# Vagabondage

### A Timeless Reaction to the Malignancy of Western Civilization

Ian Cutler

**Series in Philosophy** 



Copyright © 2025 Vernon Press, an imprint of Vernon Art and Science Inc, on behalf of the author.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Vernon Art and Science Inc.

www.vernonpress.com

In the Americas: Vernon Press 1000 N West Street, Suite 1200 Wilmington, Delaware, 19801 United States In the rest of the world: Vernon Press C/Sancti Espiritu 17, Malaga, 29006 Spain

Series in Philosophy

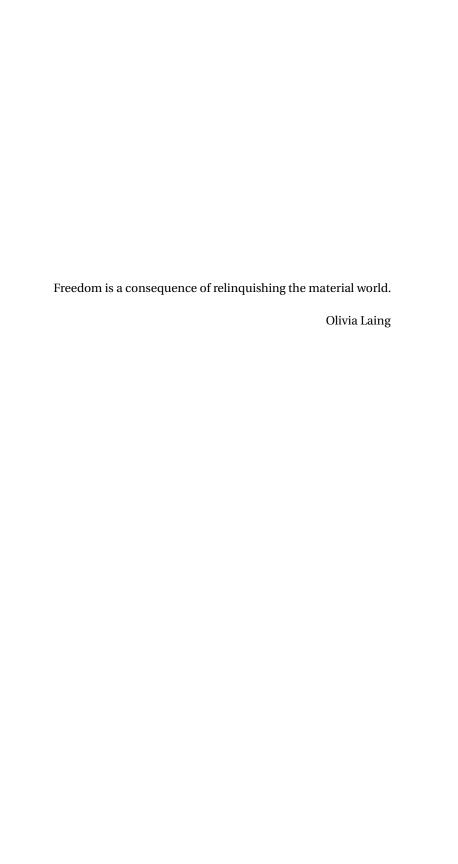
Library of Congress Control Number: 2025932505

ISBN: 979-8-8819-0239-1

Product and company names mentioned in this work are the trademarks of their respective owners. While every care has been taken in preparing this work, neither the authors nor Vernon Art and Science Inc. may be held responsible for any loss or damage caused or alleged to be caused directly or indirectly by the information contained in it.

Cover design by Vernon Press.

Every effort has been made to trace all copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publisher will be pleased to include any necessary credits in any subsequent reprint or edition.





Ian Cutler's latest book, Vagabondage: A Timeless Reaction to the Malignancy of Western Civilization, follows earlier chroniclers of vagabondage (from Arthur Rickett to Stephen Graham) in offering a broad conception of the term as a philosophical outlook and way of life. Taking us on a whistle—stop tour, from Diogenes to Nietszche, Cutler itemises the defining attributes of this broad system of belief: from an inclination to wander to a tendency towards introspection; from an implicit childishness to a love of nature—with a central connecting disregard for the Platonic attributes of mainstream Western civilisation uniting the many authors subject to scrutiny. Cutler's book is an impassioned and idiosyncratic 'diatribe' (in true Cynic fashion) against the process of civilisation, offering insights into an eclectic array of dissenters, many of whom ... (in particular, the homeless writers that formed the subject of Cutler's *The Lives And Extraordinary Adventures* Of Fifteen Tramp Writers From The Golden Age Of Vagabondage) have been unfairly neglected. A valuable insight for those interested in vagabondage in its many cultural forms.

> Dr Luke Davies, Lecturer in Film Studies Keele University

Ian Cutler is the laureate of itinerants and loiterers. In his latest contribution to the literature on vagabonds, he offers not only an erudite compendium of tramping since ancient times but a characteristically thought-provoking, even moving meditation on what it means to feel, in one's legs and one's soul, that restless longing to be on the road. I learned a great deal from it and will return to it again and again.

Professor Matthew Beaumont, Department of English Literature University College London Gower Street

Anyone who wants to understand the vagabond as a core archetype of humanity can hardly do better than become a fellow traveller on Ian Cutler's magnificent journey across several millennia of tramping. This book will change your idea of what civilization and especially Western civilization means; it may also change your idea of what it means to be human.

