

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

SPATIAL EMPOWERMENT AND THE LOS ANGELES COUNTERCULTURE, 1965 – 1967
THE SEARCH FOR HALLOWED GROUND IN THE CITY OF ANGELS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the degree of Master of Art in History

By

Andrew Ernest Ligeti

December 2012

The Thesis for Andrew Ernest Ligeti is approved:

Professor Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens Ph.D.

Date

Professor Thomas Devine Ph.D.

Date

Professor Josh Sides Ph.D., Chair

Date

California State University, Northridge

DEDICATION

I would like to foremost thank all the professors I have had while pursuing both my teaching credential and most recently my masters in the History Department at California State University at Northridge. In particular, I will fondly remember the late Dr. Jerry Prescott who stimulated my love for western history and Dr. Roger McGrath who continues to ride the waves of our state's past for any student fortunate enough to learn from him. More recently, I would like to extend my deepest respect and gratitude to Dr. Joyce Broussard whose passion for southern history exposed me to the courageous figures of Natchez Mississippi. With respect to my committee, I would like to thank Dr. Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens whose class on Latin American History of MacArthur Park set me upon the path to Spatial Empowerment theory. Her patience and support with my documentary project helped me realize another journey I may pursue. In addition, I am very much delighted to have had the insight and wisdom of Dr. Josh Sides, my thesis chair, whose enthusiasm for our region's history is contagious. He has provided me with much support and insight into Los Angeles lore that I will carry with me in my career. Finally, I'll always have a space in my historian's heart for Dr. Thomas Devine who with humor and his tireless approach to finding the essence for our craft will forever be a beacon for me in my professional pursuits.

I would also like to acknowledge the gracious sixties warriors who allowed me to interview them for this thesis. Art Sjoquist offered me another side to the Sunset Strip Riots as a police officer; Gordon Alexander, who became invaluable to me for his passionate activism while at UCLA during the period; and my dear friend Jon Sutherland who almost lost his job at Nike because he gave John Lennon a free pair of running shoes

along the Sunset Strip – will always be my rock/runner friend; and finally Dr. Richard Abcarian who was kind enough to relive some difficult and powerful memories for spatial empowerment. Finally, I would like to extend my deepest thanks to author Domenic Priore, who graciously allowed me to reprint some of his photos for this thesis.

For his unending support and wisdom, it is with the deepest love and respect that I acknowledge my father Charles Ligeti, who has always shown me that hard work and commitment to what you love pays off in the end. And finally, my beloved late mother Eva, who came home one day in 1964 and introduced my sister Jessica and me to John, Paul, George, and Ringo – her love for music will always be the light that shines on me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Signature Page	ii
Dedication	iii
List of Figures	vi
Abstract	viii
Introduction TAMI's Opposition to RAND	1
Chapter 1 LA's Youth Culture and the Roots of Spatial Empowerment	7
Chapter 2 Art Kunkin's Freep	15
Chapter 3 Popular Music Shapes LA Youth Culture	29
Chapter 4 The Revolt on the Sunset Strip	44
Chapter 5 Summer of Love: Canyons, Be-ins and Communes	59
Conclusion	77
Epilogue	80
Bibliography	84

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1964 Timeline	5
Figure 2- <i>TAMI Show</i>	6
Figure 3-Artists Protest at LACMA	6
Figure 4-Santa Monica H.S. Teens	8
Figure 5-Female Teens on Sunset Strip	8
Figure 6- <i>LA Free Press</i> “Negroes Have Vetoed”	25
Figure 7- Art Kunkin	27
Figure 8-Bob Dylan and The Byrds	28
Figure 9- <i>The Big T.N.T Show</i>	28
Figure 10-1965 Timeline	29
Figure 11-Whiskey A Go-Go Promo	35
Figure 12-Arthur Lee of Love	40
Figure 13-Dancing at the Whiskey A Go-Go	43
Figure 14-Dancing at the Pandora’s Box	43
Figure 15-1966 Timeline	44
Figure 16-Buffalo Springfield in Laurel Canyon	56
Figure 17-Sunset Strip Riots: Pandora’s Box	58
Figure 18-Sunset Strip Riots: RTD Bus	58
Figure 19-1967 Timeline	59
Figure 20-Joni Mitchell, David Crosby and Eric Clapton in Laurel Canyon	66
Figure 21-Promo for Love-in film	76
Figure 22-Promo for Monterey International Pop Festival	76

Figure 23-Promo for Century City Anti-war Protest	82
Figure 24-Images from Century City Anti-war Protest	82
Figure 25-Lone Protestor and Police Phalanx on Avenue of the Stars	83
Figure 26-Jubilant Crowd at Griffith Park Love-in	83

ABSTRACT

SPATIAL EMPOWERMENT AND THE LOS ANGELES COUNTERCULTURE,
1965 – 1967

THE SEARCH FOR HALLOWED GROUND IN THE CITY OF ANGELS

By

Andrew Ernest Ligeti

Master of Art in History

A little more than a century before thousands of young adults faced off against helmeted riot officers on the Sunset Strip our sixteenth President delivered an address about freedom and sacrifice on hallowed ground he consecrated as a spatial haven for the fallen. Lincoln's powerful sentiment about the sacrament of space for a "New Birth of Freedom" was never more evident than during several weekends in November of 1966 when young adults valiantly defended their right to a strip of Los Angeles they called their own. The true measure of this thesis is to discover the value and meaning that space held for an emerging Los Angeles counterculture. The value of spatial zones to young adults during the mid-sixties is a compelling narrative that has fallen on deaf ears. Very little historical research, analysis, and meaning resonates in literature concerning Los Angeles counterculture as to spatial theory. Despite David McBride's earnest study of the cultural implications of the Los Angeles counterculture during this period, there is

virtually no research on spatial justice. It is with this purpose that I have dedicated to address the meaning space held for a growing confident Los Angeles counterculture during the musically charged years between 1965 and 1967.

In order to fully appreciate how space influenced young Angelenos, the research concentrated on several unique spatial zones where the counterculture flourished. In theory without a unified cause it would have been difficult for young adults to share meaning. Therefore, it fell upon the underground press to give a voice which penetrated to the heart of their emerging vibrant and often contentious ideology. Furthermore, it was through this research that the link between racial inequities in the black community began to resonate in the struggle for hippie space along the Sunset Strip. Coupled with the growing resentment against the Vietnam War – the underground press galvanized and empowered countless young Angelenos. In effect, the *Los Angeles Free Press* secured a space for young adults to further their bohemian cause during the mid-sixties.

Another powerful spatial zone that emerged to unify the LA counterculture were the hip rock clubs that brought performer and audience to new musical heights. Rock and roll took on more meaning for a vibrant LA youth community. The Beatles and Bob Dylan created a sound that cut to the heart of identity and cause for many caught under their dynamic influence. Moreover, LA clubs began to showcase a talented crop of local performers like The Byrds, Buffalo Springfield, and Love who changed the entire dimension of live performance for their fans along the Sunset Strip. The powerful synergy they created proved an undeniable formula for shared community and spatial empowerment. Yet, when established business interests saw their own bottom line threatened by the intrusion of bizarrely dressed long-haired rockers along the Sunset

Strip, curfew laws were enforced and spatial lines were drawn. The Sunset Strip Riots revealed how far young Angelenos would go to preserve their spatial relationships they cherished. The rapid growth in their collective identity to preserve and defend their musically bound zones was clear to all who witnessed the three weekends of strife along the Sunset Strip.

Finally, the research delved into the unique characteristics of local canyon bohemian communities which revitalized the young corps after being harassed by law enforcement and an establishment unwilling to understand them. This flourishing canyon lifestyle reinforced their natural inclination for free love and psychedelic pursuits through higher consciousness. However, through my research it was discovered that the ideals so sought for came at a dear price for many who became reckless and abusive with drugs and violent inclinations. Nevertheless, 1967 was a year of Be-ins, flower power and the sounds of *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*.

Of relevance to this project was an event that recently occurred in the land that was once our sworn enemy – Russia. An all female punk band named “Pussy Riot” were being harassed by local Moscow authorities for singing sacrilegious songs against the Russian Orthodox Church. A church the band believed was intent on suppressing Russian women’s rights. When the band infiltrated the revered Cathedral of Christ the Savior and played an impromptu gig several of the band members were arrested on charges of “hooliganism.” Facing years of imprisonment for merely appropriating the pulpit for rock rather than religion the story sent shockwaves across the world. The valiant young female rockers risked much just to play their guitars for spatial justice on sacred grounds they

saw as their rightful place to dissent. Spatial empowerment is a righteous entity, indeed, comrade.

Introduction

TAMI'S OPPOSITION TO RAND

The teenagers who packed the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium two blocks from the Pacific Ocean on October 28 and 29, 1964 witnessed a rock and roll spectacle. What may be the baptism of sixties rock for the LA youth culture, the “T.A.M.I. Show” (Teenage Awards Music International) was filmed for a later movie release. Hosted by the surf duo Jan and Dean, the concert included Chuck Berry pounding out his “Johnny B. Goode,” Motown stars Marvin Gaye and the Supremes, and British imports Rolling Stones. Not to be outdone, the most thrilling act was James Brown’s revivalist rendition of “Night Train” that brought the predominately white suburban teens to sheer ecstasy.¹

Earlier in February almost 74 million Americans saw the Beatles “Twist and Shout” on television.² Author Ken Levine recalled that Sunday evening’s historic show when he was a fourteen- year-old San Fernando Valley teen struck by their dazzling “electricity” and immediately sensed “that something big was happening – a national coming out party.” But it wasn’t their dynamic performance that impressed Levine, it was the shocking sight of the “shrieking and crying” girls “practically throwing their training bras onto the stage.”³ By October, the sheer power and excitement of rock’s new direction positively came out loud and clear along Santa Monica’s 2nd Street during “The T.A.M.I. Show.”

¹ Steve Binder, Director, “The T.A.M.I Show,” 2009. (Los Angeles: Bill Sargent Production), DVD. The *T.A.M.I Show* was filmed at the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium on October 28 and 29, 1964 and then released as a film two months later.

² The Beatles first television appearance prompted “50,000 requests for the 728 seats in the CBS studio theatre...a Nielson rating of 44.6...between 60 and 70 per cent of American homes – over 25 million.” So impressed by the ratings Sullivan immediately added two more shows featuring the Fab Four. Ian Inglis, Ed., Laurel Sercombe, *Performance and Popular Music*, “Ladies and gentlemen...’ The Beatles: *The Ed Sullivan Show*, CBS TV, February 9, 1964” (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 1.

³ Ken Levine, *The Me Generation by Me: Growing up in the Sixties*, (Published by author) 2012, 2.

The shrieks and wails emanating from the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium that late October weekend in 1964 fell on deaf ears directly across the street at the RAND Corporation. A little more than two months prior to the *T.A.M.I.* concert, Congress had passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution giving President Johnson authorization to commence sending ground troops to Vietnam. Originally responsible for analyzing probable nuclear war scenarios during the Cold War under Herman Kahn's MADD (Mutual Assured Destruction) ideology, by 1964, RAND was in the midst of planning strategies to win the hearts and minds of the South Vietnamese.⁴ The spatial proximity of the *T.A.M.I.* concert taking place in the shadow of the military's premier think tank was a poignant precursor as the war escalated and the region's counterculture emerged.

"WE DISSENT" - "STOP ESCALATION." These were the sentiments placed on a six-rung black ladder featured in a May edition of the *Los Angeles Free Press* in 1965.⁵ Designed by a coalition of local artists calling themselves the Artists Protests Committee, it included 174 signatures and a declaration to carry out continued protests against the growing American military force in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. The "ladder of escalation," as the group coined it, was part of a weekend campaign called "White Out" by the A.P.C. which included a mass march to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art that would attempt to stop traffic and lead another march around the symbol of

⁴ RAND was an independent "Research and Development" agency that primarily was contracted by the Pentagon to undertake "strategic thinking for weapons systems, procurement policies, and global strategy" for the US during the Cold War. Saul Freidman, "The RAND Corporation and our Policy Makers," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1963, 62. The growing tension between RAND and anti-war activism became more palpable as its clandestine operations were unearthed by local anti-war groups. When Pentagon officials discovered that A.P.C. member and former UCLA professor Irving Petlin received secret "intel" from a RAND informant named Roman Kolkowicz on technological warfare and population cleansing regarding Vietnam, he was accosted by LAPD's "Red Squad" at his friend's apartment two blocks from the RAND building adjacent to the Santa Monica Pier. The pier's carousel had been a central meeting place for A.P.C. marches to RAND. (Frascina, 34).

⁵ "We Dissent," *Los Angeles Free Press*, 2:20, May 14, 1965, 6-7.

military industrial (now Intelligence) complex: the RAND building in Santa Monica. On February 26, 1966 the artists dedicated a 150-foot Tower of Peace exhibit over looking the Sunset Strip.

The new rock and roll subcultures that emerged from the *T.A.M.I.* show and the Artists' Tower of Protest are examples of two Los Angeles sub cultures that challenged entrenched cultural stakeholders during the mid-sixties. In defiance of Cold War conservatism these groups sought to convey their identity, values, and purpose in places they appropriated. In particular, the younger generation of Los Angeles, estranged from their parents and disillusioned by their government needed to discover and ultimately define themselves in places they believed they belonged. These subcultures emerged in politically-estranged communities whose members sought legitimacy via their own spatial zones. By occupying such zones, members shaped their space for affirmation, affiliation, and collective meaning.

Due to the serendipitous circumstances that came about in 1964, young Angelenos were on a threshold of a cultural explosion.⁶ Beyond their music, dress, attitude, and long-hair were the unique Southern California places where they experienced their new awakening. These spatial zones like the Sunset Strip, canyons, and urban parks accommodated their dynamic community upon a cultural precipice where they emerged as a unique eminent Los Angeles community empowered to impact the greater society around them. For the purpose of this project, I contend that the counterculture that emerged in Los Angeles from 1965 to 1967 formed indelible strength from the parts of

⁶ Social events quickly shaped Los Angeles youth culture with respect to the musical revolution led by The Beatles and Bob Dylan. Campus unrest on California campuses due to the Free Speech Movement and later Vietnam protests and finally the influx of hallucinogenic drugs in the form of Marijuana and LSD influenced the behavior and ideology of the rising counterculture in Los Angeles.

the city they inhabited. This spatial empowerment emboldened them to believe that their communities were a profound legitimate reflection of their needs, values, and dreams.

According to social historian Edward Said the struggle over geography is a battle over ideas, forms and imaginings.⁷ For example, when young blacks challenged Jim Crow Laws in the Deep South by usurping “white only” lunch counters, movie theatres, and bus stations they became empowered by their fight for spatial justice. Similarly, the Berkeley Free Speech Movement became a broader struggle for student rights in October of 1964 and was another testament to spatial empowerment.

But, historians generally have not taken the power of space serious enough into a coherent academic apparatus concerning the counterculture. I believe this diminishes a thorough investigation into understanding how events unfolded and the influence of those actors who were engaged in them. In particular, examining the emerging counterculture in Los Angeles during the mid-sixties through the lens of spatial empowerment can offer a compelling narrative to advance our understanding of the era. I will further illustrate how the changes in popular music influenced group members within spatial forums on the Sunset Strip providing for both self-expression and political dissent. To this extent I have attempted to examine those unique regional events that took place during the mid-sixties which illuminated the interface between the young actors of Los Angeles and the spaces they appropriated for political dissent.

This thesis is divided into five chapters beginning with an overview of Los Angeles youth culture and an examination of spatial theory on group empowerment. Chapter 2 will examine the birth of Art Kunkin’s *Los Angeles Free Press* and how it shaped an emerging Los Angeles counterculture with an emphasis on racial inequities and youth

⁷ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, as cited by Edward Soja in *Seeking Spatial Justice* (2010), 1.

identity. The significance of popular music is discussed in Chapter 3 as it changed from its doldrums of the early sixties to shaping the social fabric of the Sunset Strip scene by 1965. Chapter 4 will detail how this musical revolution resonated throughout the boulevard with a vibrant youth culture which led to a struggle over that space during the Sunset Strip Riots. Finally, Chapter 5 presents the development of Be-ins, micro-youth communities in the region's canyons, and the commune experience during 1967.

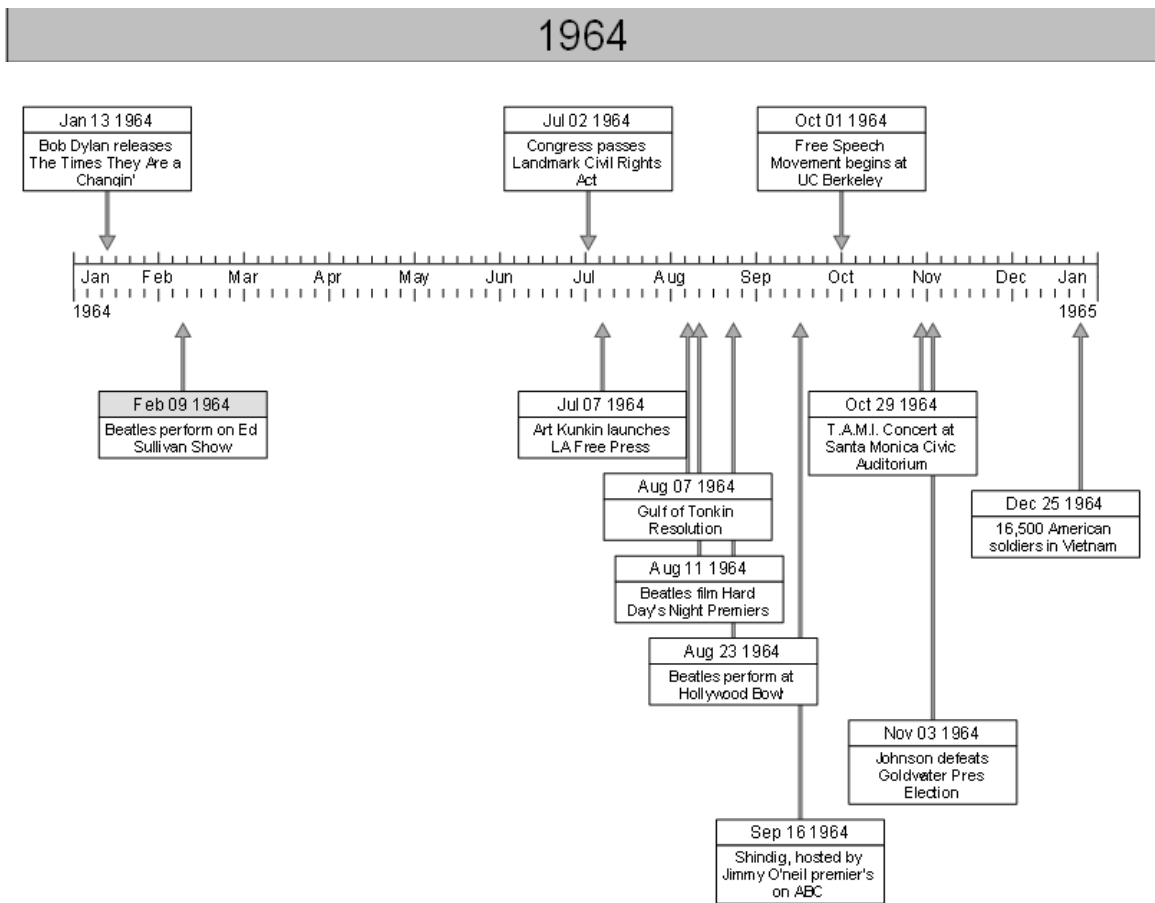


Figure 1



Figure 2 Cups runneth' over at the *T.A.M.I Show* on October 29, 1964
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)



Figure 3 Artists protest Vietnam War in front of LACMA 1965
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

Chapter 1

LA's YOUTH CULTURE AND THE ROOTS OF SPATIAL EMPOWERMENT

Long time veteran KTLA News anchorman Hal Fishman began his broadcasts with “From the desert to the sea to all of Southern California, Good Evening.” A former political science professor and avid aviator, the veteran LA anchorman was very familiar with the region’s diverse topography and its social unrest. For instance, Fishman covered both the 1965 Watts Riots and the Rodney King Riots twenty-seven years later. Despite LA’s sprawling 469 square miles it has been the natural catch basin for immense urban and economic growth accompanied with its share of social strains.⁸ It is against the region’s vastness and within its natural elements that LA’s counterculture began to articulate their distinct community. The urban and natural setting of Los Angeles served as a formidable wellspring of dissent on local, state, national, and world issues as the metropolis grew. From the hundreds of artists who picketed RAND’s Santa Monica headquarters in 1965 to the thousands of young marchers who withstood a LAPD phalanx in Century City two years later – Los Angeles is where space and activism merged under a canopy of palm trees and the changing sound of rock and roll.

