

THE HIPPIES - AN AMERICAN 'MOMENT'

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SP16

20p.

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(University of Birmingham, October, 1968)

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This is an expanded and revised version of a paper on the American Hippies written shortly after the Summer of 1967. The Hippie 'scene' has undergone significant change and development since that point in time. In the recent emergence of Yippies - especially during the events surrounding the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968, we can see the Hippie style being brought more directly into play in the radical and political arena. In another sphere, we can see the rapid penetration of Hippie styles of dress, music, attitudes and ways of life into the wider youth culture. The Hippie ambience has come to constitute, vis-a-vis youth culture, something of the force of a conscious avant-garde. These are important developments, and I make reference to them in the latter half of the paper. But, essentially I have tried to hold quite closely to that 'moment' around the summer of 1967 when the Hippies constituted a distinct and emergent 'grouping' or 'formation' in society.

The method I have adopted is to attempt, first, a phenomenological and thematic 'reading' of the central aspects and facets of Hippie 'society'. I attempt to catch, describe and interpret the symbolic modes of life of the Hippies, as far as I can, from 'within' - from the point of view of the subjective meaning this way of life seems to have for its participants. I try to view the Hippie style as a project for a certain section of American youth (rather than as a symptom). I stress that this is both a description and an interpretation because, as will be apparent, I am trying to manifest what are, by definition, the latent meanings of a way of life: a way of life which rejects and despises, precisely, the language and act of interpretation. I believe this is necessary to get to the underlying value-structure and weltanschauung of this highly

significant phenomenon. but, as a method, it is also has profound risks. Thus I am obliged to tid up and make explicit and coherent what is, essentially, untidy, incoherent, unorganised. In order to get at meanings, I have in a certain sense to 'falisify' deliberately the existential experience I am interpreting. In the latter half of the paper, I have attempted to situate this phenomenological accout within its proper structures and mediations: that is, I try to give a bief genetic-historical account of its evolution and I attept to place it, structurally, within its relevant contexts. Many such contexts are 'availale': in this paper I deal primarily with the political mediations. I place the phenomenon within the structure of the growing political emergence of radical groups and movements within the younger generation. In the treatment given to this analysis here, I take the Hippies as my central focus, and attempt to relate other political groupings to them. In a parallel paper, in the Slant Conference on papers, From Culture to Revolution, I have reversed the analysis, taking the political groupings as my central focus, and relating the Hippies to them. There is, inevitably, some overlap between that paper ("The New Revolutionaries: Notes on the Politics of Culture") and the second half of this paper.

My intention is to suggest that the Hippies and their way of life are not the patternless, amorphous muddle and confusion which at first they appear to be. The way of life, and the values and attitudes embodied and projected in it, have a consistency and pattern. It is this pattern, and its future meaning; which I am trying to bring out. At the very least, the Hippie way of life represents 'definitions of the 'situation' different from, counter to, those which are maintained as valid and legitimate in the taken-for-granted routines of American middle class society: "an island of deviant meanings within the sea of its society." American society is powerfully integrated around a web of values and attitues - recognitions and confirmations - which blind them to

'the system'. That matrix of values, the society's dominant normative order, is not - as many social scientists would have us believe fixed, immutable and static: indeed, it is part of my argument that it has generated in time its own inner stresses, contradictions and conflicts which are now being openly and vigorously expressed. It remains, nevertheless, an embracing value-structure. "Non-recognition and counter-definitions of social norms are always, Peter Berger reminds us, "potentially revolutionary". But revolutionary in what way? They can lead to forms of personal protest and rebellion, withdrawal, which, though counter-posed to the established system of values, are primarily adaptive to that system: every society has its tolerated areas of deviance, its sanctioned rebels and eccentrics, its licensed fools. I would say that, for such a formation to become potentially revolutionary in social terms, four criterion must be met. (a) The counter-definitions must be socially located and rooted. As Berger, again remarks,

"All socially meaningful definitions of reality must be objectivated by social processes. Consequently, sub-universes require sub-societies as their objectivating base, and counter-definitions of reality require counter societies."

(b) The counter-definitions being offered must be centrally situated: ie. they must challenge the system of values at the focal points of stress and tension, they must project a confrontation with the core organizing meanings and values, the critical life-experiences, of the society. (c) They must offer forms of social disaffiliation and opposition which lead to social, rather than simply personal or individual, rebellion. This is a complicated point, since (as I argue later) the distinctions between the 'personal' and the 'public', the 'individual' and the societal' may not be where we normally tend to place them. (d) Finally, they must offer forms of action, life-projects, which embody

alternative structures. The question which is frequently asked - do the Hippies represent a challenge to, or merely a withdrawal from society? - has to be related to these four criteria.

