Red, White and Blue Highways: British Travel Writing and the American Road Trip in the Late Twentieth Century

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Selected material included in this thesis is forthcoming in the following publication:
ABSTRACT

This study locates late-twentieth-century roadlogues (nonfiction, prose accounts of American road trips) by British writers within the tradition of the postwar American highway narrative in travel writing, novels, and film. It exposes the discursive structures and textual constraints underlying seven case studies published in the 1990s by comparing them to texts from various genres in diachronic and synchronic contexts. It contributes to scholarship on the American highway narrative, which largely overlooks British texts. It complements research on British travel writing, which tends to be biased towards pre-twentieth-century texts by travellers whose culture is in a dominant relation to that of travellers. It adds to postcolonial studies through analysis of representations of the other where otherness is reduced and complicated by a history of cultural exchange.

The methodology combines several approaches including discourse theory, discourse analysis, narrative theory, feminist criticism, and theories of tourism. Three main areas are considered: identity, in relation to nationality and gender; the road writer's gaze, with regard to vehicles and roads; and intertextuality, on the margins (in maps) and inside roadlogues (in direct and indirect allusions).

The study concludes that contemporary British roadlogues are in what is almost a subordinate relation to American highway narratives, evidenced by extensive influence of American texts. However, this subordination is qualified by joint ownership of western and New World myths, vestiges of imperial superiority, and selective deference by British writers. The latter is demonstrated through a consumer approach to American culture afforded by the episodic structure of the road trip and encouraged by the niche-oriented nature of the current market for travel writing. While American writers regard roadscapes with imperial eyes and experience the road trip as a rite of passage, contemporary Britons generally engage in superficial role play and remain untransformed by American highways.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION: ON THE ROAD

1.0 AMERICAN HIGHWAY NARRATIVES AND BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING

Travel writing, as commercial product and academic subject, is widely recognized to have gained substantially-increased visibility in Britain and the United States in the last quarter of the twentieth century.\(^1\) However, roadlogues (nonfiction, prose accounts of American road trips) by British writers have received minimal critical attention.\(^2\)

Studies of twentieth-century American highway narratives largely overlook the work of British writers. Additionally, scholarship on British travel writing tends to demonstrate a bias towards pre-twentieth-century texts produced in circumstances where travellers belong to the dominant culture. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to analyse the relationship of contemporary British roadlogues to the cross-generic American highway narrative (in travel writing, film, and novels) through an investigation of the discursive structures underlying these texts.

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\(^1\) For instance, in 1992 Michael Kowalewski notes (in "The Modern Literature of Travel," the Introduction to *Temperamental Journeys*) that the last ten years have witnessed the reprinting of classic travel books, the emergence of many new travel writers, and the writing of travel books by writers established in other genres (1). In 1998, Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan claim (in *Tourists with Typewriters*) that travel writing is "becoming one of the most popular and widely read forms of literature today" (vii). In 1999, Susan Bassnett describes the commercial boom as "predominantly a British phenomenon" although academic interest is "not so localised" ("Travel Writing within British Studies" 1). However, the appearance of large travel writing sections in British bookshops which Bassnett describes also occurred in the US in the late twentieth century. Holland and Huggan note a boom in both the US and UK evidenced by, e.g., thriving travel supplements in newspapers, and the emergence of travel magazines such as *Granta* (UK) and *Condé Nast Traveler* (US) (1). Barbara Brothers and Julia M. Gergits note that academic studies has broadened its definition of literature to include travel books previously seen as inferior to "imaginative literature" (*Dictionary of Literary Biography* xvi). They also provide statistics from *Travel Books Worldwide* (1991), noting that more than two thousand travel books are available in the US each year (xvi). They discern that the rise in popularity of travel books in Britain is demonstrated by their appearance in bestseller lists, the establishment of awards for travel writing (such as the Thomas Cook award in 1980), and the achievement of other awards by travel books (such as the Hawthornen Prize, Duff Cooper Memorial Prize, and Somerset Maughan Award) following World War II (xvi). (Full details regarding authors and titles mentioned are included in the bibliography only when directly relevant to the present study.)

\(^2\) "America" and "Americans" are not ideal terms to use when referring to the US and US citizens because doing so privileges the US over other American nations. In acknowledgment of this problem, this study predominantly uses "United States" or "States" to refer to The USA. However, the term "Americans" is used to refer to "United States citizens" because there is no current adequate substitute for the former (the latter being too cumbersome).

There are various reasons why the subgenre inhabited by these case studies has been neglected. Firstly, the twentieth-century American road trip is a peculiarly American journey; it is a rite of passage for American citizens into their national heritage. The road trip mimics patterns of pioneer settlement, celebrates while it circumscribes American space, and realizes American dreams of freedom and individualism. The road and the automobile have come to be principal defining characteristics of the United States (especially in the postwar era), evidenced by a substantial tradition of cross-generic cultural products.

The American highway is celebrated by a variety of media and genres such as poetry (beginning in the late nineteenth century with Walt Whitman), music (from the Dust Bowl ballads of Woody Guthrie, to contemporary rock, and country and western), novels (notably John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* and Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*), film (in road movies from *Easy Rider* to *Thelma & Louise*), television (in series such as *Route 66* and *The Wacky Races*), and travel writing (notably in John Steinbeck's *Travels with Charley in Search of America*, Robert M. Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, and William Least Heat-Moon's *Blue Highways: A

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3 Lewis Davies is referred to as "Davies" in the remainder of this study. Other writers with the same last name are given initials. All references to primary case study writers' texts refer to the roadlogs listed here. Other works by these writers listed in the bibliography are not discussed.

4 The significance of the road in American travel is reflected in the Traveler's Tales Guide *America: True Stories of Life on the Road*, edited by Fred Setterberg. This book's title uses the road to symbolize the US, even though many of the tales it extracts (by writers of diverse nationalities) are not highway narratives.
Journey into America. Enmeshed with road trip culture, the American love of the automobile as expressed in art is dealt with in several studies such as Cynthia Dettelbach's *In the Driver's Seat: The Automobile in American Literature and Popular Culture* and Raymond Lee's *Fit for the Chase: Cars and the Movies*. Various publications address the impact of cars and roads on American life and leisure including John Jakle's *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* and Warren James Belasco's *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945*. A number of guidebooks specialize in the American road trip such as the Insight Guide *Crossing America* and Jamie Jensen's *Road Trip USA*. The American highway is, therefore, generally considered the province of American travellers, writers, musicians, and film-makers. It is not surprising that British writers on this subject are largely invisible.

Similarly, when the phrase "British travel writing" is mentioned, the United States is not the first location that springs to mind. A striking example of this is the absence of the United States from Mark Cocker's *Loneliness and Time: The Story of British Travel Writing*. Cocker focuses on twentieth-century writers who usually travel east rather than west such as Wilfred Thesiger (Arabia), Laurens Van Der Post (Africa), and Lawrence Durrell (Greece). He cites Greece as the inspirer of the largest volume of British travel books in the twentieth century and Tibet as runner up (208). Although Jonathan Raban's *Old Glory* (concerning a voyage down the Mississippi) appears in Cocker's bibliography, the terms "America" and "United States" do not feature in the book's index.

One of the seminal studies of recent travel writing scholarship, Paul Fussell's *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars*, redresses the balance somewhat.

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5 See the introduction to *Crossing America* 17-29 for a more detailed history of American road culture. Kowalewski notes that 1.25 million copies of *Blue Highways* were sold between 1982 and 1992 (6).

6 Obviously, the automobile has had a enormous impact on the culture of many nations. See Peter Marsh and Peter Collett, *The Psychology of the Car* 21-26 for a survey. However, the US remains the location of "authentic" car culture or the paradigm against which others are measured. For a review of Jakle's *The Tourist*, see Elizabeth McKinsey's "American Wanderlust."

7 There is also only one page reference for Canada.
In his second chapter, Fussell lists twenty-one writers who left England in the 1920s and 30s and comprise what he terms the British Literary Diaspora (11). Out of these, four went to the United States including three who settled there: W.H. Auden, Christopher Isherwood, and Aldous Huxley. Fussell also includes a chapter on D.H. Lawrence, who lived in the Southwest (141-63). However, these writers lost the strongest associations of the term "travel writers" once they settled in New York, California, and New Mexico.

Volume 204 of The Dictionary of Literary Biography (DLB), edited by Barbara Brothers and Julia M. Gergits, concerning British Travel Writing from 1940-1997, also illustrates the neglect of British travel writing on the United States. Its bibliography includes approximately 9 books on the United States out of a total of 441 entries. It excludes all of the case studies addressed here that fit within its time-frame. It is not clear why these titles are omitted because they represent varying degrees of literariness and are written by writers with a range of backgrounds and credentials. For instance, one might surmise that the DLB excludes Coltrane in a Cadillac because it is by an actor, accompanied a television series, and is not literary travel writing by an established travel writer. However, this is not the case because the DLB lists two books by the actor Michael Palin (Around the World in 80 Days and Full Circle) which also accompanied television series.

The Introduction to Volume 204 of the DLB also provides more clues as to the limited representation of books on the United States. In outlining British travel writing of the postwar era, the main regions of interest cited by Brothers and Gergits include Eastern Europe, parts of the former Soviet Union, Tibet, parts of Africa, and the

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8 Like many critics, Fussell confuses use of the terms "British" and "English" (e.g., 74). See also Blow, Nevins, and Rapson.

9 A number of critics distinguish writing which describes living in a foreign location from travelogues. For instance, see Kowalewski 9; Brothers and Gergits xvi; and Steve Clark, "Introduction," Travel Writing and Empire 17. Although Hazleton has settled in Seattle, Driving to Detroit is about travelling out from Seattle and is therefore distinguishable from, e.g., Huxley's writing on Los Angeles where he settled.

10 Numbers from bibliographies given are approximate because the location of the journey is not evident from some titles.
Mediterranean (xvii-viii). (The only mention of the United States is of Josie Dew's *Travels in a Strange State*, in the context of women's bicycle journeys [xx].) The motivations for travelling to these places are defined as: to engage in political travel or test survival skills in dangerous or unstable areas, to enter forbidden territory, to discover primitive societies, or to escape to simple lifestyles away from modern civilization (xvii-vii). The contemporary United States is not the most likely destination to fulfill any of these desires.¹¹

As regards preferred modes of travel, Brothers and Gergits note: "The fascination of the first half of the twentieth century with the new motorcar and the fast, luxurious trains that crisscrossed Europe has been replaced in the second half of the century by a nostalgia for older means of travel" (xiv). As examples, they cite histories of transport (such as that of Imperial Airways), and use of "low-tech" vehicles in travel narratives such as bicycles and slow boats. They remark that the boat "gives a way to get to interior space and examine the past," but do not account for the fact that automobiles provide a similar function, nor that much motorcar travel of the late twentieth century is nostalgic for the earlier days of motoring.¹²

In contrast to the bibliography and Introduction, out of the twenty-nine "major" British travel writers (excluded from the bibliography) featured in the DLB's chapters, five have written on the United States (namely Stephen Brook, Geoffrey Moorhouse, V.S. Naipaul, Jonathan Raban, and Gavin Young). The percentage is much higher here than in the bibliography, suggesting that some of the best writing (at least according to the DLB's criteria) is on the United States. Amongst these writers, Brook and Naipaul have produced roadlogues (*Honky-Tonk Gelato* and *A Turn in the South*, respectively). Brothers and Gergits also list Thomas Cook Award winners from 1980

¹¹ Though one could, like D.H. Lawrence, appreciate the Native American culture of New Mexico. The US used to attract political theorists in the nineteenth century (such as Alexis De Tocqueville and James Bryce) when the newness of the Union was of interest.

¹² See Belasco 19-21 for examples of how early advertisements for motor touring stressed its nostalgic link with the days of the stagecoach and constructed the train as modern by comparison.

The DLB's assessment (at least in its Introduction and bibliography) of postwar British travel writing is largely echoed by Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan in Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing. Holland and Huggan note that, "In fact, contemporary travel writing - at least when it is not about Europe - has arguably evolved from the identification and crystallization of regions that are specified through the processes of Western imperialism, tracing back to the fifteenth century" (67). Their chapter entitled "Zones" excludes the United States and focuses on the following: "the Congo and the Amazon ('tropical'); Japan ('Oriental'); the South Seas ('exotic'); and the Arctic ('liminal')" (67-110).

This bias in travel writing scholarship towards colonial and postcolonial literature (excluding settler colonies) is no doubt attributable to travel's preoccupation with "otherness" (further discussed in section 1.1). The activity of travel, rather obviously, is based on a distinction (noted by John Urry in The Tourist Gaze [2-3])

13 Though it should be noted that they are aware that their chapter is selective (65). Typewriters addresses the relative lack of scholarship on twentieth-century travel writing through a focus on largely British and North American writers post 1960. Its thesis is that "travel writing frequently provides an effective alibi for the perpetuation or reinstallment of ethnocentrically superior attitudes to 'other' cultures, peoples, and places" (viii). It begins and ends by noting how postwar prophets of doom (Waugh, Levi-Strauss, and Fussell) have been proved wrong by the genre's late-twentieth-century boom (1-2; 197). Holland and Huggan are concerned to critique nonfiction travel books and examine their complicity with the rise of the tourist industry within a postmodern consumer culture. Although they do not analyse guidebooks in detail, they collapse the travelogue/guidebook distinction somewhat by discussing ways in which travelogues promote tourism, despite the desires of their writers to distance themselves from this industry (e.g., xi). An ambitious survey, the study locates travel texts in relation to larger discourses such as postmodernism, postcolonialism, and gender. The book's style is very dense and reflects careful crafting, often using word play. It provides insightful critiques of travel texts and usefully discerns trends in postwar travel writing such as "commodification, specialization, and nostalgic parody" (197). Favored narratorial roles during this period include trickster (9), bricoleur (12), raconteur of folk wisdom (13), counter-travel writer (21), English gentleman (23), theoretical traveler (24), environmentally-aware nature writer (179), and postmodern nomad (197). Typewriters judges texts according to whether they conform to, or challenge, dominant cultural myths (e.g., ix). The study is limited in that, although the writers criticize canon building (e.g., with reference to the Picador Travel Classics series [205]), their focus on specialist travel writers and/or big names (e.g., Baudrillard, Chatwin, Davidson, Naipaul, Iyer, Raban, and Theroux) inevitably does the same. Lack of space leads to the neglect of the "second-rate" writers who form a large proportion of the genre according to Fussell (212). My study intends to redress the balance by discussing a broad range of travelogues including texts by little-known or amateur travel writers with few pretensions to literariness. See reviews of Typewriters by Alasdair Pettinger and Vasiliki Galani-Moutafi. See Caren Kaplan's Questions of Travel for another discussion of the relationship of travel to postmodernism.

14 Steve Clark's "Transatlantic Crossings" discussed later is an exception.
between home and away.\textsuperscript{15} It is probable that many travel writing scholars do not perceive there to be enough difference between Britain and the United States to make for interesting travel writing. Reduced difference is evident in the title of this study. While "Red, White and Blue" is principally used here to refer to the Union Jack, it also describes the colours of the Stars and Stripes. A recent anthology edited by Oscar Handlin and Lilian Handlin, \textit{From the Outer World: Perspectives on People, Places, Manners and Customs in the United States, as Reported by Travelers from Asia, Africa, Australia and Latin America}, reflects the perception of lack of otherness by its exclusion of European writers from "outer world." In addition, the most influential, and reputedly most perceptive, European writer on the United States is not British but French. Alexis de Tocqueville's \textit{Democracy in America}, written following his travels in 1831-1832, apparently continues to have a substantial effect on how Americans perceive themselves.\textsuperscript{16}

British writing can be distinguished from European writing as a whole on the United States because of what Winston Churchill called the "special relationship." Though what this rather nebulous term signifies changes over time, its continued use suggests that investigation of its nature is useful.\textsuperscript{17} A major marker of this relationship is shared language. Use of English no doubt contributes significantly to this limited sense of otherness, despite Oscar Wilde's oft-quoted witticism that Britain and the

\textsuperscript{15} See note 9.

\textsuperscript{16} Contemporary influential Europeans include Baudrillard and Eco, who are philosophers and theorists with postmodern concerns. Their books (\textit{America} and \textit{Faith in Fakes}) combine travel with theory. Baudrillard's \textit{America} is not considered to be a travel book in France and the same could probably be said of Eco's in Italy.

\textsuperscript{17} For historical studies of this relationship outside the sphere of travel writing see David Dimbleby and David Reynolds, \textit{An Ocean Apart}; and Alan P. Dobson, \textit{Anglo-American Relations}. Although British writing obviously has much in common with other European writing, Allan Nevins (conflating British and English) confidently asserts that the former is more useful for the American national record: "An Englishman is just enough of a stranger to see us with a fresh and curious eye, eager for every new impression; he is not enough of an alien, as most Continental Europeans are, to confuse nonessentials with essentials, or to mistake the meaning of what he sees" (\textit{America Through British Eyes} 341).
United States are divided by a common language, and Noah Webster's efforts to compile a separate dictionary and establish a distinct language tradition.\textsuperscript{18}

Enmeshed with cultural difference, the principal characteristic of colonial and postcolonial travel writing is that of markedly unequal power relations between travellers and travellees. Although this is the case between Britain and the United States in the 90s, analysis of the "special relationship" in travel writing can contribute to postcolonial studies because it is not a straightforward one of colonized/colonizer. The United States is obviously very much more powerful than Britain and impacts on the latter's commercial culture, international security, and domestic policy in a number of significant ways. In the latter category, for instance, the United States is treated as a testing ground for diverse policies later launched in Britain such as voucher systems for schools, zero-tolerance policing, constraints on tobacco advertising, and the baseball model of "three strikes you're out" prison sentencing. British travel writing on the United States thus provides an opportunity to resist and criticize such influence. However, though subject to American cultural imperialism, Britain is not a colony of the United States in the more overt political sense.\textsuperscript{19} (Conversely, the settler colonies which became the United States were never colonies of Britain's in the same way as India.) The stakes are low in contemporary British representations of the United States. If British writers make disparaging representations of the United States of the 90s, it does not matter as much as if British writers do the same to less powerful nations.\textsuperscript{20}

Although there appears to be a general critical bias towards British travel away from the United States, this is not to say that the "special relationship" as manifested in travel writing has received no critical attention. Out of those texts that deal with this

\textsuperscript{18} Benedict Anderson notes that shared language is a principal factor in establishing an imagined community (\textit{Imagined Communities} 44). See Chapter Two for further discussion of Anderson.

\textsuperscript{19} To add to the point made earlier about the relative academic neglect of British books on the US, the US is probably discussed more in travel criticism of the 90s in terms of the worldwide dissemination of its popular culture, rather than in terms of the geographical nation as a travel destination. See, e.g., Holland and Huggan 60-65 for an analysis of Pico Iyer's \textit{Video Night in Kathmandu} (1988) along these lines.

\textsuperscript{20} The usefulness of exploring travel writing with lower stakes is discussed further in section 1.3.2.
topic the majority favour the nineteenth century, presumably because power relations undergo an interesting struggle during this period while the United States breaks away from its cultural and political parent. The nineteenth century is also attractive because of the prestigious writers amongst its transatlantic travellers such as Americans James Fenimore Cooper, Herman Melville, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry James versus Britons Frances Trollope, Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Oscar Wilde. Publications on this period include Charles Miller's *Early Travellers in North America: Eyewitness Reports from the First Visitors to the New World* (1994), which is organized according to themes such as language, landscape, women, and slaves. Miller extracts and comments on fifty British writers of the nineteenth century who visited Canada and the United States. Walter Allen's *Transatlantic Crossing: American Visitors to Britain and British Visitors to America in the Nineteenth Century* (1971) is an anthology with an introductory essay. Christopher Mulvey's two more recent studies on the nineteenth century (*Anglo-American Landscapes: A Study of Nineteenth Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* [1983], and *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* [1990]) also take a comparative approach.

Works covering longer periods include Allan Nevins's anthology *America Through British Eyes* (1948), which deals with the years 1789 to 1946 and provides thorough introductory essays for each of its four subsections. Robert Blow's more recent anthology, *Abroad in America: Literary Discoverers of the New World from the Past 500 Years* (1989), includes a brief introductory essay before providing extracts (not restricted to travel writing) beginning in the 500s with St. Brendan and ending in the 1980s with writers such as Raban and Martin Amis. Peter Conrad's *Imagining America* (1980) covers British writers in and on the United States in various genres.

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21 In "Travel Writing," Bassnett notes that the nineteenth century is a boom period for British travel writing in general (6). See Kowalewski 7 and Holland and Huggan 8 for remarks regarding the comparative neglect of the twentieth century by travel writing scholarship.

22 The title is more inclusive than the contents, which focus on British writers.
from circa 1830 to 1970 and argues that "there is an America for each of us" (4). He demonstrates how the United States fulfills a broad range of contradictory British desires, such as D.H. Lawrence's quest for the antiquated and primitive versus the futuristic vision of H.G. Wells. Richard L. Rapson's Britons View America: Travel Commentary 1860-1935 (1971) is a study organized according to themes in travel books (similar to Miller's) such as landscape, schools, children and parents, women, and churches. In Images of America: Travelers from Abroad in the New World (1987), Robert B. Downs provides a brief review of sources on foreign travellers' views of the United States (2-3). Of the nine principal publications devoted to this subject which Downs mentions, the most recent was published in 1949. Downs again shows a predilection for the nineteenth century. Out of short chapters on forty different writers (of whom most are British but one is Japanese, one Russian, and one Argentinean) only three travellers visited the United States in the twentieth century. The latest publication Downs considers was published in 1944.

1.1 THE AMERICAN HIGHWAY NARRATIVE IN THE 1990S

Other than Steve Clark's analysis (in "Transatlantic Crossings: Recent British Travel Writing on the United States") of texts published in the 80s and 90s, British writers on the United States in the late twentieth century are ignored relative to the noticeable amount of work on their nineteenth-century counterparts. This study, therefore, devotes attention to a neglected area of contemporary British travel writing while adding an extra dimension to the well-established scholarship on American travellers of the American highway. The period of the 1990s was selected for particular attention because it witnessed somewhat of a cross-generic resurgence of scholarly interest in the American highway narrative. This was no doubt due to the revitalization of the genre precipitated by the 1991 road movie Thelma & Louise, and backgrounded by the legitimacy acquired by popular culture as a topic of academic interest with the postwar growth in cultural studies.
If Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark are correct (in their Introduction to The Road Movie Book), the road movie as a genre in its own right was largely neglected by film studies up to this point (2). However, it was the subject of various publications in the 1990s including a large body of articles (in journals, newspapers, and magazines) assessing the feminist challenge of Thelma & Louise to what had become a male-dominated genre postwar, and books considering the genre as a whole, such as The Road Movie Book (1997) and Lost Highways: An Illustrated History of Road Movies (1999). The increased interest in road movies is echoed in prose by two works of criticism on prose highway narratives (both fiction and nonfiction) published in 1996 presumably in ignorance of each other: Kris Lackey's RoadFrames: The American Highway Narrative and Ronald Primeau's Romance of the Road: The Literature of the American Highway.

The late twentieth century was also selected for this study because it provides an opportune moment to reflect on the key roles that the automobile and road development played in shaping American tourism and culture throughout the century, especially in the postwar period. Eight of the fourteen titles (that is, over fifty percent) that Michael Kowalewski lists in Temperamental Journeys: Essays in the Modern Literature of Travel in the "Studies in the History and Culture of Modern Travel and Tourism" section of his selective bibliography of travel titles since 1900 concern the United States. One of the remaining six is a study of American tourists in Britain. Three of the eight titles on the United States deal specifically with roads and were all published in the 1980s: Drake Hokanson's The Lincoln Highway: Main Street Across America (1988), Phil Patton's Open Road: A Celebration of the American Highway (1986), and

23 Though Mark Williams's Road Movies was published in 1980.

24 For examples of articles on Thelma & Louise see Cathy Griggers, "Thelma and Louise and the Cultural Generation of the New Butch Femme"; and Sharon Willis, "Hardware and Hard Bodies, What Do Women Want?" See Marita Sturken, Thelma & Louise 8-11 for a synopsis of the controversy sparked by the film. A new publication titled Road Movies by Patricia B. Erens is forthcoming in 2001.

25 Although dividing the past into decades and centuries is not an ideal way to conceptualize historical patterns, it remains influential and is justifiable with regard to roadlogues of the 90s in the context of this study.

The 1990s are post Cold War and largely coincide with the Clinton administration in the United States (1992-2000) that ended the Reagan and Bush era and led to shifts in the "special relationship," which took an apparent downturn between Clinton and Major, followed by an upturn between Clinton and Blair. The emergence of "Cool Britannia" in the late 90s appropriates an American image-conscious adjective for Britishness in keeping with Blair's reputation for image and spin. The remarkable representation of a new openly emotional and sentimental Britain on the death of Princess Diana in 1997 also aligned Britishness closer to Americaness. Britain apparently also moved further away from the United States, for example, by moving towards political union with Europe. However, the fact that this movement was slow and reluctant on the part of many illustrates Britain's traditional preference for less supragovernmental control (than that desired by France and Germany, for instance) along the lines of that of the United States, where each state in the union has a large degree of autonomy over local laws.

Whereas Britain's role in the "special relationship" could be characterized as parent in the nineteenth century (e.g., Blow 9; Nevins 3), it has been represented as one of poor relation in the twentieth century (e.g., Allen 11; Graham 123). (Both metaphors are family metaphors, indicating the perceived kinship of the two nations.) American tourists in contemporary Britain have the reputation of being superior and inflexible that British tourists have in the United States during the high days of

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26 Jakle also looks at air and bus travel but his central topic is the automobile.

27 For instance, see Vanora Bennett's article in *The Los Angeles Times*, "A 'Cuddly-Feely' Britain Arises."

28 This analysis is admittedly superficial and generalized and does not take into account differences in attitudes to Europe within Britain's nations and regions. *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* traces the emergence of the term "Euro-sceptic" to the mid-80s.
Empire. Nevins (whose text is aimed at American students of American history) discerns that British travel writing on the United States loses its usefulness between 1922 and 1948 because it is marked by deference leading to largely uncritical, and therefore less insightful, analysis (403).

Similarly, Clark (in "Transatlantic Crossings") interprets the overall stance of Britons towards the United States in the late twentieth century as one of deference. Clark's essay uses a postcolonial framework to survey British travel writing on the United States from the 80s and 90s, examining this subgenre in terms of a reversal of power where a sense of impotence and decline in post-imperial British identity is brought into relief by thriving American hegemony. Clark argues that this is evidenced by British vulnerability in the face of American violence, big spaces, and economic strength (213-23). He discerns that the imbalance of power, nevertheless, fails to allow Britons to leave behind the influences of home enough in order to experience transformational journeys (223-25). In a section titled "Pop Imperialism," Clark rightly notes many British travellers' relationships of worship or infatuation to American popular culture (for example, evident in Mick Brown's American Heartbeat: Travels from Woodstock to San José by Song Title) and their subsequent failure to provide the critical stance of an outsider due to "their sense of re-encounter rather than discovery and consequent strands of protective mimicry" (213; 225-31). However, a simple reversal of power relations from the pre-independence period is, arguably, an inadequately subtle analysis. Clark's representation of the unquestioned dominance

29 Nevins notes that Americans tended to like English travellers better after the Empire broke down (402).

30 The implication of Nevins's analysis is that the best quality travel writing is produced by travellers who feel superior. Nevins claims that American satirists such as Upton Sinclair, John Steinbeck, and John Dos Passos did a better job of critiquing the US than British travellers during this period (403). Nevins usefully summarizes the general stance of British writers to the US in three of his periods as follows: in the period of Tory Condescension (1825-1845), British writers generally saw the US as inferior; during the period of Analysis (1870-1922), they saw it as equal; in the period of Boom, Depression, and War (1922-1946), they saw it as superior (403).

31 Clark's discussion in terms of a simple analysis of power relations is somewhat surprising because, in his "Introduction" to Travel Writing and Empire, he criticizes the tendency of some postcolonial scholarship to reduce cross-cultural encounters to simple dominant/subordinate models (3-5).
of the United States is at odds with the nostalgia for the perceived golden age of the
1950s and millennial angst over American decline that forms much of the discourse of
many British and American roadlogues in the 80s and 90s.

The examples Clark gives to demonstrate how contemporary Britons experience
a lack of power in the United States are of walking writers who feel small in
comparison to the skyscrapers of Manhattan, or humbled by the size of the natural
landscape (213-14). However, these are not the most telling examples because it is
likely that anyone would feel diminished and in awe in New York. The driving writer
arguably has more potential to feel empowered and in control in automobiles on open
roads than the walking writer at the bottom of skyscraper (or natural) canyons. This
study uses a more legitimate test through a focus on the mobile road writer's gaze. It
demonstrates that, while Clark's observation of British powerlessness in the face of
Big America is largely born out by case study writers' accounts of experiences on
American highways, there are exceptions.32

While this study maintains that late-twentieth-century British writing on the
United States is marked by deference on the whole, this is not unqualified. Deference
remains an appropriate way to describe British writers' respect for American industry,
professionalism, and technology whilst in the United States (though it is represented
contemporaneously in the British press as taking the pursuit of money too far over GM
food products). However, the memory of being bailed out of two world wars has
apparently faded enough to allow Britain at least partially to step out of the shoes of the
poor relation. Britain appears to have regained some confidence and feelings of
superiority in the 90s over issues such as racism and violence. Favoured soap-box
topics for contemporary British writers in the United States include guns and violence,
racism, and the prevalence of extremists such as conspiracy theorists and religious

32 Out of the sixteen British travelogues on the US that Clark mentions on the first page of
"Transatlantic Crossings," four are roadlogues, although he does not identify them as such (212). The
mobile road writer's gaze is the subject of chapters Four and Five.
fundamentalists. Several of these preoccupations still represent Americans as unruly children in need of discipline, revealing vestiges of the parental role.\textsuperscript{33}

Most writers find room for a few harsh criticisms and some texts, such as Motel Nirvana, are predominantly in the satirical mode. On the other hand, any feelings of superiority are not unqualified. The late 90s was portrayed by the British media as exhibiting a loss of public confidence in the British police linked to widespread accusations of institutional racism and increased representations of violent crimes. Perhaps insecurities about racism and violence at home can be placated somewhat by going somewhere where such social problems are perceived to be worse.\textsuperscript{34} Younge's No Place Like Home demonstrates that previously lauded (at least by whites) British tolerance is not necessarily positive.\textsuperscript{35} There is also a sense that the worst aspects of American society (for example, drugs, violence, GM products, McDonalds) are like contagious diseases that eventually spread to the United Kingdom.\textsuperscript{36}

However, criticisms aside, fantasy rather than social critique is a major orientation of late-twentieth-century British writers to the United States.\textsuperscript{37} One of Clark's key observations, mentioned above, is the impact of American popular culture on British travellers (213). The far-reaching influence of American movies, music, and television is of particular relevance to travel books of the 90s and is an aspect of power relations where the States undoubtedly has supremacy. Travel writing on the States as a

\textsuperscript{33} Focus on American "natives" such as conspiracy theorists and religious extremists (e.g., Baptists who dance with snakes) by writers such as Naipaul, Fletcher, and McGrath is part of the discourse of exoticism promoted by travel writing. For an example of a similar construction by a British writer outside the roadlogue subgenre see Alexander Stuart's Life on Mars: Gangsters, Runaways, Exiles, Drag Queens and Other Aliens in Florida.

\textsuperscript{34} This fits with the tradition of travel as a means to make the traveller feel more contented about his/her home. For instance, see James Buzard, The Beaten Track 8; and Fanny Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans 33.

\textsuperscript{35} This is explored further in Chapter Two.

\textsuperscript{36} Disease metaphors are also evident in economics with use of phrases such as "When America sneezes, Britain catches a cold."

\textsuperscript{37} For a discussion of fantasy in other European representations see Mark Harris, "Fantasy America."
whole demonstrates a shift towards trips organized around aspects of popular culture. Examples include McLean's tour of western swing music in *Lone Star Swing*, and Andy Bull's two tours of rock music and icons such as Elvis Presley and Marilyn Monroe in *Coast to Coast: A Rock Fan's US Tour* and *Strange Angels: A Journey in Search of America's Immortal Heroes*, respectively. Highway narratives are especially influenced (and prompted) by westerns and road movies. The road trip is particularly suited for visiting some of the most bizarre and tacky products of Americana, as evidenced by the selection detailed in *The New Roadside America: The Modern Traveler's Guide to the Wild and Wonderful World of America's Tourist Attractions* by Mike Wilkins, Ken Smith, and Doug Kirby.

It is apparent that the United States has much more cultural capital in the postmodern era than previous periods. This is due to changes in what is considered legitimate as history and culture. Nevins points out that nineteenth-century travellers Basil Hall, Fanny Trollope, and Matthew Arnold saw democracy as bad for taste in art. However, by the period 1870-1922 there were many established American writers for British travellers to admire (such as Mark Twain and Walt Whitman). For instance, Nevins notes that Arnold Bennett (unlike his predecessors) declared that the United States was not a nation of Philistines. Although the trope of the New World lacking history in comparison to the Old World is still in widespread use, the late twentieth century produced several British travel books organized around history and literature tours. An example is Gavin Young's *From Sea to Shining Sea* (1995), which discusses writers such as Steinbeck and Jack London and history such as that of the Civil War and the Native Americans. There is generally an increased awareness

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38 This is explored further in Chapter Seven.

39 See the website by the same writers at [www.roadsideamerica.com](http://www.roadsideamerica.com). A similar (though more localized) guide is *L.A. Bizarro: The Insider's Guide to the Obscure, the Absurd, and the Perverse in Los Angeles* by Anthony R. and Matt Maranian. The fact that these are American publications shows that Britons are not alone in exoticizing the US. See Chapter Eight for a discussion of British representations of the American road side.

40 Fanny Trollope is referred to as "Trollope" in the remainder of this study, while Anthony Trollope is signified by "A. Trollope."
amongst travellers in the 90s that the United States has a substantial amount of antiquarian history (celebrated earlier by D.H. Lawrence).

Though they are not extinct, travellers like Trollope whose main criticism of the United States was its want of refinement, are outnumbered in the 1990s. For many perceived want of refinement and depth rather become the main attraction of the States in the late twentieth century. It is unlikely that Matthew Arnold would have found western swing as edifying as does Duncan McLean. Curvaceous Cadillacs or chrome-clad Peterbilt trucks would not have been the objects of aesthetic appreciation for Henry James that they are for Robbie Coltrane and Graham Coster. According to scholars such as literary critic and historian John F. Sears (in Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century) and geographer David Lowenthal (in "The Place of the Past in the American Landscape"), Americans perceived a lack of history in their nation in the nineteenth century and either used their landscape as a replacement for fine art and monuments or went to Europe to look for them. Umberto Eco (in "Travels in Hyperreality") discerns that this lack is evident in the twentieth century in manifestations such as American wax museums and Hearst Castle where "the Absolute Fake" reigns (30). What Eco calls "past-izing" (9), making something only seventy years old into an historical artifact, is a process reduced postwar in Lowenthal's estimation to twenty years (110). While Eco attributes this to an "unhappy awareness of a present without depth" (9), Lowenthal sees museumization as evidence of "antihistorical thought" and reflecting "continued dependence on the present and disengagement from the past" (110). However, no matter which theorist is correct, the

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41 Martin Amis's series of essays, The Moronic Inferno (1986), is equally condescending. Holland and Huggan describe this book as "snide" and belonging to "a rash of more or less undistinguished travel books purveying adventures in America as infernal Disneyworld 'descents'" (161).

42 Admiration for American popular culture is not restricted to a particular type of travel writing but is found both in highly-crafted, literary texts (like McLean's) and more prosaic, non-literary texts (such as Coltrane's).

43 Lowenthal surmises that this absence was not regretted because most Americans (except for Henry James) gloried in their lack of history and saw, following Thoreau, the past as burdensome ("The Place of the Past" 94-96). For a review of Sears, see McKinsey.

44 See Chapter Five, section 5.2.3 for further discussion of this subject.
late twentieth century United States remains the obvious destination for what Maxine Feifer, in *Going Places: The Ways of the Tourist from Imperial Rome to the Present Day*, terms the post-tourist (259-70); it is the authentic location of inauthenticity.

The 1990s is also an interesting period for road trips due to the increase it witnessed in environmental awareness. For instance, legislation was passed in 2000 which enforced car dealers in the United States to boost sales of electric cars. Also in 2000, Henry Ford's grandson made a landmark speech, declaring that the days of the internal combustion were numbered and that greener alternatives should be researched. Escalating congestion in cities around the United States and Western Europe led to measures to enlarge the role of public transport at the detriment of private vehicle use. These factors appear to herald the end of the reign of the internal combustion engine. Although the latter is likely to survive for some time to come, writers already look back to the perceived golden era of the automobile and motoring (as mentioned above). Nostalgia, identified as a key element of twentieth-century travel writing by Holland and Huggan (albeit usually postimperial nostalgia in their discussion), is a large part of many roadlogues of the 90s. The United States of the 50s is idealized as the place and time where big cars with big engines were free to guzzle gas and roam on uncongested highways.

The shifts the 90s witnessed in definitions of Britishness in the run up to, and implementation of, devolution make this period interesting and problematic for the study of British travel writing (an area left uncovered by Clark). These shifts are reflected in Kowalewski's bibliography of travel writing since 1900, which includes separate entries for English, Scottish, and Welsh writers. The point made earlier that

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45 The museumization and Disneyfication described in Eco's *Faith in Fakes* is now prevalent outside the US (e.g., see Chapter Six of Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* regarding the heritage industry in Britain). However, the US can still be celebrated or denigrated as its point of origin.

46 Although there are limitations to what might be concluded from Kowalewski's lists, it may be worth noting some figures here. Kowalewski's bibliographies reflect the dominance of English writers in British travel writing published in English (the second most prolific list is of 375 American travel titles). He includes a total of 444 titles by English writers. (Obviously, factors qualifying comparison need to be kept in mind here such as population ratios. Also, one would expect there to be many more English writers with publications in English than Italian writers, for instance. However, see Loredana Polezzi, "Resisting Genre" for a study which highlights the fact that travel writing as a genre is not well represented in Italy because of differences in genre classification.) Out of these, approximately twenty-
travel writing has boomed in Britain and the States in recent years, provides another motivation to study how these nations represent each other during this period. Comparison of two nations which have engaged in extensive cross-cultural exchange adds a further dimension to the study of otherness in representation. It can help account for the inaccuracy of Evelyn Waugh's oft-quoted 1946 prediction that increased ease and regimentation of travel was the death knell for travel writing.47

The notion of comparing two cultures with the same language has gained legitimacy in recent years. In *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction*, Susan Bassnett points out that although this field used to be based on comparison of literatures in different languages alone, comparison of literatures in the same language is now accepted (e.g., 48-69). This parallels the late-twentieth-century move in anthropology and ethnography away from the traditional focus on "primitive" and "foreign" cultures to subjects closer to home, and is echoed in the increasing visibility of travel writing where otherness is reduced.48 Several travel writers use the trope of looking at the other to investigate their home cultures and invest them with exoticism such as British writers Nick Danziger and Charles Jennings (in *Danziger's Britain: A Journey to the Edge* and *Up North: Travels Beyond the Watford Gap*, respectively). American Bill Bryson has a similar stance (in *The Lost Continent*) in the United States.49 Similarly, seven entries are on the US and at least seven of these are highway narratives. However, one is by Bill Bryson, whom I would categorize as American (or at least Anglicized American), thus illustrating a limitation to analysis of bibliographic data. This compares with roughly forty-two titles on Africa, suggesting (and echoing Cocker, and Brothers and Gergits) that, although it is by no means neglected, the US is not of primary interest to English travel writers in the twentieth century. In contrast, Scottish travel writers appear to favour North America from the evidence Kowalewski provides. Out of the twelve Scottish titles listed by Kowalewski, seven are on North America (including Canada but excluding Mexico). Alaska features in three titles, suggesting a bias towards adventure travel. There are only three titles (all by the same writer) under "Welsh."

47 Waugh's statement is from *When The Going Was Good* (11). It is quoted by, e.g., Brothers and Gergits xvi, Fussell 215, Holland and Huggan 1, and Kowalewski 3. For further discussion, see section 1.3.4.

48 Regarding developments in ethnography, see James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, and Clifford and George Marcus, *Writing Culture: The Politics and Poetics of Ethnography*. The term "auto-ethnography" emerges in the last quarter of the twentieth century. However, travel narratives close to home were written in earlier periods, such as the nineteenth century. Regarding the latter point, see Joanne Shattock, "Travel Writing Victorian and Modern: A Review of Recent Research" 152.

49 This is further discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.1.1. Bassnett surmises that the current popularity of travel writing in Britain is, in part, due to the fact that British society is undergoing changes (such as devolution), because "in times of great change, people look comparatively at their
several British writers use the trope of "finding somewhere you thought you knew well to be foreign" when in the States. For instance, in Motel Nirvana McGrath feels alienated in Santa Fe and as if in a region marked "here monsters lie" on the map of experience (11). McGrath notes that her longing for familiar ground feels stranger in New Mexico than it would in, for example, The Solomon Islands (that is, somewhere more obviously foreign) because "every westerner expects at least to comprehend America, if not to feel in some measure at ease there" (25). Similarly, after a British childhood dominated by American popular culture, Andy Soutter claims (in The Drive Thru Museum) to be shocked to find the United States very foreign and mostly German-influenced, noting: "To be a stranger in a strange land is always stimulating; but to be a stranger in a familiar land has a flavour all of its own: the sublime taste of paradox" (5).50

In addition to the travel writer moving closer to home, there has inevitably been a shift away from adventure in the wilds to exploration of postindustrial destinations. In "Travelling Cultures," James Clifford discerns a similar move in anthropology away from the primitive village (to everyday developed places like hospitals, urban neighbourhoods, and tourist hotels) concurrent with the need to relinquish fixed field study in favour of learning more about how cultures travel (98). Two recent studies that illustrate Clifford's point are Dorothy Ayers Counts' and David Counts' Over the Next Hill: An Ethnography of RVing Seniors in North America, and Timothy B. Spears's 100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture (1995) (a thorough sociological study of the salesman from 1830 to 1930). Though Spears does not claim cultural exceptionalism for travelling salesmen in the United States, Counts and Counts study what they identify as a specifically North American social trend: a

own culture, seeking to explore alternative models and at the same time taking an interest in books that offer alternative perspectives on the familiar" ("Travel Writing" 6).

50 Another example is provided by Nick Middleton, in Ice Tea and Elvis, who is shocked by a dumbed-down message on Amtrak (demonstrating fear of litigation) which warns passengers that the train is constantly moving. Middleton notes: "As an English speaker, the USA had lulled me into a false sense of security. I had expected the place to be a bit whacko, but incidents like these suggested some deeper differences" (16).
significant population of retired persons who live on the road and who have constructed their own communities. Both studies illustrate the fact that the American road is not the province of tourists alone.

The mobile culture of the United States suggests a further reason for electing to study American highway narratives by British writers: although it may be diminished in several ways as outlined above, otherness re-enters in the mode of travel in these texts. British writers go native in a sense through participation in the ritual of an extended road trip in a motorized vehicle. As introduced above, it is Americans who are assumed to take naturally to road trips, whereas British travel writers in contrast typically embark on, for example, Grand Tours of Europe, or expeditions of adventure or exploration in Africa. Although road trips are by no means absent from British tourism (for instance, evidenced by coach holidays), caravan and trailer-tent owners in Britain tend to take their mobile homes to one location for the duration of their holidays, rather than regularly uprooting and covering thousands of miles as Americans do in their Recreation Vehicles (RVs).

In comparison to the extensive celebration of American roads in music, film, and literature outlined above, Britain has no road culture tradition. The lack of romance of British roads is pointed out by Simon Hoggart in an article in The Guardian where he quips that "Nobody has ever written a song called I Get My Kicks on the A66." Divine Comedy's 1999 top ten single "National Express" is an ironic celebration of the dubious pleasures of losing one's worries on this inadequate substitute (in mythical terms) for the American Greyhound. In A Thousand Miles, Coster points out that Americans mythicize their country by singing about their roads in contrast to the British. Coster cites a tongue-in-cheek song by Billy Bragg about the A13 (63). Also in

51 Exceptions include Robert Byron's Road to Oxiana, Colin Thubron's Among the Russians, and Barbara Toy's A Fool on Wheels: Tangier to Baghdad by Land-Rover. However, these could be described as adventure travel, whereas the American road trip of the 90s is taken on developed road systems. While there are, no doubt, many examples of British writers' road trips in Europe, it remains that British writers taking American road trips take American journeys due to the established road tradition in American literature, film, and music.

52 For further discussion see Chapter Seven.
The Guardian, Maev Kennedy's review of Pieter Boogart's recent book *Ode to a Road* (concerning the landmarks and attractions of the A272 through Hampshire and Sussex) treats it as a whimsical anomaly and notes that the author is used to "eyes glazing over" as he explains its subject (9). There are a few British road movies (such as *Soft Top, Hard Shoulder*) but they remain little-known and impotent in comparison to the American standard.⁵³

There are various reasons for this absence of road romance in Britain. Apart from the lack of a history of pioneer settlement, the most obvious reason is Britain's lack of space. In *The Psychology of the Car*, Peter Marsh and Peter Collett claim that Britons love cars just as much as Americans, but lack of space in the former's home country prevents the full expression of this obsession (7). The United States is, therefore, a place where British car and road fantasies can be played out. An additional reason is the fact that most American roads were designed specifically for the automobile, whereas a large proportion of British roads were initially designed for horses. Whatever the predilections of the particular traveller, the otherness of the road trip as a mode of travel is exploited by British writers. Some emphasize their difference from Americans by highlighting their incompetence or inexperience as drivers (for example, McLean), while others use the United States stage to play out their driving fantasies (for example, Coltrane and Hazleton).

1.2 INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDIES

Whereas Kowalewski lists only six to seven nonfiction American highway narratives by British authors from 1900 to 1992, I have identified fourteen published between 1992 and 1999 alone.⁵⁴ They continue to be published in the twenty-first century.⁵⁵ These narratives form part of what Clark describes as "a veritable outpouring of British

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⁵³ See Sue Picken, "British Road Movies" for more examples.

⁵⁴ These titles are detailed later in this section.

⁵⁵ For example, Rory Maclean's *Next Exit Magic Kingdom* (2000).
travel writing on the United States" in the 80s and 90s. For ease of reference, nonfiction, prose accounts of journeys on American roads are referred to in this study by the neologism "roadlogues." Roadlogues form a subsection under the umbrella term "highway narrative," which is used here to signify both fiction and nonfiction in various media. The term "roadlogue" also usefully avoids the impression that these books are entirely narrative in structure, as they often include lengthy non-narrative sections such as essays.

British roadlogues are also a subsection of a broader range of British travel writing on the United States, as illustrated by examples detailed below. A roadlogue journey is defined, for the purposes of this study, as one in which motorized transport (car, truck, Greyhound, motorcycle) is used for a continuous (crossing, circuitous, looping) route over the surface of the United States on roads. Roadlogue writers do not stay in one place for long periods but rather pass through locations rapidly, gaining brief impressions. Roadlogues are usually linear and episodic, although some writers play with chronology a little in transforming travel notes to text. Roadlogues are postindustrial successors of the western, which usually feature a lone traveller (although some kin trips are published in the 90s). Roadlogues can, therefore, be distinguished from in-depth studies of one particular city or area (such as Geoffrey Moorhouse's *Imperial City: The Rise and Rise of New York*). Similar journeys to roadlogues (excluded from this study) include those using non-motorized transport such as horses (for example, Dylan Winter's *On Horseback Along the Oregon Trail* and Lucy Rees's *From Hell to Hopi*) or bicycles (such as Dew's *Travels in a Strange State*). Also excluded is motorized transport away from roads such as boats or trains (such as Raban's *Old Glory* and Nick Middleton's *Ice Tea and Elvis*). Roadlogues

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56 Clark's observation contrasts with the invisibility of British travel writing on the US in other publications discussed earlier.

57 Routes are discussed further below, in Chapter Five (section 5.0), and Chapter Six.

58 The lone traveller has a long pedigree. Feifer points out that the solitary pilgrim was considered the most virtuous in the medieval period, although most people travelled in groups (33).

59 Middleton uses a combination of trains and cars, so his text has many road trip elements. My exclusion of *Ice Tea* from the category of roadlogue is rather conservative when it is considered that
can additionally be distinguished from journeys where writers rely mostly on flights to transport them from location to location (such as Brown's *American Heartbeat*).\(^{60}\)

Though roadlogues can be usefully separated out as a category, there is much diversity within this category and many features which cross over to other subgenres. The writers of the seven roadlogues published between 1992 and 1999 that form the basis of this study have various national identities: two are English (Coster and McGrath), two are Scottish (Coltrane and McLean), and one is Welsh (Davies). One is English and American (Hazleton), and one describes himself as a black Briton and/or English (Younge). Six are white (out of whom Hazleton is also Jewish) and one is black. Four writers travel by car (Coltrane, Hazleton, McGrath, and McLean), one travels by Greyhound (Younge), and one travels by truck (Coster). Two of the writers are female and five are male. The professions of the writers include travel writer, journalist, novelist, playwright, and actor. Some of the texts lean towards straightforward reportage, while others are more literary and push the boundaries between nonfiction and fiction. The aim of the study is not to focus on specialist travel writers or only those who are considered to be the most accomplished, but to provide an overview of what is being produced in the market.\(^{61}\)

*Coltrane in a Cadillac* tells the story of a trip from west to east (a reversal of the dominant paradigm) that fulfills Coltrane's adolescent dream of owning a classic Cadillac and driving it across the States. It is part of a growing subgenre of celebrity travel.\(^{62}\) The printed text could be seen as a secondary account that supplements the films such as *Midnight Run* (which also features a mixture of car and train journeys) would usually be classed as road movies. Other travelogues of the 90s by British writers with significant road trip elements include John William's *Into the Badlands* (aeroplanes and cars) and Andy Bull's *Coast to Coast* (aeroplanes and cars).

\(^{60}\) Obviously, making such distinctions is not entirely objective and involves judgment calls. Raban's *Hunting Mr Heartbreak*, for instance, includes road trip elements. However, I do not define this as a roadlogue because the bulk of the text records lengthy sojourns in, e.g., New York and Seattle.

\(^{61}\) In contrast, Holland and Huggan focus on major writers who consider themselves as specialists in travel writing. See note 12.

\(^{62}\) For other examples regarding British celebrities in the US see Julie Walters and Graham Stuart, *Julie Walters is an Alien: A Voyage to Planet America*; and Chris Heath, *Pet Shop Boys Versus America*. 

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primary record of the television series. Such books tend to have a short shelf-life because the demand for them diminishes once the "authentic" text of the television programme has been off the air for some time. The construction of Coltrane's narrating persona is affected by several intervening layers including his celebrity status, an itinerary presumably set by television executives, a film crew, and a ghost writer. Coltrane's stance combines the role of a devotee of the American automobile industry with a witty cynic who delivers confident critiques of diverse facets of American life and culture (such as tourism, sport, farming, and policing). There is minimal personal reflection. The book's style is down-to-earth, along the lines of a non-problematized account of "what I did on my trip" as opposed to self-consciously crafted. The text is discussed in this study most particularly with regard to its fantasy element and how this relates to British national identity and gender on the road.

A Thousand Miles is written by a novelist, editor, musician, and travel writer. The first half ("East") recounts a journey that Coster made across continental Europe with a British trucker. In the second half ("West"), the writer vicariously fulfills the dreams of British truckers by taking two east-west journeys across the United States with American truckers in their big rigs. Coster evokes western myths in his construction of truckers as cowboys and represents the States as the authentic location for trucking in comparison to Europe. His stance is that of a an investigative reporter, himself unable to drive a truck, who is somewhat in awe of American trucking. Coster focuses on the lives of truckers and provides minimal personal reflection. The text records road trips necessitated by people's professions rather than touring; its focus is on the trucking industry rather than American culture as a whole manifested in roadside attractions. Like Coltrane, Coster's style is witty and he recounts his journeys chronologically, though his language use is more crafted than Coltrane's. Coster's text raises issues of national identity and perception in relation to vehicles and space.

Freeways is by a novelist and playwright. The book records an east-west trip funded by the John Morgan Award for writing. The journey is apparently prompted by a vague desire to follows in the tyre tracks of the Joad family of Steinbeck's The
Grapes of Wrath from Oklahoma to California, but makes a substantial detour away from the remnants of Route 66. Although the persona is consistently authoritative throughout, the stance of the narrator shifts from wandering lone ranger/tourist to investigative reporter (due to the absence of an explicit goal from the outset). The initial section ("The Road"), records a lone road trip through Oklahoma and New Mexico, which focuses on the landscape and roadside. The second section ("Martha") becomes more novelistic in tone when Davies is picked up by an Australian hitchhiker (reversing the norm) with whom he has a brief love affair between Arizona and Nevada. The focus is on their relationship rather than American landscape and culture (although Davies steers away from inner journey). The final section ("The North") switches once again in register to an essay (researched en route) on the plight of migrant farm workers in California whom Davies compares to the Okies of the Depression. Freeways is much more obviously crafted than Coltrane's and Coster's roadlogues; that is, more distance can be discerned between travel notes and final text. For instance, it is not strictly chronological. A passage describing how Davies picked up a tumbleweed in the first part of his journey is inserted at a crucial juncture in the second section, presumably to build sexual tension (89-90). Davies's text engages questions related to the craft of travel writing and is discussed most particularly here with regard to intertextuality.

Driving to Detroit is by a one-time Middle East correspondent turned automotive journalist and devotee of American car culture. Hazleton's anticlockwise circular trip (from her home in Seattle to the Detroit auto show and back home) is a pilgrimage to the holy places for cars such as the salt flats used for land speed records, a junkyard, a Saturn plant, and the Autorama customizers' show. Hazleton previously taught English literature and makes a large number of literary allusions. She has an authoritative persona and a dual insider-outsider stance by virtue of being British and American. The text could be described as literary journalism; the journey is recounted chronologically (apart from a few minor flashforwards) and the style is consistent throughout. Like many journalist's travel books, Driving to Detroit includes a substantial number of interviews, although there is also much personal reflection prompted by the unexpected
death of Hazleton's father en route. Hazleton's text engages the question of gender and travel writing through her penetration of two male-dominated worlds: that of the automobile and that of the road trip.

*Motel Nirvana* is a satirical roadlogue by a writer of several nonfiction titles (travel and otherwise). McGrath travels to the southwest to investigate the New Age movement's part in the American story. Her journey is prompted by an article which asserts that "more [American] people believe in esp than hell, and more Americans are abducted by aliens than are visited by the Virgin Mary" (3). *Motel Nirvana* pushes the boundaries of the roadlogue in several ways, including the fact that the traveller remains at certain stops for some time (a week, for example) rather than merely passing through. McGrath also revisits some sites against the grain of the typical road trip. Careful research counters the road trip's tendency to produce superficial impressions. There is apparently some considerable distance between the travel notes and text of this wandering journey through New Mexico and Arizona, which detours into the story of the Native Americans, essays on such figures as Billy the Kid and D.H. Lawrence, and a transformational inner journey. The style is literary and self-conscious and changes frequently (for instance, one chapter uses postmodern collage by pasting in short texts in boxes [47-76]). The journey is not recounted chronologically: some chapters tell the story of a section of the journey, while others are themed and group elements together under titles such as "Motels" and "Driving" (159-65; 189-91). *Motel Nirvana* crosses the fiction/nonfiction boundary by introducing Fergus, who appears throughout as a supportive rational friend on the phone from New York. The closing chapter reveals him (apparently in postmodern "you've been had" fashion) to be a fictional composite (222). The tone is predominantly authoritative and, at times, mordacious. The narrator distinguishes herself from tourists in a condescending manner.63 She is characterized

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63 McGrath's authoritative stance is illustrated in her ninth chapter, "Two Cities," in which she gives a confident analysis of Phoenix and Tucson. When communicating her opinions, she generally excludes qualifiers and tends to lecture the reader. See Holland and Huggan 191-95 for a review of *Motel Nirvana*. They describe McGrath's tone as acerbic and caustic.
as an antisocial, insomniac lone ranger. McGrath's text downplays gender and is discussed here in relation to craft and perception on the road.

*Lone Star Swing* is written by a fiction writer of various genres (short stories, novels, stage and television) and anthologist of Scottish writing. It recounts a wandering quest through Texas for the roots of western swing music (funded by a Somerset Maugham Award). It is a playful pilgrimage, includes extensive language play, and steers away from any in-depth inner journey. The narrator adopts the combined roles of travel liar and reluctant traveller somewhat out of his depth. The text is also a parody of the journalistic interview-laden info-narrative in parts because several of McLean's leads are thwarted due to the old age and infirmity of western swing musicians, and the reluctance of some of them to talk to him. The style exhibits elements of the postmodern through self-consciousness, and pastings throughout the narrative of song lyrics, business cards, and western swing memorabilia. McLean's strong sense of Scottishness engages issues of national identity. His devotion to American popular culture raises questions of intertextual influence on American highways and his literary style brings up issues of craft.

*No Place Like Home*, in contrast, is by a journalist and leans much more towards straightforward reportage in style. It also contains a large proportion of inner journey. Younge's north-south Greyhound trip through the Deep South follows in the tyre tracks of The Freedom Riders, 1960s civil rights campaigners who sought to uphold the law banning segregation on interstate travel. Though the writing is often humorous, it is not self-conscious and recounts the journey in chronological order for the most part. The subject is well-researched and the text's focus is on recounting history and journey-time interviews of civil rights figures rather than description of landscape and roadside attractions. Like Coltrane, Coster, Hazleton, and McLean, Younge is a devotee of the popular culture of the United States. However, his quest is prompted by a deeply felt lack in his racial identity rather than the more superficial wish-fulfillment motives of other writers. Younge's text is discussed here most particularly with regard to national identity.
This study puts these texts in context by comparing them to other British roadlogues of the 1980s and 1990s. These include Honky-Tonk Gelato: Travels through Texas by Stephen Brook, which recounts several road trips around Texas in search of a sense of place.64 Across America with the Boys by Matthew Collins has no pretensions to literature. Collins is a television travel show presenter and his self-published book recounts his holiday in a RV with his two young boys from Florida to California. Across America is presumably aimed at readers who are considering taking a similar holiday. Storm Country: A Journey to the Heart of America by Pete Davies is distinctive because it focuses on the central states of the midwest, neglected by many roadlogues. 3,532 Miles by Jacqueline Donachie is a minimalist roadlogue about a journey from New York to Graceland and back. Only one thousand copies were printed of this small book which, after a brief introduction, recounts the road trip with only a few choice words per page. Martin Fletcher's Almost Heaven: Travel Through the Backwoods of America is by a journalist who, after living in New York for seven years, takes a lone road trip which maps the United States according to the binary of civilization versus backwoods. Selecting the backwoods, Fletcher seeks out subjects of interest to journalists rather than tourists such as illegal marijuana cultivation in West Virginia and conspiracy theorists in Montana. A Turn in the South by V.S. Naipaul is by an established novelist who is similarly concerned with anomalies such as snake-handling Southern Baptists, in addition to issues of race.65 Two Roads to Dodge City is different from the vast majority of contemporary travelogues in that it is an epistolary account by two writers: the publisher Nigel Nicolson (of Weidenfeld and Nicolson) and his son Adam Nicolson. It consists of the father and son's letters to each other as they take separate journeys from the east and west coasts respectively, to meet in Dodge City, Kansas.

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64 See the DLB 3-11 for a feature on Brook. Other titles on the US by Brook are the city studies New York Days, New York Nights and L.A. Lore.

65 Inclusion of Naipaul here is problematic because his status as "British" is open to question. See Chapter Two, section 2.1 for further discussion.
The Divine Supermarket: Travels in Search of the Soul of America by Malise Ruthven is by a freelance writer who has published on other subjects such as Islam and Freya Stark. His circular road trip is an investigation into religion in the United States from Puritans, to neo-Nazi cults, to scandalous televangelists. The Drive Thru Museum by Andy Soutter recounts a trip by the writer and his wife from the Deep South to California. Soutter's two main arguments reverse norms and are: a) that the States lives in the past in comparison to future-oriented Europe, and b) (mentioned earlier) that the States is a very foreign place strongly marked by German culture. Coffin Nails and Tombstone Trails: A Journey Across the Dark Side of America by Nick Wood is a road trip (reminiscent of the set up for the road movie Kalifornia) from Los Angeles to New York that investigates violence and death in American culture through visits to sites such as that of the Oklahoma City bombing, the assassination of Kennedy, and the murder of toddler beauty queen JonBenet Ramsey. As with many roadlogues by journalists, it is dominated by interviews. No Particular Place to Go is a highly literary, picaresque account of a tour of poetry readings by the poet Hugo Williams. The bizarrely titled From Wimbledon to Waco recounts the novelist Nigel Williams's summer holiday with his family, in which they do not go anywhere near Waco, but travel mostly in California, Nevada, Arizona, and New England.

Comparisons are made with (mostly postwar) American-authored roadlogues. Three texts make up the "roadlogue canon," amongst which Steinbeck's Travels with Charley (1962) is regarded as the benchmark. The veteran novelist takes a journey incognito along America's backroads with his poodle, in response to restlessness approaching his sixties and the desire to become reacquainted with his homeland after twenty-five years of being out of touch. Pirsig's Zen (1974) recounts (long after the event) a motorcycle vacation on backroads taken by Pirsig and his son in conjunction with a philosophical enquiry into the romanticism/classicism dichotomy. Pirsig's highly personal text combines the story of an outer trip with a recounting of his earlier inner journey to and from a nervous breakdown. Heat-Moon's Blue Highways (1982) was prompted by the loss of the writer's job and breakdown of his marriage. It is a
nostalgic backroad saunter in which Heat-Moon interviews and photographs people whose ways of life are disappearing. Like Steinbeck's, it is a narrative concerned with discovering and affirming national identity.

Other roadlogues by American writers discussed include Mike Bryan's *Uneasy Rider* (recounting several journeys on southwestern interstates), Dayton Duncan's *Out West* (which follows the Lewis and Clark Trail), James Morgan's *The Distance to the Moon* (a fantasy trip in a Porsche from Florida to Oregon), and Tim Cahill's *Road Fever* (a hypermasculine quest from the tip of South America to Alaska). Reference is also made to Australian Sean Condon's *Drive Thru America* (a postmodern post-tourist jaunt through American popular culture) and a number of roadlogues by writers who have lived in both the United States and Britain: Bill Bryson's *The Lost Continent*, Irma Kurtz's *The Great American Bus Ride*, and Simon Mayle's *The Burial Brothers: From New York to Rio in a Cadillac Hearse*. Bryson's text provides a humorous antidote to *Blue Highways* in a satire on American backroads, Kurtz's is a study of the moving community on Greyhounds, and Mayle's is a frenetic Kerouacian caper.

A broader context is also provided including travel writing on the United States outside the road trip, guidebooks, road movies, television, and advertising. For instance, road movies and movies with road trip elements discussed include *Psycho*, *Vanishing Point*, and *Thelma & Louise*. *Psycho* (1960) is about a road trip that is curtailed in violent fashion at the eerie Bates Motel. *Vanishing Point* (1971) follows the fatal journey of an ex racing driver from Colorado to California, who turns his job of delivering a Dodge Challenger into a symbolic breakneck run on speed that causes him to fall foul of the Highway Patrol. *Thelma & Louise* (1991) is an outlaw buddy road movie about two women who are forced on the road after one shoots a man who attempted to rape her friend. The 1968-1970 cartoon series *The Wacky Races* is used in Chapter Three to provide a context for a discussion of gender on the road. The episodes of *The Wacky Races* follow automobile racing in different parts of the United States.

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66 Comparison of British with American writers fills a gap left by Clark, who only considers British writers without their context.
and are structured around the constantly foiled plans of Dick Dastardly and his dog Muttley to win by cheating. Apart from the canonical *The Grapes of Wrath* and *On the Road*, road novels feature less in this discussion than film, first because British writers tend to be more influenced by American road movies, and second because road novels are covered thoroughly by Dettelbach, Primeau, and Lackey.67

1.3 KEY ISSUES AND METHODOLOGY

Sections 1.0 through 1.2 flagged up several key issues with regard to British roadlogues on the United States that warrant further attention. One was the question of otherness as the basis of travel writing and how it is complicated by the history of cultural exchange and fluctuating power relations between the States and Britain. Related to this point was the role of American popular culture in shaping many late-twentieth-century travel books on the States. Another was the nature of the road trip as an American ritual and also predominantly a masculine one, raising questions of national and gender identity.

The goal of this study is to address these and interconnected issues by exploring how (what are to an extent) preconditions and predetermined factors shape representations of American highways in British roadlogues of the 90s. The aim is not to judge the accuracy of case studies against an ideal standard but rather to expose the discursive structures and textual constraints that affect their construction. There are various methods available to the scholar of travel writing to investigate such issues. These include discourse theory (developed from Foucault), discourse analysis (used in stylistics), narrative theory, psychoanalysis, and theories of tourism. A number of approaches are adopted/adapted in this study in acknowledgment of the fact that travel writing is hybrid and invites a pluralistic approach. The seven main chapters are organized into groups that are oriented according to three principal topics: identity, the road writer's gaze, and intertextuality. However, explicit links are drawn between chapters which demonstrate that each topic is pertinent to the entire study. All chapters

67 See also John Schwetman, "The Road to Nowhere," which focuses on Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita.*
utilize various combinations of discourse theory, discourse analysis, and narrative theory. These methods will be described in detail following a brief introduction to the distinctive approaches and subject matter of each chapter.

1.3.1 Chapters Two through Eight: Methods and Topics

Chapters Two and Three discuss two major facets of a writer's identity that are especially pertinent to travel writing: national and gender identity. Travel writing is often concerned with drawing comparisons between the traveller's and travellee's communities and cultures. Though the obvious focus of travel writing is to provide information on the area visited, it also inevitably reflects back on the one left behind. Chapter Two, "American Dreams: Constructing British National Identities on American Highways," examines the perceived lacks in their British identities that writers seek to fill with the otherness of American road trips. The general concept of this approach is apparent in the work of literary critics as well as sociologists. For instance, Dennis Porter demonstrates how travel writing reveals the collective and individual desires of travellers (in Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing). The motivation for Urry's study is the increased role of tourism in modern life and the fact that what societies consider to be tourism reveals much about their everyday practices (1-2). John Jakle also observes (amongst others) that tourism is the principal means by which modern people define their identities (The Tourist 22).68

Unlike Porter, Chapter Two does not employ psychoanalytic theory to delve into the unconscious, but uses discourse analysis to compare consciously recognized and clearly stated fantasies of British writers.69 It explores cultural and historical reasons for perceived lacks in British national identity as opposed to psychological ones alone. For theories of national identity, the chapter draws on Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities and Anthony Smith's National Identity. It assumes Anderson's

68 Similarly, Cocker notes that Britons go abroad to seek something they cannot find at home (13). Buzard remarks that tourism is about what your own society denies you (6).

69 Psychoanalysis is employed by Homi K. Bhabha in Nation and Narration. Porter also uses narrative theory.
basic premise that national identities are constructs rather than givens and explores Smith's claim that national identity remains the main collective identity in the late twentieth century despite (and as a result of) the forces of globalization. The chapter also draws on Wayne Booth's notion of the implied author from his seminal text in the rhetorical branch of narrative theory, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (discussed below) (71-76).

