s definition of “sustainable technologies.” This point is demonstrated through the definitions on the back cover of *Soft-Tech*:

SOFT: Responsive, Pliable, Resilient, Mellow, Flexible, Yielding, Sensitive, Relaxed, Giving.

TECH: Skill, Craft, Knack, Excellence, Experience, Versatility, Mastery, Imagination, Competence, Ingenuity, Artistry, Know-How.

Brand also provides a prominent position to his definition for “Soft-Tech” in the April 1974 issue of *Harper’s Magazine*, the first issue of *CoEvolution Quarterly*, and *The Whole Earth Epilog*. The repetition of this definition in each periodical emphasizes its importance to phase two:

The term ‘soft technology’ was coined amid the British Counter-culture in 1970. Technology which is soft is gentle on its surroundings, responds to it, incorporates it, feeds it. A nuclear power-generating station doesn’t qualify. A wooden windmill with cloth sails grinding local grain does. (*CoEvolution Quarterly*

Spring 1974, 65)

Finally, Brand offers a chart on page six of *Soft-Tech*, which clearly demarcates “hard technology” as “the machine” and “soft technology” as a form of a “humane” and “sustainable” technology. I have include a sampling of the characteristics here:

“Some Utopian Characteristics of Soft Technology (Robin Clark).”

Hard technology society	Soft technology society
ecologically unsound	ecologically sound
large energy input	small energy input
high pollution rate	low or no pollution rate
nuclear family	communal units
city emphasis	village emphasis
alienation from nature	integration with nature
consensus politics	democratic politics
technical boundaries	technical boundaries set by nature
highly destructive to other species	dependent on well-being of other species
innovation regulated by profit and war	innovation regulated by need
centralist	decentralist
science and technology alienated from culture	science and technology integrated with culture

While Brand does not directly associate the term “soft” with Eastern mysticism, virtually all of the definitions correlate to the design of the cover that juxtaposes similar definitions of “soft” with Durkee’s “Naqshband geometry.” Furthermore, “soft” in this context also resembles aspects of Taoism.

One of the most important texts in Taoism, *The Tao Te Ching* of Lao Tzu contains a number of passages that (in translation) use the word “soft” as a metaphor for enlightenment.²¹ Stanza 78, for example, offers perhaps the most well known discussion of the Taoist preference for the “soft” over the “hard”:

There is nothing in the world more soft and weak than water, and yet for attacking things that are firm and strong there is nothing that can take precedence of it; for there is nothing (so effectual) for which it can be changed. Everyone in the world knows that the soft overcomes the hard and the weak the strong. (102)

As with *Be Here Now*, the *Tao Te Ching* was a text that Brand’s audience would have been familiar with. In fact, it was reviewed in the 1971 *Last Whole Earth Catalog*:

Reviewing the *Tao* is like reviewing the Bible. As soon as you presume it just giggles at you. The *Tao Te King* is a very old book (500 B.C. is one date) written

²¹ While he does not connect these ideas with the concept of “Soft-Tech,” I am nonetheless indebted to Vuk Uskoković whose online paper *Philosophy of the Way: Systemic Perspectives on Cognition, Creativity and Ethics of the Modern Era* (Uskokovic.yolasite.com. 2006-2007) juxtaposed Stewart Brand’s use of the term “CoEvolution” with Lao Tzu’s discussion of the “soft” and the “hard.”

by a legend named Lao Tzu. It describes how the universe is and makes an excellent case for harmony as the only survival technique that works. (12)

The Tao Te Ching was also interwoven into the opening of *The Whole Earth Epilog*. It appeared in a technological dialogue box entitled “Cream Rises: Cybernetics,” that was used to weave the 1974 *Epilog* with the 1971 *Last Whole Earth Catalog*:

Tao The King Cybernetic holy book 12

Introduction to Cybernetics: For serious beginners 317

The Human Use of Human Beings Nobert Wiener’s best 16

Steps to an Ecology of Mind: The mind of ecology 454

Embodiments of Mind: Warren McCulloch cybernetics patriarch 316

Plans and the Structure of Behavior: Human self-organization 432

Design for a Brain: Ross Ashby’s best 316

System & Structure: Radical cybernetics 454

Laws of Form The Primordial Distinction 12

Cybernetic Problems in Bionics: Technical observational biological 455

Cybernetics: the word is coined 307

General Systems Yearbook: Technical Whole-systems news 15

Nature and Man’s Fate Cybernetics of evolution 30

The Act of Creation Paeon to paradox 432

The Image Intro to organization 307

Principles of Systems How to computer model 705

Cybernetics for the Modern Mind: Best intro to computer cybernetics 704. (454)

