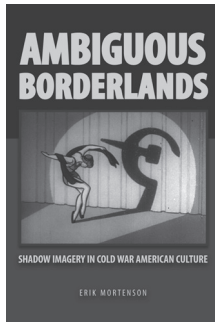
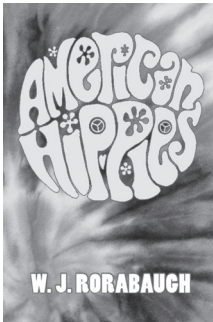


Review Essay

The United States of Hippies

Roger Chapman



AMERICAN HIPPIES. By W. J. Rorabaugh. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2015.

AMBIGUOUS BORDERLANDS: Shadow Imagery in Cold War American Culture. By Erik Mortenson. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2016.

Hey Jack, now for the tricky part,
when you were the brightest star who were the shadows?
—Natalie Merchant, “Hey Jack Kerouac” (1987)

Every picture has its shadows
And it has some source of light
—Joni Mitchell, “Shadows and Light” (1975)

The hippies were seemingly everywhere in the 1960s and 1970s, but in actuality their sense of presence in American society was greater than their number. The term “hippie” can be honorable, pejorative, or flippant, all depending on context and speaker. Everyone knows what is meant when “hippie” is uttered,

but the truth is no one precisely knows. According to W. J. Rorabaugh, in his very readable *American Hippies*, the hippie counterculture movement not only made a lasting impression on American culture, but it largely remains a work in progress. What the author hopes to convey is the hippie aspect of hippies; in other words, their diversity and complexity. Of course, it would be less than hippie for hippies to be uniform and standard. Rorabaugh approaches the topic with just the right flow, avoiding bogs of minutia, and he is to be congratulated for doing so while making use of archival material (including a finely selected array of photographs of the period). Appropriately for the “blast to the past,” there are footnotes as opposed to endnotes. The organizational structure of *American Hippies* divides hippie culture into two broad categories: hedonism/spiritualism (covering drugs and music) and politics (covering the antiwar movement, the politically engaged/politically disengaged, and libertarianism).

American Hippies is comprised of five chapters, plus an introduction, conclusion, and index. In chapter one, the origins of the hippie movement is explained; and reasons are offered for why the counterculture movement is important history to study: first, it was a major contributor to the cultural upheavals of the 1960s, including concern for social justice, civil rights, black power, feminism, environmentalism, and socially liberal politics. Second, for a period of time it held hundreds of thousands of young people in its sway. Third, its past is not past. Drugs, music, and spirituality are the topic of chapter two, and the keywords are “individualism” and “authenticity.” The third chapter is devoted to the sexual revolution, emphasizing the advent of the birth control pill, the love of the naturalness of the naked human body, the natural “male wildness” (97) of beards and long hair, and also the imbalance of free love that led some female hippies, (the future feminists), “to reconsider whether the counterculture was nothing more than the creation of a male fantasy world at the expense of women” (130).

Chapter four explores the political aspects of the counterculture movement, while communes are the topic of chapter five. Readers of wry humor will be amused by how communes were often places of refuge for hippies escaping the burdens of hedonism, but having all things in common did not extend to record albums. Communes allowed hippies space for exercising one of their important values: community. Hippies such as the freaks were apolitical; others, like the diggers, were socialistic. There was a tension between hippies and the New Left—Todd Gitlin, for instance, faulted hippies for their “frivolity” (133)—but in actuality the yippies, though claiming “no ideology” while promoting a “cultural revolution” (153), were in accord with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and its opposition to the Vietnam War. Overall, Bruce Schulman is correct in his observation: “political protest and countercultural sensibilities went hand in hand.”¹ Hippies, it is self-evident, were too loose and free to subscribe to the dogmatic Marxism that typically animated lefties; indeed, the hippie embrace of anarchism and its skepticism of government anticipated the libertarian movement. In his conclusion, though conceding that the hippie legacy in American culture is ambiguous, Rorabaugh points to the counterculture’s lasting impact with re-

spect to sexual practices, recreational drugs, music, fashion, individualism, and multiculturalism. Rorabaugh suggests that the values of the hippie movement are “still percolating” and “still evolving” (225).