Chapter Two analyses examples from all seven principal case studies to build up a general picture of what lacks in British national identities writers seek to fill on American highways. It goes on to consider Younge's *No Place Like Home* in greater detail because this text by a black writer provides an illuminating contrast to the other focal texts by whites.

In addition to national identity, gender identity has a considerable impact on travel writing due to the historical differences in the social structures that determine the ways in which men and women move through the world. Gender is especially pertinent to a consideration of the preconditions of road trips due to the marked construction of the worlds of both the automobile and (especially postwar) the road trip as masculine territory. Chapter Three, "Passing Penelope Pitstop: Contemporary Women Writers and the Internal Combustion Engine," utilizes Sara Mills's notion of textual constraints in *Discourses of Difference* (developed from a Foucauldian model of how texts circulate in society) and Judith Butler's performative model in *Gender Trouble* to explore how the female sex and feminine gender of a writer affects reading and recording of the American highway. The chapter does not claim that, due to biological determinacy, women write differently from men. Rather, it focuses on the way women writers of roadlogues need to negotiate dominant representations of women and cars. For historical background and analysis regarding such representations the chapter draws on Virginia Scharff's history of women drivers in *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age*, Detelbach's *In the Driver's Seat*, and Sherrie Inness's *Tough Girls: Women Warriors and Wonder Women in Popular Culture*, amongst other texts.
Chapter Three focuses on three case studies which emphasize the relationship of narrator to vehicle. The anchor text for the chapter is *Driving to Detroit*. Hazleton's status as a woman driver in the 90s is measured using the Hanna Barbera cartoon character Penelope Pitstop (who is a racing driver in *The Wacky Races*). Detailed reference is also made to *Coltrane in a Cadillac*. Although cars are the focus for this chapter, there are many parallels in the trucking world, highlighted by references to *A Thousand Miles*. Of the remaining case studies, the most space is devoted to *Motel Nirvana* because its underplay of gender provides a useful contrast to Hazleton's text.

Chapters Four and Five explore the construction of the road writer's gaze and draw most heavily on John Urry's sociological study of tourism. Urry's *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* is underpinned by the assumption that tourism is socially organized and systematized. My study differs from Urry's in that it is concerned with analysis of texts rather than broad social trends. However, sociological factors affect texts (and vice versa), so they will inevitably be touched upon. Urry's purpose is to consider how the tourist gaze (which he compares to that of the physician, influenced by Foucault) has developed over time (specifically in England) by looking at "the processes by which it is constructed and reinforced, […] who or what authorises it, what its consequences are for the 'places' which are its object, and how it interrelates with a variety of other social practices" (1). Though Urry does not address the issue of travel writers and travel writing, Chapters Four and Five adapt his framework of the tourist's gaze in order to analyse the construction, authorization, and reinforcement of the road writer's gaze. Chapter Four, "Narrative Vehicles: Automobiles and the Road Writer's Gaze," explores how the physical composition of various narrative vehicles from motorcycles, to automobiles, Greyhound buses, and trucks affect perception on the road with regard to what objects of the gaze they privilege and how these objects are framed by the windshield. In addition to Urry's model, it draws on Feifer's *Going Places* and Anne Friedberg's *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* in discussion of the mobile gaze's

70 See also Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* regarding the traveller's gaze.
relation to television and film. Various histories of automobile touring are referred to such as those by Jakle and Belasco.

Chapter Five, "American Ways: Roads and the Road Writer's Gaze," moves on to consider the role of highways in affecting road writers' perception. It refers to: Dean MacCannell's influential study, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*; Chris Patton's *Open Road*; and Frederick Jackson Turner's seminal essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" amongst other texts. Both chapters Four and Five survey all seven case studies within their broader historical and textual contexts.

Chapter Eight adds a further dimension to the road writer's gaze by considering the static gaze from an intertextual angle. It focuses on representations in case studies of roadside objects (specifically motels and diners).

The final three principal chapters explore the complex area of intertextuality; they are concerned to demonstrate various ways in which prior texts influence representation of the American highway in roadlogues as much as the physical journey. The term "intertextuality" was coined in the 1960s by Julia Kristeva to describe the way in which texts are not autonomous objects (as expounded by the New Critics) but are in dialogue with a number of other texts through a web of references by such devices as allusion, quotation and stylistic nuance (see "Word, Dialogue and Novel"). Worton and Still, however (in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*) point out that the concept was a topic of discussion amongst critics long before Kristeva gave it a name and give examples from such figures as Plato, Aristotle, Quintilian, and Montaigne (1-10). They go on to analyse theories of intertextuality expounded by more recent theorists such as Mikhail Bakhtin, Roland Barthes, and Gérard Genette (Worton and Still 11-40). This project adopts a broad definition of intertextuality. However, it does not refer to "everything, be it explicit or latent, that links one text to others" (Worton and Still 22), but focuses on three areas.

Chapter Six explores route maps in roadlogues and guidebooks. These maps are what Gérard Genette (in *Paratexts*) would term "paratextual." They are not part of the main body of a roadlogue but remain somewhat peripheral along with other
marginal items such as contents pages and headings. Route maps are present in the majority of roadlogues and, therefore, warrant critical attention. As maps require different reading strategies from prose, this chapter draws on the methods of semioticians and postmodern geographers as demonstrated in Roland Barthes's "The Rhetoric of the Image," Denis Wood's The Power of Maps, and John Pickles's "Texts, Hermeneutics and Propaganda Maps."

Routes play a significant role in representation in roadlogues. The chapter distinguishes three main types of route: circuits, crossings, and wanderings. Out of the primary case studies, Hazleton's Driving to Detroit records the only circuitous route. As Hazleton is a resident of Seattle, it makes sense for her to make a circular tour from and to her home. Coster's journeys in A Thousand Miles consist of two crossings from east to west. The first crosses the north from Rochester, New Hampshire to Minneapolis, Minnesota, then on to Seattle, Washington State (148-226). Coster then flies back east to begin his second crossing from Boston, Massachusetts to Los Angeles, California (doglegging via Laredo, Texas) (227-72). Crossing routes are also taken by Coltrane in Coltrane in a Cadillac (Los Angeles to New York) and Davies in Freeways (Tulsa to Los Angeles). Younge's route, from Washington to New Orleans, is more or less straight but challenges the dominant east-west crossing road trip orientation by proceeding from north to south. Wandering tours are made by McLean over Texas in Lone Star Swing and McGrath over the southwest in Motel Nirvana.

Chapter Six provides a survey which puts the routes of case study writers in context. In addition to demonstrating how route maps effectively summarize writers' journeys, the chapter also discusses how roadlogue route maps can conflict with the narratives they accompany.

Chapters Seven and Eight move from the peripheries to the bodies of focal texts to explore other aspects of intertextuality, in order to demonstrate the significant amount of American influence on the gaze of the contemporary British road writer. Chapter Seven, "Interstates and Intertexts: Writer-Introduced Intertextuality on the American Highway," is concerned to explore the function of direct references made in roadlogues.
to (mostly American) texts such as travelogues, novels, movies, and music. The chapter distinguishes between incidental intertextuality (texts encountered on the road such as roadside signs or radio programmes) from writer-introduced intertextuality (what Umberto Eco in *Serendipities* terms "background books" (71)). The chapter surveys roadlogues in general before moving on to discuss the specific functioning of explicit writer-introduced intertextuality in three case studies. Foucault's notion of the author function in "What is an Author" is used to read *Motel Nirvana,* influence of a prior author through the trope of following in a previous traveller's footsteps is discussed with reference to *Freeways,* and collage and textual amnesia are explored in *Lone Star Swing.*

Chapter Eight, "From Motel Nirvana to Motel Hell: Utopia and Dystopia on the American Roadside," focuses mainly on implicit intertextuality detectable in stylistic elements such as parody, metaphor, and road myths. It uses discourse analysis of extracts from case studies to demonstrate how prior texts (especially American horror movies, road movies, and western and New World myths) influence the way British road writers perceive roadside objects of the gaze, such as motels and diners, and represent them for readers. Chapter Eight forms a dialogue with David Spurr's *The Rhetoric of Empire* (discussed below) and uses analysis of western mythology such as that in John Rennie Short's *Imagined Country.* In comparing film to prose it discusses texts on road movies found in Cohan and Hark, Sargeant and Watson, and Williams.

In addition to the texts mentioned above, each chapter forms a dialogue with Lackey and Primeau's texts. *RoadFrames* is a study of American highway narratives in prose (both fiction and nonfiction) from the early twentieth century to the mid-90s. Lackey's main agenda is to discern the roots of highway narratives in genres and movements such as American transcendentalism and the pastoral. Primeau's study similarly focuses on American-authored fiction and nonfiction highway narratives from a similar time span and is also concerned to explore influence in pre-automobile genres.

71 For a review of Spurr see Michael Gorra, "Questions of Travel."
such as the quest romance, Bildungsroman, and picaresque. The present study focuses on a more narrow time-frame and thus gives more in-depth analysis of case studies in comparison to Lackey and Primeau's broad surveys.

The present study addresses a number of areas left uncovered by Lackey and Primeau, most notably by focusing on case studies by British writers. None of the primary case studies of this study are mentioned by Lackey or Primeau (four of the case studies were published after their books). Although Lackey makes a few brief mentions of British texts, he does not make any attempt to distinguish them from American ones. Primeau devotes a chapter to American national identity on the road, but is (not surprisingly) not concerned with British national identity. Both scholars focus on the highway narrative as an American genre and what it reveals about American culture. It is significant that both Lackey's and Primeau's bibliographies conspicuously lack studies on travel writing in general outside the road trip. They treat the highway narrative narrowly as an American genre and are not concerned to relate it to travel writing as a whole.72

Both writers consider gender issues. However, although Primeau devotes part of a chapter to women on the road, he focuses on the relation of women to a gendered landscape rather than women and cars. Both writers are concerned with the road writer's gaze in relation to vehicles and highways, although their examples are drawn from a different body of case studies. Maps and routes are largely ignored by Lackey and Primeau.73 Neither do they devote any space to the representation of motels and diners. Although both writers briefly mention a few road movies, they do not consider the relationship between road movies and roadlogues in any detail. Similarly, books on road movies such as The Road Movie Book, Lost Highways, and Road Movies largely neglect the relationship between road narratives in film and in prose (outside a brief analysis in the former of the canonical On the Road and The Grapes of Wrath [5-8]).

Neither Lackey nor Primeau take into consideration factors other than authors which

72 Though Lackey does make a brief reference to Eric Leed's The Mind of the Traveler (7).

73 Lackey very briefly mentions maps (130), but does not analyse any examples.
affect texts such as publishers, editors, and marketing. These issues are addressed in Chapters Three, Five, and Six amongst others in order to avoid conveying the notion that published writing is simply self-expression. 74

1.3.2 Discourse Theory, Discourse Analysis, and Narrative Theory
A large proportion of scholarship on travel writing is produced in the context of colonial and postcolonial discourse theory developed from Foucauldian models. The pioneering text in this field is Edward Said's Orientalism, which conceives of European constructions of the Orient (from a broad range of genres) as constituting a differential discourse bound up with the process of establishment and maintenance of colonial power. Mary Louise Pratt's Imperial Eyes and David Spurr's The Rhetoric of Empire are also influential texts in the converging fields of travel writing and postcolonial studies.

Colonial discourse can be described as a method of representation used by a dominant minority to represent a dominated majority, which assists in maintaining the current power relations by representing the colonized as inferior to the colonizers and thus justifies the latter's position (Spurr 1-12). As demonstrated by Clark, a postcolonial framework is useful to approach texts produced by British writers in a period of British decline and American hegemony. Such texts demonstrate the struggles of British writers to form their own voices amidst the intertextual influence brought to bear by American writers. 75 On the other hand, they also bear the imprint of historical superiority. Spurr argues that texts written following the breakdown of empires often use the same rhetoric as their predecessors, having failed to change along with the power relations (5). This explains why contemporary British writers are able to

74 That writing is not simply self-expression is pointed out by Mills (Difference 9).

75 Indira Ghose notes that she includes a coda at the end of Women Travellers in Colonial India with texts written by the colonized, so that they may return the gaze of the colonizer (13). The need to allow the observed to "write back" is not so apparent in this study because contemporary British travelogues on the US are interrupted throughout by American voices. This subject is discussed in detail in Chapters Seven and Eight.
worship American popular culture in one paragraph and characterize Americans as unruly children in the next.

To expose the power structures underlying representations in roadlogues, this study uses discourse theory that originated with Foucault but has been filtered through the work of later scholars (including Mills, Urry, Pratt, and Spurr). Mills's notion of how textual constraints affect the circulation of texts in society is used in Chapter Three, as described above (and Chapter Two to a lesser degree). Urry's categories of the tourist gaze (construction, authorization, and reinforcement) that are adopted in Chapters Four and Five closely parallel Foucault's characteristics of discourse. The latter are detailed (in *Language, Counter-memory, Practice*) as involving: "delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts or theories" (199).76 Chapters Four and Five examine what is privileged in roadlogue discourse as a result both of the reality of vehicles and roads, and also of the rhetoric of their representation. Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight are also largely concerned with the power relations of what is included in, and excluded from, roadlogues and how this is authorized and reinforced through exploration of intertextuality.

Spurr's thorough study maps colonial and postcolonial discourse by identifying twelve rhetorical modes (such as negation, debasement, and aestheticization) used across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He argues that such tropes "come into play with the establishment and maintenance of colonial authority" or register its loss (3).77 The present study forms a dialogue with Spurr's text by demonstrating that his rhetorical modes also apply to travel writing on the margins of postcolonial literature.78 Spurr identifies the principal question of his study as: "How does the western writer construct a coherent representation out of the strange and (to the writer) often

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76 See also discussion of Foucault in Mills, *Discourse* 51.

77 See review of *Typewriters* in note 12.

78 I would describe case studies as written in the context of postcoloniality, but not postcolonial as such.
incomprehensible realities confronted in the non-western world? What are the cultural, ideological, or literary presuppositions upon which such a construct is based?" (3). A primary question of this study (especially addressed in Chapters Seven and Eight) is: how does the British writer construct a representation out of the physically strange, yet textually familiar, and (often) apparently comprehensible realities confronted in the American world? Pratt's notion of the "contact zone" is also adapted (in, for example, Chapter Eight) from its original signification of a meeting place for two markedly different cultures to apply to the more ambiguous meetings of Britishness and Americanness in the 90s (4).

While I make use of adapted Foucauldian tools to unpack roadlogue rhetoric and the circumstances of case study production, I do not aim to represent American or British roadlogues as constituting a discourse in the Foucauldian sense. Although it seeks to identify commonalities amongst roadlogues in patterns of representation, this study has more modest aims than Said's Orientalism. Rather than presenting British roadlogues as a discourse as such, I seek to discover the extent to which a group of texts are structured and traversed by larger discourses and other texts. For instance, chapters Two and Three demonstrate how travel writers' texts are crossed and constrained by the discourses of national identity and gender, while Four and Five trace the influence of the discourse of travel. The final three chapters trace the influence of other representations of American highways.

In addition to using the tools of discourse theory, each chapter employs discourse analysis in the stylistic tradition to examine extracts from case studies.79 Roadlogue rhetoric is exposed by concentration on devices such as metaphor or manipulation of genre conventions. By comparing extracts from different texts, however, the study demonstrates its concern to place each text within a broader context (rather than the narrow focus on individual texts exhibited by much work in

79 In this case, the term "discourse" refers to its general sense as a particular group's way of talking (including use of jargon and shared frames of reference). See Mills's Discourse for an extensive discussion of meanings of the term "discourse" in various fields.
I intend to negotiate a middle ground between discourse theory (analysis of larger power structures underlying representations) and discourse analysis (the investigation of an individual writer's voice). These two, apparently incompatible, approaches can be reconciled in the concept of the implied author.

In addition to discourse theory and discourse analysis, narrative theory, especially the rhetorical branch pioneered by Wayne Booth in *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, is also used throughout this study. Booth's notion of the implied author and its subsequently theorized counterpart in the implied reader are utilized in Chapters Two and Three to examine issues of narration and marketing of roadlogues. Booth's implied author is the second-self of the author detectable in the text. It is linked to writing as performance. The notion of the implied author is usefully applied to travel writing because this genre emphasizes the role of the writer, consisting as it does of mostly first-hand accounts of actual journeys recounted using first-person narration.

Booth's construct is adapted in this study to include the input of influences external to the author. Each individual text has some internal cohesion and autonomy designated in part by book covers and the writer's name and style. However, writing is not only self-expression. This cohesion is not constructed by a writer's narrating persona alone, but is also the result of intertextual influence and the input of publishers and readers. Booth's construct is adapted in this study to signify individual narrating performance inflected by larger discourses. The term "writer" is generally preferred over "author" here because of its connotations of a craftsperson working in a market rather than someone with unqualified authority. In most cases that a writer's name is used in the study, it refers to that writer's narrating persona rather than fully equating

80 For examples of work in stylistics, see Ronald Carter and Paul Simpson, *Language, Discourse and Literature: An Introductory Reader in Discourse Stylistics*.

81 Exceptions include Jacqueline Donachie's *3,532 Miles*, which is in the second person. Booth's construct is disputed by poststructuralist narratologists. However, I do not find Booth incompatible with a cultural studies approach.

82 Naturally, these influences can also lead to diffusion. However, in contrast to Roland Barthes, who argues that "writing is the destruction of every point of origin" (*The Death of the Author* 142), I would argue that, despite the inevitable borrowings, the majority of individual travel texts are interpreted as having a certain amount of autonomy by the majority of readers.
with the real person. For instance, the term "Coltrane" usually refers to the narrating persona created by the human being known as Robbie Coltrane, his ghost writer Graham Stuart, and market forces (unless used in the context of describing something external to the text such as "Coltrane is an actor").

The construction of the implied writer with regards to writing as performance raises the issue of the distinction between fiction and nonfiction in travel writing, which is discussed below.

1.3.3 Fiction versus Nonfiction

Although drawing nuanced distinctions between fiction and nonfiction is not a major concern of this study, some mention needs to be made of the issue here because contemporary travel writing is a genre that resists simple categorization under one of these headings. This is due to its roots in the opposing traditions of romance and reportage, which results in reader expectations of marvels and truthful accounts (Bassnett, "Travel Writing" 5; Clark, "Introduction" 2). Holland and Huggan (amongst others) describe travel writing as a hybrid genre, one that mediates "between fact and fiction, autobiography and ethnography" (xi).83

The principal marker of nonfiction travel narratives is their claim to veracity. However, the tradition of the travel liar consists of writers who apparently ignore the constraints of nonfiction in this regard. A major text devoted to this subject is Percy Adams's Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800.84 The tradition of the travel liar was

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83 Its hybrid nature is confirmed by many more critics. See Clark, "Introduction" 2; Fussell 202; Ghose 3; Kowalewski 8; and Raban, For Love and Money 253. Cocker notes that, while most Victorian travel writers' books consisted of streams of facts, twentieth-century writers are more often expected to be good writers as well as travellers (6-8). For detailed analyses of the tangled roots of the American highway narrative in particular (including the picaresque, transcendentalism, the pastoral, and naturalism), see Lackey 1-32 and Primeau 17-31.

84 See also Zweder von Martels's edited collection of essays, Travel Fact and Travel Fiction. Such texts form a dialogue with inquiries into the use of literary techniques in history such as Hayden White's "Fictions of Factual Representation." Adams distinguishes three types of travel account: 1) imaginary and extraordinary voyages (such as Gulliver's Travels), 2) truthful accounts, and 3) travel lies (1). Travel lies intend to deceive and are written with such motives as profit, prejudice, or the desire to make a mark on history (1-18). Adams also considers the boundaries between fiction and nonfiction in Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel, in which he traces the influence of travelogues on the development of the novel up to 1800.
established in a period when readers could not easily verify travellers' tales because of the absence of mass travel and mass communication and lack of established scientific maps (and before the contemporary fiction/nonfiction distinction had emerged). Generally speaking, in the late twentieth century when much is known of the world, it is obvious to readers when travel writers take excessive liberties with the truth. Contemporary travel lies are usually more in the line of modest embellishments in the name of poetic license. Despite this, the role of travel liar defines the genre for some. Holland and Huggan (in one of their more alliterative sentences) conceive of contemporary travel writing as "a practiced art of dissimulation, conscious of itself as at once generically elusive and empirically disingenuous, deliberately dissembling, unclear" (xi).

Rather than viewing all travel writing as purposely duplicitous as such, it is useful to make a distinction between unreliable narrators and travel liars: all travel narrators are inevitably unreliable but not all intend to deceive. No pure version of nonfiction based on the ideal of "true" representation is possible; the concept of nonfiction therefore necessarily involves construction as well as reflection. Unreliability can be traced to a writer's journey-time impressions and also enters in the writing process.

In narrative theory designed for application to fiction, the unreliable narrator (a concept initiated by Booth) results from distance between the narrator and the implied

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85 For instance, Adams cites examples such as giants in Patagonia and a Northwest Passage which, though given credibility in the eighteenth century, would not be believed in the late twentieth century (Travel Liars 17-18).

86 Clark notes the need to be wary of travel texts which draw too conveniently tight a correspondence between outer and inner journeys: "Any direct equation of interior development with physical movement, however, should be viewed with suspicion" ("Introduction" 13).

87 For instance, in lengthy reports of journey-time conversations, the reader wonders how writers were able to remember all the details provided in the text. Dwelling on this fact can destroy the illusion. For example, McGrath records the details of a New Age lecture, despite the fact that she claims to have fallen asleep during it (18). Both her perception during the journey and her written record are, therefore, unreliable. Davies records a lengthy, eloquent speech made by Martha before she leaves him (85). He does not mention writing notes or using a tape recorder during this event and awareness of either activity would ruin the romance of this tender scene for the reader.
Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan (in Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics) cites the example of Benjy, the narrator of William Faulkner's The Sound and the Fury, who is mentally disabled and therefore cannot be expected to give a reliable account of story events (100). Rimmon-Kenan describes the sources of unreliability as "the narrator's limited knowledge, his personal involvement, and his problematic value-scheme" (100). This type of unreliability applies to all travel writing. Travel writers' perceptions during their journeys are limited by their own opinions, perspectives, and prejudices. Any written representation of a journey is also a reduction due to such basic factors as forgetfulness. A linear text is a different medium from a three-dimensional journey and something inevitably gets lost (and gained) in the translation. However, this has more to do with the inevitable subjectivity of travel writing rather than willful deceit. The ideal of a reliable narrator in the sense of someone who can give a perfect, unmediated account of the journey, does not exist.

Critics such as Holland and Huggan discern a thin (or non-existent) line between a travel writer's craft and craftiness. However, I perceive craft as the practical process of making a text, rather than always a conscious mode of deception. For instance, the inclusion of the rhetorical device of the implied author is an inevitable part of the writing process rather than only (or always) conscious masquerade. The principal methods used to shape journey experiences into publishable narrative do not include blatant deception. Rather, they involve procedures of elimination (such as cutting tedious material), interruption of the strict linear record by relating events out of chronological sequence, inclusion of themed chapters on topics extrapolated from the entire journey experience, selection of attractive language to enhance descriptions, or

88 See The Rhetoric of Fiction, Chapter XII.

89 See Polezzi 136-90 and Bassnett, "Travel Writing" 5 for discussions of travel writing as translation.

90 Various publications appeared in the 90s that advise writers on how to transform travel notes into travel writing such as Jane Edwards's Travel Writing in Fiction and Fact (1999), L. Peat O'Neil's Travel Writing: A Guide to Research, Writing and Selling (1996), and Louise Purwin Zobel's The Travel Writer's Handbook (1997). None of these manuals suggest the addition of fabricated events to spice up a travel piece. Although it should be noted that they deal with the art of the travel article rather than the travelogue.
addition of sections of research done before or after the trip. Use of these techniques is related to the power relations of representation discussed in the previous section: craft influences what is privileged by a text, what is included and excluded.91

Different writers use these techniques to different degrees. For instance, some fiction writers tend to put more emphasis on literary language than some journalists.92 Out of the seven case studies, McLean and McGrath push the boundaries between fiction and nonfiction the most. However, both do this self-consciously at times and are thus honest about at least some their "lies." McLean self-consciously plays the role of travel liar to create humour. In one instance, he compares his reworking of a journey event in textual form to cooking. McLean introduces his rendition of the story of a musician, Marion Slaughter III, that he read on the back of a restaurant menu in Slaughter's home town as follows: "Okay, picture me walking into the Cotton Gin Cafe [. . .] and reading the potted biography on the back of the menu. Then imagine me taking the life-story out of the pot, reheating it, adding a couple of dashes of Tabasco, and laying it in front of you now. Enjoy!" (16). His biography of Slaughter runs to over six pages and could not possibly be accommodated by a menu. McLean's role as travel liar in this instance is playful and not likely to deceive anyone.

The distance in Motel Nirvana between journey/travel notes and travel text is quite considerable due to highly poetic descriptions (which thus lack the spontaneity of immediate reactions), interruption of chronology with themed chapters, and a fictional character.93 However, despite these divergences from what might be termed "the truth" of the original journey, travel narratives remain constrained in comparison to fiction.94

91 See Bassnett’s “Interview with Colin Thubron” 165. When questioned about the difference between travel notes and travel narrative, Thubron mentioned the elimination of tedious material. This practice is explored in Chapter Eight with reference to what is excluded from roadogue discourse.

92 Obviously, some journalists practise literary journalism, which emphasizes aesthetics. See Spurr 2 for various nuanced distinctions between journalism, literary journalism, and fiction.

93 Although McGrath notes that confusion regarding the journey’s progress was often due to her depressed state and after-effects of coming off Prozac. She claims that creation of an imaginary stable friend in Fergus was a coping strategy for herself in low times rather than intentional deception of the reader (216-28).

94 Although nonfiction does not have to include formal closure like much fiction, it is limited by historical actuality (see Spurr 2). See Bassnett, “Interview” 151, where Thubron notes the need to be
The current distinction between fiction and nonfiction is useful if it is acknowledged that each borrows from the other. Some of the constraints of nonfiction and their implications for roadlogue discourse are considered in the comparison between roadlogues and road movies in Chapter Eight. In addition to the boundaries of nonfiction, roadlogue writers are also subject to constraints of travel and travel writing as discussed below.

1.3.4 Tourists, Travellers, and Travel Writers
Before embarking on a study of British roadlogue writers, it seems necessary to establish a position regarding the distinctions made between tourists, travellers, and travel writers because these contested terms are basic to the discourse of travel. Binary oppositions cluster around definitions of travellers and tourists. For instance, travellers/tourists are refined/vulgar (Holland and Huggan viii), independent observers claiming detachment from foreign environments/affect their environments through the tourist industry (James Buzard, The Beaten Track 2), have good taste/bad taste (Buzard 6), and are deep/superficial because their journeys are educational/confirm prior views (Daniel Boorstin, The Image 106-08). Travellers/tourists travel on long journeys/short journeys, alone/en masse (Urry 3), to authentic sites/pseudo-places (Fussell 43), on the unbeaten track/the beaten track (Buzard 4), in dangerous or challenging landscapes/protected tourist bubbles (Boorstin 78-79), and follow personal itineraries/guided itineraries.95

The tourist versus traveller dichotomy is a contentious issue amongst travel writing scholars. Those who claim true travel is dead (such as Waugh in 1946) look back to a golden age before the rise of the tourist industry made old-style exploration

"responsible to a plot that has already happened." The theoretical distinction in structuralist narratology between story and narration (e.g., see Steven Cohan and Linda M. Shires, Telling Stories 51-112) is more concrete in travel writing.

95 For different versions of these binaries see Buzard 1-17, Cocker 1-2, and Urry 1-3. See Buzard 1-17 for a useful overview of the positions of influential theorists in this area such as Boorstin, Culler, MacCannell, and Fussell. See also Kowalewski 5-6 for a discussion of Fussell, and Paul Theroux's real and mock travellers.
and adventure impossible. Fussell locates the rise of tourism with Thomas Cook in mid-nineteenth-century England (38), Buzard situates its origins in eighteenth-century Europe and notes that it gains negative connotations by the nineteenth century (1-17), while Feifer traces its roots back to Imperial Rome (7-24). For Buzard (following Jonathan Culler), the tourist is a myth and a rhetorical instrument rather than an actual figure, used by anti-tourists against which to define themselves (5-6).

Opposing their stances to those of tourists (at least some of the time) is an essential component of the strategies used by road writers to authorize and reinforce their gazes. Chapters Four and Five of this study demonstrate that the tourist is an important rhetorical instrument in roadlogues. On close inspection, anti-tourist rhetoric by roadlogue writers mixes characteristics between the traveller/tourist poles outlined above and, therefore, threatens the dichotomy's collapse. No road writer embodies all the characteristics of the "pure" traveller. For instance, lone road trippers (despite their disposition towards anonymity and individuality) use roads, hotels, restaurants, and attractions developed for tourists. Though they may criticize the effects that tourism has had on the American landscape, so-called independent road trippers cannot avoid being complicit in this transformation. American road trips and road development have roots (and routes) in touring. Traditional categories are also blurred in that road trippers in cars (like travellers) have more control over their itineraries than tourists on package tours and by the fact that many contemporary road writers make popular culture (the traditional province of the tourist) the central focus of their journeys. It is at this point

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96 See note 47.

97 Buzard notes that the dichotomy is not about objective differences but, as Culler says, is used to convince oneself that one is not a tourist (Culler 14; Buzard 4-5). For a review of Buzard, see Gorra. Similarly, Cocker notes that although tourism and travel have merged in the twentieth century, travel writers continue to want to keep them separate (1).

98 Jakle locates the origins of the road trip in early-twentieth-century automobiling, which began as a sport (because it was initially dangerous) and evolved into a tourist activity (101-03). He also argues that the development of the American highway network was a result of tourism as much as other social factors (see his Chapter Six, "Highways and Tourism").

99 For instance, there is something incongruous about Bull's claim in his Preface to Coast to Coast that he had been "exploring not the tourist landscape of America but the landscape of popular music, visiting the places my favourite stars were from" (13).
that the role of the post-tourist enters, as that of a person who self-consciously enjoys kitsch and perceives tourism as performance.\textsuperscript{100}

Rather than conceiving of the slippery terms of tourist and traveller as referring to fixed characteristics, I prefer to see them as roles available to travel writers that can be adopted and adapted at different times in a narrative (though one role tends to dominate each text).\textsuperscript{101} In general, I use "tourists" in this study to refer to those whose travel is predominantly shaped around major tourist sites (including, but not restricted to, those on package tours) and who travel with families, and "travellers" to refer to lone road trippers with a greater degree of independence in planning their routes, while acknowledging that "travellers" often choose to visit tourist attractions at times and are dependent on structures set up for tourists. In my opinion, those writers who play the role of "traveller" for the majority of their journeys tend to produce the best travel writing. Narratives of writers whose journeys are dominated by tourism are prone to mediocrity because of the reduced potentiality their journeys afford. Nonfiction is already limited as to options and travelling with families to tourist sites reduces these options further.\textsuperscript{102}

Having established the (mostly rhetorical and performative) differences between tourists and travellers, it is necessary to explore the (real) differences between most tourist-travellers and travel writers. Holland and Huggan's provocative definition of "tourists with typewriters" (admitted by them to be glib and limited [xiii]) is a useful starting point. This issue is covered in the introduction to Chapter Four and is used to investigate the mobile road writer's gaze in Chapters Four and Five. Urry notes that tourism is dependent on a basic distinction between home and away (1).

\textsuperscript{100} According to MacCannell, tourists quest for authenticity, but are thwarted by the structures of tourism which produce sites rather than access them (3). Post-tourists acknowledge this and celebrate it with ironic role play. See Feifer's Chapter Nine, "The Post-Tourist."

\textsuperscript{101} The difference between tourism and travel is akin to that between fiction and nonfiction: obviously there are various overlaps between the two in individual texts, but each text taken as a whole (in most cases) tends to be dominated by one pole.

\textsuperscript{102} This is said with some regret as it risks my being complicit in promoting the continued exclusion from the travel writing canon of women and minorities who have limited freedom to travel alone.
Subdistinctions are those between work and leisure, and the everyday and the out of the ordinary experience (1). Urry points out that the tourist gaze is not universal (but changes according to its historical context) and that it is differential (that is, defined by what is not tourism, rather than having a positive independent value) (1-2). The upsurge of tourism in the west has led to, and/or developed alongside, the increased visibility of travel writing over the last few decades (a primary motivation behind the topic of this study). 103

Though Urry's model is relevant to those who term themselves travellers and tourists alike, it needs to be adapted to analyse the gaze of travel writers, especially in the areas regarding work versus leisure and the circulation of texts that influence the gaze. Urry's distinction between work and leisure is conflated by travel writers because, for them, travel is also work. The most significant record of a travel writer's collection of gazes and signs is not the private photograph album but a published narrative. A travel writer's work fits Urry's tourism characteristic of "not work" to the extent that it is not "regular" (in the sense of being paid a set amount for completing a clearly defined task within a specific time limit). However, the fact that their journeys (to varying degrees) are taken to enable them to produce a text which generates income, differentiates the gazes of travel writers from those of other tourists/travellers. In turn, their texts join the body of texts from various media which construct and reinforce gazes of other travellers and writers. Though the travel narrative is not only (nor primarily) written to promote tourism like its relatives the guidebook and holiday brochure, it inevitably plays a role in this area by increasing readers' interest in certain locations. Travel writers' texts thus have sociological implications for the places they describe (they cannot remain, therefore, as entirely detached observers as in one of the binaries of travel versus tourism detailed above). 104

103 See Holland and Huggan 1-2 regarding the argument that the postwar boom in travel writing is a direct result of the boom in the tourist industry during this period.

104 This point is also made by Holland and Huggan. See note 13.
To return to the work/leisure dichotomy, travel writers can be distinguished from each other according to how far their journeys vary from their everyday lives. For instance, though Hazleton is a full time writer, her road trip is a break from her regular routine of writing columns for automotive magazines while based in Seattle. Her gaze is, therefore, different from that of a writer who lives by travel writing alone. In turn, Coltrane's gaze is differentiated from Hazleton's in that his regular job is acting. His journey results in two commercial texts: a television programme, and a written narrative. Coster validates his road trips by pointing out that he accompanies truckers at work, rather than taking superficial leisure tours. He privileges his journeys over those of other travel writers because the former are not contrived in order to write a travel book about them.

Though the travel writer's journey is often a departure from routine, the fact that the primary motivation behind travel is to produce a marketable narrative obviously has major implications for the gaze. Travel writers need to make money; their gazes are not independent nor disinterested but are influenced by market forces. Though in one sense they have more independence with regards to itinerary planning than tourists, in another sense travel writers' itineraries are constrained by the travel writing market. As mentioned earlier, finished narratives are thus authored/authorized by writers, publishers, and projected reader expectations.

105 Coltrane's writing process, also affected by the presence of a ghost writer, needs to account for readership expectations based on prior knowledge of his public persona.
CHAPTER TWO
AMERICAN DREAMS: CONSTRUCTING BRITISH NATIONAL IDENTITIES ON AMERICAN HIGHWAYS

2.0 INTRODUCTION

A principal question addressed in this chapter is: why do case study writers elect to take American road trips and how do their motivations reflect back on Britain and Britishness? In *Abroad*, Fussell encapsulates the principal motivation of interwar British literary travellers with "the leitmotif 'I Hate it Here,'" arguing that travel writers in this period were characterized by a longing to escape restrictive government policies and domestic privation (15-23). Unlike those writing immediately following the First World War, case study writers were not forcibly grounded for several years prior to their journeys. Although there was a recession in Britain in the early 90s, it could not be equated with the Depression of the 30s. It is, therefore, unlikely that late-twentieth-century Britain produced such a strong desire to leave.

Brothers and Gergits describe the motivations of postwar British travel writers as follows: to engage in political travel or test survival skills in dangerous or unstable areas, to enter forbidden territory, to discover primitive societies, or to escape to simple lifestyles away from modern civilization (xvii-viii). As a travel writer's movements are usually prompted by the desire for difference, these motivations reflect back on contemporary British society and construct it as, for example, politically stable, civilized, and necessitating complex lifestyles. These descriptors also apply to the

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1 Various critics point out the ways in which travel writing constructs home. For instance, see Porter 201; Bassnett, "Travel Writing" 5; Ghose 2; and Youngs, *Travellers in Africa* 6. Similarly, the most obvious purpose of a guidebook is to provide information on a region for prospective visitors. However, the attractions selected for inclusion and the ways in which they are represented also reveal much about the priorities and preferences of the guide’s compilers and its target readership.

2 Also, there was a simultaneous recession in the US in the early 90s, making this an unlikely destination for British travellers seeking to escape recession.

3 Also noted in Chapter One, section 1.0. They fail to mention less glamorous motivations such as tourism, or the appreciation of literature or popular culture.
United States. Therefore, the DLB's examples leave unanswered the question of what desires prompt the majority of contemporary British travel writers to visit this nation.

A further question addressed in this chapter is: how is national identity constructed by genre conventions of travel texts? For instance, travel writing tends to construct shared national identities between narrators and target readers. On the other hand, a travel writer's own identity can be destabilized through exposure to other cultures.

More specifically, the chapter asks: how are British national identities constructed by travelogues which depict a destination with reduced otherness, during a period when there is an apparent contradiction between the forces of globalization and the late-twentieth-century boom in travel writing in the west (both in the marketplace and in academia)?

Anthony Smith (in *National Identity* and *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*) notes that some political theorists interpret factors such as the proliferation of multi- and trans-national organizations (both political and commercial) and prevalent migration as indicating the rise of a global culture and subsequent demise of national identity. Smith's own view is that, far from rendering nations obsolete, these very factors have encouraged the simultaneous increase in nationalism during this period and the continued vitality of national identity as the major collective identity (*National* 143-77; *Nations* 8-28). Late-twentieth-century Britain itself is part of this trend, becoming gradually subsumed by a larger collective identity (that of the European Union), while breaking down into smaller units in the process of devolution.

4 See Holland and Huggan 167 regarding this contradiction. They note that while travel writers "are dependent on a sense of stable identity from which to experience and interpret difference, they also tend to claim another, rather special identity as travelers: one that is experientially open and interpretively flexible, generous." See Youngs, *Travellers* 3 for a similar point.

5 See Holland and Huggan 2 and Bassnett, "Travel Writing" 5 for suggestions as to why travel books proliferate during this period. Holland and Huggan suggest that travel books calm anxieties regarding global homogenization, while Bassnett links the popularity of travel writing in Britain to the re-drawing of boundaries during devolution.

6 This fragmentation of Britishness privileges historical components of national identity regarding "race" and ties to the land. It is, therefore, likely to increase the sense of displacement of first and second generation (e.g., Afro-Caribbean) immigrants and jeopardize their acquisition of British national identity other than on paper. This point is relevant to the discussion in section 2.2.3.
Contemporary British travel writing on the United States provides an arena in which to engage these issues of seemingly simultaneous reduction in, and increase of, otherness because it describes a contact zone where meeting nationalities are not markedly distinct in all respects. Additionally, examples from texts by writers of various British identities (English, Scottish, Welsh, white, black) throw some light on shifts in Britishness during the 90s, though observations are particular rather than generalized due to the small number of case studies. The term "Britishness" is problematic because it is currently evolving. It is used in two major ways in this chapter: a) to denote a collective identity amongst British writers marked by shared behaviours and cultural heritage, traditionally dominated by notions of Englishness, and b) to denote multiple, individualized, national identities evident in differences between the ways in which Britishness is scripted by case study writers.

How British identities are constructed on American highways is first explored below through consideration of the relationship of case studies to the tradition of British travel writing, which is dominated by the persona of the English gentleman. Factors both outside and inside the text that construct a writer's national identity are considered. Text dynamics are explored using narratological tools (namely the distinctions between real writers and readers and their implied textual counterparts).

The second part of the chapter moves on to ask two questions: what characteristics of Britishness are thrown into relief in the contact zone of the American highway? What shortcomings in Britishness do writers perceive and seek to compensate for on American road trips? The first question is addressed with specific instances from a range of roadlogues where facets of British identity (especially those of writers who do not consider themselves displaced) are brought to the attention of travellers by particular events. The second question is initially explored through a

7 "Contact zone" is Pratt's phrase, although she uses it mostly for situations where there is a greater degree of otherness between meeting cultures (4).

8 This is illustrated by the fact that, in 1999, organizers of the Millennium Dome halved the size of the Britishness zone because they could not agree on what to put in it. See John Harlow, "Dome in Identity Crisis."
survey of wish-fulfillment motives of white writers' journeys that construct deficiencies in the home culture. This is followed by a more in-depth analysis of Younge's *No Place Like Home*. This text was selected for close attention because its principal quest is prompted by a lack in Younge's national identity vis-à-vis his racial identity. Implicitly in agreement with Paul Gilroy's observation that *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, Younge goes to the South to experience the black in the Stars and Stripes. Younge consequently feels more at home on foreign territory. Analysis of *No Place Like Home* broadens the current discussion on British travel writers' national identities and exposes the limitations of dominant white models studied earlier. It engages the issue of the shifting foundation of travel writing (the home/away distinction) in an era of globalization by considering the experience of a displaced person.

The first section below demonstrates that British travel writing can be defined in various ways and proposes that British roadlogue writers (as defined by this study) largely provide an alternative collective character to that of the (stereo)typical British travel writer. The second section pinpoints behavioural differences between (mostly white/settled) Britons and Americans and argues that national identity as represented in travel narratives is performed as much as real. The final focus on case studies (specifically *No Place Like Home*) is intended to provide alternative readings of roadlogues to the obvious ones by shifting the focus from how these texts represent the United States to how they construct British national identities.

### 2.1 WHAT IS BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING?

It is a current norm to perceive literature as constituted by national products. Travel writing, although largely excluded from the umbrella term "literature" until relatively recently (mostly due to the under-privileged status of nonfiction), is generally amenable to the notion of national literature because it highlights issues of national identity.

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9 Writers from one nation acquire a collective identity when studied en masse in courses on, for example, English literature. See Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* 15-46 for the history behind this assumption.
Travel writings can be grouped by alternative collective identities such as sex.\textsuperscript{10} However, nationality remains the most prevalent taxonomy in travel writing for obvious reasons. The national identity of a travel writer is, arguably, the principal code used by that writer to translate a foreign location and an essential tool used by readers to decode travel texts.

The majority of contemporary British travel books on the United States take for granted the existence of nations and national identities.\textsuperscript{11} However, governments and travel texts do not necessarily adopt identical definitions of national identity. The prolific tradition of British travel writing sets some discursive boundaries for contemporary roadlogue writers to negotiate. If we accept (following Anderson) that national identity is a complex construction rather than a simple given, it follows that there are various ways to define British travel writing. Some of these are explored below.

2.1.1 British Writers and British Narrators

Although it may seem most reasonable simply to categorize those writers with British citizenship as British for the purposes of this study, the multifaceted nature of national identity complicates the selection process. Government bodies use various criteria to determine nationality such as race/ethnicity, birthplace, or place of residence. The first criterion holds that national identity is genetically determined. The second implies that the place of birth indelibly defines a person. The third suggests that national identity is not inherited nor predetermined but a set of learned behaviours (that do not have to be learned from birth) and/or participation in a social contract.

\textsuperscript{10}This is evidenced by the recent upsurge of interest in women's travel/travel writing marked by the publications of anthologies such as The Virago Book of Women Travellers and Amazonian: The Penguin Book of Women's New Travel Writing. See Chapter Three for further examples. The traditional predominance of male travellers and travel writers often results in an emphasis on gender identity in women's travel writing. The relationship of women to cars is especially pertinent to the roadlogue and is the subject of Chapter Three.

\textsuperscript{11}North American Joel Garreau's Nine Nations of North America is an example of a travel book on the US that is transgressive in that it re-draws political boundaries. However, it still accepts the nation as the basic political unit. Garreau is further discussed in Chapter Six.
Though I prefer the latter definition in principle, all three are influential when imagined communities are constructed in practice. Smith distinguishes between two basic models of national identity: the Western-Civic versus the Eastern European and Asian-Ethnic. These overlap and share the following determinants of national identity:
1) a historic territory or homeland, 2) common myths and memories, 3) common mass public culture, 4) common legal rights and duties, and 5) a common economy with territorial mobility for members (National 9-14). Items such as myths, public culture, legal systems, and economic interests have crossed national borders both ways in the case of Britain and the United States. The designation of national identity is particularly complicated in the case of all travel writers because their travel leads them to share a larger proportion of these determinants with members of other nations. This study's (not unproblematic) determinants of case study writers' British nationality are as follows: a) all are British-born, 2) all spent their formative years in Britain, 3) all appear to have official British citizenship, 4) all describe themselves (at least some of the time) as British, English, Welsh, or Scottish, and 5) all use British frames of reference.

Hazleton is a borderline British travel writer because whether she has retained her British citizenship is not made clear. However, the fact that she has American citizenship does not preclude her from the definition of "British" for the purposes of this study, as she remains a relative outsider to the United States and describes herself as having English traits at several points (e.g., 35). The example of Hazleton is by no means an exception and is included to highlight the problematic nature of the us/them distinction in European travel writing on the United States.

12 See section 2.2.3 below for a synopsis of Anderson's main argument.

13 These criteria are conservative in comparison with, e.g., those of Nevins and Blow who include Kipling (born in India) in their category of "British," and the DLB which includes Naipaul (born in Trinidad). See Gikandi for a thorough analysis of the problem of the relative Britishness of subjects born in parts of the British Empire.

14 It is likely that she would have retained it because Britain allows dual citizenship.

15 Anthologies of travel writing on the US from past eras include similar examples. For instance, William Cobbett and Hector St. John De Crevecoeur lived for long periods in the US before writing their books but are still classed as European by anthologists on grounds of their birthplaces. See Nevins and Blow for these and further examples. Conrad includes Auden, Huxley, and Isherwood in his
Although emphasis on birthplace could be criticized for approaching essentialism, it is currently perceived to have a great deal of influence on a writer's psyche and sense of belonging. Travel book covers contain blurbs which provide information on writers for use in the decoding process. These paratexts construct birthplace and location of early years as key facets of travel writers' identities by noting where writers live and/or were born or grew up (in preference to specifying official citizenship). For instance, the cover of the American edition of Motel Nirvana states that McGrath was "born in Essex" and "lives in London." Both the American and British editions of Hazleton's Driving to Detroit remark that she is "British-born" and has "lived in Seattle since 1992." Readers of The Lost Continent are informed that "After ten years in England" Bryson "returned to the land of his youth." Therefore, it seems inadequate to categorize travel writers according to their official citizenship alone. These examples demonstrate that factors relating to frames of reference construct national identities in travel writing.

Brothers and Gergits mention the problem of tying down the nationality of peripatetic writers like Naipaul (xx). However, though the basic qualification for travel writing is that the writer should be an outsider, the genre does not seem in any imminent danger of extinction due to globalization because what constitutes "outsider" is very broad. There are many complex gradations between the dichotomies of outsider/insider, colonizer/colonized, and traveller/native. Americans can produce travel study (all emigrants to the US). Like Hazleton, Raban is a contemporary British travel writer who lives in Seattle.

16 There are many more examples. The jacket of The Divine Supermarket informs that Ruthven was educated in the UK and the Lebanon, and lives in London. A note in The Burial Brothers points out that Mayle was "raised in England and America." Kurtz is described on the cover of The Great American Bus Ride as a thirty-plus year expatriate who takes a trip to explore her "American roots."

17 Obviously, this is also the case for travel writing on areas outside the US. See Holland and Huggan 22.

18 This is further discussed in section 2.1.2.

19 Somewhat undermining their earlier claim that literature is "the intellectual commerce of a nation" (xiii). See Chapter One, section 1.0 for further discussion of how the DLB defines British travel writers.
writing on their own nation, presumably because its vast expanses enable them to be relative outsiders in most places. Travel writing by British writers is also produced in the comparatively small spaces of Britain.\textsuperscript{20}

However, focus on paratextual information alone seems inadequate when outlining a definition of British travel writing. It is necessary to look inside the text and to take into account the cluster of adjectives regarding authorial tone that the term "British" has come to signify. It is in exploring this area that the tools of narratology can be usefully applied. The writer can be theoretically separated from the narrating persona to illuminate a function of national identity within travel texts.\textsuperscript{21} Although the vast majority of travel writing relates the journey of the writer in the first person, the real writer and narrator in the text are not equivalent.\textsuperscript{22} In the case of travel writing, there is less distance between the real writer and the persona than in fiction. That is, the persona telling a traveller's tale is usually the real writer's second-self (whereas in a novel a narrator could be a fictional character with a different name, sex, historical period, social class, or even species from the real writer).\textsuperscript{23} The basic point to be made here is that travel writing is a performance in storytelling. It is in this area of

\textsuperscript{20} For instance, Jennings (in Up North) uses the trope of travel writing to ironic effect. He transforms the Midlands and the North of England (which should be part of his own imagined community) into a foreign land inhabited by exotic natives. In Danziger's Britain, Danziger (of English and American parentage) uses the trope of being a stranger in his own nation to more serious purpose in his study of Britain's poor. See Chapter One, section 1.1 for further discussion.

\textsuperscript{21} Narratology is a complex field which has produced many conflicting, highly nuanced theories regarding narrative structure. A simplified analysis of the narrative transaction is used here in order, firstly, to avoid theoretical complexity diverting too much attention away from a broad comparison of texts. Secondly, travel writing (although it uses many fictional techniques) has a simpler structure than fiction by providing fewer options to the writer in the area of narration. My theoretical approach here is very loosely based on Booth's Rhetoric, part of the rhetorical branch of narratology distinguished by David H. Richter from the structuralist-semiotic branch (Narrative/Theory ix). The implied author is described by Booth as a kind of "second-self" of the real author that can be constructed from the text, though he does not equate it with the persona (Rhetoric 71-76). Most narrative theorists discern at least six participants in the narrative transaction: the real author, the implied author, the narrator, the narrative, the implied reader, and the real reader. Different theorists define these in different ways. See Gerald Prince's Dictionary of Narratology for a highly nuanced array of readers from the zero degree narratee, to the virtual reader, to the ideal reader, and real reader. See Richter, Rimon-Kenan, and Cohan and Shires for examples and evaluation of various approaches.

\textsuperscript{22} See McGrath 216-21 and Raban, Hunting 184-88 for examples of exceptions where writers refer to themselves in the third person.

\textsuperscript{23} See Spurr 10 for concurrence with this view. Spurr notes that in journalism there is a lack of distance between the author and the first person narrator.
performance, both in travel and on paper, that narrators draw on, or react against, stereotypes of British travellers.  

Booth describes the implied author (in "Distance and Point of View") as a superior version of the real author, that is, "a highly refined, selected version, wiser, more sensitive, more perceptive than any real man could be" (143). Travel books can be distinguished according to the apparent distance between real writers and narrating personae. Those texts where the writing is extremely witty or self-consciously literary, for instance, manifest the most distance. The best known role for the British travel writer is that of the English gentleman. Despite the noticeable number of distinguished Scottish travel writers on the United States since independence (such as Robert Louis Stevenson and James Bryce), the predominance of "English" in notions of "British" remains in the 90s on both sides of the pond. For instance, Davies finds that only two Americans he meets have heard of Wales (81; 125), whereas most assume he is Irish (108; 164). McLean is also assumed to be English or Irish by most (e.g., 28; 66; 143; 219).

24 Though narratorial stances shift at the level of detail throughout texts, readers still tend to construct a general conception of a relatively consistent narrating persona in most travel narratives. Although some use postmodern techniques, travel narratives are less free to be experimental than fiction and thus their narrators tend to be safeguarded from excessive fragmentation of subjectivity. Arguably, an exception is Condon's Drive Thru America, where postmodern techniques and picaresque role play create a great distance between the real writer and narrator. However, even when travel narrators are picaros, they are usually self-conscious actors and give signals to the reader that they are playing roles. In this way, travel writers use dramatic irony. For instance, N. Williams poses as a Texan to a porter in a New York hotel and apparently gets away with it, although the reader is not deceived (172). The author-function in travel writing is usually too strong for the writer's character to "entirely disappear behind a mask" as Stuart Miller in The Picaresque Novel points out is the case with some picaros (70). See Chapter Seven, section 7.2.1 for further discussion of the author-function in roadlogues.

25 There is varying distance between the writer and persona in the case studies. For instance, in Coltrane in a Cadillac there are two authors (one a ghost writer) but only one narrator. In self-consciously literary writing such as that of McGrath and McLean, the distance appears greater than in the more straightforward journalistic style of A Thousand Miles and No Place Like Home.

26 There is also an established stereotype for the British woman traveller. See Chapter Three, section 3.3 for further discussion. The ways in which British national identity is constructed by Americans is discussed further in section 2.2.1.

27 Davies notes that "Wales doesn't exist as far as the US is concerned" (54).

28 There are no Northern Irish writers amongst the case studies because no examples were found.
Holland and Huggan discuss at some length how postwar male English travel writers fit into or react against the tradition/myth of the English gentleman traveller, explored in depth (and constructed in another sense) by Fussell's influential study *Abroad* and typified by interwar travellers such as Robert Byron and Evelyn Waugh (27-47). Holland and Huggan describe how writers such as Eric Newby and Redmond O'Hanlon capitalize on the characteristics of the English gentleman traveller (such as amateurism and self-deprecation) by parodying their anachronistic stances (marked by imperialist nostalgia) to comic effect (27-37). They go on to explore Bruce Chatwin's performance as gentleman dandy (38-40), Peter Mayle's stance as country squire (40-42), and finally V.S. Naipaul's uncomfortable and melancholic position as a "mimic gentleman" who is "between an unwanted colonial inheritance and an ambiguous postcolonial present" (43-47). Intertextual influence from established British writers can, therefore, affect (consciously or unconsciously) the way other writers travel and, especially, the way they tell (or perform) their tales.²⁹

In contrast to those mentioned by Holland and Huggan, British roadlogue writers are more removed from the English gentleman traveller tradition (or have a more ambiguous or problematic relationship with it). The postwar American road trip is not the preferred stamping ground of the English gentleman for several reasons.³⁰ First, the postcolonial status of the United States is too "post" to induce much imperialist nostalgia. Holland and Huggan perceptively note that the gentleman role is used ironically "as a means of reinstalling a mythicized past" (xi). Contemporary Britons do not demonstrate the desire to reinstall Britain as ruler but rather go to the United States to live their American dreams away from British influence.³¹

²⁹ For discussion of how American writers and texts influence British writers, see Chapters Seven and Eight.

³⁰ Isherwood and Auden emigrate to the US, though largely leave behind their pasts as English gentlemen. Although Waugh visits the US, it is not the destination most associated with him. See Conrad 194-235; 275-315. An exception is N. Nicolson in *Two Roads to Dodge City*, who discusses his ambivalent feelings towards his heritage and ancestral home of Sissinghurst castle (1-2). See Chapter One, sections 1.0 and 1.3.2 for further discussion of roadlogues vis à vis colonial and postcolonial theory and literature.

³¹ Although these dreams as played out are arguably superficial and not transformational. See section 2.2.2.
The lack of the usual signifieds of the exotic (resulting from the prior status of the United States as mostly a settler colony rather than one of occupation) and the road trip's necessity for infrastructure reduce the opportunities for adventure to test out those skills of survival learned at public school.\textsuperscript{32} Perhaps because the road trip is connected with commoners (stemming from Walt Whitman's public road), it provides limited scope for the upper class traveller.\textsuperscript{33} As mentioned in Chapter One, the contemporary road trip in the United States is also conceived of as an American journey; it is the Grand Tour for America's youth, rather than Britain's young gentlemen.

Rather than constructing personae in relation to the English gentleman model, British writers on American road trips tend to measure themselves (implicitly) against American road tripper roles. A prominent American road role is the rebel without a cause, a Dean Moriarty obsessive-compulsive type with a "cool" image who drives expertly and fast, takes drugs, has copious sexual partners, and makes frenetic criss-crossing trips for no apparent purpose other than to move. Out of British examples, H. Williams's persona in \textit{No Particular Place to Go} would fit most easily into \textit{On the Road}. Although his trip is organized around poetry readings, it does not lack spontaneity. However, it is more typical for British writers (such as McLean) to construct personae as antidotes to the rebel. They have usually have causes (sedate

\textsuperscript{32} I use the term "mostly" here to avoid excluding the Native Americans. Some road writers, such as N. Williams and McGrath, visit Native American reservations and pueblos and thus introduce some exoticism (in the traditional sense) into their narratives. This is not to say that exoticism is not used as a mode of representation in case studies, but Americans are portrayed as exotic due to their perceived character traits of violence and religious extremism rather than primitive physical appearance. Gwen Moffat manages to combine a road trip with wilderness adventures in \textit{Alone on the California Trail}. Moffat is a nature writer who drives to sites close to the historic pioneer trail and then leaves her vehicle to hike and camp alone. Hawaii could be described as exotic and Alaska is a frequent setting for adventure narratives, but these locations remain excluded from the majority of road trips as they are not parts of the contiguous US (Alaska also has very few roads). Roadlogues which include forays into Alaska include Marilyn Abraham's \textit{First We Quit our Jobs}, John Krakauer's \textit{Into the Wild}, and Gary Paulsen's \textit{Pilgrimage on a Steel Ride} (all by American writers).

\textsuperscript{33} The highway narrative is not democratic in its postwar exclusion of blacks and women. See section 2.2.3 below and Chapter Three for further discussion of these issues. It should be noted here that in the early twentieth century, when automobiles were rare and expensive, the typical road tripper was well-to-do. This is illustrated by examples (such as Emily Post, author of \textit{By Motor to the Golden Gate}) discussed further in Chapter Three, section 3.1.1.
enquiries into American culture), are law-abiding, celibate, and are frequently distinctly "uncool" poor or novice drivers afraid of American freeway interchanges.34

Another major American model is that of the lone ranger, based on the western hero. This type has anonymity and the freedom to roam the frontier zone. He (usually he) is a somewhat melancholic and mysterious character, who is unable to sustain permanent relationships and wanders into the wilderness alone at the end of each movie or television episode.35 Linked to the lone ranger is Heat-Moon's sensitive wanderer persona in Blue Highways, who goes in search of disappearing America as a form of therapy following divorce and the loss of his job. Others who go in search of America are the protagonists of Easy Rider, and Steinbeck in Travels with Charley. The former do so with a doomed freedom ride to the South, whereas Steinbeck does so with a sustained intellectual enquiry.

Hazleton refers to herself frequently as the Lone Ranger (11).36 Coster follows this model in his construction of truck drivers who are alone most of the time, have the urge to move on constantly, and are social outcasts to an extent.37 There is also much of the lonely seeker in McGrath's persona. Coltrane aspires to this role, though he is thwarted somewhat by the presence of a television crew (58).38 Intellectual lone rangers include Davies and Fletcher.

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34 For instance, McLean sets up a stance as a nervous novice driver (8) and Collins refers to himself as "the world's worst driver" (6). McLean feels out of control on roads in Wichita Falls: "I felt like I was sitting in a giant Chevy marble being hurled around the curves of a city-sized pinball machine" (35). Brook makes a similar comment: "Negotiating the highway interchanges over Downtown Dallas was no easier than tracing a little blue wire through microcircuitry" (31). See chapters Four and Five for further discussion of British drivers in the US. In this way, British roadlogue writers link with the self-deprecating, amateurish English stance of writers like Eric Newby.

35 Examples of western heroes from television and movie westerns of the 50s and 60s that case study writers most likely grew up with and who fit the lone ranger model to various degrees include The Lone Ranger, The Loner, Destry, Maverick, and Shane.

36 This is discussed in section 2.2.2. The implications of the dominance of male models in postwar American highway narratives for female writers are discussed in Chapter Three.

37 Although Coster claims that American truck drivers suffer less displacement than European ones because they never leave home (162). This is discussed in Chapter Eight, section 8.2.1.

38 A frequent role in road movies is that of the road runner, on the run from the police.
Far removed from American models, the most influential British predecessors for writers on the United States are Fanny Trollope and Charles Dickens. These writers are mentioned within the first few pages of most critiques of British travel writing on this area and their books are still published regularly. Trollope and Dickens (and most of those before them) were in the States for business reasons or on fact-finding missions rather than questing for popular culture. Trollope set up a business in Cincinnati that failed before she went on to write her account of American manners. Dickens focused his tour on institutions such as prisons, hospitals, and orphanages.

Both writers are infamous for authoritative tones and harsh criticism, often delivered in a humorous way. Their books were bestsellers in the United States on first publication and caused a great deal of controversy. Although most contemporary British writers tend to show respect and admiration for the postwar United States in many instances (no doubt due to the change in power relations), this does not preclude them from continuing in the condescending tradition. McGrath's tone is often very authoritative, condescending, and sarcastic. Coltrane's implied writer is also frequently sarcastic and condescending (though equally admiring at other times).

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39 For instance, see Blow, Conrad, Nevins, and Rapson. Basil Hall, an English gentleman, perhaps comes a close third for academics, although he is not as widely read today as Dickens and Trollope. See Alice Hiller, "The Perverse Tourism of Captain Basil Hall." See Chapter One, section 1.0 for further discussion.

40 These two travellers ignored many of the favourite subjects of the roadlogue, obviously because they arrived in the United States before automobiles and freeways. However, there are similarities between the ways in which Trollope and some contemporary writers describe food and eating in the US. See Chapter Eight, section 8.2.

41 As mentioned in Chapter One, according to Nevins and Blow, the general relationship between Britain and the United States at this time was one of parent and child, making the latter sensitive to British criticism (Nevins 3; Blow 9).

42 For example, McGrath describes one incident as follows: "A woman at the juice bar [...] recommends wheatgrass juice on account of its positive impact on prana. She doesn't say whether it takes prana away or gives it to you, but at $3 a pop you'd have a right to expect it to do one or the other, surely" (14). Her assessment of one New Age organization is: "The way I see it, a pile of money goes round in circles in the little community of Santa Fe, and every time it comes round to the Light Institute of Galisteo, a bit more drops off" (19). She pronounces the Chamber of Commerce version of Santa Fe history to be dubious and presents her own version as unquestionably authoritative in comparison (27).

43 Examples from Coltrane of both sarcastic wit and admiration follow: "This was an opportunity for me to enjoy my obsession and at the same time see what was left of American culture before the whole Union became a theme park" (11); "California looked like paradise, which I'm sure it was, if your idea of heaven was noncing about in a pair of 'Hey look at my genitals' Lycra shorts" (13); "Unlike other
However, somewhat ironically, the most well known late-twentieth-century performer of the "British" sarcastic humour is the Anglicized American writer Bryson, whose best-selling roadlogue The Lost Continent is written to appeal to British readers. Bryson's writing could be described as British at the level of the implied writer. Although this study does not adopt this particular definition of "British," the example demonstrates the complexity of the national identity function in travel writing. The British identity of the implied reader, however, is used as a determinant of British national identity here because of its relation to frames of reference.

2.1.2 Readers Real and Implied

The notion of the implied reader is perhaps a more objective narratological tool than the narrating persona (which differs amongst readers and is difficult to separate in practice from the writer) to determine how national identity is constructed by travel writing as a genre. As previously mentioned, narrative theorists distinguish many different levels of reader constructed by the fictional text. For the purposes of this study, a simple concept of the implied reader as the general addressee of the persona is used.

The target reader of a travelogue is generally the same nationality as the writer, due to the history of the travel narrative as conveyance of information on foreign places and as supplier of armchair travel. British travel writing can, therefore, be defined as nationalities I could mention, if you ask an American for professional help it will be provided immediately, whatever the time of day or night it is. There is none of this 'Mmm, I think we might be able to do something next Tuesday... which we are all too familiar with closer to home" (50): "The leader of the [Dodge City acting] gunfighters was called Del and he genuinely believed that one day a Hollywood film producer would happen to be passing Front Street, see the show, like what Del did, and sign him up to go to Hollywood. There is an unquenchable spirit of hope in Americans for which the only word we have in Britain is 'stupid' " (70).

44 See Bassnett, "Travel Writing" 9-10 for an analysis of how Bryson's persona in his book on Britain (Notes from a Small Island) ingratiates himself to a British readership. In a review article, Peter Clarke points out that while Lost Continent remained in the bestseller lists in Britain for ten years, it "bombed" in America because "His fellow countrymen clearly didn't appreciate being held up to such contempt and ridicule [. . .]. The British, steeped in the tradition of self-deprecation have thicker skins and lap up every insult Bryson throws their way" ("Bill Bryson Lost in the Woods 8-9). In the late twentieth century, the status of the US as world hegemon suggests that its citizens no longer took much notice of vitriolic accounts by British travel writers. However, Clarke's article suggests that American writers posing as Britons could rankle.

45 In fact, Bryson's Lost Continent is included in Kowalewski's bibliography of English travel writing mentioned in Chapter One.
such because it constructs a British implied reader through its use of frames of reference. However, this is another area where reduced otherness complicates matters. The shared official language of Britain and the United States facilitates publication of roadlogues such as Motel Nirvana and Lone Star Swing in both nations without the need for translation. This leads to fluctuating distance between implied and real readers.

Driving to Detroit provides an interesting case. Hazleton lives in the United States, has American citizenship, and her book was first published in the States. Her text uses many British references, but also assumes a great deal of knowledge of American culture on behalf of her implied readers. Therefore, there is a possibility that real British readers might feel excluded from her text to an extent. To compensate for this problem, the London Scribner edition of Driving to Detroit includes a "Postscript" by Elizabeth Young (307-10). This paratext provides additional analysis of American culture from a British point of view and thus "translates" Hazleton's book in order to appropriate it for a British readership.

Although the implied reader in most of the case studies can be classified as British due to signals in the way writers use frames of reference, there is much overlap between British and American frames of reference resulting from the global changes described in the introduction above. British travel writers in the late twentieth century, therefore, assume their implied readers have more knowledge of the United States than do their nineteenth-century predecessors. However, British and American frames of reference still retain enough difference to necessitate the use of many British references to translate American realities. Different texts construct British readers with different knowledge levels. At times, travel writers appear to forget whom they are addressing and assume that readers have the same eclectic knowledge as themselves.

46 Polezzi notes the permeability of American and British literary systems (111).

47 The text of the British edition of Driving to Detroit retains American spelling. See Polezzi for an interesting comparison. Polezzi analyses the ways in which Italian travel texts are translated for a British readership.

48 For instance, sometimes McLean assumes his readers have little knowledge of western swing, but at others fails to fill in background details.
Alternatively, they may neglect to translate for effect. For example, when describing the
deserts of New Mexico, McGrath fails to enlarge on items such as "ocotillo" bush or
"cholla" cactus, even though most British readers probably do not know what these
plants look like (111). Even if readers have seen them in western movies, they are
unlikely to be able to link name with image. In this way, McGrath's representation of
desert flora uses these words in their poetic rather than referential capacity. On the
other hand, Collins's *Across America* has no literary pretensions and includes much
guidebook-type information that assumes little knowledge on behalf of the implied
reader. Collins over-translates, for example, when he explains terms like
"campground" and "campsite" (14).

However, although case study writers (other than Hazleton) translate to
different extents, when they do so, they construct British readers. Binary oppositions
or comparisons are conventionally employed to describe physical and cultural
landscapes in travel writing. For instance, Coltrane writes the following: "As I pulled
into Dodge City it seemed hard to believe that just over a hundred years ago this was
one of the most exciting and dangerous places on earth. They used to call it the
'Wickedest Little City' in America but as I drove to the motel it looked about as
debauched as Croydon" (66). A description of Croydon is not included in this example
because the implied reader possesses this knowledge. Similarly, Younge compares the
States to the London area (211), Coster compares it to England and Europe (e.g., 139),
Davies compares it to Wales (e.g., 101), and McLean compares it to Orkney (e.g.,
113).