Clearly, the *Epilog*’s qualification of *The Tao Te Ching* as the “Cybernetic holy book” in a list

that otherwise only references technology and science, further supports the idea that Brand's preference for the term "soft," as well as his framing of Soft-Tech in *Whole Earth* publications, is deeply embedded in Eastern mysticism. It also reinforces the notion that *CoEvolution Quarterly* functioned primarily as a work of Techno/Hippie Orientalism. Indeed, this understanding of technology as embedded in Eastern mysticism and ecology, situated in an "open form" format, and juxtaposed to the humanities, is Brand's unique approach to creating his own version of a method for Carr's "New Vision."

While the cover for *Soft-Tech* and Brand's preference for the word "soft" offers clues to his method for integrating Beat poetry and consciousness expansion into the *Whole Earth* universe, "soft-tech" was not the only area of technological interest in *CoEvolution Quarterly* and its descendants. In fact, Brand frequently experimented with a number of then-new technologies including the short-lived idea of Space Colonies, as well as the then – new personal computer.²² Indeed, as with "Soft Tech," Brand released a special book called *Space Colonies: A CoEvolutionary Book*, in 1978. The book included works of Beat poetry with scientific themes by Lawrence Ferlinghetti ("Olbers' Paradox") and Michael McClure ("Philosophical Poem #1: Scale is the Problem," "Space Day," "Philosophical Poem #2: Live By Your Wits," and "Philosophical Poem #3: Beginning with words by J. Cousteau- We Have to Go all the Way in All Directions"). Of greater interest to this project, however, is Brand's interest and investment in the personal computer and its relationship with Gary Snyder. While it may at first appear surprising to some, I would suggest that the pathway between the two incorporates Apple Computers, its co-founder, Steve Jobs, and Beat poetry.

²² For a complete overview of Brand's involvement with Space Colonies, see McCray.

In 2005, Steve Jobs gave a commencement speech at Stanford University in which he credited both Stewart Brand and the *Whole Earth Catalog* as having a strong influence on him while he was young. In the speech, Jobs references the back cover of *The Whole Earth Epilog* and discusses the impact of it on his ideological framework:

When I was young, there was an amazing publication called *The Whole Earth Catalog*, which was one of the bibles of my generation. It was created by a fellow named Stewart Brand not far from here in Menlo Park, and he brought it to life with his poetic touch. This was in the late 1960's, before personal computers and desktop publishing, so it was all made with typewriters, scissors, and polaroid cameras. It was sort of like Google in paperback form, 35 years before Google came along: it was idealistic, and overflowing with neat tools and great notions.

Stewart and his team put out several issues of *The Whole Earth Catalog*, and then when it had run its course, they put out a final issue. It was the mid-1970s, and I was your age. On the back cover of their final issue was a photograph of an early morning country road, the kind you might find yourself hitchhiking on if you were so adventurous. Beneath it were the words: "Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish." It was their farewell message as they signed off. Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish. And I have always wished that for myself. ("You've got to find what you love," Jobs says. Stanford University Commencement Speech")

Brand also showcased his interest in *Apple Computers* in his *Whole Earth* publications, particularly with the first "Hacker's Conference" in 1984 (inspired by Steven Levy's then-recently released *Hackers: Heroes of the Computer Revolution* in 1984). Steve Wozniak, co-

founder with Jobs of Apple and inventor of the Apple II, was prominently featured in both Levy's text as well as in Brand's lengthy article about the conference in *The Whole Earth Review*, May 1985 #46. This interest was also emphasized through a photo on the back cover of the issue that displayed both Wozniak and a member of the Apple Macintosh team, Andy Hertzfeld, "helping with dishwashing" during the "Hacker's Conference." Brand further profiles Wozniak's appearance in *Hackers: Heroes of the Computer Revolution* in the Fall 1984 issue of *The Whole Earth Software Review* (58-9).