Emeritus Professor Yiannis Gabriel, Bath University, UK Ian Cutler expertly and impressively covers a staggering amount of literary and philosophical territory in "Vagabondage: A Timeless Reaction to the Malignancy of Western Civilization." He [Cutler] deftly explores a wide range of aspects to this challenging and complex subject, insightfully probing the mighty depths beneath this fascinating territory. Along the way, he puts you in such celebrated company as Robert Louis Stevenson, Jack London, Virginia Woolf, Charles Dickens and Jack Kerouac, as well as some rovers and writers whose words are lesser known but no less valuable. Throughout this odyssey, Cutler remains our able guide, pointing out the common themes that have shaped and defined vagabond literature.

Mark Dawidziak

Ian Cutler is the greatest living authority on the now almost extinct tramp writer. In this beautifully written and scholarly analysis of the philosophy of male and female literary vagabondage he traces the genre's roots back to the Cynics.

Reading it made me want to pack my rucksack and escape from the noisy buzzing of the human zoo and tramp the rolling road leaving my cares and obligations behind me.

Professor Andrew Lees, University College London

### **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

	PREFACE	xi
	INTRODUCTION: THE BEGINNINGS OF VAGABONDAGE AS A PHILOSOPHY	xvii
Chapter 1	WANDERLUST	1
Chapter 2	AFFINITY WITH NATURE	15
Chapter 3	THE URBAN VAGABOND	27
Chapter 4	THE LONE AND LOFTY PERCH OF WORLD- HATING INTROSPECTION	43
Chapter 5	PETER PAN SYNDROME	53
Chapter 6	FACT or FICTION?	65
Chapter 7	THE VAGABOND TEMPERAMENT	77
	REFERENCES	83

#### **PREFACE**

In this volume, I have departed from my usual biographical mode of writing to pen what could be described as an anthological essay on vagabondage: anthological in as much as in many instances, around half of the words printed come directly from the original authors, over 50 of whom are now fortunately out of copyright.

As often happens after publishing a monograph, you discover another that you wish you'd come across while still writing the first. Following the publication of my biography of fifteen tramp writers in 2020, I came across four other texts on the subject of Vagabond Literature (and, of course, many other primary texts by vagabond writers). The first two, Kerri Andrews, Wanderers: A History of Women Walking (2020) and Luke Lewin Davies' The Tramp in British Literature, 1850–1950 (2022), were not available to me at the time of writing this book. But there was no excuse for not locating the other two, published over 100 years ago: Arthur Rickett's The Vagabond in Literature (1906) and Hilaire Belloc's *The Footpath Way* (1911). Both these latter texts introduce the writing and philosophy of well-known writers with the vagabond instinct including, among others, William Hazlitt, H. D. Thoreau, George Borrow, Thomas de Quincy, Walt Whitman and R. L. Stevenson. Andrews' book is particularly important as these earlier texts neglected important women writers on the subject. Be that as it may, on reading both Rickett and Andrew's books, I was delighted to discover that their focus was, as with my own work, on the vagabond writer, not the vagabond as a fictional character. It was partly these texts that prompted me to write this current volume for reasons I will explain.

The main distinction between my work and Rickett's, was less the separation of 119 years in which they were published—although that provided its own fascination—so much as that the vagabond writers who were the subject of his book (and, for that matter Belloc and Andrew's also) were, and for the most part still are today, household names in the world of literature. This is an important if not slightly artificial distinction, best described by the writer Emily Burbank (1908, p. 346) when she commented on Josiah Flynt, one of the writers in my 2020 text, "it must be remembered that Flynt was the tramp writing, not the literary man tramping" I used this definition in selecting the fifteen chapters of my previous book because, with the possible exception of Jack London, I was interested in rescuing what I regarded as forgotten writers from obscurity and, as with Burbank's definition, wanted to consider tramps who were drawn to writing (even if some of them undoubtedly sought literary success) rather than celebrated writers who tramped to inspire their writing. For the purpose of this