These metaphors used to translate the foreign landscape cause travel writing to
date rapidly because a reader later this century will not know what Croydon and

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49 This refers to Jakobson's analysis of an act of communication in "Linguistics and Poetics."
Jakobson defines the elements of an act of communication as: sender, contact, receiver, message,
context, and code. The emotive function emphasizes the sender, the phatic function establishes contact,
the conative function emphasizes the receiver, the poetic function focuses on the message qua message,
the referential function emphasizes the context, and the metalinguistic function emphasizes the code.
By emphasizing the poetic function and negating the referential function, McGrath introduces exoticism
into the text and makes what might be familiar from movies unfamiliar.
Glasgow represented in the 90s. It also follows that contemporary real readers of *Coltrane in a Cadillac* will have differing conceptions of Croydon and Glasgow from each other and from Coltrane. However, this fact is de-emphasized in that the construction of the implied reader encourages the creation of an imagined community between the real writer and real readers. In this way, travel writing reaffirms national identity by encouraging readers to feel like members of a British club with shared knowledge.\(^{50}\) Using these frames of reference is also a way for previously under-represented British cultures to assert themselves. For instance, McLean's construction of an Orkadian implied reader educates real English and Welsh readers who have no knowledge of Orkney. McLean does not pander to English readers by using predominantly English references. Real readers who lack knowledge of Orkney and Scottishness therefore learn about McLean's perception of his home in addition to his views of Texas.

2.2 CONSTRUCTION OF BRITISHNESS ON AMERICAN HIGHWAYS

2.2.1 British Moments in the Contact Zone

There are junctures on journeys when writers recognize that they are outsiders and become self-conscious about their learned British behaviour. These moments stand out more than similar ones in travel texts where there is greater obvious distance between the meeting cultures. In the latter case, travel writers are more prepared for difference, being surrounded by a foreign language. Although there are too many examples to make a thorough catalogue here, some of the major recurring types are noted below.

The notion of British reserve is marked in many texts. In *Across America*, Collins reacts to a sign outside a family's RV which reads, "The Bowdens from Cleveland Ohio," by noting, "I wasn't sure I liked this self-proclaimed matiness. One thing I knew - it certainly wasn't British" (95). McGrath humorously recalls a similar

\(^{50}\) Anderson, although he does not use the term "implied reader," uses a similar concept in his analysis of the Filipino novel *Noli Mi Tangere*, by noting that the way it addresses readers links the past of the novel and the reader's present in an imagined community (27).
moment when Sakina, a New Ager who is dusting her spirit-possessed Barbie dolls, asks if McGrath is an extraterrestrial. McGrath remarks that this is "A little forward for our first day together, but then this is America" (53). She also notes her "in-bred tendency to embarrassment" at a confessional meeting in a New Age colony (123).

Similarly, Fletcher describes his embarrassment in a mobile chapel service of three at a truck stop: "I'm British. I'm reserved. I cringe at such intimacy" (174). He goes on to regret that his "British inhibitions" prevent him from participating fully in a confessional Navajo sweat ceremony (218).\(^{51}\)

Linked to British reserve is the (English?) notion of being proper, an inheritance of a historically rigid class system. Fletcher feels that his English accent sounds "proper" when interviewing prostitutes in a brothel in Nevada (251). Confronted by a loud, spitting American, Collins "felt small, quiet, and self-consciously British" while his son, "sounding like Little Lord Fauntleroy," proclaimed that the man was "rather disgusting" (127-28).\(^{52}\) In contrast is the impression that Coltrane likes New York because it is not quiet and proper: "I've always had an affinity with America and, like most Glaswegians, I was brought up with the faint suspicion that New York was just like Glasgow, only more so" (11). This illustrates that British national identity consists of multiple identities. Connected to notions of propriety, writers note that the States has less hierarchical snobbery. For instance, Coltrane is impressed that he can access a top business executive without having to negotiate obstacles (111).\(^{53}\)

Moments of British-awareness can turn into performance. When writers are marked as British (that is, every time they speak), they can feel obliged to perform as

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\(^{51}\) These representations are in conflict with the "cuddly feely" American-like Britain represented in the British and American media on the death of Princess Diana and mentioned in Chapter One, section 1.1. At another point, Fletcher describes his accent as constipated (154). Soutter describes himself as a constipated Briton (110). This metaphor suggests the inability to let go and thus reflects reserve.

\(^{52}\) The discourse of comparing proper England with unrefined America goes back to Trollope and Dickens. See, for example, Trollope's amusing description of her disgust at spitting men at the theatre who smelled of "onions and whiskey" (95).

\(^{53}\) Coltrane also approves the American "can do" spirit of entrepreneurialism, and constructs an oppositional British one of "can't do" (50). He makes this observation when his Cadillac breaks down en route and the man he bought the car from in Los Angeles is able to get a replacement part to him in Utah within hours. Fletcher makes a similar observation (261). See note 43.
British in order to meet the expectations of the natives. For instance, Collins frequently finds himself becoming more British as he speaks to Americans. He exaggerates his accent and becomes more indirect and polite (26). Besides pleasing the natives, British writers perform the role of Briton for advantage. They use the "dumb foreigner" ploy to avoid trouble. When stopped by a policeman for speeding, Coltrane uses his "secret weapon": his Scottish accent (59). Soutter and his wife use their English accents in the same way (36). Kurtz (an American expatriate) puts on an "imperious English accent" to dissuade an unwelcome admirer in a bar, presumably by showing she is too English and proper to be interested in casual sex (287). Younge performs an upper class English accent (parodying the gentleman stereotype) to amuse a waitress in a diner who finds a black Englishman to be an anomaly (138). Such instances reflect on American constructions of Britishness as much as British ones.

This ability to perform Britishness shows that writers have an awareness of what Britishness is, should be, or is perceived to be, and emphasizes the constructed nature of national identity as involving learned behaviour rather than genetically determined traits. While opinion polls in Britain have reflected (or constructed) a crisis in Englishness during devolution and a corresponding rise in confidence regarding Welshness and Scottishness, there is no apparent confusion over what it means on the part of English travellers (or at least what they believe Americans expect of them).

2.2.2 American Dreams

In Britons View America: Travel Commentary, 1860-1935, Richard L. Rapson remarks that "the American visitor to England often went not to judge (as did the Englishman in America) but to find himself [...]" (5). Although American travellers

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54 See Chapter Two for a comparable discussion of gender as performance.

55 Younge reveals much about American concepts of Britishness when he remarks: "When I wrote a piece for the Washington Post about what it is like to be black and British in the United States, it ran alongside a cartoon of a black man in a bowler hat carrying an umbrella in one hand and a cup of tea in the other" (85).

56 See, for instance, Mark Henderson's article, "Confident Celts put England in Shade."
are outside the scope of this study, Rapson's generalization can be reversed to illuminate motivations of British (not only English) travellers to the United States in the late twentieth century. It would be an over-simplification to claim that postwar British travellers visit the States not to judge but to find themselves (McGrath, for instance, seems to be capable of both simultaneously). However, it is justifiable to say that British travellers of this period, although still capable of critique, are often characterized by the pursuit of American dreams.  

Contemporary British roadlogue writers' collective American dreams are frequently, at least rhetorically, based on western myths (especially those of western movies) and the associated myths of the New World. The east/west polarity which influences a large tradition of American literature constructs the eastern United States as civilized and stultifying and the west as uncivilized and free. Particularly influential in reflecting (and constructing) this dichotomy is Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Turner locates the roots of American national identity in its patterns of pioneer settlement, noting that Americans formed their particular characteristics of individualism and self-reliance in the frontier zone between wilderness and civilization away from the European-influenced eastern seaboard.  

In the same tradition, Short's Imagined Country provides a table of polarities of the western movie genre developed from the three principal binaries of individual/community, nature/culture, and west/east. The first half of each pair is a characteristic of the wilderness and the second belongs to civilization (the western is set

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57 See Porter for a psychoanalytic approach to uncovering desires of European travellers. Porter considers how travel and travel writing are expressions of individual and collective desires, discerning that most of Europe's male travellers harbour issues of desire, transgression, and guilt under the surface (201).

58 Many others, such as Young and Middleton, are attracted by the South and thus construct the United States around the north/south dichotomy. For further discussion of New World and western myths, see Chapter Five, section 5.2.1 and Chapter Eight.

59 Turner is discussed further in Chapter Five, section 5.2.1.

60 Short notes that these binaries are based on those outlined by Jim Kitses in Horizons West.
Despite late-twentieth-century moves in the United States to dispel some of the myth's power through the introduction of more diversity into western history and literature (particularly the points of view of Native Americans), and despite the fact that California is no longer the only rapidly growing state (evidenced by the 2000 census), the western myth continues to thrive in the highway narrative.

The western myth is evoked in all of the case studies except Younge's. The myth adds romance to each narrative, even when writers later admit to its illusory nature. In Coster's "imaginative geography" (to use Said's phrase), the east stretches from Europe to New York, and the desired ideal is the western United States. Coster organizes his entire narrative around the east/west binary and ends his journey in California. Davies selects a classic American journey west on Route 66. Although Coltrane takes an anti-American journey by driving from west to east, he confesses a desire to experience the western myth (67). McGrath evokes the western myth on her first page by designating her location in New Mexico as "where the west truly begins" (1). She places the mythic west in the contemporary southwest: "The southwest, and more specifically New Mexico state, is the place all America goes to find itself, just as it found itself in California thirty years before" (2). McGrath's second chapter is entitled "Heading West." McLean evokes the myth early on in his narrative by describing himself as following trucks that are "westwardly mobile" (9), and later locates the east-west border in Texas (113). Though Hazleton takes a circular journey, she discusses the appeal of the western myth in her initial chapter and, as previously mentioned, designates herself the travelling persona of the Lone Ranger (11).

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61 See Shari Roberts, "Western Meets Eastwood: Genre and Gender on the Road" for an example of the use of similar binaries in a discussion of西部s and road movies.

62 Said notes that imaginative geography "redistributes knowledge in space to serve the needs of a dominant culture" (Orientalism 49-72). (Also cited by Holland and Huggan (58)).

63 McGrath, perhaps significantly, excludes relation of her journey through Texas from her narrative. Texas is located, according to her definition, outside the west.
Within the opposition individual/community, the sub-polarity of Short's most relevant to British writers (amongst a choice of six) is that between freedom and restriction. British writers' desires for freedom in the United States construct an opposing Britain (or Old World) of restrictions due to excessive governmental control partially born out of a lack of wilderness. The European trucker's movement is heavily controlled by the tachograph system (124; 101), and the truck size of the British trucker is limited by legislation owing to inadequate roads (140-41). Coster is attracted by the cowboy lifestyle of the lone American trucker who faces less bureaucracy than his counterpart in Europe.

Although Coster's second east-west American journey ends in Los Angeles, he names California as the state least favoured by truckers because it has the most bureaucracy (162). Coster's assessment complies with Brian Dippie's thesis in West Fever, that though California is the state furthest west in geographical terms, it is no longer the mythic west in the 90s. The latter relocated inland to such areas as Montana once California became too civilized and heavily populated (Dippie 11-15). Dippie's theory is also born out by Fletcher, who finds disenchanted emigrants from California, along with armed conspiracy theorists escaping government, in sparsely populated areas like Montana and Idaho (276).

Linked to governmental restrictions on freedom are restrictions of space. British roadlogue writers are consistently attracted by American space and represent Britain as small and overcrowded by comparison (e.g., Fletcher 237). It is notable that Bryson's book on Britain is entitled Notes from a Small Island in contrast to the same author's work on the States entitled Notes from a Big Country. There is no frontier zone or anything imaginable as one in Britain (most acutely apparent in England) because there is no wilderness to oppose civilization. British dreams of American space

64 Dippie contrasts with McGrath who locates the mythic west in the southwest.

65 American space was not always desired by British writers. Some feared it, saw it as too wild and empty, and preferred the model of the manageable and managed English farm or garden. For instance, see Conrad 31-32 for an analysis of Trollope's reaction to the wilderness and her desire for it to be domesticated.
construct a lack in British national identity regarding Smith's determinant of historic territory or homeland. British writers generally perceive their homeland as inadequate in comparison to the States, although there are gradations here, with perhaps a deeper sense of connection to the homeland of Orkney for McLean than portrayed by other case study writers.66

Coster notes that in Europe there are border queues for Russia and Hungary, whereas in the United States there is Texas (255). In this polarity, Texas is a symbol of freedom due to its vast open spaces. British desire is not, in this case, for freedom from restriction in any space. Coster finds plenty of space in Russia but notes that it lacks the romance of the United States (40-133). Coster constructs American space as authentic for truckers the world over, who listen to country and western music and dream of driving the big American rigs (64; 138).67 For Davies, it is the tumbleweed which represents the individual freedom (of immigrants) to move in American space, and symbolizes the western myth by reminding him of the western movies of his youth (89). To fill his lack, Davies posts a tumbleweed home in a box marked "hat" in a romantic, whimsical gesture (90).

Big space is not the only American dream of Britons. They also desire big cars and big trucks. New World myths of plenty affect British representations of these American icons. Coltrane's desire is for a 50s Cadillac. He compensates for the absence of such imposing cars in Britain by shipping his Cadillac home from New York at the end of his journey.68 Similarly, Coster fantasizes about owning a glamorous Peterbilt truck with chrome accessories (e.g., 114-15). Coster goes to some lengths to compare the sybaritic fixtures and fittings of American trucks with their smaller, more basic British counterparts (e.g., 33; 160). In The Drive Thru Museum,
Soutter waxes lyrical about the comforts of his '73 Dodge Sedan, claiming that it has better upholstery than his London flat (6-7). The Dodge's principal attraction is that it is big (7). The combination of big roads and big vehicles gives Americans something to be proud of according to Coster (175-76). Many British writers note the American brag and patriotism, constructing Britain as modest and unpatriotic in comparison.70

However, having noted the extensive influence of western myths on British writers, it is necessary to point out that Britons do not purchase them wholesale. To continue with a shopping metaphor, many contemporary British writers have a consumer approach to western myths and take only what they want from them, rejecting other aspects. While the mythic frontier zone is where men are self-reliant along the lines of Thoreau and Emerson, there are limits to how much freedom and self-reliance Britons desire. Though the myth of the Lone Ranger appeals to most, most are equally judgmental of the gun culture of the United States and construct Britain's lack in this area as positive (e.g., Coltrane 70-73; Davies 55; Middleton 1-11). In short, British road trippers wish to play the role of cowboy but without the guns. Their American dreams are, therefore, adapted and tend towards the superficial; they involve temporary role play rather than transformation. When the frontier-zone Lone Ranger masks of independence are removed, they are generally implicitly content to return to civilization where the government is protector.71

Writers such as Coltrane and McGrath are not entirely duped by the western myth. Coltrane is critical of the fact that the wilderness of the Wild West has been transformed into a lucrative business concern in national parks such as Arches in Utah (51-52). He finds contemporary staged gunfights poor substitutes for the mythic history of Dodge City, Kansas (66-67). Though most British writers focus on the wilderness appearance of the vast expanses of land outside their car and truck

69 See Chapter Three, section 3.1, for discussion of the sexual appeal of American vehicles. See Chapter Eight, section 8.2 for further discussion of myths of New World plenty.

70 This is further discussed in section 2.2.3 below.

71 This does not apply to Hazleton, who has settled in the US.
windows, McGrath describes the impact of civilization on the southwestern desert by discerning the signs on its surface of the shrinking water tables beneath (106).

It should also be noted that many travel writers have more mundane reasons for travel than deeply felt shortcomings in their national culture, such as the desire to write a travel book and earn an income from it. N. Williams's claim that his decision to write a book (Wimbledon to Waco) was an afterthought discussed with his wife on the flight home does not ring true (180). McLean is open about the fact that he took his journey rather reluctantly after winning a literature prize that had to be spent on travel, claiming that he would have preferred to stay at home (70). (Of course, this could be a rhetorical posture or travel lie on the part of McLean's persona in order to establish his novice-traveller stance). Similarly, Freeways was funded by the John Morgan award. No doubt Coltrane was attracted by a paycheck as much as his adolescent dream to drive a Cadillac across the United States. 73

2.2.3 Younge's Quest for Home

Whereas the previous section gave examples of what are largely collective desires of British travel writers, the present section switches focus to the individual desires of one writer. The signs of incompleteness that Younge discerns in his own British national identity are quite different from those of the other case study writers discussed above. The second half of Younge’s title indicates that national and racial identities are major concerns in his roadlogue. The first half of the title is more ambiguous. In The Tourist Gaze, Urry notes that the activities of tourism and travel are dependent on a basic distinction between home and away (1). In the case of Younge's text, this

72 The reader is aware that N. Williams must have made detailed notes during his journey in order to write the book.

73 An awareness of the role markets play in constructing travellers' desires is absent from Porter's introduction to his study (3-21). (Although it should be noted that markets do not influence those travel narratives that were not originally intended for publication.) See Holland and Huggan for a thorough analysis of travel writing as profession and its implications for travel texts. See Chapter Seven, section 7.2.3 for further discussion of British writers' motivations related to American popular culture.

74 I use the term "race" here not without an awareness of its problematic nature. However, Younge apparently accepts it as a given.
distinction is problematized. "No place like home" is an intertextual reference to a song which celebrates home as a place of belonging. However, a second, ironic meaning is evoked in this case: the fact that no place is fully like home to this writer.

Anderson's concept of the nation in Imagined Communities can be usefully applied to Younge's narrative. Anderson defines the nation as a construct through which individuals feel a sense of community with a larger group of people on the basis of shared characteristics such as language, history, race, climate, religion, culture, and values. Such a community is "imagined" because the majority of its members will never meet each other and what they believe binds them together is a mixture of the perceived with the real (e.g., Anderson 26). Despite the fact that Younge refers to England and Britain as "home" throughout his text, he makes it clear that he has difficulty imagining himself as completely belonging to British society because it does not fully support his racial identity (e.g., 19; 277). It is this lack that Younge seeks to fill in the United States.

One might expect the majority of (white male) British writers to be most attracted by the myth of the American west.75 However, Younge notes that in his youth:

it was the south that spoke to me urgently about the things I instinctively felt that I was lacking - a sense of place and history, a feeling that the collage of insignificant experiences that made up my everyday life was in some way linked to a broader 'whole' that existed before me and would continue long after I was gone. (19)

Articulated this way, it is apparent that Younge's quest is to find an imagined community involving several of Smith's determinants of national identity (such as shared homeland and myths). Younge's journey is not designed, therefore, as a means to view others and differentiate them from himself, but to find a missing part of himself

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75 Lackey discerns that the Deep South is the second favourite location for American highway narratives after the west (3). Easy Rider is an example.
in them. In opposition to the traditional discourse of travel writing, he goes not to find difference but sameness or affinities.

The youthful Younge was able to imagine himself as connected to the American South more than to Barbados (the birthplace of his parents) because the United States reached him more effectively through commercial products and popular culture (18). Younge tentatively dates his fascination with the South (which he built on by reading writers such as Maya Angelou, Alice Walker, and Toni Morrison) to the television series of Alex Haley's *Roots* (18-19). He goes so far as to provide a synopsis of his own imagined movie-version of the South complete with cast (for example, Danny Glover as the "libidinous preacher"), plot summary, settings ("the church, the court room, the juke joint or on the porches," music (Quincy Jones), and suggested camera angles (22-24). 76

The medium of film also enables Younge to imagine himself as connected to the Freedom Riders in whose tyre tracks his roadlogue follows. The Freedom Riders were a group of black and white civil rights campaigners who travelled on Greyhound and Trailways buses in the South in 1961 to "challenge the practice of racial segregation on interstate travel through the Southern States, which had only recently been outlawed" (Younge 25). Younge recalls watching the television documentary *Eyes on the Prize* at university which included a still of the Freedom Riders (19). This picture prompted a memory of an experience he had on a day trip to Brighton at the age of twelve when his bus (full of black families) was surrounded and rocked by skinheads shouting abuse while stopped at a traffic light (22). It is, therefore, the notion of restrictions on mobility for blacks in the Deep South (in sharp contrast to the typical British roadlogue writer's dream of freedom on American roads) which prompts Younge's journey. The myths and realities of the Deep South (and the United States as a whole) that draw Younge explored below (especially sense of place, food, climate, history, hyphenated

76 See Chapters Seven and Eight for further discussion of the influence of American writers and films on British travel writers. See Chapter Four, section 4.2 for analysis of the way film metaphors frame the gaze.
identity, patriotism, and religion) reflect back on and construct what are absences for Younge in English and British national culture.

Various origins of Younge's lack of a sense of home can be traced in the initial chapter of No Place Like Home, which describes Younge's experience of growing up in Britain. One root is what Edward Relph (in Place and Placelessness) would term the placelessness of Stevenage in southern England where Younge was born and raised. The chapter begins with background on this postwar new town laid out in cookie-cutter concrete where everyone is from somewhere else and to which no one (whites included) subsequently feels a strong connection (1-3). His hometown's lack of character is probably best summed up by Younge's short sentence, "Stevenage is all right" (3); it is not a town that inspires passion (either positive or negative). The bland nature of Stevenage no doubt contributes to Younge's longing to feel the affinity with the environment that he perceives blacks and whites in the South have (24).

In their Introduction to Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location, Erica Carter, James Donald, and Judith Squires claim that "It is not spaces which ground identification but places" (xii). They define place (in opposition to space) as named territory where "the flows of power and negotiations of social relations are rendered in the concrete form of architecture; and also, of course, by embodying the symbolic and imaginary investments of a population. Place is space to which meaning has been ascribed" (xii). Judged by these criteria, although Stevenage has a name, its buildings (which are empty signifiers due to their uniformity and lack of history) cause it to fail in the symbolic and imaginary categories of place. Younge's desire again contrasts with those of Europeans who celebrate American western space because it is apparently devoid of meaning (such as Baudrillard's desert in America [7-9]).

Younge's quest for a sense of place is partially fulfilled on his travels. For instance, he finds Mobile beautiful and enjoys the sense of community in Montgomery, noting that the latter "felt like Islington came to Alabama, bringing its restaurants, lefties and mavericks with it but leaving the toffs and pretentiousness behind" (232; 211).

77 Baudrillard and insubstantialization of the desert are further discussed in Chapter Five, section 5.2.
(His sense of place in an English town here shows that Stevenage is not the British norm.) Younge describes Orangeburg in South Carolina as closest to his preconceived image of the South (138). Adjectives he uses to represent this town include "sunny," "shabby," and "faded." The pace of life in Orangeburg is slow ("people were walking slower than normal") and there is a sense of community illustrated by a lunch counter "where the waitresses seemed to know everybody who came in, and the food was served hot enough to burn a hole in the polystyrene plates" (138).

The example of Orangeburg illustrates the roles of climate and food in Younge's sense of place and connection to the environment. Though Orangeburg is satisfyingly sunny, Younge's desire for the hot southern climate is largely disappointed in No Place Like Home because he travels during autumn and winter. Rain-soaked in Atlanta he notes: "I longed for my image of crickets chirping in fields of magnolia" (195).

Younge's expectations throughout the South are more closely met in the area of cuisine. His descriptions of soul food show that it fills his lack in a physical sense: "the food at Earl's was so good and so filling that I had to unbutton my trousers and just sit there for twenty minutes before I could even think about walking back to my motel" (142-43). This rich and satisfying food contrasts sharply with his description of his mother's perception of English food in Chapter One. She refers to the English (by inference excluding her family) as not rinsing their dishes and eating "bad food like fish fingers and pre-packed paella instead of stewed beef, peas and rice for tea" (11).

Another type of soul food in the South is its religion. Younge declares in his initial chapter: "I ached for that all-immersion sensuality that came with a rich diet, hot sun and a passionate faith, delivered in deep tremulous tones, either from the pulpit or the soap box - or both" (24). Although Younge admits his image is clichéd and influenced by fictional representations, his desire constructs Britain as a place of poor diet, cold climate, and mediocre faith; a place lacking in sensuality. The myth of the South is much sexier and fulfilling in all respects than Britain. Although he describes

78 See Chapter Eight, section 8.2.3 for further discussion of representations of food in British roadlogues.
himself as agnostic and mostly indifferent to religion, Younge attends church every
Sunday during his trip and devotes some narrative space to assessing his experiences in
this area (144-53). He does not find spiritual fulfillment but enjoys the entertainment
value (good music and oratory) and the novel experience (145). 79

However, despite the satisfying food and prevalent faith, Younge also finds
much placelessness in the South. For instance, he cites the detrimental effects of car
culture on the environment leading to the homogenization of towns, the lack of places
to walk, and the bisection of communities by freeways (128-32; 57; 177). 80 He visits
many poor towns such as Rock Hill and Anniston which have little aesthetic appeal and
limited community life (119; 138). Younge contrasts New Orleans to most of the
South's small towns, largely because everyone wants to be there and there is so much
entertainment; it is "Somewhere as opposed to Anywhere" (244).

What Younge's journey fails to deliver regarding sense of place defined as
physical attributes (such as urban planning and climate), is more than compensated for
by history. 81 While some Southern towns are placeless, their residents do not suffer
from Younge's sense of displacement. Younge is one of an increasing number of travel
writers in the era of postcoloniality with ambiguous relationships to their places of
residence. 82 His sense of displacement has various causes, such as the fact that he is
only a second-generation immigrant. His mother encouraged him to think of Barbados
as his national home, designated their house Bajan territory with a Bajan flag on the
front door, and called him "English" when she wanted to insult him and distance
herself from him (11). Younge also attributes his disconnection with England to the

79 Although Younge points out that food and religion are common to both blacks and whites in the
South, social spaces where they are found are largely segregated. Therefore, these attributes are able to
reinforce Younge's sense of belonging to a black imagined community.

80 See Chapter Five, section 5.1.2 for further discussion of placelessness related to roads.

81 His account is distinguished from those of earlier writers who largely construct the US as a place
without history. For example, see the discussion of Lowenthal in Chapter One, section 1.1 and
Chapter Five, section 5.2.1. However, viewing the South as a place rich in history is common in the
90s. See also Middleton 5.

82 Another obvious example is Naipaul. There is a large body of criticism on his travel writing. See,
e.g., Gikandi, Porter, and Nixon.
small size of the black community in Stevenage (three hundred in a town of eighty thousand) which was unable adequately to counteract the sense of displacement instilled in Younge by his perception of the white population's attitudes to him (described below) (7).

In contrast, the blacks in the Deep South are some of the oldest settlers in the United States, having been there for 150 years as opposed to the 40 years of the majority of Britain's blacks. The former also constitute a large proportion of the population and the majority in many towns (such as Orangeburg) (173-74; 138). As a result, Younge notes that in Britain he looks as though he does not belong but sounds like he does, whereas the reverse is the case in the Deep South (93).

Although Younge's mother educated him about the black Diaspora, lack of information in school placing blacks in British history increased his sense of disconnection (16-18). The first chapter of No Place Like Home compensates in part for this absence by detailing Younge's personal history. While Younge admits that American icons are adopted by all races, he points out that "America's dominance was especially strong among black Britons because our numbers were so few and our own reference points so well hidden" (18). The structure of Younge's roadlogue illustrates his desire to appropriate the black history of the South to fill his own lack. A large proportion of the text is devoted to the history of the civil rights movement. The second chapter is an introduction to the Freedom Rides. Subsequent chapters begin with synopses of the experiences of the Freedom Riders at each point along Younge's journey. Chapter bodies are filled with interviews of civil rights and NAACP workers concerning the past and additional recountings of historical events (the latter presumably drawing on the bibliography that Younge includes at the close of his narrative (279-80)). The interviews and history, on the whole, exceed the textual space dedicated to representing Younge's physical journey (such as his experiences on Greyhound buses, walking around towns, and so on). This is not surprising, as many journalist travel writers fill their texts with interviews and do research in the library (Wood and Fletcher are other examples). However, there is a real sense in which
fulfillment of his desire for a history of placement (as opposed to displacement) is realized in Younge's narrative structure. 83

His focus on civil rights history emphasizes Younge's colour, a facet of his identity that is de-emphasized in Britain. In his opening chapter, Younge splits the whites in Stevenage into welcomers, tolerators, and despisers of blacks (8-11). The tolerators, whom he identifies as the largest group, either assumed Stevenage was not his home (that he was born or belonged in Jamaica), or tried to make him feel at home (though this should not have been necessary if he was at home) (9; 11). Throughout *No Place Like Home*, Younge represents Britain as a nation of tolerators, resulting in an environment where his racial identity is hidden or ignored. Younge's analysis is that, "In Britain, race ranks alongside sex, politics and religion as a subject best not discussed in polite company" (39). This is quite a feat as he notes: "Being black is not the most interesting thing about me. Nor is it usually the most important. But it is definitely the most obvious" (39). Younge's comments construct a Britain of restrictions and inhibitions that echoes those of other writers described above.

In sharp contrast, "Race in America is everywhere. From the pulpit to the football field, from the newsstand to the mailman, you cannot get away from it" and "Americans are as up front about race as they are about their salaries or visits to their therapists" (39; 40). Race is so visible to Younge in the States that it is difficult to imagine how he could structure a road trip around any other topic (such as western swing or the New Age movement). Although one might expect that experiencing racism in the South would be an entirely negative experience, for Younge it fills a need by bringing his racial identity to the forefront. He feels the blackest he ever has in such locations as an all-white church (where he checks to see if someone has put a bone through his nose) (150), a half-empty hotel where he is refused a room (257), and at the scene of a brutal lynching that he visits in order to taste fear (255). Younge points

83 There are several correspondences between *No Place* and Naipaul's *A Turn in the South*. Naipaul and Younge share Caribbean roots and a sense of displacement. Naipaul's text also focuses on the voices of people in the South and represents the South as obsessed with history and a place of extremes, such as fervent religion.
out that the downside is that race defines you in the United States and "More often than not [...] dictates where you live, where you worship and how you socialize" (40). He articulates the difference in racial identity between the two nations succinctly: "In Britain you are encouraged to keep your racial identity under lock and key; in America you are prisoner to it" (41).

One advantage of the emphasis on race in the States discerned by Younge is the dual identity allowed blacks as African-American. In contrast, Younge claims he is forced to choose one identity in Britain and notes slipping between describing himself as British or Bajan in different situations as the need arose when growing up (12). Whereas Norman Tebbit said "you can't have two homes" in 1990, "Almost everyone [in the United States] is entitled to a hyphen - Italian-American, Irish-American, Hungarian-American, African-American - and the hyphen qualifies their identity but doesn't undermine it" (185). This hyphenated identity is perhaps one of the factors that contribute to another difference between British and American national identity noted by Younge: attitudes to the flag and patriotism. This patriotism and Britain's comparative lack is noted by several other writers (e.g., Coltrane 144; Fletcher 1-4). Coltrane notes that: "The most extraordinary thing about the United States is that they are just that. United. There is a way there of allowing opposites to co-exist, bound together by a belief in one nation, one flag" (187).

Younge perceives that whereas patriotism and flag-waving in England are mainly the preserve of the right wing and can have ugly racist connotations, this is not the case in the United States where all political groups feel they are represented by the stars and stripes (218-20). Younge discerns that this difference stems from, and is evidenced by, such factors as the daily pledge of allegiance made in American schoolrooms (88-90), the written constitution of the United States (219), the theatricality of American naturalization ceremonies (compared to the non-event of British nationality arriving in an envelope) (181), the willingness of the United States (in contrast to Britain) to admit its mistakes (such as Bloody Sunday in Selma versus Bloody Sunday in Derry) (218-19), and the large proportion of blacks in the American
military in comparison to the small numbers in the British army (154-62). In other words, his roadlogue argues that blacks are more able to imagine themselves part of the American community than that of Britain.

As previously mentioned, Younge realizes that his preconceived image of the South is romanticized (24). However, although the real Deep South does not meet all of his expectations, he demonstrates that it successfully fills a lack in his racial identity left by his conception of Britishness. Younge describes his return home as follows:

Trips to the United States make me bold and sassy. Returning to the UK is always tricky. Until the confidence of the New World has been drained from my system. I talk louder, walk faster and generally act like a Technicolor cartoon character that has bounced onto a black and white screen. Having spent six months roaming around the South, I had been confirmed, assured and supported: Black Southerners might have been confused by my British accent but they were keen to embrace my blackness. They talked about it and engaged with it. They gave me access to another dimension. All that, I felt, would be confiscated at Customs [. . .] (274)

The final sentence shows that what fills Younge's lack is not something he can take home with him (as Davies and Coltrane are able to do with their respective tumbleweed and Cadillac). Instead of focusing only on the black/white dichotomy in Younge's case, it is useful to use that of displaced/settled. Travellers who feel settled in their own homes can return from journeys having enjoyed them but relieved to return to a place, "be it ever so humble," where they belong. Younge's return scene demonstrates a sense of loss that gives a different spin on the phrase "there's no place like home."
2.3 CONCLUSION

It appears that the majority of British roadlogue writers’ motivations to travel to the United States in the 1990s can be summed up with the phrase, "I love it there" (or "I love parts of it there"), rather than, "I hate it here" (with the partial exception of Younge). This observation extends to British travel writing outside the road trip during this period, which contains a noticeable proportion of narratives celebrating a particular niche of American history or popular culture, based more on appreciation of facets of the travel destination rather than the need to escape home.87 Most case study writers who live in Britain do not express an intense desire to leave and contrast with Fussell’s interwar set. Late-twentieth-century British writers’ views of Britain can be summed up by borrowing Younge's assessment of Stevenage: "it's all right."

That Britain is constructed as all right or a place of moderation in contrast to the United States is evident in Coltrane's closing statements: "The truth is that everything that is good about America is wonderful and everything that is bad about America is atrocious. It occurred to me that perhaps, after all, that is the American Way" (188).88 This follows a passage in which he admits the difficulty of making generalizations about a nation of marked differences:

The contrasts were enormous: from the opulence of Beverly Hills to the abject poverty of East St Louis; from the decadent wildness of Las Vegas to the controlled austerity of the Amish; [...] . The most extraordinary thing about the United States is that they are just that. United. There is a way there of allowing opposites to co-exist, bound together by a belief in one nation, one flag (187).

87 Examples include Young's From Sea to Shining Sea, J. Williams's Into the Badlands (a tour celebrating American crime writers), and Bull's Coast to Coast.

88 Other British writers who construct the US as a land of extremes include Naipaul, Fletcher, McGrath, and Stuart. See Chapter One, note 33. The discourse of big, extreme America goes back to Trollope: "Everything seems colossal in this great continent: if it rains, if it blows, if it thunders, it is all done fortiissimo [...]

(61).
Coltrane's impressions are echoed by Younge, who applauds the South because his difference is embraced there rather than suppressed (as it is Britain). British views of the States as a nation of extremes and co-existing opposites reflect anxieties over the contemporary redefinition of Britishness.\textsuperscript{89}

If British writers desire such extremes as sensuality, passion, glamour, western myths, New World plenty, big spaces, speed, violence, fear, patriotism, and spirituality, they travel to the United States to find them. On the whole, however, case study writers tend not to "go native" permanently and are not transformed by their American road trips. British moments on the road reveal that British moderation is not left at home but is brought along on the journey and extends to writers' patterns of appropriation of Americanness. Most case study writers can be characterized by what might be termed selective deference to the United States with a consumer's attitude to American culture: they take the parts that attract them and remain free to criticize other aspects. For instance, McLean deeply admires western swing but expresses a strong dislike for the Grand Old Opry, John Wayne films, and line dancing (139). Though British writers show deference by constructing narrating personae in relation to American roles, they adapt or parody American models rather than adopting them uncritically.

The most pronounced lack, and therefore the most strongly marked reverse construction of Britishness, belongs to Younge. Amongst the case studies, Spurr's rhetorical mode of idealization is most apparent in \textit{No Place Like Home}.\textsuperscript{90} Younge's deeply felt desire for connection with an imagined community distinguishes him from writers such as McLean who, although he has a passion for western swing, appropriates this branch of American culture as an optional extra to what is a strong

\textsuperscript{89} This type of representation is also a way to re-introduce otherness in texts where readers might expect travel writers to learn nothing new about the US from their journeys. The US was also constructed as a land of extreme diversity in the yearlong exhibition of American culture at the Barbican Centre in London in 1998. For instance, "Inventing America" juxtaposed austere, minimalist Shaker furniture with highly glamorous, customized Harley Davidson motorcycles. See the \textit{Los Angeles Times} article by William D. Montalbano, "Movers and Shakers."

\textsuperscript{90} See Spurr 125-40 for an analysis of how travellers (such as T.E. Lawrence) idealize a travel destination when they focus on a search for what is missing from their own culture.
sense of Scottish identity. Settled writers often seek freedom in rootlessness, whereas the displaced Younge seeks it in roots. Settled writers have fantasies about acting out individualistic freedom in western spaces (often represented as empty and future-oriented), whereas Younge desires a genuine sense of belonging to a community in the South (often represented as full of history and past-oriented).

British reserve is not only thrown into relief on the road, but is also revealed through what is excluded from texts. In contrast to Younge and the Americanized Hazleton, most implied writers deny the reader access to personal details. Coltrane gives little away other than his obsession with Cadillacs. Coster's fetishized longing for big roads and trucks is displaced and indirectly expressed through a focus on the lives of truckers. He tells their stories rather than his own. Davies's motivation for travel is never expressed and he reveals little about himself. McLean's literary and playful writing style holds the reader at a distance, while a deeply felt and personal aspect to Younge's quest is constructed by the apparently minimal difference between writer and narrating persona. 91

One way to consider the relative personal impact of journeys is to compare scenes of departure from and/or arrival back home. 92 In the majority of case studies, the departure scene is excluded or restricted to one or two lines and no description of the arrival home is provided. For instance, Davies's Freeways begins in media res in Tulsa. It ends with two brief sentences that contain no self-reflection: "How do you end a journey? Check in, fly home" (171). Other writers, such as Coltrane, use the closing paragraphs to summarize impressions of American society rather than to reflect on themselves (187-88). 93 In contrast, Younge devotes an Afterword to describing his

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91 For instance, while Younge provides a flood of details on his appearance and a chapter on his background, odd details on Davies appear intermittently and indirectly as a result of encounters on the journey. Most personal details are excluded other than the fact that he has hairs on his chest (95), is twenty-seven, and has never learned Welsh (126). Similarly, the reader does not discover that McLean is married until near the end of the book where this detail is revealed indirectly through a reference to a photograph of his wedding on a friend's wall (252).

92 The importance of arrival scenes in the travel destination was noted by Peter Hulme in "Invisible Barriers."

93 See Brook 467 for a similar Postscript that summarizes his impressions of Texan identity.
arrival back in London and the effect his return has in dismissing his temporary sense of confidence in his black identity (274-77). McGrath also includes a chapter of inner reflection written a year following her journey in which she claims it transformed her (216-28). However, although McGrath's journey is in part designed to deepen her own spirituality, her assessment of American New Agers through a distanced and sceptical anthropologist's gaze throughout the main body of the text, and reference to herself in the third person in the final chapter, reduce the personal portion of her quest in comparison to Younge's.

Despite the personal nature of Younge's journey, his prose is inflected with wider discourses. It is interesting to note that Younge perceives blacks in the south as lazier, more sensual, and more passionate than British people. He assigns them the same attributes of much colonial writing that is criticized by scholars such as Stuart Hall for its part in maintaining colonial power structures through debasement of blacks ("The Spectacle of the Other" 244). In Younge's case, his motive in using such representations is obviously not to maintain unequal power relations (as of the colonizer over the colonized) but to construct a lazy and sensuous South as positive versus a negative Britain of discipline and repressed passions.

The separation of British travel writing on the United States in the 90s as a category is not unproblematic due to such factors as the constructed status of national identities, the overlaps between American and British cultures, and the fact that the national identities of travel writers can become "contaminated" from their travels.94 Effects of globalization are apparent in the reference points of travellers such as Hazleton, who uses several Middle Eastern references from her tenure as a journalist in this region (e.g., 157). In the texts of writers who have lived for substantial periods in both Britain and the States (such as Bryson, Hazleton, and Kurtz), British and American perspectives either blend or compete for ascendancy.

94 Alternatively, travel can reinforce national identity. See Clifford 101 regarding the case of a travelling Hawaiian band which is able to keep its national identity despite the fact that it spends very little time in Hawaii.
However, keeping these limitations in mind, the construction of the British implied reader (one defining criterion of British travel writing) largely creates an imagined community between British writers and British readers through the frames of reference used to translate presumed unfamiliar facets of American landscape and culture. This imagined community is not a uniform whole but is broken down into overlapping units. White English readers (who constitute the traditionally dominant British identity) can become more familiar with Scottish, Welsh, or black points of reference through reading diverse British travel texts and thus expand their perceptions of their imagined British community. Linked to this point, it is apparent that contemporary British roadlogue writers, by and large, provide an alternative collective narratorial stance to the stereotypical English gentleman traveller, though individual writers retain traits of this role on the road and on paper. Interestingly, the performance of Britishness on the road demonstrates a perception that Americans expect the English gentleman stereotype, even if writers do not perform this role for British readers.

Despite the forces of globalization, the examples considered support Smith's thesis that national identity remains the major collective identity in the 90s. British writers find differences in the real or imagined United States which reinforce their Britishness, despite many shared facets of national identity such as myths and public culture. The case study writers demonstrate the generally conservative nature of travel writing in that all assume that the nation is a natural political unit. Even Younge, who demonstrates the strongest lack in his national identity, does not question the value of such categories as race or nationality.

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95 Americans encountered by writers tend to see British national identity as singular, whereas case studies construct it as plural. See the example from Younge in note 55 which illustrates that, as Hall points out, a nation does not have a monopoly on how its identity is constructed ("Spectacle" 236). Younge gives further analysis of Americans' perceptions of the British: "It is possibly because American images of the English are so outdated that they maintain such a rose-tinted view of what we are like. In most countries, when people hear the word 'England' (and sometimes 'Britain'), they think of arrogant colonialists, crass tourists and leery, beery football hooligans. When Americans hear it they think of Hetty Wainthrop Investigates, Lady Di and Sherlock Holmes [. . .]. And not only does the American image of Britain predate football thugs, but also the significant influx of black people into the country" (86). See Simon Gikandi, Maps of Englishness for an analysis of how colonialism and colonized peoples constructed Englishness.
Despite the fact that the United States, as part of the New World, is territory where British people have traditionally gone to escape the oppressions of home and/or to reinvent themselves, such escape appears restricted to the journey in most cases and does not transform the traveller on return home.96 While some critics discern that the identity categories of gender, nationality, and culture are outdated (e.g., Hall, "Who Needs Identity?" 1-2), they continue to be constructed in travel writing. Issues pertaining to gender identity on American road trips are the subject of the following chapter.

96 Obviously, this generalization does not apply to Hazleton who goes home to Seattle.
CHAPTER THREE
PASSING PENELope PITSTOP: CONTEMPORARY WOMEN WRITERS AND
THE INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINE

The cars are approaching the starting line. First is the Turbo Terrific
driven by Peter Perfect [...]. Right behind is the Anthill Mob in their
Bulletproof Bomb. Then there's ingenious inventor Pat Pending in his
Convert-a-Car. Oh! Here's the lovely Penelope Pitstop, the glamour gal
of the gas pedal.

(From the opening narration of The Wacky Races,
qtd. in Wingnut Productions, Wacky Races)

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition, Karen
Lawrence illustrates the traditional western restriction on women's travel with the figure
of Penelope who waits faithfully at home for Odysseus (ix). Though Penelope Pitstop
(a character in the popular 1968-1970 Hanna Barbera cartoon The Wacky Races) has
more agency than her mythical namesake, her characterization as an airhead blonde who
needs Peter Perfect to rescue her when in peril on the racetrack leaves much to be
desired. Post Thelma & Louise (1991), the glamour gal of the gas pedal may appear
somewhat outdated. However, episodes of The Wacky Races are still regularly aired on
satellite and terrestrial television and related representations of women drivers were
alive (if not perfectly well) in the United States and Britain in the 1990s.¹ As lone
female in a race of eleven vehicles (several with more than one driver), Penelope is
indicative of the minority status of women road trip writers in the latter half of the

¹ The continued popularity of the series is evidenced by the availability of related merchandise in the
90s. For instance, The Compact Pussycat was one of a select number of cartoon car models made by
Playing Mantis in 1998. (Other models include Dastardly and Muttley's Mean Machine and Fred
Flintstone's car.) Chapter Two was largely concerned with discerning constructed differences between
Britain and the United States. The present chapter takes a different approach by assuming that
representations of women and cars produced by both nations largely constitute a unified discourse. See
Youngs's "Buttons and Souls" for a comparable discussion of commodities and identity in nineteenth-
century women's travel writing on Africa which, in this case, demonstrates the different functions
commodities take on in the traveller's and travellee's cultures.

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twentieth century and provides some clues as to their cultural coding. The aim of this chapter is to use a survey of contemporary representations of women and cars as a means to explore women's positioning within the male-dominated road trip narrative. Analysis of how femininity is constructed and questioned by women's interactions with automobiles will be used to measure how far women writers can enter male road trip territory and how free they are to open up new female spaces on the road.

According to Lackey in RoadFrames, a quarter of all American highway narratives before the Second World War were written by women, though few of these were lone motorists and most travelled with husbands or female companions (28). Following a paradigm shift marked by Kerouac's On the Road (1957), postwar women road writers are proportionately more scarce, due to the diminishing visibility of kin and heterosexual couple trips in both road literature and road movies and a move towards lone male and male buddy trips (Lackey 28; Cohan and Hark, "Introduction" 2-3). Dominant representations favour male writers by maintaining that lone travel makes the best travel writing yet is too dangerous and/or socially unacceptable for women. In the 1990s, women who write accounts of heterosexual couple or kin trips do not challenge norms of femininity as much as those who drive alone. The latter draw attention to themselves by claiming the masculine rights to anonymity and freedom from domesticity afforded by the road.

The novelty status of lone women road trippers can be turned to advantage, replenish a traditionally male-dominated genre with new voices and open up "liberated spaces through which women's travel writing can emerge as an exploration of female desire" (Holland and Huggan 112). This potential, however, is tempered by cultural

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2 See James Clifford, "Traveling Cultures" 105 for a discussion of this.

3 Examples of recent heterosexual couple trips written by American women include Abraham, First We Quit Our Jobs and Megan Edwards, Roads from the Ashes: An Odyssey in Real Life on the Virtual Frontier.

4 Coster investigates a more extreme male bastion than the world of cars. The only women he meets in the trucking sphere are those who co-drive with husbands or partners (20; 43). Women make more of an appearance in Greg Wise's collection of photographs of US truckers in Truck Stop, which includes two women travelling with male companions, and three lone women truckers. However, lone male truckers are still by far the majority.
and textual constraints. As Mills notes in Discourses of Difference, writing is a negotiation rather than simply self-expression (9). The fact that lone women road writers are spectacles as well as spectators has implications for how they construct their narrating personae, and are in turn constructed by publishers and readers. As mentioned in Chapter Two, section 2.1.1, foregrounding of the role of storyteller makes narration in nonfiction travel narratives a conscious performance for the writer. Acting the role of road trip storyteller is complicated for women by a potentially doubly-heightened awareness (both for writer and reader) of performance of gender because they cross borders into two areas of masculine territory: that of the automobile, and that of the road trip. These writers, whose negotiations with cars and the road have developed alongside such products of the heyday of the male road trip as Penelope Pitstop, are limited as to how far they can pull out and pass her.

This chapter outlines the gender codings of women and cars negotiated by contemporary women writers of roadlogues with primary reference to Driving to Detroit. Published in Britain in 1999, Hazleton's text records a pilgrimage to the holy places for cars: it is both an outward investigation of the American fascination with the automobile and an inward rite of passage for the writer who has recently gained

5 My approach owes much to Mills's Discourses, an analysis of British women's travel narratives from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century in relation to textual and societal constraints. Mills discerns differences between men's and women's writing in this period such as women's inability to adopt the imperialist voice with ease and their focus on "people as individuals rather than on statements about the race as a whole" (Discourses 3). See Clark, "Introduction" 21-23 and Youngs, "Buttons and Souls" 122-23 for criticisms of Mills's claims. This chapter does not seek to differentiate between men's and women's writing styles and certainly seeks to avoid biological essentialism. Postwar case studies do not bear out Mills's claims for women's high imperialist writing. In fact, McGrath's text has the most authoritative and superior stance and, arguably, implicitly suggests that individual New Agers represent American society as a whole. However, the purpose of this chapter is not to compare how males and females interact with natives but to analyse how dominant representations articulate women's relationships with cars. I find useful Mills's strategy of analysing how the contemporary discourse of femininity (and its manifestation in marketing and reception of women's texts) needs to be negotiated by women writers. Though I focus on a female writer's point of view, I do not wish to suggest that male writers' roadlogues are not subject to textual constraints imposed by dominant representations of people and cars.

6 When a writer is a spectacle, he or she relinquishes the detachment of the ideal traveller, as described in Chapter One, section 1.3.4.

7 The notion of gender as performed rather than biologically determined is based on Butler's model in Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity, which has been used productively in other studies on travel writing such as Debbie Lisle, "Gender at a Distance: Identity, Performance and Contemporary Travel Writing."
American citizenship. By locating Hazleton's narrative in relation to other texts from various road genres, I intend to mark out postwar road trip territory in order to address such questions as: how much control do women writers have over their narrative vehicles? How far are they constrained by dominant representations, marketing, and reception? How far do and/or can women's roadlogues make inroads into a masculine genre and how far is this desirable? What strategies can women writers adopt to open up new female territory?

The chapter will begin to explore how the representation of women and cars affects gendered storyteller performance by considering the different ways in which automobiles function symbolically in their relations with humans. It will go on to examine issues of marketing and reception of women's roadlogues with emphasis on the representation of women and cars. Due to the nature of the case studies, this discussion will focus on negotiations facing white, heterosexual, financially independent, single women. However, departure points for discussion of all road writers outside these definitions will be introduced. My aim is to avoid essentializing in favour of seeking what Mills (in "What Difference Does Gender Make?") terms a "contextualized performativity" based on the notion that "gender makes a difference but not the same difference every time."

3.1 WOMEN AND CARS

In her study, In the Driver's Seat, Dettelbach claims that "Little boys who play with little cars grow up to be big boys who play with big cars, often without much change in attitude" (92-93).\(^8\) This begs the questions: if little girls play less with cars, how does this affect how big girls play with them? Do they try to emulate big boys? What implications does this have for female road narrator construction?

A scene introducing the narrator's vehicle is common to the opening sections of many roadlogues. By describing how a vehicle is purchased or outfitted, narrators set

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\(^8\) For a much shorter but more recent survey than Dettelbach's, see Nicholas Zurbrugg, "Oh What a Feeling! - The Literatures of the Car."
up relationships with their machines which construct the paradigms of their journeys. Factors such as the type of vehicle, its pet name, and whether it is old or new, introduce the machine as an important character, whilst simultaneously setting up the stance of the narrator towards the landscape to be explored. For instance, Mayle signifies his daredevil comedian stance and willingness to cross social boundaries in *The Burial Brothers* with his choice of a '73 Cadillac Hearse. In *Blue Highways*, Heat-Moon connotes a longing for a simplified and uncluttered lifestyle by listing the modest contents of his camper van, and sets up his nostalgic stance by naming it *Ghost Dancing* (8). Coster introduces each of the truckers he rides with in *A Thousand Miles* by describing their vehicles. For instance, the reader becomes acquainted with the glamorous mauve Peterbilt with chromium accessories (which Coster rides in his first American trip) before its owner-driver, Keith Derscheid (148-49). The Ford Expedition which Hazleton describes as her "narrative vehicle" (using Raban's term) (11), is somewhat distanced from her persona because it is borrowed, rather than personally selected and owned. It is also a boy's toy.

Although Hazleton's stated preoccupation concerns automobiles and national identity, questions of gender inevitably arise when considering human interaction with cars, perhaps most obviously because women have traditionally been denied the driver's seat. The label "women drivers" (which excludes women from the privileged term "drivers") derives from notions that women are largely intimidated and/or bored by technology. Gender also plays a part in the complex sexualization of cars which are often referred to as "she" whilst simultaneously representing their male drivers' penises. Car coding does not stop here. As P.J. O'Rourke puts it (in his "Introduction" to *Road Trips, Head Trips*): "The automobile bears a symbolic weight that fridge and toaster never can" (1). The following discussion will begin to unpack this layered coding by considering four functions assumed by cars related to gender construction: clothing, prosthesis, companion, and fetish. These functions, apparent in road

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9 Although Davies does not foreground his relationship with his Honda in his narrative as a whole, he shows his awareness of the convention of introducing the car in roadlogues by devoting the opening sections of *Freeways* to a description of the purchase of his narrative vehicle in Tulsa (11-21).
literature, movies, and advertising, are by no means discrete; one particular car can inhabit several categories simultaneously. In fact, it is the car's capacity for multiple signification which makes it such a potent symbol.

Cultural codes are in constant flux. Many are contradictory, such as the fact that cars are used to flaunt heterosexuality whilst being hermaphroditic. Despite the multiple and changing signals, I intend to demonstrate that there is only an extent to which a writer can do exactly what she wants with a narrative vehicle; how it is interpreted by writers and readers is influenced by a plethora of past and coexistent representations.

3.1.1 Car as Clothing and Prosthesis

Mayle notes that he feels naked without his Cadillac Hearse (170). The metaphor of car as clothing is also used in the 1999 television commercial aired in Britain in which supermodel Claudia Schiffer strips naked to drive her Citroën Xsara. In the latter instance, it is clear that cars can be used to mark boundaries of gender and sexuality. In "Not from the Back Seat," Lydia Simmons goes so far as to claim that the car, "like a designer's dress [...] is one of the primary means of setting female off from male" (188).

Penelope Pitstop, reminiscent of a blonde-ponytailed Barbie Doll, wears a pink minidress with a heart-shaped belt buckle positioned tantalizingly close to crotch level (see Figure 1). Penelope's car equals her own outfit in feminine allure. The Compact

10 These functions are also apparent in music about cars. This area is not covered in this chapter. For discussion of this subject see, e.g., Marsh and Collett 16-19, and Duncan Heining, "Cars and Girls - The Car, Masculinity and Pop Music."

11 In the same instance he refers to the vehicle as "her" and a "black beast," although the Cadillac changes sex throughout the narrative.

12 See Marsh and Collett 27-44 for a history of cars as costume. The use of glamorous, sexy women to sell cars obviously plays on metaphors other than cars as clothes. See Simon Hacker, "New Model Army" for a discussion of how female models and pop stars are used to sell cars at the 1999 London Motor Show. Scharff notes that female hood ornaments have encouraged women to be seen as "automotive accessories rather than independent pilots" (facing 1-47). For a potted history of the Spirit of Ecstasy/The Flying Lady on Rolls Royce car bonnets, see Dean Dauphinais and Peter M. Gareffa, Car Crazy: The Official High-Octane, Turbocharged, Chrome-Plated Back Road Book of Car Culture. See Wise for a photograph of the curvaceous chrome female silhouettes that are often attached to truck bumpers and mud flaps in the US.
Pussycat is deep pink and yellow, its headlights are big eyes with long lashes, its front bumper is a pair of pouting lips, and its chassis is distinguished by curvaceous lines (see Figure 2). Instead of a roof, this glamorous convertible sports a frilly parasol to make Penelope pretty, more so than to protect her from the elements. Peter Perfect and his vehicle provide a stark contrast (see Figure 3). The handsome, strong-jawed Peter drives The Turbo Terrific, which bears a striking resemblance to male genitalia. Consisting of a long, sausage-shaped body, with two giant testicular wheels at the rear, Peter's vehicle emphasizes the phallic qualities of the typically male-driven racing car. It illustrates the aptness of Peter Marsh and Peter Collett's comparison of car engines to codpieces (in Driving Passion) because they put all "the essential machinery" up front clothed in a "prominent bonnet" (28).

The Wacky Races illustrates that car-clothes can make both sexes attractive by representing a driver's idealized physical and personal qualities. Other examples include the film version of Stephen King's novel Christine (1983), in which teenager Arnie Cunningham loses the hallmarks of his "geek" image as he works on restoring Christine, his demon-possessed '58 Plymouth Fury (aptly named after a spiteful woman) and consequently gets the prettiest girl in school. When visiting a junkyard in Houston, Hazleton articulates the more sordid side of cars endowing sexiness by comparing an abandoned car to "a Lurex dress taken off after a hard night on the town and left discarded on the floor, having done its job, perhaps too well" (202). Hazleton

13 A similar real-life figure to Penelope and Barbie is Angelyne, the self-declared star of Los Angeles with peroxide blonde hair and pneumatic breasts who can be spotted driving around Hollywood in her hot pink '82 Corvette. For more information on Angelyne see L.A. Bizarre 145 or www.angelyne.com. For a survey of cars in cartoons see Wells.

14 Peter is a Perfect gentleman. He calls Penelope "My dear" (e.g., in "Why Oh Why Wyoming") and, interestingly, has an English accent.

15 Graphics of all Wacky Races participants and their cars can be found in the following websites: Schmidt, Wingnut Productions, and Wacky Races. These include links to The Perils of Penelope Pitstop mentioned later.

16 This quotation describes the design of Emile Lavassor who put the engine up front in contrast to the earliest horseless carriages where the engine was concealed at the back (27-28).
herself prefers practical car-clothes and describes the Expedition as too new and shiny for her purpose (11).

The wrong car on the wrong person stands out like inappropriate clothing, illustrated effectively by imagining Penelope and Peter swapping cars. The Compact Pussycat is far too effeminate for Peter Perfect's macho image. Similarly, when shopping in Los Angeles for his narrative vehicle, Coltrane rejects anything too fancy that would be a suitable ornament for a hairdresser or rock star, painted the colour of a "tart's handbag" (18). His response to cars which resemble Penelope's is: "If I wanted to look like Jayne Mansfield I would have the operation, thank you" (18). The wrong colour can transform the most macho of clothes, demonstrated by the teasing suffered by the male driver of the mauve Peterbilt in Coster's roadlogue, whose fellow truckers dub his vehicle "a Mary-Kay truck" though it is far from similar to the hot pink Cadillacs of this cosmetics company (150). Hazleton uses the same rhetoric when she reminisces about army vehicles she rode whilst a journalist in Israel, describing them as "testosterone proof: no frills, no padding" (69). She investigates the macho aspect of cars as armour by visiting an armouring company and draws an amusing comparison between her hyper-masculine lunch party and a Mary Kay group in the same restaurant (269-70). Car as protective shell is linked to the concept of car as extension of the self and thus raises the issue of power. The Compact Pussycat is hopelessly inadequate for Peter, while Penelope seems incapable of controlling what could be described as his power tie on wheels.

17 In their Introduction to The Gendered Object, Pat Kirkham and Judy Attfield note that: "Items of clothing belonging to the opposite sex are often adopted by heterosexual women to enhance and accentuate femininity" (10). Penelope would, therefore, not look so out of place in the Turbo Terrific as Pete would in the Pussycat. Clothes obviously also define social status. Marsh and Collett describe the Cadillac as a marker of the American nouveau-riche, whereas those with established wealth buy foreign cars. The Cadillac "stands for all that is American" in comparison to the all-British Rolls, and "The Cadillac driver eats steak with lobster" whereas "The BMW owner dines out in sushi restaurants and loves Florence" (Marsh and Collett 64). In The Bad Girl's Guide to the Open Road, Cameron Tuttle provides a list of what cars say about men, e.g., a BMW equals "I bought my wife" and a Honda Civic denotes "I'm still working on my PhD" (64-65).

18 Mary Kay employees are the American equivalent of Avon ladies. They drive pink Cadillacs and make house calls in order to sell beauty products to housewives.
This marks an important area of gender inequality: though Penelope is in the driver's seat, she lacks equal potency. Her car has no balls. 19

Lackey likens the automobile to a prosthesis, because it responds so effectively to the whims of individual drivers that it appears to be an extension of the body (4). With the exception of the Arkansas Chugabug shown in Figure 4 (which, with its rickety stovepipe and barefoot Southern driver, illustrates that class and regionalism are issues here in addition to gender), the prostheses of the male drivers in The Wacky Races appear more powerful than Penelope's. Although Hazleton compares a customized car to Boadicea's chariot (127), it seems that post Boadicea's revolt, the power-giving gadget car is largely the province of the male. 20 Professor Pat Pending has the ultimate gadget car which is part boat and part aeroplane (see Figure 5). Variations of the Convert-a-Car which have rather more sinister powers include: Bond cars; Kitt in the 1982 TV series, Knight Rider; and Christine.

This is not to say that The Compact Pussycat does not have gadgets. The controls on its dashboard are as follows: "Hairspray, Lipstick, Hair Dryer, and Make Up." However, these items (shown at the beginning of each episode) compare unfavorably with, for instance, the controls of the Convert-a-Car ("Sails, Giant Spring, Submarine, Balloon") and those of the Creepy Coupe ("Dragon Power, Monster Power, Bat Power, Horror Power"). 21 Maximizing their phallic qualities, the tips of Dick Dastardly's Mean Machine and Peter Perfect's Turbo Terrific are able to extend in

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19 Kirkham and Attfield note that "The unease experienced by the disruption of apparently minor details of gender differentiation, such as the location of buttons on the 'wrong' side of a shirt or jacket, appears to be far greater in men than in women who, in general, are more used to 'appropriating' aspects of male dress than men are aspects of female dress. It is important to recognise these deep-rooted anxieties; it is precisely because of the importance of power and gender identity in our society that the fears for men of appearing female, with its concomitant loss of power, are so great" (6). A further illustration of cars that lack power equating with the feminine can be found in Kerouac: "the car was what Dean called a "fag Plymouth"; it had no pick up and no real power. "Effeminate car!" whispered Dean in my ear" (206).

20 Boadicea has an intertextual reincarnation as a giant, scantily clad, fantasy woman road warrior who cracks a whip over the truck she rides in Greg Wise's photograph of a painting on the side of a customized truck in Truck Stop.

21 The Convert-a-Car's controls are shown in "Creepy Trip to Lemon Twist" and those of the Creepy Coupe feature in "See-Saw to Arkansas."
order to put them ahead of other cars in races. The Pussycat's gadgets hark back to the 1920s assumption of automobile manufacturers noted by Scharff in Taking the Wheel: that women prefer frills over power (111-33).

Hazleton investigates the lust for power by entering, like Penelope, the masculine territory of the racetrack where "The car is on the outer limits of control [. . .]" (146). She confesses a perverse love for the skid pad, indicative of a non-masculine wish to be vulnerable (146). However, the opening of her roadlogue, which describes an accident at the end of her journey where she nearly dies, takes this too far for her liking (1-7).

For a car to be an effective prosthesis, the driver must have total control. Penelope needs to be rescued when she has car trouble, making her a less independent and less powerful agent, despite the fact that she wins as many races as her rivals. That feminine women are not meant to be mechanics is illustrated by The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert, a 1994 film about three drag queens on an Australian road trip. When their bus breaks down in the middle of the desert, the queens are unable to repair it and have to wait for a "real man" to come along to fix it for them. Drag queens perform the extremes of socially constructed femininity, which in this case includes vulnerability. Another illustration of the above is The Perils of Penelope Pitstop, a 1969 spin-off show from The Wacky Races. Inspired by the silent movie series The Perils of Pauline, this cartoon gives Penelope a 1930s makeover (Schmidt, Perils). Penelope spends each episode tied in melodramatic fashion by Sylvester Sneakly (alias the Hooded Claw) to a hi-tech killing contraption until her wealthy Southern Belle's cries of "hayulp hayulp" summon The Anthill Mob (a team from The Wacky Races) to her rescue. The Compact Pussycat is taken away from Penelope in this show in which she becomes a victim of technology.

Women continue to be at the mercy of techno-villains in many postwar movies, such as those in the James Bond series.

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22 Demonstrated in "Creepy Trip to Lemon Twist" and "See-Saw to Arkansas," respectively.

23 Women continue to be at the mercy of techno-villains in many postwar movies, such as those in the James Bond series.
It would be an oversimplification to suggest that all passengers are completely powerless and all drivers have unqualified power. Issues of control cannot be reduced to gender and who holds the steering wheel alone, but are complicated by other factors such as class and colour. For instance, the question of who has power in the case of chauffeur and employer is complex. Famous etiquette advisor Emily Post has a large degree of control over her son "chauffeur" from her cross-country seat in the tonneau in By Motor to the Golden Gate (1916), though she remains dependent on his technical expertise. A more recent example which explores passenger-chauffeur power relations is the 1989 film Driving Miss Daisy, in which a wealthy, southern, Jewish woman and her black chauffeur Hoke play out an intricate power struggle involving issues of gender, class, and race in part backgrounded by the civil rights movement. Despite his social disadvantages, and her possession of the map, it is Hoke who eventually takes control, due to Miss Daisy's advancing senility and subsequent need to depend on him.24

An example where a female back seat driver has primary control is the road movie Lewis & Clark & George (1997) which tells the story of two escaped convicts (Lewis and Clark) on a road trip to find the buried stash of a fellow felon. Along the way they pick up a female passenger, George, who uses her wits and sexual allure to manipulate the gullible and slow-witted drivers, and finally murders them for their money (though in accordance with outlaw road movie tradition, she inevitably also dies). However, keeping passenger-driver complexities in mind, by and large the traditional categorization of women as passengers or inadequate drivers denies them equal access to an American dream based on individualism and control of one's

24 For a full discussion of women and chauffeurs early in the century see Scharff 19-24. Scharff notes that women with chauffeurs were at risk of appearing promiscuous because of the intimacy and mobility afforded by this relationship. This is another instance of an attempt to establish the social norm that women's place is not in cars. A scene in the movie where two Alabama traffic police joke about the relationship between the "old Jew woman" and her black driver highlights this issue in Miss Daisy. See Best for a discussion of how women enjoy the sexual thrill of surrendering vehicle control to men (in this case, motorcycle control). In addition to the back seat, the passenger seat next to the driver whose occupier is described as "riding shotgun" (and literally is so in many car chase scenes in films) has another kind of power.
future.25 For the car to be a true prosthesis, one needs to be a good driver and not in
the back seat.

Though Hazleton's accident demonstrates that even experts are vulnerable in
cars at times, if women road writers want power equal to men's, they might feel it
necessary to perform as transvestite driver-mechanics. In the preface to her edited
anthology, Road Trips, Head Trips and Other Car-Crazed Writings, automotive
journalist Jean Lindamood Jennings describes how she changed her clothes in the past
to coordinate with the male territory she worked in (vii-xii). Her attire when a cab
driver consisted of "bib overalls and a ski hat, or skirts down to the ground with army
boots" (viii). She completed the role by smoking cigars and not shaving her legs (viii).
Similarly, her feminine long hair was a hindrance when working as a mechanic because
it became caught in some machinery, causing amusement for the boys (ix).

Cross-dressing is a strategy found in women's travel writing outside the
American road trip.26 However, though one might expect western women to feel that
donning masculine attire in eastern countries will aid ease of travel in this or previous
centuries, it might be somewhat surprising to realize that western women in the late-
twentieth-century United States face a similar metaphorical choice. It is indicative of the
masculine bias of Americanness that American women feel the need to cross-dress in
their own nation if they want to participate in the American passion for the automobile
(or at least the non-powder puff automobile).