This reviewer was sad *American Hippies* left Richard Brautigan out of its narrative. Brautigan was a bridge between Beats and hippies. On the cover of Brautigan’s *Trout Fishing in America* there is a black and white photograph of the author with his female muse and they are posing in front of the Benjamin Franklin statue in San Francisco’s Washington Square Park.² The cover photograph is by Erik Weber. The woman in the photo, Michaela Blake-Grand, is sitting on a stool at the feet of the standing Brautigan. She is wearing hippie attire and is seemingly striking a submissive demeanor. This harmonizes with Rorabaugh’s observation about female hippies not starting out as feminists. If we adhere to Rorabaugh’s historical reckoning, Brautigan’s best novella was prior to the advent of hippies. The photograph was taken in 1967, the same year *Trout Fishing* was first published, and at the time when the hippie movement was well underway. But the manuscript of *Trout Fishing* was written in 1960 and 1961, prior to the hippie era.³ Separating Beats from hippies, progenitors from hippie practitioners, is messy and is probably why many refer to the counterculture movement in a broad manner. Others just say “The Sixties,” and not always as a compliment.

In one of his long ago humorless columns, George Will announced, “The Sixties are now nostalgia, kitsch junk among the clutter in the nation’s mental attic.”⁴ Attitudes like that, coupled with Tom Brokaw’s adoration of the WWII generation as being the greatest, has led to some spirited defense of the age that included a hippie identity.⁵ The spiritual aspect of the counterculture movement is often overlooked by those who regard the era as nothing more than the Me Decade. But Jackson Lears is correct when he observes, “‘Religion’ may be too solemn a word for many 1960s radicals, but it helps to capture the depth of their motives: above all their longing for a more direct, authentic experience of the world than the one on offer in mid-century American society.”⁶ The astronaut James Lovell, the commander of Apollo 8, was “sort of soured” by the hippie movement, but it was the photograph of planet Earth taken during that mission that became a symbol of the counterculture movement and took on a religious dimension. The Earth shot adorned the front and back cover of the hippie *Whole Earth Catalog*. Over time Lovell himself would use the hippie term “spaceship Earth,” a demonstration of how the counterculture influenced the mainstream.⁷ In the American culture wars, where binary constructs of argumentation have been carried out with Manichean simplicity⁸—what James Davison Hunter refers to as a conflict of “different moral visions”⁹—conservatives look back fondly on the 1950s while blaming the nation’s woes on the 1960s. In the attempt to “make peace” with the 1960s some have ended up waging war against it, such as David Burner.¹⁰

The Republican ascendancy that led to the Reagan era was in part a reaction against the counterculture movement.¹¹ Newt Gingrich, who should know better because he has a PhD in history and was a professor prior to becoming

a politician, once asserted that the “whole country” has repudiated the legacies of the 1960s.¹² (Gingrich, as Bill Clinton points out, “built a movement out of a caricature of the Sixties.”¹³) Philip Jenkins argues that the mainstreaming of the 1960s was an integral part of American culture by the 1970s and served as a transitory “nightmare” period that gave birth to the 1980s, which he regards as a corrective.¹⁴ The rise of the Religious Right was in part a reaction to the counterculture movement, but it can also be noted that, beginning with the Jesus People movement, hippie values of individualism, feelings, authenticity, and so on have permeated many conservative Christian ministries.¹⁵ The abiding Christian homeschool movement is a spinoff of the anti-establishment mentality of hippies; the first homeschoolers were children of hippies, not evangelicals.¹⁶