By 1964 Los Angeles had musically arrived to make an indelible imprint on youth culture. It’s where Brian Wilson’s “Surfer Girl” danced to Richie Valens’ “La Bamba” echoed by Phil Spector’s Wall of Sound. The same temperate climate and western panorama that lured men like Jack Warner and Walt Disney to conjure our imaginations also lent itself to becoming the new capital for popular music. By the mid-sixties

⁸ “City of Los Angeles,” United States Census Bureau, accessed on November 12, 2012, <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06/0644000.html>.

Hollywood's World Pacific and Gold Star recording studios produced more hits than Yankee Stadium.⁹



Figure 4 Teens converse at Santa Monica H.S. 6/18/67 (Photo courtesy of L.A. Central Library Photo Collection *Herald Examiner* Set)



Figure 5 Another side of LA teen culture on the Sunset Strip circa 1966 (Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

The early sixties LA youth culture of Kennedy's New Frontier that took over Van Nuys Boulevard for Wednesday night cruising, swept up the beaches of Malibu for surfing, congregated in school gyms for Friday night sock hops and settled into the back seats of convertibles for Saturday night drive-ins suddenly changed by 1965. As the sixties revved-up you could hear the melodic sounds carried by the Santa Ana winds through the canyons and the hills toward the Pacific. And, by the dawn of the Summer of Love in 1967, young hippies were tripping over to Griffith Park to celebrate their new found community in psychedelic soirées they appropriated. LA's physical landscape

⁹ The Byrds and The Doors used World Pacific studios; and located at 6252 Santa Monica Boulevard near the corner of Vine Street in Hollywood, Gold Star Recording Studios produced hits from Nat King Cole's "Route 66" (Santa Monica Blvd. is actually part of Route 66) to the Beach Boy's *Pet Sounds*. Phil Spector employed the studio's echo chambers to create his Wall of Sound hit records for artists like the Ronettes, Righteous Brothers and even John Lennon. See *Hal Blaine and the Wrecking Crew: The Story of the World's Most Recorded Musician*, (1990).

evoked a cultural birth of youth scenes filled by a bohemian spirit with a rock and roll attitude that affirmed a younger generation's place in Los Angeles society. Those places which LA's counterculture seized became spatial zones where they sought to empower their community with a special native familiarity fraught with California good-time music adeptly summed up by Ellen Sander in her book *Trip*:

A conceit set in. We were the ones, slim-hipped, slinky-eyed, [and] birth-controlled free. We had music and a uniform; we were saturated in generational splendor. We had created and consumed a contained context in which we could live and behave as we wanted – glowing with some kind of mysterious prescience we shared like a secret contract.¹⁰

Geography influences both political activism and cultural ascendancy according to urban scholar David Harvey in that actors shape their environment in what he terms “place making.”¹¹ The transformations of places into “spatial zones” are the effect of place, space, and environment to the behavior of those who occupy these spatial zones. Lastly, the degree to which activists influence their environment ultimately depends on the historical timing in which such activism takes place – and the relationship it has on opposing spatial zones. This was never more evident than when the Sunset Strip emerged as a hippie spatial zone while RAND planned Vietnam strategies and DOW Chemical recruited on college campuses.

A century before the hippies of Los Angeles danced to Strawberry Alarm Clock's *Incense and Peppermint* English philosopher John Stuart Mill stood before the House of Commons to oppose a bill that would regulate public debates in London's royal parks in

¹⁰ Ellen Sander, *Trips: Rock Life in the Sixties*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 73.

¹¹ David Harvey, “Spatial Justice Workshop,” Lecture at the Center for the Study of Democracy at University of Westminster, You Tube, accessed on November 12, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tnGtfSBMJrY>.

1867. In the wake of the Hyde Park Riots during which three days of disorder descended upon London after Parliament attempted to prevent the Reform League from using Royal Parks as forums for dissent Mill rose and declared that:

[M]an has a right to speak his mind, on politics or on any other subject, to those who would listen to him, when and where he will. He has not a right to force himself upon anyone; he has not a right to intrude upon private property; but wheresoever he has a right to be . . . he has a right to talk politics, to one, to fifty, or to 50,000. I stand up for the right of doing this in the parks.¹²

Mill did agree with those in the House of Commons who saw such massive gatherings as an ineffective means for delegable discourse, but argued in his 1867 speech that the right of dissent reveals the “public manifestation of the strength of those who are of a certain opinion.”¹³ For Mill such large demonstrations may sometimes become raucous and discomforting, but they are still a vital part of freedom of thought, expression, and reform.

The roots of democratic ideals on public space can be traced to the elevated rocky outcropping in ancient Greece called the Pnyx where Athenians practiced the earliest forms of “equal speech” they termed *isègoria*.¹⁴ The right of citizens to use spatial zones for dissent holds an undeniable importance in democracy and against authoritarian rule. As Western society emerged from feudalism into a commercial driven capitalist state a “public sphere” was created by the bourgeois middle class according to historian Jürgen Habermas. This “public sphere” or “body politic” served to represent and protect the economic mercantilists from absolutist rulers. Habermas then contends that the public

¹² K.C. O’Rourke, *John Stuart Mill and Freedom of Expression: The Genesis of a Theory*. (Taylor and Francis E Library, 2003), accessed electronically on October 2, 2012 Google Books, 152.

¹³ O’Rourke, 152.

¹⁴ “Pnyx,” Wikipedia, accessed electronically on October 12, 2012, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pnyx>.

sphere evolved into an indispensable forum for citizens to rationally discuss problems between the state and public welfare in an atmosphere free of restrictions.¹⁵

This relationship between space and discourse has become a focus of recent scholarship. Author David Allen refers to this as a Spatial Framework defined as "the space within which that expression is performed, and the regulatory structure that is imposed on both that expression and space."¹⁶ The sanctity of self-expression is dependent upon the right to public spaces where ideas even contrary to our beliefs can be shared. Urban scholar John Parkinson suggests democracy can be threatened if public space is restricted against openness for large gatherings by city planners. He contends that the virtues of democratic performance are promoted by protecting the spatial arrangements of our sense of "We" so that our notion "Of the People and by the People" will be ensured.¹⁷

In shaping his groundbreaking research into spatial justice, UCLA urban geographer Edward Soja's *Postmodern Geographies* envisions the social landscape as occupying an active synergy between historical time and present spatial zones. Soja sees human geography as comprised of heterogeneous spatial relations where "[people] live inside a set of relations to [established] sites which are [indispensable] to one another and cannot be imposed upon."¹⁸ Spatial networks provide a medium for meaningful relations to form

¹⁵ Peter Hohendahl and Patricia Russian, "Jürgen Habermas: The Public Sphere," (1964), *New German Critique*, No. 3, (Autumn, 1974) 48-49, accessed on November 18, 2012 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/487736>.

¹⁶ David S. Allen, "From Parks to Free Speech Zones: Spatial Frameworks and the Regulation of American Dissent in Public Space," (MS Thesis, University Wisconsin at Milwaukee, June 2011), 5.

¹⁷ John R. Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012), 2, 3.

¹⁸ Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. (London: Verso Publishing, 1989), 17.

and foster in what many urban scholars have termed “spatial justice.”¹⁹ Proponents of spatial justice believe that citizens have a “right to their city” for self-expression, socialization, and dissent that is distinct from property rights. The popular struggle to realize the use of public spaces for such rights often times face restrictions from conservatism and local authorities who view spatial self-expression as threatening.

Such concerns as rights to private property, threats to public safety and mob rule continue to challenge public forums for dissent. Dissent in itself may not benefit society according to Cass Sunstein who defines it as the rejection of views most people hold whether they are expressed by Hitler or Mandela. However, it is the very nature of democracies in allowing for scrutiny and dissent that helped defeat fascism.²⁰ As urban scholar Don Mitchell asserts, the idea of public space has never been guaranteed, [but] has only been won through concerted struggle.”²¹ Furthermore, this struggle for self-expression and discourse within spatial networks “is the only way the right to public space can be maintained and that social justice can be advanced.”²² Only through direct activism to inhabit spatial networks do they become public spheres for group empowerment, effectually eliciting a synergy between participatory members and the space they occupy. For the purpose of this study, this effect is referred to as “spatial empowerment.”²³

¹⁹ See Edward Soja’s *Seeking Spatial Justice* in which he sees a connection “between seeking spatial justice and the struggles over the rights of the city.” Edward Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 2010, 27.

²⁰ Cass Sunstein, *Why Societies Need Dissent*, (Boston: First Harvard University Press, 2005), 7.

²¹ Don Mitchell, *Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, (New York: Guilford Press, 2003), 7.

²² Mitchell, 5.

²³ See Jeffrey Hou’s *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities* (2010) for an in-depth analysis of how recent events like the Occupy Movement and the Egypt Spring have used insurgent spatial practices to challenge our conventional ideas of how public spaces are used for dissent.

In her study of Los Angeles' MacArthur Park, Elana Zilberg noted how the primarily Central American MacArthur Park community transcends the ongoing contested nature of urban space within Los Angeles inner city neighborhoods. They've struggled with the primarily white dominated Los Angeles infrastructure to assert their right to the park. By their intimate connection to reside and use the park in their lives, the Central American community has staked their claim to the public sphere of MacArthur Park. Those who use the park become "guardians of public space" – they appropriate the space and in doing so negotiate control with other agencies. These empowered human agencies produce spatial networks that, in the case of our democratic society, discover their locus of power.²⁴ During the mid-sixties young Angelenos began to discover their relationship to the places where they congregated to express themselves against the tides of a conservative establishment and in the process emerged as vibrant community within the vast Los Angeles society.

However, argues Jürgen Habermas, the struggle to retain a mechanism for public discussion within a direct democratically driven system where an activist public sphere is needed has been compromised by the effects of urban sprawl.²⁵ The once cherished arena for public discourse had been vanquished by suburbanites' fixation for television and commercial appetites. For Habermas, the public sphere had become marginalized by the very liberty that gave rise to it. This may explain why young Angelenos fled their safe suburban homes to seek out spatial relations where they could best express their views under a united melodic banner; and also how their independent spirit became abused later

²⁴ Elana Jean Zilberg, "From Riots to Rampart: A Spatial Cultural Politics of Salvadoran Migration to and from Los Angeles," (PhD. Diss. University at Austin, 2002), 4.

²⁵ Hohendahl and Russian, 48-49.

in the decade when drugs and radicalism eroded their notable goals of peace, love and fraternity.

The preservation of egalitarian principles is maintained by safeguarding access to social networks in public spaces. Authors Low, Taplin, and Scheld refer to this as “Social Sustainability” in which society preserves an inclusive system for cultural representatives of diversity.²⁶ They suggest that property rights can be extended to allow for cultural needs and those values inherent to them. Such cultural values contain shared meaning for self reflection that influences our choices and actions. The established forces in spaces such as Hollywood’s Sunset Strip became contested as an emerging youth subculture began to empower themselves during the mid-sixties. The Los Angeles counterculture claimed spatial networks to gain a foothold for their community’s values and needs. Furthermore, the synergy that flowed from spatial relations with young Angelenos empowered them to emerge as a viable group within the greater Los Angeles metropolis during the mid-sixties. The spatial empowerment of Los Angeles youth culture can be best understood by examining the unique forces that emerged to capture the dynamic changes which ultimately shaped their generation. One of the formidable means that the Los Angeles counterculture was able to share meaning was through the underground press.

²⁶Setha Low, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld, *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 5.

Chapter 2

ART KUNKIN'S FREEP

It was on May 1, 1865 at a former Charleston horse track where recently freed slaves celebrated their emancipation from centuries of bondage by building a cemetery and making the annual spring pilgrimage to place flowers for all who suffered during the siege of their city. Known as Decoration Day it would evolve into our national holiday Memorial Day to bind the nation's wounds through a ritual of remembrance and consecration; and hold a candle to those soldiers who gave all they were and will ever be to abolish the evils of slavery. Nearly a century later Los Angeles blacks were submitted to another form of racial discrimination while celebrating Memorial Day at Griffith Park in 1961.

During the midst of the Great Depression the city of San Diego bequeathed their 1926 Spillman carousel to Los Angeles which placed it on the eastern slopes of Griffith Park. It was rumored that Walt Disney's visits to the Merry Go Round inspired his vision for Disneyland. By 1960 the majestic carousel was a main draw for park visitors, who like Disney, brought their families to be entertained by the four rows of sixty-eight beautifully carved and jeweled galloping horses and two chariots.²⁷ Griffith Park's prized carousel had also become a popular destination for African American teenagers who traveled miles from their neglected communities just to enjoy the fresh open spaces of the park.

The 1960 Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations (LACCHR) study released in 1963 revealed that minorities (primarily African Americans) had been

²⁷ "History of Griffith Park Merry Go Round," Carousel News and Trader Web site, accessed on October 5, 2012. <http://www.carouselnews.com/January-2008/January-2008/Griffith-Park-Carousel-A-Piece-of-American-History.html>.

economically and socially excluded by Los Angeles officials. In particular, the Los Angeles County Black population was disproportionately represented outside of the inner city – an effect of segregated discriminatory subjugation. According to the study, despite a booming 45 percent increase in the county’s population between 1950 and 1960, only 21,000 black Angelenos out of 335,000 lived outside of the central district.²⁸ The study went further to deride the severe segregation in LA County that concentrated blacks into deprived inner city communities of dilapidated and run down rental housing. As noted by California historian Dr. Josh Sides Los Angeles officials relaxed zoning codes to allow for commercial industry plants to be built within African American communities in lieu of parks and other amenities that the suburbs in the San Fernando Valley enjoyed. Many young blacks had no other recourse but to travel outside their own communities for outdoor recreation.²⁹

On May 26, 1961 the nation’s attention was briefly diverted from the harrowing events unfolding between Freedom Riders and the racist beatings they were enduring in southern cities to a Memorial Day racial riot that took place at the Griffith Park Merry Go Round. As social historian Mike Davis noted the park “had an ugly history of racial exclusion which black youths had recently begun to challenge”³⁰ in the vicinity of the famed carousel. A few hundred LAPD officers were deployed around the carousel in response to what police chief William Parker alluded to as “a potential problem [in] that

²⁸ “Population and Housing in Los Angeles County: A Study in the Growth of Residential Segregation,” (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, 1963), LACCHRA, accessed on October 15, 2012.

²⁹ Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 113.

³⁰ Mike Davis, “Wild Streets: American Graffiti versus the Cold War,” *International Socialism*, Summer 2001, accessed electronically on October 8, 2012.
<http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/isj2/2001/isj2-091/davis.htm>.

part of the park [that] has been pre-empted by Negroes for the last year.”³¹ The initial spark was lit when carousel operator Ross Davis accused a seventeen year old black male of trying to board the ride without paying. When LAPD officers wrestled the teenager to the ground in front of thousands of other black holiday picnickers, the boy’s plight fueled a large-scale riot. According to Davis, the teenager ran from the officers as a crowd of angry blacks confronted officers. Outnumbered, one officer opened fire causing the teens to volley bottles, rocks and wield baseball bats toward the authorities.³² In the melee many black teenagers exclaimed “This is not Alabama.”³³

To Davis, local news coverage of the incident never hinted at the possible repressed anger from racial discrimination among black youths in Los Angeles. Even prior to the melee *The Los Angeles Herald Examiner* commented:

There is no segregation in the use of public facilities ... [and] there is no Negro group of comparable size anywhere in the world, including the continent of Africa, which has available and unopposed the opportunities of the half million colored citizens of this region.³⁴

The Los Angeles Times reflected the unsympathetic tone of the Hearst-owned *Examiner* by describing the “ugly mood” of the advancing “mob” that closed in on the “small group of policeman.”³⁵ According to Davis, Los Angeles blacks “began to fight spontaneously for substantive control over community space.”³⁶ The Griffith Park melee was not just a response to police brutality; it was emblematic of a dismissed and displaced racial group empowered by the space they appropriated at the carousel to engage in dissent over the

³¹ *Los Angeles Examiner*, May 8 and 9, 1961.

³² Davis.

³³ "75 Policemen Quell Riot in Griffith Park," *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1961, page 2, accessed on October 15, 2012.

³⁴ "Editorial," *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, May 1, 1961, accessed on October 15, 2012.

³⁵ *Los Angeles Times*, page 2.

³⁶ Davis.

neglect of their communities. The fermenting rage over social inequities, noted Davis, would resurface four years later in Watts where the echoes of the Memorial Day fracas at Griffith Park's celebrated carousel would make a resounding crash. If Los Angeles unrepentant newspapers would deliberately conceal the underpinnings of racial discrimination and a burgeoning youth culture, another side of Bob Dylan's mantra reflected by his song "Blowing in the Wind" would have to be revealed in the form of the Art Kunkin's *Los Angeles Free Press*.³⁷

Journalistic bravado sauntered into the 1964 Renaissance Pleasure Faire in the guise of Art Kunkin who would become the editor and publisher of the *LA Free Press*. Kunkin was a middle-aged New Yorker, and like many East Coast New Left refugees, was lured by the sunny southern California's liberal climate and was eager to stake his socialist claim on the "Left" Coast. While taking in the bohemian air amid the knights in white satin and damsels in their dress, in the hills of Agoura outside of LA, Kunkin peddled his first edition of the *Faire Free Press*. Hardly in LA for long, Kunkin soon formed strategic alliances with progressive public radio station KPFK and some Mexican-American radicals writing stories for their East LA paper. Selling only twelve hundred of the five thousand printed, his inauspicious debut contained the seeds for his landmark *Free Press* that would change Los Angeles journalism.

With only fifteen dollars of his own money and seven hundred from socialist friends Kunkin took advantage of cold-type innovations and off-set printing and to make the *Free Press* the most widely read underground paper across the US. It ultimately had a

³⁷ "Blowing in the Wind" (1963) was written by folk singer Bob Dylan to address the egregious denial of black segregation in the south by the "powers that be" of a white dominated American society. Dylan is already challenging young America with introspective questions in the song when he asks "How many roads must a man walk down...?" – A common theme in his prolific career.

readership that exceeded one hundred thousand by the close of the decade.³⁸ Its success was due in large part to Kunkin's insistence on hiring both established and new Avant-garde writers like Lawrence Lipton, science fiction author Harlan Ellison along with Terry Southern as well as local college "agitated" free lancers eager to sacrifice little pay for counter culture celebrity. This allowed the *Free Press* to remain true to its liberal vision. Finally, being centered in the musical heart of the Sunset Strip gave Kunkin the spatial immediacy required to recognize "happenings" even before they occurred.

By 1965, Art Kunkin was in the "right place at the right time" by reporting the "physical community [that] desir[ed] news and views about itself."³⁹ As an idealistic rebel with a radical agenda, Kunkin created a visual forum that both raised valid questions and reflected the dreams, fears, and spirit of the disenfranchised. However, what separated his *Free Press* from the other underground papers was its intimate relationship with the Sunset Strip community. The sights, sounds, and thoughts of the community's spatial consciousness were immediately reflected in the art, protests, investigative stories, film and book reviews and ads for its readers before the ink had dried.

As the Beatles' film *A Hard Day's Night* premiered in Hollywood theatres, Art Kunkin's first edition of the *Los Angeles Free Press* hit the Sunset Strip in July 1964. Author Lawrence Litpon's *Holy Barbarians* epitomized the beat roots of the seaside community. Having hung out in Venice coffee houses and poetry groups, Kunkin recognized the growing young audience waiting in the wings of Los Angeles. "I wanted a paper that would draw together all the diverse elements in the community, and that would

³⁸ McBride, 124.

³⁹ Abe Peck, *Uncovering the Sixties: Life and Times of the Underground Press*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 21.

be not only political, but cultural as well.”⁴⁰ The very nature of the Freep, as it became known, was in its sheer audacity to confront the status quo. The mundane conservatism of parents and teachers who preferred Pat Boone to Mick Jagger was brushed aside by the new vanguard by this new brash radical press. And, with Kunkin’s typeset on the pulse of the Sunset Strip youth community his paper quickly established the template for a new breed of alternative periodicals. In two years the Freep would also play a pivotal role in the wild disturbance called the Sunset Strip Riots which will be further detailed in chapter 4.

At the dawn of LA’s rock and roll scene Robert Petersen published *Hot Rod*, *Surfing* and *Teen* magazines which captured the attention of a growing youth market. Petersen also subleased a portion of his building along the hip Sunset Strip to Al Mitchell’s Fifth Estate beat coffee house where the new vanguard of the LA counterculture listened to folkies, viewed mod art and borrowed eclectic books. “The Fifth Estate was far and away the hippest scene I’d encountered,” recalled regular Hammond Guthrie.⁴¹ Mitchell, who would soon join the subterranean press with his own paper called the *Los Angeles Underground* saw the value of the medium where “great masses of people can develop [sic] a media for communication result[ing] in more valid reflection of reality” not part “of the dominant power structure.”⁴² Therefore it was a natural alliance when Art Kunkin moved the Freep’s office into the Estate’s basement. Kunkin’s *LA Free Press* delivered the sex, drugs and rock ‘n’ roll in print for the Sunset Strip crowd. It thrived on the growing cult of bohemians by promoting their art, their music and their spirit.

⁴⁰ Peck, 21.

⁴¹ Dominic Priore, *Riot on the Sunset Strip*, (London: Jawbone Books 2007), 39.