However, Brand's significant public comment on Jobs came after he had died in 2011. In a memorial published in *Wired*, Brand referenced both Jobs' speech and his relationship with *Whole Earth*:

In 1990, Steve and I did an event for the Library of Congress. Afterward I sent him a signed copy of the *Epilog*. That's when I found out he was taking "Stay hungry. Stay foolish" as a mantra, this thing that I'd kind of tossed off back in the day. We never talked about it, but I think Steve was trying to keep some continuity with his youthful self and his youthful ideals. He may have taken it as a kind of core statement of hippiedom, a way to deal first with fame, then power, and then quite a lot of fortune.

Steve was too young to have been a hippie, of course. He almost missed the parade. But clearly he followed that track anyway—dropping out of school, wandering off to India barefoot in blue jeans. By the time of the Homebrew Computer Club in the 1970s, *Whole Earth* had moved on. Ken Kesey's Merry Pranksters had moved on. But Silicon Valley kind of throbbed with expectations,

with permission to be original and creative. Stanford Research Institute was there, and so was the Stanford AI Lab and Xerox PARC. Steve was in the thick of the transition from druggy hippiedom to countercultural, sophisticated hackerdom. That part he did not miss. (“Steve Jobs: Reflections on His Legacy: Stay Hungry, Stay Foolish”)

Brand’s (and thus *Whole Earth*’s) ties with *Apple Computers* do not stop with “The Hacker’s Conference” or his memorial to Jobs, however.

Rather, they extend to Gary Snyder, one of Brand’s favorite contributors, and an individual who shared with Jobs an alma mater, an interest in Eastern mysticism, spiritual searches through India, Beat poetry, and the Apple Macintosh. Indeed, Snyder, as we have seen, is not explicitly hostile to all forms of technology. He (as with Thayer, Brand, and Ginsberg) differentiated between the concept of “the machine” and technology that was rendered “humane” through interactions with “the wild” and Eastern mysticism. Snyder, himself, commented on this dichotomy in an interview for *The Whole Earth Review: 20th Anniversary Issue*, Winter 1988 # 61 in which he notes that he is “not implicitly against technology. For the most part I consider tools to be more or less morally neutral. It’s up to the person’s self-discipline and character to use it properly ... I find it incomprehensible that people can worry about being seduced by a machine. I am the master of my tools” (22).

Thus, while to some Jobs and Apple Computers were/are representative of the neoliberal co-option of the personal computer,²³ for Snyder the Apple Macintosh embodied the

²³ For a complete analysis of the relationship between the personal computer and

contrapuntal intersections of Eastern mysticism and consciousness expansion that *Whole Earth* publications had theorized about from the start. Indeed, Snyder and Jobs both shared a few common traits in this regard. In 1974, Jobs and his Reed College classmate Daniel Kottke made the same spiritual journey to India that Snyder had made a decade prior with Ginsberg. In addition, as with Brand, Jobs was highly influenced by Ram Dass' book *Be Here Now* (the "soul" of *Soft-Tech*):

Another of Jobs' favorite esoteric interests was the book *Be Here Now*, by Baba Ram Dass ... The book had a profound and transformative effect on Jobs and his friends. Jobs felt that the book's spiritual insights, combined with meditation and drugs like LSD, provided the keys to a new sense of identity, a New Consciousness, and a new way of seeing the world—a way to 'think different.'
(Robinson Kindle Locations 1488-1490)

These interests reflected Jobs' stronger interest and investment in the humanities, one that (like Brand) he would intertwine with technology. Jobs' stated that he:

Always thought of myself as a humanities person as a kid, but I liked electronics. Then I read something that one of my heroes, Edwin Land of Polaroid, said about the importance of people who could stand at the intersection of humanities and sciences, and I decided that's what I wanted to do. (Robinson, Kindle Locations 390-393)

Jobs' interest in the humanities, his key connection with Snyder and Brand, developed as

neoliberalism, see Harvey.

a teenager. While Jobs never spoke publically about his adolescent interest in the humanities, his high school girlfriend Chrisann Brennan described him as a self-professed poet in her memoir of their time together, *Bite in the Apple*. In addition, Brennan identifies a direct tie to Snyder (as well as Brand's investment in Beat poetry) when she states that:

Steve also introduced me to the Beat Poets. He studied their literature and their cool. There was some wedge of light from that former time in him, too—the clear, hip sophistication of a handsome nerd/ poet/ shaman. It was a thin wire that vibrated through the center of his being, a particular rhythm in his words, humor, and ideas. I'm sure that through Steve the Beat aesthetic helped shape the future of the Apple aesthetic. (Kindle Location 470-473)

In addition, in an earlier 2011 essay published in *Rolling Stone* at the time of his death, Brennan noted that, Jobs believed that they were “part of an affiliation of poets and visionaries he called ‘the wheat field group’ and would stay up at night “to write poetry.” In the same article, she also declared that, “at 17, Steve had more than a touch of the cool sophistication of a Beat poet. It is as if Beat poetry laid the future for technology in Steve” (42).