If one is looking for a new angle on hippies, then Rorabaugh’s compact volume will disappoint, though it is probably too harsh to call the work “repackaged tired tropes,” as one reviewer does.¹⁷ Since many general readers have vague and stereotypical views of hippies, such a readable text on the subject is a public service. *American Hippies* should be regarded as a ride on a tour bus—though calmer than an acid trip with the “Merry Band of Pranksters” on Ken Kesey’s bouncing International Harvester school bus—with the author only intending to offer a generalized, but responsibly sifted, account. The expressed ambiguity in *American Hippies* was earlier offered by Mark Hamilton Lytle: “Since hippies seldom articulated their values, their cultural critique had to be inferred from their behavior.”¹⁸ In certain respects, any analysis of the counterculture movement is like what Maurice Isserman once sheepishly admitted about scholarship on the New Left: “I am willing to concede that we’ve probably reached the point of diminishing returns in retelling the adventures of . . . the old [SDS] gang.”¹⁹ *American Hippies* would make for an excellent complement to any bibliography for a course focusing on the 1960s; both undergraduates and graduates would benefit having it as assigned reading and it would provide the foundation for deeper study elsewhere.²⁰ While it is true the work’s overall conclusion is nothing new—other sources do recount hippie legacies²¹—it is nonetheless focused and uncluttered.

By including the Beats as part of his exploration of postwar shadow imagery, Erik Mortenson does offer some material that has an indirect connection to hippies. *Ambiguous Borderlands* is a work that examines a narrow aspect of Cold War culture, delving in such a deep manner that the project tends to be esoteric. Mortenson is not necessarily concerned with hippies, but rather he seeks to explain the shadow imagery and the metaphorical usage of shadows in postwar popular culture. Since shadows “offer an alternative space where social assumptions could be reconsidered, questioned, and even challenged” (4), it could be suggested that the hippie movement was a shadow that fell across America. “The ambiguous shadow is a fitting image for the uncertainty of the Cold War,” Mortenson writes (20), and these shadows were “fearful, sometimes inviting, always compelling” (22). The shadow that hung over civilization was that of atomic weaponry, but the danger was buried in the minds of most people.²² “Ignored but not forgotten,

the bomb was repressed as a disturbing fact but not thought about,” Mortenson explains. “It is just these sorts of latent anxieties existing on the mind’s periphery that the shadow best succeeds in capturing. Shadows thus become a Geiger counter, a means of registering this fear and uncertainty without ... explicitly naming the bomb” (25).

Ambiguous Borderlands is comprised of six chapters, plus an introduction and conclusion. The work includes endnotes, a bibliography, and index. Distributed throughout are over twenty photographs, including Andy Warhol’s mischievous *Hammer and Sickle* (comprised of an image of a hammer and sickle casting a heavy shadow). Mortenson offers deep analysis on (1) The Shadow, the crime-fighting figure of comic books and radio shows, which originated in the 1930s but in the postwar years was co-opted by writers such as Jack Kerouac, Sylvia Plath, and LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka; (2) the “Shrouded Stranger” in the works of Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg; (3) the street photography of Robert Frank, William Klein, and Ralph Eugene Meatyard; (4) the late film noir of the early Cold War period; and (5) Rod Sterling’s *The Twilight Zone* television series.

The first chapter gives an account of the anxiety due to the advent of the atomic age. The next two chapters focus on The Shadow and how it was used as material by Kerouac, Plath, and Baraka. Mortenson notes, “It is no coincidence that all of these writers published their Shadow-inspired works in 1959, at what many consider the height of the Cold War” (15). The author’s analysis here is questionable because publication is never instantaneous; there is delay between the catalyst of the inspiration and the dissemination of the final work to the public date. Obviously, the mentioned writings were drafted prior to 1959, prior to the “height of the Cold War.” So the 1959 date may be coincidence. Moreover, the height of the Cold War is generally understood to be 1962, specifically the Cuban Missile Crisis. (Similarly, Frank’s photographic book *The Americans*, with a preface by Kerouac, was published in the United States in 1959, which was preceded by a 1955 exhibit, which was preceded by the actual taking of the photographs.) That aside, Mortenson sees The Shadow as belonging to the childhood memories of these authors, but afterwards coming to symbolize the end of childhood innocence. Archival material is dug up to bolster the analysis of how the Beats—Kerouac and Ginsberg—sought to “map the occluded spaces of the American unconscious through an appeal to a world of dream, ghosts, and shadows” and thereby “opened up a space to challenge the binary thinking of their times that relegated doubt to a dark and buried world” (92). Kerouac and Ginsberg used the “Shrouded Stranger” as a vehicle for exploring themselves, their sense of reality, as well as experimenting with new art forms, but some readers will find this commentary a bit opaque.