⁴² David McBride, “On the Fault Line of Mass Culture and Counterculture: A Social History of the Hippie Counterculture in 1960s Los Angeles,” (Ph. D. Dissertation, UCLA, 1998), 124, 125.

By the mid-sixties a fresh vibrant cropping of papers emerged in bohemian centers that catered to the changes of young Americans needed a forum to express their values and concerns. In his book *Smoking Typewriters*, John McMillian contends that the flourishing hip zones like Greenwich Village, Haight Ashbury and the Sunset Strip where papers like the *Village Voice*, the *Oracle* and the *Freep* appeared engaged in a reciprocal relationship with each other:

They [counter culture] supplied an audience that allowed the papers to grow and flourish [and] reflected a new mood and a new tonality among young people – who were unfulfilled by mainstream American life, but energized by their political commitments and the promise of a greater personal freedom – they gave the underground press something to write about.⁴³

The Sunset Strip is located along a two mile section of Sunset Boulevard where it rises to meet the foothills of the Hollywood Hills. The stretch along its two mile crucible is an unincorporated section of Los Angeles administered by LA County Sheriff Department. Shielded from the city's municipal control, the Strip's autonomy allowed it to become a mischievous playground for Angelenos, from the days of mob boss Mickey Cohen's haberdashery to Hugh Hefner's Playboy Club. Business faltered when Las Vegas stole much of their show in the early sixties and prompted many savvy club owners to cater to youth. In order to open their clubs to an "under 21" clientele these club owners had the county ordinance that restricted minors from attending dance clubs rescinded by replacing beer with Pepsi.⁴⁴ It worked – the vanguard of the rock and roll culture suddenly restored the excitement that had vanished from the Strip. The very freedom that

⁴³ John Campbell McMillian. *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 37.

⁴⁴ Priore, 31.

allowed the Strip to flourish in the past allowed its oddly clad new vibrant clientele to thrive.

Much like Art Kunkin, Detroitier Harvey Ovshinsky had relocated to Los Angeles. However unlike the editor of the *Freep*, he had moved against his will. He'd moved with his mother to Southern California and separated from his Motor City friends, spent lonely nights watching television. While viewing the "Joe Pine Show" one evening, he became instantly intrigued with Pine's guest Art Kunkin. His life was never the same.⁴⁵

Enticed by the electricity of the Sunset Strip, Harvey Ovshinsky sought out the domain of the *Freep* in the Fifth Estate's basement where Kunkin hired him as an intern during the summer of 1965 – a summer that filled the Strip with liberating rock and also engulfed the inner city of Watts in a racial maelstrom. As Ovshinsky entered the basement confines of the *Freep*'s nerve center it was unlike anything he'd ever seen:

Kids, dogs, cats barefoot waifs, teeny-boppers in see-through blouses, assorted losers, [and] Indian chiefs wander[ing] in and out, while somewhere a radio plays endless rock music...It's [was] all ferociously informal.⁴⁶

Not only did Ovshinsky enter a chaotic world of eclectic performers willing to sacrifice money for creativity, he was welcomed as part of their extended hippie clan. Historian Mathew Ides's interview of the former Midwesterner revealed Ovshinsky had entered the Strip at a watershed moment when "youth politics [and] youth identity [became] mobilized to make claims on resources and power."⁴⁷

⁴⁵Matthew Allan Ides, "Cruising For Community: Youth Culture and Politics in Los Angeles, 1910-1970," (PhD. Diss., University of Michigan, 2009), 2.

⁴⁶"The *L.A. Free Press* is Rich," *Esquire*, op. cit., (June 1970), accessed on microform on October, 5, 2012, 58.

⁴⁷ Ides, 1.

As new stake holders in their spatial zones along the Strip, Art Kunkin and his aspiring intern Harvy Ovshinsky became absorbed in the Strip scene in what Dolores Hayden's *The Power of Place* describes as "bound up with the poetics of occupying a particular place as both a repository of memory and the ground upon which to build new social bonds and with them a deeply democratic sense of membership."⁴⁸ As such, the young vibrant new actors along the Sunset Strip created what Hayden calls a "theatre of memory and prophesy" that would challenge anyone who threatened to take over the urban space they'd appropriated.⁴⁹ The Strip scene served as a vehicle of social relationships, public discourses, and political expressions where public space extended beyond physical boundaries into spheres of shared life experiences.⁵⁰ The creative forces embodied by the underground press energized the Strip's spatial community and those others eager to be empowered by it. The *Los Angeles Free Press*, in particular, provided a sounding board to a reverberating LA youth culture imbued with a chorus of change. Moreover, Art Kunkin would take a clear conscious step to investigate, analyze, and criticize the racial tempest that flared up in Watts during the summer of 1965.

"I did a lot of work with C.O.R.E. (Congress of Racial Equality)," Arthur Kunkin exclaimed and then emphasized "I built up personal capital in the black community."⁵¹ During first two years of the *LA Free Press* Kunkin committed his support to the plight of LA blacks whose communities had been neglected [or ignored] by a city that continued to use industrial zoning and flanking freeways to detour attention from racial inequities. An

⁴⁸ Dolores Hayden, *Power of Place: Urban Landscapes and Public History*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 11,12, accessed on October 19, 2012 Google books.

⁴⁹ Hayden, 12.

⁵⁰ Jeffrey Hou, *Insurgent Public Spaces: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2.

⁵¹ Peck, 27. Before arriving in Los Angeles, Art Kunkin volunteered for CORE in New York City in the early sixties.

early *Free Press* article described an African American's constant encounters with racism. Kunkin made it clear from the first publication that his paper's writers would be expected to champion the freedom of speech and self-expression and be intolerant toward racism. The first two years of *Free Press's* socio-political agenda was "committed to the principles inherent in the democratic ordering of society wherein all citizens have the right to meaningfully participate in community political and social life."⁵² Then, in August of 1965, Watt's "fire bell in the night" vaulted Kunkin's underground *Freep* to prominence.

During a warm summer night on August 11, Watts exploded in a bedlam of rioting following a controversial DUI arrest of a 21-year-old black motorist named Marquette Frye, his mother and a friend. "It was hotter than hell, maybe 93 or 94 degrees. When it gets that hot, you can just smell the heat," said arresting CHP officer Minkus on the 40-year anniversary of the event.⁵³ What could have been another inconspicuous arrest of a young black man by a white cop instead lit a powder keg of ten days of destruction, injury and death. As noted civil rights activist Bayard Rustin noted in March of 1966, Watts marked the first major rebellion of Negroes against their own masochism and was carried on with the express purpose of asserting that they would no longer quietly submit to the deprivation of slum life.⁵⁴ For years, much of the focus of years of on going tension between Watts and law enforcement was directed at Police Chief William Parker who had been quoted to declare, "We're on top and they're on the bottom."⁵⁵ Parker was accused of

⁵² Art Kunkin, "Why We Appear," *Los Angeles Free Press*, (July 30, 1964), 2, 3.

⁵³ Valerie Reitman and Landsberg Mitchell, "Watts Riots 40 Years Later," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 August 2005, Accessed on 11 March 2012, <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/aug/11/local/me-watts11>.

⁵⁴ Bayard Rustin, "The Watts," *Commentary Magazine* (1966). Accessed on April 22, 2012, <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/the-watts/>.

⁵⁵ Rustin.

pursuing a racist power structure that systematically discriminated against and harassed black males in Watts.



Figure 6 Los Angeles Free Press August 20, 1965 (CSUN Oviat Library Special Collections)

The final toll after the turbulent week – 3,483 arrests, \$40 million in fire-ravaged property, some \$200 million worth of total property damage and the loss of thirty-four human souls sent shockwaves across the city and, the entire nation reeled at the realization that the city of Angels could be torn apart like a city from Hell.⁵⁶ Both the *Los Angeles Times* and *Herald Examiner* derided the criminality of the black looters and attacks on law enforcement as an indication of a collapse of law and order. “1000 Riot in LA: Police and Motorists Attacked” was the headline of the *Times* the day following the

⁵⁶ “144 Hours in August,” *Violence in the City An End or Beginning?* USC Study of the McCone Commission Report, Accessed via internet on April 22, 2012. <http://www.usc.edu/libraries/archives/cityinstress/mccone/part4.html>

outbreak of violence.⁵⁷ The *Times* characterized rioters as thugs who threw rocks, bricks and bottles at officers and broke through police barrier lines following a “routine traffic arrest.” Parker publically referred to the approximately thirty-four thousand rioters as “monkeys in the zoo.”⁵⁸ The *Times* account may be a fair description of the mob anarchy that descended on Watts during that August of 1965; however the deep-rooted social malaise that triggered it was never analyzed until it was addressed by Art Kunkin’s *Free Press*.

Keeping his pledge to the beleaguered LA African American community, Art Kunkin immediately ran stories that sought to explain the deeper socio-political issues at the heart of the Watts Riots. The *Free Press* August 20 edition’s headline of “The Negroes Have Voted!” (see Figure 4) was accompanied by an LA map shaded with the black communities that experienced rioting. The map revealed the freeway systems that encircled the inner city looked like a racial Iron Curtain around the greater Los Angeles population.⁵⁹ To Kunkin, LA’s inner city blacks had cast their votes through rioting and looting as a desperate plea to right the wrongs of racial inequities. Their hands were forced by oppressive law enforcement; the denial of social racial problems by the established news media; and a city government unwilling to address racial discrimination in the black communities. According to Kunkin the greatest tragedy of the Watts Riots was the white dominant Los Angeles establishment essentially didn’t understand why blacks recoiled from years of deplorable housing, poverty, poor education and bleak employment opportunities which contributed to a rioter’s remark “Burn Baby Burn!”

⁵⁷ "1,000 Riot in L.A." *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1965, 1, accessed on October 20, 2012,

<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155225841?accountid=6749>

⁵⁸ Anthony Oberschall, "The Los Angeles Riot of August 1965," *Social Problems* (15.3 1968), 322–341.

⁵⁹ Art Kunkin, "Negroes Have Voted," *Los Angeles Free Press*, August 20, 2012, accessed on microform on October 16, 2012, 1.

Kunkin's indictment of a maligned Los Angeles white establishment quick to judge and slow to resolve glaring inequities drew high praise from national publications. His relentless exposés levied primarily against Parker and the *Times* established the *Free Press* as a viable source for more than local bohemian news. Moreover, Kunkin's primarily young readership began to recognize the significance to their own spatial empowerment when threatened by oppressive forces. When curfew laws began being enforced along the Sunset Strip the next year, the Watts Riots inspired thousands of young Angelenos to defend the space they claimed as their own.



Figure 7 Art Kunkin holds copy of his *Free Press* in 1999
(Photo courtesy of L.A. Central Public Library photo by Gary Leonard)



Figure 8 Bob Dylan joins the Byrds on stage at Ciro's Le Disc on March 26, 1965
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)



Figure 9 Young girls attending the *Big T.N.T. Show* on November 29, 1965
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

Chapter 3

POPULAR MUSIC SHAPES LA YOUTH CULTURE

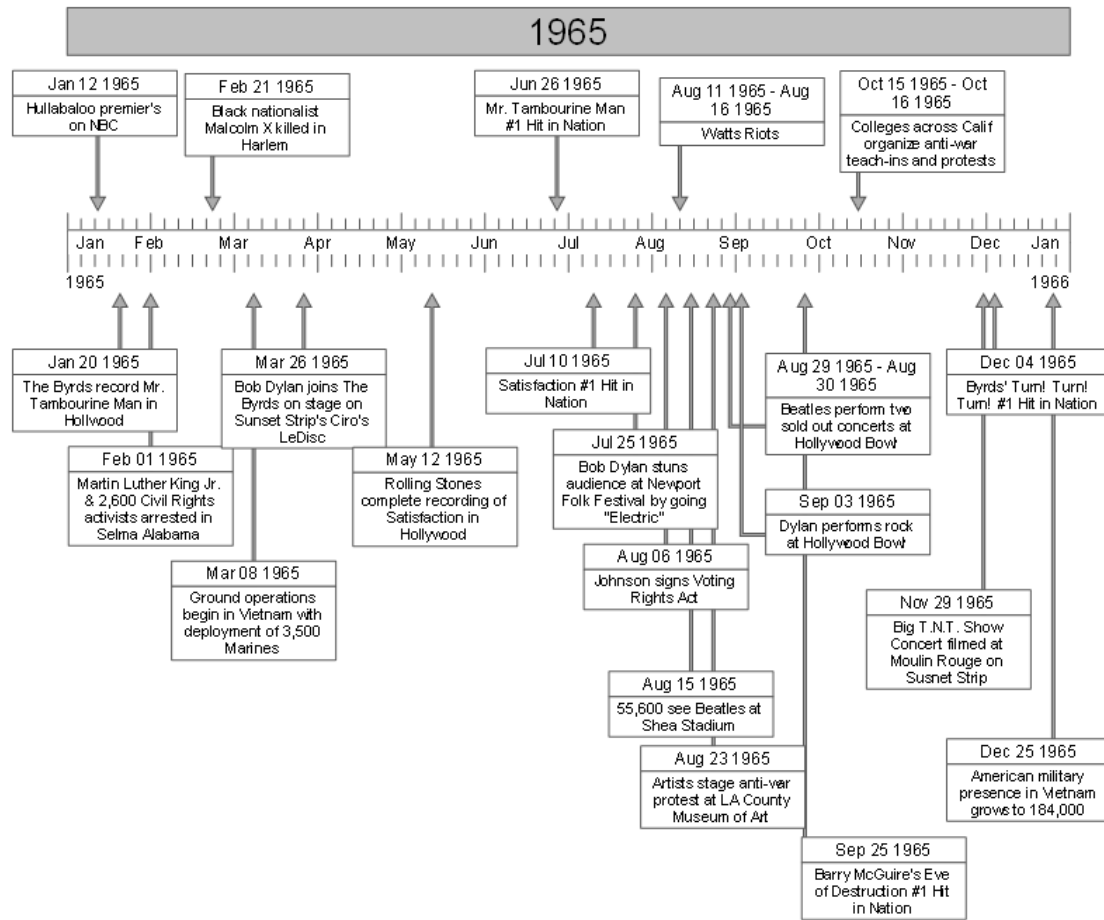


Figure 10

Every weekday afternoon thousands of Los Angeles teenagers rushed home from school to watch their favorite bands on Dick Clark's live pop show "Where the Action Is." The 3:30 p.m. show that aired from 1965 to 1967 would begin with Freddy Cannon singing "Let's go to the place on the Sunset Strip, where the action is."⁶⁰ The clean-cut host of *American Bandstand* recognized that the energy of popular music had shifted to

⁶⁰ Priore, 176.

Los Angeles and promptly relocated his offices from Philadelphia to the Strip in 1964.⁶¹

Along with other pop shows like *Shindig*, *Hallabaloo*, and *Shivaree*; these mid-sixties live rock varieties offered loyal young fans a vicarious ring-side seat to the “rock and roll spectacle” taking place along the Strip.

For that reason, it would be prudent to trace the cultural shifts in popular music that made it possible for rock bands and their fans in Los Angeles to form a distinctive union during the mid-sixties. This was an issue not just of the music but for the relationships that developed between the bands and their fans within what Jürgen Habermas sees as the “humanness within the spatial sphere.” Speaking of 18th Century Enlightenment salons and the press he states that the “The relations between author, work, and public changed. They became intimate mutual relationships between privatized individuals who were psychologically interested in what was ‘human,’ in self-knowledge, and in empathy.”⁶² This may explain how intimate concerts in venues like The Trip, Whiskey A-Go Go, and Pandora’s Box created valuable spatial zones for the counterculture to identify, immerse into, and later defend during the Sunset Strip Riots.

The catharsis that occurs for both artist and audience during special live performances not only generates excitement, it bonds the artist to its audience in a sense of community. John Lennon recognized how The Beatles early live performances in Liverpool and Hamburg greatly contributed to their fame. “One of the main reasons to get on stage is it’s the quickest way of making contact... That’s why most musicians are on stage, it’s a

⁶¹ Dick Clark Productions was located in the 9000 Building on the Strip across the street from Phil Spector’s Productions. Down the boulevard was also A&M records along with numerous publishing companies.

⁶²Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, translated by Thomas Burger, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), accessed on November 12, 2012 Google Books, 29.

good incentive for all performers.”⁶³ Canadian Eric Twimane who saw the Beatles in 1964 reflected that he had never been as emotionally high as during their concert when “you couldn’t take your eyes off them.”⁶⁴ This synergy that is exchanged during a live performance affirms the authenticity of the experience for those on stage and on the floor. They become emotionally linked to each other which ultimately defined the live performance for each respectively. This collective transcendence promoted a sense of belonging that contributed to the spatial empowerment for the audience who gained purpose and identity. Nevertheless, as popular cultural historian Ian Inglis points out “the time and place in which cultural forms emerge are as relevant as the forms themselves” when the unexpected spontaneity of the “pulse of life” during a live performance unites the audience.⁶⁵

Considering rock and roll had taken a hiatus since Elvis Presley’s departure due to his army enlistment in 1958, the death of Buddy Holly in early 1959, and Chuck Berry’s questionable arrest on violating the Mann Act at the end of 1959 – the once cursed sound of rebellion was reduced to teen idols, Frankie and Annette beach duets and “duck and cover” exercises.⁶⁶ The vitality, spontaneity, and angst of rock became obscured by a safe

⁶³ Brian Roylance, Julian Quance, Oliver Craske, Roman Milisic, Eds., *The Beatles Anthology*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), 56, 58.

⁶⁴ Inglis, Ed., *Performance and Popular Music*, “Introduction,” (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), xiv.

⁶⁵ Inglis, xvi.

⁶⁶ Presley’s enlistment into the Army on March 24, 1958 was considered by many rock historians as the beginning of the trifurcate of rock’s death knell. Soon to be followed by Buddy Holly’s death the next year due to a plane crash in Clearlake, Iowa on February 2, 1959 and the arrest of Chuck Berry in December for transporting an underage girl across state lines upon which he was alleged to have intercourse with her. Despite three appeals, Berry remained in prison until 1963 upon which he resumed his career. Coupled with the Payola radio scandal that brought down rock’s pioneer radio D.J. Alan Freed, the rebellious scope of rock n’ roll was tamed by record companies, radio stations, and television that promoted manufactured “teen idols” like Fabian, Ricky Nelson, and Pat Boone to emolliate the music. See *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock and Roll*, Jim Miller Ed., “The Teen Idols,” by Greg Shaw, (New York: Random House, 1980) 96-100. “Duck and Cover” was the phrase used by teachers during Civil Defense

tempered commercial product guaranteed not to incite the impressionable American youth in the early sixties. Not even the demolition of Camelot on November 22, 1963 could awaken Kennedy's young corps from their stupor until the unlikely union of a Jewish mid-western troubadour and four aspiring Liverpool working class musicians re-charged the dormant music of rock and roll.

The former Robert Zimmerman employed the barb of the Beat poets with the feeling of Woody Guthrie that evolved into the sound of his generation.⁶⁷ Draped with an acoustic guitar and a harmonica, Bob Dylan penned the songs that touched the nerve of his times – a time that was forever young and dramatically changing. “I wrote the song to perform the song, in a language I hadn't heard before,” Dylan reflected about his song “Blowing in the Wind.”⁶⁸ Earlier in 1963, Dylan had performed in front of an estimated audience of a quarter of a million as part of other folk singers at the March on Washington D.C. Civil Rights rally.⁶⁹ Under the gaze of the chiseled emancipator and the watchful sea of the mesmerized integrated masses, folk music's hip poet laureate asked “how many roads must a man walk down before you can call him a man?”⁷⁰

The appeal of topical songs stirred the political passions for a booming college population that drew more fans for folk artists like Peter Paul and Mary, Phil Ochs, and Joan Baez. The fusion of folk music and civil rights produced anthems that brought

Air Raid drills to protect students from a nuclear attack by the Soviets – another use when teens had to hide from law enforcement during petting sessions inside their cars.

⁶⁷ Bob Dylan certainly was recognized as the most influential singer/songwriter of the protest movement despite personal admonitions against such accolades. When a heckler yelled “Judas” at a Paris concert in 1966 when he went “electric,” Dylan responded with “You're a liar...I don't believe you” and then ordered his band to “Play Fucking Loud!” Dylan refused to remain tied down to folk, folk-rock or any other musical label – he continued to change his creativity as a virtuoso in American music lore. See “No Direction Home” DVD (2009).

⁶⁸ Martin Scorsese, Director, “No Direction Home: Bob Dylan,” Documentary DVD, (2009) Apple Productions, Part 1, 1 hour 15 minutes.

⁶⁹ David Szatmary, *Rockin' in Time: A Social History of Rock and Roll*, (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1987), 4.

⁷⁰ Bob Dylan, “Blowin' in the Wind,” Columbia Records, 1963.

attention to racial injustice that would soon aim their melodic ire against the growing American presence in Vietnam. The minstrels of protest music now had the presence of mind to reflect upon social issues for a mass commercial audience that swelled to unimaginable proportions.