As Jobs identified with Beat poetry, Snyder publically connected himself with Jobs and the Apple Macintosh. Both Snyder and Jobs had attended Reed College (twenty years apart) and had studied under the same Blake scholar, Buddhist, and calligrapher, Professor Lloyd Reynolds. Reynolds would inspire them both not only in their mutual interest in Buddhism, but in the art of penmanship as well. Jobs would highlight Reynolds' influence on him in his 2005 Stanford commencement speech, crediting it with the introduction of fonts to the Macintosh:

The well-worn tale of Jobs' calligraphy class at Reed College being the

inspiration for fonts on the Macintosh contains an extremely important detail for reading the techno-religious rhetoric of the Apple mythology. Jobs' professor, Lloyd Reynolds, was an avid reader of William Blake, and was also fascinated by Zen Buddhism. In a course that influenced Jobs profoundly, Reynolds blended these esoteric interests together to articulate a philosophy of life and art that Jobs carried with him. (Robinson Kindle locations 1616-1617)

Snyder would also reference their mutual relationship with Reynolds in a talk he gave at the Los Angeles Public Library on May 26, 2011 (Gary Snyder: "Song of the Turkey Buzzard: The Poetry of Lew Welch"):

When I did take my one course from Lloyd myself, it was not in calligraphy ... what I learned from Lloyd was typography... we had a creative writing class in which what mainly happened was that you printed your own poem and then tried to convince yourself it was worth doing and that was a wonderful experience - and let me just say another thing about that. Steve Jobs of Apple went to Reed College and was a drop out. Steve later many years later gave a commencement address at Stanford University ... in it Steve Jobs gives credit to Lloyd Reynolds for giving him some consciousness of calligraphy and also of typography and says that if the Apple Macintosh computer has a variety of fonts and some pretty good fonts today it's because of Lloyd Reynolds which is quite a remarkable credit.

Given their mutual experiences with Reed, Lloyd Reynolds, India, Eastern mysticism, and Beat poetry, as well as his own approach technology, it should now be evident why Snyder wrote a poem entitled, "Why I Take Good Care of My Macintosh." The poem reflects his vision of the Macintosh as the embodiment of Brand's method: a technology that was rendered "humane"

through its intersections with Eastern mysticism.²⁴

Journalist John Markoff (whose 2005 text *What the Dormouse Said: How the Sixties Counterculture Shaped the Personal Computer Industry* was the first²⁵ full length text to detail Stewart Brand's relationship to the development of the personal computer and the counterculture) published Snyder's poem in January 2010, as part of his online *New York Times* article, "Digital Muse for a Beat Poet." Markoff wrote the article in response to the impending launch of the iPad, calling "Gary Snyder, the Beat-era poet who writes about the American wilderness" to find out his opinion of it ("Digital Muse for a Beat Poet"). Markoff began the article by addressing the appearance of incongruity in this decision:

Now, Mr. Snyder might not seem the best person to ask to reflect on the milestones of the digital age. He is 79 and lives in the Sierra foothills in Northern California. But his world and that of the early personal computer makers, like Mr. Jobs, overlapped, in both time and space.

He continues by stating that this overlap also involved one of a shared technophilia, as Snyder "has a nuanced understanding of computers. He is a devoted Macintosh user." However, Markoff states, this interest in technology is limited, as Snyder currently lives "without electricity" and "never uses a cellphone and has no use for BlackBerrys. He considers texting 'abhorrent.'"

²⁴ For more on the vision and marketing of Apple products (particularly the Macintosh) within the framework of Eastern mysticism, see Robinson; Green.

²⁵ Theodore Roszak's 1986 short booklet based on a talk he gave, *From Satori to Silicon Valley*, also briefly addressed this topic.