In harmony with Mortenson, Rorabaugh writes, “The Beats believed everything was rotten. The starting point for this thesis was World War II, the Holocaust, the atomic bomb, and the Cold War, all of which alarmed Kerouac, Ginsberg, and Burroughs” (22). Later, people like Ken Kesey “sneered at the Cold War” (45). But Kerouac turned against the counterculture movement that followed

his moment in the sun; when he was in the shadows, he sneered, "After Me, the Dulge," the title of his last piece of paid writing.²³ As noted by Rorabaugh, Kerouac "hated the flashy Sixties as the antithesis of the cool Beat Fifties" (46). "For whatever reason, jazz did not work with LSD" (52) and as some of the old Beats became Merry Pranksters and turned to the acid rock of the Grateful Dead, the flash Kerouac loathed was symbolized by the strobe light William Burroughs had perfected so that its pulsing would better promote the LSD experience. Such flashing light, obviously, produced shadows. By 1969, Kerouac was dead, another statistic of alcoholism. As a legacy, he left *Dr. Sax* (1959), what Mortenson labels "a Cold War book" (81), with its main figure knowing the underlying aspect, the shadow, of postwar American culture.

Mortenson considers how Plath, who uses the words "shade" or "shadow" some sixty-four times in her *Collected Poems*, made use of The Shadow character in her short story "The Shadow." An exploration of lost innocence, "The Shadow" includes a narrator who likes listening to radio programs involving the Green Hornet, Wonder Woman, Superman, Mickey Mouse, and, of course, The Shadow. The narrator is enthralled by the cynical motif of *The Shadow* program: "Who knows what Evil lurks in the hearts of men? ... The Shadow knows, heh, heh, heh, heh" (67). In the story, the brutality of Japanese WWII prison camps are referred to, but this gives way to the reality of civilian air raid shelters and the possibility of German Americans being interned. Mortenson admits that this story could be used to pinpoint Plath's descent into depression, but he thinks it speaks of something larger culturally. Plath's story, he believes, highlights the hypocrisy aspect of the Cold War. He goes on to analyze how Plath utilized certain imagery in *The Bell Jar* (1963). The atomic bomb was in the back of her mind and one of her characters even expresses joy over the Rosenbergs being sentenced to death. "Inverting the tropes of light and darkness, Plath finds meaning in the shadows," concludes Mortenson, adding, "Darkness, not light, becomes the bearer of truth" (72). In the darkness was the truth of the injustice and the hypocrisy, whether the WWII internment camps or postwar McCarthyism. The author highlights the iconic quote from *The Bell Jar*:

I thought the most beautiful thing in the world must be shadow, the million moving shapes and cul-de-sacs of shadow. There was shadow in bureau drawers and closets and suitcases, and shadow under houses and trees and stones, and shadow at the back of people's eyes and smiles, and shadow, miles and miles and miles of it, on the night side of the earth. (69)

Other authors have considered Plath's usage of shadows, such as Al Strangeways,²⁴ but Mortenson's emphasis is on how she was not working in isolation. Plath was operating within a structure of feeling of her time period. Connecting Plath with Kerouac and Ginsberg is somewhat surprising, but there is also the poet Baraka who in *Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note* "likewise draws on the shad-

owy presence of the crime fighter to question American racial conditions” (84). The commentary of the literary analysis that follows is thick and many readers will likely lack patience for reading every word, but at the end of this section Mortenson reiterates how the writings co-opting The Shadow “were penned under another shadow—the shadow of the Cold War” and “they necessarily disclose the social as well as the personal” (90).

