

The Summer of Love and Protest

Transatlantic Counterculture in the 1960s

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IMAGINE

By 1971, with the American war in Vietnam in its seventeenth year, John Lennon created the single most admired anthem of the era. In many ways the song was a retrospective siren call to continue the counterculture. As balladeer for the love generation, Lennon asked for everything: “Imagine there’s no countries. It isn’t hard to do. Nothing to live or die for. And no religion too. Imagine all the people living life in peace.” Lennon knew that that the defenders of the status quo “may say I’m a dreamer, but I’m not the only one. I hope some day you’ll join us. And the world will live as one.” During the 1960s, young people in the Western world were a political and cultural force, whether they took to the streets, stormed university offices, smoked dope, burned their military draft cards or their bras, ran away from home or dropped out. Youth culture and the counterculture intersected and coexisted and widened the generation gap.

The counterculture arose during a time of plenty and a time of protest.¹ The West was richer than it had ever been—that setting is important. Demanding more progress toward the promises of prosperity, those hoping for integration and equality included African Americans, Red Power advocates,

1 For the best overview of new social movements and the culture of the 1960s, see Monteith, *American Culture in the 1960s*.

the Gay Liberation Front, Chicano migrants, workers, feminists, and anti-war protestors. These groups did not forge the counterculture; but they did enable its creation or continuance by keeping society off balance. The American government responded to the pressure when President Lyndon Johnson signed voting rights legislation, declared a “war on poverty,” and initiated the Great Society programs. For the majority of white teenagers, the simple facts of growing up privileged in this setting spawned a transatlantic youth culture that begat a counterculture.

A Cold War, arms buildups, and the space race fed anxieties that a nuclear exchange between the Soviet Union and the United States was absolutely possible. This threat forced many people towards the conclusion that something was terribly wrong with “the system” even though they lived in the “post-scarcity” economies of Western nations. There was an abundance of everything, but redistribution to all parts of society had failed. For example, property rights were protected over civil rights, male violence had more power than liberated sexuality, and ideals of competition ruled over cooperation. Moreover, the comfort of modern industrial society was a real “downer” in its insistence on conformity, environmental destruction, de-spiritualization from Nature, and an impersonal ethos. Wasn’t there a better way to live? Many located the problem in too much wealth and a focus on consumer products and too little support for people’s lives. The hallowed Western concepts of rationalism, work, wealth, and civilization had misfired when they mixed with advanced capitalism and its technology to produce mind-numbing work. Simplicity might result in a better lifestyle. And, of course, the opposite of work is play.

“THE TIMES THEY ARE A’CHANGIN’”

“Don’t trust anyone over thirty!” cautioned graduate student Jack Weinberg during the Free Speech Movement protests on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley in 1964. Weinberg called for the younger generation to believe in itself.² The Beatles had toured the US in 1964, linking American youth to British and European youth in romantic ballads which they sang in an American accent, including *I Want to Hold Your Hand*. A

2 Charters, *Portable Sixties Reader*, 192.

“rabid Beatlemania”—something British playwright Noel Coward called a “mass masturbation orgy”—swept through the media, the teenagers, and some of their parents too.³ Songwriter Bob Dylan influenced youth culture everywhere with his powerful philosophical protests *Masters of War* (1963), *The Times They Are A’Changin* (1964), *Subterranean Homesick Blues* (1965), and others.⁴ In Germany, not trusting those over 30 was linked to criticism of the Nazi past.⁵ Elsewhere and everywhere the media picked up on the slogan, even though, in reality, most young people continued to trust their parents and teachers. Trusting parents was different from trusting the political and business establishments.

As the upheaval gained momentum, music bad boy Jim Morrison kicked in and opened the “doors of perception,” as Aldous Huxley had termed it in his 1954 book by the same name, after a phrase taken from William Blake.⁶ Mick Jagger led a whole band of bad boys and helped solidify the idea of a generational split with the obscure sexualized lyrics of Howling Wolf’s *Little Red Rooster* (1965). Then Morrison covered the Stones’s incendiary *Light My Fire* (1966/1967) and the transatlantic cross-breeding heightened a generational identification, a shared discourse of youth. More bands followed as the music revolution crisscrossed the Atlantic, accelerating from the early days of rock ’n’ roll when the likes of Chuck Berry, Bill Haley, Jerry Lee Lewis and Little Richard became models for other innovators, including Tommy Steele, Cliff Richard, Eric Burden, the Yardbirds, and the Kinks. A thousand bands blossomed to supply the words that spread the romantic social movement that became the counterculture.

As it took a central role in the development of consciousness, the music led adherents away from the old ways. Some people even believe that if rock ’n’ roll had not happened, nothing would have happened.⁷ Importantly, the portable transistor radio, which was invented in 1954, became wide-

3 Braunstein, “Forever Young,” 245; Noel Coward quoted in DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 224.

4 O’Neill, *Coming Apart*, 236.

5 Siegfried, “Don’t Trust Anyone,” 739.

6 Huxley, *Doors of Perception*; William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (n.p. 1793) is a book of poems. In “A Memorable Fancy,” Blake wrote: “If the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear to man as it is, infinite.”

7 McKay, “Social and (Counter-) Cultural 1960s,” 45.

ly owned by almost every teenager in Britain and America and provided non-stop access to the revolution when added to the car and home radio and a record player too.⁸ Clearly, music became central to a youthful rebellion and a counterculture that widened the generation gap in American society. And yet, it is good to remember that the most popular single song in America in 1966 was Sergeant Barry Sadler's *Ballad of the Green Berets*, a paean to the virtues of god, family, country, military service, manhood, and violence. The culture wars hit full stride.

Rock 'n' roll sprang from the sexual cravings of a generation of kids who had secretly read the best parts of their parents' copies of the *Kinsey Reports* (1948 and 1953) on American sexual habits and looked at the centerfolds of *Playboy* magazine (since December 1953). Then they passed around Helen Gurley Brown's *Sex and the Single Girl* (1962) before graduating to *Human Sexual Response* (1966) and its research findings on clitoral arousal, vaginal lubrication, and multiple female orgasms.⁹ It is clearly impossible to understand the sixties and the counterculture without becoming immersed in the pulsating, erotic, hopeful, danceable and life-altering protest music that commandeered the television and radio airways.

