"Hippie" is a Transnational Identity

Australian and American Countercultures and the London *OZ*

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ABSTRACT ★ This article examines the example of *OZ* magazine and its transnational circulations and international influence in arguing that "Hippie" is a transnational identity. The psychedelic London magazine *OZ* was founded by Australians Martin Sharp and Richard Neville and, through publishing articles by Americans and reports on the American pop demimonde, would be the vector for the revival of a part British radical history. Like many others opting out of the failed promises of mass culture modernity, the journeys of Neville and Sharp would be a part of a moment of movement, a moment in which the "constellation of social protest activity" that, historian John McMillian reminds us, constituted The Movement, were *in* movement. Countercultural groups did not think of themselves in terms of national outposts of an international organization, rather, they thought of themselves as a collective with local constituents, part of an informal network to whom borders were of limited consequence. Their culture crossed borders on airwaves, shared cultures in common, and imagined communities of shared experience. The unique oppositional culture of those groups that constituted The Counterculture can only be fully understood by looking beyond boundaries both disciplinary and national.

> But, what really, is the flower-power craze all about, apart from being an excuse to act mad and have a good time (which you can do without subscribing to any half-formulated philosophies from America): there are no manifestos or even clear declarations and aims to argue about.[1]
>
> —JOHN WHITEMAN

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Culture moves, and moves easily, across borders, carrying within it inherent issues of cooption, commodification, and recuperation. Drawn to London by tales of an emerging counterculture, Australians Martin Sharp and Richard Neville founded the stunningly psychedelic and widely influential *OZ*, an underground magazine that would be the vector for the revival of a part of British radical history. The magazine and its surrounding cultural formation were central to the founding of a Hyde Park branch of the American Anarchist group the Diggers—a name with radically different valences within the United Sates, Britain, and Australia.[2] Sharp and Neville's journey is a testament to the affective power of the oppositional appeal of the counterculture, and it demonstrates the transnational scope and reach of popular culture. Imported from America and remade in transnational countercultural circulations were both a fabricated media hysteria *and* its critique and countermovement.

OZ magazine and the Diggers' anarchist philosophy and repertoire of actions illustrate this—and they demonstrate the powerful politics that permeated the "flower-power craze" lurking just below the Day-Glo surface. The story of the London Diggers begins in some sense with American cultural guerillas in 1966 San Francisco. But in another, more important, sense it begins in Sydney in 1963 with Sharp and Neville, then the two student publishers of a university humor magazine. The group their magazine birthed, the Hyde Park Diggers, was one of five known Digger organizations—anarchist activists committed to enacting the revolution in everyday life—spread across three countries on two continents. The news of the first Diggers, based in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, inspired groups to form in the Lower East Side of New York City, the Yorkville neighborhood of Toronto, Canada, and Hyde Park in London, England. International borders can obscure the true impact and import of these transnational formations. To look at *OZ* only within England, or to examine the Diggers only within the US, is to miss some of their most important aspects.

Examining *OZ* magazine and its transnational circulations and international influence demands that we understand that "Hippie" is a transnational identity, and that the oppositional culture of the counterculture can only be fully understood by looking beyond boundaries both disciplinary and national. It was not formal manifestos and political

journals that diffused the Diggers' peculiar blend of Avant Garde art and politics but rather the exploitative gaze of style sections and music reporting.

Reflecting on this set of circumstances in an early working paper for the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, cultural theorist Stuart Hall wrote in 1967 that "the Hippies have not only helped define *a style*, they have made the question of *style itself* a political issue … they have given a new definition to the meaning of 'the political act,' widening and deepening its circle of reference."[3] The Australian founders and editors of the London *OZ* did not initially intend to produce anything other than a chronicle of the culture they were a part of in the hope that this publication might make them somewhat self-sufficient. Neville and Sharp found themselves, to their own surprise, riding the cresting wave of a popular culture trend and a political movement. "The Hippie ambiance has come to constitute, vis-à-vis youth culture, something of the force of a conscious *avant-garde*." Hall reminds us of that moment of the Sixties when popular culture became explicitly and self-consciously embroiled in political struggle.[4]

Students and followers of Hall have demonstrated that these dynamics are present in all subcultures in the age of popular culture.[5] However, the counterculture represents a particularly important moment in which an oppositional Hippie subculture became, however briefly, the dominant formation of youth popular culture in exactly the moment in which mass social movements inextricably imbricated with the category of youth swept across national boundaries. "This music *mattered*. But why?" historian Nick Bromell asks as a prompt for reexamining the counterculture in *Tomorrow Never Knows: Rock and Psychedelics in the 1960s*.[6] There are major issues contested within the Day-Glo pages of *OZ* magazine. Ultimately at stake is the question of the political valence and use of culture itself. Are youth popular cultures part of the hegemonic creation and maintenance of power or do they contain within them new terrains of struggle, new opportunities for solidarities, connections, and collective resistance? Is it possible to look back at the gaze of the Panopticon of consumer capital? Is it possible to contest the social roles and obedience inculcated in families, schools, and the public discourse of popular culture? And, lastly, what makes it possible to act out?