xii PREFACE

current text, I will refer to the former as 'tramp writers' to distinguish them from 'literary vagabonds,' the other species of vagabond philosophers cited in this book. When discussing both groups as one, I will use the term 'vagabond writer.' In his book, *Paris Vagabond* (discussed in Chapter 3), Jean-Paul Clébert (2016, p. 50) makes a similar distinction between those two groups when he refers to the 'vagabond poet' and the 'poet vagabond.' But, as I've already acknowledged, in reality, there is very little real distinction because both categories of vagabonds were driven by the same urges and shared the same philosophy of living in both the 'human' world and the 'natural' world—the former being frequently described as 'unnatural' by ancient and modern vagabond writers throughout this text. It should also be noted that most of the texts that appear in this book, from all of the writers referred to above, were written approximately between 1850 and 1950.

The other reason for writing this book was that I had been contacted by someone who had read my two biographies on tramp writers and suggested that I should write another, less biographical work; one which examined the phenomenon of vagabond literature along the common philosophical themes (wanderlust, affinity with nature, the abject, cosmopolitanism, etcetera) that were clearly emerging from the writing. I touched on these in the final chapter of an earlier book, *Jim Christy: A Vagabond Life* (2019), but never fully developed them. On discovering that the writers featured by Rickett, Belloc and Andrews had all written with passion on these same topics, I needed no further persuasion to start writing this present volume, here sparked by the following challenge laid down by Rickett (1906, p. 84):

It is idle to seek for the literary parentage of this Vagabond. Better far to accept him as he is, a wanderer, a rover, a curious taster of life, at once a mystic and a realist. He may have qualities that repel; but so full is he of contradictions that no sooner has the frown settled on the brow than it gives place to a smile. We may not always like him; never can we ignore him.

Earlier in his book, Rickett raised another question concerning the progenitor of the vagabond, one not unrelated to their "literary parentage": is the vagabond born or made a vagabond? I have attempted to answer this latter question at the end of Chapter 1, but as for the vagabond writers' literary parentage, an attempt to identify this is covered by the Introduction that follows. As for the remaining chapters in this book, each addresses a principle theme of vagabondage, presented for the most part by the words of vagabond writers themselves. This will include the thoughts and ideas of the ancient Greek Cynics and the vagabond culture of the early Jesus movement (as distinct from its corruption as Christianity), as these probably represent the first

*PREFACE* xiii

organized doctrines identifying what could be described as a philosophy of vagabondage in response to the suffocating glue of morality that has dominated Western Civilization since its early beginnings—and of which Christianity (along with science, the judiciary, etcetera) would become one of the principal contributors and guardians of its 'truths.'

Before getting into the central arguments of this book, it is worth making clear some of the subjects that this book does *not* cover, even if such material would provide excellent subjects for other books, and, indeed, is referred to in many of the books cited. This book is restricted to a discussion of vagabondage as discussed by those who left—mainly prose—accounts of their adventures, lifestyle and philosophy. It is not a book about homelessness, migrant workers, or the general lifestyle of the hobo.

Of course, there were occasions when most of the 'tramp writers' cited in this text *did* engage with conventional society, and worked—or starved. In my biography of fifteen tramp writers, there are many detailed accounts of the varied work that they engage with, and, in many cases, excelled. As the modern-day vagabond writer, Jim Christy, says in his forthcoming book *Keep on Working* (2025): "It should be emphasized that tramps were not bums. They walked and would work if it was necessary, whereas hoboes rode freights and actively sought work". For anyone interested in the working life of tramps (and also of circus and carnival performers) and of Christy's own fascinating and entertaining list of jobs in particular, I recommend a reading of *Keep on Working*.