With all the excitement surrounding the generation's coming of age and with the War in Vietnam always there to end or influence their lives, there was a mood of tremendous angst as the baby boomers tried to decipher the perennial questions of "Who am I?" and "What does it all mean?" Hollywood tried to answer with films that quickly went transatlantic, including *The Graduate* (1967), *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), *Easy Rider* (1969), and *Midnight Cowboy* (1969). Mostly, the parental generation resisted this tidal wave of youthful searching and, predictably, stayed away from these movies, scolded change, told the kids to be moral and to do their duty to god and country. But those rising into adulthood would not turn back. So, as the sixties gained strength, the older generations took up the music, fashion, and some of the ideas too. It is useful to note the difference in the early and later 1960s, as Peter Braunstein reminds us: "No longer simply an age cate-

8 Stuart Laing, "Economy, Society and Culture," 25; DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 19–24.

9 *The Kinsey Reports* is the popular name for two books on sexual behavior, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948), and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953). *Human Sexual Response* (1966) was authored by William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson.

gory, youth became a metaphor, an attitude toward life, a state of mind that even adults could access. . . . [a] persuasive rejuvenation mentality went on to imbue the ideology of the late-'60s counterculture."¹⁰

THE AGE OF AFFLUENCE AND THE GREAT REFUSAL

Identity questions needed resolution and many university students sought answers in the intellectual explorations of sociologists and philosophers. Together, these critics promoted a complete reevaluation of western capitalist societies. Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (1944), David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* (1950), William Whyte's *The Organization Man* (1956), C. Wright Mills's *The Power Elite* (1956), Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization* (1955) and *One Dimensional Man* (1964), and Guy Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967) led the way. Their ideas encouraged young people and liberal leaders to understand and frame their own strategies of dissent. These books came of age as the baby boom generation came of age, and the ideas and the young people were born and grew up together.

Respectively, some of the lessons learned, even if only superficially enough to confirm the youth movement, included those from Niebuhr: the Children of Light, who believe in a harmony of the whole world, need to be aware that greedy forces of self-interest, the Children of Darkness, will use the former's optimistic, secular idealism against them; from Riesman: we are lonely and "other-directed" because our "inner-directed" individualism is fading before the onslaught of the media and business establishment that tell us what is important; from Whyte: we have become organization men because our personal desires and goals have been subsumed to the values of, loyalty to and security of corporate capitalism; from Mills: a power elite of bankers, businessmen, and government officials—a military, industrial, government complex—limits choices for those outside their ranks; from Marcuse: the history of capitalist work causes class stratification—"alienated labor"—which sublimates eros, our sex drive; also from Marcuse: we have lost a multi-dimensional character by a process of repression that has been driven into us by an advanced industrial society that has cre-

10 Braunstein, "Forever Young," 243.

ated “false needs”; and from Debord: we have been impoverished and alienated from our true selves by a society that makes a fetish of commodities and so we live in a superficial spectacle of consumerism that makes us unable to recognize what is really happening.

In the end, students mixed and matched these ideas as promulgated by philosophers and theorists from both sides of the Atlantic and took up Marcuse’s subversive call to begin a “Great Refusal” based upon oppositional thought and behavior—a sort of finger in the face of the establishment. Historian Timothy Miller called the counterculture “the Disloyal Opposition” where “the culture of peace and love was also a culture of confrontation and conflict.”¹¹ The Great Refusal became a dropping out and a misty-minded, yet determined, search for a utopian society. As cultural values were reappraised, everything was questioned and new avenues opened. Later on, Hippie-turned-Yippie Jerry Rubin would explain: “Fuck work—we want to know ourselves. . . . The goal is to free one’s self from American society’s sick notions of work, success, reward, and status. . . .”¹² I can see John Winthrop and his Puritan neighbors spinning in their graves as the Protestant work ethic is flushed down the toilet.

Rising out of what historians call the Age of Affluence (1942–1975), the baby boomers were among the richest, most pampered generation the world had ever seen.¹³ Now, in defiance of the system and the Age, they held up middle fingers and made the slogan “Marx, Mao, Marcuse” commonplace. They tied proletarian, state, and popular communism together into a clever, if simplistically conceived, alliance.¹⁴ In Europe, young rebels added Fidel Castro and Che Guevara to their list of heroes. Students also heard stories of their alienation in Paul Goodman’s *gestalt* classic *Growing Up Absurd* (1960). Goodman wrote that youth had “grown up in a world too meaningless to learn anything” and would be better off being spontaneous, existential, and communitarian, while separating themselves from the

11 Miller, *Hippies and American Values*, 103.

12 Rubin quoted in DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 209–10.

13 The branding, “Age of Affluence,” is credited to Roszak, *Making of a Counter Culture*, xxii–xxiii. See also Galbraith, *Affluent Society*.

14 The main theses of these thinkers are well-known and easily available. For a more in-depth discussion of the context of these ideas, see Watson, *Modern Mind*, esp. 421–70, 502–3, 536–8, 590–601; Hollinger and Capper, *American Intellectual Tradition*, vol. 2, esp. 286–91, 435–43, 490–9.

older generation.¹⁵ Life was for living, not just enduring. Norman O. Brown taught that eroticism was debased by civilization as man lost touch with natural consciousness.¹⁶ And, in 1967, thousands brandished Mao Zedong's *Quotations* ("the little red book")—the world's best-selling words of the year. The ideas of British psychiatrist R. D. Laing splitting theory from experience and holding that "truth must have a biographical, not merely an ideological, context" were widely adopted.¹⁷

The generation gap rose out of the booming economy, affluence, and demographic changes that came from a surge in births—the "youthquake"—after World War II. Then, in 1960, the birth control pill was a great enabler that made the sixties possible.¹⁸ In 1964, the front edge of the 20 million baby boomers in America turned eighteen years old. These numbers created a vast potential for change. The leading age cohort for the next seven years was the seventeen-year-old age group. By 1968 the median age in the United States had fallen to 27.7 years old.¹⁹ Combined with affluence, these demographics created an explosion of university-bound young people, all clustered together in colleges nationwide and becoming more and more politically sensitive.

Never had so many had it so good. Students enjoyed an affluence that no generation had ever seen before. They had disposable income and made up a consumer market of new proportions. By 1965 teenage Americans were collectively spending \$25 billion a year. The parental generation had suffered through Depression and World War II and they were ready to enjoy the good life that a post-scarcity society offered. Suburbs expanded. The number of children expanded. Wealth expanded. Then discontent expanded. As historian Jay Stevens so aptly states, "It was an almost obscene irony, but the kids who had enjoyed the richest, most pampered adolescence in the history of the world had now decided that it was all crap."²⁰ Stevens was quick to add: "Of course . . . for each one who wanted to seize power, dismantle the Establishment, and redistribute the wealth, there were

15 Goodman quoted in O'Neill, *Coming Apart*, 258.

16 For the best discussion of Brown's books *Life Against Death* (1959) and *Love's Body* (1966), see Roszak, *Making of a Counter Culture*, 84–120.