The Shadow was a character of a radio program, and was a magazine figure only in a secondary manner, meaning the character was most dramatically presented in an auditory fashion and not a visual one. The emphasis on the laughter of the character suggests the importance of the radio program, the audio over the textual. Kerouac was known for often imitating the “*Mweh! heh! heh! ha! ha!*” laughter of The Shadow, which underscores his familiarity with the auditory aspect of the character.²⁵ When one thinks of a shadow, though, it seems that the visual would be paramount. Perhaps the imagination of the listener is enough to make the shadow seem real, but since the remainder of Mortenson’s analysis is on photography, film, and television programming, the visual does indeed seem to be crucial—every bit as important as the image of the mushroom cloud rather than, say, the sound of a civil defense siren.

If Mortenson’s general analysis of the shadow imagery in Cold War popular culture is correct, then we must wonder how the phenomenon should be critiqued. The mushroom cloud is, in certain respects, a part of the scientific community’s “rhetorical inventions” of the Cold War. Mortenson does not seem to consider how the artists and producers dealing with shadows may have been acting as “useful idiots,” unwittingly contributing to the hegemonic forces at play. The fear and anxiety, it has been argued, led to an ever greater reliance on science. In other words, those who caused the shadows were relied upon to save the world from doom, creating future shadows. This “dual nature” aspect of science—creation of threat and deliverance from threat—depended upon cultural anxiety to perpetuate the endless cycle. As explained by David Titege, “It is little wonder that, in an atmosphere of impending calamity based on the technological horrors we constructed to maintain the survival of our nation, the scientist had found a prominent and vocal place in the public spotlight.”²⁶

The second half of *Ambiguous Borderlands*—chapters four, five, and six—looks at actual visual shadows; in this case the shadowing in photography, late film noir, and *The Twilight Zone*. Mortenson suggests that early Cold War feelings were expressed in street photography with images of increasing reliance on “shadow, blur, graininess, and reflection” (128) to “properly portray the complexity of a nuclear world” and the Cold War’s “disturbing anxieties and paradoxes” (129). “The disintegration of the human figure in postwar photography” is that what would “further humanity” (130), Mortenson intones. Frank’s *The Americans* includes a photograph of a barber shop that is seen through the shadow of the photographer and Mortenson argues that such is an example of the ambiguity in postwar photography, which anticipates postmodernism’s multiplicity of viewpoints, the negative reaction against the binary thinking of the Cold War. “The

mass of America's citizens are like shadows" is how Mortenson reads Frank's still shots (152). Klein, it is argued, is even more aggressive at rendering his subjects into shadows by using extreme images of blur; but Mortenson seems to not seriously consider the evidence that the negative images of New Yorkers may have more to do with Klein's personal "confrontational attitude" (154) toward his native city than a statement about the Cold War. Instead of taking Klein at his word ("my priority was coming to terms with myself"), Mortenson suggests this photographer is "reticent about the impact of the 1950s on his work" (161). Meatyard, a largely forgotten photographer of Kentucky, is reviewed because of his use of "blurred images and out-of-focus effects" (163). In conclusion, the author asserts, "What Frank, Klein, and Meatyard saw in the human figures was not its inherent universality but a chance to question the boundaries of subjectivity in order to highlight the anxieties of their Cold War age" (170).

Richard Lingeman has suggested that the crime films between 1945 and 1950—otherwise known as "noir culture"—well represent the Cold War and the immediate preceding years. "I believe," Lingeman explains, "film noir are a key for unlocking the psychology, the national mood during those years."²⁷ Mortenson agrees, pointing to three noir films of the 1950s while explaining how cinema noir "had become more self-conscious" (179) in the face of oppressive containment culture enforced by the Red Scare. In *The Night of the Hunter* (1955) there is a scene in which the corpse of a woman, who had been murdered by a preacher, is on the basement stairs—the basement symbolizing the air raid shelter. In *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955) light brings destruction while shadows offer revelation and clarity; in one scene an impotent/incompetent detective "lies tied face-down to the bed, in shadow" (195); and the story's ending is a nuclear blast after a female, Gabrielle, opens the "great whatsit" valise containing radionuclide. In *Touch of Evil* (1958) borders are a theme and shadows are used by director Orson Welles to accent their liminality and the fear of infiltration while a corrupt detective likely symbolizes McCarthyism. All three films used shadow effects to explore "the inconsistencies and paradoxes that defined the postwar world" (215). Mortenson's last offering is a look at Sterling's *The Twilight Zone* (1959-1964), which utilized a combination of film noir and science fiction genres. Considered "one of the greatest television series ever produced" (219), Sterling's program is seen as offering a critique of the Cold War and this is important because it was brought into family living rooms. The term "twilight zone" entered into popular culture because of the show, "a phrase describing an indeterminate, ambiguous space where the normal does not apply and the uncanny reigns" (240); it was a term that none other than Robert McNamara used when describing the communist menace. Mortenson's discussion on late film noir and *The Twilight Zone* is more convincing than his earlier exegesis of literature and photography.