In contrast to the tramp writer, the 'literary vagabonds' cited in this text were, of course, professional writers by trade. Even some of the aforementioned tramp writers went on to publish successfully after, or during, a life on the road; many also engaged in paid journalistic activities. Some vagabond writers came from wealthy families or families who were deeply involved in the very society that the vagabond writer rejected. I emphasise again, this is not a book about economic migrants who led a vagabond lifestyle out of necessity. It is about those who engaged in vagabondage as a personal philosophy and a deliberate lifestyle choice.

Most of the vagabond writers discussed in this text describe their lifestyle in terms of this strategic way of thinking and of being in the world. Cutting themselves off from mainstream society, both physically and emotionally. This in no way prevented them from engaging in conventional ways with the rest of society when the occasion demanded, including, as already mentioned, working. But this book will focus on the vagabond features of its subjects, not conventional aspects of life they may have engaged in.

xiv PREFACE

When I refer later to the view that the vagabond did not try to persuade others to their point of view, or generally identify with others as a tribe, this is a characteristic that, in most cases, is easy to support. It is true that there were organizations associated with hoboism, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or Wobblies), however, although embracing members with no regular workplace, this was primarily a politically motivated group concerned with labor activism. It sought to recruit economic migrants, rather than vagabonds of choice, to their cause. As Todd DePastino identifies in his book *Citizen Hobo* (2003, p. 111), the IWW's "primary task was to spread revolutionary propaganda". In his book *The Tramp in America*, Tim Cresswell (2001, p. 196) identifies that those hobos primarily recruited by the IWW ("semi-successfully," he adds) were migrant workers, "bindle stiffs" or "fruit tramps."

Therefore, the IWW cannot represent a collective identity for the literary vagabonds who are the subject of this book. As Douglas Harper noted in *Good Company: A Tramp Life* (1982, p. 153): "The tramp remains free of and unrepentant to a society which he perceives as a set of pressure to conform, to take orders, and to be unadventuresome." These rules and conformities applied as much to the IWW and similar political organizations (even if they may have been associated with hobos) as they did to the rest of mainstream society. This includes the anarchist movement, which, although they may share similar attitudes to government and their institutions, have an organized political agenda which most vagabonds do not.

At the end of Chapter 4, 'The Lone and Lofty Perch of World-Hating Introspection,' I discuss in more detail the vagabond's relationship to society at large and why I claim that vagabondage was not associated with any organized movement but was rather a loosely shifting social web of individuals who, while they may sometimes share spaces and agendas, stood very much outside of conventional society, its rules and its prohibitions.

I have also acknowledged the scarcity of tramp literature by women and, in spite of much research, was only able to find and include the work of one in my biography of fifteen such writers—that is, 'tramp writers', as opposed to the women 'literary vagabonds' who feature in Andrews' book and are discussed further below. But why do no non-white vagabond writers appear in this text, in particular African-Americans, who accounted for around 10% of American hobos, according to Iain McIntyre, in his book *On the Fly* (2018). It is a question I get asked, and so I will deal with it here, but if any of my readers are aware of vagabond literature by writers of non-European heritage, I would very much appreciate hearing from them.

I acquired McIntyre's book, and other texts, in the hope of discovering some writing by African-American vagabonds. *On the Fly* is an anthology of stories,

PREFACE

songs and poetry from 85 hobo writers, yet only two of these are identified as African-Americans by name (there are several blues songs of anonymous origin). These were Henry Thomas and Bumble Bee Slim, and in both cases, the songs were simply accounts of riding freight trains with nothing to describe the lifestyle of their writers or others they encountered (McIntyre, 2018, pp. 377 and 461).