17 Roszak, *Making of a Counter Culture*, 49–57; see also R. D. Laing, *Politics of Experience*.

18 Braunstein, "Forever Young," 248.

19 Stevens, "Counterculture," 310; O'Neill, *Coming Apart*, 266.

20 *Ibid.*, 311.

at least ten others who just wanted to get through school, get laid, get a job, and get out of going to Vietnam.”²¹ These sentiments hold true in Europe, but without the factor of Vietnam. The German newspaper *Die Welt* expressed what many experienced: “Without a doubt, this generational conflict is the greatest surprise of the postwar era, probably the greatest surprise of all unexpected happenings.”²²

HIPPIES, THE NEW LEFT, AND YOUTH CULTURE

Historian Theodore Roszak put a name to those who “decided that it was all crap.” He called them the “Counter Culture” and praised their brave opposition to the technocrats who were ruling the world for profits.²³ For Roszak, the hippies who made up the opposition were arrayed against the hegemonic class of elite managers (a “technocracy”) that depended on the myths of “objective consciousness”—meaning rationality, reason, science. These myths justified and led to racial discrimination, endless warfare, unequal wealth, environmental destruction, and set up a convincing and coercive argument that made citizens want to follow the rules. On the other hand, said Roszak, the counterculture offered a “subjective consciousness” of poetry, songs, dance, magic, natural cures, simple living, communal sharing, and love.²⁴

The counterculture of hippies and near-hippies stemmed from the youth culture. So did the New Left. But the New Leftists fought from within the system, taking political stances in opposition to what they saw as a common peril in the face of The Bomb and the human degradation of racism. In the United States, Berlin, and Paris, respectively, the Students for a Democratic Society, “Red Rudi” Dutschke, and the Sorbonne Occupation Committee led the political charge. These were young people, mostly white university students and recent graduates who wanted to expand democracy.²⁵ They were not cultural radicals, as sociologist and former SDS president

21 Ibid., 312.

22 Siegfried, “Don’t Trust Anyone,” 731; for many excellent essays on the 1960s in Europe, see Shildt and Siegfried, *Between Marx and Coca-Cola*.

23 Roszak, *Making of a Counter Culture*, 42.

24 Ibid., 2–8, 22, 97, 208.

25 Rossinow, ““Revolution Is About Our Lives,”” 99.

Todd Gitlin made clear: “[We] had to confront the counterculture that was in many ways more attractive than radical politics.” Gitlin knew well that hard-core activism was needed to confront the West’s Cold War policies, but that SDS could not stand up to the counterculture’s focus on sex, drugs and rock music. The call to drop out was romantic and very American—a movement to a frontier, to a New Eden, where passion and intuition would free humans from the failures of rationalism and order.²⁶ In the final analysis then, as Timothy Miller pointed out, the New Left was “not a fundamental threat to society” but the counterculture was a huge threat.²⁷

Historian Terry Anderson pointed out that what the hippies—as escapists, rejectionists, and oppositionists—were able to do was remarkably political: “they significantly altered cold war culture. . . . The result is more personal freedom than at any time in the history of the Republic.”²⁸ The counterculture provided at least a moment of heroic mobilization against Vietnam, racism, repressive sexual codes, and conformity. “Make Love, Not War” seemed the best way to fix the society—and Roszak asked us to remember how brave a statement this was to make in the militaristic 1960s.²⁹ So, while the SDS and the hippies were from the same white middle-class demographic group with the same music, sexual freedom, and affluence, they differed considerably. Hippies thought the New Left was stuck in the same old arguments that had existed since the 1920s—arguments that put them inside the system instead of outside of it. Besides, the SDS appeal to rationalism was in opposition to the spiritual direction the hippies sought. Moreover, the SDS did not seem to have much fun; for the hippies, the goal was pleasure. This difference also rotated around the dividing line of hippies wanting to improve the communal self and the New Left focus on improving society.³⁰

In the 1960s, the counterculture was composed mainly of teenagers and people in their twenties who believed the Establishment was rotten to the core. This disaffection went to the level of teenage consciousness and into the deepest reservoirs of the self. The long-standing mantra of exceptionalism and the national character myths of experimentation, freedom, individ-

26 Miller, “Sixties-Era Communes,” 329.

27 Miller, *Hippies and American Values*, 15.

28 Anderson, *Movement and the Sixties*, ix.

29 Roszak, *Making of a Counter Culture*, xxv.

30 Michals, “From ‘Consciousness Expansion,’” 50.

ualism, frontier, youth, change, and novelty provided psychological support. The counterculture may not have been able to list its “goals” or set out a “roadmap,” but that was the point—to get away from the “rational” line the conservative establishment worshipped.

TRANSATLANTIC INTERCOURSE

By winter 1967, with the killings of President John F. Kennedy and black nationalist leader Malcolm X in the recent past—and a year before the murders of Democratic presidential candidate Robert Kennedy and civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr.—and the escalating troop presence and deaths in Vietnam, novelist and political essayist Susan Sontag weighed in on the side of the new counterculture.³¹ In the *Partisan Review*, Sontag wrote that the nation’s anxiety came from “The unquenchable American moralism and the American faith in violence. . . . They constitute a full-grown, firmly-installed national psychosis.”³² Furthermore, she said, “American power is indecent in its scale.”³³ Sontag had lost faith in the American government, called the nation’s leaders “genuine yahoos,” and suggested:

About the only promise one can find anywhere in this country today is in the way some young people are carrying on, making a fuss. I include both their renewed interest in politics. . . and the way they dance, dress, wear their hair, riot, make love. I also include the homage they pay to Oriental thought and rituals. And I include, not least of all, their interest in taking drugs—despite the unspeakable vulgarization of this project by [Dr. Timothy] Leary and others. . . .³⁴

31 The murders of liberal and relatively youthful icons included John F. Kennedy on 22 November 1963, Malcolm X on 21 February 1965, Martin Luther King, Jr., on 4 April 1968, and Robert F. Kennedy on 5 June 1968. These high profile deaths were on top of the killings of student activists in Mississippi during Freedom Summer in 1964, the killings of 4 students at Kent State University in 1969, and the more than 58,000 young American soldiers who died in the Vietnam War.

32 Sontag, “What’s Happening in America,” 121, 122.

33 *Ibid.*, 120.

34 *Ibid.*, 124.

Sontag believed that youthful expression might actually save the country in the end.