Four months before the Beatles' first LA appearance, young girls were frantically waiting to assure themselves a place in the Hollywood Bowl by "hiding in bushes" before they stormed the venue's box office on April 25, 1964.⁷¹ The vitality of rock had been recaptured by the Beatles as evidenced by the 18,700 screaming fans that packed the Hollywood Bowl on Sunday August 23.⁷² Lynne Stolman, fourteen, spoke for the band's delirious fans: "we love them...we would die for them."⁷³ Unlike their concerts in Liverpool and Hamburg where the Beatles cut their musical "chops" the fanatical screams in the dome of bedlam drowned out their "twenty-watt" amps. However, it was evident that rock and roll was forever changed by 1964.

"McGuinn took us to see 'A Hard Day's Night' at the Pix Theatre on Hollywood Blvd...and that was it!" Chris Hillman of The Bryds recalled.⁷⁴ A transplant folkie from the Greenwich Village scene, Roger McGuinn was so impressed by the sound George Harrison's 12-string Rickenbacker guitar made in the movie he purchased one the next day. Even Dylan couldn't ignore the appeal and craftsmanship of the four lads from Liverpool while driving through Colorado in early 1964: "We had the radio on and eight of the Top Ten songs were Beatles songs. They were doing things nobody was doing.

⁷¹ Charles Hillinger, "Sale Touches Off Near Riots," *Los Angeles Times*, April 26, 1964. B, accessed on April 5, 2012.

<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/168540046?accountid=6749>.

⁷² Jack Smith, and Lance Brisson, "18,700 Shriek for the Beatles at Bowl," *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1964. 1, <http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/154976783?accountid=6749>.

⁷³ Hillinger.

⁷⁴ Chris Hillman interview "History of Rock n' Roll" DVD, Disc Three "Plugging In," 24:00.

Their chords were outrageous, just outrageous, and their harmonies made it all valid...I knew they were pointing the direction where music had to go.”⁷⁵

The power of live performance was never more evidenced than during the mid-sixties when bands like The Byrds emerged to perform in intimate venues along the Sunset Strip. The confluence of forces such as the burgeoning folk rock scene, local rising campus unrest, the influence of drugs and a reckless abandonment of suburban groupies prompted Frank Zappa to call these spatial zones “Freak Outs.” The unique circumstances that emerged in clubs up and down the Sunset Strip signaled a musical reckoning of spatial appropriation for young Angelenos. The collective discovery of the young bohemian pilgrims who explored the sights and sounds of the Sunset Strip resounded in Lovin’ Spoonful’s 1965 celebration “the magic’s in the music and the music’s in me.”⁷⁶

The deafening roar of the hysteric teens drowned the opening orchestra’s rendition of *Satisfaction* and *The Man From UNCLE* David McCallum’s feeble attempt to introduce the first rock act inside Hollywood’s Moulin Rouge Club’s arena. Wall of Sound’s record producer extraordinaire Phil Spector had assembled a “who’s who” of rock, pop, folkies, and R & B performers for a closed circuit musical extravaganza called *The Big T.N.T. Show* on November 29, 1965.⁷⁷ The adulation for acts such as The Ronettes, The Lovin’ Spoonful, Ike and Tina Turner, and Donovan built to a crescendo when McCallum began reciting from the *Book of Ecclesiastes* cueing an even louder roar as the Byrds appeared – “To everything Turn Turn Turn, There’s a Season Turn Turn Turn...And a time for every purpose under Heaven.”⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Anthony Scaduto, *Bob Dylan*, (New York: Signet Books, 1973), 203-204.

⁷⁶ John Sebastian, “Do You Believe in Magic,” *The Lovin’ Spoonful*, (New York: Kama Sutra, 1965).

⁷⁷ Larry Peerce, Director, “The Big T.N.T. Show,” (Los Angeles: Video Beat Productions), 2010, DVD.

⁷⁸ “Mr. Tambourine Man,” written by Pete Seeger, performed by the Byrds, Columbia Records, 1965.

Though only a year had elapsed between the *T.A.M.I.* and the *Big T.N.T.* shows, in mid-sixties American youth culture – it sounded like eons. The influence of folk rock, social protest, and the vibe along the Sunset Strip was palpable during the *Big T.N.T.* performances. Joan Baez replaced Leslie Gore, The Lovin’ Spoonful took the stage in lieu of Jerry and the Pacemakers and the young audience momentarily became silent and carefully listened to Donovan’s cover of “Universal Soldier.” Despite the absence of The Beatles and Bob Dylan, no one could deny their impact on the evening’s live concert.



Figure 11 Whiskey A Go-Go Promo May 1967
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

The rhythm, melody, and emotion of rock and roll suddenly matured in the mid-sixties when it began to explore the new vista of the counterculture. When Bob Dylan released the album *Highway 61 Revisited* in July 1965, cars, surfing, and necking were no longer the message of popular music – rather rock and roll began to address deeper,

socially conscious messages. The advent of folk rock wove a musical link between Woody Guthrie's *Dust Bowl Ballad* and Peter Paul and Mary's cover of Dylan's *Blowing in the Wind* and the pop sensibilities of the Beatles' request to *Hold Your Hand*. An inevitable crossroads of musical genres, met in 1965 to change the very nature of popular music. Many young Southern Californians wandered to Hollywood's Sunset Strip in 1965 where they discovered the folk rock band The Byrds.

There may have been no better hippie minstrels to parlay the mixture of folk rock's social messages and the Beatles' pop-enticing melodies than the five bohemians called The Byrds. At the same moment the Stones cut *Satisfaction*, The Byrds were a few blocks away at World Pacific Studios using Phil Spector's Wrecking Crew musicians to record their version of Dylan's troubadour balad *Mr. Tamborine Man*.⁷⁹ Lead guitarist Roger McGuinn's twangy 12-string Rickenbacker intro smoothly transitioned into the exquisite harmonies of Gene Clark and David Crosby who accentuated the effervescent spirit of Dylan's musical shepherd inviting young listeners to follow him anywhere. When the single was released that May it ushered in an elusive new sound that captured a hypnotic feeling of freedom for American youth. That liberation was a call to claim their rights as a viable segment in American society and in so doing contested spatial zones to pronounce themselves in celebratory song and dance. The rapid transformation of appropriated clubs, coffee houses and countercultural media by Los Angeles youth culture heralded the significance to their spatial empowerment.

⁷⁹ See *Hal Blaine and the Wrecking Crew: The Story of the World's Most Recorded Musician*, (1990). Coined by drummer Hal Blaine, the Wrecking Crew consisted of some of the most talented session musicians in the era who were used by major acts like the Byrds, Mamas and the Papas and The Beach Boys to polish up their singles for the highest quality recordings before they were released to radio stations. On *Mr. Tamborine Man* lead guitarist Roger McGuinn is the only member of the band who appears on their single.

Roger McGuinn of The Byrds recognized this communal respect “when [his] band was part of the audience and vice versa.”⁸⁰ Rock had evolved from an attitude of rebellion to an expression of shared thoughts and feelings reflected by *Mr. Tamborine Man*’s lyric “I’m ready to go anywhere, I’m ready for to fade into my own parade...cast your dancing spell my way, I promise to go under it.”⁸¹ Domenic Priore’s *Riot on the Sunset Strip* emphasized how The Byrds unlocked the “key that defined the free spirit of the age and framed existential mysticism as rebellion” by melding Bob Dylan with The Beatles.⁸² The Byrds became a fresh exciting muse on the Strip that beckoned LA youths to not only dance but to listen to an intoxicating blend of hypnotic psychedelic sounds punctuated by McGuinn’s 12-String Rickenbacker electric guitar. *Hit Parader* magazine heralded the new young messiahs of the Strip in 1966:

“What The Byrds did to Ciro’s was unbelievable. They made it there place for young Hollywood...There were queues up and down Sunset Strip of desperate teenagers clamoring to get in. The dance floor was a wild wonderful madhouse [filled with] hard core Byrd followers – wayward painters disinherited sons and heirs, bearded sculptors, coltish, misty eyed nymphs with hair all over the place – suddenly taught Hollywood to dance again.”⁸³

Bob Dylan joined his folk rock disciples on stage at Ciro’s when the Byrds debuted “Mr. Tambourine Man” on March 26 and by June 5 young America had been so cast under their spell as to elevate the song to number one. Dylan remarked later that summer that The Byrd’s were “doing something really new now...it’s like a danceable Bach

⁸⁰ Priore 200.

⁸¹ See Richie Unterberger, *Turn Turn Turn: The Sixties Folk Rock Revolution*, (New York: Back Beat Books, 2002), 108. “Mr. Tamborine Man,” 1965. Roger McGuinn speculated to the song’s meaning when he stated “It’s a head trip [that] takes you into some arena that you can’t really put your finger on.” He suggested that the song fosters a “spiritual release which says ‘Wait a minute man, there’s a way out...some other approach to life.’”

⁸² Priore, 74.

⁸³ Priore, 75.

sound [in] the ‘Bells of Rhymney’ – they’re cutting across of barriers” not yet recognized by most musicians.⁸⁴ Bob Dylan returned to New York a changed musician, a common thread in his illustrious career, to amp up his folk roots and cut “Like a Rolling Stone.” When Dylan inquired “How does it feel to be on your own with no direction home like a complete unknown like a rolling stone?,” he presented young Americans with a conundrum: Self expression and freedom may lead to alienation from your former self and family.⁸⁵ The meaning behind his displacement metaphor conjured up a farewell to a familiar past entwined with the solitude of “a road less traveled.” The estranged can take solace in their new discovered community of kindred spirits who became mesmerized by *Mr. Tambourine Man’s* magic swirling ship that would transport them into a jingle jangle parade waiting only for their boot heels to go wandering.⁸⁶ He later remarked “I wrote it. It didn’t fail. It was straight.”⁸⁷ Regarded by *Rolling Stone Magazine* as the greatest rock song ever recorded, “Like a Rolling Stone” placed a capstone on an emerging countercultural consciousness.⁸⁸ No answers – no solutions – just questions about one’s feelings of loneliness, misplacement, and abandonment. Al Kooper, who played the opening organ on “Like a Rolling Stone,” may have best defined the seminal song: “It was totally by ear. Totally punk – It just happened.”⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Paul Jay Robbins, “Bob Dylan Interview,” *Los Angeles Free Press*, September 24, 1965, accessed on October 14, 2012, microform, 6.

⁸⁵ “Like a Rolling Stone,” written by Bob Dylan, Columbia Records, 1965.

⁸⁶ “Mr. Tambourine Man,” written by Bob Dylan, Columbia Records, 1964.

⁸⁷ Wenner, “#1 Like a Rolling Stone,” (August 26, 2010), 8.

⁸⁸ Such dubious claims to be the “greatest” of anything can be disputed, especially in the field of popular music. In context to the counterculture, “Like a Rolling Stone” certainly stands alone as a powerful emotional statement of its place and time during the sixties. Dylan’s haunting metaphors opened up his young listener’s hearts and minds as no artist has done before or since; and all to the back beat of rock and roll. When Jimi Hendrix made his exciting debut at the Monterey Pop Festival in 1967, he selected none other than “Like a Rolling Stone” for the concert’s final performance.

⁸⁹ Wenner.

Soon thousands of young Angelenos made their way to the Strip to share in the sights and sounds of major acts like Love, The Standells, The Turtles, Sonny and Cher and Buffalo Springfield. This infectious spirit was captured by Pam DeLacy “you could meet people at any of these places on the Strip...and spend the rest of the day and night with a gang of people you had never met before and have one the best days of your life.”⁹⁰ In July a new civic amendment (Section 2076.1) “permitting minors to participate in the dancing at public eating places even if not accompanied by a parent” opened up the flood gates for suburban teens to enter clubs like Pandora’s Box, Ciro’s (to be renamed It’s Boss) and The Trip.⁹¹

Club owners like Paul Raffles and Bill Doherty of Ciro’s and Gary Bookasta of the Moulin Rouge quickly created a mod-pop art ambience, placing a curved bubble-shaped neon sign that greeted young patrons with “It’s Boss.” Youths danced below massive posters of Roy Lichtenstein’s comic book figures Dick Tracy and Little Orphan Annie juxtaposed against various Beatles, Stones, and James Brown silhouettes. The camaraderie of this free-spirited trusting milieu was recalled by garage rock musician Shelly Ganz: “There was so much happening, you couldn’t swing a slingshot without hitting something cool,” adding “Because everyone was into The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Strawberry Alarm Clock ... there was a commonalty, there was no factionalism. [We were all members of the same club.]”⁹²

Among all of the LA bands that championed the elusive Strip scene, the bi-racial group Love may have best captured the true essence of the scene. Fronted by a tall introspective African American named Arthur Lee, Love was quickly embraced by a

⁹⁰ Priore, 200.

⁹¹ Priore, 88.

⁹² Priore, 202.

loyal local fan base. Love filled the Strip's celebratory void while The Byrds embarked on their first US tour to capitalize on the success of "Mr. Tambourine Man" and "Turn Turn Turn." But if fans expected to see another folk rock group they were in for a vastly different show. Love's performances reflected the dichotomy of LA, according to *New Times* critic Sara Scribner, "the real psychic split – the sunshine and the noir–of Los Angeles."⁹³ As one of the first underground local group's to surface, Love explored both the ecstasy and despair of L.A.'s counterculture. The live aura of the band was described by Len Fagan: "When you walked into the room and heard the music [it] was incredible...the first time I saw them at the Brave New World, [they] had as much charisma, mystery, and an element of dangerous unpredictability as I had ever witnessed."⁹⁴



Figure 12 Arthur Lee of Love
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

⁹³ Priore, 87.

⁹⁴ John Einarson, *Forever Changes: Arthur Lee and the Book of Love*, (London: Jawbone Press, 2000), 84.

The eclectic collaboration of Arthur Lee's haunting vision and Bryan MacLean's melodic romanticism blended together to paint a sensually visceral musical palate that drew together their fans to their performance. "We had the sound, the look, the crowds, and the songs that the youth and the Hollywood scene, wanted," extolled Arthur Lee.⁹⁵ Along with black guitarist Johnny Nicols, the bi-racial group's musical/visual prowess overcame racial barriers with their growing following. Another fan, Harvey Kubernick confirmed this when he stated that the only colors he was concerned with was their hip clothes, "I got my high school wardrobe off of the cover of their first album. That, to us, was the *colored* aspect of the band not their races."⁹⁶ During their brief musical sojourn on the Strip, Love cultivated the imagination of the local scene ensuring a collective consciousness of empowerment. "We were little deities in our own sphere," recalled Bryan MacLean on the band's sudden rise in 1966.⁹⁷ MacLean's and his group's claim to spatial wealth was tempered by the racial disharmony that remained beyond the confines of the Strip. Following a concert at the Whiskey, parking attendant Peter Piper witnessed MacLean and Johnny Nichols "with their hands on their Volkswagen van being frisked by [sic] cops," a stark reminder to Piper that racial tolerance was absent among many in law enforcement. "Once he got off the Strip, Johnny was just another black guy."⁹⁸

Two weeks after the Watts Riots shuttered to an end on August 17, both the Beatles and then Bob Dylan appeared at the Hollywood Bowl. During the Beatles concert, the surrounding Hollywood Hills were illuminated by the constant flashes of cameras on the

⁹⁵ Einarson, 85.

⁹⁶ Einarson, 85.

⁹⁷ Einarson, 107.

⁹⁸ Einarson, 88.

four emissaries of rock and roll. One frenzied young girl was dragged fifty yards by the armored truck transporting the band to the stage and medical staff attended to another thirty rabid teens who fainted during the performance.⁹⁹ In contrast to the eighteen thousand shrieking fans for the Beatles, Bob Dylan's performance the following Sunday was met with "pin-drop silence" measuring the reverence for the bard of folk rock as described by the *LA Times* entertainment critic Charles Champlin. Dylan received "thunderous applause" only after his songs were soaked up.¹⁰⁰ For "half the record industry brass" and other dignitaries that attended, Dylan's lyrics to "Ballad of Thin Man" were of worthy admonition: "Something is happening here/ But you don't know what it is/ Do you, Mr. Jones?"¹⁰¹ But, for the younger generation who listened and the Los Angeles African Americans that didn't need to, they surely understood.

By the fall of 1965 rock and roll had grown from the sole of Elvis Presley's "Blue Suede Shoes" to the brim of Bob Dylan's "Pill Box Hat." Jon Landau adeptly portrayed the music of the mid-sixties as "music of spontaneity" that came from the "life experiences of the artists and their interaction with their audience [of their] own age-group."¹⁰² The inherent meaning of social relevant songs became entwined with how a young Los Angeles youth culture saw themselves and the world around them. This collective consciousness created a commanding presence along the Sunset Strip and the

⁹⁹ Dick Main and Fradkin, Phil, "Bowl Roundup." *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*, Aug 30, 1965. B, <http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155240942?accountid=6749>.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Champlin, "Folks Pay Homage to Dylan." *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*, Sep 06, 1965, D12, <http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155264706?accountid=6749>

¹⁰¹ Bob Dylan, "Ballad of a Thin Man," Columbia Records, 1965.

¹⁰² Jon Landau, *It's Too Late to Stop Now*, (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972), 40.

underground press which reflected the hearts and minds of the Los Angeles youth culture. When many local college students challenged campus administrators by protesting the war – they're actions could be heard in the anthems their bands played for them in venues they shared.



Figure 13 Dancing at the Whiskey A Go-Go to the Mothers of Invention
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)



Figure 14 Pandora's Box
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

Chapter 4

THE REVOLT ON THE SUNSET STRIP

It's 10 pm in the Southland. Do you know where your children are?
 ~ KTLA's newscaster George Putnam (November 1966)¹⁰³

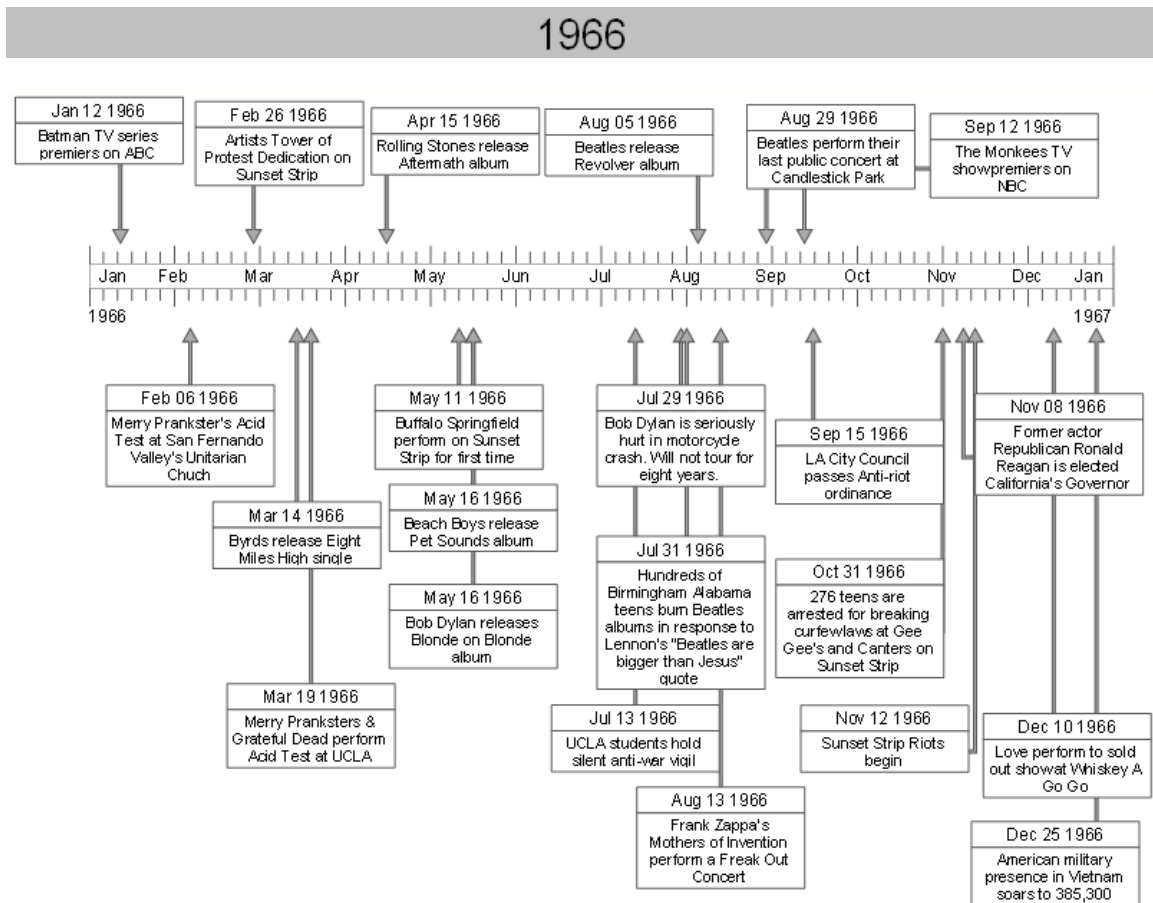


Figure 15

The pink façade and purple logo of the Pandora's Box was the first club teenagers would see when they arrived to the Strip after driving down winding Laurel Canyon from their suburban San Fernando Valley homes. The club was built on an odd triangular-

¹⁰³ Priore, *Riot*, 244.

shaped business island in the middle of the eastern edge of the Strip. Owned by tennis legend Bill Tilden, and made famous by KRLA's DJ Jimmy O'Neil, the club welcomed any guitar strapped band and a primarily teenage audience to its intimate confines. Gordon Alexander recalled the Pandora's Box was a "freaky [club filled with] – bell bottoms, tie dyed shirts, marijuana smoke, and loud rock and roll – it was small and cramped, full of energy that spilled out on to the Strip."¹⁰⁴ Pandora's Box was located just inside the city limits on a commercial island across from many other notable teenage hangouts: 31 Flavors, Gee Gees Coffee House, and Schwab's Delicatessen. Due to its popularity and prime location the pink asylum of the young became ground zero for both protestors and law enforcement during the demonstrations.