FIGURE 1 The image of a Schutzstaffel commander accompanying an article titled "Agit-OZ" in OZ 13 (June, 1968): 16.

Revolution in the Air

> There was music in the cafes at night
> And revolution in the air.[7]
>
> — BOB DYLAN

Dylan's lyrics capture something profoundly important about acts of everyday resistance and rebellion and their transmission. We understand the Sixties as a moment in which radical change seemed possible, when the zeitgeist was one of revolution, and when the barrier for everyday people to consider themselves a part of a larger movement and to act out to change the world was lower. It is easier to act out against injustice when it seems like revolution is in the air. That affective relationship to systems of power, those moments of what Gramsci might call the triumph of the optimism of the will over the pessimism of the intellect, those feelings of the possibility of the radical change are captured in, and even arguably produced by, cultural artifacts. Pop culture carries with it a significant weight of contemporary politics. In the Sixties, it carried an insurgent oppositional politics easily across national borders.

Neville and Sharp were shaped by the same transnational cultural influences as American proto-hippies. Their tastes ran to Lenny Bruce and the music of the British invasion. It was not merely an enthusiasm at a distance. During Bruce's disastrous and much-canceled Australian 1962 tour, Neville attempted—largely unsuccessfully—to find replacement venues for Bruce, trying to cajole the morose comedian out of his despondency and increasingly dark heroin binge.[8] Encountering the repression and banning of a seemingly mild comedic critique would be a small taste of what Neville's adult publishing life would shortly bring, following the founding of his own humor magazine.

Underground press, alternative magazines, and art scenes counter to the dominant culture sprang up like mushrooms in emerging hip neighborhoods around the world. These included Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco, Yorkville in Toronto, the Lower East Side and Greenwich Village in New York, Hyde Park in London, and Christiana in Copenhagen. It also included the Hippie continuation of Beat communities in places such as Morocco and Katmandu, the emergence of communities such as Nimbin, New South Wales as Hippie-dominated towns, and the hundreds of other neighborhoods characterized by what Hall referred to

as "the Hippie ambiance." News of the emerging counterculture spread widely through the mainstream press. Nearly every mass media outlet carried some variation of the "The Summer of Love" narrative of wild Hippies acting out—enjoying a bit of sex, drugs, and rock and roll (and always with an undercurrent of revolution). Even sympathetic articles, such as Hunter S. Thompson's essay on the "Hashbury" for *The New York Times Magazine*, Loudon Wainright's column for *Life* describing what he termed "The Strange New Love Land of the Hippies," and investigative TV segments such as the CBC's "Toronto's Yorkville: Hippie Haven" paired voyeuristic exploitation with moral panic.[9] Although encoded with an element of official disapproval, some decoded articles on the strange new happenings had a decidedly different valence. These pieces circulated far beyond what one might anticipate their audiences to be, exercising a truly transnational reach. They served as a nearly irresistible siren song to readers with an inchoate oppositional identity.

From Sydney to London

> How his naked ears were tortured by the sirens sweetly singing.[10]
>
> —CREAM

The story of *OZ* begins in 1963, when Sharp and Neville founded a university humor magazine in Sydney. *OZ*'s first incarnation as a student magazine parodied the powerful and poked fun at conformity and propriety while celebrating humor and marijuana. In what Neville, Sharp, and Jim Anderson, fellow Australian expatriate and London *OZ* staffer, experienced as the repressive conservative culture of Australia in the 1950s and 1960s, these values provoked the authorities and resulted in obscenity charges. This trial, although settled in their favor, was to be only the magazine's first clash with obscenity law.[11]

As with Lenny Bruce, through these trials *OZ* inadvertently found itself a political actor in Australia. Its youthful, oppositional humor transformed into real legal challenges. Sharp and Neville may not initially have thought of their cultural production in political terms. They were just making some jokes. However, like their countercultural cohort, Sharp and Neville quickly learned that their seemingly neutral

cultural signifiers elicited a political response. This was a radicalizing realization.

It also seemed like a good time to leave Australia. Neville and Sharp read of the hip scene in London in a most unhip publication—the US magazine *Time*'s declaration of London as "The Swinging City."[12] "Swinging London," like "The Summer of Love," was an organic happening, an authentic community, transformed into a plastic pop culture commodity. The reporting on it, including the naming of a cultural formation, conformed to the genre of moral panics about youth culture. There had been numerous such panics throughout the Fifties, focusing on the continuous cultural contestations surrounding this new terrain of life—and new stage of the reproduction of the self—the Teenager.[13] These battles negotiated boundaries of class, race, gender, and sexuality through proxy panics about youth subcultures and anxieties about cultural practices. Reportage for a daily paper's presumed audience of middle-class professionals and working people mostly treated youth subcultures, and the youth that composed them, as profoundly other. For those who already understood themselves as other, as counter to the hegemonic culture of the moment, these articles carried a different message. The article "Great Britain: You Can Walk Across It On the Grass" could carry enough information for oppositional readers to lead to the unexpected mushrooming of activism.[14]

Neville and Sharp followed this siren song, fleeing what they perceived as censorship and oppression in Australia, drawn by the article that carried accounts of an emerging oppositional popular culture.[15] Across hemispheres, Sharp and Neville were chasing promises contained in a certain adolescent reading of "Swinging London." Instead of experiencing disapproval or distancing themselves from the emerging hip culture they wanted to be a part of it. They read *Time* with voyeuristic fascination.[16] Chasing the promise of popular culture, of other scenes and new situations alive with a culture and politics at odds with what they saw as establishment conservative values, they made their way up the Hippie trail through South East Asia. Neville covered their trek in dispatches for *The Sydney Morning Herald* with accompanying cartoons by Sharp until the pair separated after Thailand.[17] Sharp proceeded Neville to London while Neville pursued a longer overland route through Nepal, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, and continental Europe before eventually

traveling from Amsterdam to join Sharp. Once there, these Australian transplants encountered a complex hip scene unfolding.