Now, as then, it is difficult to delineate exactly what youth culture imagined for itself and for the nation. In fact, is there any simple way to explain what went on in the sixties youth culture? Political scientist Mark Lilla remarked that we know what came before and what came after, but “we are still groping for the meaning of what happened in between.”³⁵ What is clear is that while there was a transatlantic intercourse, the leading edge of what was happening, the hegemonic avant-garde was in the United States.³⁶

The claim to the meaning of the counterculture was fought over during the 1960s, and has been fought over ever since. In Britain, modern criticism of the era is an appeal to a quiet “middle England.”³⁷ In the US the Republican Right blames the 1960s—particularly rock ‘n’ roll and hippies—for undermining American values and for America’s decline. Conservatives like to quote Ronald Reagan, who was governor of California during this time: “A hippie is someone who dresses like Tarzan, has hair like Jane, and smells like Cheetah.”³⁸ Reagan called the hippies, “the hotbed of evil.” Even the term culture wars is derivative of the counter culture. Right Wing Jurist Robert Bork stated: “We are two cultural nations. One embodies the counterculture of the 1960s, which is today the dominant culture. . . . The other nation, of those who adhere to traditional norms and morality, is now the dissident culture.”³⁹

THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES

The partisan divisions revolve around those who accept the changes of the 1960s in women’s rights, students’ rights, African American civil rights, gay rights, alternate lifestyles, and the expansion of social programs, and those who claim a “silent majority” and want to return to 1950s “family values” more or less based on patriarchal and biblical understandings. It is easy to see how an African American in the White House (Barack Obama),

35 Mark Lilla quoted in Young, Foreword, 4.

36 Meades quoted in McKay, “Social and (Counter-) Cultural 1960s,” 56.

37 Harris, “Abstraction and Empathy,” 15.

38 Reagan quoted in Braunstein and Doyle, *Imagine Nation*, 6.

39 Bork, “Conservatism and the Culture,” 21.

a feminist as Secretary of State (Hillary Clinton), a movement to Occupy Wall Street (“We are the 99%”), an international “facebooked” youth culture, a decline in US economic power in relation to China, and an expansive social program (US health care) are reviving the culture wars

In trying to explain the counterculture, historians often point to the canonical items associated with psychedelia: visual arts, sex, drugs, new music, and hippie fashion.⁴⁰ In all of these forms, promiscuity was heroic when it aimed to overturn the repressive morality of the older generation. Sociologist Beth Bailey reminds us that “sex & drugs & rock ’n’ roll” became a trinity of experiences to be worshiped and to use as a weapon to bludgeon parents. Many elders feared the “obscene” ways their daughters argued for a “sex = freedom equation” where their bodies were concerned.⁴¹ Dope altered the mind and led to a sort of public orgasm of open expression at rock concerts. There were the essentialist elements, or rather a reduction to essentialism, in smoking dope to increase the excitement involved in fucking.⁴² A back-to-the-land nativism or naturalism existed, as did a vegetarian, ecological and environmental dimension.

But there is more. Of central importance to our understanding is to remember how many people, at the same time, began to distrust their countries, their leaders, their parents, and their governments. There were too many lies, too many failures, and too much uproar over what seemed to be genocidal and racial wars prosecuted to procure oversized profits for greedy capitalists. Who could see the possibility of trusting those institutions in the same old ways ever again?

And who could understand the speed of change? Everything was moving faster and faster. Novelist Alvin Toffler wrote *Future Shock* (1970) to explain the amplified demands of modern life. New technologies of “everyone-knows-this-at-the-same-moment” communication and travel were leading to globalization and its discontents, although Toffler did not use those words. He defined future shock as “the shattering stress and disorientation that we induce in individuals by subjecting them to too much change in too short a time.”⁴³ It is just this future shock that helped open the generation gap. For Toffler, the only way forward was to change, to find “totally

40 Harris, “Abstraction and Empathy,” 9.

41 Bailey, “Sex as a Weapon,” 305–7.

42 Harris, “Abstraction and Empathy,” 10.

43 Toffler, *Future Shock*, 12.

new ways to anchor ourselves, for all the old roots—religion, nation, community, family, or profession—are now shaking under the hurricane impact of the accelerative thrust.”⁴⁴

For Jay Stevens, the spirit of the times seemed to be “a will to change” not unlike Frederick Nietzsche’s “will to power”—an ambitious and creative determination to achieve a better way of life outside the “rat race” structure of daily lives—but not just for supermen, for everyone.⁴⁵ There was a general rebellion against conformity. Todd Gitlin said that there were two impulses in the youthful counterculture: libertarianism with its need “to overturn repression in the name of id”; and spiritualism in its longings for a communitarian public love experience.⁴⁶ Even with such a spot-on analysis, Gitlin cited the lyrics from the Buffalo Springfield’s song *For What It’s Worth*: “There’s something happening here. What it is ain’t exactly clear.”⁴⁷

In the 1960s there was a moment when many people believed, without being cynical, that it was still possible to make an all-out assault on the global capitalist system, on patriotic nationalisms everywhere. This patriotism was the possessive nationalistic kind that drew lines on the earth, built a wall in Berlin, set up an Iron Curtain between East and West, and made cold and hot wars over natural resources and ideology. Many people began to question the ugly sides of nationalism, began to protest imperialism, and sought to eradicate the entrenched ways of thinking that had brought World War I and World War II and the Cold War and Vietnam and, coming soon to your neighborhoods, World War III. Invoking the will to change, the counterculture insisted that Western leaders, governments and societies were deeply flawed. People needed to stop saluting flags and take time to paint peace signs.

Protest was of two general types, political and cultural, even though, as Clara Juncker reminds us in her essay in this volume, the personal is political and it was made political in literary texts that proved influential on both sides of the Atlantic in this period. Among young people in the United States, the most powerful instrument of political action was in the formation of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). This was new politics

44 Ibid., 35.

45 Stevens, “Counterculture,” 310.

46 Gitlin, *Sixties*, xviii–xix.

47 Ibid., 214–18.

for Americans. European youth had a long-existing tradition of left-wing socialism from Marx to powerful unions and sophisticated welfare states. Political protest is aimed at institutions, laws and policies. Cultural protest is critical of goes at values, consciousness, and the way people think.⁴⁸ In the 1960s there was an open sore between the violent realism of established structures and the utopian ideals of a peaceful global community—a sore that reached deep into international relations theory as set out by Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan* (1651) and Immanuel Kant’s hopes for “perpetual peace” (1795).⁴⁹ The self-interest of realism was at the center of the culture war when it clashed with the cosmopolitanism of global cooperation.