A satisfactory answer to that question cannot be given by so-called 'objective' or value-free analysis. The symbols, expressive values, beliefs and attitudes, projects and aspirations of groupings like the Hippies constitute, taken together, a significant, meaningful way of being-in-the-world for them. It is by learning to 'read' the meanings of these 'signs' that we come to understand the global vision of the world, the weltanschauung, the project which organises and makes coherent the many disparate strands. As Sartre observed,

"Man is, for himself and other, a signifying being, since one can never understand the slightest of his gestures without transending the pure present and explaining the gesture by reference to the future. Furthermore, he is the creator of signs to the extent that - always ahead of himself - he uses certain objects to designate other absent or future objects . . . Man constructs signs because in his very reality he is signifying; and he is signifying because he is a dialectical transending of all that is simply given. That we call freedom is the irreducibility of the cultural order to the natural order . . . Because we are men and live in the world of men, of work and of conflict, all the objects which surround us are signs. By themselves they indicate their use and scarcely mask the real project of those who have made them such for us and who address us through them . . . Everything at every instant is always signifying, and the significations reveal to us men and the relations among me mediated by the structures of our society."



## SLOGANS AND PHRASE-MAKING

Most sub-cultures dramatise the gap between their own 'worlds' and the worlds of 'others' in language - the most expressive mediation or objectivation of all. Hippie phrases constitute a complex argot, drawn eclectically from Negro culture, jazz, from homosexual or addict sub-cultures, from idiomatic language of streets and Bohemia. The slogans are striking, linguistically, for two particular aspects: Their emphasis on the continuous present tense - "grooving", "balling", "mind-blowing", "where it is at" - and their prepositional flavour - "turn-on", "drop-out", "freak out", "be in", "love-in", "Cop-out", "put on", "trip out", "uptight". The style of phrase-making is existential (the present tense) and connective (prepositional).

One can explore the question of language a stage further by looking at the Hippie slogan coined by Dr Leary: TUNE IN, TURN ON AND DROP OUT. Each phrase in that slogan is both a literal injunction and a submerged metaphor. To "tune-in" means, literally, to "attune" oneself to another way of life; but it is also a submerged metaphor from the mass media. There is, the phrase suggests, more than one channel of perception through which we experience the world. The trouble with 'straight society' is that it is tuned in to the wrong 'station' and thus getting the wrong message or signal. If we were to switch wavelengths we might begin to receive messages from the 'underground', intimations from unexplored inner space. The idea is repeated in the second phrase - "turn on". Literally, this invites the hippy to switch to the use of mind expanding drugs, and to turn on as many members of straight society as he can reach. But, again, metaphorically, it also seems to switch to a more authentic mode of experience, to leave the routes of middle class society for more private, apocalyptic channels. "Drop out" is perhaps the most complex message of all in its associative meaning. Again, it means, literally, that the Hippie should reject the structures of middle class

experience, the way of life orientated towards work, power, status, consumption - goals which have been discredited within the counter-value system of Hippie sub-culture. The Hippie is a 'drop out' from the system for which family, education and socialisation have been grooming him: he actively 'opts in' to the 'deviant' round of life. But the phrase "drop out" has more precise social and political reference. Drop-outs are also early school and college-leavers, rejects of the school system or self-absentees from college, who find the whole system of education and training intolerable. In the first instance, "drop-outs" were early-leavers, Goodman's "absurds", who felt alienated from school or couldn't meet the grades or didn't choose to keep up the pace. Leary's phrase therefore tries to establish an identification between the Hippies and this rejected social group. The identification is largely symbolic, of course, since by and large the Hippies are recruited, not from educational rejects but from the brighter, academically more promising, middle class students. If they have given up on formal education, it is not because they were alienated by the school's tasks or because their home environment was poor or their learning situation unsupported, but because, in some more symbolic sense, they find the whole 'education bit' irrelevant. To "drop out" is therefore to make the symbolic gesture of withdrawal from the commonplace routines of their generation. These more sophisticated 'drop-outs' often stay within hailing distance of the university campuses, though out of reach of professors and the administration. They constitute part of the informal community of scholars of most large universities. They continue to 'shadow' the student role they have so recently abandoned. Their counterparts are those students who refuse to do military service in Vietnam, and who have disappeared from the view of the draft boards - dropped out as an act of political withdrawal. The "drop-out" theme can, therefore be seen to have wide



associative meanings, all of which are loosely organised in Leary's metaphor.

