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3 **“The music never stopped”: naming businesses as a method for**
4 **remembering the Grateful Dead**

5
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8
9 **ABSTRACT**

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11 Memorialization on the cultural landscape is a common method of celebrating the legacy of an
12 event or person significant to the history of geographical location. The Grateful Dead is a band
13 that continues to define the ideals of the late-1960s San Francisco Sound through their music’s
14 creative freedom and inclination toward experimentation. Although the original lineup of the
15 Grateful Dead is no longer intact, the spirit of the music they created and their psychedelic
16 appeal has been preserved on the cultural landscape. Despite differing reasons for naming their
17 business after the band, hundreds of business owners in the United States have collectively
18 preserved the Grateful Dead’s presence on the cultural landscape. In this paper we explore the
19 distribution of businesses in the United States with Grateful Dead-related names, and how the
20 presence of these business names enriches the cultural landscape with the memory of the band’s
21 music as a product of the iconic San Francisco Sound.

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23
24 **Introduction**

25
26 The focus of our study is the memorialization of the Grateful Dead on the cultural landscape of
27 the United States through the naming of businesses. Through the practice of naming a business
28 after the band, business owners across the United States have collectively increased the presence
29 of the Grateful Dead on the cultural landscape, regardless of their personal intentions in choosing
30 to reference the band through the business name.¹ In this study, we use quantitative methods to
31 explore how businesses named after a reference to the Grateful Dead are distributed in the
32 United States. We document the geographical locations of these businesses using geocoding and
33 cluster analysis tools within ArcGIS. Then, we use interview techniques to uncover why business
34 owners chose to reference the band in the naming process.

35
36 Our research is situated within geographies of music, popular culture, and music
37 memorialization. Because the Grateful Dead began in the urban areas within and near San
38 Francisco, it is first important to understand the connections between music and urban
39 geography. Krims (2007) discusses how significant changes in metropolis areas around the world

can be used to explain changes in popular music and music culture. Krims first compares and contrasts examples of how the urban ethos has been expressed in popular music, from Petula Clark's "Downtown" (released in 1964) to 50 Cent's "In My Hood", (released in 2005) songs that widely contrasted in their lyrical representations of the urban setting, from big city lights and inspiration to illicit drug use and gun violence, respectively. The stark difference in the representation of the urban ethos in these songs suggests that over time the city environment has changed dramatically and thus has had an effect on popular music that references an urban setting. While Krims acknowledges the presence of drug use and violence in the 1960s, he notes that this did not define life in the urban environment. In applying Krims' research to the Grateful Dead's discography, created predominately in the dynamic urban areas of San Francisco and Northern California, the band's music referenced the dynamics of life, experimentation, and exploration within the Bay Area but their lyrical subject matter did not focus entirely on the drugs and violence within the region. Rather, their music often reflected ideals of peace, love, and compassion not only in the Bay Area and this resonated with the personal landscapes of the listeners themselves. This may speak toward the strong bond that the Grateful Dead formed with their most dedicated fan base, the "Deadheads," the term colloquially attributed to devout followers of the band.

Music, memory and the Grateful Dead

Music and memory is a topic that has been explored by academic professionals in a number of disciplines. This research has been inspired by the ethnographic methods of several individuals who have studied a music culture and how it affected the corresponding landscape. Von Glahn (2003) examines classical pieces of music that focus on a geographical area, such as those by Duke Ellington (Harlem), Charles Ives (Niagara Falls), and Robert Starer (Hudson Valley), in a manner rooted in musicological research via historical and cultural analysis of the creative works. The author describes why the composer chose to commemorate a certain area through their music and how the music works to capture the essence of the area, exemplifying how sounds can define a location. Often times, the composers' opinions of the area would highly affect the nature of the musical piece they created; in a sense, the music would reflect their viewpoints of the site. These creations inspired by a geographic area helped to memorialize classic American sites through music for present and future generations. This work is relevant to this research in exploring how the memory of the Grateful Dead's music defines a nostalgia of the San Francisco Sound landscape.

Browner (2009) explores North American indigenous groups and the music that has defined their daily lives and cultures for centuries, describing not only the nature of musical performances but also the significance of the individual instruments (such as traditional Inuit drums). Browner analyzes many of the social implications of music participation within Passamaquoddy, Dene, Inuit, and Choctaw cultures, such as women performing traditional singing and drumming, and

80 using song for oral literature and myth narratives. Browner's work highlights the idea that music
81 can serve as a defining characteristic for a culture, playing a role in many facets of daily life.
82 This is an important concept within this research because for many individuals who flocked to
83 Haight-Ashbury during the late-1960s, the musical creations of bands such as the Grateful Dead,
84 Jefferson Airplane, and Country Joe and the Fish played an enormous role in defining their
85 experiences within the vibrant social counterculture.

86
87 Before presenting our methodology, it is necessary to first discuss the development of a
88 dominant narrative of the legacy of the Grateful Dead, a legacy which is "not one that is learned
89 rationally or absorbed simply through membership in a general youth culture" (Pearson 1987, p.
90 432). Several narratives of their legacy exist, extending significantly beyond a simple
91 discography of memorable albums and songs. For example, the Grateful Dead's psychedelic
92 history is one of mythic appeal and symbolism, deeply rooted in the ideals of the late-1960s
93 Haight-Ashbury and Bay Area's anti-establishment counterculture (McDonough 1985;
94 Heineman 2001; Zimmerman 2008). These ideals of revolutionary social, musical, spiritual, and
95 political changes were growing in the hearts of the youthful post-Beatnik generation who were
96 becoming weary of the status quo and desired a new counterculture. The counterculture in which
97 the Grateful Dead flourished as musicians was fueled in part by the psychedelic LSD (lysergic
98 acid diethylamide) partnership of Allen Ginsburg and Timothy Leary (Conners 2010), the
99 growth of the hippie subculture of the Haight-Ashbury District, and the creation of a drug-
100 inspired environment of experimentation that inspired spiritual and musical creations (Smith
101 1967; Baumeister and Placidi 1983; Millman and Beeder 1994; Perry and Miles 1997; Tandler
102 2007; Zimmerman 2008; Wesson 2011). In this environment, bands such as the Grateful Dead
103 and Jefferson Airplane came to define the musical phenomenon known as the "San Francisco
104 Sound".