McIntyre claims that although millions of African Americans migrated North following the Civil War, they mostly traveled on passenger trains because of the combination of racism and the harsh vagrancy laws used in the South to jail exslaves as a means to allow private industry to exploit their labor via "convict lease" schemes. The few who did beat freight trains, McIntyre adds, often "included blues musicians who hopped boxcars to perform in juke joints and clubs, as well as on street corners" (2018, p. 3). DePastino also noted the limitations to tramping by African Americans, reinforced after the Civil War by Southern power brokers seeking to maintain their cheap labor supply through debt peonage and draconian vagrancy laws. DePastino adds that: "Without the right to move on their own terms, African Americans were effectively barred from the privileges of tramping" (2003, p. 14). DePastino (2003, p. 14) further noted that, "few poor African Americans dared to step foot on the road. The black aversion to tramping is attributable not only to outright racial discrimination in public assistance, but also to the hostility and violence that blacks could expect to encounter on the road itself".

Acknowledging that racism was openly practiced in all aspects of American life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the hobo community itself; with the exception of Dolly Kennedy Yancy, discussed in Chapter 1, there is no evidence that any of the vagabond writers featured in this text displayed any racist views or opinions. Indeed, in stark contrast to the prevailing attitudes of the time, there were many accounts of close friendships between white and non-white vagabonds. This is further reinforced by the vagabond writers' cosmopolitan lifestyle and philosophy—discussed in detail in Chapter 4—which contrasted deeply with the prevailing prejudices of mainstream society of the time.

And what of Native Americans? Like Australian Aboriginals and other nomadic peoples across the globe, they were victims of the most dramatic effects of the malignancy of the West's 'civilizing' and Christianizing processes? The lifestyle and traditions of Native Americans often provided inspiration for the vagabond—as will be discussed later. Native Americans had lived in harmony with the natural world for countless millennia, not 'owning' the land they inhabited (in the way the European immigrants developed and held 'property rights'), not building permanent dwelling places, and not encumbering themselves with more possessions than was absolutely necessary

xvi PREFACE

to meet their day to day needs, they simply lived on what the earth provided. This included herds of buffalo, often up to 100,000 strong (Hickman, 2022, p. 319), that also freely roamed the plains and provided Native Americans with meat for food and hide for their footwear, clothing and tipis. Yet in only three decades during the mid-1800s, the westward expansion of white (and black) immigrants, fuelled by the discovery of gold, by the expansion of the railways, and by financial crashes in the East that encouraged pioneers to seek new land in which to settle, the Native American's traditional way of life was finally ended. Exposed to a series of broken treaties and genocidal acts, supported and sometimes promoted by successive United States administrations, those who were not killed (or starved as the buffalo population they depended on was also nearing extinction) were forced onto reservations where their former nomadic lifestyle was finally ended (Hickman, 2022, p. 341).

# PAGES MISSING FROM THIS FREE SAMPLE

- Abbs, Annabel. (2021) Wind Swept: why women walk, London: Two Roads Books.
- Andrews, Kerri. (2020) *Wanderers: A History of Women Walking*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd. Reproduced with permission of the Licensor through PLSclear.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. (1999) *Problems of Dostoevesky's Poetics*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bauer, Paul and Dawidziak, Mark. (2011) Jim Tully: American Writer, Irish Rover and Hollywood Brawler, Kent State University Press.
- Baudelaire, Charles. (1964) *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, London: Phaidon Press Limited.
- Beckett, Samuel. (1980) *The Expelled and other Novellas*, London: Penguin Books.
- Belloc, Hilaire (intro). (1911) *The Footpath Way: an anthology for walkers*, London: Sidgewick & Jackson Ltd.
- Benjamin, Walter. (2002) *The Arcades Project*, Harvard University Press.
- Bettenson, Henry, (ed.) (1990) *The Early Christian Fathers: A selection from the writings of the Fathers from St. Clement of Rome to St. Athanasius*, Oxford University Press.
- Bewes, Timothy. (1997) Cynicism and Postmodernity, London: Verso.
- Branham, R. Bracht. (1996) 'Intro', in Branham R. Bracht & Marie- Odile Goulet-Caze (ed's), *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, Berkeley: University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/97805 20921986
- Burbank, Emily M. (1908) 'Josiah Flynt—An Impression,' in Flynt, Josiah., *My Life*, New York: The Outing Publishing Company.
- Burroughs, John. (1911) 'The Exhilarations of the Road,' in Belloc, Hilaire., *The Footpath Way: an anthology for walkers*, London: Sidgewick & Jackson Ltd.
- Cendrars, Blaise. (2004) The Astonished Man, London: Peter Owen.
- Chickena, Hib, and Kat, Kika. (2003) Off the Map, CrimethInc.
- Christy, Jim. (2025) *Keep on Working*, Victoria (British Columbia): Ekstasis Editions.
- Christy, Jim. (2012) Jackpots, Victoria BC: Ekstasis Editions.
- Christy, Jim. (n.d) *Wandering Heart*, unpublished manuscript.
- Chrysostom, Dio. (2012) 6th Oration, cited in Dobbin, Robert (translator, editor). The Cynic Philosophers from Diogenes to Julian, London: Penguin Classics.
- Clébert, Jean-Paul. (2016) Paris Vagabond, New York: New York Review of Books.
- Clébert, Jean-Paul. (1964) *The Gypsies*, London: Readers Union, Cresswell, Tim., *The Tramp in America*, London: Reaction Books, 2001.