The London OZ

London in 1967 was a place longing for the fusing of Avant Garde culture and politics. Sharp stumbled into a bar shortly after his travels and struck up a conversation with a long-haired guitarist. Sharp had a poem he had written in Nepal and the guitarist was looking for lyrics to a piece of music. He handed the musician the poem on a napkin. The guitarist was Eric Clapton, whose song, "Tales of Brave Ulysses," would be immediately published as the b-side to the hit single "Strange Brew."[18] The album *Disraeli Gears*, with distinctive psychedelic art by Sharp, was a massive hit for Cream. Sharp was instantly elevated to amazing heights within London's hip community, and began doing album design for Clapton and the band. Sharp's credentials as an album designer (and occasional lyricist) for Cream, at the moment guitarist Eric Clapton was being hailed as a rock god in graffiti on the streets of London, fused hip credentials and an oppositional politics. When Neville joined him in London a few months later, they revived their magazine *OZ*. Within the first few issues, Neville was hearing praise for *OZ* at parties from countercultural figures including Mick Jagger and playwright Kenneth Tynan.[19] The magazine articulated a politics to which searching hippies following the vibration of oppositional culture could attach themselves.

OZ in its early years was a psychedelic masterpiece. It is stunning even for the era, aesthetically far beyond the American underground press. Publications of the same larger anarchist leaning formation, such as *Fuck You: A Magazine of the Arts*, published by Ed Sanders—which had produced the broadside with the ritual for levitating and exorcising the Pentagon in 1967—or Paul Krassner's *The Realist*—which, like *OZ*, published the Diggers' and Yippies' manifestos and calls for action—were almost drab in comparison to *OZ*. Day-Glo, eye-searing colors and arresting photo collages created a publication radical in both content and composition. This was a magazine to smoke dope to—its aesthetic almost demanding an altered consciousness.

Special issue number 5, published in July 1967 and titled "The Truth about the Great Alf Conspiracy/Plant a Flower Child," embodied early

OZ at its best. Although they had only recently arrived in truly hip underground London, having moved there because they had read a sensationalist piece on hip culture, Neville and Sharp published a parody piece mocking exactly the kind of pop puff article that had drawn them to London. "The Truth about the Great Alf Conspiracy" flipped the standard script of moral panic reporting. It described—in the selfsame moralizing language usually directed at marginalized subcultures—the most horrifying phenomenon in the world: people going to work. The mundane everyday activities of workaday commuter life were defamiliarized.[20] They were also pathologized and alienated, by coopting the exact same language and othering gaze usually deployed toward hippies and other marginalized people. It was an adroit piece of satire that poked sly fun at mainstream society, demonstrating the arbitrariness of norms and social conventions while simultaneously making an implicit argument through cultural production.[21]

"The Truth about the Great Alf Conspiracy" disparaged those who uncritically, and unconsciously, performed social roles. "Plant a Flower Child" posited by artistic counterpoint the image of a 'natural' naked flower child, startlingly colorful in saturated royal purple in contrast to the organization man in his gray flannel suit. The piece was also a subtle critique of those who would uncritically embrace a mass media phenomena. "The Truth about the Great Alf Conspiracy" critiqued those who unconsciously chased the latest fade as participants and any attempt to commodify an emerging subculture.

The graphic design of *OZ* created a breathtaking transformation of texts. Sharp's art had the effect of "Carving deep blue ripples in the tissues of your mind," to borrow his own lyric from "Tales of Brave Ulysses."[22] In sharp white type on a psychedelically rich purple background, an unattributed review of Regis DeBray's *Revolution in the Revolution* made a distinct, if implied, aesthetic argument.[23] It echoed the color choices of "Plant a Flower Child," and in doing so articulated a political argument culturally. Through color and composition, it positioned DeBray's *Revolution in the Revolution* as opposition to the oppression of everyday life. It drafted a radical text as a part of a countercultural project.