105
106 The San Francisco Sound is an example of a place-based musical phenomenon whose music –
107 for both insiders and outsiders – tends to culturally define the region where it originated (Bell
108 1998; Gold 1998; Gumprecht 1998; Smith 1999; Romero 2001; Von Glahn 2003; Browner 2009;
109 Romig 2009; Adelt 2010). Speaking about the relationship between music and culture, Shepherd
110 (2012, p. 242) notes, "if music was a social construct, it followed that connections should exist
111 between social groups and their music". We argue that this connection remains true when
112 considering the Grateful Dead and their associated fan culture: the social groups following the
113 Grateful Dead during the heyday of the San Francisco Sound formed a cohesive collective of
114 followers, particularly as a result of the Grateful Dead's live shows. Nicholas Meriwether
115 (personal communication, spring 2013), Director of the Grateful Dead Archive at the University
116 of California-Santa Cruz, states that the Grateful Dead made a higher proportion of income on
117 live performances than most other bands. Their live shows represented an amalgamation of
118 thousands of individuals who chose to listen to their music for a wide variety of reasons, often
119 turning the Grateful Dead phenomenon into a religious-spiritual experience (Kaler 2011).

The Grateful Dead lacked strong commercial success compared to bands such as Jefferson Airplane, The Who, Led Zeppelin, and The Beatles. While the band was not considered to be commercially successful until late in their career (at least in comparison to other popular bands over the 30-year span from 1965 to 1995), to the Deadheads who chose to devote much of their daily lives to following the band and immersing themselves in the band's musical and cultural creations, the Grateful Dead was one of the most important musical phenomena of their lifetimes. Often described as possessing the characteristics of the 1960s counterculture such as spirituality, understanding, and compassion, the Grateful Dead formed a strong bond with their fan base. This enriched the lives of thousands of individuals who looked to the band for spiritual and emotional guidance (Reist 1997). For many Deadheads, the Grateful Dead were more than just a band performing on a stage; to them, Jerry Garcia, Bob Weir, Ron "Pigpen" McKernan, Phil Lesh, and Bill Kreutzmann (along with several other individuals who were members of the fluctuating lineup) were a part of their family whom they loved, respected, and cherished. This adoration is evident in the heavy memorialization of the band on the landscape of the United States. The literature suggests that the Grateful Dead gained popularity through the dynamism of their live performances, enjoying a "solid reputation for quickly selling out large concerts across the country through announcements made solely on their unlisted information phone line" (Reist 1997, p. 184). The band influenced a devout following of dedicated fans of the Grateful Dead who often traveled from show to show alongside the band, lining up "hours, sometimes even days, before shows start(ed), partly to get good seats, but also to socialize" (Reist 1997, p. 184). Scholars explain how Deadheads considered these concerts much more than musical acts performed on a stage. Rather, the shows were "magical, transforming experiences which help them make decisions, solve problems and cope with the stresses of life" (Reist 1997, p. 184). The interactive nature of the live shows is characterized by Suntree (1994, p. 541):

On a multi-dimensional, simultaneous stage that encompassed the light show, the stage, the backstage, the parking lot, the pit, and the stands, people called out the words to the songs and danced through the entire performance. During intermission the audience made its own music on drums, bells, and conch shells and danced until the band returned and even after. The Dead often present their shows in two- or three-day series. Deadheads see the whole series because every night is different. No one wants to miss it when the band, the music, and audience catch hold of one another. And no one wants to miss the opportunity to live for a while in the Dionysian wilds that characterize a Dead concert.

Reist (1997) describes the strong legacy left in the world of psychedelic culture by the Grateful Dead, particularly for those inspired by their influential live performances. The connection not only between the band and their fans but also amongst the Deadheads themselves was a powerful bond that further contributed to the collective memory of the band that has fueled their memorialization: "For many Deadheads, the performance itself is only one part of the

phenomenon. The interactions between the fans are equally important ... they congregate in the parking lot, forming a Grateful Dead community ... ” (Reist 1997, p. 183). This presents strong similarities to the social dynamics that surround cults and religions, particularly those relating to celebrities of popular culture, such as fan pilgrimage to the Strawberry Field memorial in Central Park, New York City (Kruse 2003) and pilgrimage to Graceland in Memphis to participate in writing on the wall as a way to memorialize and celebrate the memory of Elvis (Alderman 2002). These works highlight the mobility of fan behaviors in expressing their sentiment for a popular figure, and are particularly applicable to the mobility of Grateful Dead fans in following the band whilst on tour.

We argue that the appreciation and respect that Deadheads felt for the Grateful Dead has undoubtedly contributed to their memorialization on the cultural landscape of the United States through business names and make it a topic worthy of exploration. Several examples in the United States highlight the current memorialization of the band (particularly in tribute to Garcia), such as the sculpture of Jerry Garcia’s hand at the Santa Barbara Bowl, a statue of Garcia in Portland, Oregon, and the “Cherry Garcia” flavor of Ben and Jerry’s Ice Cream. Business names, however, are the focus of our study. Studies documenting the band’s memorialization in this manner are currently absent from geographic literature; therefore, this research serves to fill this gap in academic literature. We posit that motivations for naming a business after the Grateful Dead likely differ among business owners and these names increase the exposure of the band on the cultural landscape and influence their continued memory.