Some of the insights offered by *Ambiguous Borderlands* triggered an undergraduate memory of this reviewer: a meeting during the 1980s with Rod Jellema, the University of Maryland poet and professor of creative writing. The poet was at the time enjoying a modicum of heyday, basking in the limelight with a

small-press run of his third volume of poetry, *The Eighth Day*.²⁸ Sections of the work include “Come Dark” and “Praise Mother Dark.” In many of these poems insight is found in darkness, whereas light tends to be blinding. Also, there are linkages to the Cold War. There is a eulogy of “Comrade Shostakovich” and one poem has a reference to a jet flying over Korea, but perhaps more telling is the archaeological dig of New York City in “Wire Triangulations” (involving the excavation of TV aerials) many years after what had been a nuclear strike. In the last poem of the volume there is apparent referencing to the nuclear freeze movement: “We’re meeting in the small white church to try to stop the bomb. / At dawn just after a storm, near the shore, I saw a scarlet tanager / ignite black pine—this highpriest without camouflage who still / survives in light.” Mortenson may inspire others to reexamine similar works for shadows of the Cold War.

Still, Mortenson’s overall analysis seems random with respect to selectivity of materials to analyze. Did the evidence follow the presupposition or did the thesis follow the evidence? The author could definitely be accused of ignoring some of the material from which the material was taken. Exactly how much of the Beat material has shadows? There is the quintessential passage from *On the Road* that seems quite opposite of Mortenson’s focus: “. . . the only people for me are the mad ones, the ones who are mad to live, mad to talk, mad to be saved, desirous of everything at the same time, the ones who never yawn or say a commonplace thing, but burn, burn, burn like fabulous yellow roman candles. . . .”²⁹ The manic passage seems full of life, even joy. Of course, a Philadelphia lawyer might argue that the fireworks Kerouac invokes represent the nighttime and invariably shadows. Regardless, Kerouac, influenced by religious sensitivity (not atomic weaponry), liked to express himself using a “light-in-darkness motif.”³⁰ Even if there are shadows here and there, how does one determine consequentiality?

And what about other “shadows” of the counterculture era, such as the poster of the Broadway musical *Hair* of cast member Steve Curry and its “backlit nimbus of hair”? The designer Ruspoli-Rodriguez “paired the head with its mirror image underneath, then saturated the picture with solarized tones of acid green, yellow and red” and made the two bushy heads a whole by tracing them with a white edging.³¹ Not only is this iconic image a shadow, it also vaguely resembles a mushroom cloud. Arguably, LSD and acid rock were about shadows. As it was reasoned: what is real is not real; one must hallucinate, go on a drug trip, to find what is hidden. According to Rorabaugh, “If psychedelics opened the doors of perception, broke on through to the other side, and challenged everything, then the boundary-obliterating drugs blurred good and evil: ethics were now situational” (79). With the song “Sympathy for the Devil” by the Rolling Stones, evil was presented as having an equal right to a claim for truth. The counterculture’s flirtation with other religions outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition went along with this desire to investigate the shadow, to forsake what in the past was regarded as “the light.” The counterculture often had to operate in the shadows; for instance, the Beatles supposedly disguised references to drugs, such as LSD in the song “Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds.” The LSD pitchman Timothy

Leary regarded the Beatles song “A Day in the Life” as the culmination of his cultural aim, apparently because of its “I’d love to turn you on” ending,³² but it is a song in which its crescendo suggests a nuclear explosion, hence a cloud over humanity. Rorabaugh writes that “many young people were terrified of nuclear war” (69), but some of these same people were probably also terrified of snakes, the FBI, the draft, a bad trip, and the dentist. No matter, it would be a contrivance to read the Cold War into the playful *Hair* poster, unless there was a thesis that needed proven.