THE AGE OF AQUARIUS

By 1964, mainstream magazines in New York, and swiftly across the world, described a “New Bohemia” in the Lower East Side of Manhattan where “hipsters” were gathering. Cultural critic Norman Mailer had first used this word in his book *The White Negro* (1957).⁵⁰ By 1965, hipsters had been shortened to “hippies.” Hippies were notably different from the bohemianism of the “Beats” in nearby Greenwich Village who were considered a non-threatening curiosity of brooders. The hippies had much larger numbers and were thought to be far more dangerous a threat to the Establishment, even in their optimistic playfulness.⁵¹ Hippies soon placed the center of the hippie nation in the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco, described by historian Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo as “hippie central, a swirling, colorful, all-hours hub of youthful yearning.”⁵²

Visually, fashion and longer hair set hippies apart and became signifiers of the counterculture. Hippies seemed rougher, dirtier, hairier, more child-like, and clearly more androgenous than the Beats. Hippies were almost cartoonish, had kinkier sex (an unproven, if popular, assertion), different musical tastes, an expanded taste for drugs, and wore brighter clothes. The

48 Stevens, “Counterculture,” 309.

49 For Thomas Hobbes, see Lloyd and Sreedhar, “Hobbes’s Moral and Political Philosophy”; for Kant, see Rauscher, “Kant’s Social and Political Philosophy.”

50 O’Neill, *Coming Apart*, 234.

51 Tomlinson, “Psychedelic Rock Posters,” 294.

52 Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius*, 1.

Beats preferred the serious intellectualism, and drabness, of black. Hippies loved charade and posing in dance, theater and fashion—a celebration in tune with nature and instinct. Hippies evoked the myth of the American frontier in its cowboy leather, pieced together scraps of fabric, American Indian beadwork, woven, crocheted, and knitted handmades, Vietnam US Army shirts, and long hair. All of this was done in a unisex way. The posturing and sophistication of jazz clubs was replaced by individualist body street performances aligned with rock 'n' roll.⁵³ The military uniforms might seem at odds with the hippie ethos, but the idea was to use whatever was available, over-manufactured and abundant—a leveling of everyone from soldiers to hippies, all together now. By the late 1960s, wearing army shirts was also a way to reach out to those eighteen-year-olds drafted into the war by saying clearly: we aren't against the soldiers; we are against the war. All of this fashion was a move toward naturalism, primitivism, and recyclable anti-materialism.⁵⁴ Women wore see-through fabrics, feathers and silks, beads, no bras and, sometimes, no panties. Instead of “conspicuous consumption” there was “conspicuous thrift.”⁵⁵

It is impossible to exaggerate how much hair was on display. There was so much hair! The “Age of Aquarius” rolled along on an ocean of hair and beards, “long beautiful hair, shining, gleaming, streaming, flaxen, waxen; give me down to there, shoulder length or longer, here baby, there mama everywhere daddy daddy hair. Flow it, show it, long as God can grow it, my hair.”⁵⁶ Conservatives and the older generation of “perms,” “flat tops,” “buzz cuts,” oil-saturated and combed slickness disliked the implications of long, out-of-order, stringy hair. They wanted males to “look like a man!” and females to “brush your hair!” The gender bending of long hair on both sexes was a clear sign of disorder, anti-capitalist, military draft-dodging, and sexually-liberated leanings. When the musical “Hair” played in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1970, conservatives picketed the theater with signs reading “God Hates Hair” and “God Loves Clothes.”⁵⁷

53 Blackman, “Clothing the Cosmic Counterculture,” 201, 211.

54 O'Neill, *Coming Apart*, 247–9.

55 Blackman, “Clothing the Cosmic Counterculture,” 212; Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius*, 72.

56 Lyrics from song *Hair*, by Galt Macdermot in *Hair: The American Tribal Love-Rock Musical*, ed. James Rado and Jerome Ragni (1967; opened on Broadway, 1968).

57 Monteith, *American Culture in the 1960s*, 51–54.

When the youth culture turned to hippie fashion, it was to the paisley patterns, miniskirts, micro-minis, or maxi skirts, boots, long hair, beads, and brightness. The fashion was both ultra modern and nostalgic/romantic. When Jacqueline Kennedy pulled on a miniskirt in 1966, women over 30 years old quickly joined in.⁵⁸ Males had only worn brighter garb in the eighteenth century.

TUNE IN, TURN ON, DROP OUT

Some Beats, notably Allen Ginsberg, acted as sort of a father to hippiedom, but it was Professor Timothy Leary and novelist Ken Kesey who pushed this part of the counterculture into mind-expanding drugs, so-called “Happenings,” and different forms of creativity and spectacle. Even so, Leary described Ginsberg as “the secretary-general of the world’s poets, beatniks, anarchists, socialists, free-sex/love cultists.”⁵⁹ Leary preached a gospel of LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide), urging everyone to “drop acid,” and “tune in, turn on, drop out.”⁶⁰ LSD use made colors brilliant and stationary objects seemed to flow about in a spiritual “lava lamp” way. And sex was the best it could get—or so Leary claimed.⁶¹

Ken Kesey, who found fame in his first novel, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1962), used his income to buy a school bus, paint it psychedelic colors, fill it with “Merry Pranksters,” and set out for the open road, driving across the country and back proselytizing for LSD and providing “acid tests” for the willing. “Freak freely” was his motto.⁶² The object was to “Blow your mind!” The novelist Tom Wolfe made Kesey famous with the bestseller: *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1967).⁶³ That same year, 1967, gave witness to one of the greatest drug songs of the psychedelic era, Jimi Hendrix’s pulsating *Purple Haze*, released within months of the Beatles *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band*, with its LSD explicit track

58 Braunstein, “Forever Young,” 246.

59 Leary, “Turning on the World,” 333.

60 *Ibid.*, 339–41.