Green (2010, p. 64) notes that “as the band’s followers grew, the notion that it might have something to offer scholars, particularly in the social sciences, became somewhat less far-fetched ... ” In analyzing how we, as Americans, choose to memorialize events and/or people from our past, we can gain clues into how our culture values certain phenomena that shape the social and political characteristics of a point in our history. The Grateful Dead, despite no longer touring with the original lineup, continues to boast a cult-like following of dedicated fans who still feel personal connections to their music. Some fans, in an attempt to incorporate their memory of the Grateful Dead into daily life, have chosen to utilize terminology and imagery associated with the band in the naming of their establishments, thereby collectively perpetuating memories of the band and their cultural impacts.

Landscape memorialization of music

Memorialization on the cultural landscape is a widely employed form of recognizing the contribution of an event or person in an area’s history (Wasserman 1998; Leib 2004; Kubal 2008; Anastasio et al. 2012). Moran (2004, p. 129) states that “naming a building after a person further implies that the person honored possesses the appropriate qualities necessary to be recognized in such a permanent fashion, and that the individual was, in some respects, the

embodiment of the community's shared values". Landscape items such as the Stevie Ray Vaughan statue in Austin, Texas, the Strawberry Fields Memorial dedicated to John Lennon in New York City, and the statue of Elvis in Memphis, Tennessee are examples of the importance of popular music in American culture, especially in areas associated with a place-based music genre, such as the San Francisco Sound, the Seattle Sound, and the Motown Sound. Across the world, there are statues, plaques, and businesses that are dedicated to the memory of a song, musical phenomenon, or individual musician, highlighting the importance of the media and music to studies of global culture (Bignell 2000; Krims 2007; Marcus 2007; Janke 2008; Johansson and Bell 2009; Shobe and Banis 2010; Clayton et al. 2011; Howells and Negreiros 2012; Roberts 2012). For example, Kruse (2005) discusses the presence of the Beatles on the cultural landscape of Liverpool, England. Statues, stores specializing in Beatles souvenirs, and tourism that highlight popular landmarks associated with the band, such as the McCartney House where a teenage Paul McCartney once lived, define this cultural landscape. Although the Beatles were more successful in mainstream popular culture, their memorialization is similar to that of the Grateful Dead in the United States in that business names, along with Beatles-themed statues, sculptures, and public spaces, are present within Liverpool's cultural landscape.

Through exploring the process of naming a business after the Grateful Dead, we more broadly contribute to understanding the connections between music and memorialization. Further, we consider whether the act of dedicating items on the landscape to the memory of an individual musician or a musical group facilitates the preservation of their legacy. As shown through our interviews, we argue that a prevalent feature named after a musical entity on the landscape evokes the memories and emotions associated with that musical entity, thereby commemorating their importance to and role in American popular culture. Businesses named after the Grateful Dead evoke images and nostalgia of the 1960s San Francisco Sound and the immersions of blues, rock, and psychedelic-folk sounds associated with the band, transforming an economic landscape into one of music memorialization.

Methods

We address two specific issues through qualitative and quantitative methodologies in this research: our quantitative methodology uses descriptive statistics to address the distribution of businesses named after the Grateful Dead in the United States, and our qualitative methodology addresses the motivations and sentiments of business owners who named their business after a reference to the band. We employed several interviews to discover if there are parallel experiences amongst the owners of Grateful Dead-named businesses that may explain a mutual effect that the band had on their fans and further explain the motivating factors behind naming a business after a reference to the Grateful Dead.

Several scholars highlight the geographic merit of quantitatively tracking the vernacular expressions of different regions in the United States, lending insight into how to conduct a numeric analysis of a cultural feature (Zelinsky 1980; Leisch et al. 2014). Zelinsky (1980) utilized business directories to isolate business names mirroring terms he developed that represent vernacular regions in the United States and Canada, inspiring our own methodology. Further, Leisch et al. (2014) employed business searches via an online database that provides georeferenced business data, correlating said results with vernacular regions within the state of Michigan. In addition, Colten (1997) provides a framework for documenting a legacy through analyzing the presence of business names on the landscape, serving as a guideline for conducting this research, using the Land of Lincoln and Abraham Lincoln-named businesses as a baseline for exploring the cultural evolution of this vernacular region and contributing to a broader vernacular regional association evoking Lincoln's memory. Therefore, our work mirrors the intention of his research in that we strive to present the locations of Grateful Dead-named businesses in the United States and connect the presence of these businesses to the creation of a unique sense of place cultivated within these establishments. Similarly, though the Grateful Dead have been memorialized in different ways in the United States, using business names as a tool for tracking their memorialization is a way to begin to assess some of the ways in which the band is remembered on the landscape.

Our search utilized a list of 14 references to the Grateful Dead that strongly capture their musical accomplishments as a band: 2 The Grateful Dead, Steal Your Face, Terrapin Station, Shakedown Street, Uncle John's Band, Jerry Garcia, Dancing Bears, Mexicali Blues, Stella Blue, Touch of Grey, St. Stephen, Friend of the Devil, Dark Star, and China Cat Sunflower. These terms serve to highlight the Grateful Dead's success as a band because the list includes the Grateful Dead's successful mainstream songs, such as Uncle John's Band and Shakedown Street, as well as cult favorites such as Dark Star, which was not a song played on commercial radio because it is 22 minutes long. Also, the list includes recognizable symbols associated with the band such as the Dancing Bears, which do not explicitly reference the Grateful Dead but are still associated with their legacy based purely on the symbol's presence on albums and iconography from the band.