Despite a number of ideological differences with the digital age, Markoff states that Snyder's unpublished poem, "Why I Take Good Care of My Macintosh," nonetheless "breathes life into his computer."

Snyder begins his poem by linking his Macintosh to "the wild" in the opening lines: "Because it broods under its hood like a perched falcon/Because it jumps like a skittish horse and sometimes throws me." Thus connected to, and a part of, Snyder's "wild," the Macintosh becomes a living, anthropomorphized organism when it is turned on and filled with electricity. Otherwise, like a human, it grows "poky when cold." Indeed, for Snyder, the Macintosh is a form of Brand's "Techno-Oriental" consciousness expansion as he notes that his "mind flies into it through my fingers." Furthermore, Snyder evokes Kerouac's method of "spontaneous prose" when he notes that he reveres his Macintosh "because it leaps forward and backward, is an endless sniffer and searcher/Because its keys click like hail on a boulder." Snyder also connects the Macintosh to a state of "impermanence," a concept that is central to Buddhism in particular:

Because whole worlds of writing can be boldly laid out and then highlighted and vanish in a flash at 'delete,' so it teaches of impermanence and pain; And because my computer and me are both brief in this world, both foolish, and we have earthly fates.

It is beyond the scope of this project to explore the challenges to Snyder's vision of the Macintosh given Jobs' and Apple Computer's relationship with consumption and neoliberalism. What issue here is one of perception that ties Snyder's ideological point of view to Brand's particular view of technology in his *Whole Earth* publications. In so doing, Snyder speaks to possibilities for a "humane" technology and an attempt to perpetuate the idea that "coevolution"

remained possible, even as some of *Whole Earth's* original projects were co-opted by global capitalism. Even more importantly, it speaks to Brand's attempt to re-contextualize what is meant by "Raw" and "Beat." In other words, Brand's decision to read Beat poetry through the lens of "coevolution" opens the door to new discussions about the plausibility of integrating poetry, technology, and ecology in the current era of climate change.

Conclusion

My theory is that the success of the environmental movement is driven by two powerful forces – romanticism and science – that are often in opposition, with a third force emerging. – Stewart Brand (*Whole Earth Discipline* 208).

In 2009, six years after the demise of *Whole Earth*, Brand published a non-fiction book that served to reinforce his contrapuntal approach to technology, now placed within the context of 21st century climate change. Entitled *Whole Earth Discipline: An Ecopragmatist Manifesto*, (with a cover that replicated the first issue of *The Whole Earth Catalog* or an image of the “whole earth” against a black background), Brand frames the “tools” of “urbanization, nuclear power, biotechnology, and geoengineering” that –upon first glance – appears to contradict and dismantle all of his previous work (19). Careful examination of his approach, however, reveals that thematically, Brand is still thinking in the “coevolutionary” fashion of phase two.

In other words, Brand approaches these technologies in a contrapuntal fashion, in order to encourage his readers to expand their perspective on environmental solutions. For example, with regard to urbanization, he states: “Let no one romanticize what the slum conditions are. New squatter cities typically look like human cesspools and often smell like them” (36). At the same time, he privileges the city to the village for opportunities in economic advancement through new technologies such as the cellphone (a critical means out of poverty in many third world countries) and increased opportunities for women which automatically decrease the number of children they will give birth to (51-61). Furthermore, Brand reframes nuclear energy and power (the area of contention in the Poet’s Issue, *The Journal for Protection of All Beings*) as “Green” (76) a cleaner alternative to the burning of fossils fuels and coal which is far more destructive to the planet (80). He summarizes his new view through Bill McKibben’s statement that: “Nuclear

power is a potential safety threat if something goes wrong. Coal-fired power is guaranteed destruction, filling the atmosphere with planet-heating carbon” (91). Finally, he has become a proponent of genetic engineering as a way of addressing starvation and the development of sustainable agriculture. For Brand, this is not the creation of a new technology but instead the “joining an old one, using the very techniques that microbes have employed for 3.5 billion years” (117-118).