The transformation of radical reporter Warren Hinckle's "Social History of the Hippies," would be just as dramatic.[24] Hinckle's article represented a serious examination of what the mainstream media was

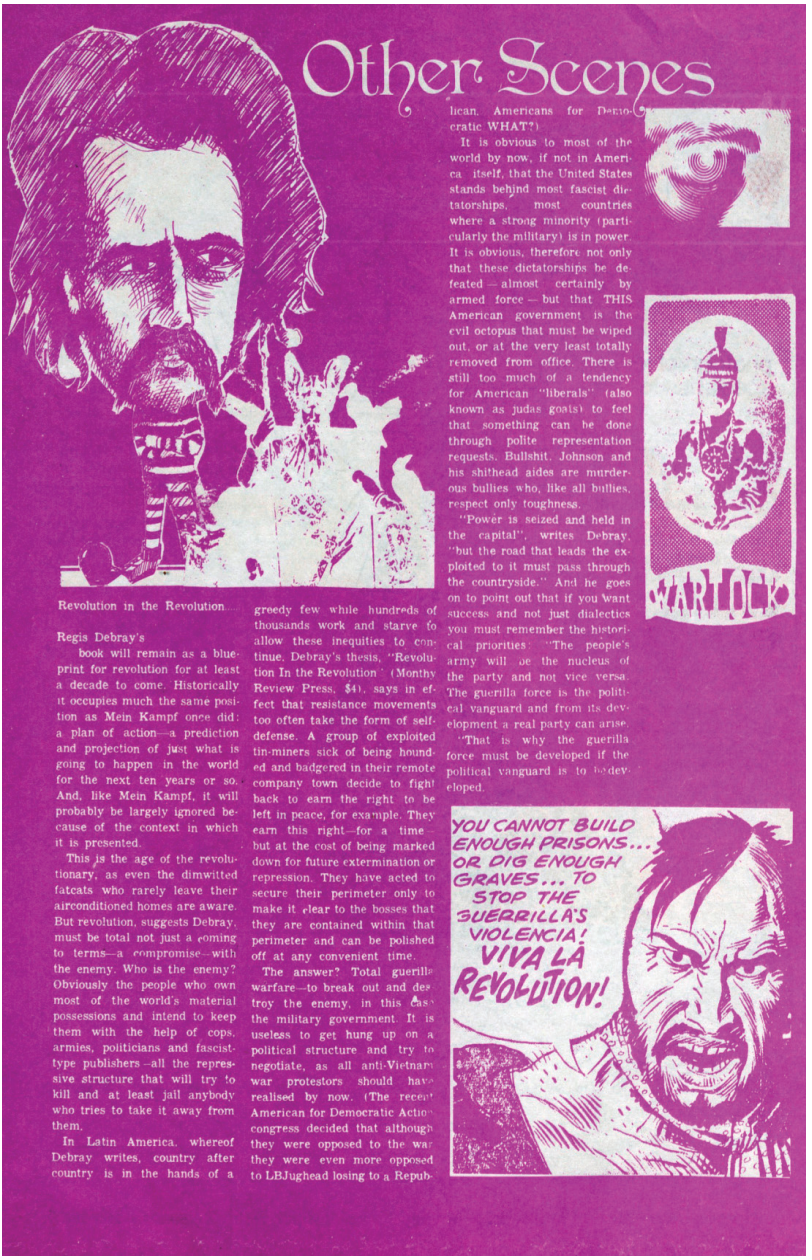

FIGURE 2 "Other Scenes" reviews Regis Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution* in OZ 8 (January 1968): 40.

attempting to trivialize. "A Social History of the Hippies" took a cultural formation and participants in an aesthetic moment and treated them as political actors. As "Will the Real Frodo Baggins Please Stand Up?" Hinckle's reporting transmitted a script for acting out.

Blueprint for a Beautiful Community

> There's no doubt England is on the verge of its most exciting cultural revolution for many years. Everything is starting to come together: an exciting winter is coming up. Many more of America's social and cultural guerillas have had their effect.[25]
>
> —JOHN WILCOCK

Reporter Warren Hinckle's "Social History of the Hippies" article from the March 1967 issue for *Ramparts*, an influential American Radical Magazine, ran in issue 3 of *OZ*.[26] Hinckle's original reporting followed a series of moral panic articles that treated the Haight scene as a trivialized youth craze. In describing the emerging scene—the Grateful Dead, the lightshows, the drugs, the threat of capitalistic reappropriation and commodification—Hinckle insisted that it be understood in political terms.

The article pointed to something real in what had been dismissed as a pop culture fad. While the commodifying gaze of capital was turned on youth culture and focused on turning rebellion into money, Hinckle's piece documented the pressures to transform, coopt, and commodify an authentic community into "plastic hippies," but it also presented the opposition to that cooption, its counter movement contained immanently within it, and the struggle to resist those forces.

Hinckle's piece included the denizens of Haight-Ashbury talking back to that privileged gaze of power. It contained a scheme for turning around the script in a play for power and control in hip communities. He was wrestling with what—if any—political valence of the counterculture served as inspiration to British hippies and, via the peculiar movements of cultural artifacts, returned the name and methods of enaction of the Diggers to the United Kingdom.