We chose the Internet database [whitepages.com](http://www.whitepages.com) for locating business names in the United States which referenced our search terms. The use of business name repositories in locating specific business name categories is documented heavily in the literature (Zelinsky 1980; Alderman and Good 1996). Using [whitepages.com](http://www.whitepages.com), each of the search terms were entered for all 50 states to determine if a business was named after the reference to the band. For all of the search terms, three variations of the term were entered into the search engine: (1) the full search term (e.g. "The Grateful Dead"), (2) the beginning of the search term (e.g. "The Grateful"), and (3) the end of the Search term (e.g. "Dead"). This was necessary because few businesses had names that were verbatim parallels of the search terms, and many were "play on word" variations of the search terms. For example, a business called "The Grateful Bread" would not show up in the

results if only “The Grateful Dead” was entered into the search function, but it would show up if “The Grateful” was entered. To ensure the business name was specifically referencing the band, all businesses were contacted via phone or email to verify the meaning of the name. Any businesses not referencing the band were removed from the final list.

The list of businesses generated from this search was used as a data source for the spatial analysis via geocoding conducted within ArcGIS. Geocoding is a common method for displaying point data for visual and quantitative analysis (Dueker 1974; Mazumdar et al. 2008). Because the list was created with a finite set of search terms, it is certainly not a complete representation of every business name in the United States referencing the Grateful Dead. As mentioned before, there are known examples of Grateful Dead-named businesses not on the list. Therefore, this list is best suited for providing a general overview of the distribution of the Grateful Dead’s memorialization on the cultural landscape rather than an exhaustive representation. While searching for businesses on whitepages.com, we found business names referencing the band, but not included in our search terms. Examples of this include Loose Lucy’s in Columbia, South Carolina and Scarlet Begonias in Brunswick, Maine (both references to Grateful Dead songs). These businesses were not included in the quantitative portion of this research in order to maintain clarity and consistency in the methodology of the business search. Also, the popular song “Truckin” yielded many hits of trucking companies, thereby making it nearly impossible to distinguish whether the business name was in reference to the song or to the trucking industry. Therefore, the search term was excluded from the list. The predefined list of search terms introduced limitations because businesses that are explicitly named after a reference to the Grateful Dead may or may not be included in the final count depending on whether their name refers to one of the search terms. Further, we recognize that throughout the search, businesses named after one of the defined search terms may have been accidentally missed. Also, an inherent issue with using a business search for tracking the memorialization of the Grateful Dead is that many of the businesses named after a reference to the band may have already closed. Despite this, we surmised that the landscape of the United States still reflected a strong memorialization of the band, particularly in certain regions of the country.

We developed several expectations prior to the business search: we expected that states with higher numbers of college towns would have high frequencies of Grateful Dead-named businesses due to generally more liberal communities that typically continue to celebrate and honor 1960s psychedelic culture. We also expected California to have the most Grateful Dead-named businesses because this is the core of their musical and cultural legacy. States in the southern portion of the United States were expected to have lower numbers of businesses due to a greater socially and politically conservative culture relative to other regions of the country.

Because we only tracked the presence of business names referencing the band, it can be argued that our methods do not holistically capture the Grateful Dead’s presence on the cultural

landscape. The importance of visual items to cultural studies of a society (Rose 2007; Howells and Negreiros 2012) highlights the significance of this limitation. Business names, rather than other forms of landscape memorialization such as statues, plaques, or symbolism (such as the “Steal Your Face” image), were the sole focus because the authors’ personal encounters with businesses named after a reference to the band inspired further academic study of this phenomenon. An analysis of the Grateful Dead’s landscape memorialization including not only business names but also items such as plaques, statues, or public spaces could provide a more comprehensive presentation of how the band’s name has been preserved on the cultural landscape. However, this research is valuable in that it highlights a significant aspect of the band’s memorialization on the cultural landscape of the United States.

We used ethnographic research methods to explore how and why the band has warranted their landscape memorialization in the United States. Our use of interviews in this ethnographic research was inspired by several sources of academic literature (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Machin 2002; Schnell and Reese 2003; DeLyser and Starrs 2001). In addition, DeLyser (1999, 2005) provides examples of the use of interviews in framing ethnographic research by interviewing local residents in order to qualitatively describe the sense of place within a geographical area. Within music geography, Strong (2011) uses interviews to explore how grunge music continues to remain prevalent in the memory of fans across the world through interviews, demonstrating the merits of ethnography in music geography research. The guidance of the aforementioned scholars framed the methodology for conducting interviews with the business owners of selected Grateful Dead-named businesses. During the completion of this research, a total of seven interviews were conducted. Only seven interviews were conducted due to an extremely low response rate during the research period. The four interviews featured in this article best reflect the majority of the opinions and experiences expressed among participants.

After the initial data collection, the businesses were organized into strata based on the search term referenced in their business name. Only business references that were found within the whitepages.com search were put into strata. After removing references which contained no hits, the strata of business names included Grateful Dead, Terrapin Station, Dancing Bears, Dark Star, Stella Blue, Mexicali Blues, Shakedown Street, and Touch of Grey. Next, businesses within each strata were randomly sorted and the first business in each was contacted based on available contact information. One interview was conducted with one business owner per strata. There was a significant nonresponse rate amongst the contacted business owners, negating the possibility of using a simple random sample to identify whom to interview. Furthermore, due to the high nonresponse, it was necessary to repeatedly contact businesses within each stratum until reaching one interview per strata.

Results and discussion

Business search

The initial geocoding of the business locations yielded 254 establishments that are named after a reference to the Grateful Dead in 45 out of the 50 states and Washington D.C. (Figure 1). The most frequent results were direct homages to the Grateful Dead (101) via business names such as “The Grateful Bread”, which was a common name for bakeries, “The Grateful Shed”, a commonly found name for storage facilities, and “The Grateful Thread”, a name often used for stores with hippie-style clothing. This was expected prior to conducting the analysis, as using a play on words that directly references the band name is a recognizable way to attract Grateful Dead fans to a business. The second most frequent reference was to Terrapin Station (51), which was not surprising considering the popularity of the song³ and of the imagery associated with the album Terrapin Station and the song “Terrapin Station Medley”. Generally, the reference was shortened from Terrapin Station to simply Terrapin, with a common example shown in Figure 2.