## POVERTY

The association with educational rejects is only one of a complex series of identifications with groups of the deprived or disadvantaged celebrated Hippie sub-culture. If we were to compare American Hippies with their British counterparts, the most striking fact would be the degree of, and emphasis upon, assumed poverty among the Americans, the identification with "the poor". On the whole, American Hippies are the very reverse of smart and stylish: their costumes may be bizarre but they are often rough, dirty or in bad repair. This may be explained by the fact that, whereas British youth culture is still, primarily, the preserve of working class kids for whom the access to stylish clothes and fashion represents, in Simmel's terms, the aspirations, the 'soul-movements' of a previously deprived group, American Hippie culture represents the return of an otherwise affluent, middle class and potentially 'arrived' group to the disguise of poverty. (It must also be added that American outh culture is, on the whole, more informal and less styled - though not perhaps less costumed - than the British variant. Where stylish fashions prevail, British modes appear to set the pace. This point - which I don't wish to pursue further here - could be generalised or the society as a whole, in the sense that fashionable middle-class America is, in general, fashionable in, at best, the style of the 1950's; adult styles are relatively untouched by the 'mod'). Simmel also reminds us that in the world of fashion the real themes of the world are rehearsed in a kind of elaborate 'play'. If behind the symbolic drop-outs of Hippies life there stands the real drop outs of ghetto schools, so the disguise of poverty shadows the almost eloquent of recent American themes: the rediscovery of the true poor - the inhabitants of Michael Harrington's 'Other America'. Another form of

poverty is to be seen in the persistent begging (or 'phanhandling') which is common on the Hippy scene. Indeed, open begging on the streets is a more striking and dramatic enactment of symbolic poverty than rough clothes, bed-rolls and sandals: there is a long tradition of travelling rough "on the road"; but, for affluent America, begging is a major "bring down", particularly when committed by the children of the well-to-do.

The poor are only the most obvious group in a wider circle of so-called 'deviants' with whom the Hippies emotionally identify. In part, this is a matter of shared or overlapping life-experiences. In their escape from middle-class suburbia, in their search for cheaper places to live and areas of the city where social controls are less rigidly exercised, Hippies are driven to share - often for the same reasons - those areas where other deviant groups and sections of the 'disorganised' have already clustered. More important, however, is the identity which Hippies feel with all those whom 'straight society' has labelled deviant, outside the norms and expectations of respectability. To be labelled is to accept a social identity and the possibilities of a social career which causes beyond the rules and conventions of 'the system'. Those situations, identities and careers which the society has labelled 'deviant' are precisely those which the Hippies value most highly. This is one of the many symbolic ways in which Hippies attempt to subvert and reverse the conventional legitimations of society. The congregation of different deviant strata in the same urban area does not take place without internal strains and tensions, for the respective groups have often reached the same geographical location by very different paths. But no doubt the clustering and congregation creates its own solidarities. As Becker observes, "Members of organized deviant groups have one thing in common: their deviance. It gives them a sense of common fate, of being in the same boat. From a sense of common fate, from having to face the same

problems, grows a deviant sub-culture: a set of perspectives and understanding about what the world is like and how to deal with it, and a set of routine activities based on those perspectives. Membership in such a group solidifies a deviant identity".

It should be added that this enhanced status of 'deviancy' is all the more ironic since the study of deviant sub-cultures is one of the most developed areas in American social science. It was always a highly equivocal concept, implying as it did the inevitability, persistence and stability of legitimate social order. And recent developments, particularly the growth of Hippiess modes of life, has left it (and, with it, many fundamental pre-suppositions of 'value free' social science practice) highly conceptual territory.