Ramparts' "Social History of the Hippies" profiled the group of actors-turned-Anarchist-activists who called themselves the Diggers, a group based in Haight-Ashbury who had arisen in response to the media-

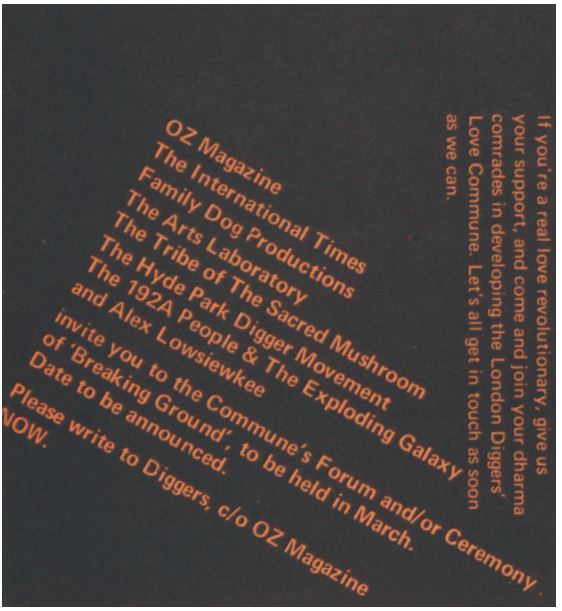

FIGURE 3

An invocation to readers, "Please write to Diggers," in OZ 9 (February 1968): 8.

created influx of young people chasing the Summer of Love. The title authoritatively claimed a seriousness for the subject and, by asserting the hippies as worthy of a social history, placed them within a wider American Radical history. Hinckle declared the importance of the moment others had trivialized and posited Emmett Grogan and the Diggers as heroes.[27] It treated the "weird dancing and light shows"—as reader John Whiteman phrased it in a letter to the *OZ* editors—not as a distraction from politics but as an important front of radical struggle.[28]

The San Francisco Diggers took their name from 17th Century English Radicals. Those original Diggers, in response to the enclosure of the Commons, seized lands of the aristocracy as "a common treasury for all" and farmed it for mutual aid. The activists of San Francisco provided free food to the daily onslaught of incoming hippies in the panhandle of Golden Gate park and set up free stores with supplies of the repurposed waste of consumerism, and built free crash pads and free clinics—all based in an Anarchist philosophy of a post-scarcity world.

They acted as if the revolution was already over and they had won. Emmett Grogan, Peter Coyote, and Peter Berg—the most famous members of the Diggers—drew upon their training as actors and developed

new and effective modes of political engagement based in resistance to hegemonic power on the level of individual performance—urging hippies to give up their unconscious following of prescribed social roles and become revolutionary life actors. Their major actions, including the Free Stores and Free Clinics, Marches for "The Death of 'Hippie'" and "Death of Money," received significant press attention within the moment. Although the Diggers are less well-known today, their splinter group the Yippies (originally known as the New York Diggers) are better remembered.

Running Hinckle's article in Britain changed the piece's meaning. As with "Will the Real Frodo Baggins Please Stand Up?," the article appeared to be a recommendation of the Diggers' radical political claim upon the nascent youth culture. Because Hinkle's work was unattributed to the American Radical magazine *Ramparts*, the piece appeared as an endorsement of Emmett Grogan himself as champion of the politics of a countercultural formation. *OZ*'s intimacy with the cream of hip London society provided important social cache to their endorsement of the Diggers within Britain. Ultimately, Hinckle's piece of reportage for *Ramparts* functioned as an explicitly political manifesto reprinted by *OZ* and reinterpreted in a transatlantic context.

One of the founders of *The Village Voice*, a longtime US resident and onetime participant in psychedelic researcher Timothy Leary's psilocybin experiments, British publisher John Wilcock, would call for a London Diggers to come into being.[29] His article for the October 1967 issue of *OZ*, "Blueprint for a Beautiful Community," would pull no punches as an enthusiastic endorsement of the Diggers.[30] Wilcock celebrated them as models, as an authentic community response posited in opposition to the plastic and inauthentic attempt to commercialize "the love revolution." His endorsement articulated an anarchic oppositional politics. It was a politics existing within a transnational counterculture, and a testament to the transnational impact of a small neighborhood group in the age of mass media. Local members of the emerging London counterculture would take up their tools, techniques, and name to found the Diggers in Hyde Park, London.

This reframing and rebroadcasting, this transatlantic circulation of radical techne through psychedelic popular culture, was significant. Using theatrical techniques dramatically expanded the repertoire

of radical social protest. The London Diggers would demonstrate the transnational presence, and international importance, of a radical Avant Garde oppositional culture. Issue 9, in 1968, announced the founding of the London Diggers, and *OZ* itself would move from covering the Diggers to identifying itself as a part of the Digger movement.[31]

The Hyde Park Diggers organized squats and crash pads, free food and free stores, as well as political and cultural forums.[32] Most importantly, they fought against the recuperation of Hippie culture.[33] They maintained a countermovement against the cooption and commodification of their alternative and occasionally insurgent subculture. In this project, they echoed their namesake's struggle against agricultural enclosure, digging in to fight the enclosure by consumerism of a cultural Commons of rebellion. The Diggers served as an entry point for radical history's return and an introduction to the concepts of post-scarcity economics.