61 O’Neill, *Coming Apart*, 239–40.

62 Medeiros, “Mapping San Francisco,” 306–8; O’Neill, *Coming Apart*, 240–43.

63 Wolfe, *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*.

Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds. As John Lennon had so boldly announced in 1966, the Beatles were “more popular than Jesus now.”⁶⁴

By the fall of 1966, when an estimated 15,000 hippies lived in the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco, the state of California passed a law making LSD-use illegal.⁶⁵ Kesey, Ginsberg, Leary and others called for a “Human Be-In” to take place in January. This word play on “human being” is also related obviously to the “Sit-In” and “Love-In” gatherings of the era. Advertised as “The First Human Be-In,” the gathering was not to be a protest or a political act, but was pitched as a “gathering of the tribes” to show identity and to be held “in the spirit of love.”⁶⁶ The organizers were insistent that they should not organize any overtly political act—for to do so only legitimized the system. What was imagined was a cultural revolt, a subversive action by human bodies coming together to celebrate “Be-ing Human.” An underground newspaper, *The Oracle*, announced: “Now in the evolving generation of America’s young the humanization of the American man and woman can begin in joy and embrace without fear, dogma, suspicion, or dialectical righteousness.”⁶⁷

THE SUMMER OF LOVE, 1967

Approximately 25,000 people gathered in Golden Gate Park on January 14, 1967.⁶⁸ The atmosphere was electric with incantations for a better world, and hopeful optimism that we can change the world, man. We can really do it. People believed that in some unknown way, somehow, this show of communal love would triumph over the repressed, discriminatory, racist, unjust society. According to one participant, “the two most popular words that day were dope and revolution. Our secret formula was grass, LSD, meditation, hot music, consolidation, and a joyous sexuality.”⁶⁹ No violence erupted. The police restrained themselves and mostly ignored the drugs. The officers basically saw the hippies as benign—especially in con-

64 DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 227.

65 Stevens, “Counterculture,” 317.

66 Braunstein, “Forever Young,” 250.

67 *The San Francisco Oracle*, January 1967, quoted in *ibid*.

68 Anthony, *Summer of Love*.

69 *Ibid.*, 152.

trast to the political troublemakers in the SDS across the bridge in Berkeley.⁷⁰

Members of a street theatre group, the San Francisco Mime Troupe, renamed themselves The Diggers, and used spectacle, pageantry and happenings to move the counterculture into public spaces and expand the audience.⁷¹ They did things “just for the fuck of it,” without thought of being paid and without political reward.⁷² Claiming that “money lust is sickness,” Diggers offered free services to those who came to the Be-In or to the Haight.⁷³ “Free” meant no charge; it also meant no restraint.⁷⁴ The Diggers opened a store where people could find and take used clothes and domestic items. Diggers helped people live beyond the cash economy by offering free recycling and making a new culture outside the culture industry. They distributed free food and set up food kitchens. They used a thirteen-foot-tall wooden frame, painted yellow to have people enter a new “frame of reference.” Digger women often were seen at the vegetable and meat markets collecting the leftover food. There were daily scavenger hunts for anything that could be useful.⁷⁵ Diggers organized kindergartens, childcare and free medical clinics to help those who had been on bad trips or had a sexually-transmitted disease or two.⁷⁶

The Summer of Love in 1967 was a global event for hippies and youth culture generally and was set to begin on the summer solstice. But young people were impatient and the celebration started around Easter time, when Spring break freed them from high schools and universities. People gathered in the big cities in America, all across Europe and Canada. Toronto, London, Prague, Warsaw, West Berlin, Copenhagen, Rome, Amsterdam, and Paris held huge gatherings. But the “will to change” *zeitgeist* epicenter of the youthquake was located in the 100,000 young people who made their way to San Francisco, many in hand-decorated VW vans.⁷⁷

Music Festivals began and served as temporary communes for the faithful. In 1967, the first major Rock festival of the counterculture was the

70 Medeiros, “Mapping San Francisco,” 344–7.

71 Doyle, “Staging the Revolution,” 72.

72 DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 258–9.

73 Stevens, “Counterculture,” 318.

74 DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 254.

75 Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius*, 89.

76 DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 318–9; Doyle, “Staging the Revolution,” 79–82.

77 Braunstein, “Forever Young,” 250.

Monterey Pop Festival which brought in approximately 75,000 fans. As Terry Anderson recalled it, the people “came in peasant dresses, in bell bottoms, leather vests, in colors: mellow yellow, panama red, moby grape, deacon blue, Acapulco gold. [LSD chemist Stanley] Owsley supplied a new batch of LSD called Monterey Purple, dubbed Purple Haze, and the bands merged the San Francisco sounds with American pop rock, blues, soul, folk-rock, and the British Invasion.”⁷⁸ The bands included Mamas and Papas, Buffalo Springfield, The Byrds, Grateful Dead, Janis Joplin, Country Joe and the Fish, Otis Redding, and Jimi Hendrix.⁷⁹

Another fifteen thousand young people met in Central Park in New York City to celebrate their belief that “All You Need is Love.” They dressed up in flamboyant costumes, tossed frisbees, joined hands in huge love circles, painted their faces, passed out marijuana joints, chanted about bananas, and told each other never to trust anyone over 30 years old. In what was widely rumored to be true, but later turned out to be a hoax, dried banana peels were believed to have hallucinogenic properties. All you had to do was scrape them and light them up. In June 1967 a new song, *San Francisco*, called to the faithful: “all across the nation, there’s a new generation, people in motion . . .” who should make their way west and “be sure to wear some flowers in your hair. . . .”⁸⁰

The media tried to keep up. Many writers were both empathetic and critical. The young people were to be admired for efforts to build an ideal community but others were taking advantage of them to make money on the music festivals and on mind-expanding drugs. Timothy Leary was often decried as a parasite. In 1967, journalist Joan Didion wrote “Slouching Towards Bethlehem” to decry the lack of a center among the hippies in San Francisco.⁸¹ Didion felt the city was populated by masses of adolescent runaways being preyed on by drug dealers, scam artists, and rapists. Her conclusion was supported by Grateful Dead lead singer Jerry Garcia, who related what he saw:

78 Anderson quoted in McKay, “Social and (Counter-) Cultural 1960s,” 44.

79 Onkey, “Voodoo Child,” 198–9; Tomlinson, “Psychedelic Rock Posters,” 300–1.

80 John Phillips of The Mamas and The Papas wrote *San Francisco* in 1967. The most popular version was sung by Scott McKenzie at the Monterey Pop Festival.

81 First published in the *Saturday Evening Post* magazine, see Didion, *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*, 96–7.