#### INDIAN THEMES

Even the poor are not far down and out enough. The poor are disadvantaged socially, but they are often respectable: they are rarely exotic. An even more powerful identification, therefore, is with the culture, costume and spirit of the American Indian. Serares, bells, beads, headbands, mocassins - these are central features of Hippiess costume. The lines of connection between Indian culture and Hippiess sub-culture are really very complex. American Indians stand, of course, as an emblem of the simple, a primitive survival on the continent of affluence, and technological sophistication. They also represent the way white outsiders exploited the native peoples of the American continent. American Indians are therefore one among the several deprived and exploited social groups with whom young people in general, and Hippiess in particular, tend to identify. (Even before the rise of the Hippiess, Mexico stood to the itinerant student generation in a strong symbolic relation). The disadvantaged groups include, as we have suggested, social deviants of all sorts - addicts, educational

rejects and the poor. There is one striking omission to that list: the blacks. This is all the more striking if, for a moment, we look back to that group of premature hippies of an earlier period, the Original Beat Generation. Mailer was, I believe, quite correct to see (in "The White Negro", Advertisements for Myself, reprinted from Dissent) that the underground life of the Negro, the music, rhythms and argot of the hustlers and 'night cats' of the black ghettos exerted a powerful appeal to the beatnik generation. In the white beatnik's exploration of the submerged side of the 'American Dream', the man he was most likely to encounter in that forbidden psychic journey was his black counterpart, committed by the very conditions of this existence to the 'hip' round of life. Mailer called the hip generation "white negroes". My case is that the American Negro is no longer 'available' in these terms to the Hippie. He is no longer living out his life in some submerged night time suburb of the imitation of white America. The ghettos still stand, of course: but through civil rights, the black Muslim movement, Afro-American nationalism, the ghetto rebellions, the rhetoric of Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammed, Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown, and finally, Black Power, the Negro has reached for and achieved, if not a real, then certainly a potential imaginative liberation from the cultural imperialism of white racist and white fellow-traveller alike. The Newark convention was the black American's cultural 'declaration of independence'. Since then, the remaining lines of contact between black and white society have been severely ruptured. The Hippies cannot, then, find a sympathetic counter-culture in the orbit of black ghetto life: and any attempt to do so would be regarded by most militants as another of the multiple forms of cultural patronage which white society still pays to back. Hippie society is, therefore, strikingly, a part of white America. In the summer of 1967, the word was being passed around Haight Ashbury that it was time the white Hippies pulled out of the Haight for a day and let the blacks in to "do their own thing" - whatever it

might be. There are black faces on the Haight Ashbury sidewalks, and organized Black militant groups, like the Panthers, in other parts of California, but by and large the Hippie scene in San Francisco is separated from the largely black slums which surround it by high, though invisible walls.

The Indian - as critics like Leslie Fiedler have often pointed out - has always played an important part symbiotic role in the imaginative universe of American literature and culture, but the Hippies have given this theme an elevated status. The use of hallucinogenic drugs such as mescaline, cannabis and peyote by the American Indians is another immediate point of contact. But in a more general sense there has been a long love affair in American culture - from the novels of James Fenimore Cooper to Edmund Wilson's *Irriguois on the high wires* - between the sons of white men and the sons of the brave. This love-match is now sealed in the adoption, by a section of white youth, of the dress, trappings and ritual emblems of those first Americans who were driven off the plains into the reservations. The identification is all the easier because the identified - the Indians - are a relatively remote actual presence in American social life.

#### MYSTICISM AND WITHDRAWAL

The 'purchase' of Indian culture on Hippie society undoubtedly owes something to the strand of passivity in Indian culture - a reversal of the more popular image of Indian war-dances and staged battles coming down through the Hollywood western. It is often said that, as the West was pacified, so the practice of withdrawal, with the assistance of drugs, increased among reservation Indians. This theme of withdrawal from the active to the passive mode (with or without the use of drugs) is to be traced,