A Common Treasury for All

> If you're a love revolutionary, give us your support, and come and join your dharma comrades in developing the London Diggers' Love Commune.[34]
>
> — ALEX LOWSIEWKEE

Collectively, *OZ* and the Diggers were a transnational formation in that they constituted groups that moved easily across borders, but much more importantly in their conception of themselves. Countercultural groups did not think of themselves as national outposts of an international organization. Rather, they thought of themselves as a collective with local constituents, part of an informal network to whom borders were of limited consequence. Their culture crossed borders on airwaves, shared cultures in common, and imagined communities of shared experience. International borders can obscure the true impact and import of these transnational formations. To look at *OZ* only within England, or to examine the Diggers only within the United States, is to miss many of their most meaningful aspects.

In the United States, the name "diggers" was drawn from a general Anglophone radical history. It was a part of an unearthing and redeployment of a nearly forgotten radical past as a "common treasury

for all." The use of the name was a part of reclaiming and rediscovering a long, and partially lost, history of radicalism.

Radical history and folk memory had preserved and transmitted the techne of occupation and redistribution through the cultural repository of folk music and performance. These cultural legacies had survived as a reservoir for oppositional strategies. The simple strategies and attitudes captured in stories and song, and often just the names of radical groups themselves, were enough of a spark on which to build a fire of activity. These historical allusions invoked a radical history while remaining thoroughly of the moment.

The historical Diggers' premodernism and agricultural collectivism were a part of the antimodernist impulse of the folk revival and counterculture. It was an antimodernism that, as historian Rachel Rubin has argued, was inherently *postmodern*, not *antemodern*.[35] Positioning oneself as looking backward isn't actually a return to the past, which is impossible, but rather is always of its contemporary moment. This act of claiming antemodernism is a rhetorical strategy and an act of discursive framing. Positing oneself as against modernism, or celebrating a past as a model of the future, is certainly an act of anti-modernism, but never outside of the discourse of which it is a part. This is an act of postmodernism. There cannot ever truly be a return to a supposed *before*. All such rhetorical claims are firmly located in their present. There is no "pure" past to return to. Celebrating a historical period in the contemporary moment was a strategic political choice. However, the name could not escape the weight of those dual legacies of the frontier and the plantation.

"Digger" carried valences of that peculiar and particular all-American mix that attempts its own elision while being continuously haunted by histories of eradication and enslavement. Hippie style was initially know within the United States for its reuse of the second-hand clothes, largely Edwardian, mixed with the styles of the American West—revivals of both cowboy clothing and appropriations of Native American style. This appropriation extended to concepts and even names.[36] "Digger" had been a pejorative term for Bay Area Native Americans—so poor as to subside on digging clams—since at least the 1849 gold rush and continuing on into the twentieth century. These valences would not have been too well known to the new arrivals in San Francisco, but would have been present

to longer-term residents. "Digger" too would carry another haunting legacy constitutive to the American myth—the semiotic valences of the plantation.

By the mid-Sixties, the Civil Rights movement had made the naive cultural appropriation of African-American cultural signifiers more politically complex—it had by no means ended the practice. Sartorially, hippie-style in the US turned from the wholesale emulation of black hip style to a wider international palate. The black turtlenecks, black shades and berets that characterized the caricature of beat style were now famously the uniform of the Black Panthers. However, linguistically and culturally, Black America remained the primary object of what historian Eric Lott has termed "love and theft."[37] The phrase "You dig, man?" that characterizes a certain stoned hippie vernacular came straight from hip, black America.

American youth largely ignorant of British radical history would have to take publications like *Ramparts*' word for its valences beyond those of the frontier and the planation. In Britain, the name carried more specific weight as an historical reference than in America. It was, importantly to the readership of *OZ* and the hippie community of London, from the radical folk history of Britain. The reclaiming of British radical history (by way of a group of actors and activists from Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco) demonstrates the peculiar, and powerful, transatlantic circulations of radical politics through the vehicle of pop culture. While serious academic historical texts, such as E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the Working Class*, were winning accolades, it was through popular culture, a psychedelic magazine, and folk songs that the general public learned their radical roots.

Nowhere in *OZ* does any recognition of the Australian valences of "digger" appear. Despite the magazine drawing heavily on Australian talent for staff (with Neville and Sharp in editorial and graphic design roles but also with feminist author Germaine Greer writing under the pseudonym "Dr. G") nowhere in the text is there any invocation of the specific Australian meaning of the word *diggers*. The *OZ* staff could not have missed that the word carried this connotation. However, reusing it as an anarchist rallying cry could only have pleased them. From all other textual evidence, we can tell *OZ* enjoyed engaging in what the

Situationists termed détournement—the art of stealing slogans back for radical reuse.

"The modern diggers are the dharma descendants of the Diggers who tilled common land and practised sharing in the England of 1649," writer and Hyde Park Digger Alex Lowsiewkee reminded *OZ* #9 readers in the February 1968 issue. He characterized their mission as an attempt "to 'lay the Foundation of making the Earth a Common Treasury for All' and to create a new society in which all would 'as one man, working together, and feeding together … not Lording over another, but all looking upon each other, as equals.'"[38] While this appropriation of the name and history had resonated in the American context, in the U.S. it had been understood most powerfully through acts of redistribution, such as the free stores and free food of Haight-Ashbury and its imitators. Both in Britain and in the pages of *OZ*, it was acts of appropriation, such as the seizing of common land and sharing of common resources, that resonated most profoundly.