Cutler, Ian. (2005) *Cynicism from Diogenes to Dilbert*, Jefferson (NC): McFarland & Company, Inc. Reproduced with permission of McFarland & Company, Inc., Box 611, Jefferson NC 28640. www. mcfarlandbooks.com.

- Cutler, Ian. (2019) *Jim Christy: A Vagabond Life*, Port Townsend (WA): Feral House.
- Cutler, Ian. (2020) *The Lives And Extraordinary Adventures Of Fifteen Tramp Writers From The Golden Age Of Vagabondage*, Port Townsend (WAS): Feral House.
- Cutler, Ian. (2010) 'A Tale of Two Cynics: the philosophic duel between Jesus and the woman from Syrophoenicia,' *The Philosophical Forum, Inc.*, Vol. XLI, No. 4, Winter. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9191.2010.00369.x
- Davies, William Henry. (2013) *The Autobiography of a Super-Tramp*, Pwllheli (Wales): Cromen.
- Debord, Guy. (1955) 'Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography' in *Les Lèvres Nues* #6, September.
- DePastino, Todd. (2003) *Citizen Hobo: how a century of homelessness shaped America*, University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/97802 26143804.001.0001
- Dickens, Charles. (1905) *The Uncommercial Traveller*, London: Chapman & Hall Ltd.
- Diderot, Denis. (1978) Jacques the Fatalist and his Master, New York: Norton.
- Diderot, Denis. (2018) *Philosophical Thoughts and Other Texts*, Independently published.
- Dobbin, Robert (translator, editor). (2012) *The Cynic Philosophers from Diogenes to Julian*, London: Penguin Classics.
- Downing, F. Gerald. (1992) Cynics and Christian Origins, Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Dudley, D. R. (1937) *A History of Cynicism: From Diogenes to the 6th Century AD*, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- Ehrman, Bart D. (ed.) (2003) Lost Scriptures: books that did not make it into the New Testament, Oxford University Press Inc.
- Federman, Raymond. (1993) *Critifiction*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Federman, Raymond. (1997) *Take It Or Leave It*, Illinois State University Press: FC2.
- Federman, Raymond. (2000) The Twofold Vibration, Los Angeles: Green Integer.
- Ferrell, Jeff. (2018) *Drift: Illicit Mobility and Uncertain Knowledge*, Oakland: University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/california/97805202 95544.001.0001
- Flynt, Josiah. (1901) *Tramping with Tramps: Studies and Sketches of Vagabond Life*, New York: The Century Co.
- Flynt, Josiah. (1908) My Life, New York: The Outing Publishing Company.
- Flynt, Josiah. (1927) 'Homosexuality Among Tramps,' Appendix A in Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Volume 2, Sexual Inversion, Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Company.
- Genet, Jean. (1964) The Thief's Journal, New York: Bantam Books.
- Graham, Stephen. (1913) A Tramp's Sketches, London: MacMillan & Co.