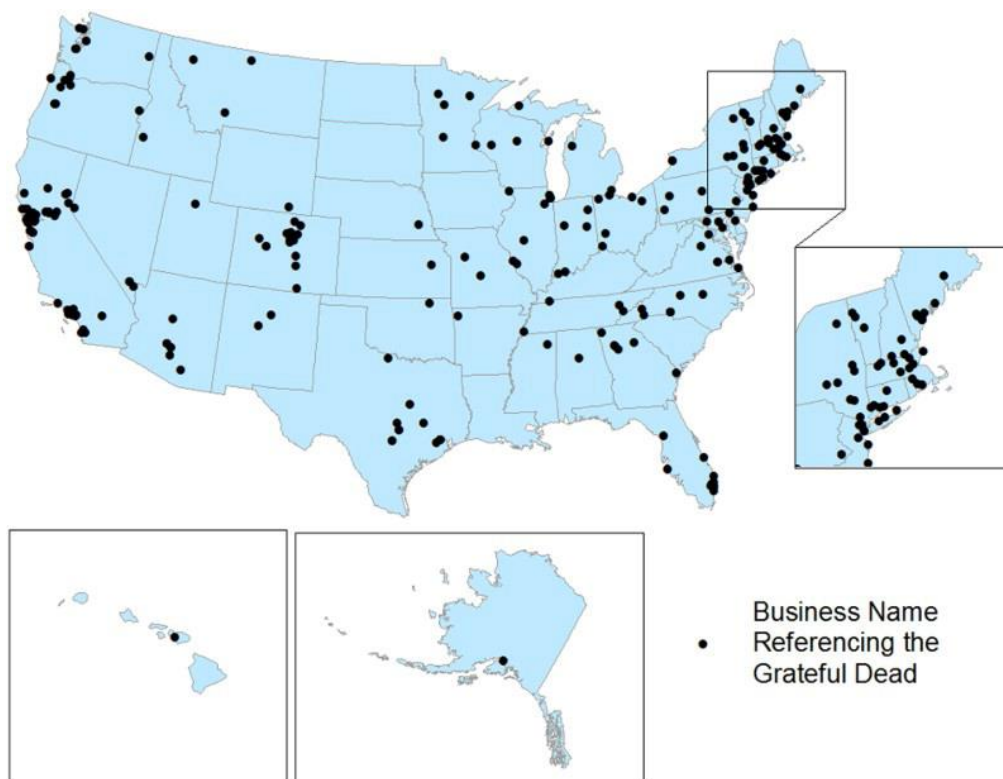


Figure 1. Business names in the United States referencing the Grateful Dead (Hawaii and Alaska not to scale). Figure is original creation by Gunderman.

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Figure 2. Photograph of Terrapin in Laramie, Wyoming, 2012, by Hannah Gunderman.

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Touch of Grey was only referenced in two business names, making this reference the least frequent occurrence within the data collection. The search terms Jerry Garcia, St. Stephen, Friend of the Devil, and China Cat Sunflower returned no businesses.

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The state with the greatest number of businesses named after a reference to the band was California (48), followed by Colorado and New York (16 each). It is not surprising that California yielded the most businesses, because this state is where the band began their career and it remains the cultural core of their legacy. This state also has the highest population, rendering it probable that it would contain more individuals who are fans of the band and who have chosen to name a business after their legacy. Thirteen states were tied in having only one Grateful Dead-named business. Five states had no Grateful Dead-named businesses; these states are Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, West Virginia, and South Carolina, as well as Washington D.C. Several hypotheses were developed to explain why these states lack businesses named after the band, such as a stronger conservative political presence which could lead to a lack of interest in local communities, small populations, and aging fans, which may have led to the closure of many of these businesses, erasing their presence on the whitepages.com database.

The largest clusters of these businesses are located primarily in the Bay Area of California as well as the New England and Mid-Atlantic Coast, while smaller clusters are located along the Front Range of Colorado, southern Florida, and Los Angeles. The geocoded tour venues revealed the largest clusters in the Bay Area of California and along the New England and Mid-Atlantic coasts.

The per capita analysis of states with at least one Grateful Dead reference revealed that Alabama had the lowest per capita of Grateful Dead-named businesses, while Maine had the highest per capita. Figure 3(a) and (b) highlights the top ten states with the least Grateful Dead-named businesses per capita, and the most Grateful Dead-named businesses per capita, respectively. There was not a significant difference in the number of businesses per capita when comparing the most populous state, California, and the least populous state, Wyoming.