Lowsiekee then transitioned from the historical meanings of the name to its contemporary importance. "But without reference to any historical affiliation," he argues, "the term 'digger' may simply be defined in the present day revolutionary context as 'a person sharing and *acts* on his understanding.'"[39] These two elements, the free appropriation of private land to return it to communal use and the emphasis on *acts*, were both significant in understanding the distinct political identity of the Diggers.

Unfortunately, US-based groups and British Diggers remained loosely affiliated and uncoordinated. A Christmas 1968 meeting between Neville and Digger founders Peter Coyote and Emmett Grogan was a disaster, since Neville failed to realize that his heroes weren't just Hell's Angels on tour with the Grateful Dead. They were spouting anarchist post-scarcity philosophy but also very taken with the recently legalized British medical heroin. It was one of the great missed opportunities of the late Sixties.

As anarchists, the members of the Diggersbe they Diggers of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury or London's Hyde Park—had little use for nations or their international boundaries. This was, however, a conclusion they had come to culturally before they came to it politically. As members of an oppositional subculture, they shared a culture that crossed borders and produced a different sort of imagined community—a

community of bonds of sociality based on common experience, common aesthetic taste, and common affective relationships. Their cultural artifacts—pop songs and performances of self—created a political consciousness. Before they could become Diggers they were Hippies. And in being Hippies they found a new consciousness.

This essay began with John Whiteman's letter to the editor disparaging the lack of manifestos produced by Flower Power groups. At the very least, this essay shows that amongst the psychedelic aesthetic there was deeply serious political work taking place. There *were* manifestos. Their Day-Glo colors have obscured their political content and lost them to the false divide between cultural and political formations imposed by an earlier generation of Sixties scholarship.

National borders and a focus on traditional politics produce a lacunae, a blind spot, obscuring connections that fail to fit within preconceived notions. The true impact of insurgent movements like those of the Diggers can only be appreciated and understood within their own terms and beyond the unnecessarily limiting boundaries—both national and disciplinary—within which we find ourselves constrained.

Historian John McMillian reminds us that "the movement" of the Sixties and Seventies is best understood as a "constellation of social protest activity," and it is within this framework that I have positioned *OZ* and the anarchist activists of their cultural and political formation.[40] Cultural artifacts like pop songs and underground magazines give us a sense of the affective register of the moment, a feeling for the zeitgeist of rebellion, and a way to understand the substantive meaning of sentiments like "there was revolution in the air."

Ultimately, I see in *OZ* the effects of a cultural terrain of struggle—a moment in which an insurgent radical culture was under a siege of recuperation and appropriation, at risk for authentic oppositional communities to be consumed and repackaged as safe, placating consumer goods. *OZ* reminds us that these forces also carry within them their opposition and countermovement. Popular culture can function as a reservoir of radical traditions and as a vector for reimaginings and future solidarities.

NOTES

1. John Whiteman, "Letter to the Editor," *OZ* (June 1967): 2, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

2. "Digger" in this context has dramatically different valences within American, British, and especially Australian contexts—it's polysemic meanings are explored later in this essay.

3. Peculiar mode of emphasis in original. Thanks to Denis Dworkin for tracking down this essay: Stuart Hall, "The Hippies: An American 'Moment'" (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies: University of Birmingham Press, 1968), 21.

4. Ibid., 2. Emphasis and peculiar mode of emphasis in original.

5. "Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

6. Nick Bromell, Nick, *Tomorrow Never Knows: Rock and Psychedelics in the 1960s* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002).

7. Bob Dylan, *Blood on the Tracks*, LP (New York: Columbia, 1975).

8. Neville met Bruce while trying, unsuccessfully, to find him stages to perform on as his Australian gigs were being canceled and censored. Richard Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake: The Dreams, the Trips, the Trials, the Love-Ins, the Screw Ups ... the Sixties* (Port Melburne, Victoria, Australia: William Heinemann Australia, 1995), 21–22.

9. Both Thompson and Wainright's relationship to the subject they covered is fascinatingly complex as they themselves would become as imbricated in the formation they were covering as Gibson was himself. Hunter S. Thompson, "The 'Hashbury' Is the Capital of the Hippies," *The New York Times Magazine*, May 14, 1967. SM14, Loudon Wainwright, "The View From Here: The Strange New Love Land of the Hippies," *Life*, March 31, 1967, 14–15. Toronto's Yorkville: Hippie Haven," *CBC Newsmagazine* (Canada: CBC, September 4, 1967), http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/society/youth/hippie-society-the-youth-rebellion/yorkville-hippie-haven.html.

10. "Tales of Brave Ulysses," lyrics by Martin Sharp, music by Eric Clapton. Cream, *Strange Brew/Tales of Brave Ulysses*, Single, 1967.

11. Nearly a decade later Neville and Sharpe would triumph over British censorship after a prolonged and expensive trial defending *OZ* issue 28 *Schoolkids*. Richard Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake: The Dreams, the Trips, the Trials, the Love-Ins, the Screw Ups ... the Sixties*, 350–351.

12. "London: The Swinging City Great Britain: You Can Walk Across It On the Grass," *Time*, April 15, 1966, http://content.time.com/time/magazine/0,9263,7601660415,00.html.