Typical representations show males to be more desirous of a close identity with
the machine (along the lines of Pirsig's with his motorcycle in Zen). Despite their
relative scarcity, however, transvestite women driver-mechanics are nothing new.
Lackey distinguishes prewar women who travel without men, such as Winifred Dixon
(writer of Westward Hoboes: Ups and Downs of Frontier Motoring), from "their
finicky white-gloved cousins like Emily Post" who travel with men (29). Lackey notes

25 For discussions of American dreams of possession and control see Roberts 60 and Dettelbach 119.

26 For examples see Holland and Huggan 117.
that writers like Dixon, as a "result of necessity rather than overt rebellion against sex roles" gradually transform into "sturdy vagabonds" who "boast of their trousers, their dirty bodies, and their growing mechanical savvy" (29). Advertisers, meanwhile, decided ladies could be enticed to buy gasoline cars once the latter became clean and easy to operate, based on the assumption that women are not interested in learning mechanics and do not like to get dirty (Dettelbach 59; Scharff 51-66). Postwar, as a result of advanced car design and a developed infrastructure, the practical need for both female and male motorists to become mechanics has lessened. However, women road writers may choose to learn the workings of cars in order to regain the agency of their prewar dirty-gloved sisters.

Car maintenance can be equated with hospital care, thus endowing the automobile with animate qualities (Dettelbach 95). Animate cars are no longer tools but companions, illustrated by the clichéd cry of men starting up a powerful car uttered by Cahill's co-driver Gary Sowerby in Road Fever: "Let's see what this baby'll do!" (125).

3.1.2 Car as Companion and Fetish

Dastardly and Muttley, the scheming melodrama villain throwback and his mischievous dog sidekick who drive The Mean Machine in The Wacky Races, are foils for each other's characters. Where a lone driver such as Penelope is concerned, the car can become principal companion (illustrated by The Compact Pussycat's personification), and can be a primary means for constructing a lone driver's character. When this relationship becomes obsessive or mystical, the line is crossed from companion to fetish.

Amongst the most common companion roles taken on by cars are horse, friend, baby, and lover. These functions inevitably slide into each other. Steinbeck's camper van Rocinante is named after Don Quixote's mount (6). Hazleton refers to her sport utility vehicle as a "magnificent steed" (11), and its manufacturer's name of Expedition portrays her companion as one that allows her to venture into the wilds. Car as horse
indicates the obvious fact that the automobile has replaced this animal as the most popular personal conveyance and also points to the status of the road trip as successor of the western.\textsuperscript{27} The same is true in the trucking world, as Coster likens truckers to cowboys (124), and refers to the classic American truck as a "thoroughbred chromium-plated roadster" (161), or "chromium steed" (236).\textsuperscript{28} This cowboy rhetoric can result in women drivers identifying with male western heroes and thus initiate self-conscious gender performance. Hazleton herself uses the Lone Ranger as her road persona (11: 102; 114; 132; 143: 190), though she does not problematize her gendered role play.

Although she neglects to name her truck, Hazleton becomes very attached to it. She feels insulted on its behalf (67), is saddened when leaving it at Los Angeles airport (128), and pats its hood (292). The extent of her attachment is demonstrated when she decides that, instead of taking the easy option and flying home to Seattle from Detroit at the end of her pilgrimage, she must drive the Expedition full circle (290).

In Motel Nirvana, the car is an unsexed friend that McGrath names after the railroad carriage in the country and western song "Don't Fence Me In." Though she says she "avoids sentimentality" (4), McGrath connects with Caboose and gives it animate qualities (16).\textsuperscript{29} Prewar, Dixon's car seems characterized as a female guardian or chaperone: "a Cadillac Eight, with a rakish hood and matronly tonneau; its front was intimidating, its rear reassuring" (2).

"Friend" appears to be the category most women's car-companions fit into. Where car is baby and/or lover, a border may be crossed into the territory of fetish in three senses: something drivers are obsessed with, an object that endows sexual satisfaction, or the embodiment/abode of a spirit or magical powers. For example, old cars (or those in a prewar context) need to be regularly tended like infants. Modern cars

\textsuperscript{27} Similarly, in Hard Road West, Moffat names her van Old Crump after a pioneer's reliable wagon-pulling Ox (8).

\textsuperscript{28} Fletcher also compares truckers to cowboys (171-72). Other metaphors/roles for vehicles such as mobile homes are discussed in Chapter Four, section 4.2.3.

\textsuperscript{29} See McGrath 39 and 111 for examples where her car is represented as a companion with the phrase "Caboose and I."
are babies if they have proud parent/partner owners, illustrated by a 1999 billboard in Britain advertising Mercedes Benz service which reads: "Who's going to look after your baby?" Simmons's description of her old car constructs it as a substitute for human companionship: "It became my baby, and I was able to lavish upon it the care and love I felt no human would accept from me" (190). Simmons's car-relationship is unusual when compared to typical coding in which dominant representations play on the idea of men (only) being in love with their cars. It is difficult to imagine women being featured in two 1999 Continental Tyres commercials aired in Britain which portray fetishizing men. The first shows a topless man standing up in his convertible with outstretched arms with the voice-over: "Take care of the one you love." The second implies that men gain sexual satisfaction as they fondle their cars' contours while cleaning them to the strains of a love song.

Rather than being represented as car fetishizers, women are more often shown to be replaced by, and therefore jealous of, automobiles. The lack of images of women fetishizers partially derives from the dominant representation of car as wife/possession, which Dettelbach links to the male's traditional ownership of the female in certain societies (97). Though Dettelbach risks essentializing male drivers, it is reasonable to suggest that those contemporary men who desire a beautiful, idealized 1950s-type trophy-wife requiring care and protection might look for a car to fill the void. American writer Morgan in The Distance to the Moon claims (although he admits such generalizations are risky) that "To men cars seem more likely to be mistresses - trophy wheels. To women, they seem to be pals" (133). He also feels "like a teenager reading Playboy" when looking in a Porsche catalogue (9), and compares himself to a man cheating on his wife when gazing at his beautiful borrowed Porsche Boxter (20). Coster demonstrates that trucks are viewed by men in a similar way when he describes the response of some German truckers to the attractive Silver Knight he rides to Moscow, saying that they "looked it up and down the way you undress a woman with your eyes" (45).
Coltrane compares his 1951 Cadillac to Rita Hayworth as built in Detroit (22).

Despite the long road trip ahead, he considers the fact that the car has some technical problems an advantage, saying: "What the hell, it would be a pleasure handling any hiccups from this baby. Besides, I had my toolbox with me" (22). Fixing the Cadillac is a way to prove his manhood and distinguishes him from "nancy boys" (presumably with smaller toolboxes) who buy modern cars that require little maintenance (22).

Hazleton shows her awareness of this type of gender coding when she compares jeeps to difficult females: "And what young man, in uniform or out, wouldn't want to tame such a creature, each one Petruchio wrestling with his own private shrew?" (70). Such representations derive from gender assumptions made in the first two decades of the twentieth century when, often contrary to the reality, men were perceived to prefer cranks and manual gears over conveniences like electric starters and automatic transmissions; the latter, though they benefited all drivers, were purportedly designed specifically for women so that men could save face (Scharff 66). This notion is paralleled in Coster's trucking world where a salesman describes a Kenworth which has no synchromesh on its gears as "a man's truck" (139).

It is a short step from car maintenance to the male territory of customizing in which Hazleton meets Big Daddy Roth, who believes that men who treat their cars as wives have a spiritual relationship with them (225-26). Customizers are modern-day Pygmalions who sculpt cars into ideal lovers and objects of worship; their cars connote sex, death, and spirituality. Dettelbach describes the interiors of many customized cars as boudoirs, which indicates why women might have ambivalent relationships with cars and be less likely to fetishize what they view as scenes of rape or exploitation (87). Dettelbach notes that: "When the male does the driving (car as vehicle, car as penis), the more passive female is usually exploited," citing as an example Edward Kienholz's lurid sculpture Back Seat Dodge '38 (66). Hazleton, although she celebrates her first

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30 In this sculpture, currently housed at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the car is shortened by elimination of the front seats. On the back seat are representations (made from mannequin parts and chicken wire) of the entwined limbs of a man and woman. The car's signification is reduced to sex because it cannot be driven. The theme of car as site of exploitation and initiation for women is dealt with in Paula Vogel's 1998 Pulitzer prize-winning play, How I Learned to Drive. The play tells the
car as the place of sexual initiation (44), compares customized car interiors to coffins (221). 31

Coltrane combines spirituality and/or mysticism with sex when he describes the garage from which he purchases his Cadillac as comparable to Tutankhamun's tomb, going on to say:

If someone had told me that I had died and gone to heaven, I would not have argued. Everywhere I looked there was a Cadillac, each one sweeter than the last. It was like a dream I used to have, but in that I always used to wake up just as my hand touched the first car. Now I was caressing, even climbing into, magnificent Cadillacs and nobody was waking me up. (18)

The tomb here seems very much like a womb (or collection of wombs) and is reminiscent of Hazleton's description of Craig Breedlove's relationship with his land speed vehicle The Spirit of America, designed to fit his body perfectly. He likes to sit inside "her" when in a contemplative mood (20). 32 In a scene somewhat reminiscent of Coltrane's, Soutter brings the romance of a fairy tale to The Drive Thru Museum, when he hacks through vegetation to reach a friend's shed in Georgia where his "sleeping princess," a '73 Dodge Sedan that he bought on a previous trip to the United States, awaits his return (14).

Although Hazleton does not use the term "fetishism," a large proportion of her journey is devoted to investigating this subject. For example: she falls into a trance-like state when sitting in a classic car at a show (49); she describes car auctioneers as selling sex (55); she looks into the "beating heart" of a combustion engine at a laboratory and

31 Customizing is not always a sign of fetishism. In Coster's description of the trucking world, customizing trucks is a way for owner-drivers to differentiate themselves from fleet drivers (153).

32 Obviously, not all male drivers fetishize cars. In contrast to that of Coltrane, Davies's car buying scene at the beginning of his book does not sexualize automobiles. Davies foregoes the big classic American cars that Coltrane craves and looks for something smaller with more economical gas consumption (18).
feels tender towards it (63); she describes her horrid fascination for J.G. Ballard's novel *Crash* and claims Indy spectators are there for the accidents only (104-08: 149); and she crushes a car at a junkyard, perhaps resulting from a desire to combat her obsession with automobiles (207). It is her possession by the Expedition and the road, termed a "road warrior" state by Hazleton (302), that leads to the near-fatal accident at the end of her journey.

The "road warrior" state is also described by other road writers. In *Storm Country*, P. Davies uses the term "road addiction" (32), metaphorically linking cars and road trips with drugs. Kurtz has road fever in *The Great American Bus Ride* and cannot bear to stay off the Greyhound for long (168). Coster describes the restlessness of some truck drivers who feel they have to keep moving forward. Tony Meddings, the English trucker with whom Coster travels to Moscow, feels the need to get back on the road as soon as possible once a delivery has been made (56). In addition to the attraction of keeping moving, Hazleton investigates the addictive quality of speed when interviewing a racing driver who talks of the all-consuming nature of the race (156-57). Her analysis of intoxication by speed brings to mind the road movie *Vanishing Point* (1971) in which an ex race driver takes the drug speed during a breakneck run from Colorado to California. Similarly, Morgan compares consuming white lines on the road in his Porsche to consuming white lines of cocaine (10). When driving becomes a drug, drivers can become possessed by their car-fetishes.

### 3.2 GUYS VERSUS GIRLS

From the (mostly) postwar American and European examples given above, it is apparent that representations of people's relationships with cars and road trips in all genres play on guy/girl dichotomies. Though the foregrounding of the human-car relationship in most of these examples is by no means typical of all road narratives, they provide vivid means to expose gender codings that underlie roadlogues where the relationship is backgrounded. The dominant characteristics of each pole in the west during the postwar period might be roughly outlined as follows: 1) Guys are in the
driver's seat; they are victors; they fetishize cars (perceiving them to be traditional wives/possessions/trophies); and they are capable car mechanics. 2) Girls should be passengers or drive only powder puff cars; they are victims; they do not fetishize cars and are jealous of them (perceiving them as rivals); and they are incapable mechanics. Though guy/girl definitions differ amongst texts at any one moment and change over time, these poles seem remarkably stable when compared with Scharff's description of gender coding in relation to automobiles through the 1920s. This is all the more surprising when it is considered that, as Marilyn Root notes in *Women at the Wheel: 42 Stories of Freedom, Fanbelts and the Lure of the Open Road*, women currently buy almost half of the cars sold in the United States (2). Though there are practically as many women motorists, their relationships with cars are not represented as equal to men's.

Savvy road writers can exploit dominant representations for effect. A male might put himself in the "girl" category by describing himself as a non-driver or poor driver to establish a vulnerable or impotent persona. Writers (such as Czech-American Andrei Codrescu in *Road Scholar* and McLean in *Lone Star Swing*) can use this stance for comic effect, to gain the sympathy of a particular readership, or possibly to connote un-Americanness. However, these reversals confirm rather than deconstruct the gender polarization.

Women road writers need to negotiate their entrance into guy territory. Do they want to become guys (or bad girls, or tough girls), or try to break down the distinction? Root's collection of forty-two interviews represents (in prose and photographs) American women from a variety of states, age groups, and ethnic backgrounds who are passionate about their cars. Her book functions as a consciousness-raising exercise, giving voices to women who are mechanics, customizers, and lovers of power and technology. However, although the label sheds its negative connotations in this context, this book affirms the term "women drivers" by virtue of its overall conceit. In

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33 Marsh and Collett (in 1986) suggest that although women buy 40% of cars in the UK, they also have influence over men's buying patterns and therefore could affect 80% of purchase decisions (15).
contrast, J. L. Jennings's _Road Trips, Head Trips_ is a collection of essays, poems, and stories by men and women, the cover of which says that it "explores our love affair with the automobile." Though she highlights gender in her introduction, the practice of bringing men's and women's texts together under one cover and one theme goes some way towards breaking down distinctions and including women road writers in the mainstream.

In evaluating her past, Jennings notes that she was always "trying to be a guy" (vii). After years of role play, she has a revelation and notes: "As it turns out, my life has not really been about being a guy or being a woman. All along I have simply been trying to do the things I love to do" (xi). Jennings declares the guy/girl dichotomy a farce here, pronouncing the struggle to perform as a "car guy" a waste of time. Like Scharff, she shows that representations based on an apparent need to differentiate masculine from feminine, rather than to reflect actuality, constrain both men and women (Scharff 165-75).

Hazleton (although she professes at one point not to love cars [160]), fetishizes automobiles with the very design of her journey: a pilgrimage to their holy sites. Hazleton has a very different relationships with her Ford Expedition from that of Penelope to The Compact Pussycat. The former is knowledgeable about all aspects of mechanics and all methods of driving. Her borrowed sport utility vehicle is more traditionally masculine than feminine. However, she denies that she is a "car guy," defining this species as one which celebrates cars with a "torrent of clichés." whereas she wants to "reach deeper," to "journey into the heart, soul, and wallet of the enduring American obsession with the car" (8). Coster identifies a similar species in the truck world, differentiating truckers who see trucks merely as means to complete a task, from those who relish talking at considerable length on their CB radios about technical details (194). Hazleton suggests "car guys" are superficial, engage in tedious technospeak ("the usual litany of male automotive appreciation, recited entirely in numbers" [220]), and want to complete pointless hyper-masculine tasks like driving slower than walking pace on the Rubicon Trail (82). She describes her companions on this trail as "car
guys' in a way I would never be nor want to be, however deep my involvement with cars" (71). Hazleton goes some way towards deconstructing the guy/girl dichotomy by moving "car guys" to the underprivileged side. She mixes masculine and feminine characteristics by describing "car guys" as superficial, a trait traditionally associated with girls according to Scharff (119).

Tuttle provides a more extreme challenge to gender coding of human-car relationships in The Bad Girl's Guide to the Open Road. In addition to giving car maintenance tips to empower women drivers and promoting female love of cars (142), she goes so far as to describe the automobile as "a huge vibrator on wheels" (59). Her fetishizing "road sisters" reverse the norm by threatening to replace men with cars. The hot pink vinyl cover of The Bad Girl's Guide reverses the usual good glamour-girl signification of Penelope Pitstop-Barbie-Mary Kay-pink. The term "bad" for girls with guy characteristics does not conform to the dominant coding in this case because Tuttle uses it to signify "empowered" as well as "naughty."

Although women road writers perform extreme guy roles, either for novelty or to open up new liberating spaces, some aspects of guyhood are neither positive nor liberating. While Penelope would benefit from being a mechanic, becoming a fetishizer is constraining. A woman motorist may benefit from the artistic expression customizing offers (as illustrated by many of the stories in Root's book), but she may well wish to avoid the dehumanizing effect of being possessed by a car. Christine's driver is a fictional warning: Arnie Cunningham as ultimate fetishizer becomes dehumanized, drops everyone who loves him for his car, and finally becomes a psychotic killer at her wheel. 34

A driver who does not fetishize automobiles is freer to point out their faults, including detrimental effects on the environment. Lackey notes that the vast majority of road writers, in thrall to the romance of the car, fail to point out its environmental

34 Although Christine is an extreme fictional example, Morgan demonstrates that cars can affect human behaviour. Fifty year-old Morgan describes feeling compelled to flirt with a nineteen year-old girl because of his Porsche (56). He also feels obliged to act like a wealthy person, even though he is not (the Porsche is borrowed) (30; 34). Car clothes can therefore construct identity as well as reflect it.
consequences (40-41). Contemporary women road writers are better positioned to problematize the freedom promised by the car than men. This is not a result of any biological determinacy but is due, first, to the history outlined above which has made women less likely to fetishize cars and, second, because they began to gain access to the driver's seat just as environmental issues started to gain ground. I wish to avoid essentializing however, by noting that late-century male writers such as Morgan and Codrescu address environmental issues and it is not too late for some women to be fetishizing "car guys" judging by Tuttle and examples in Root's book. Hazleton is conscious of the contradiction in her love of the automobile and desire for a sustainable environment (35; 60; 72). She also highlights the fact that her freedom is dependent on mind-numbing labour by joining the production line at a Saturn plant (249-56). In this way, although she problematizes the freedom offered by the automobile, Hazleton collapses the dichotomy further than women writers who seriously represent car guydom as one hundred percent desirable.

3.3 MARKETING AND RECEPTION

That women writers are not in full control of their narrative vehicles is illustrated by the examples of past and present representations of women and cars given above. With knowledge of their histories, women road writers can exploit or deconstruct dominant representations to an extent. However, their ability to create new female spaces or enter male spaces with their narrative vehicles is also constrained by issues of how publishers and readers place women and cars within travel writing and literature in general.

The increased visibility of travel books over the last twenty-five years has led to marketing strategies which either seek to align texts with influential predecessors or foreground the difference of a new book from its contemporaries. For instance the cover of Fletcher's Almost Heaven reads: "An enthralling, addictive book to compare with John Steinbeck's Travels with Charley or Bill Bryson's Lost Continent." This aligns Fletcher's book with the classic roadlogue on the United States and a
contemporary bestseller. The first allusion authenticates it; the second is designed to attract the myriads who enjoy Bryson. Both illustrate the fact that the genre is male-dominated.

The opposing strategy is to emphasize a book's uniqueness by focusing on, for example, unusual vehicle, route, or quest choice. Lawrence notes that travel writers were pressured to find new angles in the eighteenth century due to a saturated market (24). Presumably the situation is much exacerbated by the 1990s. The female sex of a roadlogue's writer can be a marketing opportunity; it is a way to promote the difference (albeit often a superficial or problematic difference) of one road trip book from the majority of others. Due to the history of representations of women and cars, a lone woman motorist is bound to arouse curiosity, especially in a genre in which the narrating persona plays such a prominent role. Thus, through a combination of marketing and reader expectations, writers such as Hazleton can become as interesting as specimens/spectacles as the places/people they visit.

Construction of narrating personae is, therefore, partially out of the hands of the writer. Although this discussion up to now has assumed that Driving to Detroit is one text with one narrating persona, the reality is more complex, as revealed by an analysis of marketing in two separate editions. The inside cover of The Free Press edition, first published in the United States in 1998, shows a small headshot in which Hazleton is dressed in nostalgic male driver fashion (see Figure 6). She wears a leather jacket with upturned collar. Her short, straight hair is tucked under a flat tweed cap. Her eyes look straight at the viewer, and she does not smile, seeming to mean business. This edition was shelved under Travel Narratives and/or General Automobiles in large American chain bookstores in 1999.

In stark contrast, the Scribner edition, first printed in Britain in 1999, positions its larger black and white headshot in the centre of a bright red, glossy page inserted

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35 Both editions are published by divisions of Simon and Schuster and both have identical page numbering.

36 Bookstores researched include Borders, and Barnes and Noble in Los Angeles.
next to the back cover (see Figure 7). In this picture, slightly more of Hazleton's upper body is shown. She has no hat and her hair is longer and softly curled. A flowery blouse contrasts with the leather jacket of the previous picture. A slight smile softens her eyes and makes them less staring and businesslike. In short, this picture emphasizes her femininity and aligns her more with romance writers than automotive journalists. This picture relates the message that her relationship with cars has not diminished her femininity. Though it could be interpreted several ways, one message this headshot constructs is: "Women who love cars don't have to be butch." It allays readers' and/or publishers' fears of the "ghost in the closet" of lesbianism which Inness (in Tough Girls) describes as lurking whenever women are represented as performing masculine roles (23).

The front covers of these editions converse with the photographs inside. On the cover of the Free Press edition the title is given as: Driving to Detroit: An Automotive Odyssey. In contrast, the cover of the Scribner edition foregrounds the sex of the writer. The title on the front in this instance is Driving to Detroit: Memoirs of a Fast Woman, below which is a quotation from feminist critic Naomi Wolf: "A writer who has always been ahead of the curve in illuminating women's unique relationship to speed, power and discovery." (Although this quotation appears in the other edition, it is given less prominence by being positioned on the back cover.) Though these images and texts could be read several ways, the Scribner edition appears to be marketed to attract a mainstream female readership.37

Marketing women's travel texts based on their difference from men's can lead to pitfalls. McGrath downplays her gender throughout her text and objects when a man she meets on the road groups her with "indomitable British traveller women" (45). She resists being reduced to a type. Some women prefer not to be identified as "women writers" because of the label's potential connotations of second class status and threat to individuality.

37 For a thorough discussion of how marketing affects authorial persona and genre see Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik, "Extremely Valuable Property: The Marketing of Rebecca."
The recent spate of anthologies and other books on women and cars and/or motorcycles is linked to the increased visibility of women's travel writing anthologies in general in the 1990s.³⁸ It is part of the larger move to commodify women's literature.³⁹ Though this creates increased publishing opportunities for women road writers, it has drawbacks. Focus on a writer's female sex can lead to women's travel writing being valued for extraordinariness rather than for literary merit, as Mills notes (Discourses 110-12). It can also lead to pigeonholing and essentialism. For instance, if a bookstore were to shelve Erika Lopez's motorcycle trip Flaming Iguanas: An Illustrated All-Girl Road Novel Thing under Lesbian Literature alone, it would likely reduce its circulation and weaken its chances to join or replace canonical male road novels. Hazleton's Driving to Detroit, whether by design or accident, had the best of several worlds in 1999 by appearing under Women's Studies, Travel Writing, and General Automobile in American chain bookstores. Her articles appear in automotive magazines with predominantly male readers and Elinor Nauen's edited anthology, Ladies, Start Your Engines: Women Writers on Cars and the Open Road, presumably directed at a female readership. Hazleton is able to escape confinement to the category of "extraordinary" or "eccentric woman."

3.4 WOMEN ROAD WARRIORS
This chapter has demonstrated that representations of women and cars provide a useful barometer to measure the relationship of women to the male-dominated American roadlogue in the postwar period.⁴⁰ Of those car commercials of the late 90s aimed at the female market, a large proportion uses promises of freedom from traditional gender roles and/or authority to attract buyers. In one example, the car enables a woman to


³⁹ See Holland and Huggan 113 and Clare Hanson, "Marketing the 'Woman Writer'" regarding the commodification of women's literature.

⁴⁰ An alternative barometer might be intertextual influence (addressed in Chapters Seven and Eight).
leave her boyfriend (Renault Clio), in another it recaptures a rebellious childhood (Fiat Seicento), in another it enables a driver to punish her passenger-boyfriend for ogling other women (Fiat Punto), and in another series it is a means for female companions to have humorous (legal, socially acceptable) adventures together in much toned-down versions of *Thelma & Louise* (Peugeot 106). These examples, aired on television in the United Kingdom in 1999, give much more agency to women drivers than that enjoyed by Penelope Pitstop. They are also more empowering to women than 1920s advertising which mostly marketed cars to housewives to help them fulfill their familial duties, rather than to single, employed women to give freedom from domesticity (Scharff 118).

However, late-twentieth-century dominant media representations, like their predecessors, remain bound by contemporary notions of the acceptably feminine. First, these examples illustrate that women's cars remain smaller and less powerful than those targeted at the male market. Thelma & Louise would likely have caused much less controversy if its protagonists had driven a diminutive, non-threatening Peugeot 106 rather than a 1966 Thunderbird convertible. Second, it is difficult to imagine a commercial in this period showing a woman taking to the road in order to become sexually promiscuous, or to leave her children. By their construction of women's relationships with cars, these commercials illustrate that the anonymity and escape from domesticity afforded to males by the road trip remain less than fully accessible to females if they are unwilling to seriously challenge gender boundaries.

As pointed out earlier, women narrators taking on "car guy" roles can serve to reinforce guy/girl dichotomies. A common criticism of women's travel writing is that it largely conforms to masculine paradigms and is insufficiently disruptive; that it enters male territory without opening up new female spaces. However, as I have demonstrated by discussion of dominant representations and issues of marketing and

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41 For instance, they can be usefully compared with the advertisements for trucks and sport utility vehicles aimed at men which dominate the commercial breaks during American football games on the sports network ESPN.

42 See Holland and Huggan 132.
reception, women writers have limited control over their narrative vehicles, making any unqualified criticism of their shortcomings unfair.

Despite the limits imposed by certain textual constraints, when compared with the commercials mentioned above, it is apparent that contemporary women road writers do more to disrupt and resist constraints than dominant media representations. There are various strategies open to women road writers who wish to pass Penelope Pitstop, as outlined by this discussion. To summarize: they can downplay gender construction and cars (McGrath), explore it with a serious inquiry (Hazleton), or expose it with extreme role reversal and shock tactics (Tuttle). Women can seek to appropriate all aspects of being a "car guy" (Root, Tuttle), or take on the positive while rejecting the negative traits (Hazleton). Women can redress the sex imbalance in representation of people-car relationships by anthologizing women's stories (Nauen, Root), or bring women writers in from the margins by grouping their car narratives with men's (J.L. Jennings).

It is difficult to gauge which strategies are most disruptive. Women-only anthologies are hampered in that they do not entirely escape the "glamour gal of the gas pedal" image and are presumably targeted to only female readers. However, their contribution to the increased visibility of women and cars in road literature during the 1990s is significant. Marked (or prompted) by Thelma & Louise, a late-century cross-generic challenge to the postwar male-dominated road trip suggests that women road

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43 At least, Tuttle is more disruptive at the level of the text. In practice, her book has a much more narrow circulation than television commercials and thus its impact is limited. Tuttle is most likely only read by women, whereas commercials targeted at women are inevitably viewed by both sexes. For additional analysis of car advertising see Jenny Rice and Carol Saunders, "Mini Loves Dressing Up: Selling Cars to Women," which gives a useful analysis of how the Mini has been marketed as a mini skirt. Rice and Saunders argue (in 1998) that although women have moved from being passengers to drivers in the past 30 years, and purchase 50% of all the new cars in the UK, advertisements lag behind women's advances and still market small cars to them using gender stereotypes. Also regarding advertising, see Tim O'Sullivan, "Transports of Difference and Delight: Advertising and the Motor Car in Twentieth Century Britain," in addition to Scharff, Dettelbach, and Marsh and Collett.

44 In addition to the anthologies on women and cars mentioned in this discussion, several books on women and motorcycles have appeared during the 1990s. See Debbie Kuehn and Alyn M. Shannon, Women of the Road, and Ann Ferrar, Hear Me Roar: Women, Motorcycles, and the Rapture of the Road. It is interesting to note that in March 2001, amazon.com listed other books bought by people who bought Women of the Road as Angler's Fantasy 2001, Fast Dates Pin-up Calendar, and Iron and Lace (a Harley Davidson Calendar).
writers are beginning to lose their novelty status. This rise in representations of (more empowered) women and cars is part of what Inness identifies as a significant increase in the last thirty years (from Penelope Pitstop's era onwards) in "tough girls" in popular culture who challenge traditional gender roles by adoption of masculine traits (178). Although she does not analyze travel writing, Inness's criteria for measuring "toughness" are useful to measure how far Hazleton's narrating persona in Driving to Detroit exceeds gender norms. Inness claims that tough girls are compromised when they become passive sex objects for men, are not as tough as tough men, or have maternal instincts (161-68). For the purposes of this discussion, gauging how far women escape domesticity is more useful than considering mothering alone.

Penelope Pitstop is compromised because her primary function is to be a spectacle for the male gaze. Despite the fact that she features in a cartoon principally targeted at children, the sexual allure of her outfit (both regular clothes and car-clothes) is obvious. Her status as "lovely glamour gal" differentiates her from her male competitors who are, in the description of The Wacky Races line-up (partially quoted at the opening of this paper), largely introduced by name and vehicle alone rather than attributes like attractiveness. Penelope is also compromised because, embodying feminine vulnerability, she needs to be rescued. In contrast, Hazleton is a subject rather than an object and is to be taken seriously as a professional automotive journalist who is equal to men in knowledge and control of cars. She describes the state of "semi-domesticity" which allows her to roam in response to schoolchildren who ask her if she has a husband to travel with, illustrating that norms of propriety in women's travel are established at an early age (217). Hazleton both challenges social norms and is indicative that they are slowly changing.

Tuttle pushes boundaries further than Hazleton. Though there is some ambiguity in this book due to its spoof-guide status (one is not always certain of what is serious and what is ironic), it largely urges women to abandon the trappings of

\[45\] Inness considers such examples as Wonder Woman, Charlie's Angels, and Xena the Warrior Princess.
conventional feminine beauty and exploit men for casual sex (16-17). Road sisters (who travel alone or with each other) are certainly not glamour gals. Once they see the car as a "freedom fighter" rather than the socially conditioned view of it as a "motorized shopping cart" (48), road sisters are free to shun make-up and have bad hair (16-17), chew tobacco (54), and relish urinating at the side of the road (123). Tuttle's guide encourages road sisters to perceive breakdowns as opportunities to exercise their creativity, rather than times to wait to be rescued (145). Tuttle pushes the envelope further by suggesting to the female reader about to take a road trip: "Remove your wedding ring: Why risk losing it—or all those free drink opportunities—along the way?" (46). Perhaps her most controversial tip is: "If you have children, don't ever bring them with you. It's so easy to lose small things on the road" (31). These suggestions are made partially in jest (perhaps to make them more easily digestible). However, the fact that they jar reveals the bias which naturalizes and makes acceptable the urge of men (such as Steinbeck, Fletcher, and Morgan) to leave spouses and children for lone road trips, but constructs as uncaring or unnatural those women who do likewise.

I do not wish to suggest that becoming a fully-fledged road sister would be an empowering experience for all women if it meant abandoning their families. Neither do I wish to privilege lone women's road trips over couple trips or kin trips. As previously noted, taking on all aspects of "car guyness" is not necessarily desirable. However, writers like Tuttle and Hazleton clearly identify those biases which limit women's road freedom. They challenge the naturalness of men's close relationships with cars and the road by revealing their underpinning cultural construction, thus showing women that they have a choice as to how they perform gender. Tuttle's road sisters (though often humorously unrealistic) have total control of their cars and bodies, providing an empowering woman road warrior myth, which might mark a welcome shift in the representation of female motorists as we move into the twenty-first century.

46 Although, as mentioned in Chapter One, I believe that lone road trips tend to make the best writing postwar.
Fig. 1. Penelope Pitstop Model Sheet from Cartoon Network: Dept. of Cartoons, Wacky Races (2 Sep. 1999) <http://www.cartoonnetwork.com/doc/wackyraces/index.html>.
Fig. 2. The Compact Pussycat by Jerry Eisenberg and Iwao Takamoto from John Schmidt, *The Wacky Races* (2 Sep. 1999) <http://www.hotlink.com/wacky/>.

Fig. 3. The Turbo Terrific by Jerry Eisenberg and Iwao Takamoto from John Schmidt, *The Wacky Races* (2 Sep. 1999) <http://www.hotlink.com/wacky/>.

Fig. 4. The Arkansas Chugabug by Jerry Eisenberg and Iwao Takamoto from John Schmidt, *The Wacky Races* (2 Sep. 1999) <http://www.hotlink.com/wacky/>.
Fig. 5. The Convert-a-Car by Jerry Eisenberg and Iwao Takamoto from John Schmidt, The Wacky Races (2 Sep. 1999) <http://www.hotlink.com/wacky/>

Fig. 6. Photograph by Catherine Bassetti from Lesley Hazleton, Driving to Detroit: An Automotive Odyssey (New York: The Free Press, 1998).

Fig. 7. Photograph by Lesley Hazleton from Lesley Hazleton, Driving to Detroit: Memoirs of a Fast Woman (London: Scribner, 1999).
CHAPTER FOUR
NARRATIVE VEHICLES: AUTOMOBILES AND THE ROAD WRITER'S GAZE

4.0 THE TOURIST GAZE VERSUS THE ROAD WRITER'S GAZE

Chapters Two and Three discussed ways in which aspects of a writer's identity affect (and are reflected in) roadlogues. The next two chapters are concerned with the ways in which the physical conditions of road trip travel put in place by vehicles and highways, along with the discursive boundaries set up in their representation, affect journeys and their translation into texts. The focus is, therefore, both on how journeys are framed and filtered for travellers by vehicles and roads in addition to how road rhetoric and genre conventions reframe and distill the journey for readers.

Following Urry's model in *The Tourist Gaze* (1), chapters Four and Five focus on how the road writer's gaze is constructed, reinforced, and authorized, within the broader contexts of travelling and writing. Broadly speaking, construction involves what items are included in (or excluded from) the gaze and how they are framed. Authorization involves how roadlogue discourse legitimates a perspective, such as through the privileging of certain vehicles or routes. Reinforcement involves the fixing of norms for representation, such as establishment of a romantic gaze. These categories can be used to unpack roadlogue discourse, although it should be kept in mind that they overlap in practice; that is, what authorizes constructs, what constructs reinforces, and so on.

Chapters Four and Five combine Urry's model of social systems with Mills's notion of textual constraints. How vehicles and roads affect the gaze before writing is considered, along with the ways in which the gaze is reconstituted by writing due to influences exerted by markets and genre conventions. Though Urry establishes that the tourist gaze is not universal, he is nevertheless able to identify a number of "minimal characteristics" common to all tourism summarized below. Tourism involves:

1 See Chapter One, sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2.

2 See Chapter Three, section 3.0.
A) leisure as opposed to "regulated and organised work."
B) a journey resulting in short term relocation of people away from home.
C) objects to gaze on unrelated to regular work/life which are often recorded with photographs (emphasizing their visual aspect),
D) the collection of signs (for example, of Frenchness),
E) services to accommodate tourists,
F) anticipation of tourism generated "through a variety of non-tourist practices such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records and videos, which construct and reinforce that gaze"), and
G) tourist professionals who "attempt to reproduce ever-new objects of the tourist gaze" located in a "complex and changing hierarchy" (Urry 2-3).

This list makes it clear that a tourist from one culture is not free simply to look upon another culture without a number of sociological, political, practical, and entrepreneurial trappings interrupting and forming that gaze. This is equally true for the British writer in the United States, although Urry's criteria need to be adapted and built upon to illuminate the road writer's gaze.

Firstly, the writer's journey does not involve a clear distinction between work and leisure. The road trip is taken in order to produce income (compare with Urry's point A). Objects of the gaze are represented in a text that needs to sell, rather than in a photograph album that functions to impress friends or to record family memories (see point C). Writers' gazes and their representations are, therefore, affected by such market forces as publisher preferences, reader expectations, and other travel texts.

Secondly, although road trips involve relocation from a writer's regular home, the nature of the narrative vehicle and its occupants can reduce the distance between home and away. For instance, a lone writer on a motorcycle is arguably more distant from home than one who travels in a RV with family members. The extent to which a narrative vehicle is like home has implications for the mobile gaze with regard to framing and what objects of the gaze are focused on (for instance, the landscape outside the window, the self, or a spouse in the passenger seat) (see point B).
Thirdly, the road trip privileges the collection of certain signs of Americanness connected to driving and the roadside. Road trips construct the United States as "a road" in many ways (see point D). Several objects of the gaze are not independently selected or viewed by road writers but include services and sights designed to accommodate tourists. For instance, writers may feel pressured to visit the Grand Canyon because it is such a well known site. They view the Canyon through structures put in place by the National Park Service (see E and G). Finally, how non-tourist texts such as television, literature, and film affect the British road writer's gaze is discussed at length in Chapters Seven and Eight (see F).³

This chapter illuminates the construction, reinforcement, and authorization of the road writer's gaze by surveying case studies and other roadlogues using comparative analysis (based on Urry's differential model). Writers' gazes can be compared either on the grounds of type of narrative vehicle (motorcycle, car, truck, RV), or route (circular or crossing, national or regional), and object of gaze (a car, a road, the self, history, literature, religion). Roadlogues also compare themselves to each other through the use of genre conventions or by directly quoting other texts. Therefore, the following analysis seeks to place case studies in their textual (as well as historical) contexts.

The present chapter explores the discourse used by writers which constructs their gazes in relation to their narrative vehicles. Although how road writers' gazes are constructed on journeys is considered, emphasis is on how they are represented in texts. Each writer's gaze is constructed in alliance with, and in opposition to, other road trippers' gazes through the establishment of hierarchies. The pressure of an intended readership is revealed through the rhetoric writers use to authorize their gazes.

³ As there is insufficient space here to discuss all the components of the road writer's gaze, the focus is on those most pertinent to the road trip and to the mobile gaze: the vehicle and the road. Other major factors affecting the gaze, such as national identity and gender, are discussed in Chapters Two and Three. As previously mentioned, intertextuality in roadlogues with special reference to directly referring to/quoting other writers is discussed in Chapter Seven. Chapter Eight concerns the static gaze when driving stops.
The following discussion identifies and surveys the major criteria which road writers use to establish and evaluate their mobile perception. Individual binaries or small metaphors set up hierarchies which fit into the umbrella (though unstable) dichotomy of tourist versus traveller. These criteria include: the purchase and/or outfitting of the vehicle, the view from the driver's seat as reality versus virtual reality, and the vehicle as social space. The most space is devoted to discussing the second area because it sets up dichotomies which the following section connects with. Subcomponents of larger dichotomies are identified which reveal where categories overlap. Road perception in primary case studies is contextualized by consideration of the history of automotive travel and other roadlogues from previous and contemporary eras.

4.1 VEHICLES AND BAGGAGE

It was noted in Chapter Two, section 2.3, that arrival and departure scenes are significant in travel narratives. Rather than arrival scenes per se, vehicle purchase and outfitting scenes are key in roadlogues because they are used to authorize the gaze by establishing a legitimate perspective for the writer. Such scenes frequently appear in the initial chapters of highway narratives. They signal how the writer's reading of the landscape is to be filtered and framed through the type of vehicle selected and what is included in/excluded from a writer's actual (or recorded) baggage. Employment of the purchase/outfitting scene convention reinforces the gaze by establishing road trip norms and signalling membership in the roadlogue genre. The details of these scenes work intertextually to ally writers' trips with certain aspects of their predecessors' journeys, whilst also marking what distinguishes and individualizes their gazes.

4 It should be noted that some road trippers use a variety of modes of transport (such as Kerouac's Sal Paradise who hitch hikes, takes the Greyhound, and drives/rides in automobiles). Other examples are Younge, H. Williams, Condon, and Wood who take the Greyhound and rent cars.

5 As mentioned in Chapter Three, section 3.1.

6 As noted above, Urry discerns that the tourist gaze is not universal but individual and contextual (3).
Heat-Moon's outfitting of his camper van in *Blue Highways* authorizes his gaze by echoing similar scenes in the narratives of his influential predecessors. His baggage includes a sleeping bag, basin and jug, Navy clothes, and tool kit (8). It is reminiscent of Steinbeck's outfitting of his camper in *Travels with Charley* (6-11), and of Pirsig's packing of his motorcycle in *Zen* (47-49). By showing careful planning in the inclusion of items meant to promote self-sufficiency, these three scenes establish sensible, frugal narrators on serious quests. Pirsig takes a tent while the other two have relatively rough camper vans in comparison to the luxury RV's of Abraham (in *First We Quit*) and Collins (in *Across America*). Their outfitting scenes establish Steinbeck, Pirsig, and Heat-Moon as seasoned travellers with serious purposes.

Meanwhile, Mayle's journey-preparation scenes (in *The Burial Brothers*) parody passages from canonical roadlogues and thereby challenge their norms, as shown in the following example: "All good Eagle Scouts know, any big trip into the woods requires extensive planning and preparation, and this one was no exception. We spent the next two mornings researching one of the most important purchases for this ride, the car stereo" (14). Additional details are given a few pages later:

> Through the back door of the hearse we'd stacked a couple of cases of beer, two Central and South American guide-books, two road maps, a bin-liner of clothes, one skateboard, one set of woolly ear-muffs from K-mart, one St. Christopher, one Our Lady of the Highway charm, a Martini kit, a First-Aid kit, a vacu-packed kielbaasa sausage and finally the *Manual de Lambada* (beginner's guide). (19)

Mayle's clothes, which include "3 Hasidic long coats, top hats, and white gloves" (18), contrast with the practical, inconspicuous, all-cotton, all-weather, layered outfits of Heat-Moon, Pirsig, and Steinbeck. More serious road writers sometimes include one quirky item in the packing list to endow the traveller with character. For instance, Heat-Moon has "1 Coleman cooler (empty but for a can of chopped liver a friend had given

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7 See Abraham 16-22, Brook 8, Collins 5-7, and Duncan 42-43 for other examples of purchase and/or outfitting scenes at the beginning of roadlogues.
me so there would always be something to eat)" (8), while Duncan has: "Fifteen pints of New Hampshire maple syrup (gifts)" (42). However, Mayle's list consists mostly of quirky items and functions to construct his idiosyncratic perspective.

As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the primary case studies which foreground the narrative vehicle are those by Coltrane, Coster, and Hazleton. Coltrane spends considerable narrative space (though only a day in time) selecting his dream machine from amongst several vintage car dealerships in Los Angeles (e.g., 20-22). As previously mentioned, Hazleton's first chapter ends with a description of the motivation behind her trip including an introduction to her "magnificent steed" (11). She seeks an American vehicle which can go off road, is comfortable for long drives, and has room for her to "stretch out a sleeping bag in the back" (11). The "Large and imposing" borrowed red Ford Expedition with "lots of power" fits her bill (12).

As Coster's journeys are taken with different lorry and truck drivers in their own vehicles, his narrative does not open with a single outfitting scene. Rather, he begins each journey with a description of each new truck which establishes his gaze for each section (e.g., 41-42; 148-51). Coster travels in a variety of trucks from the Peterbilt of "louche luxuriance" (148), to the no-nonsense "pure truck" Kenworth (148), to the rough "workhorse" Mack, "too often the first choice at the front of a coalbucket. Not pretty, not a style accessory: a brick shithouse on wheels" (231-32). However, the opening paragraph of A Thousand Miles functions to construct his gaze in relation to his chosen vehicles as a whole:

Lorry is the weak-chinned word we use in Britain: looks like 'worry', sounds like 'sorry'. Size does not mitigate - on the contrary, the bigger the worse: 'heavy lorry', we sniff, as in 'heavy cold'. The proper word, of course is an emphatic riposte, a defiant clenching of teeth, sounds like something else altogether. So let's get it said straight away in all its Anglo-Saxon uncouthness. TRUCK! (3)

8 See Chapter Three, section 3.1 for further discussion of Coltrane's purchase scene.
This opening establishes a binary rhetoric opposing the impotent/unromantic lorry and the potent/romantic truck that fixes the norms through which Coster represents trucking in Europe versus the States in the body of the text.

Though narrative vehicles feature less prominently in the roadlogues of Davies, McGrath, and McLean, each nevertheless devotes considerable narrative space to the issues of driving and perception on the road. In contrast, Younge gives more space to describing the Freedom Rides than his own experiences on Greyhound. McGrath and McLean do not include vehicle purchase/outfitting scenes, neither do they begin with any kind of discussion of the relationship of the narrative vehicle to their gazes. However, though Davies neglects his vehicle for most of his narrative, Freeways opens with a scene in a used car lot in Tulsa that uses evocation of the nostalgia and romance of the road trip to reinforce his gaze: "The man was trying to sell me a Lincoln Zephyr, avocado green and perched on a ramp at the entrance to his used lot. [...] I was still in High School when the Zephyr rolled off the production line in Detroit. I touched the wheel, willing it to tell me some stories" (11). The Zephyr puts Davies in mind of Kerouac's road romance On the Road (Davies 11).

Davies's gaze is authorized through explicit intertextual reference to the quintessential highway narrative. However, after invoking the romance of the big American gas guzzlers of Kerouac's day, he decides to purchase a small, economical Honda in contrast, implicitly legitimating his purchase because it maintains his outsider's gaze (11-21). Davies's vehicle is modest, as is McGrath's "wretched car" (3). Davies describes his Honda as having worn paintwork and a manual transmission (rough compared to the American driver's norm) and purchases it with no guarantee, adding a little frisson of risk (19-20). In contrast, Collins from his RV, Coltrane from his Cadillac, Coster from his big rigs, and Hazleton from her Ford Expedition arguably have more American gazes than Davies's and each collect major signs of Americanness (see Urry's point D). Soutter intends to have an American gaze by using a luxurious

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9 For further discussion of this scene, see Chapter Seven, section 7.2.2.

10 McLean drives a Chevrolet but excludes any details on it from his text except its colour (130).
'73 Dodge Sedan as his narrative vehicle, purchased on an earlier trip to the States and stored in a friend's chicken shed in Georgia. However, he is forced to purchase a more modest Datsun with "no fancifications whatever" after he sadly finds that pack rats have murdered his "sleeping princess" (79; 14).

The above examples of purchase/outfitting scenes demonstrate that they authorize and reinforce road writers gazes through a complex, contradictory web of definitions of the roughing it versus luxury travel dichotomy linked to romantic, nostalgic, and utilitarian gazes. One strain of discourse privileges roughing it over luxury travel, associating the former with travel and the latter with tourism. This hierarchy plays on "travail" as the root of the word travel; travel should be challenging and difficult to be a worthwhile experience (that is, work not leisure, a reversal of Urry's point A). Roughing it usually signifies a traveller who is prepared to take risks, as opposed to the cosseted and protected tourist.11

Mark Twain's (ostensibly autobiographical) Roughing It is an appealing predecessor of the roadlogue which recounts his rollicking adventures on the rough stage roads of the gold rush era. Though late-twentieth-century drivers do not face the same hazards, they can ally themselves with earlier travellers who roughed it by travelling by bus. Greyhounds are usually constructed as clothes of social misfits and are the ultimate roughing it vehicle for the 80s and 90s.12 Kurtz notes that no one takes Greyhound unless they have no other choice (294). Therefore, travel writers who select Greyhounds (Kurtz, Younge, H. Williams) gain the stance of adventurers to an extent. RVs, meanwhile, are holiday attire for American tourists or everyday wear for retired North American couples (noted by e.g., Davies 55; Hazleton 94; McGrath 35-36, Soutter 123).

Road writers can also establish a "roughing it" stance by selecting older vehicles in bad condition. For instance, Bryson (in Lost Continent) borrows his mother's

11 Feifer points out that tough travel experiences were perceived to make a man of the Renaissance traveller (63).

12 As introduced in Chapter Three, section 3.1.1, vehicles are clothes which mark drivers according to such factors as gender, age, and social status.
"ageing Chevrolet Chevette" (13), and Fletcher (in Almost Heaven) drives "a battered old Dodge Colt" that has been in an accident (7). Battered, carefully restored, or retro-styled American vehicles are signs of Americanness for British writers to collect. A road writer who purchases or borrows a dream machine (such as a Cadillac, Ford Expedition, or Porsche) specifically for a road trip (as opposed to an everyday vehicle or standard rental car) emphasizes one of Urry's previously mentioned criteria of tourism: the distinction between the trip and everyday experience (Urry 3).

Those who rough it can emphasize a narrative vehicle's utilitarian function or, alternatively, use it to reinforce a nostalgic or romantic gaze. One type of nostalgia is for prewar travel when roads were rough, drivers and passengers were assaulted by dust and mud, and cars required constant maintenance. This privileges adventure travel by regretting that the postwar American road trip is no longer such a challenge. Second is nostalgia for an American dream machine from the 1950s through the 70s (or a contemporary one whose design is influenced by this period, such as chrome-covered Peterbilt trucks). Road writers who select vehicles from this era represent the past (or at least a romanticized construction of it) as the place of authenticity. Coltrane straddles the dichotomy of roughing it versus luxury travel by driving a Cadillac which is vintage and very attractive but has no air conditioning and requires high maintenance (22). Similarly, Hazleton diminishes the luxury of her brand new sport utility vehicle and aligns herself closer to the "traveller" by using it to drive rough roads and off road (e.g., 14).

As mentioned previously, travel and tourism involve the collection of gazes and signs (Urry 1-3). However, the road writer can also be an object of other people's gazes to varying degrees. Selection of a dream machine for a narrative vehicle, rather than an inconspicuous car, turns the writer into a spectacle and reduces the anonymity

13 See Jakle and Scharff for detailed histories of automobile travel.

14 Hazleton claims that she will leave accumulated dirt on it "as a badge of honor" (12).

15 See Urry 136-40 for a discussion of seeing and being seen. See also Chapter Three, section 3.3 for a discussion of women road writers as spectacles.
privileged by many constructions of the traveller. Awareness of being a spectacle can make a driver perform differently and thus view his or her surroundings from an altered stance.\footnote{Dew notes that the Amish shun cars in part because they believe they encourage "individualism, self-indulgence and the development of social status" (257). This is illustrated effectively (and also undermined) by a humorous, ironic Lexus television commercial aired in the US in 2000 which depicts a "geeky" guy driving his new sports car around town. Throughout the commercial the driver looks out of his open side window much more than through the windshield. His facial expressions indicate that the object of his gaze is an attractive woman whom he wants to impress. It is clear to the viewer that he would not be very conventionally attractive without his glamorous car clothes. The driver tries out various different poses and finally dons sunglasses to make himself look suave. At the end of the commercial, it is revealed to the viewer that all along the driver has been looking not at passers-by but at his own reflection in a glass building. He is so much a spectacle that he is the object of his own gaze.}

For instance, Steinbeck travels incognito because he believes revelation of his identity as a famous writer will diminish the value of his journey (5). For the most part, the case study writers do not describe themselves as spectacles. However, Coltrane increases his spectacle-factor with his Cadillac. He does not seek to diminish his status as a well known television and movie actor and object of people's gazes. Coltrane enjoys being noticed and remarks with satisfaction that drivers in Los Angeles uncharacteristically give way to him on the freeway because they respect his car (23). He is also aware of how "cool" he looks when driving in Las Vegas and New York (29; 168). Similarly, Coster expresses a preference for customized trucks driven by owner-drivers which stand out and give the opportunity for self-expression (in comparison to uniform fleet trucks) (153).\footnote{See Chapter Three, section 3.1.2 for further discussion of customized vehicles.}

Coster, Coltrane, and Hazleton wish to act out their conceptions of American individualism. Whereas American writers can express their individualism in any glamorous vehicle (such as Morgan's Porsche), British writers are more likely to reduce Americanness to American vehicles. An example can be found in Coltrane's description of being stopped for speeding:

To be stopped by an American cop on a motorbike was to play a part in a classic American scene, for Chrissakes, but the illusion had been shattered when I discovered the bike he was riding was, horror of
horrors, Japanese. If an alien like me had enough belief in an
automotive icon to cross the whole of America in a Cadillac why could
the Utah Police not patrol their beat on Harley Davidsons, Lord help us?
(60).

Using the typical perspective of a travel writer seeking difference, Coltrane wishes to
construct Americanness as more homogeneous than it is (see Urry's points C and D).
Through driving a Cadillac and writing American vocabulary ("Chrissakes"), Coltrane
mimics a purer version of Americanness than that exhibited by the police officer who
rides a "two-wheeled treason machine" (160). Hazleton also notes that her vehicle "had
to be American: this was an American journey and my goal was the mecca of American
cars" (11). 18 Younge provides an interesting contrast to Coster and Coltrane. When he
wishes to make a spectacle of himself in the South, it is to gain recognition of his
blackness. Rather than wanting to wear glamorous car-clothes to "play American,"
Younge feels the need to stand metaphorically naked and be recognized for who he
is. 19

While purchase and outfitting scenes establish certain aspects of the gaze, others
are put in place on the road. How mobile vehicles construct, authorize, and reinforce
aspects of the gaze is addressed below.

4.2 FROM WINDSCREEN TO TELEVISION SCREEN

One measure used to distinguish road gazes is the degree of contact and interaction with
the landscape. Pirsig privileges the motorcycle over the automobile along these lines:

You see things vacationing on a motorcycle in a way that is completely
different from any other. In a car you're always in a compartment, and
because you're used to it you don't realize that through the car window

18 Morgan's journey has a similar conception to Hazleton's: America's love affair with cars and the
road (2). His selection of a Porsche is authorized because this was the choice of James Dean (4).

19 See Chapter Two, section 2.3.3 for examples.
everything you see is just more TV. You're a passive observer and it is all moving by you boringly in a frame.

On a cycle the frame is gone. You're completely in contact with it all. You're in the scene, not just watching it anymore, and the sense of presence is overwhelming. That concrete whizzing by five inches below your foot is the real thing [...] the whole experience, is never removed from immediate consciousness. (14)

Pirsig's analysis brings up several interrelated issues that affect whether the gaze of the road tripper is focused on reality or virtual reality: passivity versus activity of the road tripper, framing, and the car as compartment.

4.2.1 From Active Drivers to Passive Passengers

One way to examine the level of activity of the road writer's gaze is the degree of control over the narrative vehicle. Coltrane and Hazleton are accomplished drivers and mechanics. Coster points out that truckers have to be more active than car drivers due to the sheer size of their vehicles, thus authorizing truckers' perspectives (28).

However, he fails a week-long truck driving course and remains a passive passenger throughout his travels (19-39).

In contrast to Coster's truckers, Davies characterizes himself as a passive driver when renting a car in Tulsa that "runs on computers" and feels the driver is "an optional extra some zealous designer reluctantly included as an afterthought" (17). Davies describes himself as ignorant regarding mechanics (20), and repeatedly represents the car or the landscape as in control throughout Freeways (13; 35; 63; 86). Insufficient mechanical knowledge renders McGrath vulnerable when her car breaks down in the desert (77-78). McLean notes in his second chapter that he only passed his driving test

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20 Their skills are discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.1.1, as is the relative power of driver versus passenger.

21 Driving in Tulsa, Davies remarks that "America had arrived" (rather than he had arrived) (13). Towns float past him on roads in the Oklahoma panhandle (35). Later he notes that "Another week has driven by on the road (63), and "A sign pulled us left to a state park ten miles off the highway" (86). See Chapter Five, section 5.2.2 for further discussion.
a month before the hair-raising experience of being chased by several large trucks hauling mobile homes through Louisiana (8-9). Competence as a driver and mechanic, especially applauded by Pirsig, leads to greater awareness and/or independence for the road writer and a greater level of activity and engagement with the road trip. Road writers who characterize themselves as inadequate drivers could reduce the legitimacy of their gazes by constructing themselves as amateurs, or reinforce a British gaze.

Another way to measure activity is through the degree of control over journeys. Early motorists applauded the automobile for the control it gave them over itineraries in contrast to trains (Belasco 19; Jakle 95; Lackey 40). A related measure is the extent to which routes are planned. In On the Road, Sal Paradise and a travelling companion are asked: "'Are you boys going to get somewhere, or just going?'" (22). Although spontaneity can signify purposelessness (and thus passivity), it is authorized by travel writers who use it to distinguish themselves from tourists tied to prefixed schedules. Paradise describes tourism as predictable and travel as unpredictable (135). Spontaneity constructs a more romantic gaze by increasing the element of chance and is reinforced by the picaresque tradition.

The dichotomy of planned versus spontaneous problematizes that of passivity versus activity, thus illustrating one of the many points of contradiction between traveller/tourist dichotomies. In one sense, writers who plan their routes are more active because they do not let chance dictate. Conversely, they are restricted by their set

22 For further examples of poor drivers, see Chapter Three, section 3.2 and Chapter Two, note 34.

23 According to Feifer, the traveller is an independent explorer in contrast to the tourist who follows a ready-made programme (2). Prepackaged tours diminish spontaneity and chance and insulate tourists from the "real" environment, presenting them with an ideal, simulated version. (This complies with Urry's points E, F, and G described above). See Chapter One, section 1.3.4 regarding different critics' distinctions between tourists and travellers.

24 For discussions of the picaresque, see Miller, and Harry Sieber, The Picaresque. For further discussion of chance and the tourist/traveller dichotomy, see Chapter 1, section 1.3.4. Spontaneous routes are also reinforced by the consumer culture of the late twentieth century. Lackey points out the similarity between spontaneous routes and shopping: "driving holds out the pleasures of consumption, choosing among 'new and varied' roads as mood dictates" (40). Driving as shopping is discussed further in section 4.2.2.
itineraries. Though Steinbeck's route is basically circular, he claims to disapprove of planned routes as follows: "I know some people who are so immersed in road maps that they never see the countryside that they pass through, and others who, having traced a route, are held to it as though held by flanged wheels to rails" (23).

Out of the primary case studies, McGrath's route is the most spontaneous. When asked where she is headed in Santa Fe near the beginning of her narrative, she responds: "Los Angeles?" while thinking, "I have no idea" (7). She never reaches California. McLean's route, though mostly planned day to day, has some guiding principles in that he intends to spend most of his time in Texas and make a pilgrimage to Turkey, Texas for the Bob Wills Memorial Day celebrations (246). Davies similarly has a vague endpoint in view. Early on he writes: "I've no route other than to head West" (22). Despite the second half of his title (A Journey West on Route 66) and his loose following of Steinbeck's Grapes, Davies's route is not minutely planned and detours away from The Mother Road. Younge's route is largely predetermined by the tyre tracks of the Freedom Riders from Washington DC to New Orleans (although he travels to Mississippi and Tennessee after Louisiana).

Hazleton's route is mostly preplanned, though the unexpected tragedy of her father's death interrupts her circular tour (227-28). Coltrane's journey is planned by television executives, while Coster's is set by trucking companies. Coster makes a further distinction between authentic and contrived routes: he privileges his journeys because they are part of the real lives of truck drivers, rather than artificially constructed by a travel writer for a book (5). He authorizes his stance by linking it to the perspective of workers rather than tourists or travellers (see Urry's point A).

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25 See Chapter Six, section 6.1.3 for a discussion of planned and spontaneous wandering routes in Two Roads to Dodge City.

26 This example privileges automobile over rail travel due to the element of choice (like examples given above). Steinbeck goes on to compare taking a large journey to writing a novel, expressing the need to take one day at a time rather than adopting a grand plan (23). This statement is authorized by the fact that he is a well-established novelist.
4.2.2 Road Frames

The framing function of narrative vehicles constructs the relationship between the observer and the observed that is fundamental to the gaze. Road writers build hierarchies related to framing in various ways. First is the opposition between no frame and frame, or large frame versus small. Second, vehicles can be ranked according to the metaphors associated with different types of frame. Pirsig privileges the motorcycle because it eliminates the frame. He authorizes the motorcyclist's gaze as that of a participant rather than an observer ("you're in the scene, not just watching it" [14]). In Pirsig's hierarchy, motorcycles are the most privileged vehicles, presumably followed by: prewar automobiles (which were completely open), modern convertibles, cars with sunroofs, and cars with completely closed tops.27

Removal of the frame is reinforced by many writers and critics. For instance, Jim Harrison, in "Log of the Earhttoy Drifthumper," describes driving standing up with his head poking through the sunroof to gain a fresh perspective while driving on cruise control (167). Hunter S. Thompson's narrator in Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas privileges the convertible, though his gaze is constructed more by hallucinatory drugs than the absence of a roof (1-3). Coltrane's Cadillac is also a convertible. Road writers in the early part of the twentieth century praised the automobile over the train because of the intimacy it afforded with the landscape (Belasco 29; Jakle Tourist 100; Lackey 33-35).28 For those who hold this position, the top and windscreen diminish the advantages of the modern car over the train.

Following on from the above hierarchy, vehicles with tops are often ranked according to the size of the windscreen. In this case, trains, buses, trucks, and RV's have the advantage over cars.29 Different metaphors are used: larger windscreens may be compared to cinema screens, while smaller ones equate with television. These

27 Open-top tourist buses adhere to this principle that a more authentic experience can be achieved with an increased level of environmental contact.

28 The type of road also affects connection with the landscape. This is discussed in Chapter Five, section 5.1.2.

29 For instance, see Coster 28-30 and Abraham 14 regarding the truck and the RV, respectively.

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metaphors can authorize larger screens because they appropriate more space. However, by emphasizing different similarities between a metaphor's vehicle and tenor, they may also be used to privilege what equates more closely with television due to the degree of virtual reality (discussed further below).

Not all writers adhere to Pirsig's rhetoric; many authorize the framing function of the windscreen. First, the windscreen can be positive in that it enables the driver to gain a perspective on the vast spaces of the American landscape. Anne Friedberg's study, Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern, examines the relation of the mobile, virtual gaze to postmodern subjectivity by tracing its development from the Claude glass, to the panopticon, diorama, panorama, photograph, television, and cinema.\(^{30}\) Though she is not concerned with driving, Friedberg's analysis of different kinds of framing devices is useful to distinguish road writers' gazes.

Friedberg links window shopping to the activity of the nineteenth century flâneur, a detached observer of city life cited by various critics as the predecessor of the contemporary travel writer (15-38).\(^{31}\) Driving as window shopping, (that is, disinterested consumption of spectacles), is lauded by some. Observing landscape through glass at high speed is privileged by writers who seek to reinforce their gazes with the norms of the romantic mode.\(^{32}\) The windscreen can provide the freedom to think, exercised by "road phenomenologists" (to use Lackey's phrase [7]) such as Baudrillard. It can also provide the freedom to construct new identities by transforming the environment into a spectacle.\(^{33}\)

The road trip as exploration of one's own identity, in addition to American culture and landscape, is often dependent on a detachment from physical surroundings

\(^{30}\) Lackey compares the automobile to binoculars and the Claude glass (4).

\(^{31}\) See Urry 138 for further discussion of the flâneur.

\(^{32}\) See Lackey 80-111 for a discussion of the influence of romanticism and American transcendentalism on the American highway narrative.

\(^{33}\) See Friedberg 84 regarding spectatorship and identity.
to be gained with a combination of windscreens, speed, and sometimes drugs.34 Examples of drivers on drugs include Ken Kesey's Pranksters in the bus Furthur described in Tom Wolfe's Electric Cool Aid Acid Test and Thompson's narrator in Fear and Loathing (mentioned above).35 Unlike Pirsig, many such road trippers seek to be removed from "immediate consciousness" of the concrete underfoot.36

Of those modern successors of the Claude glass noted by Friedberg, television and cinema are the most analogous to the driver's experience.37 Friedberg points out that the television-viewer is more active because of the ability to exercise choice with the remote control (fitting into the dichotomy of passive versus active). Road trips resemble television when the active driver uses them to collect a postmodern fragmented collage of views, in comparison with the more unified cinematic experience of the passive passenger on a prescribed tour.38

Whether writers authorize the virtual mobile gaze through the windscreen also depends on how they place themselves vis-à-vis the traveller/tourist dichotomy.39 Post-tourists such as Mayle and Condon acknowledge that authenticity is not a realistic goal, seek out the inauthentic, and revel in the playfulness of tourism. Mayle's vehicle and baggage selections indicate a traveller who intends to play with identities along the road.40 The "inauthentic" framed gaze from the car is, somewhat ironically, arguably the authentic postwar American experience, connected with social practices like cruising dependent on social structures such as straight roads and drive-ins.

34 The British word "windscreen" can be used to emphasize the way this vehicle component transforms landscape into spectacle, while the American term "windshield" emphasizes the way it protects the passenger from the environment and thus cuts him or her off from it.

35 See Chapter Three, section 3.1.2 for further discussion of driving and drugs.

36 See Chapter Five, section 5.2 for further discussion of driving consciousness.

37 Motorists often use a combination of the windscreen and the camera shutter to adapt to a place touristically. See Jakle Tourist 45.

38 Urry points out that in postmodernism, the unity of the artistic work is challenged through "pastiche, collage, allegory" and so on (85).

39 Interestingly, Pirsig sees no problem with admitting he is "vacationing" (14).

40 For further discussion of Condon as a post-tourist, see Chapter Six, section 6.2.
4.2.3 Mobile Homes and Palimpsests

The windscreen is not the only factor related to framing. In addition to the glass and steel of a vehicle's shell, gadgets and facilities such as air conditioning and stereos form layers between the driver and the roadside. The interior contents of the vehicle have two major effects on the gaze: a) they alter the level to which the vehicle becomes a mobile home, and b) they alter the level to which the driver superimposes interior experiences on the outer landscape (thus affecting delimitation of the field of objects).

The tourist gaze is constructed on a journey away from home (see Urry's point B). However, the road writer's distance from home is diminished when driving a mobile dwelling. Some writers privilege the vehicle as home by claiming it gives increased independence and enables them to be detached travellers. Steinbeck and Heat-Moon, for example, could be said to achieve closer contact with the environment and a greater sense of anonymity than those restricted to staying in hotels or motels. In contrast, others argue that mobile homes equate with tourist bubbles.

In addition to physical protection, a vehicle can provide the emotional sanctuary of home. Davies describes his Honda this way, explaining why he drives a walkable distance from motel to bar in Flagstaff as follows: "I guess it becomes a habit. Leave your own personal safe haven as the last resort" (69). As previously mentioned, when Caboose breaks down in the desert, the reader is aware of how vulnerable McGrath is without the shelter of her car: "Driving alone across the void is one thing, breaking down in the void feels significantly different, worse in fact. Looking down at the tyres I notice a piece of jack rabbit - timely intimation of mortality - lying smeared on the verge next to Caboose and awaiting the attentions of the raven demolition crew circling above" (78).

41 The independence afforded by mobile homes is, however, restricted by private property laws. Similarly, the sheer size of trucks and RVs restricts access to parking lots designed for cars and thus excludes drivers of these vehicles from many roadside attractions (e.g., Abraham 158).

42 A road writer in a home-like vehicle is also far removed from the protagonist of the heroic journey in which the hero leaves the safety of home to be tested. Kurtz reverses the norm of leaving home by claiming that she feels home has left her when the Greyhound drops her off in a remote place late at night (84).
In representations of the United States as a road, vehicle as home is often the norm. For instance, the car is the preferred refuge of many protagonists of outlaw road movies and provides a safe and empowering space in contrast to static locations where they are more vulnerable. Examples include Kowalski's Dodge Challenger in Vanishing Point and Louise's Thunderbird in Thelma & Louise. 43 McGrath constructs the vehicle-as-shelter as an American phenomenon. British writers who wish to indulge in American role play on the road might, therefore, privilege the most home-like vehicles. McGrath discerns that "Homelessness is a profound anxiety in the American psyche" and that the RV is a "mediator between fear of homelessness and fascination with freedom" (36). This follows an observation regarding the foreign appearance of RVs to Europeans. McGrath analyses their Americanness in one of her customarily authoritative passages which links the RV to western space, American wealth, and the American compulsion to possess leisure through recreation involving accumulation of experience (35).