The Sunset Strip also lured countless musical refugees like Canadian folkie Neil Young who had wandered down to California from his frigid home in Ontario with guitar and amplifier in tow in search for his heart of gold. With no prospects, he and his fellow folkie Bruce Palmer were stuck in traffic headed back to Canada in Young's 1953 Pontiac black hearse on the Strip when they heard honking from behind. "Isn't that your friend Neil Young?" asked Barry Friedman to Stephen Stills while stuck in the same traffic jam directly behind the hearse with the distinguished Ontario plates. "Yea, that's Young's hearse," said fellow band mate Richie Furay. They all pulled over to the local strip hippie dive called Ben Franks where they formed Buffalo Springfield.¹⁰⁵ After only a week of rehearsing up in a Laurel Canyon house, the Springfield rolled their amps and

¹⁰⁴ Gordon Alexander oral interview by author, April 23, 2012. Digital recorder. Conducted at Glendale College, Glendale CA.

¹⁰⁵ There are various similar accounts to Buffalo Springfield's rendezvous in 1965 along the strip. Their name came from a street paving truck parked outside their home that had the name "Buffalo Springfield," liner notes taken from their CD Box Set *Buffalo Springfield*, "Various Accounts of their Meeting in Hollywood," Electra Records, (2001).

guitars down the hill into Pandora's Box and immediately made a sonic impression on the kids along the Strip.

Pandora's Box became one of three venues (Whiskey a Go Go and The Troubadour) that initiated the Springfield into the pulsating Sunset Strip scene. "When we started, nobody knew who we were," recalled Richie Furray, "and when we finished ... they were lined around the block, literally."¹⁰⁶ According to Dominic Priore, many impressed fans who saw the Springfield during their foray into the Strip's musical scene believed their live act generated more power and excitement than any of their albums. "I wish someone had been recording those concerts live. Because by the fourth or fifth concert we were so good it was absolutely astounding, and the first week at Whisky a Go Go was absolutely incredible," confirmed Stephen Stills.¹⁰⁷ Despite Stills' regret that his band's gigs were never enshrined on celluloid, he would later pen a song that transferred their performances into a powerful statement of the era. Buffalo Springfield joined a formidable musical phalanx that included Love, The Standels, The Mothers of Invention, and The Doors providing legitimacy to a discernable countercultural presence along the Sunset Strip.

As David McBride noted the rapid transformation of the Strip from traditional businesses into a mecca of bohemian culture zones underscored the significance of space for the Los Angeles counterculture.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the performances and experiences that were shared between members within the spatial zones along the Strip grew bolder with added notoriety and membership. Control over the inherent meanings of their

¹⁰⁶ Priore, 177.

¹⁰⁷ Priore, 177, 178.

¹⁰⁸ McBride, 197.

landscape surfaced when conservative elements sought to regain their power along the Strip corridor.

Both Ernest Debbs and Jim Dickson envisioned the commercial potential for the Strip – one for conservative stable business interests and the other for the thriving musical bohemian community. In 1966 their groups clashed against the backdrop of national protests, urban unrest and Vietnam. They also faced a booming Los Angeles population that had increased 26% from 1950 to over 2.5 million residents, with the county surpassing over 6.7 million residents.¹⁰⁹ Debbs didn't conceal his resentment for what had emerged when he stated "We're not going to surrender that area or any other area to beatniks or wide-eyed kids."¹¹⁰ The crowded sidewalks crammed with juveniles and the congested Strip gridlocked with thundering Harleys and muscle cars stretching two miles literally drove away the business for established restaurants and stores. Debbs, who represented the county's affluent 3rd District which included communities adjacent to Beverly Hills and Hollywood, was in the process of undertaking two freeway projects: the Laurel Canyon – Valley corridor; and a freeway connecting Santa Monica to the Strip along San Vicente. Debbs firmly believed the commercial horizon for the Strip was based on finance, not psychedelic screaming teenagers. The long shadows cast by the newly constructed 9000 Building and the Continental Bank on the western edge of the Strip warned of the inevitable showdown between the two opposing sides. Beverly Hills officials concerned about the teenage predominance on the Strip suspended the impractical freeway projects. Dickson, the manager of the Byrds noted, "We really upset

¹⁰⁹ "Los Angeles Historical Population Graph," accessed on April 26, 2012, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Los_Angeles,_California.

¹¹⁰ Priore, 242.

the apple cart for Debbs when the Strip became a creative center...for kids who were for rock and roll, not [yet] for protest.”¹¹¹

On Thursday, November 3, nine days before the first wave of rioting commenced the *Los Angeles Times* featured a story about two brothers, George and Francis Montgomery, whose family owned one of the prime blocks of real estate along the Strip since 1890. Stressing the length of time their family had owned their crucible along the Strip, they declared “we are trying to keep the tenants that are dignified [during] the time when the Strip was more like us,” adding “it isn’t that we don’t like long-hairs...one of our tenants [was] making their best sales to them.”¹¹² Both brothers called upon Los Angeles Sheriff Peter Pitchess to enforce “the curfew and loitering laws” to eradicate the “commotion.”¹¹³ Then they confided to their true agenda: to replace smaller businesses along the Strip with larger financial buildings to increase the tax revenue. Their intent was to demolish businesses like Ben Franks, the Trip, and Pandora’s Box that catered to the “long-hairs.” In concert with Supervisor Debbs, the brothers created the Sunset Plaza Merchant’s Association to galvanize other Strip businesses that no longer would tolerate the teenage inundation.

Curfew arrests soared into the thousands during the spring and summer of 1966 evidenced by approximately 248 youths being arrested outside Canter’s and Gee Gees restaurants on a single July evening.¹¹⁴ Both Anthony Bernhard and Edgar Friedenberg wrote a summary of the protests for the *New York Book Review* in 1967 and characterized the deputies’ enforcement of County Ordinance 3611.1 regarding curfew/loitering

¹¹¹ Priore, 242.

¹¹² Ken Reich "Brothers could Influence Future of Sunset Strip," *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1966, accessed April 28, 2012, <http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155593857?accountid=6749>, WS1.

¹¹³ Reich, 12.

¹¹⁴ Priore, 249.

violations as so “loose” that “youngsters complained [that] police arrested them for loitering as soon as they leave a coffee house to go to their cars to drive home.”¹¹⁵ The issue was how to interpret loitering which ordinance 3611.1 defined as “to idle, to loaf, to stand idly by or to walk, drive, or ride about aimlessly and without purpose –a definition that may well make the entire solar system illegal,” according to Bernard and Friedenberg.¹¹⁶ Besides the vamped up curfew/loitering detainments city and county officials suddenly confiscated licenses of businesses that catered to juveniles which led many of them to run illicit operations that would be far more questionable than music clubs for juveniles.

On September 15 as summer vacation ended for tens of thousands of Los Angeles teenagers the city attorney’s office sent an Anti-Riot Legislation memo to Mayor Sam Yorty. In its seven pages it documented the recently passed anti-riot state law signed by Governor Brown on July 19 as anyone who participates or assists with the “intent to cause a riot does an act or engages in conduct which urges a riot...is guilty of a misdemeanor.”¹¹⁷ The law was passed in the aftermath of the 1964 Berkeley sit-ins and the 1965 Watts Riots that revealed an ineffective law enforcement and legal system to quell such disturbances. The memo also underscored that the various elements that constituted a riot i.e. inciting, urging, use of violence and destruction of property is not the same as “suggesting” to riot without “immediate acts” that would have been difficult to prosecute.¹¹⁸ It’s unclear whether Yorty foresaw a riot emanating from the teenagers

¹¹⁵ Anthony Bernhard and Edgar Friedenberg, “The Sunset Strip,” *The New York Review of Books*, March 9, 1967, accessed April 28, 2012, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1967/mar/09/the-sunset-strip/?pagination=false>.

¹¹⁶ Anthony Bernhard and Edgar Friedenberg.

¹¹⁷ Roger Arnebergh, Los Angeles City Attorney, “Report Re Anti-Riot Legislation,” September 15, 1966, photo copy accessed in Los Angeles Archives on March 16, 2012, 1.

¹¹⁸ Arnebergh, 7.

along the Strip, however as Fall approached their anger swelled to a boiling point as more were detained, harassed and arrested for curfew violations.

As early as January when the *Times* ran a story titled “Mischief – Serious Offenses on Increase: Teenagers and Crime Ply the Sunset Strip” the newspaper attempted to pin a rash of burglaries on the “way ward youths” that had settled upon the Strip.¹¹⁹ In October, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Walt Anderson chronicled his observations riding along with sheriff deputies as they arrested many “415s” (disturbances of the peace) and curfew “bandits” in his “Hard Day’s Night on the Strip” column. His tale of an endless sea of juveniles having to be arrested for acts ranging from intoxication to loud parties was later revealed to have been staged in response to and unflattering response to a story of police harassment by *Life Magazine*.¹²⁰ Teenagers were herded from the “interrogation room” to the “show up room” to wait for their parents to transport them home. One sixteen-year-old boy smelling of booze who had hitchhiked from Connecticut (long drive for Mom and Dad) asked why they weren’t “cracking down on hoodlums” inquiring “do you think I’m a hoodlum?” “No, I think you’re an idiot,” the deputy cracked.¹²¹ Anderson believed this amusing exchange had “[summed] up what people who wear uniforms [thought] of people who wear beards and sandals.”¹²²

The first ten days of November along the Strip was relatively calm compared to the first “happening” that erupted on November 12th. Al Mitchell’s Fifth Estate had emerged as the bohemian hub to listen, learn and share the Strip ambiance. According to Al

¹¹⁹ Ken Reich, "Teen-Agers and Crime Ply the Sunset Strip." *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1966, accessed on April 25, 2012, <http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155351878?accountid=6749>, WS1.

¹²⁰ Anthony Bernhard and Friedenbergr Edgar.

¹²¹ Walt Anderson, "A Hard Days Night on the Strip." *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1966, accessed on April 28, 2012, <http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155536765?accountid=6749>, (5).

¹²² Anderson, 5.

Mitchell, two teenagers came into the Fifth Estate with flyers they had printed to promote a protest at the Pandora's Box. Mitchell, who had just produced the "Blue Fascism" cult film, collected enough money from patrons to print an additional five thousand flyers for the protest scheduled for November 12.¹²³ Mitchell then organized an ad hoc committee composed of recording executives including Pandora Box's owner Bill Tilden called CAFF (Community Action For Facts and Freedom). CAFF created a defense fund for arrested youths and "emphasized the good creative side of young people" contrary to recent negative stories by the *Times* and those who labored to rid the Strip of juveniles.¹²⁴ With word spreading of the first Strip "happening" rock radio stations began warning listeners to stay away from the Pandora's Box – a more ideal spot promoters couldn't have dreamed up.

An hour before the 10 p.m. curfew an estimated crowd between 1,000 (*LA Times*) and 3000 (*Free Press*) gathered at the Pandora's Box joined by actors Bob Denver and Peter Fonda, and singers Sonny and Cher. In retrospect, the busses that were halted and the few fights that broke out became ancillary to the way the media covered the event. Jim Morrison's girl friend, Pamela De Barres emphasized the protest began peacefully, "We sat, cross-legged, in the street, Sunset Boulevard, holding hands and singing," she then added that many protestors "had guitars, thousands of kids, it stopped traffic for miles on either side of Sunset."¹²⁵ Nevertheless, when the traffic stopped, so did the music, and the busses.

When the curfew bell struck 10 pm law enforcement began an aggressive sweep of the entire boulevard beginning at the Pandora's Box. With approximately 75 patrons inside,

¹²³ Priore, 250.

¹²⁴ Priore, 249.

¹²⁵ Priore, 250.

the police ordered the club to vacate.¹²⁶ When owner Bill Tilden refused proclaiming they'd have to break the door down, the cops relented. A few patrons were chased out of the club by riot-clad police wielding Billy clubs and were thrown over a picket fence. To their defense, Arthur Sjoquist, who was a probationary LAPD officer during the riots, vehemently stated that he had "a duty to clear the boulevard and restore order for the safety of all citizens."¹²⁷ Outside on the Strip two R.T.D. busses were stopped by the streaming crowds, and then "long-haired boys," recalls DeBarres climbed on top of them waving their picket signs.¹²⁸ The *Free Press* reported how some of the demonstrators sprayed the bus with fire extinguishers and smashed its windows. Passengers flew out as the buses were rocked by the crowds. One youth was arrested for arson when he attempted to drop matches down one of the accosted R.T.D.'s gas tank.¹²⁹

On Sunday Pandora's Box was the center of a tactical alert when 300 hundred protestors gathered around it.¹³⁰ The entire Strip was closed off from Pandora's Box at Crescent Heights to Fairfax. There was a standoff between the protestors carrying signs that read "Ban the Billy Club," and "Peter Pitchess Picks On Passive Pandoras," and 300 law enforcement officers from the LAPD, Sheriffs Department and Highway Patrol.¹³¹ Epitaphs were slung at each side but officers held the reigns – the crowd ultimately was forced to disperse and leave Pandora's Box. The entire event was captured by news crews anticipating a showdown between the young agitators and law enforcement. There were

¹²⁶ Brian Carr, "Youth Organize Police Protest," *Los Angeles Free Press*. Vol. 3 No. 46 (November 18, 1966), Microform accessed at UCLA Historical Archives on March 13, 2012, 16.

¹²⁷ Arthur Sjoquist, interview by author, April 29, 2012, digital recorder, conducted at interviewee's residence.

¹²⁸ Carr, 16.

¹²⁹ Pete Johnson, "Youths on Strip Pelt Buses, Police," *Los Angeles Times*, November 13, 1966. <http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155591119?accountid=6749>

¹³⁰ Carr, 16.

¹³¹ Carr, 16.

some reports that several local television reporters enticed the youths to accommodate the two busses for sensationalism – but this has never been corroborated. Certainly what had been intended as a non-violent protest became unruly and law enforcement had no recourse but to restore order. Nevertheless the young adults who had galvanized for their cause became determined to continue their demonstrations for the next three weekends as their Strip aroused the attention of the entire city of Los Angeles.

Free Press: The great majority of the teen-agers on the scene, at least one thousand by official count, were orderly and lawful, with the possible exception of creating a traffic jam by congregating in the streets.¹³²

Times: Youths Pelt Bus: A demonstration in protest of curfew violation arrests along Sunset Strip turned to violence Saturday. Attacked two busses...knocked out windows...30 police became targets...smoke bombs thrown.¹³³

Herald Examiner: Teenage Rampage...Long Hair Nightmare...Bus Burns In Sunset Strip Riot youths were throwing Molotov cocktail¹³⁴

The varied reporting revealed that each publication continued their obligation to their respective readership. Neither publication intended to concede an inch of ink to the other side. Art Kunkin believed the “free for all” may have been mitigated “had police displayed the calmness they exhibited on successive nights...to keep traffic moving” precluding the two RTD busses from being occupied. Arthur Sjoquist who worked the command center on the following weekends stressed that Captain Crumly handled the event according to police procedure: to secure the public safety and keep the Sunset Strip

¹³² Carr, 3.

¹³³ Johnson.

¹³⁴ Priore, 250.

traffic flowing.¹³⁵ Damage control became a paramount concern to the established businesses that feared continued anarchy would scare off their older customers. On Monday, November 14 a meeting was held among the members of the local chambers of commerce, the Sunset Strip Merchant's Association and law enforcement leaders. Several theories were debated as to the cause of the disturbances that weekend, a point they all agreed to was to eliminate all the clubs that catered to juveniles – their first target was the Pandora's Box.

In a county the size of Los Angeles, the pace of bureaucracy runs as slow as weekend traffic on the Strip. However, when Supervisor Ernest Debbs had his target in plain sight he never hesitated to fire against the long hair Strip problem. His colleague Councilman Art Fein wrote up County Board Order No. 195, Urgency Ordinance No. 9228 merely a week following the Sunset merchants meeting. The order essentially rescinded the previous allowance of juveniles under 21 in clubs who now were only permitted to attend with a parent or guardian. Soon the licenses of many of the clubs that had depended on their loyal teenage following like the Trip, the London Fog, It's Boss, Stratford On Sunset, the Action, and Pandora's Box had heard their last guitar strum by the end of 1966.

The fate of Pandora's Box was sealed in a report by Councilman James Potter who visited the club one evening and then reported to the Los Angeles City Council that he had found it "dirty and filthy" and Bill Tilden's actions irresponsible when he refused to vacate the club on the night of the riot.¹³⁶ A recommendation was made to undertake a

¹³⁵ Arthur Schoquist, interview by author, 29 April 2012, digital recorder, conducted at residence.

¹³⁶ James Potter, 2nd District Los Angeles City Council Hearing memo, photo copy, 29 November 1966, accessed at Los Angeles Historical Archives.

traffic easement study of the intersection that bordered Pandora's Box's business island. On December 1, in what may have been one of the most expeditious public works actions ever taken in the city's history two reports were passed. The first was a recommendation for the city to acquire the business island to orchestrate a combined city and county project that would realign Laurel Canyon/Crescent Heights with the Sunset Strip; and then the approval to condemn the buildings on the island for that realignment.¹³⁷ On Christmas Eve the members of Buffalo Springfield joined Gene Clark of The Byrds and performed a free concert for their loyal fans at Pandora's Box. It would be the last performance at the pink asylum on its own island along the Sunset Strip.

Battle lines had been drawn along the Strip between its younger clientele and its older establishment which sought the enforcement of curfew laws to restore business "as usual." The anger and resentment of young adults toward law enforcement for months of harassment and recent arrests for merely "hanging out" on the Strip inspired the tempest of their protest. Sjoquist stressed that Captain Crumly handled the event according to police procedure: to secure the public safety and keep the Sunset Strip traffic flowing.¹³⁸ However, as Jon Sutherland suggested, "I wasn't political, but I did recognize that I didn't want to be harassed."¹³⁹

Each community contested the other's spatial stake along the Sunset Strip which became a battleground for the Sunset Plaza Merchants and night clubs like Pandora's Box. It would be easy to reduce The Sunset Strip Riots to curious footnote in Los Angeles history lore. Yet when the three November weekends of chaos are placed within

¹³⁷ James Potter, Department of City Planning, "City Plan Case 20375: Condemnation for Public Street Easements and Rights," December 1, 1966, photo copy accessed at Los Angeles Historical Archives.

¹³⁸ Sjoquist interview.

¹³⁹ Jon Sutherland, interview by author, April 15, 2012, notes, conducted on telephone.

the swell of national unrest, the event belies any notion of triviality. It suggests that the 1966 Strip disturbances came at a national crossroads when a misunderstood post-war counterculture began to collide head-on with the older establishment. It also measured the growing confidence that existed with Los Angeles youth cultures as they formed alliances and became inspired by popular music to defend their spatial plot under the stars.



Figure 16 Buffalo Springfield in Laurel Canyon
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

Just prior to the Strip disturbances Buffalo Springfield was rehearsing for a concert at Pandora's Box when Neil Young was arrested following a physical altercation with a LAPD officer. "I was called an *animal* and then I called him a *grasshopper*," whereupon

some officers came into his cell and “knocked a tooth out and banged [him] around.”¹⁴⁰

While at a party one evening in the bohemian hills of Topanga Canyon Stephen Stills

wrote down his pent up feelings about the turmoil he’d witnessed:

There’s something happening here, what it is aint’
exactly clear, there’s man with a gun over there
telling me I got to beware. Its time we stop,
children, what’s that sound? Everybody look
what’s going down.¹⁴¹

Buffalo Springfield had formed for the spirit of music, not for the discord of injustice.

Soon, Buffalo Springfield’s “For What It’s Worth” became an anthem against

authoritarian abuse as the sixties became more radical and the war escalated. The Sunset

Strip Riots became a testament to a burgeoning countercultural community and their role

in American society through spatial empowerment. The hallmark message of “For What

It’s Worth” echoed beyond young Angeleno’s frustration with authority – the song

framed the rising expectations of socially active young Americans during the sixties.