## NOTES

1. The paper does not have an explicit methodological focus, but questions of method cannot be avoided. I attempt throughout to see the Mippie 'project' as meaningful human action, and this requires the analyst, as far as possible, to situate himself within these actions and to interpret them, to the best of his abilities, from the viewpoint of their subjective meaning. I have called this the 'phenomenological' moment in the analysis. The interpretation of meaningful human action must, it seems to me, begin here. But such actions are always 'situated' meanings: they are subject to a context of determinations and their objective and situated character must be brought to light, as well, if the phenomenon is to be meaningfully interpreted. This is the 'structuralist' moment. The characteristic way of making this insertion is to evoke a set of 'global' determining factors which are assumed to give the 'objective' meaning of the phenomenon which has been subjectively defined. But I follow Sartre in supposing that this detour is frequently a substitute for explanation, in the sense that the crucial mediations are missing. I have preferred, therefore, Goldmann's approach, which seeks to insert the phenomenon within its relevant contexts. "Comprehension and explanation are not two different intellectual processes, but one and the same process, related to different coordinates....comprehension is the bringing to light of a significant structure immanent in the object studied....explanation is nothing other than the incorporation of this element....in an immediately embracing structure.." ("The Sociology of Literature: Status and Problems of Method", in International Social Science Journal, vol. XIX No 4, 1964). Cf: Goldmann, Human Sciences and Philosophy (Cape, 1969), "Since human behaviour is a total reality, the efforts to separate its 'material' and 'spiritual' aspects can be at best only provisory abstractions... the investigator must always strive to recover the total and concrete reality, even if he is able to succeed only in a partial and limited manner. He must seek to integrate into the study of social facts the history of the theories about these facts, and, in addition, try to link the study of the facts of consciousness to their historical localization and to their economic and social infrastructure". On the question of 'mediations', see, especially J-P Sartre, The Question of Method (Methuen, 1963), the prefatory essay to volume 1 of the Critique de la Raison Dialectique. Cf., for an argument which begins with quite different presuppositions but which points in the same direction, V J Turner, "Symbols in Ndembu Ritual", in Closed Systems and Open Minds, ed. Max Gluckmann (Oliver and Boyd). These approaches are distinguished by their effort to hold 'subjective meaning' and 'context' within the same explanatory framework. Of course, the decision as to which 'contexts' are relevant, and of how the insertion is made, and of the intervening mediations, while, in Goldmann's phrase, representing an effort to "connect the conscious intentions of the actors of history to the objective meaning of their behaviour



and actions", is, in the last resort, the analyst's: it is an 'interpretation', not an 'objective proof'.

2. The emergence of what, elsewhere, I have called a 'political generational underground'. This phenomenon, which has utterly transformed American politics in this decade, is itself a problematic phenomenon, and presents traditional political types of explanation - whether of the liberal, positivist or traditional-marxist varieties - with real problems. In this treatment, I take the Hippies as my central focus, and relate the other emergent political groupings to them: in a parallel essay, I have reversed the procedure, taking the more political groupings as my central focus, and relating the Hippies to them. There is, inevitably, some overlap between the two papers. Cf: "The New Revolutionaries: Notes on the Politics of Cultural Rebellion", in the collection of Slant papers, From Culture to Revolution, ed. Eagleton and Ficker, (Sheed and Ward: 1966).
3. An Invitation to Sociology (Penguin: 1966)
4. Berger, op. cit. Cf. Berger and Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality, passim. (Doubleday: 1966)
5. For 'global vision', Cf: Goldmann, Human Sciences and Philosophy. Also, The Hidden God (Routledge and Kegan Paul: 1964). The concept of a 'global vision' or 'maximum possible consciousness' is, of course, related to the traditional concept of 'ideology', but is a necessary extension of the concept. For a discussion of the distinction, cf H. Lefebvre, The Sociology of Marx (Random House: 1958). Cf, also, the crucial essay by Karl Mannheim, "On the Interpretation of 'Weltanschauung'" in Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge (Routledge and Kegan Paul: 1952). In my view, Goldmann employs too unified, integrated and non-antagonistic notion of 'global vision' in actual practice, though he is clearly aware of this in his methodological writings. Hippie weltanschauung is certainly not integrated or coherent: it draws on heterogeneous sources, employs them eclectically and syncretically, and attempts to 'make sense' of contradictory elements. Some aspects clearly have the function of 'secondary rationalizations'. There is, however, in my view, a distinct and meaningful configuration there, which we shall attempt to constitute.
6. J-P Sartre, La Critique de La Raison Dialectique.