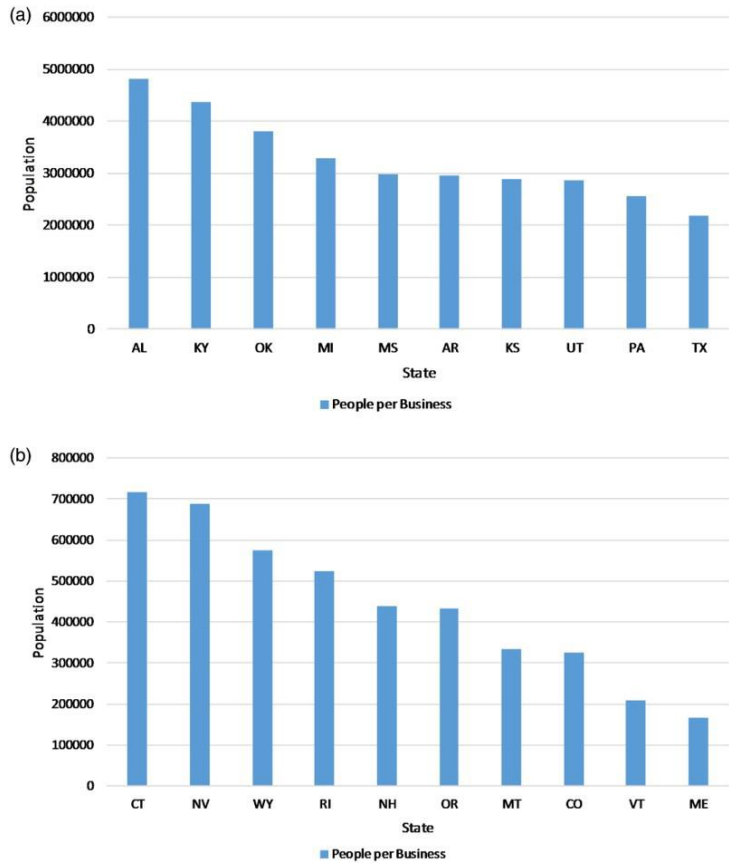


Figure 3. (a) Top ten states with the least Grateful Dead-named businesses per capita. (b) Top ten states with the most grateful dead-named businesses per capita.

Interviews

As the first step in the qualitative portion of the research, business owners of Grateful Dead-named establishments located across the U.S were interviewed both face-to-face and over the phone following an approved Institutional Review Board protocol. For all referenced businesses, owners consented to the use of their names.

Our interviews with several business owners of a Grateful Dead-named establishment revealed many dominant themes shaping the theories as to why an individual may choose to name their business after the band, and the social, economic, and cultural consequences of such a choice. These themes include the desire to pay homage to a particular song or album due to a connection to the band's music and lifestyle, and the desire to give more exposure to the band via the business name within the community. Accordingly, interview results are organized into three themes representing the geographies and experiential characteristics of owning a Grateful Dead-named business as expressed through the interviews: homage, connection, and exposure. These themes are inherently fluid rather than having distinct boundaries.

We begin the results of the interviews by giving a brief introduction to the four featured owners.⁴ The first is Scott Kimler, whose shop Terrapin is an example of the Grateful Dead's memorialization in a rural portion of the American West. Terrapin is an establishment in downtown Laramie, Wyoming that sells incense, hemp jewelry, hippie-style clothing, and blown-glass pipes. A self-proclaimed Deadhead, Kimler saw the Grateful Dead live in Salt Lake City, Denver, and Oakland, California. The second interviewee is John Moyer, the former owner of a restaurant called Shakedown Street (now closed) in Raleigh, North Carolina and a loyal follower of the Grateful Dead since the late-1960s. Shakedown Street was a restaurant that boasted Grateful Dead-décor and a reference to both the song and the term for mercantile areas at Grateful Dead and Phish concerts, as well as at the Bonnaroo Music Festival. Another owner we interviewed is Pete Erskine, a self-proclaimed Deadhead who owns Mexicali Blues, a chain of six stores across the state of Maine. Mexicali Blues sells self-branded clothing, jewelry, global décor, and music-related merchandise, with products directly imported from Bali, Mexico, Guatemala, India, Thailand, and Nepal. Finally, we interviewed Stacey Wieties, owner of Dark Star Visuals in Fayetteville, Arkansas, and dedicated follower of the Grateful Dead for 25 years. Dark Star Visuals is a retail store selling primarily beads, but also includes import clothing, incense, cards, and crystals.

Homage

Throughout our interviews, we found that several owners desired to pay homage to the Grateful Dead as a band, but also pay homage to their own experiences with the band's music and lifestyle, by naming their business after a reference to a particular song or album. In the case of Kimler, he reminisced about the mercantile bazaar at each show, aptly named Shakedown Street (as noted, a song of the band), where fans could look through heaps of hippie clothing, Grateful Dead merchandise, and purchase smoking paraphernalia such as glass pipes and grinders. Kimler decided he wanted his own version of a Shakedown Street, so he decided to open a business that would be similar to those bazaars. Kimler decided on the name of Terrapin, showcasing the smiling faces of the Dancing Bears and psychedelic Grateful Dead posters on the walls of the establishment. When asked why he chose the name Terrapin, he simply replied, "I like the song".

Moyer expressed a similar genesis of his establishment's name, as he recalled a notable line from the song Shakedown Street and how it helped to influence the development of the name of the restaurant: *"The song 'Shakedown Street' has a line in it, 'Don't tell me this town ain't got no heart/you just gotta poke around'"*.

Dark Star Visuals in Fayetteville, Arkansas acquired its name under similar circumstances. Wieties chose to name her business after the Grateful Dead's cult favorite 'Dark Star' because the Grateful Dead served as entertainment in her busy life of traveling around the country, working and raising children. Whenever Wieties returned from a festival where the Grateful Dead played, having purchased clothes and jewelry in the parking lots, she realized 'people love this stuff!', and decided to open a business named after the band to sell items that recreate the parking lot scene she experienced.

For Erskine, the selection of his establishment name was not as deliberate as the other owners: after deciding to open a Mexican import business with a partner from college, Erskine was trying to develop a name for the new business, and his brother took a vote at his fraternity house and the name 'Mexicali Blues' was chosen. However, for him, the name carried a much deeper connotation in that it paid homage to his adoration of the band's music.

Personal connections

For many of the business owners, their desire to name their establishment after a reference to the Grateful Dead stemmed in part from their own experiences in consuming the band's music and associated culture. While our 'Homage' section describes business owners paying tribute to a particular song or album through a business name, this section highlights a personal connection to the Grateful Dead as revealed by the owners' daily lived experiences.