Brand’s current belief that: “Cities are Green. Nuclear Energy is Green. Genetic engineering is Green” (205) is thus not a contradiction of thirty years of phase two. Rather with *Whole Earth* now gone, Brand has once again reinvented a contrapuntal approach to technology that reflects his “coevolutionary” method of (eco) consciousness expansion. It is thus an issue of method over content. Indeed, if Lucien Carr developed the “New Vision” without a method, if Jack Kerouac developed a method but focused mostly on its relationship to spontaneous writing, if Ginsberg enhanced Kerouac’s method through the “New Consciousness,” then Brand’s redefined the method as one that created a more humane and sustainable technology through a contrapuntal “open form” format. Indeed, one could remove all of the particulars of Brand’s method and still find the essence of his argument: the contrapuntal juxtaposition of opposing forces that lead to an enhanced level of consciousness (as evidenced by these recent changes in ideological position).

This is not to suggest that the material produced during phase one, or the period of the “whole” was less valuable or important. Or perhaps, that the original goals of the back-to-the-land movement, which was Brand’s original audience, were less viable. Rather, it is more interesting to ask why poetry was more amenable to phase two rather than phase one. Returning back to the nature of “whole” may offer insight into the value of “coevolution” towards the

integration of literature and science.

For example, the January 1970 *Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog* offers a useful model of the way in which the concept of “whole” functioned during phase one. It offers a dedicated section on ecology, a form of homage to Baba Ram Dass, and a “meditation” on the complicated nature of computers. With regard to general content, however, it is difficult to determine whether the reader is in the realm of phase one or of phase two. Upon closer examination, however, the differences become apparent. The three topical areas speak to the paradigm of “separation and reformation” that encapsulated the meaning of “whole” during phase one. In other words, if “coevolution” refers to the contrapuntal juxtaposition of opposing forces during phase two, the “whole” of phase one sought to redefine the meaning of “unity” through a method of almost mythological creation.

Indeed, this issue of the *Supplement* serves as a particularly potent mirror of the goals of phase one. Thus, for example, the long article, “Liferaft Earth,” explored fears concerning a future dominated by population explosion through the framework of a game (in which a large community of people gather in one place and do not eat for a week, although anyone may leave or in essence “die” at any time). The rules of this particular game serve to encapsulate phase one’s core: “The strategy of game change is: you don’t change a game by winning it or losing it or refereeing it. You change it by leaving it and going somewhere else and starting a new game from scratch” (23). The article is followed by another one that calls for separation and (re)unification entitled “Earth People’s Park: Be Hold the Earth.” It asks all readers to “contribute a dollar and we’ll buy a huge piece of land and make it a park” (28). In other words, consciousness expansion can only come through leaving an existing paradigm, rather than “evolving” with it through a contrapuntal exchange.

This ideological approach is mirrored in the three topical areas in The January 1970 *Supplement*. A large subsection on “ecology” (the main thematic focus of *CoEvolution Quarterly*) contains a graphic that seeks to define the word “ecology” through a series of related terms. The terms speak to an “ideal,” or perhaps even mythical “return” to another mode of existence. This sense of “return” is evidenced through the synergy that is created between a few of key terms, such as “Earth,” “Eden,” “Eve,” and “Eternal” (31). Other images of unity in the graphic, are encapsulated as “oneness,” “om,” “omnipresence,” “omniscience,” thus placing the concept of “whole” within a fantastic realm (31). The theory of unification that signifies phase one is thus based entirely on a state that is only possible within the imagination.

Another topical area references the ideological vision of Baba Ram Dass, in an article that was produced prior to the publication of *Be Here Now*. Entitled *Whole Consciousness Catalog: Baba Ram Dass Booklist*, the article offers a lengthy list of books on Eastern mysticism and consciousness expansion. Books on the general list range from a translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, to *The Life and Sayings of Buddha*, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*, *The Three Pillars of Zen*, *The Way of the Sufi*, and *Raja Yoga* (36). For the more dedicated spiritual searcher, the list is later subdivided into “Introductory Meditation,” “Advanced Buddhist,” “Egyptian,” “Hassidism,” “Advanced Hindu,” “Literary and Scientific Mysticism,” “Rosicrucian,” “Sufi,” “Swedenborg,” “Taoism,” and “Theosophy” (36-37). Its multicultural tone appears to speak to a larger concept of unification. However, the title itself (“Whole Consciousness Catalog”) emphasizes the differences between phase one and phase two. In other words, consciousness expansion in phase one is developed not through the juxtaposition of opposing forces, but instead through the separation from the religious mainstream into a new and separate “whole” under the rubric of Baba Ram Dass. It is thus ultimately a method that creates a sense of the “whole” or

unity through a form of isolation.