7. Becker, among others, draws attention to this in Outsiders (Free Press, Glencoe: 1963). Cf. D Sykes, "Argot Roles", in The Society of Captives. On 'sub-languages' as ways of registering social relationships, see Orrin Klapp, Heroes, Villains and Fools (Spectrum: 1962). The examples here are taken from Fred Davis, "Why All of Us May Be Hippies Someday", Transaction, December 1967.
8. For a statement of Timothy Leary's position, see, inter alia, The Politics of Ecstasy.
9. Cf. Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd and Compulsory Miseducation.
10. Whereas true 'drop-outs' are primarily deprived children, especially ghetto kids.
11. G Simmel, "Fashion". Translated in American Journal of Sociology, vol. 62 (1956/7).
12. Michael Harrington's The Other America (Penguin Special: 1962) was the beginning of a massive 'rediscovery' of structural poverty within affluence.
13. On 'pan-handling', see Bennet Berger's rather wry assessment, "Hippie Morality - More Old Than New", Transaction, December 1967.
14. The 'labelling' theory of deviance owes most to the work of Howard Becker: Cf. Outsiders, op. cit. Also, E M Lemert, Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control. Something of the same order of reversal can be seen with respect to the concept of "madness". The 'rule-governed' nature of insanity is developed in T. Szasz, The Myth of Mental Illness: its 'historiography' in M. Foucault, Madness and Civilization (Tavistock: 1967). The extreme revaluation of the schizophrenic experience is offered by R Laing, in inter alia The Politics of Experience and The Bird of Paradise (Penguin: 1967) and David Cooper, Psychiatry And Anti-Psychiatry (Tavistock: 1967).
15. Becker, "Kinds of Deviance", Outsiders.
16. Thus 'life itself', as Marx would have said, provoked, not simply a massive reorientation of attention among sociologists, but a crucial revision of its theoretical and ideological underpinning. The fact that

sociology students have been an active element in the 'new politics' is not unconnected with this phenomenon. The attempts of the 'new sociology' to surpass the methodological consensus of Lasswell and the theoretical integration of Parsonian 'structural-functionalism' are real and welcome manifestations of this impact. For the parallel impact of the Black Power movement on American history, see, not only the extraordinary - and partly incorporative - growth of 'black studies', but also, specifically new approaches in historical method. For an account, Cf: E. Genovese, "The Influence of the Black Power Movement on Historical Scholarship" (Paper to the Daedalus Conference on the Role of Theory in Humanistic Studies: Como, Italy: 1969. Unpublished manuscript).

17. In "The White Negro", reprinted in Advertisements For Itself (Deutsch:1961)
18. See his most recent, and brilliant, exploration of the theme, in The Return of the Vanishing American.
19. This is only one, extreme version of 'the commune' which has been experimented with by different groups of disenfranchised youth in recent years. Hippie and Hippie-style groups have made the most consistent attempt to return to rural settings. But the informal 'communal-style' arrangements of American 'movement' activists, the Provo house-boats in Amsterdam, and the political communes of the German SDS are parallel developments. So are the explorations with 'kibbutzin-style' environments for wives and children which is a growing feature and preoccupation of the Women's Liberation Movement.
20. But there is nothing yet in Hippie ideology to match the consistent philosophy of the "new urbanism" which has developed among the Provos. Cf: the manifesto by Constant Nieuwenhuys, "The New Urbanism", in Delta (autumn 1967). (Published in Amsterdam).
21. Fred Davis, "Why All Of Us May Be Hippies Someday", Transaction, December 1967.
22. Coined, of course, by Marshall McLuhan, in Understanding Media (Scutledge and Megan Pual: 1964).
23. The underground communications-network is extensive. It is also, within its limits, financially successful. Some epigones of the underground are more concerned with this aspect of youth culture, with the creation

of counter-media, and with 'youth' as a social category wielding economic power, than with the more idealistic or political aspects. A typical perspective on the 'underground' from this point of view is Richard Neville's Flay Power.

24. Norman O. Brown, Love's Body (Random House: 1967). Marcuse had also, of course, already launched this theme in Eros and Civilization, with his concept of 'de-sublimated sexuality'. For an interesting confrontation between these two elder statesmen of the 'new sensibility', see Marcuse's review of Love's Body, Commentary (February 1967).
25. Leslie Fiedler, "The New Mutants", Partisan Review (Fall, 1965). Reprinted in Innovations, ed. Bergonzi, (Macmillan: 1965).
26. The unplanned theatrical 'happening', as a specific development in avant-garde theatre, was, of course, related to this attitude. On 'expressiveness' and 'spontaneity', see Fred Davis, op cit. For earlier manifestations of the spirit, Cf. Elwin Powell, "Beyond Utopia: The 'Beat Generation' As A Challenge for the Sociology of Knowledge", Human Behaviour And Social Processes, ed Arnold Rose. (Doubtledge: 1962). For the role of 'spontaneity' as an element in youth culture generally, see Katza: "Subterranean Traditions Of Youth", Annals Of The American Academy Of Political Science, CCCXXVIII (1961).
27. Here the theme of the breakdown of the barriers between 'life' and 'theatre' is most self-consciously pursued. The Living Theatre and other types of underground and community theatre experiments are parallel developments. For a defense of this position, and a manifesto on the theme of 'revolution as theatre', see Jerry Rubin, "I Agree With Your Tactics But I Don't Know About Your Goals", op cit, and articles in the Tulane Drama Review.