Graham, Stephen. (1926) *The Gentle Art of Tramping*, New York: D. Appleton & Company.

Graham, Stephen. (1929) London Nights, London: The Bodley Head Ltd.

Harper, Douglas. (1882) Good Company, University of Chicago Press.

Hazlitt, William. (1822) 'On Going a Journey,' *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, January.

Hickman, Katie. (2022) Brave Hearted: The Dramatic Story of Women of the American West, London: Virago.

Horn, Trader. (1928) *Harold the Webbed or The Young Vykings* [sic], New York: Simon and Schuster.

Horn, Trader. (1932) *Trader Horn in Madagascar: The Waters of Africa*, London: Jonathan Cape.

Illich, Ivan. (1974) *Limits to Medicine: Medical Nemesis—The Expropriation of Health*, London: Marion Boyars. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(74) 90361-4

Julian, Roman emperor. (2012) cited in Dobbin, Robert (translator, editor), *The Cynic Philosophers from Diogenes to Julian*, London: Penguin Classics.

Kennedy, Bart. (1900) A Man Adrift, Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Company.

Kennedy, Bart. (1902) A Sailor Tramp, London: George Newnes Ltd.

Kennedy, Bart. (1908) A Tramp's Philosophy, London: John Long.

Kerouac, Jack. (1960) 'The Vanishing American Hobo' in *Holiday Magazine* (Philadelphia, PA), Vol. 27, No. 3, March.

Kristeva, Julia. (1982) *Powers of Horror: an essay on abjection*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Lacan, Jacques. cited by Botting, Fred. & Wilson, Scott. (2001) *Bataille*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Laërtius, Diogenes. (1995) *Lives of Eminent Philosophers, Vol II*, Cambridge (Mass): Harvard University Press.

Laing, Olivia. (2021) Everybody: A Book About Freedom, London: Picador.

Langley, Bob. (1977) Lobo: A Vagabond in America, London: Robert Hale Ltd.

Livingston, Leon Ray. (1912) *The Curse of Tramp Life*, Cambridge Springs, PA: A-No. 1 Publishing Co.

London, Jack. (1903) *People of the Abyss*, Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.

London, Jack. (1907) The Road, New York: Macmillan.

Lucian. (1996) The Passing of Peregrinus', in *Lucian Volume V*, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge (Mass): Harvard University Press.

Malherbe, Abraham J. (1977) The Cynic Epistles, Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Martineau, Harriet. (1838) *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, London: Charles Knight and Co.

Maté, Gabor. (2024) *The Myth of Normal: Illness, health & healing in a toxic culture,* London: Penguin/Random House.

McFee, William (Foreword), cited in Horn, Alfred Aloysius. (2002) *Trader Horn:* A Young Man's Outstanding Adventures in 19th Century Equatorial Africa, San Francisco: Traveler's Tales' Classics.

McIntyre, Iain (Ed.). (2018) On the Fly! Hobo Literature and Songs 1879-1941, Oakland (CA): PM Press.

Miller, Henry. (2001) Tropic of Cancer, London: Harper Collins.

Murray, Alison. (2000) Train on the Brain, Channel 4/TVO documentary.

Navia, Luis E. (1996) *Classical Cynicism: a critical study*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. https://doi.org/10.5040/9798400627255

Navia, Luis E. (1998) *Diogenes of Sinope: the man in the tub*, New York: Greenwood Press.

Navia, Luis E. (2001) *Antisthenes of Athens: setting the world aright*, New York: Greenwood Press.

Niehues-Probsting, Heinrich., 'The Modern Reception of Cynicism: Diogenes in the Enlightenment,' in R. Bracht Branham & Marie-Odile Goulet-Caze (ed's) (1996) *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, Berkeley: University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520921986-016

Nietzsche, Friedrich. (1909) Beyond Good and Evil: prelude to a philosophy of the future, in Complete Works, Volume Five, Edinburgh: T.N. Foulis.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. (1909) *Thoughts out of Season*, Part II, in *Complete Works*, London: George Allen & Unwin.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. (1992) *Ecce Homo: how one becomes what one is*, London: Penguin Books.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. (1999) The Anti-Christ, Tucson: See Sharp Press.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. (1997) *Twilight of the Idols: or, how to philosophize with the hammer,* Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co. Inc.