Pretty little 16-year-old-middle-class chick comes to the Haight to see what it's all about & gets picked up by a 17-year-old street dealer who spends all day shooting her full of speed again & again, then feeds her 3000 mikes & raffles her temporarily unemployed body for the biggest Haight Street gang bang since the night before last.⁸²

Historian Gerard DeGroot wanted the Summer of Love to be renamed the Summer of Rape.⁸³ Didion noted that young mothers were feeding their children LSD. The streets were paranoid and the talk was banal. Didion blamed US society: "This was not a typical generational rebellion. At some point between 1945 and 1967 we had somehow neglected to tell these children the rules of the game we happened to be playing; maybe we had stopped believing in the rules ourselves."⁸⁴

THE PEOPLE OF ZERO AND WOODSTOCK

As the Summer of Love moved into autumn, organizers planned a March on the Pentagon. In October, hippies joined the SDS and others to demonstrate against US military power. Some hippies formed a love circle, and tried to levitate the Pentagon building by using the magic word "Ommmm. . ." as Ginsberg had taught them at the Human Be-In.⁸⁵ This effort seems to have failed. Other demonstrators placed flowers into the muzzles of the rifles held by the soldiers who blocked their paths. This seems to have worked when the photograph, "Flower Power," was distributed and celebrated worldwide.⁸⁶

In 1967, when nearly 500,000 US soldiers were in Vietnam fighting for continuity, in San Francisco, London, Toronto, Copenhagen, Berlin, New York, and elsewhere, the Summer of Love represented change. People imagined a very different society. In London, an all night international Love-

82 Garcia quoted in Stevens, "Counterculture," 322.

83 DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 304.

84 Didion, *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*, 91, 97, 127.

85 Anthony, *Summer of Love*, 154–55.

86 Jocelyn Stewart, "Bernie Boston, 74, Took 'Flower Power' Photo," *New York Sun*, January 24, 2008.

In gathered at Alexandra Palace.⁸⁷ The sweetish smell of marijuana lingered everywhere. Pink Floyd rocked the audience. In Liverpool an ongoing special psychedelic experience was offered.⁸⁸ Many accepted. The counterculture, in speaking for what might be possible, for peace and love and human community, provided a usable past, a legacy, attesting to our own humanity and to a better world.

The hippies called themselves “the people of Zero” to mean without history, having new beginnings, being less rational and more mystical and emotional, and consisting of a blank slate on which to write a new world.⁸⁹ A major theme was the absolute hopelessness of an “uptight” parental generation (ironically, it is just this parental generation that has redefined itself as “the greatest generation”—an extraordinary act of hubris given the groups complicity in WWII and the Cold War).⁹⁰ The best single book on the hippies is by Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (1991) in which the author delves into the countercultural ethics of dope, sex, and rock music. Dope was not drugs—hippies were clear about this distinction. Dope was marijuana, peyote, mescaline, and LSD. Drugs were cocaine, heroin, and STP. Hippies understood the difference: dope was great but drugs were dangerous. Dope should be used sanely and under controlled circumstances—never to hurt others.⁹¹ Timothy Leary liked to say, “Your only hope is dope.”⁹² Many hippies agreed that dope helped them cope with the evils of the society; was akin to a religious experience; put them in tune with nature; made for better sex; and was mostly harmless and maybe even medicinal. By 1974, studies of California hippie drug use showed 97% smoked marijuana and hashish, 91% tried LSD, and 80% dabbled in peyote and mescaline.⁹³ A side benefit of all this was that the older generation denounced it—thus proving to the counterculture that dope use must be ethical.

As promoted in the *Berkeley Barb* on 5 June 1970: “We announce the true spirit of the high holy act of fucking. People must be free to fuck with-

87 Braunstein, “Forever Young,” 244.

88 See Murden, “Psychedelic Liverpool?”

89 Miller, *Hippies and American Values*, 3.

90 Brokaw, *Greatest Generation*.

91 Miller, *Hippies and American Values*, 25–26.

92 Leary quoted in *Ibid.*, 30.

93 1974 survey cited in Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius*, 116–7.

out molestation, without fear, without guilt.”⁹⁴ Miller explained that whereby dope opened psychic pleasure, sex opened physical pleasure. Sex was fucking more than it was love making even though the distinction was lost on many. Sex was healthy, fun, and revolutionary. While no one should ever be forced to have sex, no person should ever be restrained from having sex—a freedom of speech right. The marital contract should be “open marriage,” because possession was bourgeois. Open nudity was also encouraged as a communication device to let the body speak to others in non-verbal and fun way. And truly, many argued, as in fucking, if it feels good, do it. Nudity stood for freedom from corporate America’s dictates. Genitals were to be seen because they were common and normal, not bad or ugly.⁹⁵ If all of this disgusted the older generation, so much the better.

Completing the ethics of the trinity, Miller wrote that rock ‘n’ roll upheld a way of life and was far more than just pleasurable sound. Rock formulated the cultural rebellion and counterculture in communal form. The transistor radio and the great rock festivals pulled the counterculture together time and again—as pilgrimages, camp meetings, and revivals of the faithful. Miller described dope as psychic pleasure, sex as physical pleasure and music as communal.⁹⁶ What could be more frightening to the older folks than thousands of hippies letting it all hang out?

The single biggest symbol of the youth and counterculture era was the Woodstock Festival in Bethel, New York, in 1969. Of course, and notwithstanding all the myths surrounding Woodstock, some things fell apart. It was, as Pete Townshend of the Who said, “a disgusting, despicable, hypocritical event. The most incredible duplicity everywhere. . . . A commercial event.”⁹⁷ There was a lack of clean water, bathrooms, food, highway access, bathing, and sleeping facilities. And yet, Woodstock was the high water mark of free love, drugs, freedom from repression, nudity, all to the beat of the best rock music on the planet and, despite Townshend’s lament, it was mostly free. After Woodstock, rock festivals were held all over Europe and at Altamont Speedway in California—where violence by Hells Angels

94 *Barb* quoted in Miller, *Hippies and American Values*, 51.

95 *Ibid.*, 53–6.

96 *Ibid.*, 74.

97 DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 237–40.

thugs put an end to these gatherings in the United States.⁹⁸ In Europe, the rock festivals would continue, still continue. In England, organizers based the 1970 concerts at Bath and Glastonbury on communal and hippie ethics of free admission and youthful exuberance. At Roskilde in Denmark, where hippies still roam, there has been a general celebration of youth, with sex, beer, hash, and rock 'n' roll since 1971. Belgium's Rock Werchter dates to 1974.

THE DEATH OF THE HIPPIE

On the street level, there were many confrontations between the hippies and lower middle class ethnic and racial groups in the neighborhoods the hippies entered.⁹⁹ There were only a few black hippies even though films focusing on the 1960s always made the group seem more multicultural than it was. Working-class families and their children were struggling desperately to grasp the American dream of being middle class.¹⁰⁰ While hippies were dropping out, minority and lower-class youth struggled to get in. Hippies were scorning just the material advances and successes for which these groups were fighting.