28. The escalation from 'non-violence' through confrontation to 'direct action' is a process which is to be seen at work, not only in the American 'movement' (including civil rights and black power elements) but more widely in all the varieties of 'extra-parliamentary' politics in which students and young people have acted as 'shock troops'. This is a complex phenomenon, whose history is a story in itself: but one of the source texts is, obviously, Fanon's Wretched Of The Earth (Grove Press: 1965). It represents a concerted effort to transcend the on-going 'liberal' or 'social-democratic' political consensus. Hippie philosophy has been substantially overtaken by the changes in attitudes towards 'violence' in the political climate of American politics as a whole.
29. To some extent, the estimation of the serious role of Hippies and student militants as a counter-political force depends on the degree to which these structural changes within organized capitalism are accepted or rejected. If such changes are not actually taking place, then student militancy is an 'epi-phenomenon', to be explained in terms of 'strains' within the sphere of higher education and changes in the student role alone. This is the type of explanation characteristically adopted by functionalist-oriented sociology. But if these structural changes are in fact taking place - naturally at an uneven pace in advanced societies - then we are witnessing students in the role of emergent political forces; the theory of students as 'the trigger', which underpinned both the German and French 'events' in 1968, is predicated on the latter assumption. One major source text for this view is Marcuse's One Dimensional Man (Routledge: 1964). For a more recent view, Cf: Tom Mairn, "Why It Happened", The Beginning Of The End: France May 1968 (Pantheon: 1968): "The spontaneous movement of revolt", so long awaited, had occurred not among the masses in the factories, but among the young intellectuals massed in the universities. They had become a directly-acting 'material' force of an unprecedented kind - an 'avant-garde' qualitatively different from the one envisaged by Leninism.."
30. Cf: Herbert Marcuse, "Revolution Today", New Left Review 56.
31. A great deal of rubbish has nevertheless been produced by the 'psychedelic apologists' on this score. Cf: inter alia, Leary's Politics Of Ecstasy, and the critique in Rozacs, Making Of A Counter-Culture.
32. The Other Victorians, Steven Marcus (Voyager & Nicholson: 1966).
33. In Outsiders, op.cit.

34. In McLuhan's terms. Cf Understanding Media, op.cit. Hippie and 'underground' writing is full of such metaphorical references to the two different, and opposed, logics.
35. R.D. Laing, Politics Of Experience And The Bird Of Paradise, one of the sacred books in the underground 'curriculum'
36. In The Problem Of Method, op.cit.
37. I have dealt with this part of the story at greater length in the essay in From Culture To Revolution, already referred to. What follows is, inevitably, a summary recapitulation.
38. On the 'Beat Generation', see the essay by Edwin Powell, in Rose, op.cit. and its extensive bibliography. For another but less direct parallel source, see Harold Finestone, "Gats, Kicks and Colour", in Becker ed., The Other Side
39. Cf: Susan Sontag, Against Interpretation (Byre & Spottiswoode: 1967).
40. For a revised estimate of the 'revolutionary' potential of this new kind of subjectivity, see Marcuse, "The New Sensibility", in An Essay on Liberation (Allen Lane: 1969). "The new sensibility has become by this very token praxis: it emerges in the struggle against violence and exploitation where this struggle is waged for essentially new ways and forms of life: negation of the entire Establishment, its morality, culture; affirmation of the right to build a society in which the abolition of poverty and toil terminates in a universe where the sensuous, the playful, the calm, and the beautiful become forms of existence and thereby the form of the society itself". Marcuse calls this "the creation of an aesthetic ethos", which gives an entirely new slant to the interweaving of aesthetic and critical elements in the Hippie way of life.
41. Mailer, "The White Negro". op.cit.
42. This is why the significance of the Hippies is unaffected by their apparent break-up as a distinct formation, their evolution along a more activist path, and so on. I am attempting to interpret and place the Hippie 'project', the Hippie 'moment', not a particular group or style.



43. Davis, in Transaction, op.cit. One of the best and most sensitive studies.
  
44. Marx, Economic And Philosophical Manuscripts. (Lawrence and Wishart: 1959. For the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.)