Moyer cited his strong connection with the band resulting from 'growing up in the "60s and connecting with the music and the vibe that the Grateful Dead brought to a generation that was experiencing a 'rebellish' [sic] time in history". He believes that the band created a fandom

generated around peace, love, and understanding, and Moyer strives to maintain this positive energy that was developed through the music of the Grateful Dead. As the current co-owner of rMIA (Raleigh Music Industry Association) and the Executive Director of NCMMA (North Carolina's Musicians Medical Association), Moyer asserts that "what started with the energy that was brought to me through the music of the Grateful Dead is the energy that I pass on today".

For Wieties, her connection to the Grateful Dead is rooted in spirituality and solidarity:

It was a state of mind, a philosophy that you would get from being in that collective theme [of Grateful Dead concerts]. There was a collective energy for the music, and once the music started, there was a sense of oneness, a tribal feeling. It was that feeling you get when you are in a community like that where you just feed off that energy and the goodness of it.

When asked about the role of the Grateful Dead in his personal life, Erskine highlighted the "whole positive scene" that the band created, including the sense of community, the friendships, and the concerts, reiterating the strong bond that the band created with their fan base through live performances.

Exposure

The Grateful Dead's music and image has been long associated with certain connotations of peace, love, and freedom for experimentation. In personal correspondence, Nicholas Meriwether, the director of the Grateful Dead Archives at the University of California-Santa Cruz, described the unspoken expectation about the environment within a Grateful Dead-named establishment:

An example is a store called Loose Lucy's (a Grateful Dead song), the only surviving member of a consortium that had six stores around South Carolina and North Carolina; now they're down to one. [Going into a store named after the Grateful Dead] definitely shapes your experience as a customer in different ways; it shapes your expectations. You are expecting an atmosphere and attitude toward your experience as a customer that is reminiscent of Deadhead ideals. People should be friendly and polite, and have the same morals as you do as a Deadhead. It also means you are criticizing the business from that standpoint. In 2008, I went to a head shop in State College, Pennsylvania, and it was a Deadhead titled shop, but when I walked in it was not a nice head shop. It was a ghastly head shop. It catered to post-punk thrash metal with snarling skeletons, Black Sabbath, Korn, and Death Metal. Not Deadhead-y at all. The proprietor was a wonderful Deadhead. I questioned the owner as to why the shop was like this and he said, "I have to cater to a college crowd and stock what sells, and this is what sells". The owner was not happy about it. (personal communication, 8 Feb 2013)

For each interviewee, the exposure of their business within their respective communities yielded different social and cultural dynamics that influence the sense of place within their establishments. For Kimler, having a business named after the Grateful Dead has certainly drawn more customers; however, the appeal of the name has proved less significant in recent years: “I think it’s diminishing returns. Ten years ago, it helped bring business but now not so much. Some people come in here and don’t even know the Steal Your Face logo. Jerry Garcia is famous but nowadays Bob Marley is more famous”. Despite fewer customers than previous years, Kimler is thankful for the effect of the Grateful Dead in his personal life because it helped him start a successful business.

For Moyer, Shakedown Street was widely known throughout the community for their association with the band:

We were known statewide for our association as a strong-themed venue created around the Grateful Dead and the 60’s lifestyle . . . [People made reference to the Grateful Dead when entering the business] and that is how I became known as Uncle John in the local music industry. Being located near North Carolina State University, the students loved to experience a themed-culture that their parents grew up with and they would stop in and introduce their parents to me when they were in town. Always a “grateful” vibe when you can have families unite over a culture that the Grateful Dead created that will carry on through time.

Within the Portland, Maine community, Erskine feels that a decreasing number of people are specifically attracted to the connotation of the name:

“I think in the ‘80s and ‘90s a lot more people knew the name and that was very good for business. Now that we’re older, we have our own line of clothing and housewares, and we have all ages come in. It is less important now because they are not prevalent”.

However, Erskine pointed out that the name of the business in reference to the band is still a topic of conversation for some customers. When asked if customers make reference to the song “Mexicali Blues” when entering the business, he replied, “Lots of people reference the band, at a certain age. Younger people really don’t, but the people who grew up in those years do. It’s very positive nonetheless”. Erskine’s interview demonstrates that although the legacy of the Grateful Dead may be fading from the forefront of American pop culture, there continues to be a positive relationship between Grateful Dead-named businesses and individuals who seek out these establishments due to their own strong connection to the band.

Due to her geographic location within the Bible Belt,⁵ Wieties has found that people, unaware of the Grateful Dead reference, tend to associate the term “Dark Star” with the occult: “I’ve found pamphlets under my door about going to hell”. This suggests that the naming of a business after

a reference to the band creates perceptions of the business contingent on a patron's own exposure to and/or knowledge of the band. However, the name continues to attract customers who are aware of the reference to the song. She shared an anecdote about a young teenage girl who entered the store and was honored to meet a true Deadhead like Wieties, and despite her young age, recognized the reference to the Grateful Dead within the business name. Further, Dark Star Visuals became the local source of news and emotional support regarding Jerry Garcia's death in 1995.

Discussion

The goal of this research was to quantitatively document the locations of businesses in the United States named after a reference to the Grateful Dead, and to enrich these findings with interviews with business owners who chose to name their establishment after the band. These interviews highlight the connections between music, memory, and place attachment as they relate to the music of the Grateful Dead.

Our interviews produced testimonies from business owners who believe that the Grateful Dead boast a musical legacy that captures the sounds, social dynamics, and cultural realms of the San Francisco Sound. Within the spaces of Terrapin, Shakedown Street, Mexicali Blues, and Dark Star Visuals, the business owners noted that they strive to promote an atmosphere that typifies their own positive affinity for the band, transforming the space of their business into a place that recreates the cultural aura of the Deadhead experience. Although we make this assertion based solely on the naming experience of Kimler, Moyer, Erskine, and Wieties, we speculate that many business names in the United States referencing the band were formed as a result of the strong, familial-like connection between the Grateful Dead and their fan base, as documented in numerous accounts of academic and non-academic literature (Pearson 1987; Piccoli 1997; Reist 1997; McNally 2002; Fairlamb 2007; Edmondson 2009; Fong-Torres 2009; Dodd and Spaulding 2010; Meriwether 2012).