Whereas RVs are authentic vehicles for American tourists or retirees, trucks are mobile homes for American workers. Coster spends some narrative space describing the interiors of trucks, privileging American ones over European ones due to the former's "in-cab videos, walk-in wardrobes, even waterbeds" (124). He notes that truck drivers' trucks are more home-like than their houses because truckers spend the majority of their lives on the road (68; 204). Coster authorizes the trucker's gaze through reinforcing the norm of the American lone ranger.

In addition to providing the comforts and security of home, internal gadgets such as air conditioning and stereos add layers to the outer landscape experienced by the road writer's gaze. These layers are, arguably, negative factors which reduce connection with the landscape and should be excluded from the gaze. For example, Condon describes driving as follows: "There are almost no cars on the road -- just our little white shell, air-conditioned and sound-proofed, travelling at Mach speed in the surrounding stillness" (178). It is likely that Condon's surroundings are not still in

43 See Chapter Eight, section 8.1 for a comparison of cars and motels as substitute homes.
reality, but rather perceived this way from his mobile tourist bubble. Road writers' limited gazes subsequently lead them to miss the complexities of places. However, layers can also be authorized as positive factors which are superimposed on the landscape and endow it with a more complex texture, or conceived of as intrinsic signs of the American road trip experience to be collected by the road writer.

Where air conditioning is concerned, some drivers forego it to get closer contact with the environment. Lack of air conditioning can be used by road writers to ally themselves with previous travellers such as pioneers and thus authorize their gazes as authentic through the traveller's trope of roughing it. For instance, Coltrane applauds his Cadillac's lack of air conditioning because it authenticates his nostalgic stance (22). However, those who reinforce the virtual reality gaze applaud a/c because it helps to transform a harsh desert landscape into television.

Similarly, the radio/stereo can be represented as a barrier, or as an intertextual layer which is an intrinsic part of the landscape and is given the same status by the text as roadside signs or landscape descriptions. For instance, Hazleton mentions listening to a Monty Python interview inside her Ford Expedition just before her accident (1). It is partially this radio show which convinces her that it is safe inside her truck and that she is protected from the dangers of the storm outside. The first line of her narrative is: "It was all Monty Python's fault" (1). Hazleton's radio, in this instance, cuts her off from her surroundings.

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44 Boorstin's notion of the tourist bubble is mentioned in Chapter One, section 1.3.4. Urry points out that air conditioning and a radio inside the car insulate the driver from the outside (61). Lackey claims that because the "automotive cocoon" allows (especially white drivers) to be cut off from the world, it leads to "much confident observation and very little honest confusion" (23).

45 Lackey holds this position, arguing that "Sweeping over the land often produces sweeping generalities, inspired perhaps by the repetition of forms, the sheer mass of novel phenomena, the enduring appeal of regional stereotypes, an outsider's eye, and the unlikelihood of rebuttal" (24). While this might be true of the mobile gaze, it should be kept in mind that many travel writers compensate for superficial journey experience with library research that is added to texts.

46 For instance, Soutter complains of driving in an air-conditioned car in Georgia on arrival there which cuts him off from "the embrace of the South" and thus reduces his sense of place (9). However, when outside the car he soon tires of the heat and humidity and long for a/c (13).
Meanwhile, what is on the radio for Coltrane is an intrinsic part of the local scenery. Bored by the visual display while driving through the plains, he turns to the radio for some entertainment: "Meanwhile on the radio the choice seemed to be between God and the Fatstock Prices. Welcome to Kansas" (66). In this short passage what is played on the airwaves is constructed as representing Kansas as much as the view out of the window. In this instance, the radio functions as a link to the world outside the car capsule rather than a barrier. Another example is the blind DJ in the road movie _Vanishing Point_ who is Kowalski's connection with the world. Super Soul speaks through the airwaves, giving practical advice (such as the whereabouts of the highway patrol) and spiritual guidance to the ex racing driver as he speeds from Colorado towards California. Therefore, though the radio can interfere with the experience of the natural landscape, there is also a sense in which it presides over and thus constructs the social space of the road network.

As opposed to radio, many writers consider their own choice of music to be an essential road trip layer. Coster (a musician as well as a writer) includes the question of why truckers like country and western music in his cultural inquiry. When he asks truckers about this, they usually reply that it fits with the landscapes they drive through and therefore reinforce its presence on road trips (64; 106; 173) (see Urry's point F). Coster spends some narrative space discussing the tapes played on his journeys and goes so far as to include a discography at the end of his narrative, presumably so readers can recreate his experience (274-75). Similarly, soundtracks are often fundamental components of road movies. The connection of rock music to road trips is established in _Easy Rider_ with Steppenwolf's "Born to be Wild." Music inside the

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47 In another instance, Hazleton authorizes the radio: "I'd determined not to use tapes or the CD player in the truck, but to let what was on the airwaves be part of wherever I was driving through." (33-34). See also Condon (93; 103) and Hazleton (190).

48 Dew, in _Travels in a Strange State_, points out the importance of traffic news to Americans (208).

49 Other examples of road writers who describe their own music include Collins (143; 170).

50 For analysis of _Easy Rider_ see Williams 58-60; Alastair Daniel, "Easy Rider"; and Barbara Klinger, "The Road to Dystopia: Landscaping the Nation in Easy Rider."
vehicle can therefore make a road trip simulate cinema or television even more closely than the windscreen alone. The priority Mayle gives to his stereo in the outfitting scene quoted previously does not necessarily make his gaze compare unfavorably with those of Heat-Moon and Steinbeck. Mayle's wish to be distanced somewhat from the landscape outside his hearse is reinforced by postmodern norms of pastiche and collage. The relationship between stereo and landscape can therefore be represented as one of modern unity, or postmodern discontinuity.

Internal layering can add to the construction of a postmodern distracted gaze. The compartmental nature of closed vehicles can also reinforce the norms of the romantic gaze. For many road trippers, an essential part of the authentic road trip is to be in a bubble cut off from the outside world. Sal Paradise, after all, privileges movement and is condescending towards tourists who stop to see the sights (e.g., 206). The blurred image of rapidly-passed scenery outside a vehicle window can be sublime for a twentieth-century traveller and promote contemplation and inner reflection. The road trip can provide the road writer with an outsider's perspective on the self. It does so for McGrath who notes that she follows her own image in her rearview mirror across Texas (1). A type of internal vehicle layer not discussed above which severely diminishes the state of contemplation is the presence of other people. This is the subject of the following section.

51 See Urry 85.

52 See also Chapter Five, section 5.1.1. Feifer points out that fashions change as regards what is considered a beautiful or appropriate object for the traveller/tourist to gaze upon. For instance, she discerns that dramatic mountain scenery was largely considered ugly by the ancient Romans onwards until praised by Rousseau and turned sublime by the Romantics (17; 107; 140). For a detailed history of attitudes to wilderness see Short. He traces the view of mountains as "distortions of the surface of the earth" during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries back to the Middle Age fear of uncultivated land and belief that mountains were places of witchcraft, and the move from animist religions where gods inhabited the earth to those where they inhabited the sky (7-8). He suggests that up to the eighteenth century people believed that God created the earth flat and mountains were a result of the flood (i.e., man's sin) (15-16).

53 More examples of self-referentiality and landscape viewed with the mobile gaze are discussed in Chapter Five, section 5.2.

54 McGrath is often the object of her own gaze. For instance, her narrative opens with a scene in which she contemplates her reflection in a motel television screen (1). Later she describes herself in the third person as she looks in the bathroom mirror (9).
4.3 FROM HERMIT'S CAVE ON WHEELS TO MOBILE COMMUNITY

In addition to the criterion of control over the itinerary, another major way writers and critics distinguish between travellers and tourists is the privileging of lone travel over mass travel. Urry distinguishes between the romantic and collective modes of travel (66). Authorization of the former leads to vehicles designed for family or mass travel, such as RV's, being relegated to the least desirable end of the hierarchy for travel writers.55

Urry distinguishes three major images in holiday advertising: the family holiday, the romantic holiday, and the fun holiday (142). The fact that the lone road trip does not fit any of these sets it off as a non-tourist activity. Lackey points out that "travellers" shun mass travel because it "destroys the illusion of escape" (38). It also reduces the level of anonymity (Jakle 14). Finally, the lone traveller's gaze is also reinforced by such influential myths as that of the mystic who goes into the wilderness alone to meditate (Short 14-15).

Out of the seven case studies, five writers travel alone for the majority of the time. Although Coster travels with truck drivers, he authorizes lone travel in the sense that his aim is to probe the experience of the lonely trucker.56 Similarly, though Coltrane travels with an entire film crew, he is also predisposed towards the authenticity of the lone road trip. He feels the need to emphasize the fact that he drove his entire journey alone in his Cadillac and did not take the option of riding for most of it in a limousine (11). For the most part, the narrative is written as if Coltrane did travel alone.57

55 Lackey is in the minority when he describes the automobile as "an antisocial machine that fragments families and cities and further destabilizes a nomadic citizenry" (16). The dominant discourse privileges lone road trips.

56 Though Coster notes that some truckers ride with partners (120), the vast majority travel alone.

57 When the film crew is briefly mentioned in a scene in Arches National Park, he privileges lone travel by pointing out that its presence is not too intrusive: "The truth was that even with a Bell Jet Ranger helicopter thundering away inches from my right ear I felt at one with Nature (yes really) as I drove through the amazing spectacle of the park" (57).
Other people inside the vehicle with the road writer affect construction of the gaze to a large extent. Interaction with other human beings takes the emphasis off the landscape outside the vehicle or the self and places it on the other people inside. Freeways is an example of how people take over as objects of the gaze. Davies begins his trip alone and makes many reflections on the landscape and American culture in the first section, titled "The Road" (11-62). Then he meets Martha, an Australian backpacker who asks him for a ride. Once she hooks up with Davies in the middle section (titled "Martha"), the narrative becomes dominated by Davies's brief romance with her (63-146). After Martha leaves Davies in Las Vegas to rejoin her Australian boyfriend, Freeways changes gear once more and reverts to a reflective essay on American culture titled "The North," which consists mostly of a discussion of the situation of contemporary Latino farm labourers in California as compared with the Okies of Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath (147-71).

RV's with two or more people are more home-like than Davies's Honda because of their facilities which more closely replicate those of the static house. Abraham sees her RV trip as a way to get close to her husband, whom she spent insufficient time with before they quit their jobs (2). Similarly, the major motivation behind Collins's trip is not to discover America but to spend quality time with his two young sons (191). Though N. Williams does not travel in a RV, his gaze constantly shifts from the States to his family, illustrating how other people on a trip can reduce collection of signs of Americanness (see Urry's point D). For instance, when contemplating the wonders of the Grand Canyon, Williams is soon distracted into admiring his family instead (79). In contrast to the dominant discourse, Williams authorizes his gaze by claiming that other people are the most important components of journeys (83). When he is not describing his family, he often subordinates his own gaze to representation of theirs and describes scenes such as a Hopi village in Arizona through the impressions of his wife and three sons (65). His family members thus become frames of his gaze as much as his rented Ford Aerostar's windscreen. In contrast, Soutter seems aware of the fact that inclusion of family members can reduce
the quality of travel writing. The Drive Thru Museum is mostly written as if Soutter travelled alone and includes few mentions of his wife.58

Though journeys such as Williams's are easily disparaged as tourism and inferior travel writing, not all collective journeys are so.59 When people inside the vehicle are in large numbers and are strangers (as opposed to family members), the social space becomes more complex and interesting. Although Kurtz pays little attention to the landscape outside the window, the construction of her gaze is authorized because its primary objects are "natives" on Greyhound buses (and thus signs of Americanness to collect) rather than family members.60 Kurtz is a "traveller" who meets real people as opposed to a "tourist" sealed off from authentic encounters. Kurtz's gaze is reinforced by the norms of anthropological discourse. She uses an anthropologist's gaze to construct detailed maps of the social space both within individual buses and on Greyhound in general, which she describes as: "the state without a zip code" (138).61

58 While roadlogues tend to privilege lone travel, road movies usually put two or more people on the road. Road movies require at least two car occupants to keep the dialogue going (Cohan and Hark, "Introduction" 8). A third can be introduced to create conflict (e.g., if a film begins as a male buddy movie, a female character is often introduced for the men to fight over, as in Lewis & Clark & George). There are very few road movies with one road tripper (such as Duel and Vanishing Point). Lack of dialogue in Vanishing Point is compensated for by the use of flashbacks to Kowalski's memories and talk on the radio.

59 Though it is challenging to turn contemporary nonfiction kin trips into interesting travel writing, no doubt due to the increase in limitations on what is visited (i.e., safe tourist sites) and what can be revealed (i.e., writers are reluctant to write anything too incriminating or sensational about family members without the veil of fiction), this does not negate the value of earlier kin trips such as pioneers' accounts where history and hardship add interest. See Moffat for a survey of pioneer narratives.

60 Kurtz writes of her Greyhound trips: "thanks to my fellow travelers, every mile of the journey had been a discovery - mostly they were the journey" (22). For a description of the social space in trains, see Jakle, Tourist 84 and 90.

61 In this state, the tribe of Greyhound passengers have particular characteristic features: "Greyhound travelers are not as a rule bursting with vitamins and bronzed good health, or glowing with confidence" (277). They are social outcasts because "America is a road country. To be in America without wheels is to be lame" (21). Bus people are disenfranchised aliens and misfits, evidenced for example by the fact that they travel on the road on 25th November while "Real Americans" are at home eating their Thanksgiving dinners (170). Kurtz again uses the language of an anthropologist or sociologist when describing how bus people interact. She extrapolates unspoken rules based on race and sex which dictate who sits next to whom (78). Younge also mentions bus etiquette though not in much detail. For example, he notes that you do not invade someone's personal space and sit next to them if there are free double seats (51). Similarly, Kurtz maps bus people according to their seat coordinates. She notes that smokers still sit at the back (despite the fact that the buses are now all non-smoking) (29), that troublemakers also sit towards the rear (150), that front-seaters are attention-seekers (132), and so on. She also gives her own coordinates on different buses such as "second row, bus-left" in order to show how her gaze is affected in the social space of each journey (e.g., 189; 200). Kurtz also notes that there
Kurtz positions her trips as travel in the traveller/tourist dichotomy. While most travel writers privilege lone travel, she points out that bus people are definitely not tourists. She authorizes her gaze with intertextual references, noting that Greyhound travel was: "authentic, it was the real Yankee Doodle way to travel, as endorsed by bluesmen in their songs and featured in chewing gum commercials" (300). Although her discourse constructs Greyhound travellers as misfits, it also allies them with the naturalized category of American lone rangers along with pioneers and truckers.

4.4 CONCLUSION

To summarize, this discussion has sought to illuminate how the road writer's gaze is constructed, authorized, and reinforced by looking at how the narrative vehicle affects delimitation of a field of objects, how writers establish legitimate perspectives, and how they fix norms for representation. Road writers' gazes are distinguished from those of general travellers/tourists because their journeys involve varying degrees of work in addition to leisure. They are constituted not only by the physical constraints put in place by vehicle choice, but also by the textual representations of these vehicles in circulation.

The road writer's gaze is also complicated by the home-like nature of many narrative vehicles which partially undermines the home/away distinction basic to Urry's tourist gaze. The vehicle as home, typified by luxurious trucks and RVs, is part of an established discourse of the United States as a road full of lone rangers.

Vehicles affect perception of objects by framing the view outside the windscreen and superimposing layers inside the vehicle onto the outer landscape.

62 She authorizes her gaze with intertextual references. The affects of these on the gaze are considered in Chapters Seven and Eight.

63 The anthropological study Over the Next Hill represents RVing seniors as authentic North American nomads with their own complex social structures. However, by and large, travel writers in RVs are relegated to the tourist category by roadlogue writers. See examples in section 4.1.
Textual constraints lead writers to authorize their gazes using differential rhetoric playing on a complex intertextual web, often feeding into the unstable tourist/traveller dichotomy. How this dichotomy is constructed by each text depends on what writers perceive to be authentic and the degree to which they aspire to for example, a romantic, nostalgic, contemporary, collective, shopper's, or mobile anthropologist's gaze. Self-referentiality is a frequently reinforced norm of the road trip enabled by lone travel in an enclosed narrative vehicle, although case study writers tend not to reveal very much about themselves in journey records.

All road writers are subject to the same physical constraints imposed by vehicle shells and interior layers. They are also influenced by the same genre conventions. Where the gazes of British and American road writers diverge in relation to the narrative vehicle is in the area of collection of signs of Americanness. British writers are, arguably, subject to discursive pressure to find difference between Britishness and Americanness. This can lead to over-simplified constructions of Americanness. For British writers, the selection of an American vehicle can be represented as reducing the outsider's stance or, alternatively, making the gaze more authentic through American role play. An authentic American vehicle is usually defined as one produced in the perceived golden age of the 50s through the 70s or a retro model using features of this period such as large size, chromium fittings, and luxurious interiors. Driving such a vehicle can fulfill the American dream of a British writer (such as Coster or Coltrane) or highlight the difference between Britishness and Americanness when the British driver feels unequal to the task of driving an American machine (such as Collins).

This discussion has sought to demonstrate that there is no "natural" or obvious preferred gaze for the road writer, despite the persuasive passage from Pirsig quoted at the beginning. Rather than seeking to privilege one type of gaze over another, the intention was to expose the rhetoric behind how gazes are constructed, authorized, and reinforced in roadlogues. An analysis of the affect of the narrative vehicle on the road writer's gaze and how it is represented is obviously incomplete without consideration of roads, a subject which is addressed in the following chapter.
5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter continues investigation of how the road writer’s mobile gaze is constructed, reinforced, and authorized within the context of the writing process, by focusing on roads. The following example (a continuation of the passage from Pirsig’s *Zen* quoted at the beginning of Chapter Four) is representative of much roadlogue discourse regarding roads:

Chris and I are travelling to Montana with some friends riding up ahead, and maybe headed farther than that. Plans are deliberately indefinite, more to travel than to arrive anywhere. We are just vacationing. Secondary roads are preferred. Paved country roads are the best, state highways are next. Freeways are the worst. We want to make good time, but for us now this is measured with emphasis on ‘good’ rather than ‘time’ and when you make that shift in emphasis the whole approach changes. (14)

This passage addresses major issues concerning roads and the road writer’s gaze. First is the question of route (Pirsig’s is unplanned), which plays a significant role in gaze-construction in various ways. The route delimits the field of objects viewed and usually determines how representations of those objects are linked in a narrative sequence. Routes also reflect back on and frame the larger landscape that they pass.

1 Patton points out that the study of roads has been neglected and too much emphasis placed on vehicles (15).

2 One issue, which is not a central concern of this chapter but affects representation of the road writer’s gaze, is worth mentioning here. The sample passage is written in the present tense, whereas the journey it describes happened many years prior to Pirsig’s textual account. The travel writer’s recorded gaze is necessarily recollected and distanced. The present tense is used by travel writers to bring a sense of immediacy and authenticity to a narrative. At the same time, this draws attention to the fictionalization of the writing because the reader knows the journey is past. Most of *Motel Nirvana* is in the present tense, emphasizing its craft. Davies also uses the present tense in many passages of *Freeways* (e.g., 18-23). McLean opens *Lone Star Swing* in the present tense (1-7). The remaining case studies use mostly past tense.
through, for instance, by constructing the east-west and north-south divides or by reinforcing national borders.

Road trips are liberating for travellers in several ways. The extensive, developed road network of the United States provides a greater level of choice to the driver than the railroad offers the train passenger. However, there are also ways in which roads are constraining. Firstly, road trip travel is linear and earthbound. This limitation and its consequences are noted by Sal Paradise in On the Road when he reaches California: "Here I was at the end of America - no more land - and now there was nowhere to go but back" (77-78). Secondly, roads cannot access wilderness because their presence transforms wilderness into developed land. Roads are, therefore, features of a postindustrial landscape.

The second issue raised by the passage from Pirsig is the choice of roads which constitute the route. Basic distinctions are made in road books between fast and/or straight roads (straight two-lane highways and interstates) and slow and/or curved roads (more tied to specific localities) which affect the focus of the gaze. Hierarchies akin to Pirsig's are adopted by most writers to reinforce the gaze. The type of road selected affects gazes in various ways, such as what objects are accessed and how they are perceived, and also constructs the stance of the road writer (for example, whether it is nostalgic).

The type of road is foregrounded as a major component of the gaze in roadlogues which feature roads in their titles. For instance, Heat-Moon's Blue Highways: A Journey into America privileges secondary roads, while Bryan's Uneasy Rider: The Interstate Way of Knowledge privileges faster roads. Davies's title,

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3 As mentioned in Chapter Four, section 4.2.1.

4 Clifford points out in "Traveling Cultures" that the notion that the traveller is free to move in unconstrained ways is a myth (107).

5 These issues are discussed further in Chapter Six, section 6.1. Hazleton is not so constrained by roads as other writers because she drives off road on the Bonneville Salt Flats (13), in the Black Rock Desert (38), and on The Rubicon Trail (65-82).

6 See Urry 136-40 for a comparable analysis of how the boulevards of Paris restructured the tourist gaze in the latter half of the nineteenth century.
Freeways: A Journey West on Route 66, exploits the mythical appeal of both types. In general, when fast roads are used, the focus is on: the road itself, a final destination, movement, and inner reflection. When slow roads are used, the focus is more likely to be directed to roadside objects of the gaze. However, it should be kept in mind that what signifies fast and slow roads changes over time. Before the establishment of the interstate freeway system, roads such as Route 66 used by Sal and Dean were considered fast. After the interstates made many of these roads obsolete, they became slow and nostalgic.

In addition to discussing how roads determine what objects are selected for the gaze, the chapter also focuses on roads as objects of the mobile gaze themselves. When assessing roads as "Visual Display," Jakle distinguishes between "external harmony (the relationship of the highway to the landscape) and internal harmony (the quality of the alignment of the roadway itself)" (141). He points out that external harmony is privileged by tourists because "in tourism the highway becomes a means of seeing landscapes and not just a means of moving rapidly through them" (141). Jakle's distinction fits with Short's between the utilitarian and romantic gazes (6-11).

However, a neat homology between tourism and travel, the romantic and classicist gazes, and curved/slow and straight/fast roads cannot be made. On further analysis of representations of straight roads, their romantic and mythic appeal become apparent, as does their iconic status as signs of Americanness to be collected by tourist and traveller. The following sections explore the role of roads with regard to the road writer's gaze first by discussing the fast/slow road dichotomy in detail. The chapter

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7 Lackey notes that the interstate versus backroad split is used in many roadlogues (4).

8 An exception is Bryan's book, which focuses on objects either side of interstates because he stops to consider them.

9 On the Road is based on road trips taken by Kerouac in the late 40s and early 50s. His travel took place after the typical dirt roads of the 20s and 30s had been replaced by an intercity network of hard-surfaced highways up to the point when a supplemental system of limited-access freeways was begun. See Jakle 120-45 and Patton 65-96. On the Road is, therefore, set at a time before the interstate network is complete and roads like Route 66 are considered fast.
then moves on to consider frequently occurring, inter-connecting road metaphors including: frontiers, conveyor belts, and drive-thru museums.

5.1 SLOW ROADS OR FAST ROADS?

5.1.1 Taking Time versus Making Time

Whether a road writer privileges taking or making time depends on the focus of the gaze or what the goal is at a particular stage of a journey. Taking time privileges secondary roads over superhighways because the focus is on roadside objects of the gaze (or what Jakle terms place experience [224]). Writers privilege faster roads if their goal is to reach a destination as quickly as possible, or merely to move.

The fact that fast roads conquer space and time with speed is likely to be favoured by classicists with a utilitarian approach. However, many road narratives celebrate speed for its romantic qualities, such as the sense of individual power and freedom it endows. For Sal Paradise, for whom "The road is life!" movement is the primary goal (15). When Sal and Dean are alone together, they drive "not for once deviating from the white line in the middle of the road that unwound, kissing our left front tire" (116), and glory in making time (32). On the Road represents sightseeing and resting as bland tourist activities (15; 206).

In contrast, Steinbeck (in Travels with Charley) is a canonical example of a road writer who prefers slow roads because of the sights, noting:

> These great roads [superhighways] are wonderful for moving goods but not for inspection of a countryside [...]. No roadside stands selling squash juice, no antique stores, no farm products or factory outlets. When we get these thruways across the whole country, as we will and must, it will be possible to drive from New York to California without seeing a single thing. (81)

10 Similarly, Kowalski's high-speed journey in Vanishing Point is a romantic one of individual against government as he falls foul of the highway patrol. DJ Super Soul describes Kowalski as "the super driver of the golden west [... the last beautiful free soul on this planet" (Sargeant 91).
The underlying assumption of Steinbeck's rhetoric is the reverse of Kerouac's: the purpose of the road trip is to see things. Thus, whether contemporary writers make or take time, they can reinforce their gazes by adherence to norms set up by canonical texts.

Making time can be a hypermasculine quest. Kowalski's goal in Vanishing Point is to drive from Denver to San Francisco in record time for a wager. In The Burial Brothers, Mayle and his companions drive nonstop from New York to New Orleans in twenty-four hours, partially because their main area of interest is Central and South America (that is, to reach their destination as quickly as possible), and also as evidence of their madcap attitude which has echoes of On the Road (30). The fact that they are able to progress this fast highlights the difference between the developed highways of North America and the poor roads and officialdom which slow them down in developing Central and South America. Making time is the primary goal of Cahill and his co-driver in Road Fever on their quest to beat the world record driving from Tierra del Fuego to Alaska. Poor roads are not underprivileged in this case because they provide a challenge to overcome, a means to increase the adventure quotient of their quest.11

Road writers can reinforce making time by fixing it as a facet of American national identity. McGrath discerns a difference in British and American travel patterns linked to this: the former seek quality while the latter seek quantity (35).12 On the whole, contemporary British writers are not concerned with making time. They tend to follow Steinbeck's model rather than Kerouac's and privilege slow progress along

11 Jakle historicizes the American obsession with driving and making time by linking it to the development of faster roads post World War II that render driving more boring than previously and thus necessitate the formation of new challenges (148-51).

12 In Travels with Alice, American writer Calvin Trillin also discerns this difference between Englishness and Americanness by citing the example of some English friends who were given a ride from northern Spain to Paris by an American friend and were astonished that "he drove straight through without stopping" (3). Trillin represents this behaviour as resulting from the American desire to make good time but as "somewhere between baffling and pathological" to the English (3). Bryson makes a similar remark in Notes from a Small Island (29).
secondary roads. Early in *Driving to Detroit* Hazleton echoes Steinbeck: "The interstate is not the best way to see Nevada. It's not the best way to see anywhere. I'd aimed to stay off major highways as much as possible [. . .]" (34).

Hazleton privileges interstates over backroads after she has visited her journey's goal of Detroit not (initially) because she wants to beat a record for a Detroit to Seattle run, but because these superhighways are the practical choice for reducing the length of her homeward journey in bad weather when she no longer has a desire to gaze at roadside objects (290-304). Feifer points out that for medieval pilgrims, the journey home involved no sightseeing because it was time designated for reflection on the experience of visiting the holy site (60). Following this paradigm, Hazleton elects to drive home on fast roads rather than fly so that she can reduce the return journey (in comparison with the outward journey) but have more time to think than she would have if she had elected to go by air (290-91).

While fast roads can be celebrated for giving the driver an enhanced sense of power and control over space and time, they can also be criticized for taking control of drivers. Road trips become more virtual as they increase in speed. Hazleton describes how a disjunction from reality ("interstate syndrome") sets in and her journey home becomes a quest in making time (294). (Her Americanized quest is obviously linked

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13 As noted previously, Mayle is described in a paratext as having being raised in England and America. Coster vicariously makes time by travelling with truckers who need to make time to make money.

14 She makes a similar argument later by comparing her experiences of driving through a section of Arizona first on a secondary road, and secondly on an interstate, claiming that on the interstate she is removed from the real world "as though someone had placed a clear, plastic tunnel over the road" (188-89).

15 Similarly, Donachie's minimalist roadlogue from New York to Graceland, *3,532 Miles*, devotes reduced space to the return journey. The outward journey is given forty pages while the return journey is designated seven.

16 Steinbeck describes how fast superhighways reduce the "reality" level by breaking down even the boundaries between day and night (103).

17 See Chapter Three, section 3.1.2 for examples of other drivers with road fever. See also Jakle 146 regarding the impulse towards constant driving.
to the fact that she lives in the United States. Writers who live in Britain cannot set records for driving home.)

5.1.2 Back Regions versus Front Regions

Superhighways inhibit the viewing of roadside objects in various ways. First, although an increase in speed increases the ground covered, it also leads to a reduction in peripheral vision and thus causes the driver to focus on the road rather than the roadside (Jakle 147). The type of road also affects access to (and development of) what MacCannell in The Tourist terms front and back regions. Simply put, front regions are contrived displays for tourists, whereas back regions are authentic sites (48).

The relationship between interstates/backroads and front regions/back regions is a complex one, partially because of changing definitions of what is authentic. Jakle points out that because tourists on trains and ships travelled through "a sort of extended back region" isolated from sights, motorists in the early twentieth century celebrated cars because they gave access to roads which took them through front regions such as main streets of towns (100). In this case, front regions are constructed as more authentic than back regions. As roads developed and become faster, they took on features of railroads. Interstates bypass town centres and encourage drivers to make fewer stops to view anything at all.

On the other hand, Coster, who spends most of his time on interstates out of necessity, accesses mostly back regions and constructs these as authentic. In his case,

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18 Also cited in Jakle (27). This fits into Urry's dichotomy of authentic versus inauthentic objects of the tourist gaze (83). MacCannell's is a nuanced distinction, divided into six levels summarized as follows: 1) obvious front regions, 2) front regions decorated to look like a back region, 3) front regions which totally simulate back regions, 4) actual back regions open on a restricted basis, 5) back regions altered to accommodate visitors for long periods of time and, 6) back regions unaltered for tourists (48). For example, at the first level would be attractions such as Disneyland, and at the sixth a working factory not set up to accommodate visitors. In this scheme, back regions at position six are the most authentic objects of the gaze.

19 Jakle adapts MacCannell's term slightly here as, obviously, main streets of towns are not designed for tourists alone. The link is that shop fronts are façades, concealing delivery areas, and storerooms at the rear.

20 As introduced in 5.1.1 above.
the primary objects of his gaze when stops are made are factories, depots, and trucking company offices not adapted in any way to accommodate tourism. However, the remaining primary case study writers visit back regions without restriction to one type of road, for example: 1) Coltrane visits General Motors in Detroit (126); 2) Davies attends a migrant farm worker union meeting in California (152); 3) Hazleton visits a junkyard in Houston (196), and a Saturn plant in Tennessee (240); 4) McGrath stays with a New Ager in her home (51); 5) McLean visits musicians in their homes (e.g., 193), and 6) Younge interviews civil rights workers in their offices (58-63).

Therefore, the major link between types of roads and front/back regions is not what they access (front versus back) necessarily, but rather: 1) the amount of objects roads access and, 2) how roads affect their environments. A major criticism of interstates is that, in addition to bypassing sights and sites, they contribute to the destruction of regional differences by cutting off old towns from major arteries and encouraging the proliferation of chain hotels and restaurants at their exits. Relph’s phrase for this type of eradication of distinctive places is “placelessness,” whereas Jakle’s is “commonplaceness” (193). Interstates cross state boundaries and link the nation, breaking down state and regional differences. Interstate drivers float over the surface of the nation and fail to engage with local communities (e.g., Steinbeck 83). In this sense interstates are constructed as promoting the development of front regions, that is, inauthentic objects of the road tripper’s gaze. Several case study writers criticize the new highways’ impact on small towns with the increase of chains (e.g., Davies 26: Steinbeck 23; Younge 128-32).23

21 Coster's only opportunity to be a tourist is at the end of his second American journey in Huntington Beach in California (271).

22 See Chapter Two, section 2.2.3.

23 A dystopian sociological study of freeways can be found in Howard Kunstler’s The Geography of Nowhere. An opposing discourse is provided by Patton’s Open Road: A Celebration of the American Highway. Bryan’s Uneasy Rider celebrates diversity along the interstates. The cover reads: “In the end he discovers that the interstates, far from producing the homogeneous society he feared, nourish a rich community of eccentrics.”
Finally, it can be argued that back and front regions are essentially inaccessible in roadlogues no matter what type of road is privileged, because even those road writers who travel relatively slowly are subject to brief (and therefore superficial) impressions. Lackey, taking his usual pessimistic view, complains that:

Nonfiction highway books often cultivate the illusion of intimacy, variously couched as 'listening to America', 'traveling the backroads', or 'feeling the pulse of America', while denying the countervailing influences of regional stereotyping, historical nostalgia, superficial impressionism, and the simple quest for novelty. (16)

Lackey's argument suggests that roadlogues, no matter whether they describe back or front regions, inevitably deal with façades.

Having summarized the principal ways fast/slow and straight/curved roads are compared in highway discourse, the following sections go on to consider the road writer's gaze from a different but interconnected angle: the use of recurrent road metaphors.

5.2 HIGHWAY METAPHORS

5.2.1 Frontier

One of the most frequently used highway metaphors with major implications for the road writer's gaze is that of the road as frontier. This metaphor is reinforced by the history of pioneer settlement and proliferation of western mythology in road movies. The historical frontier is cited by Turner in his seminal essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893) as establishing the American national characteristics of individualism and a desire for change and progression through mobility. Turner sets up an opposition between the complex, civilized east of limited space based on European models versus the simple, primitive west of open spaces where, he argues, Americans redefined themselves and created their own distinctive
nation away from the Old World on a succession of frontiers (2-9). For Turner, the wilderness Americanized the colonist and immigrant, fused mixed races, and eradicated traits of English and German national identities and institutions (4; 23).

Whereas Turner's ideas go in and out of vogue with historians, they remain constantly attractive to American highway narrators of all periods. Once the frontier was closed in actuality, there was a need to recreate it in myth. Although the census department declared the physical frontier gone in 1890 (Turner 1), it lives on in the American highway, which can be both a physical frontier between civilization and wilderness and a symbolic frontier between an old and a new life. Turner's east/west opposition is built on by many critics of westerns and highway narratives including Cohan and Hark, Roberts, Short, and Sargeant and Watson and is manifested in roadlogues by both British and American writers.

The straight American road icon that appears on numerous American travel book covers (whether the book's contents specifically deal with road trips or not) is especially evocative of frontier mythology. The typical representation shows a road head-on receding into the distance in a triangle (or triangle with an extended point) formation. The broad base of the triangle often exceeds the breadth of the base of the cover and thus locates the viewer on the road. The yellow lines down the road's centre lead the viewer's eye to travel forward to the tip of the triangle which is the vanishing point on the horizon (usually located in the middle or at the top of the picture). Natural features such as brush, trees, and mountains line the road but do not take the focus off

24 See Chapter Two, section 2.2.2. See also Boorstin's The Americans: The National Experience.

25 For example, in his Foreword to The Frontier in American History, Ray Allen Billington points out that Turner's frontier thesis was "seriously discredited" by the end of the 1940s but was revived in the 50s and early 60s (xvii-viii).

26 Short remarks that: "If the nineteenth century saw the defeat of the wilderness as a necessary precondition of creating an American landscape, the dominant image of the late twentieth century saw in wilderness protection the preservation of the truly American landscape" (20).

27 Lackey points out that the first highway narratives were written just after the frontier closed (1).

28 The prevalence of this road icon on all types of travel books reinforces the metaphor of America as a road.
the road itself. Diminishing telegraph poles often add to the effect of forward progression.

Patton describes this type of straight road representation as "the quintessential American road, the simplest, straightest road, a road in the center of the country heading west, a road in between places" (11). The straight road has become an icon due to its extensive use in various texts. Patton mentions those such as the photographs of Dorothea Lange and Robert Frank, the books of Kerouac and Steinbeck, and "a hundred movies" (11-12). He goes on to say:

It is permanently imprinted in the national consciousness. It looks like Route 66, but it could also be Route 80 or Route 30. It could be in New Mexico or Colorado, Idaho or Wyoming [...].

Those who drive this road are often alone and often between identities. They are abandoning old lives and looking for new ones, but are most themselves in the interval. Some drive to remember, others to forget.

This road, like all American roads, offers a literally concrete expression of the central American drives. If, as Oscar Wilde quipped, America's youth is its oldest tradition, change is its most unchanging premise, movement its most permanently fixed pattern, impermanence its most permanent condition, and the receding horizon its most steadfast goal. (12)

In this passage, which has many resonances with Turner, it is apparent that a picture of such a road on a book cover is not primarily geared towards establishing a sense of a particular place but of a frontier between (American) places. One road is a metonym of all American roads and a metaphor for American restlessness and movement; its primary signification is mythic rather than specific. Frontiers are sites of continual change. To head west is not only to proceed to a geographical area but to approach an idealized future. Many American protagonists (in fiction and nonfiction) take to the

29 Davies notes that Route 66 as a road west was linked symbolically with dreams of prosperity (24). For further discussion of the road as frontier see Chapter Two section 2.2.2, and Chapter Six, section
road due to a desire for change in their lives. For instance, Sal Paradise takes to the road after a broken marriage (Kerouac 3), Heat-Moon hits the highway after losing his job and learning his ex-wife has a new boyfriend (1), and Kowalski has "two failed careers and one broken heart" (Williams 115).

The frontier can also be used to travel to the past. The cover of Lone Star Swing uses the basic elongated triangle representation with various embellishments (see Figure 1). The brush either side of the road on the original is coloured red and orange, adding to the road's dream-like qualities. The writer's upper body is pictured at the bottom, placed as if his unseen feet are standing in the middle of the road. McLean wears a Stetson (illustrating Turner's argument that the wilderness Americanizes Europeans) and holds a map, and his face is turned out to the reader. He is the reader's guide to this road. The title, a superimposed outline of the map of Texas placed in the clouds, and a ghostly figure of Bob Wills mounted on a white horse that hovers over the road (signifying also the nostalgia of the writer's quest) attempt (not altogether successfully) to limit the signification of this American road to the specific location of Texas.

The photograph of a straight highway on the cover of Davies's Freeways employs no superimposed symbols to tie it to a specific location such as a state or region (see Figure 2). The words "Route 66" in the title enhance its status as a quintessential American road. The photograph is black and white, signifying nostalgia. In this case, the shoulder of the road is central to the picture. A line of diminishing telephone poles moves into the centre from the left while the two-lane highway does the same from the right. Telephone poles, shoulder, and road draw the eye to the centre of the photograph where a vehicle driving out of the picture is apparent as a dot on the horizon.

The cover of (American) Jill Schneider's Route 66 Across New Mexico again shows a photograph of an iconic straight two-lane in triangle formation (Figure 3).

6.1.2. In "The Geography of Utopia," Philip Porter and Fred Lukerman argue that there is a link between frontiers and the patterns of establishment of utopian communities in the US (203).

30 See Primeau 69-88 for more examples.
Although the words "New Mexico" in the title tie this road to a particular state, there are no clues in the photograph as to specific location (as in Figure 2). In this case the colours are natural on the original. The brush kept at bay either side of the roads on the previous two examples has encroached across the cracking tarmac, blurring the straight lines at the road's edges. Instead of a vehicle, a man carrying a 66 shield is positioned walking down the road towards the vanishing point.

The cover of Coster's A Thousand Miles (Figure 4) also depicts a two-lane highway equalling the breadth of the cover at the base and narrowing (and blurring in focus) towards the top with brush and telephone poles either side. In this instance, the bulk of the picture is taken up with an imposing dark blue Peterbilt truck in sharp focus that drives towards the viewer. Though there is no picture of such a road on the cover of Motel Nirvana, McGrath describes one in a chapter titled "Driving" as follows:

The archetypal western road; one lane each side, straight as a knife blade, slicing up the far far distance, the sky arched over it like a food cover. Perhaps a chromium-clad truck thudding in one direction. A placid, whining wind sending tumbleweeds tripping across the median. Ravens on the shoulder, dust dancing about the plain. Otherwise, completely, utterly empty. (189-90)

In contrast to representations of straight roads, pictures of curved roads on book covers, although they also obviously evoke movement and curiosity regarding the road ahead, tend to put equal or greater emphasis on the roadside landscape as object of the gaze and less on the road and vanishing point. Pictures of curved roads, therefore, do not evoke the metaphor of road as frontier to the same degree. The cover of the Scribner edition of Hazleton's Driving to Detroit (Figure 5) is a black and white picture of mostly tarmac and grey sky, blurred by speed. In the centre of the picture is a wing mirror in which the road just travelled is reflected in colour. The four-lane highway is dark blue and curves near the vanishing point into the surrounding ethereal gold pine trees. The cover of the Free Press edition shows a two-lane highway, this time using a sideways view that cuts across the cover horizontally, as opposed to leading the eye of
the viewer down the road to the centre. This representation emphasizes the view of the roadside as it appears from a vehicle's side window and thus excludes the vanishing point.

The cover of USA: The Rough Guide (Figure 6) includes a stylized picture of a finned car that appears to be landing on a runway-like winding road heading towards mountains in the distance, behind which a highway shield bearing the number 66 appears as a setting sun. Items are outlined in neon (the road, the car, the "sun") evoking the neon art of roadside architecture and giving a dream-like quality.

Figures 5 and 6 combine curved and straight road representations (the road does not curve until nearly out of sight at the centre of each picture). Other book covers give more weight to roadside objects by showing c or s-shaped curved road sections. In these cases, the eye is not only drawn to the vanishing point but also focuses on the roadside. Figure 7 is an example from Heat-Moon's Blue Highways. A grassy section with barns in the middle of a reversed c-shaped road are central to the picture. This road is in a place, as opposed to a frontier between places.

The straight road icon (Figures 1 through 4) clearly illustrates Lowenthal's perceptive comment (in "The Place of the Past in the American Landscape") that:

"American scenery fired the imagination not with its appearance but with its potentialities" (96). Lowenthal argues that in the nation's first hundred years, Americans praised natural landscape over landscape with historical associations (such as that of Europe). This theory (reinforced by Turner's thesis) is perpetuated by European writers such as Baudrillard (who describes the American desert as non-referential 7-9) and depictions of the iconic straight road.

31 A similar example appears on the cover of Brook's Honkytonk Gelato.

32 The covers of Cadillac and Motel Nirvana are the only examples of primary case studies that do not feature roads.

33 John Bruckerhoff Jackson provides a history of the word "landscape" in "The Vernacular Landscape." He cites the root as "landscap," a Dutch word that includes the notion of an artistic composition. Jackson claims that Americans use the word to mean natural landscape as opposed to manmade landscape (arguably reinforcing Lowenthal's point) (66-69).
These depictions (both pictorial and verbal) typically include either no vehicles, or only one vehicle, thus emphasizing the west's open spaces and promotion of rugged individualism.\textsuperscript{34} The presence of the vanishing point symbolizes the ideal future by representing a place headed for that cannot yet be seen and thus cannot be clearly defined. The symbolism of the vanishing point is used in the movie of the same name where Kowalski purposely wrecks his car at the end on a road block set by the police. The viewer is not shown the actual wreck, only the run up to it, so Kowalski effectively vanishes. Similarly, at the end of \textit{Thelma \\& Louise}, the viewer is shown the launch of the Thunderbird over the Grand Canyon but its presumed subsequent crash at the bottom is excluded. Sturken argues that this functions to symbolize the continuation of Thelma and Louise's journey (73-75). Kowalski's Dodge Challenger and Louise's Thunderbird become time machines in effect, vanishing into the future like Doc's Delorean in \textit{Back to the Future}.\textsuperscript{35}

The road turns the car into a time machine which crosses frontiers between past and present in several case studies. Hazleton notes: "Slowness connects, speed disconnects. The one makes you see the world, the other makes you the center of the world. At speed there is no road, no sense of place, not even any time. Speed is annihilation: it eats everything up into the sensation of the moment" (161). McGrath writes: "From time to time I consider that I might be trapped in an eternal present, repeating the same moment over and over, never living beyond the same blink of an eye, the same one breath" (91). McLean recalls a similar experience: "It was like only being allowed to speak in the present tense. It was hard to remember where I was before I got on the road, and it was hard to imagine ever reaching a destination, and stopping. All I had was now, the moment, the driving. No past, no future, just present

\textsuperscript{34} Perceived emptiness of the west is further discussed in following sections.

\textsuperscript{35} For discussion of \textit{Vanishing Point} see Williams 114-17 and Sargeant's "Vanishing Point." See Robert's "Western Meets Eastwood" for an analysis of car as time machine in \textit{A Perfect Day} (60). Lackey describes the car as a time machine giving access to the past (47).
continuous" (113). McLean compares driving on west Texas roads to meditation (126). Soutter describes driving through Kansas as mesmeric and hypnotic (72).

On American roads, British writers experience a type of highway consciousness not afforded by British roads. McLean notes that while Orkney's roads lead to the sea, Texas roads "lead you over the horizon" (128). However, the frontier zone tends to lack more than temporary transformational potential for most British road writers. This is probably because the principal motivation of many contemporary British writers is to write a travel book rather than to escape a failed career, a dead-end town, a broken marriage, or a dysfunctional family like the protagonists of many American highway romances.

5.2.2 From Conqueror to Conveyor Belt

McGrath describes roads as rulers: "Where the road runs it is king, the plain and the rock beside it merely subjects. […] Even the colours of the road assert its dominance: stark black, brilliant yellow, against brown-grey city, against red dust plain, against pale green bunch grass, against muddled chaparral, against sallow prairie" (189).

Such representations emphasize how roads conquer space and introduce connotations of violence and domination.

In the passage quoted earlier (which follows this one) McGrath describes the road as a knife (189). Several writers use metaphors which emphasize the violence roads do to the natural landscape, rather than depicting them as in harmony with it. (In contrast, the decaying road in Figure 3 is in the process of being reclaimed by nature.) Steinbeck refers to superhighways as "great high-speed slashes of concrete and tar" (81). McGrath also equates roads with scars (189). Others show how roads commit violence on the human landscape. Davies talks of Route 66 cutting across towns like Albuquerque (56), while Younge criticizes the way freeways split communities (177).

36 Fast (straight, empty) roads are most often represented as being conducive to personal reflection than (winding, busy) roads. In combination with fast, modern cars, they lead to less focus on the outside and increased self-referentiality. See Chapter Four, section 4.4.
McGrath's road as king is a masculine ruler. Critics such as Lawrence (11), and Holland and Huggan (112), discuss the influential role of gender in geography detected by feminist theorists. Lawrence describes the dominant representation (both in texts and criticism) of the landscape as travelled as a foreign female who is penetrated and conquered by the traveling male (2-5). Though there are many ways to dissect the American landscape, the east/west dichotomy introduced above (signifying a chain of characteristics such as developed/underdeveloped, age/youth, and tame/wild) is one of the most dominant representations in road narratives. Using Lawrence's model, the east is often portrayed as civilized home-female while the Wild West (as the place of settler expansion) is the foreign female to be tamed.

Soutter perpetuates such metaphors by comparing the contiguous United States to a womb and describing the nation as having reached maturity in 1960, followed by thirty years of menopause during which it failed to deal adequately with its problems (1-5). He uses this metaphor of a nation past its prime and in decline to compare the contemporary United States unfavorably with the New World of young virgin territory. In general, however contemporary British writers do not reveal masculine or imperial eyes through constructions of the American landscape as female to be subdued. While some represent roads as conquerors, British drivers on those roads (except for Hazleton and Coltrane) tend not to exhibit the emotions of conquerors of space or time in a Kerouacian mode. Rather, they tend to describe themselves as passive consumers. This is discussed further below with regard to the metaphor of road as conveyor belt.

It is apparent from the images of American roads on book covers discussed above that they can become national or regional monuments. In addition to sections of

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37 See also Primeau 107-16 for a thorough discussion.

38 Roberts (though she labels the west as masculine) largely confirms Lawrence by describing the construction of the east in western movies as a feminized, stultifying space from which men flee in order to prove their masculinity with acts of violence and aggression in the west (48). American writer Erika Lopez's "all-girl road novel" *Flaming Iguanas* takes the metaphor of road as conqueror of body-landscape and uses it to appropriate the American landscape for women drivers when describing the route of her proposed road trip as follows: "We're gonna ride from armpit to armpit across the chest of America, joyride full-throttle down the crack of Tennessee's ass [. . .]. Sloppy kiss the greasy lips of Louisiana" (1).
individual roads, patterns of interlinking roads are also iconic of the United States. In his article "Traffic Takes a Landmark Turn," Matthew W. Roth gives a brief history of the freeway interchange in downtown Los Angeles known as the four-level, arguing that it is a landmark and that "its modernistic design is a symbol for LA" due to such factors as the impact its "alien" forms initially had on the urban landscape, its heavy daily use for fifty years, and its use as the set for the Martian attack in the movie of War of the Worlds (24).

When road writers reach the car capital of the world, they often describe it in terms of its freeways and grid system. Coltrane describes the view of LA's roads from his aeroplane as "geometrically irritating" (12), though he enjoys the freedom these straight roads give when he first drives his Cadillac: "The road stretched for miles in a straight line and the Cadillac was going like a well-upholstered rocket. I felt like a guy in a movie, and, darn it, I was" (27).

Like Coltrane, Hazleton also finds LA's roads empowering. Hazleton celebrates the freeways of LA and represents them as the city's defining characteristics:

But most of all I love driving the freeways [. . .] . Give me a big unwieldy folding street map, direct me to the nearest freeway, and I become the intrepid explorer, making her way through the maze of confusion. I chart my progress from exit sign to exit sign, following the map's network of thick red lines superimposed on the street grid like a diagram of major blood vessels, lifelines of the city.

The freeways bisect the city every which way, so many times that in a way there is no city left, but a conglomeration of separate cities linked by concrete ribbons. (117)

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39 See Jakle 263-84 for a discussion of iconicity and cities. He notes that skylines, landmark buildings, and streets are interpreted by tourists and travel writers as symbols for cities. Whereas freeways often represent Los Angeles, New York is usually defined by its skyscrapers. Many other writers agree, e.g., Baudrillard claims that Los Angeles "is in love with its limitless horizontality, as New York may be with its verticality" (America 52). See also Patton's chapter on "The Superhighway in the City" (97-118).

40 Intertextual influence revealed by such quotations is discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight.
In this somewhat contradictory passage, the freeways are at once the lifelines and the
death of the city; they link it while simultaneously fragmenting it. Freeways are blood
vessels that give life as well as concrete ribbons forming insurmountable barriers
between neighbourhoods. Freeways are both what gives the city its character and what
renders it characterless as a whole. Hazleton maps a number of contradictory
possibilities for the discourse on Los Angeles and its freeways including urban
nightmare, environmental sculpture, or social complexity (118). She concludes that:
"There is no way to see the city as a whole. There is no narrative to the city" (118)
Hazleton deals with the problem of representing a city with no narrative by writing a
series of "picture postcards" about her experiences in different areas (118-29). In other
words, she provides a series of fragments. Her written representation of Los Angeles
is, therefore, directly structured by her perception of the freeways and their relation to
the city.41

The metaphors used to describe the roads and freeways of LA above are also
used to represent the highways in other areas of the United States and of the States as a
whole. They are seen as networks that link states by crossing borders, or nightmarish
mazes that prevent real contact with the environment and/or destroy it. Jakle notes that
the automobile was originally promoted as an educational device and automobiling
"inspired cultural nationalism" through teaching people about their nation (7). In this
vision, roads and cars propagate national unity. Although one might expect all visions
of highways to be dystopian once they become crowded later in the century,
Baudrillard describes LA's packed freeways as a spectacle and collective social ritual:

Gigantic, spontaneous spectacle of automotive traffic. A total collective
act, staged by the entire population, twenty-four hours a day. By virtue
of the sheer size of the layout and the kind of complicity that binds this
network of thoroughfares together, traffic rises here to the level of
dramatic attraction, acquires the status of symbolic organization. The

41 There are many other examples of writers who define LA in terms of its roads and freeways. For
example, see Reyner Banham, Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies, and David Rieff, Los
Angeles: Capital of the Third World.

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machines themselves, with their fluidity and their automatic
transmission, have created a milieu in their own image [...] which you
switch over into as you might switch over to a TV channel. Unlike our
European motorways, which are unique, directional axes, and are
therefore still places of expulsion (Virilio), the freeway system is a place
of integration [...] (52-53)

The passage goes on to describe how LA freeway driving alters the state of mind from
European aggressiveness to participation in a "collective game," that freeways pass
through rather than "de-nature" the desert or city landscape, "And they are ideally suited
to the only true profound pleasure, that of keeping on the move" (53).

Baudrillard celebrates "The lyrical nature of pure circulation" in a section
entitled "Astral America" located opposite a photograph of a complex freeway
interchange (26-27). In contrast, when Fletcher gets lost on a freeway interchange he
describes it as "that nightmarish concrete maze" (176). Apart from Hazleton and
Coltrane, most British writers tend to feel a loss of power on American city
freeways.

Though Baudrillard's vision is utopian, and Fletcher's dystopian, both share
one characteristic: the freeway is in control as opposed to the driver. Such
representations of driving implicitly equate roads with conveyor belts where the driver
becomes a passive passenger and is moved along. Alternatively, the driver can be
depicted as static while the landscape is effectively placed on a conveyor belt which

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42 Whereas Baudrillard represents roads as reinforcing collective identity, Bennet Schaber describes road
movie roads as marginal territory for marginal people in "Hitler Can't Keep 'Em That Long: The
Road, The People" (23).

43 Fletcher's vision is reminiscent of a scene in "See-Saw to Arkansas" where, after Dick Dastardly
turns an exit sign around, the narrator says: "The racers are hung up in a cloverleaf; they may never get
out." The drivers are shown continuously circulating around layers of concrete without being able to
escape, reminiscent of some depictions of hell.

44 As mentioned in Chapter Four, see Chapter Two, note 34 and Chapter Three, section 3.2 for
examples of poor or intimidated British drivers. While McLean does gain some confidence on
interstates away from cities, he remains a passive driver (121). Coltrane and Hazleton are the only case
study writers for whom driving is a constant pleasure and who give the impression that they relish the
freedom and power endowed by cars. Hazleton is the most exuberant driver and, e.g., plays at driving
figures of eight in the Black Rock Desert (38).
moves its exhibits past the writer's gaze. Morris describes this effect as resulting in a
gaze of "zoom analysis" where the speeding driver is "a figure in chronic stasis" (6).
McGrath records being overwhelmed by the vast spaces of the southwest where roads
take over the control of her journey (136). Davies also frequently represents himself as
a passive driver whose route is determined by roads. For instance, he describes
Interstate 40 as discouraging stops and "pushing people on" (58). Davies has a static
point of view in the following description of driving: "I had seen Boise city coming.
Sixty miles out across the panhandle, three domes rising out of the ironed flatness
marked something. The road ground on; telegraph wires tracing a line into a distance of
wheatfields turning to scrub" (37). In this instance, the landscape is animated with
verbs: Boise city comes, domes rise, the road grinds on, and wheatfields morph.
McLean provides a similar image: "A speck appeared on the horizon, got bigger,
solidified through the heat shimmer. A town, a village: the signs said Lobo" (128).

Baudrillard, amongst others, describes the feeling of repetition on straight roads
through the desert (1). Moving, repetitive American scenery apparently on a conveyor
belt loses substance. Baudrillard's descriptions of the desert as primitive, lacking
history, and embodying meaninglessness lead to insubstantialization, which Spurr
identifies as one of twelve rhetorical modes for representing the other in colonial
discourse (Baudrillard 7-9; Spurr 141-55). McLean also uses this mode in the
following example: "The road led on. I followed it. South, south, south. No other
traffic. Just the empty road, the empty desert, the empty sky" (128).

When driving eradicates history through insubstantialization, roads transform
the contemporary United States into the New World of potentialities described by
Lowenthal (mentioned above). Many writers record forward progression on western
roads by listing names of towns that signify nothing because they are rapidly passed

45 His descriptions of desert driving are reminiscent of Santa's Sleigh Ride at the Co-Op department
store that I enjoyed as a child. Riders sat in a simulated sleigh that rocked from side to side as conveyor
belts with scenery rotated either side at eye-level to simulate motion. The same scenes passed several
times.

46 In a similar point, Lackey notes that the superficiality of the driving experience can lead to a
perception of superficiality in American culture (75).
through (e.g., Davies 35; McLean 111-12). Emptying deserts and towns through insubstantialization gives access (albeit illusory and through glass) to the mythic wilderness, described by Short as a symbol of the individual unconscious. Short notes that the classical gaze views being lost in the wilderness as detrimental. On the other hand, for romantics, the wilderness is a place to discover the self away from the false trappings of civilization (21). The focus of the gaze can become the self, as mentioned in Chapter Four. Coster remarks that truck drivers spend much of their long journeys in self-reflection (118). However, having reached a state of what McLean calls "highway hyper-reality" many British writers deny readers access to their inner thoughts (126).47

The conveyor belt metaphor foregrounds the televisual nature of perception on the road noted by many road writers (such as Pirsig [14]). Watching television is a nonviolent pastime, which may be more appealing to some than the frontier activity of ruthlessly conquering the west. However, television constructs viewers as passive consumers and takes away their agency. Paradoxically, while recreating the New World, roads as conveyor belts inhibit the American dream of movement which prompts many road trips.48 Ease of driving late century therefore eradicates some of the benefits applauded by early motorists such as re-connection with the landscape.

When roads or landscape are on conveyor belts, the writer is free to participate in activities other than driving. Fletcher notes that he could have read a book while driving on a straight road through Nevada (244). McLean jokes that it is possible to read a book, write a book, and even take a nap on the back seat while driving the straight roads of west Texas on cruise control (126). McGrath reads several hundred pages of Twain’s Roughing It on the flat stretches between Albuquerque and Phoenix (117). She therefore effectively misses the real landscape and instead experiences another writer’s perception of it.

47 Exceptions include McGrath and Hazleton.

48 For instance, the motivation behind Abraham quitting her job and purchasing a RV is to move in American space rather than to watch television.
5.2.3 Drive Thru Museum

Equally as prolific as descriptions which insubstantialize American roads are those by British writers that focus on histories (and therefore "substantialize"). Soutter's The Drive-Thru Museum is named thus because he views the United States as trapped in the 1950s and 60s. Although many would disagree with Soutter, there is a sense in which all road writers treat American roads as drive-thru museums. First, tourism tends to focus on the pasts of places. Roads are the "buildings" housing exhibitions of roadside objects, that chain them into a narrative for the road writer to collect and interpret as cultural and historical artifacts. Analysis of the regimes road writers use to represent some of these artifacts is given below.

The back road versus interstate split outlined earlier is also linked to that between nostalgic and present-oriented travel or what Urry terms the historical/modern dichotomy (83). According to Short, classicists look to the present and future, whereas romantics mourn the past and are pessimistic about the future (6). The romantic view of the past is not realistic, but idealized. For instance, the Edenic discourse of tourist brochures (noted by Porter and Lukerman [214]) results in romanticization of the past. American writers often look back to the pioneers in addition to the first half of the twentieth century before the widespread establishment of interstates. British writers of the 80s and 90s tend to focus more on the twentieth century with Davies and McLean looking back to the 30s and 40s and Coltrane looking back to the 50s.

What may have been front regions when they were initially constructed (for example, mom and pop motels) are represented as back regions as they age. For example, the current popularity of Route 66 memorabilia dates back to this road's replacement by interstates. In some sense, therefore, blue highways depend on the

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49 Soutter claims that all the images from American popular culture that he absorbed as a child (from those in Janet and John books, to cartoons, films, and rock music) were there to be seen preserved in the real United States of his 1991 road trip.

50 Brochures on Thailand, for instance, are likely to privilege tours of ancient temples over contemporary factories.

51 See also Lowenthal 97.
development of interstates and emergence of new front regions for their reinforcement as authentic objects of the nostalgic road writer's gaze (Patton 14).

**Blue Highways**, following in the tradition of *Travels with Charley*, is unashamedly romantic. It is a quest to visit and record details of distinctive back road communities before they are regretfully eradicated by progress. The following words appear on an unnumbered page under the heading "Blue Highways" before the main narrative begins:

On the old highway maps of America, the main routes were red and the back roads blue. Now even the colors are changing. But in those brevities just before dawn and a little after dusk - times neither day nor night - the old roads return to the sky some of its color. Then, in truth, they carry a mysterious cast of blue, and it's that time when the pull of the blue highway is strongest, when the open road is a beckoning, a strangeness, a place where a man can lose himself.52

Heat-Moon's blue highways are frontiers between the present and past. Through his mindframe of nostalgia, he celebrates the diversity and historical associations of the small communities he seeks out (such as Nameless, Tennessee [31-35]) and preserves them and their people for posterity with words and photographs. In contrast, Bryson's initially romantic quest in *The Lost Continent* is thwarted by the regional homogeneity he represents, summarized on the book cover as follows:

[he] drove almost 14,000 miles in search of a mythical small town called Amalgam, the kind of smiling village where the films of his youth were set. Instead he drove through a series of horrific burgs which he renamed Smellville, Fartville, Coleslaw, Dead Squaw, Coma, Doldrum. At best his search led him to Anywhere, USA; a lookalike strip of gas stations, motels and hamburger outlets populated by obese and slow-witted hicks with a partiality for synthetic fibres.

52 The red and blue colour of roads on maps is reminiscent of those of blood vessels on maps of the human body, thus reinforcing this metaphor.
Bryson's is a nostalgia not for what once existed, or what is gradually fading, but for what existed in his childhood imagination.53

Romantic nostalgia is at odds with the perceived American national trait of being present and future-oriented, and thus constructing the past as burdensome. Lowenthal locates the apogee of this attitude in the nineteenth century with Thoreau "who wanted all relics of the past destroyed" (95). Lowenthal goes on to note that the stereotype of Americans as denigrators of the past is only half true in the late twentieth century, when the enormous demand for memorabilia has "brought 'antiquity' closer and closer to our own time" with the result that "today anything even twenty years old is a cherished artifact and nostalgia is for last week" (110).

The nostalgia for the driver's landscape of the 1950s fits into Lowenthal's picture. In 1999, President Clinton declared Route 66 a national monument. Before this declaration, there was already a well-established tourist industry based on the highway's status as a heritage road. There are many historical and practical guides to Route 66 such as those by Schneider.54 Route 66 Magazine contains nostalgic articles and advertisements for a wide range of merchandise from videos, to models of classic gas station pumps, to Route 66 mustard and jalapeño sauce. Such merchandise brings into play the authentic/inauthentic dichotomy. The owner of a Route 66 memorabilia shop warns Davies of the trade in fakes (24), making Davies reminiscent of a medieval pilgrim wary of counterfeit relics and indulgences.

Davies devotes some space to the history of Route 66, noting its association with flight during the Depression (obviously not a golden age) immortalized by The Grapes of Wrath, through to its postwar image change when it became associated with prosperity "emphasized by an explosion in motor-car ownership" when people such as Kerouac headed west just for "the thrill of the road" (23-26). Davies invokes the blue highways/interstate split when he writes that "66 became the main street of America, a

53 See Chapter Seven on intertextuality.
54 See also Michael Wallis, Route 66: The Mother Road.
road of drive-ins, motor lodges and refrigerated air that created a mythology to survive beyond the construction of the larger faster freeways in the 1960s" (25), noting that "The Heritage road is now a reality" (26). He looks at American roads through a romantic gaze by comparing them to aboriginal songlines in Australia (52).

The move towards museumization, or making spectacles of artifacts and areas previously excluded from the tourist gaze, is a marker of the postmodern era. However, it is not a novelty to turn roads into museums in the States, evidenced by the history of settlement and the fact that there are National Park Service maps of pioneer trails such as the Oregon and Mormon Trails. Motoring in its early days was primarily a leisure activity and American parkways with low speed limits and exclusion of commercial vehicles and billboards were designed specifically for tourists (Jakle 120; Patton 65-75). The Lincoln Highway was also built to link major cities with historical sites, and circular routes around national parks were designed to give tourists access to major sights while controlling their movement (Jakle 123-24). In contrast, representing British roads (other than Roman roads) as museums in the 90s is perceived as quirky. For instance, Pieter Boogart's recent book Ode to a Road (concerning the historical and current landmarks and attractions of the A272 through Hampshire and Sussex) is treated as a whimsical anomaly in Maev Kennedy's review in The Guardian.

5.3 CONCLUSION

To summarize, roads affect the road writer's mobile gaze in various major ways. The process by which roads delimit a field of objects for the road writer (construction of the gaze), including questions of what is selected and what is excluded was first addressed

55 See Urry 93 for a discussion of how tourism has moved away from focusing on seaside resorts in the UK in the late twentieth century to conversion of inner city sites such as disused factories into heritage centres.

56 For a history of highway development in the US and its relationship to tourism, see Jakle 120-45. See Patton 67-77 for a history of the relationship of roads to national parks (how they give access but restrict it at the same time).

57 See Chapter One, section 1.1 for a comparison of the celebration of American and British roads.
regarding the differences (rhetorical and actual) between slow and fast roads. In
general, when fast/straight roads are used, the focus is on: the road itself, a final
destination, movement, and inner reflection. When slow roads are used, the focus is
more likely to give equal or more weight to roadside objects of the gaze. Roads as
objects of the gaze become icons for the United States in general or for particular areas.
For instance, the straight road west with its connotations of frontier mythology is used
on many book covers to reinforce the legitimacy of the road trip. Patterns of
interlinking roads such as grid systems are also American icons, and the freeway
system of Los Angeles has a great impact on how this city is represented.

The interstate/backroad dichotomy is used by writers to authorize their stances.
For instance, fast roads construct a utilitarian (or adventurous romantic) perspective, or
can be used to differentiate the writer from tourists (as in Coster's case). The
construction of the road trip with regards to inclusion/exclusion of objects of the gaze in
back regions or front regions is influenced by what the writer represents as authentic.
Privileging of fast roads is reinforced by the norm of American national identity with
regards to making time. Slow or curved roads construct a more nostalgic romantic
perspective, reinforced by the golden age of American motoring, and the history of
road development that connects them with museums (organizing principles for objects
of the motorist's gaze). This nostalgic gaze is reinforced by criticism of the
development of placelessness or commonplaceness at the roadside created by
interstates.

Analysis of sample passages from case studies revealed how powerful larger
discourses (such as discourses of national and cultural identity, the discourse of travel
[especially the tourist versus traveller dichotomy], and myths) and intertexts from
various media map discursive boundaries through the use of often contradictory road
metaphors such as frontiers, monuments, blood vessels, barriers, kings and
conquerors, conveyor belts, and museums. Road trip discourse accommodates both
utopian and dystopian themes; roads are used to illustrate both the integration of
American society and its disintegration. The positive allure of individual freedom and
power endowed by the road trip is tempered by the transformation of driver to viewer of television and film. Road trip discourse allows the co-existence of two contradictory traits of American national identity: the wish to be future-oriented and eradicate the past, and the desire to idealize the past through nostalgia.