In addition, tools and technology in phase one are not openly connected to the concept of consciousness expansion. In the article, “Computerdom is hard to enter. Why?” for example, computers are clearly not modified by Eastern mysticism, despite the fact that it directly follows the “Whole Consciousness Catalog.” Rather, it author Pete Hiscocks notes, the article serves to reinforce the exact opposite. When referring to computers Hiscocks states that:

These goddam things are machines. Somebody down at St. Michael’s college, here at University of Toronto was asking if computers have a soul and that sort of thing irks me to no end. Like somebody in your government said (with reference to NIXON’S folly, the ABM system) ‘technology is riding us.’ People who think of computers as semi-human are people who can accept the computer’s decision to launch missiles from North Dakota. (37)

Without the accessibility to tools offered by the contrapuntal approach to soft technology during phase two, the article is virtually impossible to understand for the non-specialist. In other words, the approach to technology in phase one does offer an element of separation and (re) unification, but it is clearly limited to a small and exclusive class of individuals who have the background to enter it and it is not necessarily tied to the enhancement of consciousness.

Phase one thus depended upon maintaining the “whole” through the condition of a self-sustained separation that was more contingent upon an almost mythological state of being, than a possible one. Consciousness expansion, a critical component of both phases, occurred through this same state of separation, a mode of existence that did not necessarily include an enhanced vision of alternative tools and technology. It thus did not offer the same opportunities for the intersections of literature and science that phase two did.

Free-verse Beat poetry, which became a critical component of the “coevolutionary” infrastructure of phase two, could not have resided easily within the “whole” nature of phase one, even though the move towards a form of self-sufficiency based in Eastern mysticism appears to imply that it would. This is due to the fact that Beat poetry as a genre is, itself, dependent upon a type of contrapuntal opposition (a central concept to free verse), rather than the creation of a new unity through separation and reunification. The concept of “whole” in phase one thus is one of limitation rather than expansion that would make the integration of Beat poetry more difficult. In other words, phase one was dependent upon a set of standards based on exclusion rather than inclusion that did not offer the necessary paradigm for a comfortable integration of the humanities. This may explain why phase one lasted only a few years, while phase two continued for nearly three decades.

It is therefore somewhat ironic that the word “whole” is far more associated with Brand’s publications than the term “coevolution.” Indeed, while both of *CoEvolution Quarterly*’s successors (*The Whole Earth Review* in 1985 and *Whole Earth* in 1996) appear to return to phase one simply through the resurrection of terminology, I would suggest that they categorically support phase two. This is due to the fact that Brand’s tradition of juxtaposing opposing forces in an environment of Eastern mysticism, Beat poetry, open form, and (eco) consciousness expansion to render a more sustainable and humane technology, remained to the end of the publication in 2003, despite external changes that undermined this attempt.

Thus, the success of Brand’s *Whole Earth* universe from 1974 to 2003 indicates that poetry, ecology, and technology are able to “co-exist” when they are encouraged to “co-evolve” through a “soft” open form format. Fundamental to this mix is the genre of (mostly) advertising free little magazines, enabled by the “do-it-yourself” self-publishing technologies that encourage

“open form” or unrestricted layout and content. While the Techno/Hippie Orientalist approach to Eastern mysticism that was central to Brand’s *Whole Earth* publications is no longer “in fashion” and now the subject of critique, its connection with Beat poetry, Kerouac, and Ginsberg nevertheless offers a model of how “coevolution” can work. What is needed is a new way of conceptualizing the philosophical and ethical approach to consciousness that Brand attempted to do through his vision of Eastern mysticism.

The *Whole Earth* universe thus offers evidence that (Eco) consciousness expansion is a viable goal for ecocritics who are interested in developing sustainable environments for the successful integration of poetry, ecology, and technology. Indeed, *Whole Earth* may be gone and poets of the Beat generation may now be part of “cooked” rather than “raw” anthologies, but the possibility of creating environments in which the humanities, technology, ecology, and new ways of thinking about consciousness expansion in digital environments and little magazines, remain. We have Stewart Brand – as well as Lucien Carr, Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, Gary Snyder, Michael McClure, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gregory Corso, Robert Creeley, David Meltzer, and Peter Orlovsky – to thank for that.

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