¹⁴⁰ “Stephen Stills and Neil Young Buffalo Springfield Interview 2/3,” (:50), uploaded on YouTube by jochemgr on April 11, 2006, accessed on April 25, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6TatOkylWcg&feature=relmfu>.

¹⁴¹ “For What It’s Worth,” Buffalo Springfield, (Atco Music: 1967).

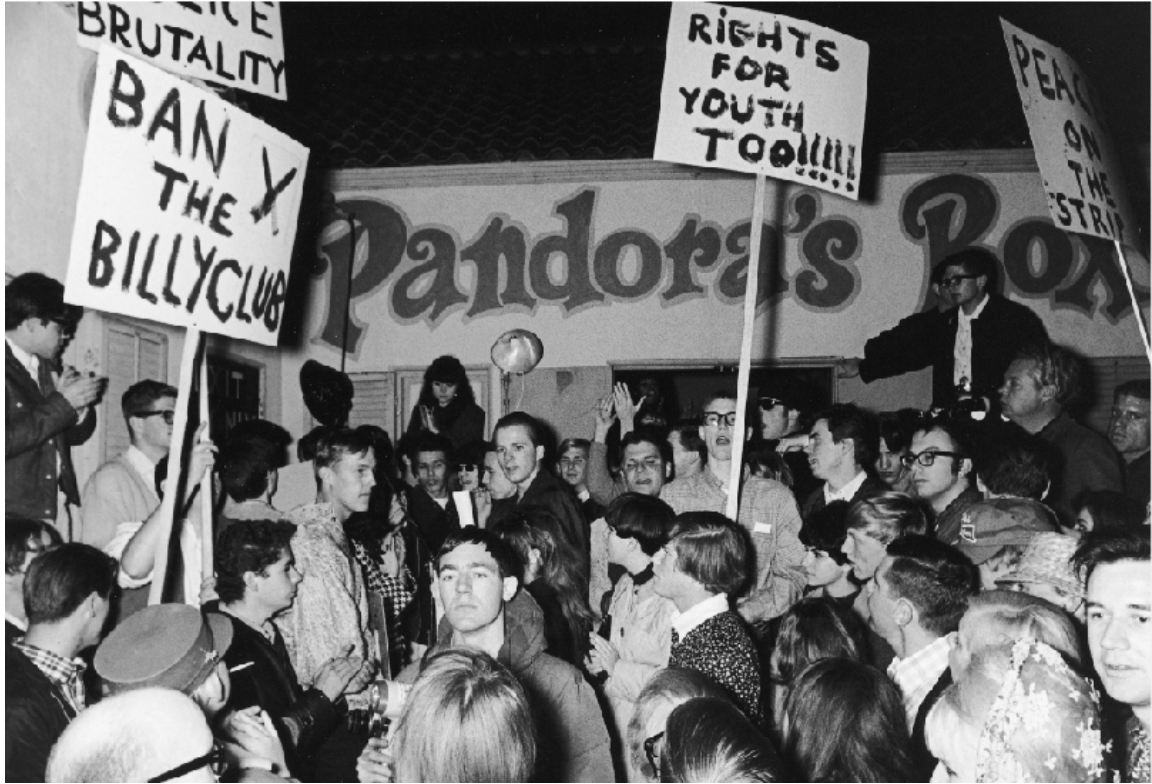


Figure 17 Pandora's Box is "Ground Zero" during second night of rioting on Sunset Strip
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

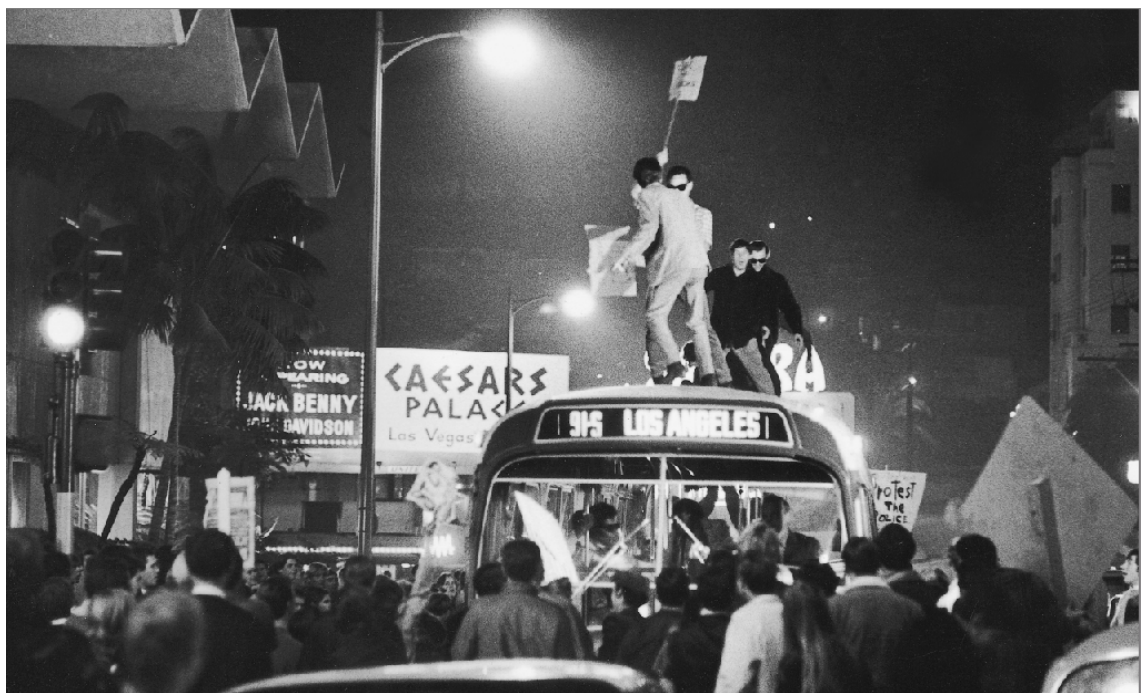


Figure 18 Young Angelenos on top of a RTD bus on the first night of rioting on November 12, 1966
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

Chapter 5

SUMMER OF LOVE: CANYONS, BE-INS AND COMMUNES

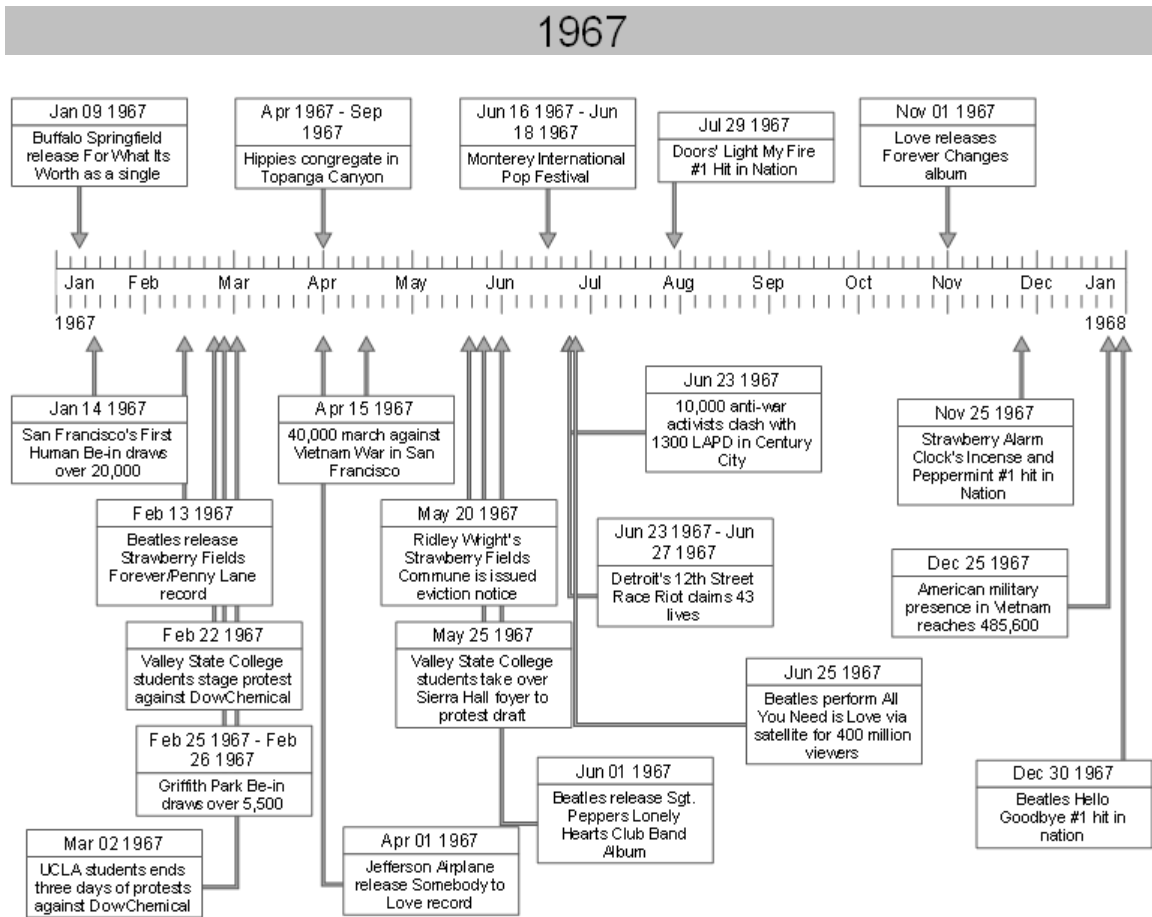


Figure 19

On a clear March spring day in 1967 over five-thousand young Angelenos descended upon the grassy knolls adjacent to Griffith Park's Greek Theatre to become part of the city's second "Human Be-In." Intended as a "non-political" event by five UCLA students, the festival drew five times more bohemian revelers than its January inaugural. With a focus on love and music the Renaissance-clad young women danced amid the pine and oaks trees of Griffith Park to the sounds of The Doors, The Time Machine and Alexander's Timeless Blooz Band. *Los Angeles Times* reporter Francine Grace described

the “long haired members of both sexes” exchanging flowers, food and incense dressed in colorful “often bizarre” outfits many of whom danced in spontaneous circles with clasped hands on the eve of the Summer of Love. Though the event was billed as a “groovy” expression of love over politics, a mother of two from Orange County held up a sign that read “Orange County Liberation Front.” She intended to open a store that sold anti-war buttons and distribute liberal literature in her attempt to bring liberalism to the staunchly conservative region of Southern California. Finally, as the multitude of young hippies danced to the Doors’ “People are Strange” under the shade of conifers one puzzled gray-haired golfer remarked “I guess it’s better than war.”¹⁴²

Los Angeles youths couldn’t take credit for hosting the first Be-in: that distinction went to their northern hippie sister, San Francisco which organized the inaugural Human Be-in on January 14, 1967. Although this study is devoted to the spatial empowerment of Los Angeles’s youth culture, it may be worth noting the San Francisco event for a broader perspective. The Bay Area counterculture had been emerging along side Los Angeles in the district of Haight-Ashbury.

Having already been exposed to the Beat Generation writers like Kerouac, Ginsberg and Ferlinghetti in North Beach, the City by the Bay hippies had eagerly taken up the bohemian mantle by 1967. San Francisco rock bands emerged on a par with those performing on the Sunset Strip – Jefferson Airplane, Janis Joplin’s Big Brother and the Holding Company, and the Grateful Dead were among the most renowned. With many members of the area’s counterculture heavily involved with political activism against the Vietnam War, leaders wanted to organize an event that would unify them under the

¹⁴²Francine Grace, “A Groovy Time at the Human Be In,” *Los Angeles Times* March 1 1967, (E8), accessed electronically on October 1, 2012.
<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lapl.org/news/docview/155615719/13984C0DE7353134F0A/1?accountid=6749>

banner of peace, love and flowers. Alternatively known as the “Gathering of Tribes” an estimated crowd of thirty thousand converged on the Polo Grounds at Golden Gate Park to share in a “spiritual revolution [of] unity [through which] fear will be washed away; ignorance will be exposed to sunlight [and] violence will be submerged and transmuted in rhythm and dancing.”¹⁴³

Taking the queue from the sit-in protests by southern blacks in segregated lunch counters and bus depots, the Be-in was a rally against the recently passed California illegalization of LSD. However, all politics aside the organizers were focused on joining all members of San Francisco’s counterculture in a musical celebration of their own kind. With the aroma of hashish in the air thousands listened to Allen Ginsberg’s poems, Timothy Leary’s psychedelic pontifications and the chants of the Hare Krishna. Girls in long dresses danced along side mother’s holding their babies while a man parachuted from a plane into a nearby meadow.¹⁴⁴ Many on acid mistook him for God as Jefferson Airplane’s Grace Slick queried the throng with: Don't you need somebody to love? – Wouldn't you love somebody to love? And then reminding them what the Door mouse said: “Feed your Head.”¹⁴⁵

When the Human Be-in ended it made the national headlines for introducing the flower generation to America – but according to Allen Ginsberg, the idealism it embodied began and ended on that sunny afternoon in Golden Gate Park. That very night, police began enforcing drug laws and arrested fifty people on Haight Street – and by the

¹⁴³ Barry Miles, *Hippie*, (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2004), 186.

¹⁴⁴ Miles, 186.

¹⁴⁵ “Somebody to Love,” and “White Rabbit,” are songs recorded by Jefferson Airplane in 1967 for their *Surrealistic Pillow* Album. Regarded as the archetype psychedelic record during the Summer of Love, it launched the band to national prominence. The lyric “Feed your Head” is often attributed to Lewis Carol’s sequel to *Alice in Wonderland* (1865), *Through the Looking Glass* (1871) which the Airplane infers a drug induced experience.

so called “Summer of Love” hordes of runaways filled the district streets strewn with discarded heroin syringes.¹⁴⁶

Be-in/Love-ins spread throughout the country following the San Francisco event, and most notably in southern California. The public spectacle announced the counterculture’s shared values in a confined natural space. Those that experienced the Be-in at Griffith Park in March were in the process of affirming their right to belong to a valid sub-culture within Los Angeles society. As the March 3, 1967 LA Free Press proclaimed: “The New Hippies of Los Angeles Became a Community for the First Time on Saturday and Sunday!”¹⁴⁷ New friendships were formed and old acquaintances were regenerated. Six years after Los Angeles blacks were beaten near the Griffith Park carousel by LAPD, on a spring day in 1967; young Angelenos shared flowers, food and music on the grass in the absence of law enforcement.

*I told you bout’ Strawberry Fields, where nothing is real.
Here’s another place you can go, where everything flows.
Look through a Glass Onion. Beatles (1968)*

The Merry Pranksters rolled into the San Fernando Valley in their bus called *Further* in February of 1966. Their destination was “The Onion” – a peculiar rotunda-designed church led by Reverend Paul Sawyer. The Sepulveda Universal Unitarian Church’s spiritual leader had befriended the Prankster’s spiritual guru Ken Kesey the year before during one of Kesey’s “Sometimes a Great Notion” speeches at San Francisco State.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ David Davis Director, “The Sixties: The Years That Shaped a Generation,” (Produced by Oregon Public Broadcasting), 2005, DVD Documentary.

¹⁴⁷ Nat Freedland, “Be-in Opens a Loving Weekend,” *Los Angeles Free Press*, March 3, 1967, 4, accessed on microform on October 24, 2012.

¹⁴⁸ Kesey, who had just come off his literary success of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest*, organized the Prankster’s cross country excursion to the New York World’s Faire in the summer of 1964. Driven by beat impresario non-stop rambling Neal Cassady, the *Further*’s psychedelic passengers became infamous for the

Ken Kesey had led the Merry Pranksters on the first hippie field trip on *Further's* maiden voyage in 1964 chronicled in Tom Wolfe's *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*. The 1939 International Harvester school bus, psychedelically repainted and rechristened by the Pranksters in 1964 had carried the Pranksters to their second sojourn, absent Kesey (in Mexico), to Los Angeles. They were intent on healing the pains of the Watts Riots with enlivened spirituality sprinkled with LSD.¹⁴⁹

Despite Paul Sawyer's admonition against exposing his Universal parishioners to LSD, the Onion morphed into Lennon's "Glass Onion" when the Pranksters turned the spiritual dome into the Los Angeles' first Acid Test in February 1966.¹⁵⁰ Art Kunin sent his idyllic pretty twenty something red headed reporter, Clare Brush to one of the "happenings" at the church that was included in the *Free Press's* calendar.¹⁵¹ Eve "The Slum Goddess" may have taken note when she placed her profile in the March 13 *Free Press* – as a self proclaimed "California Beatles People" – while confronted by a 17-year old eager to "trade pot for LSD [at] Hollywood and Vine."¹⁵² Eve's profile is juxtaposed to Omar's small advert on the same page seeking aspiring rock and rollers to audition for his "New Psychedelic Far-Out Group."¹⁵³

Such personal experimentation with drugs and music revealed how the LA youth culture separated themselves from dominant cultural values. Many young Angelenos,

drug induced exploits of their journey. Kesey and his Merry Pranksters were seen by many as a segue between the Beat generation and the emerging counter culture.

¹⁴⁹ Alex Gibney and Allison Ellwood Directors, "Magic Trip: Ken Kesey's Search for a Kool Place," (History Channel Production), 2011, DVD Documentary.

¹⁵⁰ See Aspinal, Neil, Executive Producer, "White Album," *The Beatles Anthology*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), 306. "Glass Onion" was John Lennon's reflection of the many Beatle's recent psychedelic lyrics and themes for their 1968 "White Album." Lennon was quoted: "I threw the line in—the Walrus was Paul—just to confuse everybody a bit more. It could have been 'The fox terrier is Paul.' I mean, it's just a bit of poetry. I was having a laugh because there'd been so much *gobbledygook* about *Pepper*—play it backwards and you stand on your head and all that..."

¹⁵¹ Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, (New York: Picador Press, 1968), 271.

¹⁵² "Slum Goddess," *Los Angeles Free Press*, May 13, 1966.

¹⁵³ "Weird: Band Auditions," *Los Angeles Free Press*, May 13, 1966.

influenced by the Merry Prankster's "happenings" along with experimental exploits of rock bands, turned to mind enhancing drugs to attain a private and collective "high." Historian Todd Gitlin noted that the "counterculture devised institutions in which hip collectivity and the cultivation of individual experience could cohabit."¹⁵⁴ And, when influential performers like Bob Dylan, The Beatles, and The Byrds released drug inspired music during 1966, the privacy of assorted "highs" could be shared in a communal setting in many California coastal canyons punctuated by the mystical echo of a sitar.¹⁵⁵

*Young girls are coming to the canyon
And in the mornings I can see them walkin'
~ Mamas and the Papas (1967)¹⁵⁶*

Ever since humans began to inhabit the Los Angeles region local mountain canyons have provided a space for food, shelter, and security. Within the local San Gabriel and Santa Monica Mountains bands of Gabrieleno and Chumash tribes hunted and thrived in the myriad of deep canyons filled with wildlife and the wonders of nature. Nourished by indigenous plants, wild game, and streams filled with fish, natives also sought refuge inside the labyrinth of canyons as Spanish and then later Mexican settlers encroached upon their spatial lands. Before long, the narrow serpentine dirt trails and gravel roads morphed into paved streets and wider boulevards named Laurel, Benedict, Coldwater, Beverly Glen, and Topanga which ferried commuters between the valley and the city.

¹⁵⁴ Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope Days of Rage*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 206.

¹⁵⁵ Dylan's album *Blonde on Blonde* included a track titled "Rainy Day Women #12 and 35" that contained lyrics reflecting drug use: "But I would not feel so all alone –everybody must get stoned!" On the album *Revolver* the Beatles' John Lennon wrote a song titled "Tomorrow Never Knows" that was influenced by his experimentation with LSD and having read the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*. However, the song "Eight Miles High" by the Byrds is undoubtedly the most renowned early psychedelic track from 1966. The controversial drug implications of the song prompted a broadcasting ban (a fate also shared by "Rainy Day Women #12 and 35") that prevented it from becoming a top ten hit for the imminent LA folk rock group. The sitar, an Indian guitar that was used in "Tomorrow Never Knows" became a common instrument employed in psychedelic songs during the mid-sixties.

¹⁵⁶ "Twelve-thirty (Young Girls are Coming to the Canyon)," Mamas and the Papas, Dunhill Records, 1967.

And, Angelenos who sought their own natural lifestyle away from the crowded city built rustic cabins, bungalows, and later lofty estates which dotted the canyons where only oaks and chaparral had grown and the Gabrieleno and Chumash had lived.

It was only natural for these bucolic canyons to emerge as havens for a like-minded youth culture. Reclusive hideaways along difficult winding roads became desirable hangouts for lodging, rehearsing and engaging in hallucinogenic affairs for musicians and their fans. The Beatles took acid for the first time with The Byrds and Peter Fonda in a house they rented in Benedict Canyon on August 24, 1965.¹⁵⁷ Just a few minutes from the bustling Sunset Strip, Laurel Canyon soon emerged as a beacon for a bohemian community relishing the proximity to the scene while escaping urbanization and authorities. Merely a few miles up from the nocturnal Strip's blaring rock bands, honking horns and the glare of neon lights only the hooting of owls, the yelp of coyotes and the aroma of incense filled the nighttime ambiance of the counterculture's appropriated canyon.