13. John Savage, *Teenage: The Prehistory of Youth Culture: 1875–1945*, Reprint Edition (New York: Penguin Books, 2008).

14. "London: The Swinging City Great Britain: You Can Walk Across It On the Grass."

15. Neville noted to his father in a letter home that the early issues of the London *OZ* were seized at Australian customs and not allowed to enter the country (Neville, Richard, "23/June/67 Dear Dad" (Letter, London, June 23, 1967), Richard Neville Papers, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.).

16. Richard Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake: The Dreams, the Trips, the Trials, the Love-Ins, the Screw Ups … the Sixties*, 56.

17. Richard Neville, "The Youth of Singapore: RICHARD NEVILLE and Cartoonist MARTIN SHARP Are on a World Tour, Hitch-Hiker Style," *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 14, 1966., Neville, Richard, "Hiking through Thailand," *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 27, 1966.

18. "Tales of Brave Ulysses" lyrics by Martin Sharp, music by Eric Clapton. Cream, *Strange Brew/Tales of Brave Ulysses*.

19. Neville wrote to his then ex-girlfriend Louise Ferrier that "both had read and loved the latest *OZ*," Richard Neville, "Air Mail Letter May 1967 to Louise Ferrier in New South Wales," May 1967, Richard Neville Papers. General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

20. An act of defamiliarization perhaps inspired by the often defamiliarizing effects of LSD. The b-side to the fold out issue is "Plant a Flower Child," an arresting neon purple photocollage of a topless flower child—assembled from a photo shoot during which Martin Sharp dosed Richard Neville with acid for the first time. Richard Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake: The Dreams, the Trips, the Trials, the Love-Ins, the Screw Ups… the Sixties*, 85–88.

21. "Plant a Flower Child/The Truth about the Great Alf Conspiracy," *OZ* (July 1967): 1–2.

22. Cream, *Strange Brew/Tales of Brave Ulysses*.

23. Unattributed, "Review The Revolution in the Revolution Regis DeBray," *OZ 8* (January 1968): 40.

24. Warren Hinkle, "Social History of the Hippies," *Ramparts* (March 1967); Warren Hinkle, "Will the Real Frodo Baggins Please Stand Up?," *OZ* (April 1967).

25. John Wilcock, "Blueprint for a Beautiful Community," *OZ* (October 1967): 28, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

26. Warren Hinkle, "Social History of the Hippies"; Warren Hinkle, "Will the Real Frodo Baggins Please Stand Up?."

27. Hinckle's piece resonated within explicitly political organizations, inspiring Paul Jacobs's glowing recommendation of the Diggers and their techniques and tactics in "A New Kind of Revolution?" See Paul Jacobs, "A New Kind of Revolution?," *Liberation* (May 1967): 46.

28. John Whiteman, "Letter to the Editor," 2.

29. Wilcock recognized Neville as a kindred spirit of the underground. The two would remain lifelong friends. John Wilcock, Interview by author. Ojai, CA, September 24, 2016; and John Wilcock, "Report on First Taking Psilocybin" (New York, NY, July 1961), Box 42, File 42.4, John Wilcock 1961 file, Timothy Leary Papers; John Wilcock, "The Village Square by John Wilcock 'A Visit to Other Worlds (II)'" (Article Draft, New York, NY, August 3, 1961), Box 42, File 42.4, John Wilcock 1961 file, Timothy Leary Papers; Ethan Persoff and Scott Marshall, "John Wilcock: Participating in the Harvard Psilocybin Project," *Boing Boing*, November 21, 2013, http://boingboing.net/2013/11/21/john-wilcock-participating-in.html.

30. John Wilcock, "Blueprint for a Beautiful Community," 28.

31. Ibid., 28.

32. "If You're a Love Revolutionary, Give Us Your Support, and Come and Join Your Dharma Comrades in Developing the London Diggers' Love Commune. Let's

Get in Touch as Soon as We Can" *OZ 9* (February 1968): 8, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

33. Recuperation in the Situationist sense of the word—radical critique stripped of its challenge and safely commodified.

34. "If You're a Love Revolutionary, Give Us Your Support, and Come and Join Your Dharma Comrades in Developing the London Diggers' Love Commune. Let's Get in Touch as Soon as We Can."

35. Rachel Lee Ruben, *Well Met: Renaissance Faires and the American Counterculture* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 34–35.

36. Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 154–180.

37. Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, 20th Anniversary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

38. Ellipses are stylistic in the original and not an elision in summary. British English spelling is also original to the text. See Alex Lowsiewkee, "The Digger Thing Is Your Thing … If You Are Really … Turned On!," *OZ 9* (February 1968), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; "If You're a Love Revolutionary, Give Us Your Support, and Come and Join Your Dharma Comrades in Developing the London Diggers' Love Commune. Let's Get in Touch as Soon as We Can," *OZ 9* (February 1968): 8–9, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

39. Lowsiewkee, "The Digger Thing Is Your Thing … If You Are Really … Turned On!," 7.

40. John Campbell McMillian, "You Didn't Have to Be There: Revisiting the New Left Consensus," in *The New Left Revisited*, ed. John McMillian and Paul Buhle (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2003), 6.