Images of American roads (or "the American road") that evoke the frontier metaphor are used on covers of many British roadlogues. However, they are often at odds with much of the contents. While writers and publishers may be aware of the frontier myth and its symbolism involving national and personal change, most British road writers are not transformed on American roads. Hazleton's tour is arguably a journey of transformation from British to American citizenship through the ritual of crossing the United States on one level. McGrath's trip is also partially motivated by an attempt to cross a personal spiritual frontier in addition to seeking to carry out an investigation of the American New Age movement. However, most British roadlogue writers of the 90s do not seek oblivion or a new life in the vanishing point at the end of American roads. Self-referentiality does not necessarily lead to self-transformation. Although their texts exploit the appeal of the frontier myth, British writers usually produce texts that focus on themed enquiries into American culture in general, or into a specific niche such as that of western swing music. In this sense they bear very little resemblance to American highway romances that focus on escape or transformation.58

Most British writers celebrate American space that they access by road but few seem to find real escape in it. Several, such as McGrath (192-295), Fletcher (209-26), and N. Williams (65-66), find value in the wilderness and depict its inhabitants (Native Americans) as noble savages closer to god and nature.59 Some (such as McLean [on his book cover] and N. Williams [172]) may become mimic cowboys for a short period, perhaps in an attempt to lose their European inhibitions in a version of Venetian masquerade. However, their disguises remain superficial and are easily removed.

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58 However, they resemble road movies in their descriptions of motels. This is discussed in Chapter Eight.

59 See also Rees's horseback journey through the south west: From Hell to Hopi.
Temporary transformation in the mythic west is an attractive adventure, but most writers are happy to go back to being British at the end of the journey.60

Both American and British road writers treat the United States like a museum. However, romanticized visions of the past can be used in various ways. When American writers adopt a nostalgic gaze, it often functions to reinforce their sense of belonging to their nation.61 Following pioneers with a road trip is a way for Americans to take symbolic possession of their vast territory. British writers do not tend to survey the landscape with what Pratt calls "imperial eyes." They visit the States to learn about its culture rather than to take possession of it for themselves. Davies presumably adopts a nostalgic gaze to add the appeal of a romanticized past to his text. On the other hand, Soutter aims to show that the States is living in the past in opposition to future-oriented Europe (4). Soutter thus reverses the Old World/New World dichotomy and Lowenthal's observation about the place of the past in the American landscape.62

Finally, a principal aspect of the road writer's gaze largely excluded from Chapters Four and Five is that of the route. Road writer's routes and how they are represented in maps is the topic of the following chapter.

60 Younge is an exception. Firstly because he travels in the south, and secondly because he regrets losing his temporary Americanness on landing at Heathrow, as discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.2.3.

61 See Primeau 51-67 for a detailed discussion of the search for American national identity in highway narratives.

62 In some ways, Soutter's narrative is one of resistance to the hegemony of American culture that dominated his youth. Although Lowenthal notes an increase in nostalgia in the late-twentieth-century US, he claims that this co-exists with the earlier established trait of being forward-looking rather than negating it.
Fig. 1. Cover from Duncan McLean, *Lone Star Swing: On the Trail of Bob Wills and his Texas Playboys* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1997).
Fig. 2. Cover from Lewis Davies, Freeways: A Journey West on Route 66 (Cardiff: Parthian, 1997).
Fig. 3. Cover from Jill Schneider, Route 66 Across New Mexico: A Wanderer's Guide (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1991).
Fig. 4. Cover from Graham Coster, *A Thousand Miles from Nowhere* (London: Penguin, 1995).
Fig. 5. Cover from Lesley Hazleton, *Driving to Detroit: Memoirs of a Fast Woman* (London: Scribner, 1999).
CHAPTER SIX

MAP READING: ROAD TRIP ROUTE MAPS AS PARATEXTS IN ROADLOGUES

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Vehicles and roads are not the only factors which affect construction of the road writer's gaze. Power relations underlying roadlogues can be further exposed through analysis of intertextuality. Chapters Six through Eight explore how contemporary roadlogues by British writers are brought into dialogue with a broad network of road trip texts and aim to demonstrate how this interaction affects representation of the American highway in case studies.

In their comprehensive "Introduction" to Intertextuality: Theories and Practices, Worton and Still argue that each text is subject to emotionally and politically charged intertextual influence because: a) the writer is first a reader, and b) the writer's text is only available through a reading (1-2). That is, a given roadlogue is first linked to other texts through the writer's background reading. Second, further intertexts are evoked in the mind of each reader during the reading process. Although it is problematic to separate the two axes in practice, Chapters Seven and Eight explore these areas. Chapter Seven surveys those texts directly referred to by writers (for example, through quotation) and investigates instances of explicit intertextuality in case studies. Chapter Eight analyses passages describing roadside objects of the gaze with a view to suggesting how they are linked to a network of texts through more covert means such as style, metaphor, and road myths.

The two axes distinguished by Worton and Still fail to account for a further way intertexts enter a given roadlogue: through the input of editors, marketers, and publishers.¹ As demonstrated by the analysis of book covers in Chapters Three and Five (sections 3.3 and 5.2, respectively), parts of books which are not integral to the writer's narrative affect how roadlogues are perceived and how they circulate in society. As maps are a type of paratext commonly found in travelogues, they deserve

¹ Although they do introduce this area later in the chapter by summarizing Genette's position (22-23).
some critical attention. The purpose of this chapter is to chart neglected territory by exploring the complex paratextual functioning of route maps in contemporary British roadlogues through suggested readings of maps from a range of travel books related to the American road trip published in the 1980s and 90s.

Route maps set up a dialogue with roadlogue texts in various ways. As distillations of journeys, route maps provide means to conceptualize the rather more unwieldy written narratives they accompany. Although route maps represent progression in time through space, in comparison to the gradual linear progression of prose, maps are static and foreground the complete route. Route maps can function as tables of contents, summaries, or abstracts and are thus useful to critics who wish to build an overview of a particular travel subgenre (such as the American road trip).

Maps are effective reductions of travelogue plots because they are easily comprehended as wholes and throw the presences and absences in a travel writer's itinerary into relief. Firstly, route maps emphasize where the writer travelled whilst simultaneously showing what ground was left uncovered, thus exposing the limits of each writer's gaze (more so than prose). Secondly, maps emphasize the principles of imaginative geography employed by the writer. For instance, when compared with accompanying roadlogues, maps emphasize the fact that different writers locate the east-west and north-south divides of the United States at different points, and highlight how each of these symbolic/social/political demarcations compare with their proportional geographical counterparts. Linked to this issue is the fact that maps can be used either to naturalize and reinforce political borders, or to expose their construction by emphasizing natural borders.

In addition to setting up a dialogue with a roadlogue inside a book's covers, a paratextual route map also links that roadlogue to other texts. Route maps are more

As mentioned in Chapter One, section 1.3.1, Primeau overlooks route maps, and Lackey gives them only a brief mention in relation to their notable absence from African-American highway narratives (130).

This chapter, although it borrows Genette's term "paratexts," has a superficial intertextual link with his book of the same name in that it does not draw on its analysis.

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problematic than simple summaries of roadlogues because they are translations with varying degrees of faithfulness to the narratives they accompany. Firstly, the map is a different medium from a written narrative which uses different tools to represent and construct cultural geography. Secondly, route maps are produced by ghost cartographers who usually have unspecified connections to a travelogue's writer. Route maps in travel books are, therefore, sites of intertextual tension and raise questions of authorship and authority in representation. They not only function as supplements to travelogues, but are also texts in their own right.

Practical road maps are read primarily to assist the reader in travelling from A to B and are most usefully judged according to accuracy. Roadlogue route maps, however, are interpreted at shifting points on a continuum between practical guides to real places (such as Rand McNally road maps) and fanciful ones to imagined places (such as those in J.R.R. Tolkien's The Hobbit). Readings of route maps in roadlogues, therefore, need to take account of how these maps interact with the narratives they accompany in addition to their relationships to the real world. Also, in order to be read, these maps draw on (and set themselves up against) discursive formations which originate outside the book covers that form their immediate contexts.

To address this complexity, this chapter utilizes map-reading strategies developed from theories of intertextuality, narrative, semiotics, and postmodern geography. It draws most extensively on Wood's The Power of Maps, Pickles's "Texts, Hermeneutics and Propaganda Maps," and the notions of denotation and connotation with regard to images developed in Barthes's essays in Image-Music-Text. Questions which expose power relations with regards to representations of the

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4 This is not to endow practical maps with unqualified objectivity nor deny them symbolic resonance and secondary functions.

5 Wood and Pickles share the position that no map is an objective reflection of reality but all maps serve interests. Wood illustrates his thesis with detailed analyses of the rhetoric behind the most apparently scientific maps (such as ordnance survey maps). Pickles takes a different approach and uses readings of propaganda (i.e., obviously unscientific) maps to illustrate how all maps are complex coded messages. Though maps have structural autonomy, Pickles is concerned to demonstrate their textuality; that maps contain unintended in addition to intended messages by virtue of their intertextual relations with their immediate and broader contexts (217-19). My view is closer to Pickles's than Wood's, the former of whom sees map meanings as unstable and multiple.

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American highway are explored such as: What interest does this map serve? What metaphors does it use to represent the United States? How does it function in relation to the narrative it accompanies? How does it construct implied authors and readers? Underlying these questions is the assumption that markets create maps in conjunction with individual cartographers. J.B. Harley points out (in "Deconstructing the Map") that maps are usually copied from other maps rather than directly from the landscapes they represent (241). Consequently, intertextual interpretations need to compare maps with each other in addition to analysing their relationships with travel narratives. Therefore, these issues will be approached by consideration of presences and absences that are effectively exposed by comparison of sample maps and different types of maps in their diachronic and synchronic contexts.

To provide an overview of roadlogue route maps, readings can be arranged in categories. The most obvious way to group such maps is by route pattern. Another way to distinguish these maps is the degree to which they draw attention to or problematize their own construction. The following map readings are organized using both methods, illustrating the fact that the categories overlap. The chapter therefore uses categories not to pigeonhole maps, but rather to contextualize readings. Each subsection first deals with the relationship of maps as paratexts to the texts they accompany. This is followed by discussion of how these maps construct American space through, for example, what they include and exclude. Suggested interpretations are partial and oversimplified and focus on what are perceived to be dominant paradigms and privileged meanings in each case. The readings seek to expose the rhetoric and assumptions behind route maps but are not intended to be evaluative or judgmental; one type of route map is not held up as an ideal standard against which others are measured. In conclusion, alternative reading strategies will be suggested as ways to take this research further and expand its relevance for travel writing outside the American road trip.

6 In fact, any intertextual approach inevitably undermines neat categories.
6.1 ROUTES AND RITUALS

As briefly introduced in Chapter Five, routes are significant in roadlogues for several reasons. Firstly, they establish the norms through which the larger landscape is perceived and constructed. Secondly, the route determines the plot of a roadlogue. Road trips are constraining as well as liberating. Constraints are made more obvious in route maps than they are in roadlogues because of the way the map clearly summarizes a journey and emphasizes its relation to the larger landscape. The route controls (and reveals) what objects of the gaze are included and excluded. It orchestrates how descriptions of these objects, records of road trip events based on travel notes, research done in the library, and post-journey reflections are chained together in a sequence. Not all roadlogues are narrated in strict chronological order. However, by and large, the route shape has most say regarding the organizing structure for the cultural enquiry. The following sections discuss three major route paradigms for American road trips: circumnavigation, crossing, and wandering.

6.1.1 Circumnavigation

A recurrent roadlogue route is one that forms a circuit roughly paralleling the perimeters of the contiguous United States. The main maps discussed in this section are Maps 1 through 4, although other maps are mentioned which use the same paradigms. Maps 1 through 4 provide abstracts or "plot" overviews for the texts they accompany. Map 1, from the Crossing America Insight Guide, shows four separate road trips across the northern, southern, western, and eastern edges of the United States. Although the title and the first page (a facsimile of a Pony Express poster) draw on myths of crossing the States, the four routes join to form a circuit, making the dominant paradigm one of circumnavigation. This example appears near the beginning of the guide, following a page entitled, "Welcome to America" (13). Map 1 would be of minimal practical use on

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7 As mentioned in Chapter Five, section 5.0.

8 The four routes are nowhere near approximating that of the Pony Express. In this case the actual routes denote a circuit but connote myths of crossing, discussed further in the next section.
the road because it covers too much territory and includes no road numbers (more practical maps are included in the body of the book). Therefore, the main function of this map (reminiscent of a welcome mat) is to serve as a graphical table of contents.

Map 2 is from Heat-Moon's bestseller, which is probably (at least for American readers and writers) the second most influential roadlogue on the United States after Steinbeck's Travels with Charley. In contrast to most route maps in roadlogues (which appear at the beginning), this one follows the narrative. The facing page includes "Lines from a Navajo Wind Chant" which stress the importance of reflection on the journey taken:

Then he was told:
Remember what you have seen,
because everything forgotten
returns to the circling winds. (412)

Its immediate context, therefore, makes this map's primary function one of a summary (rather than a table of contents).

Map 3, from Hazleton's Driving to Detroit, appears at the beginning of the book and thus functions as a contents page. Map 4, from Ruthven's The Divine Supermarket, appears inside the book's front and back covers and so acts as both a preview and a review. Map 3 is similar to Map 2 in that a quotation from a poem is included on the preceding page. In this case, it is from T.S. Eliot's Four Quartets:

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

As with the previous example, this verse reinforces the propriety of a circular route.

Scaled down, featureless replicas of Map 3 appear on the title page and at the beginning of each chapter where (instead of names, route, or topographical features) stars

9 Its canonical status is marked by comments from the New York Times and Chicago Sun-Times quoted on its cover which pronounce it to be "Better than Steinbeck" and "Better than Kerouac." See Chapter Seven, section 7.1 for further discussion of the road narrative canon.
reminiscent of blips on a radar map represent the location of the narrator at each point in the narrative. In this way, this book takes the table of contents function of the map one step further than most others.  

Maps of circuitous routes covertly allude to Renaissance quests of circumnavigation: they implicitly claim that the best way to travel the United States is to treat it like an island and "sail" around its "coast" in a modern caravel, (although there is admittedly much variation in the distance between the route and the edges of the nation). In fact, Maps 2 and 3 transform the contiguous United States into an island through exclusion of Canada, Mexico, Hawaii, and Alaska. Similar imaginative geography is used (to varying degrees) in a large proportion of American roadlogue and road trip guidebook maps. Other examples of islands include maps 6, 7, 10, 17, and 20.

Circumnavigating the States circumscribes it by affirming that everything within the circle is one nation. The bold titles of Maps 2 and 3, "The Route," suggest that, as their primary purpose is to show a route rather than represent American space, these maps are objective. However, the maps are constructions as much as reflections.

10 The small maps which open chapters function in a similar way to the summary sections in nineteenth-century travelogues such as Isabella Bird's A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains and Twain's Roughing It. For instance, under the heading "Letter 1" in A Lady's Life we read: "LAKE TAHOE - MORNING IN SAN FRANCISCO - DUST - A PACIFIC MAIL TRAIN - DIGGER INDIANS [. . .]." (3).

11 Although circular tours vary a great deal, few focus on circles which cover only the central states. P. Davies's Storm Country covers central states but uses a wandering route as does Ian Frazier's Great Plains. This section and the following one are similar in various points to Peter Bishop's "Driving Around: The Unsettling of Australia," demonstrating that there are many parallels between American and Australian road trips. The primary focus of Bishop's article is the circular tour of Australia and its relationship to the current crisis in national identity. While Bishop uses the term "circumambulating," I use "circumnavigating" to emphasize the fact that these tours treat the contiguous US as if it is a physical island (like Australia).

12 Island maps are also included in Soutter's Drive Thru Museum and Douglas Brinkley's The Magic Bus (not shown here).

13 Similarly, Bishop notes that the "around Australia" tour is a way to beat the nation's bounds (150).

14 Pickles cites the significance of words on maps, claiming that captions with photographs are parasitic whereas captions with maps reinterpret (221). In "The Rhetoric of the Image," Barthes suggests that "frequently it is the caption which selects one out of the many possible meanings from the image and anchors it with words. The meaning lies in the conjunction between the image and the text." (33).
Although Maps 1 and 4 are not islands, they are not simple reflections but make the contiguous States stand out by using a different background colour for Canada and Mexico (not as clear on this reproduction) and by excluding regional borders from the latter nations.

Island maps illustrate the traditional isolationist policy of the United States and the most obvious interest they serve is nationalistic. However, it should be noted that the interest behind such representations is not necessarily consciously nationalistic, because the island metaphor is a dead one for the majority of the target readership and, therefore, does not defamiliarize the American landscape.¹⁵ That the island metaphor is not new is illustrated by the fact that an example can be found in Post's By Motor to the Golden Gate, published in 1916. (An example of a more rare, and therefore more defamiliarized, manipulation of geographical boundaries to illustrate national and social ones is Map 20, the representation of Scotland as an island in a map included in the script of the 1998 road play Passing Places.) The US-island representation is not confined to American-authored texts but is also recurrent in British- and Australian-authored American roadlogues of the late twentieth century.¹⁶ This may be purposely designed, or a consequence of the fact (mentioned above) that maps are copied from other maps as opposed to the landscape.

There are also possible secondary motivations for using an island map in a roadlogue or guidebook. In addition to being used to reinforce national boundaries, the island metaphor in the case of the States in the 80s and 90s may also be preferred by publishers due to its aesthetic appeal. The US-island neatly fills a double portrait-

¹⁵ The term "defamiliarization" is taken from Russian Formalism, where it is used to describe the difference between poetic and ordinary language. Poetic language is described as renewing perception of the everyday through artistic techniques such as roughening of language, manipulation of point of view in narrative, challenges to genre conventions, and so on. See Viktor Shklovsky, "Art as Technique."

¹⁶ For example, Driving to Detroit (Map 3), Two Roads to Dodge City (Map 10), Across America with the Boys (Map 18), No Particular Place to Go (Map 17), The Drive Thru Museum (not shown here), and Drive Thru America (Map 13). Exceptions include Almost Heaven (not shown here) which has a map similar to Map 1 from Crossing America. Those examples discussed in section 6.2 on metamaps are categorized as such due to their cartoons, not due to the island representation which is arguably not self-conscious in this case. Representing the contiguous US as an island is reminiscent of Anderson's description of the way in which colonies coloured on maps of empires appear as detachable pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that can be removed from their geographical contexts (175).
oriented page, or (sideways on) a single landscape-oriented page (Maps 1, 3, and 4 appear on the former, and Map 2 appears on the latter). Additionally, the island metaphor may be selected for guidebooks and roadlogues because it reinforces the logic of the potential tourist's or roadlogue writer's circuitous route. This illustrates the fact that routes can construct the larger landscape they pass through.

In addition to making the States stand out as unique through the use of an island metaphor and shading techniques, Maps 1 through 4 also evoke maps of circumnavigation through their lack of interior detail. Practically no topographical features are marked, other than feint mountain ranges in 3 and 4. Road numbers are excluded. The examples from roadlogues (2 through 4) exclude all names of cities except those visited and Maps 2 and 3 exclude state boundaries. These maps are very bare when compared with ordnance survey maps. The same is true for the majority of the examples from roadlogues and road trip guidebooks provided here (that is, all the maps except 8 and 15). Map 19 is not from a roadlogue and is more detailed in comparison. For instance, it includes rivers, and the representation of mountain ranges more closely resemble mountains in comparison to the simple inverted "v" shapes used on Maps 3 and 4. Map 8 is extremely detailed. Though it accompanies a roadlogue, it is not a route map but a photocopy of a detailed road map, presumably one which the writer could have used on his journey.

Pratt describes quests of circumnavigation, aimed at plotting the coastlines of the world's land masses, as the paradigm for three hundred years prior to the totalizing travel narratives of the eighteenth century which attempted to describe everything within those boundaries (23). Maps which show routes circumnavigating the United States include a large proportion of white space, revealing (more clearly than written narrative) what is left unexplored by the traveller; they function to enclose space rather than describe its contents.

17 See also Adams, Travel Liars 6. He notes that the late Renaissance was the era of geographical discovery, whereas the 18th century was "devoted to the exploration, settlement, and scientific study of new lands."
On a practical level, circular tours have an appealing logic and sense of completeness. Also, unlike the medieval pilgrimage (which followed the same roads to and from the sacred site), circular routes are advantageous in that they provide fresh material for travel books on the journey home.\(^\text{18}\) However, as demonstrated above, route maps in roadlogues reveal what is excluded from the journey as much as what is included. Once more drawing on the myth of crossing, the cover of *Crossing America* claims that "the only way to truly experience and appreciate the contrasts of the country is to drive across it [. . .]." However, Map 1 reveals that the actual routes are not straight crossings, neither do they conform precisely to the paradigm of circumnavigation, because they are constructed around points of interest which cause them to meander and miss parts of the "coast." For instance, the southern route takes a substantial detour inland to the Grand Canyon and misses Florida completely, while the northern route privileges South Dakota over North Dakota.\(^\text{19}\) This map, therefore, reveals tensions between itself and the stated purpose of the book, and between itself and its own paradigm. Driving across the country to view its contrasts actually involves selection of those particular contrasts that are judged to be of most interest to its target readership. The routes reveal their power to unite the nation symbolically as they thread through and link many different states, whilst simultaneously foregrounding their selection criteria and exclusion of other states.\(^\text{20}\)

\(^{18}\) See Feifer 27-62 for a history of the pilgrimage (also mentioned in Chapter Five, section 5.1.1). Bishop notes the appeal of the logic of the around Australia tour (150). Jakle points out how the circular US road trip enables drivers to collect more tourist gazes than crossing back and forth on the same road (13).

\(^{19}\) The book therefore privileges the Grand Canyon over Disneyworld and the sites of South Dakota (including Badlands National Park and Mount Rushmore) over those of North Dakota (a state generally neglected by guidebooks until the 90s).

\(^{20}\) Bishop also describes the around Australia trip as uniting various regions and uses the metaphor of a necklace (150). Successive editions of *Crossing America* contain progressively less nationalistic route maps. In the map in the third edition (revised) published in 1996, national borders are de-emphasized by the use of a uniform background colour and topographical features. The map proposed for the forthcoming edition (kindly sent to me) includes much more detail, such as many more place names and a dense road network that crosses national borders (the latter are now represented by dashed rather than solid lines). The crossing routes do not all join to form a circuit in this case and do not stand out from the surrounding detail.
The locations named on Map 2 (such as Dime Box, Texas and Nameless, Tennessee) are not obvious tourist sites as in the previous guidebook example. This illustrates the fact that most roadlogue writers (though they usually visit at least one or two major tourist attractions), largely seek to differentiate the motivation of their journeys from tourism. On Map 2, white arrows pointing in a clockwise direction reinforce the paradigm of circling while also emphasizing that routes progress in time through space. Heat-Moon rationalizes his selection of a circular route: "Following a circle would give a purpose - to come around again - where taking a straight line would not" (3). He elects to set off in spring like the birds (3). He therefore reinforces the construction of his route by linking it to symbolic and natural orders.21

The phrase, "into America," in the narrative's title is at odds with this map which demonstrates that Heat-Moon confined himself mostly to the perimeters. The book's section headings include a picture of the Hopi maze (consisting of ever-decreasing circles leading to a centre point that leads out again) which functions as a depiction of the inner journey of the writer. The map and maze, in foregrounding overall route pattern, reveal a tension not so obvious in the written narrative: the inadequacy of the outer journey to cover the centre of America. Heat-Moon addresses this deficiency in a later travel book, PrayErth (a deep map) (1991), in which he rejects the road trip in favour of a walking tour that takes him back and forth across one Kansas county in a grid pattern, covering minute details.22

Route shapes tend to privilege certain points along the route over others. Routes of circumnavigation construct the beginning, middle, and end points as important. The beginning and end of a circuitous route are the same geographical location and resemble

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21 Heat-Moon does not mention the logistical problems of crossing which must also have impacted his decision, that is, complications such as: a) the need to sell his vehicle at the end of the journey, or ship it home, and b) the need to fly back to point A from B.

22 Bishop notes that Australian circular tours usually include a pilgrimage to Ayers Rock/Uluru, the symbolic centre of the nation (152). In contrast, the symbolic centre of the US is not a physical landmark but the mythical east-west divide. Most road writers orient their narratives around this divide, though they locate it at varying points. For a detailed analysis of PrayErth see Alison Frances Russell, "Crossing Boundaries: Postmodern Travel Literature" 259-307. See also Heat-Moon’s own analysis of his writing process for PrayErth in "Journeys into Kansas."

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the beginning and end points of a simple narrative structure. Stories can be described as involving placement, displacement, and replacement, in that the end of a story resembles the beginning but involves some sort of transformation as a result of the middle progression.23

On route maps, the increased status of key points in the journey narrative are often emphasized with the use of arrows. Columbia is the privileged location on Map 2, marked by a star and reinforced by the arrows that point away from, and to it. Arrows are also used in 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, and 17. Detroit and Seattle are privileged on Map 3. Dodge City is privileged in Map 10, and so on. Map 17 goes the furthest by transforming the US-island into a board game with a large arrow privileging New York as the "START" point. A greyhound included at points along the route, running in the direction of the arrows, is somewhat reminiscent of the dog used to mark a player's progress in the board game Monopoly™.

In Maps 3 and 4, again as with Map 2, place names are shown rather than road names, which illustrates that these circumnavigational routes were primarily planned around stops and not particular roads. The writer's routes are similarly structured in Driving to Detroit and The Divine Supermarket: Hazleton's trip is structured around places of interest for cars while Ruthven's is planned around places of interest for religion. However, the relatively neat circuits taken by each writer illustrates that the overall shape of the route organizes the narrative sequence as much as the subject in these texts.24

23 See Cohan and Shires 64-68 for discussion of this basic story structure. Porter notes that circumnavigation "suggests something profoundly satisfying, something full and complete and circular like a well-told tale" (86). Several writers note a change in tone when they reach the mid-point of their journeys (e.g., Fletcher 268).

24 In contrast, the highly idiosyncratic route depicted on the map in Storyville USA (not shown here) shows that places were the primary structuring influence over Petersen's journey.
6.1.2 Crossing

Another prevalent route-paradigm for roadlogue maps is that of crossing.\textsuperscript{25} The focal maps discussed in this section are Maps 5 through 8. Other examples of crossing maps include 15 and 18. As with Map 1 from Crossing America, Map 6 from the guidebook Road Trip USA is not intended for practical use on the road but functions very efficiently as a table of contents. The guide is broken down into sections detailing road trips that each use (for the most part) one particular highway to cross the length or breadth of the contiguous States. Each of these roads is marked clearly on the map. Similarly, Map 7 shows that Kurtz made a thorough job of crossing and recrossing the landscape in The Great American Bus Ride. This map is strikingly effective as a graphical reduction of Kurtz's trip and thus enhances her narrative. It illustrates how the medium of the map can function to authenticate a road writer's journey by clearly demonstrating the relationship of route pattern to the larger landscape (something which a written narrative, with its different tools, cannot represent so well).

Although Map 8 from Davies's Freeways appears facing the contents page, it does not function as a detailed summary of the roadlogue. Firstly, it is not a route map but a black and white photograph of: "Road Map of Western United States compiled and copyright by California State Automobile Association" with no route marked. (The quoted words appear on the map in a box at the bottom.) Even if the route were shown, the map is so detailed and on such a small scale that a reader would not be able to pick it out without considerable difficulty. This helps to obscure the fact that the book is not strictly A Journey West on Route 66, first because Route 66 no longer exists except in fragments (only the myth remains intact), and second because Davies makes detours from its original path (for example, he drives through the Oklahoma panhandle and to the Grand Canyon).\textsuperscript{26}

Map 8, therefore, evokes the myth of crossing the western States without directly representing a crossing. On one level the map, complete with crease marks

\textsuperscript{25} Again, Bishop points out that crossing is also a frequent route pattern in Australian road trips (146).

\textsuperscript{26} That Route 66 is a series of fragments is also obscured by Map 6.
where it has been folded, authenticates the accompanying narrative, as if the writer presents it as the practical road map used on his trip (although this message is undermined somewhat by the copyright symbol beneath, which attributes it to the Royal Geographical Society, London). On another level, the black and white colouring and crease marks give it a nostalgic resonance appropriate to a tour based on historic Route 66. The map forms a dialogue with the nostalgic black and white photograph of a telegraph-pole lined road on the book's cover (see Chapter Five, Figure 2).27

Nostalgia linked to American national identity is a major factor in most maps of crossing. As with circling, crossing gives logic to a road trip and thus is also appealing as a route pattern on a practical level. On a symbolic level, in a nation of such ethnic diversity where a shared ancestry cannot be called upon to reinforce national identity, the reenactment of settlement by crossing the landscape (most often from east to west) functions as a rite of passage into (or reaffirmation of) American citizenship. Map 5 is a section of the Oregon Trail which appears in the western novel Nebraska!, part of a series entitled Wagons West. It is included here to emphasize the historical resonance of crossing routes.

A map of The Pony Express Route of 1860-1861 (not shown here) is reproduced in the introduction to Crossing America, adding its resonances to Map 1 discussed above. The Pony Express map foregrounds the route because it is landlocked (except for a very small section of Pacific Ocean) and therefore gives no impression of how the route relates to the United States as a whole (the only other example which is similar is Map 15). The Pony Express map also provides an interesting comparison to Maps 1 through 20 due to illustrations in sepia tones that are included either side of the route. These depict Pony Express riders passing through paradigmatic western scenes such as those of: Native Americans hunting bison, a wagon train approaching Chimney Rock (a significant landmark on the Oregon trail in Nebraska), lonely mountain regions with fierce wildlife, and forts along the route. These pictures enable the map to tell its

27 The fact that this map is photographed transforms what was originally intended for practical use into art, making this representation border on the self-conscious. Maps in roadlogues which draw attention to their nature as maps are discussed in detail in section 6.2.
own narrative, making it more than a summary. Maps this detailed are therefore not usually found in roadlogues. The subject, sepia tones, and title of the map ("Pony Express Route, April 3 1860-October 24, 1861"), emphasize nostalgia and the historical significance of crossing the States. The map also differentiates the trip of the lone traveller from that of the kin trip illustrated in the novel Nebraska! (about pioneers on the Oregon Trail). This kin trip is unidirectional and involves families moving homes. In contrast, lone (male) Pony Express riders have speed, the ability to travel both ways, and are unencumbered by family and personal possessions.

Contemporary travellers usually participate in the ritual of crossing the States in automobiles rather than the wagons of their forebears and on much better roads. However, this does not prevent roadlogue writers from drawing explicit and implicit parallels with pioneers' journeys. Many roadlogue writers follow specific trails or roads. However, even those who design their own routes key into the myths of crossing the United States in order to reinforce these myths and/or compare themselves ironically with them.

Road trippers likely find the idea of crossing the nation on one road appealing because it equates more nearly with following a pioneer trail than would the practice of frequently switching roads. Sal Paradise is attracted by this type of route and decides to hitchhike cross-country on highway 6, calling his dream: "the stupid hearthsie idea that it would be wonderful to follow one great red line across America instead of trying various roads and routes" (13). He is forced to change plans when he discovers there is not enough traffic to make this practical.

28 As mentioned in Chapter Two, note 32, Moffat drives a truck alongside the California Trail but stops and hikes. British writer Winter follows the Oregon Trail on horseback in A Hack Goes West.

29 For example, American writer Dayton Duncan follows the Lewis and Clark trail in Out West, while Welsh Lewis Davies roughly follows Route 66 in Freeways.

30 Many guidebooks and road history books are based on this appeal such as Schneider's Route 66 Across New Mexico, Andrew Malcolm and Robert Straus's US 1: America's Original Main Street, and Wallis's Route 66: The Mother Road.
Adhering to one road adds the authority of the frontier myth to a road trip of crossing. The frontier myth is strongly evoked by Map 6 in which bold roads (much larger than actual scale) with large romantic names and numbers (such as "Route 66: The Mother Road" and "U.S. 83: The Road to Nowhere") cut across feint state borders and conquer the territory from coast to coast (both east to west and north to south). The 1996 edition of the guide Road Trip USA uses nostalgic black and white photographs (apparently dating back to the 1960s and earlier) to cover the double title pages for each section. No colour photographs are included in the body of the guide. The appeal of this book is its evocation of the nostalgia and romance of crossing the nation in its heyday in a primary mechanical symbol of Americanness: the automobile. It turns American roads into drive-thru museums and, to some extent, art.

The interest behind Maps 5, 6, and 7 is nationalistic due to their reinforcement of American nationhood through the use of historically resonant crossing routes (and two island metaphors). They are appropriate summaries of the texts they accompany. For instance, Map 7 effectively communicates Kurtz's desire to get in touch with her homeland after thirty years as an expatriate. Crossing routes and their historic resonances also appeal to British writers. For instance, Coltrane (see Map 15), Coster, and Davies make crossing routes heavily inflected with nostalgia.

As with the maps of circumnavigation described earlier, maps of crossing reveal the selection criteria behind their routes. Crossing routes tend to emphasize their beginnings and, especially, their end points. For instance, New Orleans is privileged as the goal in Easy Rider; it is also the goal of the Freedom Riders and Younge. Mexico is

31 For further discussion of the frontier myth, see Chapter Five, section 5.2.1.

32 The second edition, published in 1999, is less overtly nostalgic due to the inclusion of a coloured cover and coloured photographs. The map in this edition is in colour and includes a large amount of detail.

33 For further discussion of road as museum, see Chapter Five section 5.2.3. The 1996 edition of the guidebook Road Trip USA was a bestseller in US branches of the café chain Starbucks in 1998, suggesting that its target readership is the upwardly mobile middle class. It functions as much as an attractive coffee table book as a practical guidebook.

34 A later edition of Road Trip USA featured in Amazon.co.uk's top fifty travel titles in 1999.

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the privileged end point of Sal and Dean and Thelma and Louise (though the latter two do not reach it). California is the goal for forty-niners and many late-twentieth-century travellers in roadlogues (such as Coster and Davies) and road movies (such as the protagonists in Kalifornia). New York is the end point for Coltrane, Kurtz, and N. Williams. The mid-point of a crossing is also often emphasized and can thus construct the east-west or north-south divide.

Map 6 goes beyond the paradigm of a single crossing from east to west to suggest ten different routes which transform the States into a checkerboard. In addition to evoking the frontier myth, the map locates its centre where three routes converge near St. Louis in Missouri on the one-time east-west frontier formed by the Mississippi river. In contrast to Map 1 from Crossing America, this map constructs the roads themselves as the principal tourist attractions, excluding the off-road sites which are described at length in the guide, by failing to name any cities or natural landmarks. In this way it is reminiscent of maps showing pioneer trails such as the Oregon Trail, Mormon Trail, California Trail, Santa Fe Trail, and Chisholm Trail. The disproportionately large scale of the road names on Map 6 attempts to reduce the white space the roads fail to cover in actuality. Like a spider's web, this road network captures American space, while simultaneously revealing how the roads constrain travel.

Map 7 reveals how Kurtz's route was constrained, this time by Greyhound bus timetables as opposed to particular roads. On the page following Map 7 is a quotation from Walt Whitman's "Song of the Open Road":

You road I enter upon and look around, I believe you are not all that is here,

I believe that much unseen is also here. [...].

The inclusion of poetry adjacent to maps is a convention employed in many roadlogues (such as Blue Highways and Driving to Detroit mentioned above). Such positioning

35 Turner includes the Mississippi in his list of "natural" frontiers: "the "fall line;" the Allegheny Mountains; the Mississippi; the Missouri where its direction approximates north and south; the line of the arid lands, approximately the ninety-ninth meridian; and the Rocky Mountains." (9).
aligns maps with poetry rather than prose. Like poetry, maps are compact art forms: with both, overall structures are readily perceived. The close juxtaposition of poetry encourages a reading of the map which foregrounds its symbolic signification. In this case it also emphasizes that Kurtz, despite her recrossing, is still unable to cover the entire territory.

6.1.3 Wandering

The focal maps discussed in this section are Maps 9 through 12. However, Map 16 perhaps depicts the quintessential wandering route because it is not located within the outline of a larger landscape. As previously mentioned, maps often reveal tensions in (and with) roadlogues. Some maps illustrate a power struggle over what controls the trip: either the route selected, or the theme (which might be a quest for a facet of American culture, such as religion or music). Other writers may claim that true road trips should be entirely spontaneous. Some wandering routes are constructed as they progress; others are preplanned to cover as much territory as possible, in order to fill some of the white space left by routes of circumnavigation and crossing, or free the traveller from constraints.

Whether planned or spontaneous, route maps of wandering routes have resonances with the picaresque. The traditional picaro is not in control of his (usually his) environment, and his journey is episodic and constructed within a world that itself lacks structure (S. Miller 81). Unlike circuitous routes that are neat and have closure, wandering routes are more complex and often open-ended.

Map 9, from Lone Star Swing, lacks a neat circle, single crossing, or grid pattern, and reflects the fact that McLean's trip was shaped primarily by his quest for the roots of western swing music in Texas rather than a desire to take a particular road or route shape. However, this map has problematic paratextual relations with McLean's

36 For instance, as mentioned above, Hazleton and Ruthven take circular trips, though Hazleton's stated primary objective is to visit the sacred places for automobiles and Ruthven's to investigate religion.

37 See discussion in Chapter Five, section 5.0.
narrative because it is not a faithful reflection of the progression of his road trip. For instance, the narrative includes a sojourn in Tennessee and a drive through Louisiana (1-8), neither of which are depicted. As the map is not signed, the identity of its author is unknown. Even when maps in roadlogues are signed, no information is given about their makers in the majority of cases. Therefore, it is not clear whether the cartographer or publisher had an agenda in misrepresenting McLean's route, such as the intention to reinforce the logic of McLean's spending most of this time in Texas (again illustrating how routes do not simply pass through, but alter perception of the surrounding landscape). Alternatively, the cartographer or publisher could simply have made mistakes.

Map 10 is not a very effective summary of Nigel and Adam Nicolson's routes in Two Roads to Dodge City in that immediate perception of the whole design is difficult for the mapreader. The eye cannot take in the overall pattern at one glance, as is possible with routes of crossing or circumnavigation. Possibly for this reason, larger scale maps of route sections are included throughout the text. Meanwhile, Map 11 from Uneasy Rider is potentially misleading as a summary because it tends to suggest a continuous road trip (albeit with a loose end on interstate 25 at Santa Fe) through the use of the legend item "Main route of book." In fact, the text relates a number of separate journeys on the interstates of the southwest. Map 11, therefore, arguably uses the appeal of the extended road trip to market something different.

In a similar way to Map 9, Map 12 is not an entirely faithful reduction of the narrative it accompanies. Into the Wild is distinguished from the other roadlogues discussed in this chapter because it is biographical. The writer, John Krakauer, reconstructs the story of Christopher McCandless, a young American who took an unplanned, meandering road trip across North America first in his own car, and then as a hitchhiker after he abandoned his vehicle in the desert. McCandless eventually walked into the wild in Alaska where he lost a battle for self-sufficiency and sadly died. The tentative nature of the reconstruction is effectively reflected in the dotted lines used to

38 It is an effective summary in that it rightly shows the routes to be complex.
mark the route (which contrast with the bold route lines in the majority of other examples). However, a point of intertextual tension exists between this map and the accompanying text in that McCandless's journey through Mexico (described in the narrative) is not shown. As with Map 9, this prompts questions of authorship/authority and representation. Was this omission intentional, or a mistake by the cartographer or publisher?

Maps 9 through 12 reveal what is absent from other samples in addition to the ways in which they construct American space themselves. It is possible that parts of McLean's journey are omitted from Map 9 because inclusion of forays outside Texas would undermine the principal interest of this map, which is to present Texas as a nation unto itself. Autonomous nationhood is achieved with positioning, font manipulation, and shading. Texas is placed in the centre and its name is spaced wider than those of its neighbours to emphasize breadth. The bordering states and nation are shaded, while Texas is left white. This has the effect of putting a spotlight or magnifying glass on the state, of affirming its autonomy and the propriety of its boundaries.39

What differentiates Map 10 from all the other examples is that it shows two routes of two travellers: a father and son. The father travels in the east and the son in the west, thus reinforcing a dominant binary opposition which constructs the east as a land of maturity and the west as one of youth.40 The general principle appears to have been for each driver to drive up and down the contiguous States towards the middle, entering as many states as possible along the way (although the text claims that the father's route was preplanned and the son's spontaneous).41

Both routes meet in Dodge City, Kansas, which is constructed as the centre of the United States. The two arrows pointing to Dodge City from the converging routes make it stand out, as does the fact that the routes leave the central section of the States

39 I draw on Pickles’s map reading techniques here (199).

40 See discussion of east/west binaries in Chapter Two, section 2.2.2 and Chapter Five, section 5.2.1.

41 See Chapter Four, section 4.3.1 for further discussion of planned versus spontaneous routes.
relatively uncovered in comparison with the rest. This map thus contests the repertoires used on other maps, which locate the centre of the nation differently (e.g., Map 2 positions it in Missouri and Map 6 positions it nearby in Illinois). Map 10 diverges from the traditional use of the Mississippi as east-west boundary and instead selects a centre defined by its proportional relation to national borders. In their Foreword, the writers note that they selected Dodge City as a meeting point "because it lies centrally between the two coasts and has associations with one of the most heroic phases of American history" (xi).

Map 11 is different from many of the other examples in that it shows only a section of the United States. The focal area, the southwest, is placed just below the middle of the page and substantial pieces of the States and Mexico are shown either side to put the route in context. Although a large area of Mexico is present, it is left empty of detail, making this another conservative map as far as national borders are concerned. Another factor which distinguishes this map from the others is the network of interstates shown. All the other route maps depict only the route taken and exclude all other roads. Whereas most maps contextualize routes by locating them only in relation to the landscape, this map emphasizes how the route fits in with the larger interstate network. The primary message of the map is anchored by a text box.

The organizing principle of this wandering journey is to travel interstates. It does not privilege one interstate over another but instead travels fragments of several different roads. This map is different from the one in Road Trip USA (Map 6) and other books in that, although it shows roads to be the main goal of travel (as opposed to tourist sites), interstates are not represented on this map as having characteristics which distinguish them from each other. The interstate is a network of related roads rather than a collection of separate roads with their own titles and personalities. Similarly to several other examples discussed above (Maps 2, 3, and 7), Map 11 is also placed close to a poem. In this case "Tom Bedlam's Song - An Anonymous Lyric" appears on the previous page.
Into the Wild achieved bestseller status in the United States and seems to have struck a symbolic chord, no doubt connected to the metaphor of life as a journey and McCandless's romantic Thoreauvian quest to escape the trappings of modern life to live alone in the wilderness in the state which has come to embody the frontier myth for many in the late twentieth century. McCandless did not have any specific end in view when he started his trip, which was motivated by his disillusionment with the establishment following graduation. Instead of a bold caption proclaiming "The Route," as found on other examples (such as Map 3), this map is accompanied by text in a box which is reminiscent of a headstone: "The Journey of Chris McCandless, 1990-1992."

This maps reveals presences and absences in the other samples in that it represents most of North America (though it still omits a substantial portion of Mexico) and does not emphasize the United States as a distinctive nation. The route crosses Canada and thus unites North America as opposed to isolating the contiguous States in space. The presence of Alaska also highlights the fact that the United States is not an island, but fragmented.

6.2 METAMAPS
Some maps are not most usefully categorized according to route pattern. These maps do not conceal their interests behind a façade of objectivity, but foreground their own construction. It must be admitted that this distinction is somewhat problematic because whether a map is perceived as self-conscious is, to a large extent, dependent on the position of the reader. However, it is possible to establish some criteria for identifying self-conscious maps that compensate for this problem. For instance, the extent to which a cartographic representation defamiliarizes previous or contemporary representations can signify its self-conscious nature for a particular readership. (I use

42 See Susan Elizabeth Kollin, "Frontier Nostalgia and the Invention of Alaska."

43 Others examples of maps with routes crossing Canada to Alaska can be found in Paulsen's Pilgrimage on a Steel Ride and Abraham's First We Quit Our Jobs.

44 Someone with a different nationality or historical context from my own might well perceive an island representation of the US to be emphasizing its construction.
this criterion to locate US-island maps without cartoons outside the category of self-conscious maps). If the reader's role regarding categorization is acknowledged, the degree of self-consciousness can provide a productive way to approach map reading.

The category of self-conscious maps includes propaganda maps and what I have coined "metamaps." Though there is a sense in which all maps could be termed propaganda, in that they all serve interests, the term is used here in its usual sense to describe maps where a political purpose is foregrounded with the use of self-conscious cartography. Both propaganda maps and metamaps use cartoons which flaunt the cartographer's role in constructing the landscape represented. However, metamaps are distinguished from propaganda maps in this study because the former have an overall playful tone (as opposed to the political tone of the latter).

Metamaps use cartoons of anomalies to represent points on roadlogue routes and thus connote old maps of exploration and adventure. Pratt notes that "the old navigational custom of filling in the blank spaces of maps with iconic drawings of regional curiosities and dangers - Amazons in the Amazon, cannibals in the Caribbean, camels in the Sahara, elephants in India, and so on" was superseded by the totalizing projects of the mid-eighteenth century which filled in the content of outlined regions with precise details (30). By choosing to select only a small number of anomalies for representation, metamaps reject totalizing projects and foreground their own white space. In this way, metamaps bring some of the romantic and exotic resonance of earlier maps to what has become a dull landscape through too much familiarity.

Maps 13 through 18 are categorized as metamaps for the purposes of this discussion. Their playful appearance makes metamaps' intertextual relations with more political propaganda maps ironic. Map 19 is a propaganda map included to demonstrate the distinction made here between metamaps and propaganda maps. Map 20 is a borderline metamap/propaganda map. This 1998 island map of Scotland does

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45 Pickles would term all maps propaganda. See Harley's discussion of map hierarchies, which questions when and why seemingly objective maps are privileged over those that foreground their construction (235-56). It would also be productive to develop and problematize the distinction made in this chapter between metamaps and propaganda maps and to identify further subcategories of self-conscious maps.
defamiliarize in contrast to the island maps of the United States of the same period. It illustrates how two Scottish road trips, playing off the American road trip paradigm, function to reinforce national identity. As it does not represent the United States, Map 20 is not discussed in detail here. It is included to reveal presences and absences in other examples and flag up the problems involved in distinguishing between metamaps and propaganda maps. The following analysis of metamaps is structured in a similar way to sections 6.1.1 through 6.1.3 and reflects back on and illuminates previous examples categorized according to route pattern.46

6.2.1 Metamaps as Road Book Summaries

The maker of Map 13 (David O'Brien) is not the author of the narrative Drive Thru America (written by Australian Sean Condon), though the narrator appears equivalent in both texts. In this case, the cartographer has a reduced degree of anonymity when compared with previous examples because he accompanied Condon on his journey and is characterized in the roadlogue. Condon does not attempt to write about a real place but produces a patchwork parody of his accumulated memories and knowledge of commercial American culture.47 Overall, O'Brien's map is a useless practical guide to the real United States but a good match for Condon's narrative, which is overtly fictional and has a self-conscious pastiche construction.

The focal point of Map 15 is a large drawing of Coltrane in his Cadillac at the bottom towards the right, indicating the direction in which he drove (west to east), and affirming that the car is just as big a character in this narrative as Coltrane. In this way, the map is in harmony with the text. However, in general, Map 15 and the narrative it accompanies seem unlikely bedfellows. The map's status as principally a work of art (discussed further below) rather than a representation of a place is at odds with what is a down-to-earth, non-literary text. In contrast, Map 17 is a good match for No

46 Similarly, Pickles uses analysis of propaganda maps to illuminate others. See note 5.

47 Map 16 is not discussed here because it relates to only one section of the book it appears in, rather than the whole, although it arguably functions as an abstract.
Particular Place to Go by H. Williams, the style of which is self-consciously literary and playful. Map 18 (the two halves of which are located inside the front and back covers and embrace the narrative) is quite effective as a summary of a family touring holiday across the States through its use of icons of tourist attractions (such as Mickey Mouse in Florida and a slot machine in Nevada). However, its inaccuracies make it a useless practical guide. Although not visible on this reproduction, several states are mistakenly labelled (for example, it labels Arkansas with "OK" and Kansas with "CO").

Map 16, from The Bad Girl's Guide to the Open Road (Tuttle's semi-spoof guidebook, designed to encourage women to enter male-dominated road trip territory) emphasizes the metaphor of life as a journey to the extent that it dispenses with an outline of the American landscape (present in all the other examples to varying degrees). This wandering route represents the United States not with national or state borders or place names but only with icons such as a motel, an Elvis, and a Mack truck. Emphasis is on the road trip as transformational inner journey, to be gained by progression through (unspecified) physical space from "you were here" to "you are here."

Unlike the majority of roadlogue route maps, Map 16 is partially in the second person. It constructs an implied (female) reader's hypothetical journey marked by points which are both events and locations (such as "called boss and laughed," "changed name to monique," and "bought a french tickler"), signifying the freedom to be gained from escaping home/work/domesticity/conventional femininity through role play on the road. Perhaps the most significant marker is, "map blew out of window," challenging preplanned circling or crossing routes and effectively illustrating Tuttle's creed that road trips should be spontaneous. Though the guide briefly mentions some suggested destinations towards the end (178-81), its focus is on how to empower the self through the process of travel rather than on providing logistical details regarding where to go. Therefore, although Map 16 is not placed before the main text like a table
of contents (appearing on page 13), it functions effectively as an abstract of the text it accompanies.

The cover of Garreau's book reads: "Forget the map. The people of North America are dividing into rival power blocs - with separate loyalties, interests, and plans for the future!" Map 19 is a very effective reduction of the accompanying narrative. It embodies Garreau's manifesto which challenges the current political boundaries of North America; it is up front about the power issues inherent in travel writing.

6.2.2. Metamaps and Construction of American Space

In Map 13, the cartoon road, with accompanying illustrations in bold, is laid over a feint map of North America so that it resembles a palimpsest. (Map 18 is similar. The route is a bold black line over less substantial state borders.) Map 13 constructs travellers who have imposed their trip on the landscape (a fact obscured in non-metamaps). It is debatable which is more real: the bold cartoon route, or the feint state markings. The cartoons themselves mix representations of time and space. For instance, Tupelo is a town which will presumably always be in the same location in Mississippi. The baby Elvis cartoon represents a historical event which is now metonymic of Tupelo: Elvis's birth. Hurricane Fran was in the Atlantic ocean during the trip but no longer exists. The map, therefore, emphasizes its historicity by representing a combination of what is always in American space, what used to be before the trip, and what the cartographer experienced in his temporal progression through it.

Most of the cartoons on Map 13 represent a combination of what the mapmaker found in the United States and what he expected or hoped to find. For instance, the picture of a man singing "Oh Galveston" in the Gulf of Mexico constructs an implied cartographer and implied mapreader familiar with Glen Campbell's music. The implied reader can also recognize the late rock icon Kurt Cobain and knows that he came from Seattle. Such cartoons highlight the fact that this map is as much a reflection of the
travellers' and their intended readers' prior cultural knowledge of the States as it is a record of a road trip. 48

Metamaps often construct a United States of anomalies located in white space signifying the great unknown, playing on intertextual relations with the "here be dragons" cliché. A large proportion of metamaps (for example, 13, 15, 17, 18 and 20) include an anachronistic representation of a compass that echoes Renaissance maps of circumnavigation. As American (and Scottish) space is well known by the intended readers of these maps, there is no need to indicate north. Therefore, the connotations of the compass (for example, exploration and adventure) dominate rather than its denotations.

Pratt points out that the naturalists of the eighteenth century made the world manageable and conquered fear of the unknown through eliminating difference with labels such as "granitic peaks" which "can apply identically to Eastern Europe, the Andes, or the American West" (31). The current impetus is to reintroduce difference and establish or rediscover cultural boundaries in order to make the world more exotic and interesting again. 49 However, such attempts can be thwarted by failure to engage with places other than through an intertextual veneer.

Ironically, the lure of the great unknown in metamaps is actually based on the reader's presumed prior knowledge of the place depicted. Markings on metamaps sometimes reveal more about travellers than the cultural geography they supposedly represent. On Map 13, the accumulation of a hippy from San Francisco, a golfer from Palm Springs, a longhorn bull from Texas, and so on, hark back to the sixteenth century phenomenon of the "cabinet of curiosities" which Henrietta Lidchi describes, in "The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures," as containing "the specious

48 Condon and O'Brien are post-tourists who revel in the play of travel and seek the inauthentic rather than the authentic experience. The US lends itself to post-tourism because of its far-reaching television, music, and movies. Theorists such as Boorstin, Eco, and Baudrillard characterize the US as a nation which privileges the inauthentic. Boorstin points out that travellers "go to see what they already know is there" (The Image 92). See Chapter One, section 1.1.

49 See Chapter Two, section 2.0 for further discussion of increased regional differentiation concurrent with forces of globalization.
products of personal preference, non-scientific and whimsical" (158). They personalize the road trip, thus emphasizing its remove from objectivity. Both the map and the narrative exploit the fact that for most real readers the United States is not terra incognita, but very well known (at least at a fictional or touristic level) through its cultural exports and tourist industry.50

Similarly, the icons on Map 17 are constituted by signs referring to nostalgic (or fictional or touristic) views of the United States's past rather than signs referring to events connected to the writer's temporal progression through this space. For instance, there is a town crier in colonial dress next to Williamsburg, an Elvis in 1950s clothing next to Memphis, a Mexican bandit peeking from behind a wall near El Paso, and two cowboys in San Francisco. Like O'Brien's map, this one is biased towards what the implied cartographer and implied mapreader want or expect to see, rather than providing an accurate record of a particular journey. The Monopoly™ resonances of Map 17 (noted above) signify that travel can be as much about appropriation as discovery.

Map 18 also includes cartoons which refer to a mixture of historical/mythical/fictional signifieds and those which refer to experiences encountered in the temporal progression of the road trip. Examples of the first type include a Mickey Mouse in Florida, a Native American chief near Cherokee, a banjo player near Nashville, a 1970s Elvis near Memphis, and a movie camera near Los Angeles. Examples of the second type (some of which also fit into the first category) include a slot machine near Las Vegas, a picture of the RV the writer drove on the road in Texas, and a squirrel near Deckers.

Map 14, from The Outrageous Atlas: A Guide to North America's Strangest Places, goes a step beyond the notion of travelling to find what you already know is there. The Outrageous Atlas maps each state of the United States and each province and territory of Canada according to amusing place names and is a spoof guidebook whose

50 For a comparable discussion of the virtual nature of road trip travel in Australia see Bishop 145 and 158.
implied mapmakers and implied mapreader prefer language play over travel. This book is not a roadlogue but is included here because it flaunts problems inherent in representation and illustrates how imagination can take over from reality in travel writing.

Map 14 is a postmodern map which acknowledges that the days of totalizing maps are gone: firstly, because presumably everything there is to map about the States has already been mapped and, secondly, because of: a) the inadequacy of maps to represent reality, or b) their power to construct it. The poetic function of the message is the most dominant in these maps. For example, the city name "Toad Suck" in the centre is reproduced off the map next to a picture of a toad with a straw (top right). This creates a new sign which refers not to the signified of the real city, but to a literal meaning. The place disappears by emphasis on its name.

The text reinforces the strategy of Map 14 by failing to describe adequately the real places in Arkansas and instead constructing an imaginary state projected from the place names. For instance, in the text on the page opposite the map we read: "Outdoor vacationers will discover Arkansas 'sucks'[ . . . ] . Three more sucks are west of Toad Suck, there is Panther Suck Hollow, Bee Suck Mountain, and just plain Suck Mountain." (17). The following paragraph begins: "One of the least known categories of outdoor attractions in Arkansas is its cemeteries. Why tour the cemeteries of New Orleans when Arkansas has the gamut from the Primitive Cemetery to the Best Cemetery?" (17). It goes on to map Arkansas according to its strange cemetery names such as Belcher Cemetery, Aunt Dilly Cemetery, and Slay Cemetery (18). It would be interesting to compare Map 14 with the official state map of Arkansas produced for tourists.

Although Map 14 is an extreme example, several roadlogues and their maps reveal the interest in places sparked by names. For instance, Nameless, Tennessee attracted Heat-Moon (see Map 2) (26). Kurtz went to Dinosaur solely because of its

51 Jakobson's theory of the components of linguistic communication is outlined in Chapter Two, note 49.
name (see Map 7) (199). N. Williams and his family decided to avoid Death Valley because of its name (102). Finally, Storyville USA, by Dale Petersen recounts an entire road trip based on the principle of visiting towns with interesting names (such as Bug Scuffle, Sleepy Eye, Mexican Hat, and Hot Coffee).

Map 19 is not a route map from a strict road trip, but is included here because it effectively reveals presences and absences in the other samples. More aptly labelled a propaganda map than a metomap, it illustrates that metamaps in road trip books (though they foreground their own construction) are largely conservative in their approach to political boundaries. Metamaps are playful and focus on individual journeys (for instance, Map 16 seeks to transform individuals rather than national borders). Metamaps largely conform to reader expectations of cultural geography rather than seeking to alter perceptions; some subscribe to the views that reality is constructed and cannot be objectively perceived, or does not exist/matter.

Propaganda maps, meanwhile, believe in reality and that it has political consequences. On Map 19, bold topographical features help to reveal the man-made (and thus implicitly inadequate) nature of feint current state and national borders. In contrast to maps such as 13, 17, and 18, which depict cultural anomalies connected to tourism and myths, Map 19 reveals careful selection of icons according to political criteria. Nothing on Map 19 is used because of its poetic function alone. Some symbols have historical and ethnic associations (for instance, the symbols for Quebec, Dixie, and MexAmerica), while others have economic associations and construct borders based on a dominant industry (such as those for New England, The Foundry, and the Breadbasket).

As with Maps 13, 17, and 18, the effective functioning of these icons is dependent on readers' prior knowledge. The redrawing of nine new borders to replace existing state and national ones works on the principle of defamiliarization. However, the strangeness, or defamiliarizing effect of new national borders is legitimized by titles and icons dependent on the familiar. For instance, the map is likely to resonate strongly

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with readers who are familiar with Ernest Callenbach's futuristic novel *Ecotopia* (1975), in which a large portion of the West Coast secedes from the US.\(^{52}\)

Metamaps foreground the fact that maps are art as much as representations of reality and therefore raise questions about the line between fiction and nonfiction in travel writing. Map 15, from *Coltrane in a Cadillac*, illustrates this effectively. It is not the imagined coastline of the States (as in Maps 2, 3, 6, 7, and 10) that holds this map together, but a bold black and white frame encapsulating a rectangular block of land which, without the place names, would not be recognizable as part of North America. This map is foremost a work of art (rather than a representation of space), emphasized by the artist's signature inside the frame in the bottom right-hand corner. (Though other samples are framed and signed, such as Maps 2 and 12, the frames and signatures are understated in these cases.)

The route crosses from Los Angeles to New York, but it is difficult to comprehend how this route relates to the real landscape. Some coastline is visible on the left and right sides but does not stand out per the usual mapping conventions for representing coast; rather, it is shaded with the same intense black as the rest of the map. No states are marked, except for Utah, the name of which seems to be placed somewhere in Arizona under an image reminiscent of Moab in Utah or Arizona's Monument Valley. Some topographical features are marked, but with little regard for scale or correct positioning. For instance, two palm trees protrude from a sign for Santa Monica which are scaled up to a large degree and very detailed in comparison with the mountain ranges. A giant saguaro cactus appears in the middle of the Sierra Nevada in

\(^{52}\) For a review of *Ecotopia*, see John Moore, "California Dreamin': Ecotopian Science Fiction of the Golden West." The novel is also discussed by Holland and Huggan (178). Wood claims that a map's power can be measured according to the level of disappearance of the cartographer and that: "As long as the author - and the interest he or she unfailingly embodies - is in plain view, it is hard to overlook him, hard to see around her, to the world described [...] Instead it is seen as no more than a version of the world, as a story about it, as a fiction: no matter how good it is, not something to be taken seriously" (70). Metamaps can foreground the problems inherent in representation in travel writing, such as the degree to which prior knowledge of the culture of a place affects perception on the road, and can thus undermine the authentication function of roadlogue route maps. However, Wood oversimplifies the case. Propaganda maps, despite the foregrounding of their construction, are designed to function effectively and to be taken seriously in their original contexts. Similarly, metamaps connect with readers and can confirm pre-formed and limited views of a cultural landscape.
California that would be better placed in the Sonoma desert in Arizona. The Rocky Mountains, instead of comprising a range of mountains stretching from north to south, appear as a cluster of five rounded hills between Salt Lake City and Dodge City. The lettering for Canada has been spaced evenly between drawings of pine trees and mountains, showing that no effort has been made to represent the topography of Canada accurately. All these features point to the cartographer's preference for aesthetics over accuracy. In contrast, the labelling inaccuracies of Map 18 are most likely honest mistakes rather than pretensions to art. Also, in comparison with Garreau's map in the *Nine Nations of North America*, it is unlikely that the imaginative geography of Map 18 is a result of subversive political intentions on behalf of the cartographer.

6.3 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the paratextual and intertextual functioning of route maps in roadlogues with a view to illuminating the various roles maps play in representations of the American highway. Readings demonstrated that route map functions range from provision of: a graphical abstract to attract the attention of potential readers, a poetic reduction or rendition of a route to emphasize its symbolism, a way to authenticate the narrative and reinforce the logic of a route (thus altering perception and construction of the landscape it passes through), or a way to foreground the construction of the implied cartographer and implied mapreader and thereby emphasize how individual travel writers and their intended readers construct cultural

53 It is likely that alternative map reading categories than those used here would illuminate interesting questions. For instance, maps could be grouped according to the nationality, "race," gender, age, or class of the writer and/or cartographer. Another approach would be to compare those roadlogues which contain maps from those which do not. When Lackey observes that no maps appear in the African American roadlogues he discusses, he points out that "space is not an essence that transcends class and colour" (30). (Bishop's article, concerned with national identity, discusses issues of race and Australian road trips in some detail.) It is also the case that black Briton Younge's *No Place like Home* does not contain a map. However, because of the complex paratextual functioning of route maps in roadlogues, it is not possible to draw simple conclusions regarding the relationship between the map and the text's author. For instance, the category of road narratives without maps includes books by writers with a broad range of gender, socio-economic, ethnic, and national identities such as Kerouac's *On the Road*, Steinbeck's *Travels with Charley*, Coster's *A Thousand Miles*, McGrath's *Motel Nirvana*, Bryson's *The Lost Continent*, and Cahill's *Road Fever*. 219
geography. Also demonstrated was the way in which route maps, as sites of intertextual tension, can conflict with (and thus undermine) the authority of roadlogues.

Though each map has distinctive features, some general trends are apparent when samples are considered as a body. Route maps favour the representation of routes of circumnavigation and crossing and thus reinforce these paradigms. Wandering routes have less logic and are thus absent from road trip guidebooks. Wandering routes in roadlogues are difficult to depict, as illustrated by the ineffectiveness of most of the wandering maps as summaries of the texts they illustrate. This may explain why no route map is included in the Picador or Harper Collins editions of McGrath's *Motel Nirvana*. Circular, one-way crossing, and most wandering routes avoid returning to the starting point by the same roads taken on the outward journey. Professional road trippers such as Pony Express riders (and sometimes truck drivers) go back and forth along the same route out of necessity. However, the vast majority of tourists and travellers avoid this patterning. McGrath is, therefore, a rare example of a road writer who chooses to make repeat visits to sites. Her wandering route is distinguished from the majority of road trips which, reinforced by the contemporary touristic impulse to collect as many new gazes as possible, operate on the principle that one visit is enough and two are too many. McGrath's decision to revisit sites because she feels she missed an important story the first time around (that of the Native Americans) reveals the bias of the majority of road trips (192-215). This bias has been naturalized due to the pervasive culture of tourism. In McGrath's case, the overall route shape does not dominate the road writer's cultural inquiry.

54 Neither is there a table of contents in *Motel Nirvana*. The chapters are not numbered. There are few clues (other than page numbers) to orient the reader.

55 I have not found any roadlogues, road movies, road novels, or road guidebooks which progress forwards and then backwards on one route.

56 It has not always been this way. Urry describes how it was the norm for British tourists in the nineteenth century through to the Second World War to make repeat visits every year to the same resort (16-39). (Although this is not quite the same as making repeat visits within one trip.) Jalde attributes the diminished interest in repeat visits to sites in the US to the independence over route choice granted the tourist by the car and road in the early twentieth century (13-14).
Sample maps differ in what points they privilege, such as where they place the east-west divide and the symbolic centre of the nation. However, the majority are conservative in their representation of state and national boundaries. Many are island maps which reinforce national borders of the contiguous States and ignore its global positioning. The island map also illustrates the fact that most road trips construct the contiguous United States as definitive of the nation because they exclude Alaska and Hawaii.\textsuperscript{57} Those which do not use the island metaphor also generally accept the status quo. Although Map 9 represents Texas as a nation, it is not very disruptive. Firstly, it does not contest state borders. Secondly, it concurs with a recurrent discourse that represent Texas as a distinctive state but also as the state which is quintessentially American (thereby not threatening the unity of the United States).\textsuperscript{58} Map 19's radical redrawing of political borders emphasizes the conservative nature of the rest of the examples.

The presence of few topographical features shows that the majority of roadlogue maps are generally more concerned with mapping culture (such as, religion, popular music, or cities) as opposed to nature.\textsuperscript{59} The majority of maps do not attempt a totalizing enterprise but are selective in what they represent. In one way, selectivity reveals that travel writers and cartographers are open about the limitations of their representations. Selectivity may result from writers' attempts to differentiate their routes from those of guidebooks (for example, by going to Nameless, Tennessee instead of Disneyworld). However, route maps in the metamaps section also show that other roadlogue writers are explicit about their status as tourists. There is, ultimately, not

\textsuperscript{57} The exclusion of these two states from an around the US road trip is not surprising due to various factors. First, a national crossing interrupted by large spaces would not be so logistically appealing to tourists. Second, it is reasonable to present the contiguous US as being representative of the nation to tourists (just as readers would not expect a tour around the Falklands to be included in a guidebook about driving around Britain). While effectively dealing with the problem of what to do with Alaska (missed from most of the other maps because it is not part of the contiguous US), Map 19 fails to cope adequately with the Hawaiian Islands, which are put in a box and moved east to fit on the page, but are not included within any of the redrawn borders.

\textsuperscript{58} For example, see Brook 467, Fletcher 203, and Steinbeck 201.

\textsuperscript{59} In this way they contrast with practical road maps and the summary maps in later editions of guidebooks like Crossing America and Road Trip USA.
much difference between road trip route maps in guidebooks and the majority of
crossing and circling ones in roadlogues, other than the fact that guidebooks usually
map more than one route.

Selections inevitably privilege certain perspectives and can reduce locations
through metonymy (for example, Memphis is nothing but an Elvis icon). Therefore,
while I argue that metamaps are usually not overtly political, this is not to deny that they
have social consequences. Metamaps have more subtle political interests than
propaganda maps. For instance, although The Outrageous Atlas is primarily humorous
and might seem entirely nonpolitical, it is worth noting that it equates North America
with The United States and Canada and excludes Mexico. The Introduction reveals an
appeal to history which joins Canada and the United States (vii). Although this
chapter has set up a distinction between the playful and the political. Map 16 from
Tuttle's book demonstrates how humour can be disruptive with regards to gender
roles.

All maps serve interests. But whose interests are they? They could belong to the
writer, the publisher, the reader, or the unknown cartographer who drew the original
map from which subsequent copies and translations were made. The interest of one
map may be transposed onto another text unconsciously, which might explain why
nationalistic US-island maps appear so frequently in British roadlogues. It also explains
why, although one might expect metamaps to accompany the most literary or
postmodern roadlogues, this is not always the case. Metamaps 13, 14, 16, and 17
accompany literary and/or playful texts. However, Coltrane in a Cadillac and Across
America are down-to-earth texts for which literary considerations are not an issue, yet

60 The introduction reads: "North America's explorers and pioneers experienced hardships that had to be
endured with a sense of humor. One can imagine the mountain men, cowboys, and pioneers visiting
around their campfires, joking about the places they had been. Living on the frontier, they could see the
"pretense" that accompanies civilization. They often used a fine sense of wit in naming places" (vii).
Few Native American names and no Spanish place names are included on the maps in this book,
showing that it erects linguistic borders.