African Americans especially disliked the privileges: "the hippies really bug us because we know they can come down here and play their game for a while and then escape. And we can't."¹⁰¹ Hippies were amoral, atheistic and played at poverty while being white and privileged. The flower children had been uninvited and violence became common. Joan Didion described the girls she met as naïve, superficial and drug obsessed hippie chicks who were far from feminism and women's liberation.¹⁰² Sociologist Winifred Breines wrote that many girls were playing and pandering to boys they could or would never marry. These girls came from affluent families; they were white (97%) children of prosperity and many threw away their

98 O'Neill, *Coming Apart*, 261; see also Lydon, "Rolling Stones"; Miller, *Hippies and American Values*, 82–4.

99 Matusow, "Rise and Fall," 344.

100 O'Neill, *Coming Apart*, 271.

101 Quoted in Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius*, 35.

102 Didion, *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*, 89–97, 127.

reputations with black boys or gang boys.¹⁰³ All hippies were basically defenseless against the gang violence of the ghettos or the Hells Angels attacks on them. Thousands were raped, robbed, and beaten. It was safe to rape a hippie runaway girl—they usually reacted passively and could not go to the police for help.¹⁰⁴

But the hippies had their defenders. Even the ultra-establishment *Time* magazine, praised the hippies for living “considerably more virtuous lives than the great majority of their fellow citizens.”¹⁰⁵ In France, youth radical Jean-Jacques Lebel likened the seduction of the children of the bourgeoisie into the system was “the liberal version of Hitler’s final solution of the youth problem. . . . It is time for us to create our own culture, our own lives.”¹⁰⁶

In San Francisco, the Diggers had performed one more street theatre, “the Death of Hippie.” Diggers led a funeral march into Golden Gate Park where they set fire to a coffin labeled “Summer of Love.” The original hippies said that crass materialism, violence and nihilism brought down the noble experiment. The original hippies and the later hippies were of different breeds. The crowd shouted “hippies are dead” and life in the Haight dissolved. The hippie era of flower power and hope was brief, usually marked as 1965–1972.¹⁰⁷

COMMUNES FULL OF FLOWER CHILDREN

Many flower children built communes and developed a more feminist style. This was progress. The early counterculture was not a model for the equality of the sexes and did little to overturn the dominant gender roles or notions of sexuality. Dominated by men, the counterculture was openly sexist. The hippies challenged the Establishment, but gender constructs remained hierarchical and essentialist. Sexual liberation did not immediately mean women’s rights, as one woman made clear: “If the sexual revolution is fucking a lot, then I did. If it incorporates things like the rights of women,

103 Breines, *Young, White, and Miserable*, 150.

104 O’Neill, *Coming Apart*, 253.

105 “Youth: The Hippies,” *Time*, 7 July 1967, 20–22.

106 Lebel quoted in Miller, *Hippies and American Values*, 8.

107 DeGroot, *Sixties Unplugged*, 305.

I'm not sure my involvement meant a damn thing.”¹⁰⁸ Beth Bailey reminds us that the sexual revolution was, “evolutionary, not revolutionary.” The evolution was from fucking to making love—the new preferred word in the communes.¹⁰⁹

If females refused sex, they were accused of being repressed, racist, or worse. Still, as the 1960s progressed and the urban hippie era ended, some women in communes embracing the essentialism and reclaiming the agrarian ideal, moved into feminism. The counterculture always emphasized cooperation, nature, anti-materialism, and nonaggression; women could use all these themes to gain power. Historian Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo notes the “thrill and excitement of breaking cultural taboos and the sensual pleasures of sex, drugs, and rock and roll. Nor were commitment [to countercultural feminism] and pleasure mutually exclusive.”¹¹⁰ Sociologist Barbara Ehrenreich noted that hippie women were far more dangerous to the prevailing culture than were those in SDS whose familiar kinds of protest were at least “comprehensible.”¹¹¹ Counterculture women exhibited a liberating cultural feminism in the rebellion of running away, refusal to conform to rules of protest, fashion, hair, sex, and more.

Lemke-Santangelo has shown how the essentialism of hippie women became feminism. By dropping out and having the courage to do so, hippie women broke from suburban domesticity, threw off the sexual double standard, opened up female self-expression and autonomy. The counterculture allowed the freedom to break with the past and to forge new relationships. There were still domestic roles to fill, but when these were placed in the heart of what the counterculture valued, women gained agency from the essentialism. This was a cultural feminism based on what Allen Ginsberg termed “the affectionate feminine.”¹¹² The communes consisted of “sisterhoods” where the ideals were, as Lemke Santangelo says: “very very female. The hippie women’s experience was novel and liberating.”¹¹³ Ehrenreich agreed that this was true liberation, something male commentators and feminists missed or failed to acknowledge. As they learned to love

108 Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius*, 22–7.

109 Bailey, “Sex as a Weapon,” 307–23.

110 *Ibid.*, 36.

111 Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling*, 60–3.

112 Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius*, 160, 181.

113 *Ibid.*, 38, 57, 158.

themselves as women in a women-centered order, feminism gained many soldiers. This is perhaps more cultural feminism than political—if we can separate the two.

Hippies found hope in voluntary communities, collectives and communes. Hog Farm commune in California and Findhorn Commune in Scotland established agrarian communities that stressed back-to-the-land living patterns.¹¹⁴ These arrangements represented an incredible diversity of lifestyles. There were rule-bound places and anarchic ones. The land was sometimes owned jointly and other times clearly subdivided. There were tens of thousands of different communes in the US alone, with foundations and examples reaching into American history, mostly in the nineteenth century. Most of the 1960s communes were romantic. Among the most successful were Morning Star Ranch and Wheeler's Ranch near San Francisco, The Farm in Summertown, Tennessee, and The Hog Farm in Tujunga, California. Citizens contributed what they could, worked together and shared food and bodies, with well-understood rules. The communes were overwhelming white and thoroughly middle-to-upper class social haves where highly-educated people came together.¹¹⁵

In the early years after the Summer of Love died, many survivors went to Morning Star or Wheelers. But because these communes were free-wheeling and accepting of all newcomers, they both failed by 1973. The problem with open admission was eccentrics, misfits, and criminals easily took advantage of the others.¹¹⁶ The Farm still exists, even if it is down from its 1,500 original inhabitants. The Farm is populated by vegans, supports and trains women to be midwives, and is anti-abortion because that breaks with the energy of the cosmos: "Hey Ladies! Don't have an abortion, come to the Farm and we'll deliver your baby and take care of it, and if you ever decide you want it back, you can have it."¹¹⁷ About 200 citizens live at the Farm, now paying dues. Its existence provides a living legacy to the counterculture. As do the widespread culture wars with their partisan divides.

114 Miller, "Sixties-Era Communes," 343–4.

115 Ibid., 332–4, 336–7.

116 Ibid., 343; Miller, *Hippies and American Values*, 92.

117 Miller, "Sixties-Era Communes," 337.

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