Shadows existed prior to the Cold War, so it is ludicrous to imagine that all shadows coinciding with the Cold War era were a consequence of the Cold War. Perhaps some of the shadows existed because it was just natural phenomenon? One can recall Philip Jones Griffiths’ *Vietnam Inc.*, an eerie collection of black-and-white photographs of the war.³³ Shadows are an inevitable aspect; it would be difficult to have images minus shadows. As Joni Mitchell sings, “Every picture has its shadows.”³⁴ Closer to our contemporary time, there is the 1993 Cranberries music video of “Linger” where the late Irish singer Dolores O’Riordan is cast into a shadowy world of black and white (or grayscale), in the style of film noir, wandering around the halls of an old hotel and supposedly singing about her first kiss. Had this production dated back to 1959, it could have gone along with *The Shadow* and the over 182 million views on YouTube, proof of widespread cultural angst.³⁵ Other than imagination, what are the hermeneutic rules?

The title of Mortenson’s concluding chapter contains the word “Penumbra,” an astronomy term pertaining to the outer region of a shadow. Some readers will automatically recall the 7-2 *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) ruling of the US Supreme Court. In the majority opinion drafted by Justice William O. Douglas, there is the famous (or infamous) “penumbra” metaphor pertaining to the Constitution. For Douglas, who was quite a womanizer and in accord with the sexual revolution, the penumbra was useful for bringing clarity about the right of Americans to have access to birth control. This reinforces Mortenson’s point throughout his book about how shadows offer possibilities. Douglas argued that the right of privacy was an inherent part of the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Ninth amendments, so therefore, “the Bill of Rights have penumbras, formed by emanations from those guarantees that help give them life and substance.”³⁶ Such esotericism cleverly swept aside state restrictions on birth control. Surely, Douglas was not thinking about the Cold War as he drafted the opinion. Yet, perhaps thinking of a sequel, Mortenson in his conclusion notes that the shadow exists independent of the Cold War. Did not the George W. Bush administration, prior to the Iraq War, warn about a potential mushroom cloud at the hands of the malevolent Saddam Hussein (who later turned out not to have weapons of mass destruction)? *The Shadow*. When Bush was once addressing cadets, Mortenson adds, he warned how the war on terrorism entails “fighting shadowy, entrenched enemies” (244). *The Shadow*. Thus, Mortenson concludes that shadows create “an opening for the imagination to think beyond the actual” (248). Indeed. *Mweh! heh! heh! ha! ha!*