61 Harley's discussion of map hierarchies, which questions when and why seemingly objective maps
are privileged over those that foreground their construction, could be usefully extended (235-56). It
would also be productive to develop and problematize the distinction made in this chapter between
metamaps and propaganda maps and to identify further subcategories of self-conscious maps.
they contain metamaps (Maps 15 and 18). Similarly, the text of *Lone Star Swing* is very literary, self-conscious, and playful and would probably be best served by a metamap instead of the bland textbook-type map that accompanies it (Map 9).

Therefore, while it may be relatively easy to answer the question, "What interest does this map serve?" it is more problematic to determine whose interest it serves. As paratexts, maps highlight questions of intertextual influence at the margins of travel writing. The following two chapters move on to explore intertextual influence within the roadlogue itself.
Map 6. From Jamie Jensen, Road Trip USA: Cross-Country Adventures on America's Two Lane Highways, Moon Travel Handbooks (Chico, CA: Moon, 1996).


Map 19. From Joel Garreau, 

Map 20. From Stephen Greenhorn, 
CHAPTER SEVEN
INTERSTATES AND INTERTEXTS: WRITER-INTRODUCED
INTERTEXTUALITY ON THE AMERICAN HIGHWAY

When you come to a fork in the road, take it.
Yogi Berra

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Just as interstate roads on route maps cross borders and connect states through an
overarching network, a web of texts traverses and links the pages of individual
roadlogues. Chapter Six explored route maps in road books as paratexts. The present
and the following chapter move from the periphery of the roadlogue to explore integral
intertexts with a view to assessing how they affect British representations of the
American highway. The intention is to demonstrate the inherently problematic nature of
intertextuality in addition to discovering some tentative conclusions.

This chapter investigates what I define as writer-introduced intertexts (WII s).
WII s are brought on the journey by the writer (either in the boot, or in memory), or
added after the journey when travel notes are converted into published narrative. WII s
have a different relationship to the road narrative's construction from incidental
intertexts encountered on the road as an integral part of the journey (such as newspaper
articles, roadside signs, or music on the radio).1 WII s motivate journeys, cultivate prior
impressions, and construct the narrator as a reader. Texts found on the road relate to the
travel writer's role as recorder, whereas those introduced by the writer relate to his or
her role as interpreter.2

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1 See Chapter Four, section 4.2.3 for a discussion of radio as an intertextual layer inside the vehicle.

2 As mentioned in Chapter Six, section 6.0, Worton and Still point out that a text is not a closed
system but that interference from other texts inevitably occurs, first because a writer of a text is
influenced by the texts s/he has read, and secondly because the reader of a text is influenced by the texts
s/he has read in addition to the present one (1). This chapter focuses on the first point by considering
how the writer constructs him/herself as a reader.
Although some overlap is unavoidable between Chapters Seven and Eight, this chapter focuses on explicit intertextuality by mainly discussing those texts and authors directly quoted or directly alluded to by case studies. Chapter Eight focuses on implicit intertextuality apparent in, for instance, stylistic nuance, use of metaphors and rhetorical tropes, manipulation of genre conventions, and evocation of road myths. This chapter is concerned to demonstrate how WII's (especially those referring to other road trip texts) frame the American highway for roadlogue writers as they travel and subsequently write.

Contemporary road writers in the United States do not travel alone; they are accompanied by a myriad of other writers. It is, therefore, impossible for them to adopt the stance of "innocent abroad." As roadlogues include a substantial proportion of explicit references to other writers, it would be perverse to approach each text as an autonomous whole in the same way that the New Critics treat a poem. Some account needs to be made of the links between roadlogues. In RoadFrames, Lackey lists the influential writers of the American highway at the close of the twentieth century:

"Kerouac, Steinbeck, Heat-Moon, Robert M. Pirsig, author of Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance (1974), and John Howard Griffin, author of Black Like Me (1960-61)" (17). Because these writers remain popular, he notes that "Not only will

3 For an exception see Barry Cockroft and Hannah Hauxwell's Hannah in America. This book, based on a television programme, views the US through the "innocent" eyes of Hauxwell, a pensioner who has always lived on her farm in Yorkshire with no electricity, largely cut off from the influences of modern society. Far from providing the fresh insights of an outsider, the book is bland and superficial with the markings of a syrupy, manufactured docudrama.

4 Amongst the case studies, Hazleton's is the most directly allusive. Barely a page goes by without a direct reference to another writer or text. Hazleton admits the problem of intertextual influence when recording her experience of driving past Mono Lake in California and how it reminds her of the movie Chinatown and a scene featuring an actor's nose: "To be driving toward the highest pass over the Sierras and thinking of Jack Nicholson's nose has a certain absurdity to it. The modern mind is a problematic traveler. We arrive with a vast load of preconceptions, of associations from movies and books, radio and documentaries, magazines and newspapers. When a place is famous, we know it before we even lay eyes on it. And we go there to ... what? Confirm what we already know? Or try to forget it?" (90). Unfortunately, one tends to wish Hazleton had been more successful in forgetting influence as her constant allusions slow down the pace of the narrative considerably and become a source of irritation.

5 Regrettably, British road writers appear unacquainted with Griffin's powerful book which records his experiences of travelling through the south after he changed his identity (using drugs and make-up) from white to black.

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reviewers continue to judge new road books by their predecessors, but new writers will find that the authors in their rearview mirrors are larger than they appear" (17).

Lackey's mirror metaphor is useful for illustrating how previous texts affect the way writers reflect back on a place. However, it fails to show how what Eco calls "background books" influence the way writers also initially read landscapes. In Serendipities, Eco claims that such texts are more powerful than journey experience, noting that "irrespective of what travellers discover and see, they will interpret and explain everything in terms of these books" (71). As an example, he cites the case of Marco Polo in Java who mistook the rhinoceros for the unicorn because the medieval tradition had predisposed him to discover the latter creature (72). Therefore, in addition to appearing in the rearview mirror, other texts also cover the windscreen and frame the road writer's gaze in similar ways to the narrative vehicles and road networks explored in Chapters Four and Five.

Eco's example illustrates that this type of intertextual influence is nothing new for travelling writers because they frequently have a sense of belatedness. Late-twentieth-century British writers in the United States do not enter previously unexplored territory but are influenced by American pioneers on the road-writing frontier. It is not simply the case that British road writers jostle for position with the American novelists and travel writers named by Lackey. How the road is viewed by British writers (both in prospect through the windscreen and in retrospect through the rearview mirror) and later presented in a narrative is also affected by songwriters, screenwriters, poets and so on both from within and without the road trip tradition. The present and following chapters, therefore, employ broad definitions of "writer" and "text" to cover several media and genres.

6 See Holland and Huggan 5-6 and 22-23 for a discussion of belatedness related to twentieth-century travel writing in general. See Ali Behdad's Belated Travellers for belatedness in relation to Orientalism. See Buzard 160 for a discussion of the circulation of texts regarding nineteenth-century continental tours where he points out that, "Travelling and reading were seen to complement each other, constituting a cycle ritual in which readers both shaped their expectations and relived their past travels, through texts." See also Urry's components of the tourist gaze outlined in Chapter Four, section 4.0.
This chapter explores power relations between British case study writers and their American area of enquiry as manifested in the explicit use of background books in two major ways. Section 7.1 provides a survey of the background books connected to the road trip directly referred to by case studies. The main point of this survey is to demonstrate, through the predominance of American-authored Wils, a noticeable degree of American influence vis à vis the late-twentieth-century British road writer's gaze.

It is inadequate, however, merely to map intertextual reference points without considering how these references are used in specific contexts. For instance, the use of a Wil can show reverence for a quoted text or undermine its influence through irony. Therefore, building on the survey in 7.1, section 7.2 further explores the issues of how prior texts influence British writers' representations of the American road through analysis of specific uses of WIl in three case studies: McGrath's Motel Nirvana, Davies's Freeways, and McLean's Lone Star Swing. ⁷

There is a great deal of variation in how prior texts affect travellers' readings of the American highway. Writers rely on background books to varying degrees: some texts are taken wholly on board by writers, others are challenged, and others are ignored. Some writers find the views of their background books confirmed, while

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⁷ Investigation of the functions of Wils necessitates a theory of reading and a theory of authorship. Reader response and reception theories can be placed roughly between two poles according to the roles they assign to authors and/or texts versus readers in the construction of meaning. At one extreme, the author and/or text is the sole purveyor of meaning; at the other the reader writes the text. For instance, Stanley Fish's interpretive communities described in Is There a Text in this Class? would be located towards the second pole, whereas Hans Robert Jauss's theory of reception describing the evolution of the reader's horizon of expectations in Toward an Aesthetic of Reception could be located somewhere in the middle, and the New Critical position towards the first pole. (There is room for only a very reductive overview of reader response theories here. For instance, certain structuralist and phenomenological theories could be located in similar positions near the left pole, although their approaches are very different in other ways. (See Jane P. Tompkins, ed., Reader-Response Criticism from Formalism to Post-Structuralism for a comprehensive introduction.) This study (e.g., in referring to theorists by name) assumes that an implied author (or what Foucault in "What is an Author," terms the "author-function"), controls to an extent the range of possible meanings of his/her texts. The poststructuralist pronouncement regarding the disappearance of the author from contemporary writing is, in some senses, less relevant to the case studies explored here than some fiction, because travel writing emphasizes the role of the writer in its discourse. As outlined elsewhere (e.g., Chapter Two, section 2.1.1), references to writers' names in this study generally refer to implied writers or narrating personae. I adopt the general view that, in principle, a dialogue between the implied writer or the text and the reader is possible. This applies to cases where the text is a background book and also to cases where the text to be read by the writer is the American highway.
others are led to question them. Marco Polo, although in some sense blinded, at least revised his opinion of his background books on encountering the rhinoceros by deciding that medieval texts were mistaken in their depiction of unicorns as graceful (Eco 71-72).

Many writers follow the convention of listing books they take with them on their journeys as an anthropologist describes field equipment. For instance, Hazleton packs Edward Abbey's *Desert Solitaire*, Kerouac's *On the Road*, The Portable Graham Greene, and Jorge Luis Borges's *Labyrinths* (92-93).\(^8\) Not all roadlogues are as overtly allusive as *Driving to Detroit*, though the need to find a way to deal with an abundance of surrounding texts is obviously part of the postmodern condition.\(^9\) Hazleton demonstrates that her reading matter has come to define her. Before she leaves home, she assesses her identity according to the assortment of magazines in her houseboat: "The *New Yorker, Harper's, Atlantic, and The New York Review of Books* were all mixed in with *Automotive News, AutoWeek, Car and Driver,* and *Flying Magazine. Vanity Fair* lay under the latest issue of *Sierra, Outside* on top of *Road and Track.*" (7-8).

The issue of whether the voices of implied writers are evoked by instances of WII and whether these, in turn, make the voice of the implied travel writer who quotes them disappear is discussed in section 7.2 below.\(^10\) Tools are borrowed from Mikhail Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination*, Harold Bloom's *The Anxiety of Influence*, Roland Barthes's "From Work to Text", and Michel Foucault's "What is an Author?" to dissect functions of intertextual interruptions on the road.

\(^8\) Hazleton notes that she does not intend to read all of these on the journey (having read them several times before), but takes them to make her feel at home. Other examples include Kurtz who reads Anthony Burgess and Saul Bellow en route (45), Heat-Moon who takes Walt Whitman and Black Elk (e.g., 167-68), and Pirsig who takes Thoreau's *Walden* (49). See Cocker 162-63 for examples of books that twentieth-century British travel writers take to other parts of the globe.

\(^9\) Worton and Still describe intertextuality as involving for writers a process of inscribing themselves in tradition while demarcating their own spaces (13).

\(^10\) See, e.g., Barthes, "The Death of the Author."
7.1 MAPPING REFERENCES

British travel writers are predominantly influenced by American representations of the American road. In one sense, this is notable because it marks late-twentieth-century British roadlogues from other British travel writing in situations where few references to indigenous texts are made because Britain is the dominant culture. In another sense, it is not surprising when the lack of romance of the road in Britain is considered in comparison to a broad and well-established road trip tradition in American literature, music, and film. The most recurrent WH in late-twentieth-century British roadlogues is Kerouac's novel On the Road (1955) (e.g., see Collins 46; Davies 50; Hazleton 93; McGrath 192; H. Williams 31). The second is also a work of fiction: Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath (1939) (e.g., see Collins 169; Coster 167; Davies 25). Another favourite American writer of the road trip tradition is Mark Twain (e.g., Fletcher refers to Huckleberry Finn (63), while McGrath and N. Williams refer to Roughing It (McGrath 117; N. Williams 84)). Other works of fiction related to the road include Thompson's Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas (Collins 178), and William S. Burroughs's The Western Lands (Soutter 68).

Kerouac is what might be termed a "primary coordinate" for both British and American road writers. Therefore, despite the paradigm shift following Thelma & Louise (1991), which marked the emergence of more women and minorities on the written road, Jack Kerouac's tale of homosocial flight in the postwar era (a male buddy

11 This is discussed further below through a comparison of nineteenth- and twentieth-century British travel writing on the US.

12 For an outline of this tradition, see Chapter One, sections 1.0 and 1.1.

13 This novel is also mentioned in other types of travel narrative such as Brown's American Heartbeat (171).

14 Other writers refer to Steinbeck's work in general, e.g., see N. Williams 144.

15 Roughing It is ostensibly a travel narrative but overtly fictional. Soutter is so influenced by Burroughs that he declares he would like to place a copy of Burroughs's collected works in every hotel room as an antidote to each Gideon's Bible (144).

16 The term "primary coordinates" is borrowed from Foucault's "What is an Author?" but used in a different way. Foucault uses it in a discussion of what he terms "founders of discursivity" such as Freud and Marx. He excludes novelists from this definition (113-16).
trip described by Lackey as following the dark romantic and picaresque modes (91, 136), remains the dominant explicitly cited reference in British roadlogues. It is constructed as the highest point on a relief map of the development of the road narrative. A secondary high point, Steinbeck’s *Grapes*, provides a substantial contrast to *On the Road*, being a proletarian kin trip novel (assigned by Lackey to the naturalistic mode [111]).

The status of Kerouac’s and Steinbeck’s novels in W1I’s illustrates a point made by Lackey: that highway narratives are eclectic and mix traditions (14). The simple fact that a traveller moves down an American highway is apparently sufficient to link him or her to any other road trip, no matter whether it is fiction or nonfiction, involves group or lone travel, humour or road noir, prose or film, and so on. On the other hand, W1Is are limited in scope with relation to prose. British writers parallel American ones in that they are seemingly unaware of the majority of highway narratives and, to an extent, collectively reinforce or construct the canonical status of a privileged few.

In contrast to their limited and somewhat unified knowledge of road novels, British writers exhibit a broader and more eclectic knowledge of film, thus demonstrating the fact that this medium appears to travel across the Atlantic more effectively than prose narratives. Case studies allude to an eclectic set of road movies such as *Paris, Texas* (Coltrane 36; Davies 51; McLean 227), *Forrest Gump* (Collins 45), *The Hitcher* (Davies 50), *Convoy* (Coster 250), *Duel* (Coster 114), *Thelma & Louise* (Coltrane 52; Coster 6; McGrath 108; Soutter 117), and *Vanishing Point*

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17 See Cohan and Hark 11-12 regarding the genre shift in road movies marked by *Thelma & Louise* which led to the increased visibility of women, gays, and minorities on screened roads in the 90s.

18 See Lackey 1-32 for an extensive survey of the literary traditions affecting highway narratives such as the picaresque, pastoral, naturalism, and transcendentalism.

19 Case study writers acknowledge even fewer than American writers, making less references to Pirsig and none to Griffin.

20 See Lackey and Primeau for analysis of an extensive list of road novels including Vladimir Nabokov’s *Lolita* (1955), Clancy Sigal’s *Going Away* (1962), and Mona Simpson’s *Anywhere But Here* (1987), none of which are mentioned by case study writers.
Examples of other movies about cars or with road trip elements referred to include *Psycho* (Donachie 7; Hazleton 192; H. Williams 89), *Christine* (Hazleton 63), and *Crash* (Hazleton 104).

The vast majority of writers refer to westerns, the predecessors of road movies. For instance, Soutter mentions the 1950s television series *Wagon-Train* (117), and Hazleton refers to *The Lone Ranger* and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (114; 77). Most writers also tend to refer to the genre in general in addition to citing specific examples (e.g., Coltrane 88; Hazleton 187). In the medium of road music, case study writers refer to the dust bowl ballads of Woody Guthrie (McGrath 77; McLean 289; Soutter 115), and the trucking subgenre of country and western (e.g., Coster 274-75) amongst others.

Noticeably absent from case studies are explicit references to travel narratives. Heat-Moon’s *Blue Highways* gets a few mentions (e.g., Davies 42; Soutter 9). However, travelogues tend to be less visible than the two principal road novels mentioned above. References to British travel writers appear to be severely lacking. There are several possible reasons for this, either: a) British writers are unaware of other roadlogues, b) they wish to appear unique, c) they assume British readers will not be as conversant with roadlogue writers as they are with road movies and Kerouac’s and Steinbeck’s novels, or d) they consider travel narratives (especially by British writers) to be less valuable representations of the American highway than other texts

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21 Coltrane’s reference to *Paris, Texas* is less direct than the others: “The garage came straight out of a Wim Wenders movie” (36).

22 See also Chapter Two, section 2.2.2 and Chapter Five, section 5.2.1.

23 Hugo Williams’s title *No Particular Place to Go* is a less overt reference to Chuck Berry. Bull’s semi-roadlogue *Coast to Coast* is structured around rock music.

24 Davies mentions *Blue Highways* but encounters it during his trip (42). It is therefore an incidental intertext rather than a WIL.

25 Exceptions include Coster, who mentions (for example) Raban and Norman Lewis (6), and Hazleton who mentions Raban (11).
(such as On the Road) and perceive them to have low status in the hierarchy of "intellectual name-dropping" (Cocker's phrase [163]).

Whatever the reasons, late-twentieth-century British road writers mark a shift away from their nineteenth-century counterparts by neglecting to mention contemporary travel writers (in addition to placing themselves in an American dominated cross-generic road canon influenced more by popular culture such as movies and music). Nineteenth-century British travel writers in the United States frequently alluded to each other's books. For instance, in Domestic Manners, Trollope devoted a chapter to the reception in the United States of Basil Hall's book, Travels in North America (Chapter XXXI, 264-72). In A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions, Captain Marryat criticized Trollope's and Harriet Martineau's books (Domestic Manners and A Retrospect of Western Travel, respectively) (Nevins 172). Many more examples could be cited which link other nineteenth-century writers such as Dickens, Fanny Kemble, and Anthony Trollope. Neither do contemporary British writers mention their most famous predecessors in the United States: Trollope and Dickens. American writers, on the other hand, appear to be heavily influenced by at least one nineteenth-century European traveller: Tocqueville.

A partial absence is that of American Transcendentalists. Although there are a few mentions of Whitman (e.g., Hazleton 114; McGrath - 1) and Thoreau (Hazleton 160; Soutter 48), most contemporary British roadlogue writers tend to make less direct references to this American branch of Romanticism than they do to products of

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26 This contrasts with the "genteel clubbability" and cross-quotational "back-slapping" discerned by Holland and Huggan in twentieth-century British travel writing outside the roadlogue of the 90s (6). Coster's references to other British travel writers are to criticize their work in order to authorize his own. See note 38.

27 Raban, however, in Hunting Mr Heartbreak, ostensibly follows in the footsteps of Hector St John De Crêvecoeur (discussed further in section 7.2.2).

28 See, for example, Richard Reeves's American Journey: Traveling with Tocqueville in Search of Democracy in America. Lackey notes that Tocqueville's observations have become such staples of modern social criticism that they are often mentioned without attribution (12). This suggests that the most influential writers are not referenced explicitly. The subject of implicit intertextuality is explored in Chapter Eight.

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American popular culture such as westerns and road movies.\textsuperscript{29} In contrast, Lackey cites Transcendentalism as a major influence on American road narratives and devotes a chapter to the subject (80-111). He cites Emerson's "Self-Reliance" (54), Whitman's \textit{Leaves of Grass} (81-83), and Thoreau's \textit{Walden} (104-05), as being most influential and names examples of American roadlogue writers who include the latter two background books in their luggage (107). Amongst these is Heat-Moon, whose Whitman-influenced \textit{Blue Highways} in turn influences a large number of American-authored roadlogues post 1982.

There are several limitations to this survey which should be kept in mind. Firstly, it focuses on explicit intertextual allusions. While British writers may make little mention of, for example, nineteenth-century British travellers or American Transcendentalists, this does not mean they are not influenced by them. For instance, Lackey traces the genre convention of car outfitting to the meticulous description Thoreau gives of his cabin in \textit{Walden} (Lackey 16).\textsuperscript{30} Similarly, a Wil does not necessarily signify a great deal of influence per se. For instance, Collins mentions both Kerouac and Steinbeck, though his mundane, anti-literary roadlogue bears no resemblance to the books of these primary coordinates (46; 169). Therefore, this chapter focuses on those texts British writers feel the need to mention directly rather than what most influences them and its findings should be considered alongside those of Chapter Eight.

This survey also masks the complexities of transatlantic influence. For instance, Steinbeck's \textit{Travels with Charley} is littered with references to European texts (e.g., Addison's \textit{Spectator} 35-36; Homer 73; Herodotus, Marco Polo, and Mandeville 122). Equally, it would be difficult to pinpoint whether European or American influence

\textsuperscript{29} Hazleton, as a past English lecturer, obviously has a more extensive knowledge of literature in English and feels the need to refer to this knowledge more than many other travel writers. Soutter's reference is in the context of criticizing the effect of Thoreau's \textit{Civil Disobedience} (1849) on America's drug policy.

\textsuperscript{30} This convention is described in Chapter Three, section 3.1 and Chapter Four, section 4.1. However, outfitting or packing scenes are arguably conventional in a broad range of travel writing outside the highway narrative and thus are unlikely to be traceable only to Thoreau.
dominates Paris, Texas or Thelma & Louise as both movies have European directors (Wim Wenders and Ridley Scott, respectively). American Transcendentalism was also in dialogue with European Romanticism. Echoes of Trollope are apparent in Bryson. Determining influence is a seemingly endless process. Lackey's study of around fifty road books (including fifteen novels) is in large part devoted to tracing what he calls "shadow texts" which influence twentieth-century American highway narratives (ix-x). He notes that innumerable forms and traditions underlie the modern road book from "the Epic of Gilgamesh to the TV series Route 66" (7).

Rather than attempting to emulate Lackey's extensive and highly nuanced study, this survey is merely intended as a simple mapping exercise. The usefulness of this survey is also limited in that it does not take into account WINs outside the road trip canon. Mapping reference points does not account for the different ways in which WINs are introduced and thus begs questions such as: what is the difference between quoting a text or simply mentioning its title? What is the function of omitting text titles and merely mentioning writers' names? What is the significance of referring to a genre

31 Auteur theory, which treats films as the expressions of directors, has recently been discredited in film studies in favour of acknowledgment of the collaborative nature of film-making (e.g., see Short 187-88). On the other hand, Wenders is treated as an auteur in Ian Garwood's essay "Wenders and the Road." The European backgrounds of Wenders and Scott obviously play a part in representation of the American highway in their films, as does the input of writers, actors, editors, producers, etc. For instance, Scott claims that his cinematography reflects the fact that he finds beauty in certain elements of the landscape (such as "miles and miles of telephone poles") which is likely to be taken for granted by Americans (quoted in Sturken 36). However, his preference for secondary roads over interstates is shared by many American roadlogue writers such as Steinbeck and Heat-Moon. Cohan and Hark describe Paris, Texas as a view of Americanness through European eyes, although they note that it reflects early American-directed road movies more so than contemporary American-directed road movies, suggesting American influence (10). As noted elsewhere, western myths can be seen as propagated by both Americans and Europeans (see Chapter Two, section 2.2 and Chapter Eight).

32 This is also discerned by Lackey, who additionally traces the influence of Dickens in Heat-Moon (13). He also notes that "anxiety of race overshadows anxiety of influence for black writers" (21), demonstrating how African-American writers tend to follow the naturalistic rather than Transcendentalist tradition (111), revealing how privilege underlies the freedoms of the road for whites. African-American road writers "expose unwritten codes of power and privilege which underwrite the self in white road books" (23).

33 See Primeau 1-32 for another history of the highway narrative's generic roots.

34 For instance, Hazleton makes many direct allusions to a variety of genres. Amongst the films she mentions are: Sleepless in Seattle (7), Mad Max (16), Dr Strangelove (16), Citizen Kane (25), Butch Cassidy and The Sundance Kid (77), Chinatown (90), the recent version of Romeo and Juliet (124), Charlie Chaplin's Modern Times (125), Gone with the Wind (248), and Robocop (286).
rather than specific texts or writers? Do W1Is constitute name-dropping, are they ironic, or are they in an agonistic relationship to the host text? Some of these questions are addressed in the following section through analysis of W1Is in context.

7.2 INTERTEXTS IN CONTEXT

By and large, contemporary British roadlogues are not seamless but openly include references to, and quotations from, other writers and texts. In "From Work to Text," Barthes distinguishes the work from the text by describing the latter as a woven fabric (160). Writers exploit this quality by overtly foregrounding different threads to different degrees. This section describes how intertextual references are woven into three individual journey narratives. Examples of different types of W1Is demonstrate the large degree of variation between functions. The intention behind selecting three case studies is to expose presences and absences in each roadlogue by comparison of the case studies with each other and with a broader synchronic and diachronic context.35

7.2.1 The Author-Function in Motel Nirvana

Foucault's notion of the author-function can be usefully applied to analyse the different types of W1Is included in McGrath's roadlogue. "What is an Author?" describes how the author-function differs in its relation to different types of discourse throughout history and amongst different cultures (107-10). The essay sets out to explore the continuing presence of an author-function in the west in the contemporary historical period (influenced by poststructuralism) when real authors are presumably more absent than previously (101-02). Foucault's historicist approach to authorship, concerned to expose the way discourses circulate in societies, is useful to ascertain the power W1Is wield over representation in the context of the late-twentieth-century British roadlogue. Motel Nirvana foregrounds quotation of utterances detached from their contexts. Each chapter of this narrative begins with an epigraph (most often a W1I) with

35 Though it should be noted that the examples selected are not always representative of how W1Is function throughout the whole text.
a given author but no text title. Some of the writers quoted are road writers such as Guthrie, Kerouac, and Baudrillard. Others, however (for example, John Milton, Albert Einstein, and Heraclitus), branch off into many other disciplines, genres, and times. For instance, the following (reproduced here as near to a facsimile as possible) appears under the title of a chapter ("Standing People") about southwestern deserts:

'Why are deserts so fascinating? It is because you are delivered from all depth there.'

JEAN BAUDRILLARD

(108)

These words have been uprooted, presumably, from Baudrillard's roadlogue America (though the title of the source is not provided) and transplanted in this text. The quotation is set apart before the chapter begins, floating in white space, which makes it seem as if it is not communicated through McGrath's narrating persona but comes direct from the original author. In "The Death of the Author," Barthes describes writing as the "destruction of every point of origin" (142). However, the above citation noticeably resurrects the author in upper case letters. The selection of the author's name over the text title has the effect of giving these types of quotations universal significance; such words are not bound to their original contexts and appear to stand for all time like proverbs.

In addition to functioning as intellectual name-dropping and endowing McGrath's narrator with membership in an elite and scholarly road writers' club, this citation adds authority to her argument about representations of deserts that follows. Foucault argues that an author's name does not merely refer to a person but also has a classificatory function, lying as it does between the poles of description and designation (105). An author's name functions to put boundaries around an utterance and thus give it status. That is to say, the reader conceives of this quotation as part of Baudrillard's works, all of which are perceived to be affiliated. In this way, the words gain prestige. This is reinforced by the omission of the source title, which reduces the potential distinction of this text from other works by the same author.
It is interesting to note that McGrath's text can be read as partially deconstructing its own use of high status epigraphs with the following example, which appears at the opening of a chapter entitled "Driving":

'I wish I could care what you do or where you go but I can't ... My dear, I don't give a damn.'

MARGARET MITCHELL

(189)

This epigraph has ironic potential for a reader who knows that the writer of the popular novel Gone with the Wind would not normally be endowed with the same status as the eminent philosopher Baudrillard.

Foucault notes that citing an author's name marks discourse from ordinary speech, preventing it from being "immediately consumable" because "it is a speech that must be received in a certain mode and that, in a given culture, must receive a certain status" (107). To illustrate this further, it is useful to consider an incidental intertext included by McGrath that has no author and thus reduced status in comparison to the Baudrillard epigraph. The following appears in a box near the bottom of a page of a chapter entitled "There's a Seeker Born Every Minute":

JUST WHO WERE YOU IN YOUR PAST LIVES?

(49)

This is one of a number of New Age slogans, some apparently bumper stickers, that are pasted into McGrath's narrative in this chapter. Other examples include: "MAGIK HAPPENS" (73), and "YOUR HIGHER SELF NEEDS HEALING" (75). Many travel narratives include this type of intertext which is removed from its original context.
and therefore becomes immediately consumable. Such incidental intertexts fit Foucault's description of "An anonymous text posted on a wall [which] probably has a writer -- but not an author" (107).

The boxed words quoted above are placed in the middle of a lengthy Wil, analysis of which adds another layer to the intertextual hierarchy of Motel Nirvana. In this instance the narrator asks a hitchhiker in her car to read an entry from a guidebook concerning their destination. Following is quite a substantial passage directly quoted from the guidebook beginning with the words: "Sedona, Arizona is an isolated miniature sprawl in the upland Arizona desert, trapped picturesquely between scarlet, high-walled bluffs and the sky" (49). However, the quotation is not demarcated in any way from the main text of the roadlogue: it is not indented, there are no quotation marks, and the name of the guidebook and its writer are not cited. This illustrates Foucault's binary of author versus writer: in Motel Nirvana, Baudrillard's words belong to an author, whereas guidebooks have anonymous writers and are thus public property. As previously mentioned, Foucault links the author-function with the way discourses exist, circulate, and function in a society (107-08). Guidebooks circulate with low status and are not included under the privileged category "literature." The absence of an author-function with relation to guidebooks is consistent amongst the case studies. Some roadlogues mention titles of guidebooks, but none assign "authors" to them, despite extensive quotations from, or paraphrases of, these sources. The assumption that it is not possible to plagiarize from a guidebook seems to be typical of all travel narratives.

36 Many travel writers quote signs in stores, on roadsides, on tee-shirts, and on bumper-stickers. For example, see Brook 10-15, Coster 168, Dew 17, Collins 46, McLean 113, and Soutier 30.

37 At least McGrath signals that she is quoting a guidebook in this example. Most travel writers make their use of guidebook information thoroughly seamless. It is possible that, as the quotation is not easily verifiable, the section is not from a guidebook but written by McGrath. However, even if this is the case, the example still serves to illustrate the low status of the guidebook. It is also interesting to note that in those case studies which include bibliographies (such as those by Fletcher and Younge), histories and sociological studies are included but no guidebooks are mentioned, relegating guidebooks once more to the bottom of the hierarchy.
A text such as *The Rough Guide* arguably has much influence on how a traveller initially reads a travel destination with regard to selection and evaluation of objects of the gaze. However, it is likely that, due to the guidebook's low position in the intertextual hierarchy, writers such as McGrath are less likely to experience the anxiety of influence when it comes to guidebooks than they are in connection with more prestigious texts such as those of Kerouac or Steinbeck.

7.2.2 Following in Steinbeck's Tyre Tracks and Dialogism in *Freeways*

One way to deal with the postmodern condition of an abundance of texts is to exploit the inescapable fact of belatedness by turning it into the structuring principle of an itinerary. A noticeable subgenre in twentieth-century travel writing is that of following in a previous traveller's footsteps. In this subgenre, the apparent primary motive for travel is to compare present journeys to prior ones and the texts that record them. A contemporary writer can gain historical and/or literary authentication via association with a WII by following in the tyre-tracks of a prestigious prior writer. 38

However, such WII's have varying influence because latecome British writers are at liberty to choose how closely they follow their predecessors. For some, such as Raban in *Hunting Mister Heartbreak*, following is mostly a rhetorical trope and bears little influence on the actual journey. Raban ostensibly follows Hector St John De Crèvecoeur (and his text *Letters from an American Farmer* [1782]) but, despite a highly evocative opening that links Raban with his predecessor, the narrative goes on to neglect Crèvecoeur for the most part and travels much further west. In contrast, Younge carefully follows the Freedom Riders in *No Place Like Home*. He sets the Freedom Riders' journeys in direct intertextual dialogue with his own by beginning

38 See Worton and Still for analysis of literary imitation as "a supplement which seeks to complete and supplant the original and which functions at times for later readers as the pre-text for an original" (7). In contrast to Davies, Coster authorizes his gaze by distancing himself from other travel texts (6-7). In his opening chapter, Coster criticizes writers who follow predecessors and claims their perception is inhibited by influence and that he is "travelling light" in comparison. He authorizes his account of truckers' journeys by claiming that no other travel writers have written about them and that he is influenced by popular culture (e.g., the music of Elvis Presley) rather than the high literature that excludes average readers from Raban's texts. However, Coster's rhetoric is undermined later in the text when he makes references to literary figures such as Chatwin and Steinbeck (167, 236).
each chapter with a few paragraphs in italics outlining their experiences (based on careful research evidenced by his bibliography). 39

Davies's Freeways is influenced to different degrees at different junctures by Grapes. Davies's itinerary is only loosely structured by Steinbeck's novel because Davies strays quite some distance from what is left of Route 66 (the 1930s migrant route from Oklahoma to California). However, although Grapes does not entirely dominate the route of Freeways, it has a significant influence on the topic of the last part of the book (133-71). Here the record of Davies's journey is first put on hold while he tells the story of how Steinbeck wrote Grapes (133-45). 40 The section titled "The North" that follows is an essay on the plight of contemporary migrant farm workers in California (interspersed with passages describing Davies's attendance at workers' rallies) which draws on comparisons between their situation and that of Steinbeck's Okies (147-71).

While Grapes influences the itinerary and subject matter of Freeways to a large degree, several other WIs with more minor roles are used by the text in different ways. These are usefully approached with Bakhtin's notion of the monologic and dialogic poles of discourse described in "Discourse in the Novel." Although Bakhtin points out that all texts are, in fact, inherently dialogic or multi-voiced, he notes that some texts appear to attempt to be single-voiced and more authoritative than others. 41 The notion of a text being multi-voiced is not dependent on the number of characters it includes or people it quotes. It rather describes a text where conflicting views are represented. 42

39 See Chapter Two, section 2.2.3 for further discussion of Younge's text and its relation to American history. Like Younge, Moffat closely follows the California Trail in Hard Road West, driving to significant spots where she hikes, imagines the experiences of the pioneers who were there before her, and comments on their written records. American writer Reeves closely follows in Tocqueville's footsteps in American Journey. Reeves interviews people along the same route, asks the same questions Tocqueville asked, and compares responses.

40 Interestingly, Davies is concerned to trace the influence of migrant camp leader Tom Collins and his writing on Steinbeck's text.

41 Also noted by Worton and Still 17.

42 Bakhtin is confusing in that he does not use "poetry" and "the novel" in their usual senses but rather to stand for the monologic and dialogic poles. Therefore, not all novels are dialogic and not all poetry is monologic. It should also be noted here that this chapter focuses on only one aspect of dialogism: the interference brought to a writer's utterance by the fact that the words have inevitably been used in
Travel writers introduce the words of other writers into their own texts in different ways as demonstrated below.

On the first page of Freeways, a WII is used to evoke the romance of the road in a scene where Davies is looking for a car to buy for his trip:

The man was trying to sell me a Lincoln Zephyr, avocado green and perched on a ramp at the entrance of his used lot [. . .]. I was still in high school when the Zephyr rolled off the production line in Detroit. I touched the wheel, willing it to tell me some stories [. . .].

I continued imagining the road ahead. Sal Paradise and Moriarty belting across the country. Gunning her up; coast to coast. On the road to the next crazy adventure beneath the skies. (11)

This example uses a WII to set up the romance of the road to herald in the roadlogue. It illustrates that drawing a line between explicit and implicit intertextuality can be problematic. Although characters from Kerouac's On the Road are named here, readers unfamiliar with the novel may miss this allusion which constructs a narrator who is day-dreaming rather than indulging in intellectual name-dropping. The last line, being a paraphrase of Kerouac's words, introduces the voice of another writer into this text in a seamless fashion, that is, it is implicitly dialogic or double-voiced.

A following use of overt WII in Freeways provides a contrast. In a short passage entitled "To Walk," Davies describes driving in the Oklahoma panhandle where signs warn him not to pick up hitchhikers who "may be escaped criminals or inmates" (51). He notices a man walking at the side of the road in the intense heat and reflects on this oddity, concluding the passage with the following thesis: "To walk is not to be part of America" (51). Davies supports his thesis with a series of WIIIs: he mentions The Rough Guide which gives a warning regarding hitchhikers similar to that on the roadside signs, he reminisces about the road movie thriller The Hitcher (in which an unsuspecting driver picks up a psychotic killer), he also notes that the hero of On the previous contexts. The second aspect, that of interference in communication introduced by a less than perfect reader or addressee, is considered in Chapter Eight. See The Dialogic Imagination (272). Bakhtin's theory has parallels with Barthes's in "From Work to Text" and "The Death of the Author."
Road was the car, and that "When Travis walks out of the desert in Wim Wender's Paris, Texas the concern of his brother is not that he has resurfaced after being missing for four years but that he has walked [. . .]" (51). This use of two road movies, a guidebook, and a road novel as evidence to back up Davies's argument makes the passage lean towards the monologic pole of discourse. The potential for many intertexts to create many discordant voices has been subsumed as the WTs are reduced, objectivized, and fixed by the narrator. 43

Additional examples where various writers and texts are linked by a latecome writer occur in Driving to Detroit and The Drive Thru Museum. When about to embark once more on her road trip after a short stay with friends, Hazleton notes that "A deliciously incongruous image of the Lone Ranger reading Walt Whitman came into my mind" (114). Meanwhile, freight trains put Soutter in mind of musicians Sonny Terry, Ry Cooder, Bob Dylan, and The Persuasions, or cause him to envisage "Jack London, John Steinbeck and Woody Guthrie huddled inside a blind wagon singing 'Bound for Glory' with a young unshaven Henry Fonda joining in the chorus" (115-16).44 These examples demonstrate that both Hazleton's and Soutter's individual perceptions en route (like that of Davies) are influenced by prior writers and texts. However Hazleton and Soutter use their own creativity to blend various elements together to make something new. They create hybrids through recontextualization. Hazleton and Soutter apparently follow Erasmus's advice (described by Worton and Still [11]) to multiply and fragment models in order to assert their independence and avoid the dominance of a

43 For a similar argument, regarding intertextuality in latecome texts, see Heather Henderson's "The Travel Writer and the Text" in which she notes: "The ambitious travel writer controls his world by becoming master of the texts that describe it" (246). However, the passage from Davies could be read another way. It could be argued that if Davies had not seen these movies and read these books, he may have interpreted the lone man walking in an alternative way. A similar use of a Wt occurs in Driving to Detroit. When visiting the site of James Dean's fatal car crash, Hazleton uses her analysis of the novel Crash to interpret peoples' fascination with Dean's death (104-11). It could be argued that she is free to use Crash or a conflicting text as an interpretive tool, or that she is predisposed to perceive the scene in a particular way because of the novel's influence.

44 A similar example can be found in Younge, discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.2.3. Younge outlines the plot of his own imagined movie of the Deep South, listing his choice of actors and music (22-24). However, Younge's combination is perhaps more predictable than Hazleton's and Soutter's. Another interesting example of explicit dialogism can be found in Hazleton's narrative when she has an imagined conversation with the novelist Edward Abbey in Yosemite (93).
single precursor. Explicit intertextual collage is discussed further in the following section.

7.2.3 Collage and Textual Amnesia in *Lone Star Swing*

McLean's use of intertextuality contrasts with that of McGrath and Davies. A brief skim through his text shows that it is dominated by all varieties of overt intertextuality. It has an overt collage construction. Song titles (such as "Deep in the Heart of Texas" and "It's Bad to Be A Good Girl [When You're Nine Miles Out of Town]") are used for each chapter heading. Between chapter headings and the narrative are pasted nostalgic business cards, concert tickets and so on collected on the trip which date back to western swing's heyday in the 1930s and 40s. Throughout the narrative, WII's such as passages quoted from western swing song lyrics and biographies of western swing musicians (e.g., 175; 119-20), are mixed in with incidental intertexts such as newspaper articles (59-62), roadside signs (113), and music encountered on the journey (5). Overall, the narrator is characterized as a bricoleur, though a somewhat selective one.45

*Lone Star Swing* is a narrative which is motivated and shaped by WII's (although it also includes a substantial amount of incidental intertextuality). A glance at the front cover illustrates this effectively (see Chapter Five, Figure 1). Hovering over the colourful Texas road of the present is an anachronistic black and white Bob Wills mounted on a white horse, illustrating how Bob Wills and his music shape McLean's journey and affect how the road is represented. The present landscape has the old intertexts of western swing laid on top of it to form a palimpsest.46

The relationship between McLean's text and the intertexts of western swing is not agonistic, but one of pilgrim to object of worship. Bloom's theory in *The Anxiety of Influence*, though potentially appropriate for a poet struggling against a prior poet, is

45 Claude Lévi-Strauss defines the bricoleur in opposition to a craftsman. A bricoleur, rather than using the correct tools and materials for a job, makes things from whatever is close at hand.

46 It is interesting to note that western swing is itself intertextual, described on the book cover as a mongrel combination of "jazz, blues, country and mariachi."
less useful when it comes to addressing the relationship between a prose writer and a musician. McLean is not in competition with the musicians he writes about; he does not try to emulate their music nor differentiate his music from theirs. However, the playful, often ironic language of western swing lyrics is echoed in McLean's style.\footnote{See Chapter Eight, section 8.1 for examples.}

_Lone Star Swing_ is itself intertextually linked to many other British travel narratives which are motivated by, or quests for, American intertexts. One example is Roy Kerridge's _In the Deep South_, about a Greyhound bus trip prompted by a childhood fascination with _Uncle Tom’s Cabin_ and the Uncle Remus stories. (In contrast to Kerridge, Younge lists Maya Angelou and Toni Morrison as influences plus film versions of Alex Haley’s _Roots_ and Alice Walker’s _The Color Purple_ \cite{18-19}). John Williams visits cities described by his favourite American crime writers in _Into the Badlands_.\footnote{Literature road trips by American writers include Michael Pearson's _Imagined Places_ and Douglas Brinkley's _The Magic Bus: An American Odyssey_.} Such narratives tend to emphasize inherent dialogism.

Brown's _American Heartbeat_ is structured around cities mentioned in famous songs he grew up with such as "Do You Know the Way to San José?" Once Brown arrives at his various destinations, he makes few references to the songs which sent him there, making WIT in this case function primarily as a gimmick to differentiate his narrative from other travel texts. J. Williams's narrative, in contrast, is totally dominated by crime writers and their texts. He compares the cities he visits to their descriptions in crime novels and compares the real writers to their fictions in a classic case of exploring how life imitates art that demonstrates a Romantic notion of authorship. (McLean has a Romantic notion of western swing heroes as they used to be, but contrasts this ironically with their present old age and infirmity \cite{184-89}).\footnote{Not only does J. Williams impose his knowledge of the writers' books onto their lives and his surroundings, but he shows how this type of intertextual framing is a common phenomenon. For instance, he claims that people who live in Miami have begun to dress like characters from Miami Vice and describes how a Miami bar was decorated by the film crew of this television show to make it look a Miami bar (16). (McGrath, similarly, says she heard a rumour that the makers of _Thelma & Louise_ stripped the Utah desert of its plants to make it look more authentic \cite{108}).} Texts such as McLean's, Kerridge's, Brown's, and Williams's mark a shift...
from the parent-child stance of British narrators to the United States evident in earlier
travel narratives such as those of the nineteenth century. Many contemporary British
writers are in search of heroes to worship rather than people or institutions to evaluate
critically.\textsuperscript{50}

These writers' texts also illustrate another function of WIL: that of providing
metaphors for the landscape.\textsuperscript{51} This function again marks a shift away from nineteenth-
century travel narratives by British writers. Early British travellers on the east coast
made a habit of comparing everywhere to England and Europe. For instance, they
frequently remarked on points of similarity and difference between London and New
York.\textsuperscript{52} However, as Mulvey points out, once these travellers started to enter the west
at the end of the nineteenth century, metaphors of home ceased to be adequate (Anglo-
American Landscapes 37). For metaphors to function effectively, sufficient
correspondence between tenor and vehicle is necessary. Early British travellers in the
west were at a loss to describe it because it was nothing like home. Contemporary
British writers, secure in the knowledge that their implied readers are well-acquainted
with American popular culture tend to use American WILs as metaphors just as much (if
not more) than the traditional comparisons with home.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{50} Not all writers exhibit unqualified adoration. As mentioned elsewhere (e.g., Chapter One , section
1.1), those writers in search of icons of worship are also capable of social critique, such as Coltrane.
Soutter's Drive Thru Museum is very critical of American culture, despite his profession that he grew
up influenced by Americana to such an extent that he feels as if he is arriving home when he lands in
the US (1.5; 8). Nineteenth-century travel writers also appreciate American literature. For instance,
Nevins points out that Rudyard Kipling ended his otherwise highly critical account of travels to the US
(From Sea to Sea [1899]) with admiration for Mark Twain (Nevins 325). However, American literature
does not appear to be the overall structuring influence of nineteenth-century journeys. American
popular culture does not take hold in Britain until the twentieth century and the spread of film and
gramophone records.

\textsuperscript{51} "Metaphor" is used in a very broad sense here to signify any comparison of A and B where A is
known to the implied reader and is used to give a sense of what unknown B is like.

\textsuperscript{52} In the twentieth century, Steinbeck compares areas of the eastern US to Cornwall and Dorset, where
the original settlers came from (Travels 48).

\textsuperscript{53} Coltrane's narrator is also aware of how this kind of intertextuality can reflect on him. As he drives
through the desert in his 1950s Cadillac being filmed by a television crew, he is aware how the scene
resembles a contemporary fast food commercial and that he is in peril of "being associated with a low
price burrito from Taco Bell" (49). This example follows his remark that, "If you've ever seen a car
commercial then you know what Southern Utah looks like" (49).
Needless to say, the tenor does not always match up to the vehicle. Coltrane describes his disappointment when meeting a surprisingly health-conscious cowboy in a town he describes as a scene out of a western movie: "I found it hard to come to terms with a hard-bitten cowboy, the mud of the range fresh on his boots, looking me straight in the eye and saying, 'What families want now is a lower level of unsaturated fat'" (88). There are many similar examples. McLean, for instance, complains that gas stations in Texas do not give as good service as those in movies (170). Though his remark is ironic, it illustrates that films are standard background books against which journeys are measured. Most of the disappointment in the real landscape and culture is its failure to replicate a nostalgic or imagined mythical representation in a W11.54

Following on from this, many writers, including McLean, point out the problematic nature of intertextuality. McLean describes the dubious nature of using intertextual references in the following extract:

So much for romantic Paris, Texas from the film of the same name, I thought to myself as I zoomed round the bypass. Typical of a movie-maker to come up with such bewitching images of such an average could-be-anywhere place. But then I thought, Hold on a minute, wasn't the town purposely average, if not actually downright ugly, in the film? Wasn't it contrasted to the stark, elemental beauty of the desert that what's-his-name with the beard walks out of at the start? But that's the problem with driving across a strange land on your tod in a hired car. with nothing for company but sixteen western swing tapes, one road atlas, one Texas Off the Beaten Path, and the New Grove Dictionary of Jazz for bedtime reading. You can't stick in the video and check the plot. You can't look up Halliwell's. You can't even ring Tanya the film buff in Get Taped Videos and ask for a quick summary, cast list.

54 Chapter Eight explores how independent motels and diners generally do not disappoint British travellers and match up to their expectations formed by fiction and myths.
cinematographer, awards received, etc. etc. You have to rely on your memory and make up the bits you’ve forgotten.

Then, six months later, when you're sitting at home with your videos, your Halliwell's, your Get Taped down the road, you don't want them [...]. You need something else entirely. Because you're trying to recall what cruising through Texas on a Saturday morning in April is like, and what you really need now is a virtual reality recreation of driving west on US Highway 82. But all you can do is rely on your memory. And make up the bits you've forgotten. (33-34)

McLean acknowledges that his initial rendition of Wim Wenders's film may be a misreading. In fact, he is entirely mistaken because Paris is not shown in the film. The name and idea of Paris represent an unattainable utopia for Travis ("whatsisname") and his broken family. Thus, this passage shows WII functioning in a very different way from the earlier example entitled "To Walk" from Freeways. Rather than constituting authoritative discourse, McLean's passage uses intertextuality to foreground the construction (and unreliability) of the narrative. WII often emphasize the difference between the trip and travel notes, and between the travel notes and finished text, thus exposing and consequently undermining the power they have with regard to representation and the road writer's gaze.

McLean simultaneously evokes and undermines the film Paris, Texas as a frame for the place of the same name. To borrow terminology from translation studies, he complains that he cannot be faithful to the original when it is absent. McLean

55 Interestingly, the second paragraph, in addition to following several examples of explicit WII, is very close to one in Baudrillard's America and thus is a case of implicit intertextuality (1).

56 This is different from Bloom's notion (in A Map of Misreading) of the readings of strong poets as misprision or misreading. McLean's misreading is due (at least ostensibly) to his faulty memory rather than a desire to struggle with a precursor.

57 The only representation of Paris in the movie is a crumpled photograph that Travis carries with him of a vacant, dusty lot in a trailer park. He bought the lot as a future home for himself, his wife, and son. However, the family split up before they could move there.

58 A similar, though less extreme, absent presence is achieved for the songs he quotes: the reader has the lyrics but the music cannot be reproduced in a printed text.
demonstrates how "textual amnesia" can be used to escape what Montaigne calls the "silencing tyranny of the predecessor" as discussed by Worton and Still (7-8).

McLean's failure to recall *Paris, Texas* accurately challenges its tyranny in two ways: it takes away the power of this WE to influence McLean's reading of Texas, while it also removes the competition for McLean's own prose representation.

McLean also criticizes the inadequacy of the background books he has selected for his journey ("sixteen western swing tapes, one road atlas, one *Texas Off the Beaten Path*, and the *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*") as regards assisting him to accomplish an adequate reading of Paris. Therefore, he tends to applaud intertextuality as an aid to producing a literary text, but (at least in this instance) exposes it for not necessarily having very much influence in framing the journey experience.

7.3 CONCLUSION

In pointing out (in 1969) that today's texts refer to themselves rather than outside signifieds, Foucault notes: "the point is not to manifest or exalt the act of writing, nor is it to pin a subject within language; it is rather a question of creating a space into which the writing subject constantly disappears" (102). Travel writers are old fashioned in that they usually try to say something about themselves and the real world; they attempt to reconstruct and interpret their journeys for readers. A major dilemma faced by contemporary roadlogue writers is the fact that much of what there is to say about the American highway has apparently been said before in a variety of texts. This results in the problem of not only representing the American highway but finding some way to deal with prior representations.

The above discussion explored the different ways in which writer-introduced intertexts affect British representations of the American highway. That is, it explored how explicit references to background books (brought to the journey by a writer or added during the production of the finished narrative), reveal both how writers initially
read the American highway and subsequently write about it. It began by providing a survey of WIIIs in contemporary British roadlogues. The complexity of this topic makes it difficult to pin down any hard and fast conclusions. However, keeping the limitations of the survey in mind, it appears that Kerouac's and Steinbeck's novels *On the Road* and *Grapes* respectively, are the primary acknowledged coordinates for British writers. The survey also discovered that while only two road novels are consistently referenced, roadlogue writers display a wider and more varied knowledge of films related to the road trip including road movies and those with road and automobile themes. The fact that westerns (predecessors of the road movie) are often referred to by genre in addition to specific instances, indicates their mythical status. The survey also exposed the notable absence of references to (especially) British travel writers and thus their low status in the area of direct references. The survey was biased towards roadlogues by white writers set at least partially in the west. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Younge's roadlogue contrasts with those by other case study writers in several areas such as the fact that he is not attracted by the western myth and travels in the south.

The presence of so many other texts (especially American ones) on the windscreen and rearview mirror can prevent a new British writer from gaining an uncontaminated view of the landscape and for his/her voice to be drowned by those of others in recording the journey. However, new texts can also reflect back on and alter perceptions of prior texts. Additionally, references to a web of other texts can function to define a writer's narrating persona or initiate writers into a road writing club which endows their texts with authenticity. Whatever the effect, it is apparent that underlying the process of canon evolution are economic and political factors linked to the propagation of American popular culture in addition to artistic merit. For instance, the survey suggested that power relations between Britain and the United States affect which prior texts British roadlogue writers feel obliged to acknowledge and that movies tend to travel better than prose texts.60

60 Brook has a somewhat amusing response to his anxiety over American texts. He describes carrying a minor Anthony Trollope novel with him as a St. Christopher, a talisman against American influence (3). However, it is apparently unable to prevent him from becoming addicted to country and western music (462).
This chapter sought to demonstrate the problematic nature of tracing intertextual influence as much as drawing conclusions. Section 7.2 demonstrated various conflicting ways in which WIlIs are used by roadlogue writers, showing that WIlIs can reproduce the words of a prior writer in order to echo, undermine, erase, or transform them. Similarly, they can be used to authenticate the narrative that refers to them or be accidentally or deliberately forgotten in order to make space for new writers' own representations.

Although there appears to be some freedom in the way British writers use WIlIs, there are also limits. For instance, the canonical status of On the Road is not challenged, despite the fact that case studies are written post Thelma & Louise. Analysis of the author-function exposed the late-twentieth-century hierarchy of travel books in which guidebooks are located at the bottom. One example showed how a high status road novel has influenced the itinerary of a later journey, setting prior and later journeys in an intertextual dialogue. Other texts manifest influence of American high and popular culture with itineraries designed to explore a niche of music or writing in which extracts from prior texts (of fiction and nonfiction) are layered onto a present journey.

Despite the wide variation in use of WIlIs, it remains significant that contemporary British roadlogue writers refer to mostly American representations of the American highway. In comparison to their nineteenth-century predecessors (who frequently referred to the texts of other British travel writers), it is apparent that British road writers have an awareness that they need to: a) place themselves in relation to, b) measure themselves against, c) sink in, or d) float on top of, a potentially anxiety-producing cross-generic American canon. A principle conclusion of this discussion is, therefore, not a simple answer to the question of whether case study writers are able to see a rhinoceros for what it is, but rather that they are aware (unlike Marco Polo,

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61 For instance, one might expect late-twentieth-century writers to criticize the misogyny in On the Road. But this is not the case.

62 Nineteenth-century writers used WIlIs to British writers in the same varied ways.
perhaps) that they need to find a way to negotiate the complex relations of American accounts of unicorns to their road trips.

The preceding discussion was a necessarily selective approach to this subject. Additional areas of investigation might include addressing how intertextuality functions in relation to national and gender identity in the area of canon building (for instance, in relation to how McLean alludes to a network of Scottish writers, or how McGrath neglects to refer to any women road writers). Another productive study could be made of how incidental intertextuality is used in the case studies, adding to the discussions regarding bricolage and dialogism introduced above. The equally broad area of implicit intertextuality detectable through style, metaphor, and road myth is addressed in the following chapter in the context of roadlogue representations of roadside objects.

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6.3 Although, while the main focus remained on WIs, the chapter could not entirely exclude other forms of intertextuality because it is in the nature of the subject to defy containment in neat categories by continuously sprouting branches.
8.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws together and develops the concerns of the previous four through a largely intertextual analysis of representations of roadside objects of the gaze. Chapters Four and Five analysed the construction, authorization, and reinforcement of the road writer's mobile gaze with regard to narrative vehicles and road networks. The present chapter turns to analysis of the static gaze when driving stops and how this gaze is framed by background books rather than the windscreen.

Objects of the gaze delimited by the road trip include a broad range of manmade items such as motels, diners, gas stations, billboards, and contrived tourist attractions. Collecting roadside signs of Americanness is a major component of the road trip.¹ These artifacts are most often not the primary focal objects of pilgrimages, but are encountered incidentally as part of the journey; many (such as giant signs in forecourts of motels and restaurants) are specifically designed to attract the attention of approaching drivers and to encourage them to stop.² The following sections analyse representations in roadlogues of two major foci of the static road writer's gaze: motels and diners (including restaurants, truck stops, and coffee shops).

These two roadside features were selected for several reasons. Firstly, they are common to all roadlogues, no matter what the theme of each writer's cultural enquiry may be. Secondly, motels and diners are icons of the golden age of the automobile in the United States and the era of On the Road. Although the first building to be called a mo-tel was erected in 1925 (the Motel Inn in San Luis Obispo, California), the 1950s is

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¹ For a comprehensive guide to roadside kitsch (from wigwam-shaped motel rooms, to giant John Bunyans, to alligator farms) see the Roadside America website or book of the same name by Mike Wilkins, Ken Smith and Doug Kirby. See Michael Shapiro's “Www.RoadsideAmerica.com” for a review of the website. See Meaghan Morris, "At Henry Parkes Motel" for an analysis of motels in the context of the Australian road trip.

² See Patton 155-228 for a detailed history of American roadside architecture.
most often represented as the typical motel era, probably because enough motels had been established by this time to make their presence felt. Similarly, though diners in the Moderne style emerged in the 1930s, the term "diner" has strongest associations with the 50s. Simulated diners in the late twentieth century (such as the Johnny Rocket's chain) recreate the 50s with white formica, shining chrome stools with padded vinyl seats, and table-top rock 'n' roll jukebox selectors. The coffee table book series American Retro edited by Alison Moss (which includes the titles Motels, Diners, Cars, and Main Street) constructs the 50s and its car culture as the golden age of the United States. The introduction (the same in each title) to each book of photographs accompanied by short quotations claims that the series represents the 50s, although several of the images are of motels and diners that most likely predate this decade. The 1950s is often constructed as the parent of the late-twentieth-century United States, evident in such films as American Graffiti (1973) and Back to the Future (1985). It is an era often looked back upon and reconstructed in order to explain the present.

Motels and diners are also useful sites for analysis because they are contact zones which provide opportunities to discuss two aspects of what Clifford terms "Traveling Cultures": moving people and moving cultural products (101). While the mobile road writer gazes at static objects, the static road writer gazes at people on the move (or temporarily stopped between moves). As typical roadside locations,

3 As Bryson points out in Made in America, there were many motels by this time but they were known by other names such as auto court, auto hotel, cabin court, and tourist court (75). Regarding the Motel Inn, see Roth, "Roadside Dreamin." For histories of motels and diners see Patton 155-228; Belasco; and American Diner by Richard Gutman, Eliot Kaufman and David Solvic.

4 This is probably because both American and British writers and historians tend to prefer to represent streamlining and chrome as indicators of the period of postwar optimism versus the poverty of the Great Depression. (Though there are some exceptions, evidenced by the high status of Grapges as an intertext, discussed in Chapter Seven, sections 7.1 and 7.2.2.)

5 The American Retro series is typical of many contemporary coffee table books. See note 47.

6 In the Back to the Future, a road trip through time, the protagonist travels from the 1980s to the 1950s where he is able to intervene in his parents' lives and thus transform their futures, consequently turning his 80s dysfunctional home into an ideal one.

7 Clifford notes the need for anthropology to address local-global encounters and the links between natives and travellers. He suggests such areas for study as the hotel lobby, the ship, or bus as opposed to the traditionally preferred village (101). Road writers follow this advice to different degrees. For instance, Kurtz’s detailed survey of the community of Greyhound riders is discussed in Chapter Four.
representations of American motels and diners have travelled and become icons. This chapter aims to demonstrate that, as a result, motels and diners are intertextual pressure points where background books frame the American highway for British roadlogue writers as they travel and write, and for readers as they read.

Chapter Seven focused largely on intertexts entering directly through the writer. The current chapter shifts the focus to the indirect interference of intertexts detected using questions such as: what do writers privilege in their representations? What metaphors and rhetorical tropes do they use? How do they manipulate genre conventions? How do they evoke road myths? In the practical analysis of indirect references it is not possible to draw a clear dividing line between the two poles of intertextual influence (belonging to the writer and the reader). Therefore, the current chapter admittedly investigates the road reader's gaze (especially mine) as well as the road writer's. Each member of a group of readers will undoubtedly detect allusions to specific intertexts in roadlogues at variance from those noticed by others. However, it is arguable that readers with similar backgrounds to British roadlogue writers (that is, familiar since childhood with American popular travelling culture), while they may identify specific allusions differently, are all likely to discern (whether consciously or subconsciously) the same general influence of genres and myths in case-study descriptions of evocative roadside objects.

Initial perceptions and written records of motels and diners are subject to intertextual interference because these objects of the gaze are semi-familiar to road writers who first encountered them through representations in prose and film. The principal question addressed in this chapter is: how does the British writer construct a representation out of physically strange yet textually familiar roadside objects of the

note 61. Davies's encounter with an Australian traveller (Martha) on American roads shows how cultures are traversed by others (63-145).

8 Questioning the rootedness of culture, Clifford asks: "Why not focus on any culture's farthest range of travel while also looking at its centers, its villages, its intensive field sites?" (101).

9 I use "books" here to refer to texts from all media and genres.
gaze? Roads string objects together like words in a sentence. Whereas the mobile gaze leads to an awareness of syntagmatic relations between roadside objects, when driving stops road writers view these objects individually and are put in mind of paradigmatic connotations. It is at this point that a variety of intertexts bring their influence to bear.

This chapter argues that the dominant vision of the motel amongst British writers is dystopian, due in particular to the influence of the outlaw road movie (and related film genres) on British writers and readers. The chapter goes on to argue that, in the case of diners, dystopian and utopian representations compete. Though writers’ representations of diners are also, no doubt, influenced by road movies and westerns, the chapter analyses these representations in terms of their relationships to more nebulous New World myths. Analysis of examples from case studies will conclude that British roadlogues of the 90s largely fail to bring the fresh perspective of the outsider to the American roadside but rather are seduced by dominant western myths.

8.1 MOTELS

In the field of roadside objects, the motel is probably the most easily recognized and most evocative signifier of the American road trip to be collected by road writers. Just as it is a roadlogue convention to begin with a vehicle purchase or outfitting scene, it is also common to begin in media res in a motel. For instance, McGrath's roadlogue opens in "the second cheapest motel in Santa Fe, New Mexico" (1). Similarly, the first paragraph of Lone Star Swing is a description of a motel in Nashville (1). Though Freeways opens in a used car lot, the third page provides an evocative description of a

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10 This is a reversal of one of Spurr's questions, referenced in Chapter One, section 1.3.2.
11 As introduced in the discussion of roads as museums in Chapter Five, section 5.2.3.
12 This is not to say that paradigmatic connotations are excluded from the mobile gaze.
motel (13). All three roadlogues appropriate the motel as a sign of the American road trip to usher in the narrative and establish a sense of place.\(^\text{13}\)

However, the placeness versus placelessness of motels is a complex issue. Clifford argues that the motel is a suitable postmodern chronotope because, unlike the hotel, it lacks a real lobby and is tied into the highway network (106). Morris notes that: "Motels, unlike hotels, demolish sense regimes of place, locale, and history. They memorialize only movement, speed, and perpetual circulation" (3).\(^\text{14}\) On the other hand, McGrath describes the relation of motels to the larger landscape as follows: "In the southwest, where even substantial towns are often little more than offshoots of the highway, a motel can serve as the sole locus in a placeless landscape" (160). Like Clifford and Morris, she also compares motels to hotels, describing the former as self-sufficient and the latter as symbiotes. McGrath argues that motels create towns in that they bring with them businesses such as convenience stores, gas stations, "and all those nowhere diners" in locations "where towns would otherwise have no business being at all" (160). Motels are, therefore, places in comparison to the desert but are part of, and create, the placelessness which (ironically) gives much of the American landscape its genius loci.\(^\text{15}\)

Most writers divide motels into modern chains versus older independent mom-and-pop outfits. The representation of cheap and, run down mom-and-pop motels is authorized by their distinctive and authentic character (as opposed to uniform chains), their link to the golden age of motoring, and their location in the tourist versus traveller dichotomy. They are privileged by road writers who usually exclude lengthy descriptions of chain motels because the latter would be unlikely to make interesting

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\(^\text{13}\) Another conventional way travel writers establish a sense of place is by using a place name as an adjective to describe the time of day or weather. For instance, McLean walks into "the hot Nashville night" (1), while Coltrane feels a "light Californian breeze" (14).

\(^\text{14}\) Also quoted in Clifford 106.

\(^\text{15}\) See Younge 128-32 for a discussion of chain motels as part of the placelessness of standardized entrances to American towns. See also Wood 181-83.
travel writing.\textsuperscript{16} Cheap motels are constructed by road writers as places not for tourists, but for restless wanderers and social misfits in opposition to "pseudo-place" chain motels.\textsuperscript{17}

McGrath describes motels as "part of the detritus, or reliquary if you will, of the automobile cult" (160). Her comparison of such motels to scattered remains of the past and religious relics to be acquired by the road pilgrim is evidence of their capacity to connote secondary meanings and other texts. As previously mentioned, the road writer's gaze is not only formed by physical constraints such as type of road and type of vehicle, but also discursive constraints resulting from how other texts represent the same objects. Roadlogue descriptions of cheap motels (also chain motels to a lesser extent) are implicitly dialogic, revealing strong intertextual relations with other roadlogues, movies, and westerns.\textsuperscript{18}

It is easy to understand how the novels of Raymond Chandler have had such a marked stylistic impact on subsequent detective novels set in Los Angeles.\textsuperscript{19} However, it is not initially obvious why representations of motels in roadlogues should be influenced by road movies because there is much divergence between these genres at the level of plot. Outlaw road movies follow the desperate and adventurous escape bids of their protagonists, contain a large proportion of sex and violence, and often end with spectacular death scenes (for example, see Bonnie and Clyde, The Doom Generation, Easy Rider, Lewis & Clark & George, A Perfect Day, Thelma & Louise, and Vanishing Point).\textsuperscript{20} Roadlogues sometimes feature narrators who are, at least in part.

\textsuperscript{16} As noted in Chapter One, section 1.3.3, when travel writers convert travel notes into narrative, they eliminate tedious material.

\textsuperscript{17} See Chapter One, section 1.3.4 regarding the relation of Fussell's pseudo places to the tourist/traveller dichotomy. Though cheap motels are pseudo in that they have placeless qualities, they are not pseudo in that they do not protect the tourist from the travelled environment.

\textsuperscript{18} See Chapter Seven, section 7.2.2 for a discussion of Bakhtin.

\textsuperscript{19} See Steven Gilbar's collection of extracts from postwar (mostly 80s and 90s) American detective novels: L.A. Noir: A Post-Chandler Portrait of Los Angeles. The extracts bear the imprint of Chandler's noir vision and metaphor-loaded style.