These connections are highly apparent in the results of the spatial analysis conducted for this research through the significant presence of Grateful Dead-named businesses on the landscape, and their respective clusters in certain areas of the United States. Because the Bay Area was the locus of the psychedelic culture associated with the Grateful Dead, it is logical that more of the businesses named after the band would be located here. The clusters of businesses along the New England and Mid-Atlantic coasts are likely due to the high concentration of population in these areas. With a higher population, there is a greater chance of the presence of a business owner who has a personal history with the Grateful Dead, and as a result may have a greater affinity to choose to name their establishment after the band. However, we must consider the demographic and political characteristics of several states in our results: those with higher occurrences of Grateful Dead-named businesses, including California, New York, and Colorado boast large

population sizes as well as arguably progressive political leanings. Differences in political and social liberality between Alabama and Maine may lend insight as to why Alabama had the lowest per capita of named businesses (4,822,023 people per business) while Maine had the highest per capita of businesses (166,149 people per business). In a colloquial sense, the Grateful Dead's memory can evoke images of drug use and sexual experimentation, leading us to posit that conservative states would have lower Grateful Dead-named businesses per capita.

The results of the interviews with Meriwether and the selected business owners contribute to the narrative that the Grateful Dead forged a special bond with their fans, a bond that has compelled numerous individuals in the United States to name their business after the band. While each person described his/her own specific experiences as a Grateful Dead fan and business owner, collectively they attested to the merits of owning a business named after the band, in which a space of economic circulation becomes a place of nostalgia and homage to their music. In this research, we have also shown that in naming a business after the Grateful Dead, their name, memory, and image is commodified into a marketable cultural capital for purveyors of the band's music. Further, from the results of the interviews, it is clear the naming of a business after the band has served to preserve a business owner's own memories of the band, and in a wider sense, preserved the band's presence on the cultural landscape of the United States.

Conclusion

Although the Grateful Dead arguably lacked strong commercial success in contrast to bands such as the Beatles and Led Zeppelin, the cultural landscape of the United States includes hundreds of commercial businesses named after a reference to the band, strongly suggesting that the Grateful Dead continues to possess a cultural appeal that extends beyond platinum album sales and mainstream fame. The four business owners recalled the band's hypnotizing live performances and inspiring music which formed a unique legacy that perpetuates itself today within the spaces of their businesses. We have found through this research that although many of the original members of the band have passed on, Grateful Dead-named businesses continue to persist on the cultural landscape, preserving the memory of the musical creations of the band and reflecting their widespread interest within in the San Francisco Sound.

This research highlights the strength of the familial culture created among followers of the Grateful Dead's musical and cultural legacy. Business owners including Kimler, Wieties, Erskine, and Moyer have combined their own passion for the band and their desire to preserve the band's legacy through business names that pay homage to and convey a personal connection to the band. In these ways as well as others, they use their memories and nostalgia to create meaningful places and enrich their own sense of place. The sense of place created through a Grateful Dead-named business may be studied through scales of experiential geographies: upon viewing the business name, some patrons may experience memories of their own connections to the band. For non-fans, the image of a Grateful Dead-named business may give rise to

preconceived notions about the characteristics of the services available within the shop. Upon entering the business, some patrons may be influenced by Grateful Dead-décor or imagery harkening to connotations of a 1960s counterculture. The presence of Grateful Dead-named businesses on the cultural landscape presents several layers of place identity for patrons and others who enter or pass by a Grateful Dead-named business.

Future research on the Grateful Dead's presence on the cultural landscape could compare the findings in this paper to the memorialization of bands and artists from the same time period across the United States, such as Jefferson Airplane, The Beatles, and Jimi Hendrix. This might involve similar business searches conducted for the other bands and a widespread comparison regarding the extent to which the bands in the study are memorialized. Further iterations of this research may also include an expanded business search in Canada and Europe.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Notes

1 As noted later in the paper, several landscape items such as statues, plaques, and dedicated public spaces in homage to the Grateful Dead exist on the landscape of the United States. Business names, however, are the sole focus of this study.

2 List of terms was chosen based in reference to songs on the band's greatest hits album *The Very Best of the Grateful Dead* (2003), as well as insight from setlists featured in the Dick's Pick's anthologies. Dick's Picks are considered to be the premier representation of the Grateful

Dead's musical creations and were initially created by Dick Latvala, the tape archivist for the Grateful Dead. Among Deadheads, the Dick's Pick's anthologies are a primary source of the band's music and therefore represent an excellent venue from which to pick business name references that accurately reflect the band's musical prowess.

3 We extensively explored possible infringements on trademark laws through business names such as Terrapin, and found that while the band's lyrics are copyrighted, no trademark infringement occurs unless the business overtly uses the song title/lyrics to create a theme song for their business or if the business name is a direct match to a song or album (e.g. Terrapin Station) and also sells Grateful Dead merchandise. In the case of our business interviews, all of the business names do reference a Grateful Dead song but the knowledge of these references is based on knowing the band's music, and therefore they are not overt references to the song/lyrics and are protected from any trademark infringement. Based on what we have learned through this research, concerns about trademark infringement have not deterred people from naming businesses after references to Grateful Dead lyrics.

4 All of these interviews were conducted between 15 April 2012 and 12 March 2013.

5 The "Bible Belt" is the informal term used to describe the southeastern and south central portion of the United States where attendance at religious services is significantly higher than the national average.

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