Notes

1. Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press, 2001), 18.
2. Richard Brautigan, *Trout Fishing in America* (New York: Dell, 1967).
3. See John F. Barber, "Novels > Trout Fishing in America," Brautigan.Net, <http://www.brautigan.net/trout.html> (accessed August 10, 2018).
4. George Will, "Slamming The Doors," *Newsweek*, March 25, 1991, 65.
5. See Leonard Steinhorn, *The Greater Generation: In Defense of the Baby Boom Legacy* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2006).
6. Jackson Lears, "Aquarius Rising," *New York Review of Books*, September 27, 2018, 8.
7. Tom Brokaw, *Boom! Voices of the Sixties* (New York: Random House, 2007), 608-611. Quote is on page 608.
8. Roger Chapman, introduction, in Roger Chapman, ed., *Culture Wars: An Encyclopedia of Issues, Viewpoints, and Voices*, vol. 1 (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2010), xxvii.
9. James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), 48.
10. David Burner, *Making Peace with the 60s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996). Also, see Aldon D. Morris, review of *Making Peace with the 60s*, by David Burner, *American Journal of Sociology* 103, no. 2 (1997): 499-501.
11. Michael Schaller and George Rising, *The Republican Ascendancy: American Politics, 1968-2001* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2002), 20-21.
12. Howard Fineman, "Demonizing the Sixties," *Newsweek*, March 25, 1991, 39.
13. Brokaw, *Boom!*, 354.
14. Philip Jenkins, *Decade of Nightmares: The End of the Sixties and the Making of the Eighties America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
15. Preston Shires, *Hippies of the Religious Right* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006); Robert S. Elwood, Jr., *One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973); Larry Eskridge, "One Way: Billy Graham, the 'Jesus Generation' and the Idea of an Evangelical Youth Culture," *Church History* 67, no. 1 (1998): 83-106.
16. Roger Chapman, "Homeschooling," in Roger Chapman and James Ciment, eds., *Culture Wars in America: An Encyclopedia of Issues, Viewpoints, and Voices*, vol. 1 (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2014), 314-315.
17. Michael J. Kramer, review of *American Hippies*, by W. J. Rorabaugh, *Journal of American History* 103, no. 2 (2016): 545.
18. Mark Hamilton Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era from Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 200.
19. Maurice Isserman, "Forever Young," *Nation*, December 26, 1994, 806.
20. Other works could include John Moretta, *The Hippies: A 1960s History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2017); Danny Goldberg, *In Search of the Lost Chord: 1967 and the Hippie Idea* (New York: Akashic Books, 2017); and Anthony Ashbolt, *A Cultural History of the Radical Sixties in the San Francisco Bay Area* (New York: Routledge, 2016).
21. For instance, the legacies of the counterculture 1960s are presented in Terry H. Anderson, *The Sixties*, 3rd ed. (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2007), 202-213.
22. Peter Filene, in "'Cold War Culture' Doesn't Say It All," in *Rethinking Cold War Culture*, ed. Peter J. Kuznick and James Gilbert (Washington, DC and London: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 156-174, shares how he once asked his students in a college American history class to interview their parents and grandparents about their remembrance of the Cold War and all of its anxieties. The students returned to class and reported, contrary to the narrative of their United States history textbook, that their parents and grandparents who had lived through the Cold War had fond remembrance of the period, no recollection of anxiety. When Mortenson argues that the danger of that era was buried in the minds of most people, he is admitting that the worry he thinks the people of the time should have had is not so apparent. Consequently, in order to bolster his thesis he has to rely on an assertion, arguing that fears were "repressed" and all part of "latent anxieties."
23. Barry Gifford and Lawrence Lee, *Jack's Book: An Oral Biography of Jack Kerouac* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 313.
24. Al Strangeways, *Sylvia Plath: The Shaping of Shadows* (London: Associated University Presses, 1998).
25. Gerald Nicosia, *Memory Babe: A Critical Biography of Jack Kerouac* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 33.
26. David J. Tietge, *Flash Effect: Science and the Rhetorical Origins of the Cold War* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002), 88.
27. Richard Lingeman, *The Noir Forties: The American People from Victory to Cold War* (New York: Nation Books, 2012), ix-x.
28. Rod Jellema, *The Eighth Day* (Washington, DC and San Francisco: Dryard Press, 1984).
29. Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (New York: Signet, 1957), 9.

30 Roger Chapman

30. Nicosia, *Memory Babe*, 312-314.

31. Eric Grode, "Steve Curry, Who Was on 'Hair' Poster, 68," obituary, *New York Times*, October 7, 2014, A21.

32. *The Beatles Lyrics Illustrated*, with an introduction by Richard Brautigam (New York: Dell, 1975), 130.

33. Philip Jones Griffiths, *Vietnam Inc.* (1971; reprint, London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2005).

34. Joni Mitchell, lyrics of "Shadows and Light" (New York: BMI/Crazy Crow Music, 1975), <http://jonimitchell.com/music/song.cfm?id=14> (accessed January 26, 2019).

35. The Cranberries, *Linger* video (Santa Monica, CA: UMG on behalf of Island Records, 1993), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G6Kspj3OO0s> (accessed January 26, 2019).

36. Tony L. Hill and Roger Chapman, "Douglas, William O.," in Chapman and Ciment, *Culture Wars in America*, vol. 1, 175-176.