Laurel Canyon had already lured illustrious folk rock musicians several years before the Sunset Strip crackdown by law enforcement during the fall of 1966. The Byrds' Chris Hillman pioneered the rocker trendsetters who settled in the community when he met his future dentist and landlord across from Laurel's Canyon Country Store as he searched for a home in autumn of 1964. Hillman followed the young man up a dirt road near Lookout Mountain's summit, "It was a beautiful old wooden house...I went 'Wow – Perfect!'"¹⁵⁸ Shortly afterwards the Byrds, Buffalo Springfield and Frank Zappa were seen residing

¹⁵⁷ Priore, 81. The Beatles had already partaken with LSD in pairs back in England, but this was the first time the Beatles used the drug together according to Peter Fonda.

¹⁵⁸ Michael Walker, *Laurel Canyon: The Inside Story of Rock and Roll's Legendary Neighborhood*, (New York: Farber and Farber, 2006), 10.

and honing their musical “chops” in the canyon. “Laurel Canyon was sort of the Mecca,” stated Hillman “from [’64 to ’70] it was quite the place to be.”¹⁵⁹ Very shortly, Cass Elliot of the Mamas and the Pappas bought a home near Lookout Mountain where Papa John Phillips penned the group’s “Twelve-thirty (Young Girls are Coming to the Canyon)” ode to the caravan of young girls he saw hitchhiking to the Canyon Store from the Strip.¹⁶⁰



Figure 20 Joni Mitchell, David Crosby and Eric Clapton in Laurel Canyon
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

Among the young attractive girls who ventured to Laurel Canyon was Pamela de Barres, a sixteen-year old San Fernando Valley teenager who had fallen for Hillman while attending a Byrds concert. “I started going there [Hillman’s home] every day after

¹⁵⁹ Walker, 9.

¹⁶⁰ See Walker, Michael. *Laurel Canyon: The Inside Story of Rock and Roll’s Legendary Neighborhood*. In addition to “Twelve-thirty” there were numerous songs written about Laurel Canyon’s counterculture enclave. Graham Nash’s “Our House” was inspired by his relationship with folk singer/songwriter Joni Mitchell during their life in the canyon; Jim Morrison wrote an ode to Laurel Canyon’s hedonism called “Love Street”; and the Byrds recorded “The Ballad of Easy Rider” due in large part to their appreciation of the region’s natural pristine beauty – a quality that remains even today.

school, sitting on the ledge, looking out over all of L.A. and on the clearest days I could see the ocean sparkling.”¹⁶¹ Enthralled by the natural pristine canyon that provided new vistas to augment her dull suburban life, Laurel Canyon promised to “dance beneath the diamond sky with one hand waving free, silhouetted by the sea.”¹⁶² She recalled “it was perfect – I used to call it God’s golden backyard.”¹⁶³ As noted by Michael Walker, de Barres’ experience reflected countless young Angelenos whose canyon “excursions engendered an awakening to cultural possibilities previously unimaginable.”¹⁶⁴

The collective imaginations of rock bands charted new musical paths inspired by Far Eastern Indian mysticism and the back to nature spirit of Native Americans that coalesced within the canyon experience. David McBride refers to this as the counter-culture’s preference for a pristine natural “primitivist strain” over technology romanticizing American Indians as people of a true unspoiled nature.”¹⁶⁵ Groups such as Buffalo Springfield embraced the Indian mythology evidenced by Neil Young’s Nehru-fringed leather jackets while penning songs like the confessional recording of “Broken Arrow”:

*Did you see them in the river?
They were there to wave to you.
Could you tell that the empty quiver,
Brown-skinned Indian on the banks
That were crowded and narrow,
Held a broken arrow?
Buffalo Springfield (1967)*¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Pamela de Barres, *I’m With the Band: Confessions of a Groupie*, (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1987), 46. Accessed electronically Google Books on October 29, 2012. Pamela de Barres would become notorious as the era’s self described infamous “groupie” claiming to have had trysts with several legendary rockers including Jim Morrison, Mick Jagger, and Keith Moon. The film “Almost Famous” (2000) character Penny Lane played by Kate Hudson was supposedly based on de Barres.

¹⁶² Lyrics from “Mr. Tambourine Man” by Bob Dylan, (1965).

¹⁶³ Walker, 12.

¹⁶⁴ Walker, 12.

¹⁶⁵ McBride, 169.

¹⁶⁶ “Broken Arrow,” written by Neil Young and performed by Buffalo Springfield, (ATCO Records, 1967).

Certainly a “return to the soil” ethos held a more authentic and less mediated relationship with the world and according to Lawrence Lipton, which stood against “the city of cement and steel.”¹⁶⁷ At the very moment artists began invoking a natural freedom of love and life through psychedelic persuasions, the Strip scene became more hostile. Legislation illegalizing LSD took effect on October 6, 1966. The young Los Angeles counterculture began to seek out other spatial zones, real or imagined, to further their collective empowerment. Canyons such as Laurel, Topanga and Malibu became home for inclusive sects and communes that afforded refuge from harassment; while urban parks became temporary sites for Love-in or Be-in events where thousands gathered to celebrate and resound in their furlough from the rigors of the establishment.

The Santa Monicas are an unusual mountain range in that they follow a shorter transverse east-west trajectory against the major north-south coastal range of California. *LA Free Press*' Alex Apostelides referred to it as an “anomaly” – as the windy canyon drive heads *south* toward the blue Pacific as a “geographic ploy” to the unsuspecting visitor.¹⁶⁸ Consequently, it's only appropriate that one of the western most canyons of the Santa Monicas became known for more eccentric experiences during the sixties than their eastern counterparts. The Topanga community's isolation from Los Angeles and proximity to the Malibu coastline afforded the counterculture a more rustic and veiled lifestyle. However, as youths moved in to appropriate some of the space in the Topanga community they were contested to the land they coveted. And, in the process, Topanga Canyon unveiled a distorted view of a precursor idyllic phase of the counterculture – a

¹⁶⁷ Lawrence Lipton, “Opinion Citation,” *Open City*, January 5, 1968, 1-8.

¹⁶⁸ Alex Apostolides, “Topanga: Beautiful Though Unreal,” *Los Angeles Free Press*, February 10, 1967, accessed via microform, 9.

nascent peace loving aesthetic obscured by the mercantile fog rolling in from the established sea of capitalism.¹⁶⁹

Because of its natural beauty and reclusiveness musicians from classical to rock were attracted to Topanga's congenial atmosphere. Topanga's distance from Hollywood's recording industry and the Canyon's intimate space provided performers with an ideal setting to live, socialize, and freely jam. In an ironic twist of bohemian lore, artist and realtor Bob Dewitt sold nine acres near Topanga Creek to the composer of "This Land is Your Land" – Woody Guthrie in 1952. Dewitt recalled that Guthrie named his ranch "Pretty Polly Canyon," where he entertained his friends' actor Will Geer and fellow folkie Ramblin' Jack Elliot. According to Dewitt, Guthrie also referred to his precious parcel of "wild and rugged tanglewood" as the "New Lost City" in honor of his nineteen-year-old "lady love Anneka."¹⁷⁰ It was on a local radio show during this period that Guthrie passed out – succumbing to the early stages of Huntington Cholera that would later end his life in 1967 – the year Neil Young relocated twenty four miles west of the Strip into the community of Topanga.

Neil Young relished his time in Topanga where he reenergized the band Crazy Horse with future Bruce Springsteen guitarist Nils Lofgren. Young's Topanga years produced some of his most prolific material – "Cinnamon Girl," "Heart of Gold," and "Southern Man." Crazy Horse occasionally performed at Topanga's most famous road house called the Old Corral. However, it was the group Canned Heat that established the Old Corral as the community's bastion for country rock. Their hit "Going up the Country" was inspired

¹⁶⁹ Walker, 17.

¹⁷⁰ Louise Armstrong York, Ed., *Topanga Story*, (Topanga: Topanga Historical Society, 1992), 197.

by Topanga's natural ambient qualities – a song they performed at Woodstock and which epitomized the period's back-to-nature vibe.

The distance and seclusion of Topanga from parents and law enforcement yielded a large contention of young hippies to the abandoned pioneer cabins along Topanga Creek during the summer of 1967. The *Los Angeles Times* covered the rising conflict between some 250 encamped young bohemian homesteaders and the entrenched Topanga businesses and concerned residents in July. Harassed by curfew restrictions along the Sunset Strip, many were drawn to Topanga's established history of music and the arts. Near their communal encampment at the popular "Twin Poles" site where large boulders and caverns caressed Topanga Creek, hippie transplants Kip and Bodhi defended their claim to their rightful pastoral sphere.¹⁷¹ Sucking on a popsicle Bodhi claimed "all [he] wanted was a sitar and a mountain top."¹⁷² One of the commune's young leaders, Kip defended their right to live in Topanga, "It's not their land, man, its God's...they're just scared of us because they don't understand us...when they do, they're fear will turn to love."¹⁷³ Kip and Bodhi maintained that their sense of community in Topanga centered on living in harmony with nature opposed to the urban background in which they were nurtured.

¹⁷¹ According to local Topanga historian Amy Skillman the Twin Poles site had long been a "favorite swimming and hiking spot for Canyon dwellers." However the influx of approximately 40 to 50 hippies to the area by the summer of 1967 became of grave concern to local residents from poor sanitation, littering, and the potential for their camp fires to ignite destructive brush fires. By the early seventies, the Sheriff's department deployed helicopters and deputies to purge Twin Poles of the hippies. One local resident recalled hearing "Put on your bras, put on your bras" from one of the helicopter sweeps in 1970. See Amy Skillman, "Hippies in Topanga," *Topanga Story*, 87-88.

¹⁷² Gordon Grant, "Hippies Answer their Critics," *Los Angeles Times*, Jul 23, 1967, p. 5 C1, accessed on November 1, 2012.

<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155772395?accountid=6749>

¹⁷³ Grant, p.1 C1.

The *Times* article goes on to detail the negative effects the hippies had on Topanga – increased crime by 400 percent between 1966 and 1967, the abuse of narcotics, and unsafe living conditions in local caves and abandoned properties in a region subject to brush fires.¹⁷⁴ Local Topanga Fire Captain Donald Bright disclosed the numerous times his station had been called because “car loads of them hooked on marijuana or LSD” had careened over the steep canyon cliffs.¹⁷⁵ Despite such concerns, the bulk of the grievances were leveled by the Topanga Chamber of Commerce at the hordes of hippies congregating around the community’s shopping center. Chamber President William C. Carter exclaimed that they “were concerned about the increase in crime and the image these people give the community” in an earlier *Times* article.¹⁷⁶ The young, long-haired oddly-dressed new comers who had little to no disposable income became incompatible with local mercantile concerns.

During the struggle for spatial entitlement in Topanga local residents became divided over how to handle the hippie dilemma. On one side was the local chamber of commerce who elicited the support of the LA County District Attorney to permit the Sheriff’s Department to conduct “hippie sweeps” of the shopping center and Twin Poles encampment. Soon “No Trespassing Signs” were printed and posted on abandoned properties to initiate arrests of the “hippie types.” Local Topanga papers began using terms like “hippie menace,” “hippie swarm,” and “hippie invasion” to shape local public attitudes.¹⁷⁷ On the other side of the issue were local residents and business owners who

¹⁷⁴ Grant, p. 1 C1.

¹⁷⁵ Grant, C5.

¹⁷⁶ “Topanga C of C Seeks Ouster of Hippie Colony,” *Los Angeles Times*, Jul 06, 1967, accessed on November 1, 2012, <http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155734832?accountid=6749>.

¹⁷⁷ York, 87.

formed the Topanga Chamber of Community Relations in May 1968 to “promote better understanding between all members of the Canyon.”¹⁷⁸ Many local residents were upset that their children were being interrogated by law enforcement merely because they had long hair. The T.C.C.R.’s goal was to reestablish the core Topanga ideology of harmony, tolerance, and inclusivity during this derisive period. Local resident Layne Wooten organized popular *pot* lucks at this home which drew hundreds of hippies and ultimately became a musical Love-in in 1968 that attracted thousands. Though the T.C.C.R.’s efforts did alleviate much of the tension between law enforcement, sympathetic locals and the more responsible hippies, the denizens of capitalism ultimately achieved their goal when a bulldozer leveled an area behind the shopping center where many hippies had congregated.

The day before the Landa Company had intended to bull doze the area, a Hippie organized protest called a “Lie-in” with signs that read “Halt – Mined Area” had momentarily silenced the bull dozers engines. Many of the bohemians believed they had won their right for their Topanga space only to wake up the next morning to find their vanquished site along their pastoral creek leveled. In the tranquil space, a barefooted “love child” named Nadia had once made a small shrine from twigs and rocks and lit a candle to the “beautiful place” she’d discovered called Topanga Canyon.¹⁷⁹

San Fernando Valley State Sociology professor Lewis Yablonsky had traveled north of Topanga to Malibu’s Decker Canyon to find the spiritual leader of the Strawberry Fields/Desolation Row commune when he suddenly realized he was lost in the Malibu hills high above the Pacific. While he stopped at a local fire station for directions, the fire

¹⁷⁸ York, 87.

¹⁷⁹ Grant, 1.

chief incredulously queried the professor's motives, "Why do you want to find those bastards that burned themselves up?" Then he eluded that the straight-laced be-speckled professor hardly resembled a hippie. "They'll all crazy running around in those hills nude." Before the hostile fire chief gave him directions to the hippies' new residence, he added "There's still two of them living there (Strawberry Fields) – a crazy fifteen year old who calls herself Moonglow living in a tree with some boy. They're both crazy on dope. Just sit around and stare out in space."¹⁸⁰

Yablonsky had met Gridley Wright four years prior on the East Coast during a Synanon meeting when the Yale graduate wore Brookstone suits and traded stocks on Wall Street. Much had changed – Wright had gone from stocks to counseling juvenile delinquents to embracing the hippie counterculture overlooking the Pacific. Yablonsky became intrigued with hippiedom and was conducting research for his book *The Hippie Trip* when Wright came up to him at a Santa Monica delicatessen. "My name is Gridley Wright. Don't you remember me?" Wright reminded the professor they had met when the sect leader was a probation officer. Despite a warm invitation to visit Wright's Strawberry Fields commune, it was only after the compound had burned down that Yablonsky developed an intimate rapport with him as he delved into the commune's inner sanctum.

As Yablonsky noted in *The Hippie Trip*, Gridley was his primary guide into the countercultural commune world of drugs, free-love and back-to-nature ethos. Wright's candid responses to many intensive interviews with Yablonsky revealed that both the man and his followers were a "hippie group on the mountain in search for civilization...The question I (Yablonsky) couldn't answer was, why these people who

¹⁸⁰ Lewis Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, (Lincoln: toExcel Publishing, 1968), 62.

had all that American society could offer [were] so driven to start all over again?”¹⁸¹ And, more poignantly he asks why hundreds of thousands of American youths retreated to a primitive position? Perhaps the ideal of American freedom so precious to our heritage had become lost on a new breed of young Americans. Their needs simply weren’t being met by an established post-war capitalistic society – and their secluded spatial habitats provided the arena to pursue their own vision of the American dream. The obvious paradox to Yablonsky was the modern America they shunned was the same industrialized nation that provided them with the “The Campbell soup, polished brown rice, flashlights, candles, and most of their clothes (when they wore any).”¹⁸²

Notwithstanding any inherent bohemian contradictions, for eight months Gridley Wright’s Strawberry Fields/Desolation Row commune became a pleasure seeking hedonistic Camelot where trust and equality were instilled. After eight months of sexual liberation and psychedelic drug-induced euphoria there was smoke above the blue Pacific when someone left a candle burning and Strawberry Fields was reduced to ashes. Even prior to the fire, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a story on May 25, 1967 describing the controversial conditions of the 44-acre hippie colony’s “freedom of self totality” on the Decker Canyon ranch which concerned neighbors and prompted the county to begin eviction proceedings.¹⁸³ Shortly thereafter, the self described user of LSD, Gridley Wright, was arrested for possession and his trial became a national sensation when he

¹⁸¹ Robert Kirsch, “A Sociologist's Trip through Hippieland,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1968, C38, accessed on November 1, 2012,

<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/156019355?accountid=6749>

¹⁸² Kirsch, C38.

¹⁸³ Ken Hansen, “Hippies Get Word to 'Split' from Decker Canyon Colony,” *Los Angeles*, May 25, 1967, accessed on November 1, 2012,

<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155698435?accountid=6749>.

elected to defend himself citing passages of the New Testament while proclaiming to be under the influence of LSD while in court.

In summary, Canyon life created a home for the LA counterculture to thrive and become independent. Its preeminent natural qualities served musicians and their young denizens to galvanize their movement. Laurel, Topanga, and Malibu Canyons emerged as micro bohemian communities as the Los Angeles' counterculture evolved. The canyons' pastoral settings and isolation attracted free spirits to form relationships through communal living. There, they could pursue self-expression and seek a common purpose. In such, the counterculture's search for oneness and identity may have been potentially realized in these spatial zones. Recording producer/artist Kim Fowler, who lived in both Laurel and Topanga Canyon, believed canyon life yielded a Thoreau experience: "the joy of living un-hung-up outside of the city thing [while] living in the country and nature – instinct."¹⁸⁴

Yet, in the course of their pursuit for idealized happiness unencumbered by the rules of society many like Ridley Wright were disappointed. He, for example, had discovered that his dream of Strawberry Fields becoming a self fulfilling providence for inner spirituality descended into a transient "refugee camp" for quick highs before his young visitors returned to the city.¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately for many, the promise of canyon living was like a broken vial which spilled the lives of Crazy Horse guitarist Danny Whitten and their roadie Bruce Berry – both succumbing to heroin addiction. Finally, the darkest side of canyon hippiedom came with the murder Topanga musician Gary Hinman on July 26,

¹⁸⁴ McBride, 266.

¹⁸⁵ Yablonsky, 55.

1969 by a Box Canyon sect that would later take the lives of six more victims a week later in Benedict Canyon – The Manson clan.



Figure 21 Promo for *The Love-Ins* film circa 1967
(Photo accessed on Youtube YouTube <http://standingatthecrossroads-blackcatbone.blogspot.com/2010/09/la-love-in-1967-elysian-park-eastern.html>)

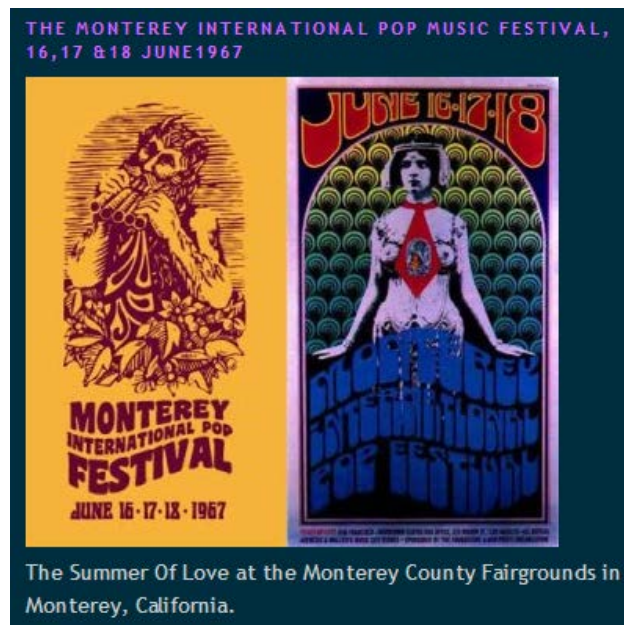


Figure 22 Promo for Monterey International Pop Festival June 1967
(Reproduced with permission from Domenic Priore)

CONCLUSION

The March 21, 1966 cover of *Newsweek* featured a “Blond and copper-toned, 16-year-old named Jan Smithers of Woodland Hills, “[who] orbits between the worlds of the Surf and the Strip.”¹⁸⁶ Titled “The Teen-agers: A *Newsweek* Survey of What They’re Really Like,” the national magazine valiantly attempted to offer an exposé on the mysterious cultural phenomena known as adolescence. *Newsweek*’s eighteen page main story included profiles of various teens going through a plethora of 1966 pressures from parental restrictions to boyfriends’ over-sexed urges. Of interest is how they compared the “solidly grounded” Smithers, to that of Bobbi, a runaway from her upper middle-class home, who takes “LSD and other psychedelics” with her friends on “Giant Hunts” in Sierra Canyon. While both teens are viewed as perplexed, Smithers “beneath her Fluoristan smile *feels* like screaming and pounding her pillow” and exclaims “I’m so confused about this whole world and everything that’s happening.”¹⁸⁷ Her counterpart Bobbi, belonged to the disenchanting teenager community who have abandoned their affluent families for sex, drugs, and rock and roll only later to be arrested for curfew violations and returned to the *safety* of their homes.