\textsuperscript{20} This chapter focuses on outlaw road movies (drama as opposed to comedy). Other subgenres of road movie identified by critics include the kin trip, the male buddy trip, the western, and the vampire road movie. See Cohan and Hark, and Sargeant and Watson.
on quests of escape to better lives like the protagonists of most road movies.\footnote{See Chapter Five, section 5.2 for examples. Roberts notes that road journeys often involve a dual (both physical and spiritual) quest for a better life (53).}

However, limited by the constraints of nonfiction, roadlogues generally lack passion, sensation, and adventure with their focus on the sedate cultural enquiry of travel writers.\footnote{Exceptions include Mayle's \textit{The Burial Brothers} (prostitution, violence, drugs, brushes with the police), Cahill's \textit{Road Fever} (hyper-masculine adventure), H. Williams's \textit{No Particular Place to Go} (copious one night stands), and Davies's \textit{Freeways} (sex in the context of a developing relationship).}

For instance, unlike the eponymous protagonists of \textit{Thelma & Louise}, the average roadlogue writer is not likely to indulge in retributional killing, hold up a convenience store, or drive to a spectacular death (or symbolic journey continuation) over the Grand Canyon.\footnote{Clifford justifiably describes the motel as "a relay or node rather than a site of encounter between coherent cultural subjects" (106). Marsh and Collett note that tourist camps were seen as dens of vice because patrons did not have to go through a hotel lobby (192).} However, the opportunity for writers to introduce scenes with more drama than is present in the bulk of their narratives occurs when they describe stops at cheap motels because at these locations their journeys run parallel for a time with those of others (both real and fictional). Roadlogue writers do not generally meet other patrons of motels but observe them through windows or hear them through thin walls.\footnote{As noted in Chapter Seven, \textit{Psycho} and/or Hitchcock are directly referred to by many writers, e.g., Hazleton (192), Fletcher (88), and H. Williams (89). Indirect references are demonstrated in the following sections.} This lack of direct encounters results in writers having to fill in gaps with imagination in order to gain a complete picture of the journeys of others. Consequently, writers often represent motels as film sets rather than real locations and indulge in fictionalization in representation. Motels become the roadlogue equivalents of castles in gothic novels.

Probably the most influential intertext for motel representations is \textit{Psycho} (1960) directed by Alfred Hitchcock.\footnote{See Chapter Five, section 5.2 and Sturken 73-75 regarding the ending of \textit{Thelma & Louise}.} Though most appropriately classified in the horror genre, it begins with a familiar outlaw road movie set up: a young woman
embezzles some money and heads out of town in her car to escape to a better life. However, this is a road movie that never gets on the road. Her journey is permanently curtailed when she stops for the night at the deserted Bates Motel and is brutally murdered by its psychotic proprietor.\textsuperscript{26} The influence of \textit{Psycho} no doubt partially accounts for the noir or dystopian bias of many motel representations. A less well-known horror movie (yet arguably a cult classic) \textit{Motel Hell} (1980), is even more ominous for the vulnerable traveller. With its own intertextual resonances of \textit{Hansel and Gretel}, it depicts a seemingly friendly home-from-home mom-and-pop outfit, a refuge where unsuspecting travellers are plumped up with home cooking by Farmer Vincent and his sister. Following this, they are tied up and planted in the back yard (with their tongues cut out) to tenderize before being butchered for the family's meat business.\textsuperscript{27}

Westerns in general provide another influence for roadlogues, especially for journeys through the more remote areas and deserts of the southwest where decaying motels can resemble scenes from ghost towns. Motels can function as postindustrial saloons for a modern lone western hero appearing out of the desert with his or her mechanical horse. The western hero is not a cosseted tourist. Therefore, would-be lone ranger writers shun tourist bubble hotels and chain motels in favour of cheap motels. The latter are constructed as places of no façades, back regions of the American Dream of freedom on the road gone sour or turned into a nightmare. The title of McGrath's \textit{Motel Nirvana} concurs with the dominant dystopian discourse on motels; it constructs an implied reader who is aware of its irony, who believes the signifier "motel" refers to the antithesis of the Buddhist state of perfect bliss and freedom from suffering and desire.

In \textit{No Particular Place}, H. Williams notes, as argued above, that "the word 'motel' has got a bad name, due to \textit{Psycho} and other films, so the fashion is for Motor

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Psycho} paints a very different picture from that of Morris who describes Australian motels as providing security and independence for lone female travellers (2).

\textsuperscript{27} The movie's tagline is: "It takes all kinds of critters to make Farmer Vincent's fritters."
Hotels" (89). Motels also obviously have a bad name from their real life associations with sleaze and crime.\textsuperscript{28} In fact, Bryson (in Made in America) attributes the opening of the first chain motel (a Holiday Inn) in 1952 to the desire of a Tennessee businessman to open "a bright, clean, respectable establishment" in contrast to the seedy standard (208). Despite the marketing ploy noted by Williams, the term "motel" remains preferred in contemporary roadlogues, probably due to discursive pressure which excludes motels (especially cheap ones) from signifying the sort of qualities embodied by an ideal home: prosperity, happy relationships, and contentment.

The motel is, arguably, the most significant roadside object of the gaze and the one subject to the most intertextual pressure because it is a point where two American Dreams meet and clash. The first dream is that realized by the 1950s ideal home: a tract house in suburbia fitted out with chrome and vinyl and all the latest home-enhancing technology such as air conditioning, television, and refrigerator. This dream is the postwar mark of prosperity and of the golden age of the United States; it is the ultimate coming to fruition of each pioneer family's wish to own a log cabin and patch of land. The second dream is that of the pioneers before they settled: the freedom to uproot and move through American space towards a better life over the horizon.\textsuperscript{29} The latter dream is associated with the quest for freedom on the road exemplified by homosocial flight away from 1950s domestic space in On the Road. These two dreams become one in the automobile and the RV in many roadlogues and road movies.\textsuperscript{30} However, in British writers' descriptions of motels they clash, resulting in a dystopian vision.

\textsuperscript{28} Patton explains that motels were able to survive off-seasons through the local "Mr. and Mrs. Jones" trade and that J. Edgar Hoover described motels as "hotbeds of crime" (199). Soutter and his wife stayed in a motel-bordello on their road trip (62).

\textsuperscript{29} This dream is detailed in Turner's "Significance of the Frontier" discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.2.2 and Chapter Five, section 5.2.1.

\textsuperscript{30} See discussion in Chapter Four, section 4.2.3. Regarding car as home in road movies, Sargeant and Watson cite the example of Vanishing Point, amongst others (14).
Fictional road trips (in novels and movies) often follow a plot of escape from a dysfunctional home and a journey towards a better home. The motel represents an interruption to the forward progression of the journey and so is seen as a hindrance or obstacle to the goal of a road trip. For protagonists on the run, the motel provides a temporary refuge but no real rest. For those on a quest it represents a delay in reaching the real goal and thus is a source of irritation. In both Psycho and Motel Hell, motels terminate the road trip and thus represent the opposite of the freedom offered by the car. Likewise, for roadlogue writers, motels often form an interruption in a themed narrative on another topic (such as literature, religion, or music). McGrath describes the Cactus Inn in Albuquerque as keeping her a prisoner for two weeks, almost endowing it with supernatural powers to halt her journey. It has resonances of the "Hotel California" of the Eagles' song.

A motel can also serve as a reminder of the un-ideal home that travellers are trying to escape from. The decaying Victorian house whose ominous silhouette looms over the motel in Psycho is the site of Norman Bates's dysfunctional relationship with his dead mother. Similarly, Motel Hell promises home comforts but turns out to be a far less than adequate substitute. The following discussion (sections 8.1.1 through 8.1.4) demonstrates how British roadlogues map out the possible signification of motels by implicitly judging them against an ideal home standard. It argues that the chain of signification precipitated by the word "motel" is heavily influenced by dystopian associations and that the cheap motel as home-away-from-home is no place like home.


32 The power of this icon is reflected and reinforced by its inclusion on the backlot tour at Universal Studios in Los Angeles.
### 8.1.1 Home Discomforts

Motel rooms are self-contained units which include all the amenities necessary to provide the road tripper with a substitute home for the night. However, cheap motel rooms are described as lacking in home comforts in the quality of their decoration and furnishings. For twenty-five dollars ("the price was right"), Lesley Hazleton has a room in a 50s motel described as follows: "A ratty, threadbare carpet was spread directly over an unevenly laid concrete floor. A single overhead light cast its forty-watt glory over a frayed gray blanket on the bed, and a rickety table with an old rotary phone on it. Faded plastic shelf-liner was still half-attached to the tabletop" (191). The cheap furnishings in McLean's room at the River Oaks Motel in Wichita Falls also offer little in the way of home comforts:

> Everything in the room was thin. The carpet was threadbare; the bed had one sheet on it and one blanket no thicker than the sheet; the only furniture was a wire-legged kitchen chair and a Formica television; the curtains were gauzy and orange, and the courtyard security lights glared through them. [...]

> I unpacked my bag and took my toothbrush through to the shower-room. There was a strange smell in there, a burnt, meaty smell, like somebody had been barbecuing roadkill in the sink. The towel was made of a thin, bandage-like material, and treated with some kind of water-repellent that made it quite impossible to dry my dripping hands [...]. (40-41)

McGrath describes the rooms at the Cactus Inn in Albuquerque at some length. Each contains off-white plastic lightshades, a formica table accompanied by leatherette captain's chairs, brown acrylic carpets with cigarette burns, a "formica chest with chromium handles and drawers the size of coffins," and, "a tiny rancid frigidaire that belted out heat and the air conditioning was seemingly geared for Alaska" (163). She describes the overall ambiance as that of "a tropical bordello" (163).

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33 In a similar scene, Brook describes the Thrift Motel in Waco: "The single light had a fifty-watt bulb, the orange carpet had been discoloured by decades of coffee spills and bodily fluids, there was..."
There are several points in common amongst case study descriptions of motel furnishings. Dowdy and dated colours (often suggesting they were last decorated between the 50s and the 70s) are described along with rickety furniture and thin or worn carpets and blankets. Both Davies in Tulsa (13), and McLean in Wichita Falls (40), mention orange curtains, while Brook has an orange carpet in Waco (59). McLean has a brown room in Nashville (1), and McGrath a brown carpet in Albuquerque (163). Opening the door of a motel room in Flagstaff Davies notes: "The room welcomed with a sterile anonymity; grey whites and washed out covers" (73), echoing McGrath's off-white fixtures (163). In the above extracts, the term "threadbare" is used by Hazleton and McLean, and the colour grey is used by Hazleton and Davies. The miracle home comforts of the 50s (Formica, chrome, plastic, air-conditioning) have degenerated. Once lauded synthetic materials (such as acrylic carpet and leatherette chairs) have negative connotations in the 90s.

Davies's phrase "sterile anonymity" quoted above also points to the uniformity of motel design. McGrath changes rooms at the Cactus Inn three times, hoping for a change of scene. All three rooms are identical, even down to the resident single pubic hair in each bathroom (163). Uniform rooms of motels give anonymity to the traveller. McGrath notes this as a sign of the American democratic principle as follows: "Each motel guest, for example, whether business mogul, serial killer, dead-beat or movie star, is given, as it were, due process and equal weight - a randomly allotted cubicle in an undifferentiated location" (161). In some cases, anonymity is portrayed as positive for the road tripper or lone ranger. In the case of cheap motel rooms, however, anonymity gained from uniformity compares them unfavorably to welcoming homes marked by individual owners' tastes.

In addition to inadequacy and uniformity, cheap motels are frequently described as dirty. For instance, McLean's in Nashville has a "murky, stained lobby" (1), and
McGrath's bathrooms in her three rooms at the Cactus Inn all have mildew and "grimy white" fittings (163). Even when motel rooms are clean, they remain unlike an ideal home. For instance, Davies's cheap motel in Flagstaff is "sterile" (73). Whereas the term "clean" has positive connotations of a welcoming home, "sterile" is more appropriate for a hospital. Brook notes that his room in Waco "smelt like a hospital" (60). Odours, sterile and otherwise, play a major role in descriptions. McGrath compares characterless chain motels where "the prevailing odour is of budget disinfectant" to mom-and-pops full of character which smell of "age-musk reminiscent of the scent of sex" (162). In this case, chain motel rooms are too clean and cheap ones too dirty to be homelike.

In addition to worn interiors, several writers describe decayed exteriors. For instance, paint flakes off the outside walls of Hazleton's cheap 50s motel (191). McLean's Lone Star Swing opens with the following description of motel decay:

The guitar-shaped pool is closed for repairs. I goggle my hands and peer through the meshed-glass door. Corridor light shines off the water and shimmies up the far wall, flichtering across patches of raw concrete where the tiles have come unstuck. The air is saturated with chlorine. The vapour's so thick that my nostrils fizz and burn when I breathe in. That's good though: it burns out the last traces of my brown box-room's stink. (Sweat-soaked sheets, reconditioned air, stale fag-reek, businessman's beer belch.) There's a plop in the pool: another clump of tiles scabbing off the ceiling into the deep end. The water ripples, the edges slosh, light-shards shiver up the walls.

Worn or dated furnishings and physical decay, such as flaking paint, are polysemic; as well as economic demise, they can point to such concepts as a bygone golden age or decay of morals and relationships. No doubt there were orange curtains, brown walls, and flaking paint at these writers' motels. However, focus on such items to the exclusion of others constructs motels as places with pasts. Most roadlogue writers tend to dwell on sleazy pasts rather than idealized ones. While some do so...
subtly and perhaps unconsciously through the items they privilege for description, other writers become carried away.

McGrath's passage on the decor of mom-and-pops is heavily influenced by the seedy connotations of motels. The passage appears in a themed chapter entitled "Motels" which begins and ends with two colourful narratives describing McGrath's journey experiences in motels (extracted in section 8.1.4 below) (159-60; 163-65). Between these scenes is an essay which uses binary rhetoric to compare mom-and-pops with chain motels and hotels (160-63). The essay delineates abstract rules and norms regarding motels that McGrath presumably extrapolates from several experiences during her journey. Although one might expect the essay section to use more scientific or objective discourse in contrast to the two motel scenes, the language employed is quite the reverse in several sections, such as the following in which McGrath generalizes about the poor furnishings in mom-and-pops:

Perhaps it's that the lost, forlorn decor of the places makes them intolerable to all but the poor, the desperate and the carelessly impassioned. In any case, age-musk reminiscent of the scent of sex seeps out of the wallpaper and hangs like a fug in the closets. [. . .] The rubbed marks on the wall by the head of the bed, the slump of the mattress heavy with decades of body fluids, the way the Yellow Pages falls open at escort agencies, the worn mirrors stained in the cracks with the salt from tears, all these things are suggestive of sex. (162)

The way McGrath reads the worn furnishings and other signs in the room (such as smell, wall marks, mattress appearance) and represents them for the reader is heavily influenced by imagination and prior representations of motels. The language here is overtly fictional and becomes especially extreme in the last two lines (162). McGrath is again tempted towards the melodramatic as a result of intertextual influence in her description of the democratic uniformity of motel rooms quoted above. It is interesting to note that her list of presumably average types of motel guest includes the "serial killer" (161).
Although McGrath begins by describing mom-and-pops as "some of the few glad souvenirs of western history" the majority of her essay is dominated by negative connotations (161). In contrast to McGrath and other writers, McLean aestheticizes the decay of his Nashville motel. McLean's marked language play (including quirky words such as "shimmies" and "flichtering," verbalization of nouns such as "I goggle my hands" and "scabbing off the walls," and alliteration such as "Sweat-soaked sheets" and "light-shards shiver") makes the description of something physically repellent celebratory (1). The stylistic aspects of his description challenge the dominant dystopian motel discourse in this way. The exaggerations regarding his River Oaks room (such as barbecued roadkill and water-repellent treated towel) make jokes rather than sinister connotations out of the poor furnishings (41).

Motels are also depicted as inadequate homes in that they provide insufficient rest from the journey. Motel rooms, more often than not, overlook parking lots rather than neat suburban gardens (e.g., Davies 13; Hazleton 191; McLean 40). Such views can function as reminders to writers (or road movie protagonists) that the temporary stop at the motel delays the journey and that he or she should get back on the road. Following on from the above passage regarding her 50s motel, Hazleton notes: "There is sleep in motel rooms. But not much rest" (193). Motels are frequently described as places where rest is interrupted by the noise made by the restless, which includes those driving past on the adjacent road (e.g., Hazleton 170; McLean 40-41; Soutter 67), and noisy fellow guests fighting in adjoining rooms (e.g., Hazleton 193-94; McLean 41; Wood 182; Younge 233). Hazleton analyses this restlessness as follows (using an explicit intertextual reference):

Now it was me standing silhouetted in a doorway, thinking how much sadness there was in motel rooms. That's what Hitchcock saw, of

34 See Spurr 43-60 regarding aestheticization in colonial and postcolonial discourse and Buzard 209 regarding Henry James's aestheticization of Italy.

35 Fletcher contrasts a hotel in the south to the motels he usually uses by noting: "I woke to birdsong, not to the sound of traffic thundering down some highway. I walked out of my room into a brick courtyard with a tinkling fountain, scented air, and views of a lawn, lake, magnolias and ancient oaks - not acres of tarmac" (13).
course. Perhaps it wasn't such a long way from sadness to madness. The sense of temporariness, the restless nights, the solitary fifths of whiskey, shared quarts of cheap wine, cigarettes burned to the filter slipping from television-numbed fingers, sheets stained from illicit sex or loveless or solitary sex, the weird disorientation of the road ... Yes, these could drive a person to violence. (193)

McGrath's essay on motels in her chapter of the same name compares hotels and motels. Keying into the tourist versus traveller dichotomy, it demonstrates that motels are not sites of rest nor providers of celebratory breaks from the everyday like hotels: "People take vacations in hotels, get married and host barmitzvahs and funeral breakfasts. In motels they only camp for a night or two. Motels are little more than sex stop-offs and temporary wombs for travellers" (160).

The discomforts of the motel make it a sign of impermanence that constructs an America of nomadic people. The movement of such nomads is not positively goal-directed, but results from discontent and holds no promise of fulfillment. The inability of the motel to provide the repose of the ideal home or vacation hotel is evident in road movies where motels are places of temporary refuge for outlaws on the run. In Thelma & Louise, the protagonists stop at a motel to rest the morning after Louise has shot a man who attempted to rape Thelma outside a honky tonk bar. In a scene where Louise looks out of the motel window, her view is of trucks and cars constantly thundering past, and reminds her and viewers of the risks involved in stopping. Louise instructs the distraught Thelma to take a swim while Louise decides on a plan of action. However, Thelma's rest on a sun lounger by the pool (where she listens to a walkman to block out the traffic beyond the chain-link fence) is abruptly curtailed when Louise pulls up in her Thunderbird and yells "Let's go." Given no time to dress, or even open the car door, Thelma leaps into the convertible in her bikini.

36 As mentioned in Chapter Four, Lackey blames the automobile culture for breaking down the nuclear family (16). This is discussed further in section 8.1.3.
8.1.2 Haunted Houses

In *Travels with Charley*, John Steinbeck inspects a hotel room that has not been cleaned before being allotted to him (105-06). Playing the role of a private detective (like Raymond Chandler's Philip Marlowe), Steinbeck reads the room's clues and reconstructs the life of its previous occupant. He names him Lonesome Harry, evocative of a character from a western (perhaps a cross between Dirty Harry and the Lone Ranger). Steinbeck claims that Harry is of interest in an investigation of America because he is of a type, that is, a signifier of Americanness. Steinbeck establishes Harry's home from laundry slips, and the fact that he is married from the fragment of a letter to his wife found in the wastebasket. From the evidence of long hairs on sheets and numerous cigarette butts in the ashtray, only one third smoked before stubbed out, he constructs a nervous female visitor. He does not consider other possibilities, but claims that Harry is as real to him as someone he has met.

In a similar way to Steinbeck, Younge finds a heart-rending letter in a bedside table drawer in a cheap motel in Mobile, presumably written by the previous occupant. It begins: "Dearest David, I will try to write to you while I still have the time. I am sick today. If I go to jail, I may not make it out alive again" (233). Younge quotes the letter in full and reproduces its mixed upper and lower case lettering. Evocative clues left next to the letter include "a stub for a Greyhound ticket to Mobile from Biloxi, Mississippi, and an empty packet of long Kool cigarettes" (233).

The majority of contemporary British writers detect ghosts of previous occupants in motel rooms in various ways. However, unlike Steinbeck's scene, which is written with detachment and involves cold, lengthy consideration of evidence, most case study writers tend to romanticize. There is a scene in *Freeways* (quoted partially above) when Davies is mistakenly given a dirty motel room in a chain motel in Tulsa. He notes: "It's like a set from a bad movie. The sheets are strewn across the floor, the television is playing to an empty theatre and there is a hanging smell of cheap cigarettes. I look for blood stains and a body" (13). The signs of bedclothes on the floor, a playing television, and cigarette smoke are innocuous in themselves. It takes
imagination and intertextual influence (in this case "a bad movie") to interpret them as constituting a murder scene. After subsequently obtaining a clean room, Davies falls asleep imagining "visions and names of other previous occupants" (13).

The following passage from Hazleton obviously resonates intertextually with the previous three examples:

I'd gotten into the habit of airing out a motel room before settling in, opening the door and the window and letting out the musty stale air with its remnants of past inhabitants. [. . .] There are too many ghosts in motel rooms. Even in the best, I would stare at a faint stain on a chair or a bottle ring on the table and wonder who had put it there, where they were coming from, where they were going to. [. . .] I'd wonder how many people had coupled on the bed, how many prostitutes had spent part of a work night there. How many arguments had taken place, how much violence had been committed. (193)

This example is similar to that from McGrath's passage on the eroticism of mom-and-pops quoted in section 8.1.1. above. Like McGrath, Hazleton generalizes about motels and their signification, presumably from the evidence of the journey and influence of other texts. Hazleton's imagination takes over from description of actual events and places and her gaze is formed by the myth of the motel as much as experience. The fact that she imagines earlier violent scenes "even in the best" motels illustrates the overriding influence of cheap motel representations. Hazleton could imagine previous occupants as lone, celibate, respectable travellers like herself but is tempted by more colourful scenarios. Hazleton's ghosts inhabit the air like Davies's cigarette smoke (13), and McGrath's reek and fug of sex (162). In a similar way, McLean's Nashville motel room is haunted by the aromas of previous occupants with its "stale fag-reek" and "businessman's beer belch" (the second example moves towards the fictional) (1). The signs of previous occupants in motel rooms remind the traveller that although the furnishings may resemble a typical home, none of them belong to him or her.
8.1.3 Unhappy Families

In stark contrast to the harmonious ideal home, cheap motels are often described as sites of dysfunctional relationships including sex and/or violence. Hazleton's descriptions of couples fighting in motels are disturbing such as the following in the 50s motel:

"You'll do what I tell you."
"I'll do what I want."
"You little whore."
"I'm a whore? Well then, maybe I will ..."
"You bitch!" And a huge thud as something - someone - was hurled against the wall, followed by a silence, and then deep, retching sobs.
I had my hand on the phone to call the desk, the police, anyone, when I heard the equally horrifying sound of her making up to him [. . .]. (193-94)

This scene is followed by the woman begging the man to stay followed by "the rhythmic rattling of the bed against the wall" (194).37

In addition to places of fraught relationships between others, motels are portrayed as dangerous and carrying the threat of violence to writers. The following passage is part of that previously quoted from Hazleton: "A man stood silhouetted in the doorway of his room and watched as I backed the truck up to my door. He smoked a cigarette slowly and deliberately. His face was hidden beneath his stetson, but he had the gaunt, menacing stance of a man who found trouble with ease" (191). Like previous examples, this extract bears the marks of covert intertextuality. The final sentence is especially reminiscent of the style of a western novel. The passage continues as Hazleton discerns from the state of the splintered doorjamb that her room has been violently broken into recently (191). The scene is concluded when Hazleton locks the door and wedges a chair under the knob (194).

37 Soutter also describes a sad scene at a motel near Denver where homeless and dysfunctional families stay (75).
Similarly, Younge is disturbed at The Budget Inn in Mobile by the sound of a drunk man trying to kick a neighbour's door down, followed by screams, police sirens, and crackling walkie talkies (233). The next day he contemplates heading for the "sanity and serenity of the Holiday Inn" (a safe chain) but stays on, only to be woken at two in the morning by a woman screaming "Niggers are in there" (233-34).

Cheap motels are a long way from tourist bubbles; they are back regions for authentic travellers and lone rangers. Road writers are more vulnerable here than in their cars as moving targets. However, there is also a sense in which motels can become imagined film sets. As previously mentioned, Davies imagines the unkempt Tulsa room as a movie scene (13). Hazleton juxtaposes the scene where she jams her door with another recollecting a phone call to her parents a few nights previously during which they urge her to be careful travelling alone and remind her of Psycho. This movie appears to have as much influence on her travel as a guidebook.

Though most writers implicitly and explicitly compare real life in motels to fiction, doing so has different effects. In Hazleton's case, reference to Psycho legitimates her fear. However, while other writers draw sinister pictures of cheap motel violence, McLean parodies stock scenes from books and movies to humorous effect. On arriving in Wichita Falls late at night he is unable find a room in any of his usually preferred chain motels (descriptions of which are excluded from his narrative) because a conference is in town. At the reception of the Sheraton (a safe, expensive chain), he asks for advice on where to find a room and describes the receptionist as showing extreme reluctance to give him the name of the one place that might have a vacancy. The scene ends as follows:

There is the ... River Oaks Motel. She whipped her head round to see if either of the other clerks had heard her suggestion and were coming after her with pitchforks. They weren't, so she looked back to me, leant forward on the counter. I wouldn't recommend it, she whispered. In

38 His representations of motels are closer to those in the comedy road film Planes, Trains, and Automobiles.
fact I'm absolutely not recommending it. But you might get a room there. (39)

When the receptionist calls the River Oaks to make a reservation for him, McLean describes her as holding the phone as if it is contaminated. His exaggerated build-up makes the following description of the motel and its "fat stubble-faced" clerk amusing (39).

McLean parodies motel scenes from fiction whereas other writers apparently unconsciously mimic Raymond Chandler and the movies. While Hazleton's description of a couple fighting in the motel room next door quoted earlier is tragic, McLean takes the sting out of a similar situation with fictionalization. Firstly, as quoted above, McLean gives a parodic introduction to the River Oaks through the exaggerated reactions of the Sheraton clerk. Secondly, his descriptions of cheap furnishings resemble a stage or movie set ("Everything in the room was thin. [. . . ] the walls and the door were like matchwood" [40]). McLean adds some comedy props to the room (such as the water-repellent treated towel in the bathroom [41]).

When disturbed by a couple fighting next door, McLean diffuses the tension with an explicit intertextual reference to fiction: "I suddenly had the feeling that I'd walked into a Charles Bukowski short story: the fleapit motel, the bottles of cheap wine, the broken-nosed old drunk, pissed on his winnings from the dogtrack, alternating between slapping and fucking the even drunker young woman he'd picked up in some last chance saloon" (45). He goes on to include a poem of his own which parodies a Bukowski story and ends with a self-conscious awareness that he has transformed real events into fiction (45-46).

In the small hours, McLean is woken by a drunk and distressed man who phones him repeatedly and begs him to send Bobbi home (though McLean is alone and has never heard of Bobbi). At turns the caller says he will kill her and that he cannot live without her (47-48). After one of these calls McLean goes into the bathroom and uses the props described earlier to add humour (for example, he is unable to dry his hands on the towel) (47). McLean finally gets rid of the caller and diffuses the pathos
with a humorous scene in which he tells the man to "sod off" and unplugs the phone (48).

Such scenes encountered indirectly by writers of roadlogues echo numerous ones from road movies. For instance, when Thelma and Louise stop at the aptly named Vagabond Inn in Oklahoma City, they are surprised by a visit from Louise's boyfriend Jimmy. While Jimmy and Louise argue, then make up, then break up in one room, Thelma "finally gets laid properly" by J.D. (a hitchhiking robber) in another. Both couples make noise by shouting and smashing items of furnishing. Both have less than ideal relationships. Louise breaks up with Jimmy, who proposes too late, while J.D. robs Thelma of the money that was to be the women's ticket to freedom in Mexico.

8.1.4 Roadside Prison

Unlike ideal homes, motels are comparable to prisons in various ways. First, guests are subject to observation by road writers. Surveillance, one of Spurr's rhetorical tropes (13-27), implies distance between the observer and the observed. As mentioned above, road writers are not directly involved in other motel guests' lives. There is a voyeuristic relationship between the road writer and the personal lives of other motel inhabitants (including previous ones whose lives are reconstructed from evidence left behind and contemporary ones whose violent and dysfunctional relationships cannot be concealed behind thin walls). McGrath describes motel dwellers as if they are animals in cages at the zoo:

To get to your room, or to the vending and ice machines in any ageing motel you have to walk past the windows of many other rooms, encountering a kind of peep show of mesmerized, conveyor belt characters clutching cans of Bud with neon blue light flickering over their faces. (162)

Similarly to McGrath, McLean looks through the doors of several motel rooms and describes the people running in and out of them (46). The ellipsis from McGrath's treatise on eroticism in mom-and-pops quoted earlier contains the following: "Often the
curtains are unlined and spin nighttime shadows out onto the central courtyard" (162). Road writers themselves stay in the same rooms and cannot escape this surveillance. For instance, McLean is subject to the intrusion of security lights shining through his thin orange curtains (40; 47). 39

McGrath’s "Motels" chapter ends with a description of a stay at the depressing Cactus Inn near Albuquerque (mentioned earlier) with evil female proprietor (163-65). McGrath personifies the motel and gives it supernatural powers when she notes that it "kept me its prisoner for two weeks" and its "grimness wove a web around me" (163-65). In addition to surveillance, motel rooms can resemble prison through their uniformity and in their roles as interrupters of journeys. For example, Bull notes that he "slept at Kingman, in white boxroom like a prison cell with the TV bolted to a shelf and at least three warning signs about ensuring my safety" (131). Motels can replicate a stultifying, prison-like home which writers and movie characters seek to escape.

8.2 DINERS

Diners also feature as major objects of the road writer’s gaze and are rich sources of signs of Americanness and the road trip to be collected by road writers. As with motels, diner discourse is often binary, comparing "authentic" older mom-and-pop establishments with more contemporary uniform chains. The signifiers "diner," "coffee shop," and "truck stop" have the most symbolic and nostalgic connotations and thus descriptions of them are subject to more intertextual influence than those of establishments named by the more neutral term "restaurants."

The following discussion explores roadlogue discourse on these eateries (largely in relation to the intertextual influence of New World myths rather than that of outlaw road movies) in three principal areas: their physical appearance, the social space and nature of the contact zone, and the signification of food. Unlike British representations of motels, case-study descriptions of diners are more diverse, comprising both utopian and dystopian visions. There are various possible reasons for

39 The reader feels complicit in this surveillance by reading about the lives of road writers.
this. Firstly, though they also interrupt journeys, stops at diners do not cause as much delay as stops at motels. Secondly, diners are less impersonal contact zones than motels and permit closer interaction between patrons. Thirdly, American food is often represented as more capable of offering home comfort to travellers than cheap furnishings in cheap motels. Finally, on the whole, diners appear to be more welcoming than motels and contain less violence.

8.2.1 Home Comforts and Discomforts

Descriptions of diners, coffee shops, and truck stops built and decorated roughly between the 1930s and 1970s (with the 50s as the apex) are the iconic examples of eateries on American road trips. Different descriptions use the physical make-up of diners (such as vinyl, chrome, and Formica) to different effect. McGrath describes the Golden Loop cafe in Utah as follows:

Everything at the Golden Loop bears the reeky must of age but the cafe is, all the same, as ordered and spartan as it might have been twenty or thirty years ago when the fittings were first fitted and the tables first filled. The floor is lino and the tables formica-topped. The women's toilet is labelled 'ladies' restroom' and has a picture of a woman in the New Look on the door. Balanced on the counter is a glass and chromium spider-legged cake cabinet, full of donuts, protected by tupperware fly covers. The cash machine has a side lever, like a one-armed bandit, for opening up. A poster of a Rocky Mountain scene in Technicolor hangs over wood-look panelling behind.

The waitress comes by to refill my coffee mug and deliver the day's special, a steak sandwich. On Sundays it's chicken, on Mondays omelettes, on Tuesdays ground beef. It's been that way ever since the waitress started working at the Golden Loop and that's a good deal longer than she cares to recall. (87)
Time has stopped at the Golden Loop, where decor and menus alike are the same as they have always been. Though it has "the reeky must of age," McGrath is put in mind of efficiency and what it would have looked like in its day, constructing a positive history. In this case the dated synthetic and tacky decor (vinyl, Formica, chrome, wood-look panelling, Technicolor picture) signifies a business-like atmosphere which is "ordered and spartan."

American writer Bryan Di Salvatore's essay on truckers in the coffee table book *Truck Stop* includes a description of his imagined ideal:

As well, I had in my mind some Norman Rockwell vision of what a truck stop was: a little cafe verging on a wildflower-thick, high-green field. The cafe was painted red and white and had gingham curtains and the best homemade pies you ever ate. [. . .]

In fact, truck stops are as various in personality as are American communities: some are urban and low-down gone-wrong, some are, in fact, cheery and rural. Most of them, these days, are chain operations that offer, for better or worse, familiarity. (31)

The intertextual influence in this case is the paintings of Norman Rockwell. Despite the fact that Di Salvatore points out the variance amongst truck stops in this passage, his essay opens with a description which looks for common features amongst Mark Wise's photographs (that his text accompanies) and thus constructs a more unified signification of the term "truck stop":

Look at them, sitting there on the pastel truck stop vinyl. Leaning on the formica, hands around red or gold plastic glasses, the ones with the golf-ball dimples, the ones that every truck stop in America seems to use. Look at the baskets of burgers and fries, chicken and fries. At the banks of phone booths; at the notices for loads and pay too good to be true. The posters of lost, missing, damaged children. The framed prints of sentimental art. The indoor-outdoor carpet. The linoleum. The too-

40 Rather than the bleaker, more impersonal visions of Edward Hopper.
thin towels and the too-small soap bars in the too-small showers. The signs for truck stop chapels; for AA meetings. [...] .

There they sit, far from home - always far from home [...] . (13)

In this case, the synthetic materials (vinyl, Formica, plastic glasses, lino, indoor-outdoor carpet), rather than having a sentimental nostalgic appeal, emphasize the fact (along with the thin towels, small soap, and small showers) that the truck stop is an inadequate substitute for home. The fake materials are lies, promising home comforts (of leather chairs, wooden tables, real glasses, plush indoor carpets) but not quite making the mark, just as the adverts for work are lies ("too good to be true"). The indoor-outdoor carpet breaks down the distinction between the road and the truck stop, making it impossible to rest. The fact that the decor is a lie is emphasized by (and points forward to) the juxtaposition of sentimental art (ideal fiction) with posters of missing children (harsh reality) and constructs truck stops as meeting places for lost souls and social misfits (who attend chapels and AA meetings).

Coster's descriptions of American truck stops in A Thousand Miles are strikingly different. Coster's binary rhetoric compares American truck stops to European ones, glamorizing the former and denigrating the latter. He is impressed with the conveniences provided at all American truck stops, such as telephone handsets at each table that enable truckers to phone home in comfort instead of outside in the cold at phone booths (159). Coster goes so far as to describe some American truck stops as "palatial" (161). The following passage describing Truckworld in Ohio makes an interesting comparison with Salvatore's above:

We'd been 'dinkin' about', as Keith put it, till eleven o'clock this morning, luxuriating under steaming showers in spotless private cubicles, ordering huge breakfasts of pancakes and hash browns and fruit and french toast and bacon and eggs-over-easy and the rest from the waitress in the quiet and civilized restaurant, even deliberating for an age over which flavour of Snapple fruit punch to choose [...] . (161-62).
Coster's luxurious showers and "civilized restaurant" with abundance of choice (fruit punch) contrast with Di Salvatore's too-small showers and synthetic/inadequate dining areas all with the same dimpled plastic glasses. Coster goes on to admire all the amenities at Truckworld including a large shop with a wide range of cowboy boots and jeans, a movie cinema, and a fake Irish pub (168). In contrast to Wise's deceptive job advertisements, Coster contrasts such leaflets positively with their counterparts in Britain by applauding the effort that has gone into producing them: "such a standard of design and inviting aura of professionalism we in Britain would save for holiday brochures" (169). He sees the leaflets as demonstrating respect for truckers (rather than intending to deceive). The connection between trucking America and holidays makes the former appealing. The description of Truckworld above is immediately followed by a passage that, again using rhetoric opposite to Di Salvatore's, constructs a "spiritual" difference between American and European trucking:

For the Continental hauler in Europe, travel was antagonistic, disorientating, continual displacement - wherever you went you became a foreigner. Almost everywhere was abroad. Here in the States to take a truck 1,400 miles, as the Pete was going to clock up between Manchester, New Hampshire and Rochester, Minnesota - almost as far as London to Moscow - was affirmatory, protective. You never left home. (162)

In these examples the British writer adopts a utopian view influenced by New World myths, whereas the vision of the American writer is diametrically opposed. Di Salvatore's American truckers are always far from home; Coster's never leave.

8.2.2 The Culinary Contact Zone

Like motels, roadside eateries are contact zones where road writers emerge from the shells of their vehicles to meet locals and other travellers. Unlike motels, where contact is largely voyeuristic or secondhand, diners provide the opportunity for more direct interaction. Diners are also (if away from the interstate) zones inhabited by locals rather
than travelling Americans. Fletcher notes how pleasant it is to stop at diners off backroads in the south for brief encounters with friendly strangers (114). Later he remarks: "These cafés are still the focal point of tiny western towns: where men in old checked shirts and baseball caps gather before work each morning to smoke, drink coffee, crack ribald jokes and flirt with the frowzy waitress" (188). The sense of community in such diners reduces opportunities for dystopian discourse. Steinbeck notes that a cup of coffee is a great get together symbol of the highway; he stops at a coffee shop when he wants to speak to someone, not necessarily when he wants food or drink (84).

The first level of interaction with locals is that with eatery staff, especially waitresses (waiters are thin on the ground). The ellipsis from the passage above describing Salvatore's ideal truck stop contains the following:

The kitchen was run by a plump, grandmotherly woman. There were three waitresses - Rhonda, Babs, and Mary Lou. Rhonda was a sultry redhead with enough ex-husbands to field a basketball team; Babs smoked too much, knew every joke on earth, and could swear like a trooper. She had the drivers' respect. Flirting was fine, but everyone knew she had a sickly husband at home. Mary-Lou was sad-eyed, quiet, and pretty as the day is long. One day she'd meet the right man - a handsome, hard-working driver named Joe - and they'd buy a farm and raise a family. (31)

This picture, the extreme romantic and unlikely nature of which is admitted by Di Salvatore, is illustrative of the intertextual connotations of waitresses in diners and coffee shops. It reads like a character synopsis for a movie script. Women in truck stops are, ideally, substitute wives, mothers, and grandmothers for lonely male truckers.

McGrath includes the following description of a waitress in Utah who has a similar role:
The late shift waitress, Ellen, comes on at ten and works through until breakfast. At some point or other during the night all the hidden people of Grand County, Utah, end up at the Westerner Grill. The night shift miners, the drunks, the insomniacs and the folk like me with no-one warm to go home to. Ellen's job is to pour our coffee and let us think she's on our side. She doesn't have much time for the early morning crowd [...]. And she doesn't like the ones in fancy boots and designer outdoor gear, whatever time they come in. Tip like vagrants, she says.

(93)

McGrath constructs the Westerner Grill at night as a substitute home for social misfits in which Ellen is a mother/partner figure, administering comfort from a coffee pot. The passage also constructs a difference between natives and outsiders by comparing tourists to vagrants. Later in the same the passage, Ellen notes to a local old man that they are all out of peach cobbler because a group of hikers came in and "ate the batch" implying that tourists deprive locals (93). Travellers such as McGrath, however, fit in with the marginal locals in the Westerner Grill.

Davies gives the following description of social space in eateries:

[...] I pulled over again at the World's Biggest Truck Stop. It was crowded with people eating too much. The Freeway can be one long sticky road of eating opportunities offering ferocious claims of cheap eating to the thin and unwary. The places change but the food remains the same.

From outside they are bright and hopeful underlined with a seeping smell of food which drifts down the freeway merging with the monoxide. Inside they are less upbeat, darker, the waitresses forcibly happy offering choices and specials.

Back in Tulsa Mally's diner on 11th street offers cheap food and is full on a Saturday morning as the waitresses skitter effortlessly around taking orders, refilling cups.

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The locals stick to the tables, foreigners hug the bar hoping for more of the experience [...]. They study the menu longer than is necessary, savouring the difference [...]. (60-1)

This passage uses binary rhetoric to contrast the inauthentic experience at chain eateries where waitresses act ("forcibly happy") compared with a small, authentic diner where the waitresses are more natural ("skitter effortlessly"). Davies's chain eateries are similar to Di Salvatore's description of deceptive truck stops above; dark insides fail to fulfill the promises of bright exteriors.

8.2.3. From Heavenly Feasts to Junk Food Hell

Linked with descriptions of the physical appearance and social space of roadside eateries, descriptions of food are used to signify a range of concepts about Americanness and the road trip. Less unified than the discourse on motels, British writers' representations of food are both utopian and dystopian, often depending on their relationship to New World myths.

Food is a major marker of national and regional identity. Guidebooks include introductory sections on food to orient tourists and travellers to another culture. For example, The Rough Guide series includes a "Basics" section with general information on a nation's currency, transportation, accommodation, food, weather, customs, and major festivals. USA: The Rough Guide distinguishes the national food of "predictable enormous steaks, burgers, piles of ribs or half a chicken, served up with salads, cooked vegetables and breads" from regional food such as shellfish in New England, cajun food in Louisiana, soul food in the south, and California cuisine "geared towards health and aesthetics" (44-45). The Guide goes on to provide a table of exotic food terms with translations, such as calf fries (deep-fried calf's testicles), Hoagie (French-bread sandwich), and Quahog (large clam) (46).

Roadlogue writers use the same distinctions, generally preferring distinctive regional food to that of national chains. Davies notes that food is a boundary marker in New Mexico: "The food from here gets hotter" (52). McGrath also savours Mexican
food in New Mexico (54). McLean eats catfish and hush puppies in Texas near the Louisiana border, markers of cajun and southern food (12), and Younge relishes soul food in the south (142-43).

Sharing food with locals is a way to experience another culture; it also makes the traveller open to contamination by that culture. As the United States is a developed, western country, free from illnesses such as typhoid and cholera, there are no warnings about risky food and associated diseases in USA: The Rough Guide (written principally for British and Irish readers). Travellers can therefore feel free to indulge themselves. The guide praises American food as follows:

"Fast food" may be America's most enduring contribution to the modern culinary world, but most travellers find the sheer variety - and, for the most part, quality - of the foods available around the United States quite staggering.

Whether it's for basic sustenance or for a special social occasion, most Americans love to dine out and in the cities at least you can pretty much eat whatever you want whenever you want. Along all the highways and on every main street, restaurants, fast food places and coffee shops try to outdo one another with flashing neon signs as well as bargains and special offers. (44)

This description draws on the established discourse of the New World (dating back to early European explorers) as a land of plenty (signified earlier by the "enormous steaks, burgers, piles of ribs or half a chicken"), a utopia marked by choice where you can "eat whatever you want whenever you want."

Coster subscribes to this discourse in his description of a truck stop breakfast given above and in a later example where his representation of food at Truckworld again emphasizes the positive nature of plenty and choice in this Edenic utopia: "We wandered into the restaurant. The salad bar was heaped with fresh strawberries, peaches and red and green melon; the buffet bar was laden with steaming trenchers of lasagne, meatballs in sauce, garlic bread" (169). McGrath constructs Los Angeles as
having (slightly ironic) utopian qualities due to its selection of food. Santara, an unhappy New Ager in Sedona, Arizona, wistfully looks back to better days in California: "Back in LA things were different for Santara. There was air conditioning everywhere and sea breezes and a thousand flavours of frozen yoghurt and she was happy sometimes" (60).

The general prevailing discourse in the late-twentieth-century west attaches negative connotations to fat and grease. Although Coster's breakfast at Truckworld quoted above contains bacon and eggs, it omits the word "grease." It also includes fruit and fruit juice which add their positive "healthy" associations to the meal (161-62). In contrast, McGrath describes greasy and less than fresh food at the Westerner Grill:

> Disposing of my order on the spike, Ellen shuffles over to the counter, picks up a faded side salad along with a jug of greasy coffee, comes back, and in a single well-honed motion slides the salad bowl off her forearm, onto my table and moves along to the booth next door, where an old man in a straw hat is trying to remove his teeth from a piece of chicken fried steak. (93)

However, it is not the case that greasy food is only portrayed negatively by British writers. Greasy food can endow a diner with authenticity as in this example from Freeways: "I share a greasy breakfast in a pre-fab on the edge of town with a bunch of old farmers in cowboy hats" (Davies 31). In this case, the greasy food enables Davies to align himself with locals and thus enjoy an authentic cultural experience. Similarly, Coltrane constructs fat as authentic when he registers disappointment at discovering that the cowboys at the Cassoday Café in Dodge City (which he likens to a scene from a western) prefer low cholesterol food (88).

Gary Younge's appreciation of soul food also constructs grease as authentic:

> I needed about half an hour and a family-pack of serviettes after every soul food meal just to rid my fingers, face and even clothes of the mixture of sauces and grease in which it was cooked. Rich in taste, and large in quantity, it had more or less the same affect on my insides, as
though the entire dish had been covered in Velcro so it could stick to my stomach and lie there as a heavy, permanent reminder of my indulgence. I loved it. (188)

Aptly named "soul" food appears to fill Younge's lack in a spiritual as well as physical sense. \(^{41}\) However, utopian descriptions of American plenty are counter-balanced by representations of dystopian eateries plagued by unhealthy food and unhealthy attitudes to it. New World plenty, manifested by the all-you-can-eat restaurant, can also be depicted as illusory, disappointing, or signifying excessive greed. McGrath represents New World plenty at salad bars as illusory by explaining that proprietors put all the cheap items (such as lettuce) at the beginning and expensive ones (such as meat) at the end in the hope that customers will fill their plates with cheap items (52). Davies gives a repellent description of plentiful food at a chain restaurant: "Huge mounds of meat lay under the hot lights, beef steaks the size of bread boards with carefully marked char grill lines. Thick slabs of chicken, white and bloated on steroids" (65-66). Here the supposedly natural abundance of New World plenty is represented as a lie based on distortions gained through use of (unnatural) technology. It is surprising that more representations like Davies's are not in evidence, given the extent of negative discourse regarding American GM food products by the British media in the 90s.

When New World plenty is not portrayed as illusory, it can be represented negatively with connotations of savagery and lack of civilization. It is significant that the British translation of "All You Can Eat" is "Eat as Much as You Like (or Want)." The original American phrase can be interpreted as an invitation to gluttony: it makes eating into a competition to see who can eat the most, illustrated by the 1980s single by the American rap trio The Fat Boys: "All You Can Eat." The video for this single shows The Fat Boys piling plates with outrageous mountains of food to the astonishment of other diners while rapping: "Three ninety-nine for all you can eat. I'm

\(^{41}\) See Chapter Two, section 2.2.3 for further discussion of Younge and soul food.
stuffing my face to a funky beat." In contrast, the British version reflects British moderation.

This difference between national characteristics can be used to create humour if British writers show themselves unequal to the task of consuming an entire American meal, playing on the discourse of Big Potent America versus Small Impotent Britain (introduced in Chapter Two). For instance, Collins describes being overwhelmed by the choice and vast quantities in a Texas steakhouse which hosts a competition challenging diners to eat a 72oz steak (plus sides) in one sitting (117). McLean describes a scene in Big Pines Lodge in Texas where he mistakes a side dish (of hush puppies) for his main dish (of catfish). After finishing the hush puppies he is full to bursting point and horrified at the arrival of his main course (12-13). McLean's descriptions of American food are generally celebratory, but tinged with worries about calories and cholesterol (e.g., 159). British moderation often introduces guilt into American Bacchanalian feasting.

In addition to the negative connotations of over-indulgence, British writers often link gluttony to violence, and therefore construct the States as an uncivilized nation of ignoble savages. This is evident in Davies's description of a Las Vegas all-you-can-eat buffet:

The dining hall was scarred with the signs of a massacre. All you could eat for $2.99 and the hungry hordes had gorged through. Squashed sausages and toast, scattered cereals all lying around on the red tile floor. Long lines of canteen food stretching for a hundred miles to the cashiers. A few late risers chose between congealed crusty eggs, limp bacon fragments and the odd apple. Every conceivable breakfast food had been available and wrenched from the counters. |...|

We watched as the machine began gearing for the lunch-time frenzy. (112)

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42 See Fletcher 194 for a similar scene.
This scene is reminiscent of that left by the white settlers who swept through the plains and slaughtered the bison, leaving only remnants of carcasses behind.\textsuperscript{43} Davies's use of the word "machine" for the catering staff compares this large restaurant unfavourably with smaller, more intimate places such as Mally's diner described earlier.

Food and violence are also linked in Coltrane and McLean's narratives. Coltrane's link is an amusing way to characterize Kansas: "I know I wouldn't recommend anyone to try to follow a meat-free menu on a journey through Kansas. Remember, some people here can get quite upset by anti-beef views, and eighty percent of the state is armed... 'Who ordered the 'Tofu Burger?' Click" (78). Likewise, McLean introduces humour to the episode at Big Pines Lodge, which is a hunting lodge-cum-restaurant. McLean describes the bizarre juxtaposition of people gorging on food while guns and ammunition are sold nearby, and claims he feared he would be shot if he did not finish his mountainous meal (13).

A recurrent image in British roadlogues is that of overweight Americans overeating, which again suggests savagery or lack of civilization through lack of self-control. The following example is from Davies's description of the World's Biggest Truck Stop mentioned earlier: "I watch as overweight people, wilting in the heat despite the air conditioning, refill another bowl from the all-you-can-eat salad bar" (60-61). His discourse constructs food as a drug, evidenced by the sentence quoted previously: "The Freeway can be one long sticky road of eating opportunities offering ferocious claims of cheap eating to the thin and unwary" (60).\textsuperscript{44}

Food as a drug is a placebo, a comfort to people (such as the misfits in McGrath's Westerner Grill) with failed relationships or careers. McGrath describes Santara as eating large amounts of chocolate ice cream for comfort (61). Santara notes

\textsuperscript{43} A similar and amusing scene is painted by Trollope who describes American eaters as savages: "The total want of all the usual courtesies of the table, the voracious rapidity with which the viands were seized and devoured, the strange uncouth phrases and pronunciation; the loathsome spitting, from the contamination of which it was absolutely impossible to protect our dresses; the frightful manner of feeding with their knives, till the whole blade seemed to enter the mouth; and the still more frightful manner of cleaning the teeth afterwards with a pocket knife [. . .]" (12).

\textsuperscript{44} Links between food, greed, and violence are not restricted to British representations. \textit{Motel Hell}, with its cannibalistic, gluttonous farmer's wife is an example.
that chocolate contains the same chemical as an orgasm: serotonin. Food thus substitutes for human contact. When offered some chocolate ice cream by Santara, McGrath replies: "Uh-nunh, thanks, I don't do chocolate much." equating it with a drug (61).

Though McGrath's depiction of the large Santara is sympathetic, Motel Nirvana also includes derogatory descriptions of obese Americans, such as "grazing" (thus sheep-like) ignorant tourists at the Biosphere (43). McGrath's harshest description is of the children of a couple who pick her up when her car breaks down: "An identity parade of immense Plum children sits on the sofa in the middle of the room and stares vacantly ahead at a cartoon on the TV. The youngest-looking is transporting a mountain of popcorn from bag to mouth while belching over a bottle of Gatorade. The rest appear to be pupating" (81). Junk food junkies again connect American food to drugs.

Coltrane has a more humorous approach to obesity. Being large himself, he is delighted to find even bigger people in the States: "By the by, America is a most encouraging place to visit if you're on the large side (oh alright, a fat slob). I saw many people squeezed into shorts who made me feel positively anorexic" (111). McLean includes a humorous description of an obese man in a restaurant:

In my naive, touristy, first-day-in-Texas way, I'd assumed that Big Pines Lodge referred to the tall trees surrounding the place. But right by the door, sitting in an enormous easy chair with a till perched on a card table in front of him, was an enormously tall and fat man, with rings on his fingers and sweat on his brow. This had to be Big Pine. (11)

Big people are part of the discourse of Big America.

8.3 CONCLUSION

The road writer's gaze is not only formed by physical constraints such as type of road and type of vehicle, but also discursive constraints resulting from how other texts represent the same objects. This chapter addressed the principal question: how do writers represent the physically strange yet textually familiar? It considered travelling
culture from two aspects: how Americans travel and how American texts travel. Ways in which the static road writer's gaze is framed by background books were explored through analysis of representations of motels and diners in contemporary British roadlogues. Though some direct references to intertexts in case studies were mentioned, the focus was on how writers reveal influence through indirect means.

Analysis of motel representations revealed a bias towards dystopian visions heavily influenced by those in horror and outlaw road movies. This is caused by several factors such as the exclusion of descriptions of safe chain motels (because these make tedious reading), the motel as a site of conflict between two American dreams, and the indirect connection of road writers with other motel patrons (both past and present) which encourages use of the imagination. The real human dramas that take place at motels, when framed through the noir lens of the outlaw road movie, provide the opportunity for drama in otherwise unadventurous and uneventful narratives.

Fictionalization is a dominant rhetorical mode employed by British roadlogue representations of American motels. It can achieve various different effects including either authenticating or undermining road writers' fears of violence in cheap motels. Not every British writer consistently succumbs to the temptation to over-dramatize stays in motels. For instance, journalists Fletcher and Younge tend to be more restrained than other writers, at least at times (Fletcher 88; Younge 233). However, by and large, British writers are seduced by such intertexts as road movies and fail to bring the fresh perspective of the outsider. Where they potentially differ from American travel writers is that they may be more likely to romanticize through imagination.

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45 Fictionalization is my own term. Although Spurr does not devote a chapter to this mode, he does mention the use of art metaphors (e.g., by citing the representation in the British press of events in Africa as resembling a comic opera [54]).

46 However, though Fletcher says very little of one motel, he still links it with Psycho by describing it as "so profoundly dismal it would have graced a Hitchcock movie."

47 Motel descriptions are generally lacking in the three canonical American roadlogues by Steinbeck, Pirsig, and Heat-Moon because the writers camped most of the time. Steinbeck stays at motels every few days to bathe. However, he describes most places as "auto courts" and thus uses what is (at least by the 80s and 90s) a more neutral term that "motel." He describes one as sterile and impersonal (36-38) but another as grand and luxurious (69), and another as pretty (125). In general, auto courts represent respite from the trials of his journey.
A dystopian vision of motels is not the only option for British writers influenced by American visions. American coffee table books, such as the American Retro series mentioned previously, aestheticize motels and view them through rose-coloured nostalgic lenses. The introduction to each book in this series provides a sugary Doris Day-movie version of the 1950s as the American golden age of postwar prosperity marked by exuberance in car design and roadside architecture. Of motels it says: "comfortable motels with warm rooms offered the latest in modern conveniences, from power showers to the combination television and radio set, and provided a safe haven for the night. They were clean and affordable family businesses, which allowed the nuclear family, for the first time, to explore the wonders of their own land" (6-7).

The cover of Motels claims that its photographs: "conjure up images of adventure and escapism, a feeling that you could just head out onto the great open road and into the unknown."

There are several reasons why Motels is able to sustain such a utopian vision in opposition to that preferred by British roadlogue writers whose motels are decayed, threaten the nuclear family, are unsafe, and hinder images of escapism. First, its glossy photographs aestheticize decaying motels and are almost all devoid of people. Where people are shown, they are mostly in the distance. There are no fighting couples, or wailing police sirens, or shouts exhibiting racist paranoia in these images. The book reconstructs the past rather than the present, so is able to ignore harsh contemporary realities. Finally, the quotations which inform each photograph are from sources such as Walt Disney and Dolly Parton. There are no allusions (explicit or implicit) to Psycho or Thelma & Louise.

48 In contrast, the photographs in Diners include several close-ups of smiling people (both waitresses and customers) (e.g., 22; 107). The American Retro series is part of a number of glossy coffee table books on American architecture published in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. For other examples see The American Motel by Michael Karl Witzel and Hometown Diners by Robert O. Williams. The former aestheticizes motels and, like Motels, largely excludes people from its photographs. Hometown Diners, like Diners, focuses on happy smiling faces of staff and customers and close-ups of food. These publications are part of the movement to celebrate and preserve Googie-style architecture begun (according to Richard Cheverton in "Exuberantly Googie") in the mid-1980s. (19).
If Europe is a museum for Americans, the States is often a giant movie set for British writers. Driving writers were characterized in Chapters Four and Five as shoppers, anthropologists in mobile tents (often concerned with studying the self if travelling alone), or television/movie viewers. When they stop at motels, road writers suddenly become part of the scene as opposed to passive observers. They transform into active lone rangers and detectives in their own westerns or road movies.49

Representations of American food by British writers are more varied than those of motels and accommodate utopian in addition to dystopian visions. Reasons for this include the direct human contact in diners, the comfort provided by food, and the short delay to the journey that stopping to eat represents. Despite the variance, roadlogue discourse on American food largely privileges regional over national and fast food and small establishments over chains. Writers diverge in the ways their views are influenced by New World myths. Some, like Coster, celebrate the plenty and choice in roadside food. Others claim such plenty to be illusory, or compare Americans to (ignoble) savages by criticizing greed and linking food to violence.

Although in some ways, the influence exerted on British writers by American popular culture and myths is disappointing, it is not surprising. Western myths were, after all, initiated by Europeans. It should also be noted that the States is by no means the only travel destination framed by intertexts from popular culture.50 Film has undoubtedly become a pivotal point of reference for the majority of western travel writers, whatever their destination. However, it is perhaps most marked in the case of visitors to the States because of the extent to which American culture has travelled. The considerable influence that the dystopian outlaw road movie has on the late-twentieth-century British roadlogue remains interesting due to the extreme divergence between these genres on the general level.

49 This is not to say that British writers are incapable of being surprised or learning anything from their journey experiences. For instance, most writers note the growing numbers of Indian and Pakistani owners of many cheap motels in the southwest (mentioned, e.g. by Davies [58], Fletcher [188], and McGrath [13]), a fact that is largely at odds with their preconceptions. Such observations encourage some analysis of changing social structures.

50 For instance, Bryson notes that his first impressions of Europe came from television and National Geographic (Lost Continent 7).
CHAPTER NINE

THE ROAD AHEAD

A major criticism of much travel writing is that travellers fail to fully engage with the place visited because they are blinded by their own cultural and ideological predispositions. Conversely, contemporary British travel writers on the United States are susceptible to judgment because they are heavily influenced by American myths, literature, and popular culture. Denied the stance of innocent abroad, they frequently fail to bring the fresh perspective of the outsider. This study has demonstrated that late-twentieth-century British writers of the American road trip feel obliged to locate their texts vis-à-vis an American road canon through direct allusion and indirect emulation. Rather than taking British journeys in the States, roadlogue writers re-enact American rituals of mapping American space. In this way, case studies belong to what can almost be described as a subordinate subgenre of the American highway narrative.

However, this subordination is not unqualified and does not result in British writers' gazes equating those of Americans. The deferential stance of most British writers towards the United States is selective rather than comprehensive. This is due to vestiges of superiority, carried over from the period when power relations were reversed, which allow harsh criticism of some aspects of American culture and encourage continued representations of Americans as unruly children. Selective deference is also demonstrated through a consumer approach to American culture afforded by the episodic structure of the road trip. The road writer's gaze is often characterized not by a quest for totality but by a superficial relation to the landscape explored and the freedom to shop for preferred signs of Americanness. This attitude is encouraged and legitimated by the niche-oriented nature of the current market for travel writing, which necessitates that writers differentiate their journeys from those of others through specialization.

The selective approach facilitates opposing constructions of Americanness. American roads can accommodate future-oriented visions based on New World lack of
history, or nostalgic journeys in drive-thru museums that look back to the golden age of
the automobile and the road trip. Interstate highways are celebrated through the
placelessness they create linked to potentiality, or denigrated as destroyers of the
disappearing worlds of distinct communities on American backroads. American roads
accommodate the co-existence of metaphors of integration and disintegration: the
United States as a road is portrayed as a nation of separate units united by a network of
roads and a restless society fragmented by the same highways.

Although writers continue to build road trip canons, these are not entirely
canons of consensus. On close inspection there is no obvious preferred road writer's
gaze. While roadlogues are traversed by influential discourses (such as those of travel,
gender, and national identity) a broad range of individual gazes can be constructed,
authorized, and reinforced through complex, contradictory roadlogue rhetoric. Despite
discursive pressures and the consequent conservative nature of most roadlogues, there
is some small room for manoeuvre and limited space for a few original voices of
implied writers to be heard. In the middle ground between self-expression and textual
constraints (including paratextual and intertextual influence), implied writers aware of
genre conventions can adopt strategies such as parody or textual amnesia to gain some
ground and at least partially undermine dominant paradigms. While in one sense
intertextual influence constitutes interruptions, it can also be viewed as active
borrowing that demonstrates a latecome writer's agency.

While Britons are often seduced by western and New World myths, it should
be kept in mind that such myths have a history of joint ownership and propagation by
both Americans and Europeans. Therefore, adoption of such myths does not simply
reflect patterns of subordination. Contemporary British attraction to such myths tends
to be transitory. In opposition to British moderation, British writers on American
highways seek such American extremes as plenty, violence, fear, passion, speed,
spirituality, individual empowerment, and rootlessness linked to the discourse of Big
America versus Small Britain. However, by and large, they seem unable to slough off
enough British reserve in order to fully participate in the romance of the road. Any adrenaline in British roadlogues is most often injected from American texts.

Though British writers capitalize on the appeal of the frenetic Kerouacian quest and celebrate the noir vision of the roadside from American popular culture, their journey plots are generally far removed from those of road novels and road movies. Instead, British roadlogues are dominated by sedate cultural enquiries made by celibate, law-abiding narrators who prefer intellectual pursuits or appreciation of American popular culture over transgression of personal, social, or political boundaries. In general, the British road writer in the contemporary United States bears little resemblance to the English gentleman traveller in other parts of the globe in other periods. This is partially a consequence of the evolution of the American road tripper from active pioneer to passive viewer of television or film. Denied the role of explorer in virgin territory, contemporary British writers in the United States participate in recovery rather than discovery; they grapple with jungles of prolific prior texts rather than vegetation. Hyper-masculine firsts are traded in for testosterone-free firsts, seconds, or thirds in culture rather than nature.

While there are some notable exceptions, most Britons appear intimidated by Big America and remain untransformed by American highways. In addition to the grip of British reserve and the power relations between Britain and the United States, this is, no doubt also due to the mundane motivation of many writers' contemporary journeys (unlike Younge's): to write a book rather than undertake a personal quest. American writers regard roadscapes with imperial eyes and experience the road trip as a rite of passage into American citizenship; for them it is often a ritual of appropriation and celebration. While this is also be true for Hazleton and Younge to different degrees, most British writers, rather than having imperial eyes, are culturally colonized subjects who accept the hegemony of the dominant culture. There is a large proportion of devotees of American popular culture amongst late-twentieth-century British writers. Contemporary Britons generally engage in superficial role play as encumbered lone...
rangers who may experience some temporary freedom on American highways but are often inhibited by impotence and inadequacy.

Having outlined this study's major conclusions, it remains to expose its limits, highlight unanswered questions that have arisen, and suggest areas for further critical attention. In searching for commonalities between texts to provide points of comparison regarding road trips, this study neglected many of the more specialized aspects of case studies. Further scholarship on British travel writing of this period could be oriented according to theme of travel, such as books on religion or popular culture. The construction of the United States by British writers (such as Fletcher, McGrath, Wood, and Soutter) as a nation of crazy extremists (such as religious freaks, paranoid conspiracy theorists, and twisted devotees of violence) appears to be a rich area of research.

The study aimed to give an overview of a wide range of texts in order to contextualize case studies. It considered representations of cars and American highways in travel narratives, guidebooks, novels, films, advertisements, and coffee table books. The broad scope necessitated limited introductions to some of these genres and therefore opened up avenues for further exploration. For instance, the analysis of postwar cultural coding of women and cars assumed a broad correspondence between Britain and the States. It seems likely that a comparison of representations of women and cars in both nations would be valuable. Discussions of route maps and road movies suggested that a comparative investigation of road culture in the United States and Australia would be fruitful. Additionally, British roadlogues on American highways could be compared with those in Europe. Coster's *A Thousand Miles* provides a useful starting point here. The fact that the interstate system of the United States was inspired by Germany's autobahns is of relevance to this area. Although return of the gaze is not a major issue with British travel books on the postwar United States (because American voices interrupt British texts), it would be useful to compare contemporary American writing on Britain with case studies and to locate these in relation to existent studies on the nineteenth century.
The period selected for focus in this study (the 1980s and 1990s) appears to have witnessed a revolution in the guidebook industry. A brief glimpse at this subject suggests that guidebooks rapidly evolved over this period from a limited number of generalized texts to a large number of specialized guides tailored to meet (or create) the needs of a diversified set of target readers. One way to compare guides and travelogues might be to conduct audience studies with a view to illuminating the roles these genres play in the tourist industry. It is likely that travelogues are sometimes used as guidebooks and that guidebooks are used for armchair travel.

While the study showed that roadlogue writers frequently seek to differentiate themselves from tourists, it also demonstrated that what is considered legitimate as an American tourist site is continually changing. In the early 80s, guidebooks on certain states (such as North Dakota) considered to be lacking in tourist sites were rare. However, by the late 90s, publishers such as Moon Travel Handbooks produced guidebooks on every state. These texts are totalizing enterprises which include a wealth of information on everything from the quotidian to the exotic and do not reveal a bias towards the traditional leisure or spectacle-oriented tourist site. It is likely that a comparison between sales figures for guidebooks such as Moon Handbooks would reveal more about differences between American and British attitudes to American road trips. A continuation beyond the 1960s of Jakle's study of tourism and highways in the States is also called for.

One layer that interrupts the road writer's gaze neglected by this study is the presence of other tourists. While travel writers seek to focus on signs of Americanness on American highways, case studies reveal that tourists from other nations frequently enter the equation. The most obvious instance is that of the Australian backpacker Martha who takes over the middle section of Freeways. She inserts herself in-between Davies and his interpretation of the landscape. Analysis of representations of tourists from the United States and other nations on American highways would expand the discussion of the effects of globalization on travel writing introduced here. The issue introduced here of the evolving definition of Britishness in an era of globalization and
devolution as evidenced in British travel texts would benefit from a more in-depth study.

This study sought to compensate for the bias of travel writing scholarship towards major writers by giving a broad overview of what is being produced in the market from the poetic to the prosaic. Issues of production and reception introduced here could be expanded with regard to hierarchies set up between literary and non-literary roadlogues. Audience studies would be useful, as would comparison of reviews, and assessment of the shelf-life and circulation patterns of various travel subgenres such as the television show offshoot.

Comparison of road texts has revealed biases and absences in road trips across genres. Since *Thelma & Louise*, the road movie has been replenished with a series of films that put women, gays, and blacks on the road. A subject not yet tackled by the road movie is that of the lone British traveller negotiating American highways. Guidebooks remain in favour of logical routes, whereas roadlogues are more free to wander. The absence of two-way journeys (following the Pony Express paradigm) and existence of only one pioneering roadlogue (McGrath's) that features repeat visits to sites suggest how the genre might be renewed in the future.
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
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<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>Recreation Vehicle</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>WII</td>
<td>Writer-introduced intertext</td>
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