Orwell, George. (2021) *Down and Out in Paris and London*, London: Harper Collins.

Oxford Bibliographies (online) (2023) Oxford University Press.

Page, Thomas Manning. (1884) *Bohemian Life; or The Autobiography of a Tramp*, St. Louis: Sun Publishing Company.

Phelan, Jim. (1955) Tramping the Toby, London: Burke Publishing Co. Ltd.

Phelan, Jim. (1993) The Name's Phelan, Belfast: Blackstaff Press Ltd.

Phelan, Kathleen. (1972) 'I am a Vagabond,' Woman's Own.

Rickett, Arthur. (1906) The Vagabond in Literature, London: J. M. Dent & Co.

Roberts, Morley. (1904) A Tramp's Note-Book, London: F. V. White & Co. Ltd.

Rose, Margaret A. (1993) *Parody: Ancient, Modern, & Postmodern*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Sante, Luc. (2015) *The Other Paris*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Sayre, Farrand. (1938) *Diogenes of Synope: A Study of Greek Cynicism,* Baltimore: J.H.Furst Co.

Scott, Sir Walter., 'A Strolling Pedlar,' cited in Belloc, Hilaire. (1911) *The Footpath Way: an anthology for walkers*, London: Sidgewick & Jackson Ltd.

Sebald, W. G. (1998) The Rings of Saturn, New York: New Directions.

Sharples, R. W. (1996) Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics, London: Routledge.

Sloterdijk, Peter. (1988) Critique of Cynical Reason, London: Verso.

Smith, Sydney. 'Walking an Antidote to City Poison,' cited in Belloc, Hilaire. (1911) *The Footpath Way: an anthology for walkers*, London: Sidgewick & Jackson Ltd.

Solnit, Rebecca. (2001) Wanderlust: A History of Walking, London: Verso.

Stephen, Leslie. 'In Praise of Walking,' cited in Belloc, Hilaire. (1911) *The Footpath Way: an anthology for walkers*, London: Sidgewick & Jackson Ltd.

Sterne, Lawrence. (2017) *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Richmond (Surry): Alma Classics.

Stevenson, R. L. (1876) 'Walking Tours', Cornhill Magazine, Vol., 33.

Stevenson, R. L. (1904) An Inland Voyage, London: Chatto & Windus.

Stevenson, R. L. (1905) Essays on Travel, London: Chatto & Windus.

Stevenson, R. L. (2022) *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes & Other Travel Writing*, Moncreiffe Press.

Stone, Christopher. (1914) Parody, London: M. Secker.

Thoreau, H. D., 'Walking, and the Wild', in Belloc, Hilaire. (1911) *The Footpath Way: an anthology for walkers*, London: Sidgewick & Jackson Ltd.

Tully, Jim. (1926) Jarnegan, New York: Albert & Charles Boni.

Tully, Jim. (1931) Blood on the Moon, New York: Coward-McCann.

Walser, Robert. (1992) The Walk, London: Serpent's Tail.

Wickes, George. (1974) *Henry Miller Down and out in Paris*, London: Village Press.

Woolf, Virginia. (1930) Street Haunting, San Francisco: The Westgate Press.

Woolf, Virginia. (1975) *The Flight of Mind: The Letters of Virginia Woolf, Volume One*, London: The Hogarth Press.

Woolf, Virginia. (1980) *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, Volume II 1920-1924*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Woolf, Virginia. (1982) *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, Volume IV 1931-1935*, London: Hogarth Press.

Yancey, Dolly Kennedy. (1909) *The Tramp Woman*, St Louis: Britt Publishing Company.