Between 1965 and 1967 American youths, like Jan Smithers and Bobbi experienced and experimented with the unexpected. Rock and roll, drugs, free love, and war created a whirlwind of changes for American youth. With the Vietnam War escalating, many began to vehemently oppose it. When young Americans began seeing images of naked Vietnamese children fleeing from their napalmed jungle villages due to “search and

¹⁸⁶ Osborne Elliot, Ed., “Teen-agers: Survey of What They’re Really Like,” *Newsweek*, March 21, 1966, 62. Jan Smithers went on to a successful career in television, notable for her role as Bailey Quarters in “WKRP in Cincinnati” that revolved around the hi-jinks of the station’s peculiar staff – Smithers was among the minority – apparently she finally came to grips during the late 70’s.

¹⁸⁷ “The Teen-agers” 62.

destroy” missions sandwiched between “Shindig!” and “The Monkees” the honor of US policy became morally inapprehensible. Glendale College History professor Gordon Alexander spoke about the moment he stepped beyond the safety of his San Fernando Valley “bubble” and picked up a protest sign that read “Dow off Campus” at UCLA in 1967. At that moment he became part of a movement that had an “implied community of common purpose.”¹⁸⁸ As Alexander recalled “I didn’t understand why the United States was at war with a small third world nation...the horror of the war was too powerful to ignore.”¹⁸⁹ Meanwhile others simply defied authority by following the lead of the Merry Pranksters by delving into hallucinogenic stimulants and the merriment of escapism.

However the intent of the hippies, canyon bohemians, or campus protestors they all coalesced under the guise of a dynamic Los Angeles counterculture. And, in effect their alliance articulated, what sociologist Henri LeFebvre sees as a certain type of “spatial code” that measured their identity against their appropriated surroundings.¹⁹⁰ They discovered their cultural and political strength through the spatial codes they attached to the spaces they experienced. When they were confronted by the established conservative spatial codes of business and law enforcement a contested “spatial duality” emerged.¹⁹¹ Whatever ideological distinctions hippies and young politicians may have had, they were united by their defense of the spaces they shared under the constellation of their constituted counterculture.

Their road to group identity and self-expression was developed through intimate social relationships in spatial spheres they explored, affirmed and celebrated. If one is to

¹⁸⁸ Gordon Alexander, interview by author, April 23, 2012, digital recording, conducted at Glendale College.

¹⁸⁹ Alexander interview.

¹⁹⁰ Henri LeFebvre, *The Production of Space*, (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), accessed on November 22, 2012, 142. Google Books.

¹⁹¹ LeFebvre, 374.

understand why the Los Angeles counterculture emerged as a vibrant component of the region during the mid-sixties one must entertain how space was negotiated between actors in their struggle for recognition. David McBride noted that “control over the meaning of a certain landscape provides legitimacy to a cultural formation and access to such spaces” thereby producing public recognition that may have never existed if not for the challenge by the LA youth movement.¹⁹² The popular phrase that rang out during this period was Timothy Leary’s “Turn On, Tune In, and Drop Out.” It may be true that Los Angeles youth culture yearned to separate themselves from their parents’ paranoid cold war capitalist exclusive world by “dropping out”— however as they wandered away from the old, they dropped into a musically-charged universe that they celebrated.

And in their journey many Los Angeles youths became empowered by the spaces they migrated, settled, and immersed themselves into: The Sunset Strip world filled with song, dance, and social protest; the Underground Press that united the young in their search for a collective voice that established LA newspapers expunged. While, the Be-ins served to galvanize their cause in celebratory musical exchanges. And, finally the sense of nature and communal living that was enriched by the secluded canyon enclaves, which lured the young to explore new dimensions unencumbered by provincial urbanization. The echo of *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité* reverberated in these spatial zones they appropriated, and in the process the Los Angeles youth culture emerged as a vital community on its own terms.

¹⁹² McBride, 197.

EPILOGUE

Within a week after The Who obliterated their set and Jimi Hendrix set fire to his guitar at the Monterey Pop Festival, President Lyndon Johnson escorted his daughter Lynda to a \$500 per-plate fundraiser for his upcoming re-election campaign at the Century Plaza Hotel on June 23, 1967.¹⁹³ The nation and our community had undergone seismic cultural shifts in the three years since the *T.A.M.I.* concert shook Los Angeles teens across from the RAND building in Santa Monica. On the eve of 1967's Summer of Love over ten thousand young protestors had gathered along the Avenue of the Stars to denounce the Vietnam War draft and urge Johnson to end hostilities.¹⁹⁴ Among the chanting demonstrators was a San Fernando Valley State College English professor named Richard Abcarian who had brought his two daughters and wife to what he'd expected to be an act of civil disobedience. As he recalled the events that occurred almost fifty years ago he was still angry and shaken.

"It was scary, it was very scary. Had I known what would happen I wouldn't have brought my children." Dr. Abcarian, his family and the throngs of protestors were ordered by riot clad LAPD up an ivy embankment above the boulevard. However, hundreds refused to leave until a police phalanx formed and marched directly toward the defiant young Angelinos. One lone young man, sat down on the street directly in front of the baton wielding wall of officers. "I can still remember it even today – it was an awe inspiring site," Dr. Abcarian told me. Then the officers rushed him and started "pounding on him...I had never seen anything like this before, it was shocking. The young man

¹⁹³ American Civil Liberties Union, *Day of Protest, Night of Violence: The Century City Peace March*, (Los Angeles: Sawyer Press, 1967), 2.

¹⁹⁴ Jerry Cohen, "The Anti-War March---what DID Happen?" *Los Angeles Times*, July 02, 1967, accessed October 4, 2012, H1.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155720792?accountid=6749>

sitting in a passive Buddha position just took the beating.”¹⁹⁵ In a letter he wrote following the protest he described his feelings:

He (police officer) pounded the young man’s head and shoulder violently. In an instant, scores of marchers rushed in to stop the attack, the rest of the phalanx swept in swinging clubs, and the crowd in shocked anger chanted, “Seig Heil.” For an adult, it was sickening; my daughters were hysterical. I had to get them out of there.¹⁹⁶

To not allow dissent according to Abcarian is a “submission to authority.”¹⁹⁷ In the aftermath of the Century City riot fifty-one protestors were arrested. The event ominously foreshadowed the violent radicalism that Americans would experience in 1968. Yet, for Richard Abcarian and the thousands of Los Angeles protestors who stood firm in a place they defended at the dawn of the Summer of Love – it was merely their time of the season for Spatial Empowerment.

¹⁹⁵ Dr. Richard Abcarian Interview conducted on October 23, 2012, Venice California. Electronic recording.

¹⁹⁶ Dr. Richard Abcarian Letter on Century City Plaza Hotel Protests, 23 June 1967. RG #10.03 File 1-39. Dr. Richard Abcarian Collection. Accessed on October 4, 2012. California State University Northridge Special Collections.

¹⁹⁷ Abcarian Interview.



Figure 23 Promo for Century City Anti-war protest
(Courtesy of KCET http://www.kcet.org/updaily/socal_focus/PG_03165.jpg)



Figure 24 Images from Century City Anti-war protest
(Courtesy of KCET http://www.kcet.org/updaily/socal_focus/PG_03165.jpg)



Figure 25 Lone protestor dissents in front of police phalanx during Century City Riot on June 23, 1967
(Courtesy of KCET http://www.kcet.org/updaily/socal_focus/Pg_03165.jpg)



Figure 26 Griffith Park Love-in, March 1967
(Photograph accessed on YouTube <http://standinathecrossroads-blackcatbone.blogspot.com/2010/09/la-love-in-1967-elysian-park-eastern.html>)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Los Angeles Free Press

Apostolides, Alex. "Topanga: Beautiful Though Unreal." *Los Angeles Free Press*. February 10, 1967. Microform accessed on October 16, 2012.

Carr, Brian. "Youth Organize Police Protest." *Los Angeles Free Press*. November 18, 1966. Microform accessed on October 16, 2012.

Freedland, Nat. "Be-in Opens a Loving Weekend." *Los Angeles Free Press*. March 3, 1967. Microform accessed on October 16, 2012.

Kunkin, Art. "Negroes Have Voted," *Los Angeles Free Press*. August 20, 2012. Microform accessed on October 16, 2012.

Robbins, Paul Jay. "Bob Dylan Interview." *Los Angeles Free Press*. September 24, 1965. Microform accessed on October 16, 2012.

"We Dissent," *Los Angeles Free Press*. May 14, 1965. Microform accessed on October 16, 2012.

Los Angeles Times

Anderson, Walt. "A Hard Days Night on the Strip." *Los Angeles Times*. October 16, 1966. Accessed April 28, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155536765?accountid=6749>.

Champlin, Charles. "Folks Pay Homage to Dylan." *Los Angeles Times*. September 6, 1965. Accessed October 20, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155264706?accountid=6749>.

Cohen, Jerry. "The Anti-War March---what DID Happen?" *Los Angeles Times*. July 02, 1967, accessed October 4, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155720792?accountid=6749>.

Fradkin, Phil and Dick Main. "Bowl Roundup." *Los Angeles Times*. August 30, 1965. Accessed October 20, 2012,
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155240942?accountid=6749>.

- Grace, Francine. "A Groovy Time at 'Human be in.'" *Los Angeles Times*. March 1, 1967. Accessed April 28 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155615719?accountid=6749>.
- Grant, Gordon. "Hippies Answer their Critics." *Los Angeles Times*. Jul 23, 1967. Accessed November 1, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155772395?accountid=6749>.
- Hansen, Ken. "Hippies Get Word to 'Split' from Decker Canyon Colony." *Los Angeles Times*. May 25, 1967. Accessed November 1, 2012,
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155698435?accountid=6749>.
- Hillinger, Charles. "Sale Touches Off Near Riots." *Los Angeles Times*, April 26, 1964. Accessed on April 5, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/168540046?accountid=6749>.
- Johnson, Pete. "Youths on Strip Pelt Buses, Police." *Los Angeles Times*., November 13, 1966. Accessed April 28 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155591119?accountid=6749>.
- Kirsch, Robert. "A Sociologist's Trip through Hippiland." *Los Angeles Times*. August 4, 1968. Accessed November 1, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/156019355?accountid=6749>.
- Reich, Ken. "Brothers could Influence Future of Sunset Strip." *Los Angeles Times*. November 3, 1966, Accessed April 28, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155593857?accountid=6749>.
- Reich, Ken. "Teen-Agers and Crime Ply the Sunset Strip." *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1966. Accessed April 25, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155351878?accountid=6749>.
- Smith, Jack, and Lance Brisson. "18,700 Shriek for the Beatles at Bowl." *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1964. Accessed on April 4, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/154976783?accountid=6749>.

- "1,000 Riot in L.A." *Los Angeles Times*. August 12, 1965. Accessed October 20, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155225841?accountid=6749>.
- "75 Policemen Quell Riot in Griffith Park." *Los Angeles Times*. May 31, 1961. Accessed October 18, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/167904708?accountid=6749>.
- "78 arrested in love-in at Griffith Park." *Los Angeles Times* November 6, 1967. Accessed October 18, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155746840?accountid=6749>.
- "Topanga C of C Seeks Ouster of Hippie Colony." *Los Angeles Times*, July 6, 1967. Accessed November 1, 2012.
<http://ezproxy.lapl.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155734832?accountid=6749>.

Other Primary Documents

- Carousel News and Trader*. Accessed October 5, 2012.
<http://www.carouselnews.com/January-2008/January-2008/Griffith-Park-Carousel-A-Piece-of-American-History.html>.
- "Editorial." *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, May 1, 1961. Accessed on October 18, 2012, Microform.
- "The *L.A. Free Press* is Rich." *Esquire*. Opinion Citation. June 1970. Accessed on October 5, 2012, Microform.
- Elliot, Osborne, Ed. "Teen-agers: Survey of What They're Really Like." *Newsweek*. March 21, 1966.
- Harvey, David. "Spatial Justice Workshop." Lecture at the Center for the Study of Democracy at University of Westminster. YouTube. Accessed on November 12, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tnGtfSBMJrY>.
- Lipton, Lawrence. "Opinion Citation." *Open City*. January 5, 1968. Accessed on October 18, 2012, Microform.

Archival Research

- Abcarian, Richard. Letter on Century City Plaza Hotel Protests, 23 June 1967. RG #10.03 File 1-39. Dr. Richard Abcarian Collection. Accessed on October 4, 2012. California State University Northridge Special Collections.
- Arnebegh, Roger Los Angeles City Attorney. "Report Re Anti-Riot Legislation." September 15, 1966, photo copy accessed in Los Angeles Archives on March 16, 2012, 1.
- Potter, James. "2nd District Los Angeles City Council Hearing memo." Photo copy, 29 November 1966, accessed at Los Angeles Historical Archives.
- Potter, James. Department of City Planning. "City Plan Case 20375: Condemnation for Public Street Easements and Rights," December 1, 1966, photo copy accessed at Los Angeles Historical Archives.
- Population and Housing in Los Angeles County: A Study in the Growth of Residential Segregation (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, 1963), LACCHRA.

Secondary Sources

- Allen, David S. "From Parks to Free Speech Zones: Spatial Frameworks and the Regulation of American Dissent in Public Space." Ms. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, (2011). Accessed October 1, 2012.
<http://www4.uwm.edu/c21/pdfs/workingpapers/allen2011.pdf>.
- American Civil Liberties Union. *Day of Protest, Night of Violence: The Century City Peace March*. Los Angeles: Sawyer Press, 1967.
- Aspinal, Neil. Executive Producer. *The Beatles Anthology*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000.
- Bernhard, Anthony and Edgar Friedenber. "The Sunset Strip." *The New York Review of Books*, March 9, 1967. Accessed April 28, 2012.
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1967/mar/09/the-sunset-strip/?pagination=false>.
- Craske, Oliver, Roman Milisic, Julian Quance, Brian Roylance, Eds. *The Beatles Anthology*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000.
- Davis, Mike. "Wild Streets: American Graffiti versus the Cold War," *International Socialism*. (Summer 2001). Accessed October 8, 2012
<http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/isj2/2001/isj2-091/davis.htm>.

- de Barres, Pamela. *I'm With the Band: Confessions of a Groupie*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1987. Accessed Google Books on October 29, 2012.
- Einarson, John. *Forever Changes: Arthur Lee and the Book of Love*. London: Jawbone Press, 2000.
- Elliot, Mai. *Rand in Southeast Asia: A History of the Vietnam War Era*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation 2010.
- Frascina, Francis, *Art, Politics and Dissent: Aspects of the Art Left in Sixties America*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Gitlin, Todd. *The Sixties: Years of Hope Days of Rage*. New York: Bantam Books, 1987.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991. Accessed on November 12, 2012 via Google Books.
- Hayden, Dolores. *Power of Place: Urban Landscapes and Public History*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995. Accessed on October 19, 2012 via Google books.
- Hohendahl, Peter and Patricia Russian. "Jürgen Habermas: The Public Sphere," 1964. *New German Critique*. No. 3, (Autumn, 1974). Accessed on November 17, 2012. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/487736>.
- Hou, Jeffrey. *Insurgent Public Spaces: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*. New York: Routledge, 2010. Accessed on October 19, 2012 Google books.
- Inglis, Ian Ed. *Performance and Popular Music*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006.
- Ides, Matthew Allan. "Cruising For Community: Youth Culture and Politics in Los Angeles, 1910-1970." PhD. Diss., University of Michigan, 2009.
- Landau, Jon. *It's Too Late to Stop Now*. San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972.
- LeFebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991. Accessed on November 22, 2012, Google Books.
- Levine, Ken. *The Me Generation by Me: Growing up in the Sixties*. Published by Author, 2012.
- Low, Seth, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld, *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.

- McBride, David. "On the Fault Line of Mass Culture and Counterculture: A Social History of the Hippie Counterculture in 1960s." PhD Diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1998.
- McMillian, John Campbell. *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Miles, Barry *Hippie*. New York: Sterling Publishing, 2004.
- Miller, Jim Ed. *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock and Roll*. "The Teen Idols" by Greg Shaw. New York: Random House, 1980.
- Mitchell, Don. *Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, New York: Guilford Press, 2003.
- Norman, Phillip. *Shout: The True Story of the Beatles*, London: Hammish Hamilton, 1981.
- Oberschall, Anthony. "The Los Angeles Riot of August 1965," *Social Problems*, 15.3 1968.
- O'Rourke, K.C. *John Stuart Mill and Freedom of Expression: The Genesis of a Theory*. Taylor and Francis E Library, 2003.
- Parkinson, John R. *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2012). Accessed October 6, 2012 from Google Books.
- Peck, Abe. *Uncovering the Sixties: Life and Times of the Underground Press*. New York: Pantheon Books 1985.
- Priore, Dominic. *Riot on the Sunset Strip: Rock n' Roll's Last Stand in Hollywood*. London: Jawbone Books 2007.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knoph Publishing, 1993.
- Sander, Ellen. *Trips: Rock Life in the Sixties*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973.
- Scaduto, Anthony. *Bob Dylan*. New York: Signet Books, 1973.
- Sides, Josh. *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press 2003.

- Soja, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso Publishing (1989). Electronically accessed on October 6, 2012 Google Books.
- Soja, Edward. *Seeking Spatial Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2010.
- Sunstein, Cass. *Why Societies Need Dissent*, Boston: First Harvard University Press, 2005. Accessed electronically via Google Books on October 5, 2012.
- Szatmary, David. *Rockin' in Time: A Social History of Rock and Roll*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1987.
- Walker, Michael. *Laurel Canyon: The Inside Story of Rock and Roll's Legendary Neighborhood*. New York: Farber and Farber, 2006.
- Wenner, Jann S. Ed. *Rolling Stone Magazine's 500 Greatest Songs of All Time*. "#1 Like a Rolling Stone." August 26, 2010.
- Wolfe, Tom. *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*. New York: Picador Press, 1968.
- Yablonsky, Lewis. *The Hippie Trip*. Lincoln: toExcel Publishing, 1968.
- York, Louise Armstrong. Ed. *Topanga Story*. Topanga: Topanga Historical Society, 1992.
- Zilberg, Elana Jean. "From Riots to Rampart: A Spatial Cultural Politics of Salvadoran Migration to and from Los Angeles." PhD., University at Austin, 2002.
- "Pynx." Wikipedia. accessed electronically on October 12, 2012, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pnyx>.
- "Los Angeles Historical Population Graph," accessed on April 26, 2012, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Los_Angeles,_California.

Oral Interviews

- Abcarian, Richard. Interview by author. 23 October 2012. Digital recording. Conducted at Venice California.
- Alexander, Gordon. Interview by author. 23 April 2012. Digital recorder. Conducted at Glendale College, Glendale CA.
- Schoquist, Arthur. Interview by author. 29 April 2012. Digital Recorder. Conducted at residence.
- Sutherland, Jon. Interview by author. 15 April 2012. Notes. Telephone.

“Stephen Stills and Neil Young Buffalo Springfield Interview 2/3.” (:50). Uploaded on YouTube by jochemgr on April 11, 2006. Accessed on April 25, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6TatOkylWcg&feature=relmfu>.

Songs

The Beatles. “Glass Onion.” Apple Records, 1968.

Buffalo Springfield. “Broken Arrow.” ATCO Records, 1967.

Buffalo Springfield. “For What it’s Worth.” ATCO Records, 1966.

The Byrds. “Mr. Tambourine Man.” Columbia Records, 1965

The Byrds. “Turn, Turn, Turn (to Everything There is a Season).” Columbia Records, 1965.

Dylan, Bob. “Ballad of a Thin Man.” Columbia Records, 1965.

Dylan, Bob. “Blowin’ in the Wind.” Columbia Records, 1963.

Dylan, Bob. “Like a Rolling Stone.” Columbia Records, 1965.

Dylan, Bob. “Mr. Tambourine Man.” Columbia Records, 1964.

Jefferson Airplane. “Somebody to Love.” RCA Victor, 1967.

Jefferson Airplane. “White Rabbit.” RCA Victor, 1967.

Mamas and the Papas. “Twelve-thirty (Young Girls are Coming to the Canyon).” Dunhill Records, 1967.

The Rolling Stones. “(I Can’t Get No) Satisfaction.” London Records, 1965.

Sebastian, John. “Do You Believe in Magic.” Kuma Sutra, 1965.

Film

Binder, Steve Director. “The T.A.M.I Show.” Los Angeles: Bill Sargent Production, (2009), DVD musical.

Davis David Director. “The Sixties: The Years That Shaped a Generation” Produced by Oregon Public Broadcasting, (2005), DVD Documentary.

Gibney, Alex and Allison Ellwood Directors. "Magic Trip: Ken Kesey's Search for a Kool Place." History Channel Production, (2011), DVD Documentary.

Peerce, Larry Director. "The Big T.N.T. Show." Los Angeles: Video Beat Production, (2010), DVD musical.

Scorsese, Martin Director. "No Direction Home: Bob Dylan." London: Apple Productions, (2009), DVD Documentary.