

Grassroots Media Zine 3



In this issue: John 'Hoppy' Hopkins

AWARD

2016

AND

“I remember being in a taxi with George (George Clark) and we were going somewhere. It was Easter, around the big Aldermaston March. We were discussing what sort of name to give to a neighborhood association.”

“This was around the time people were just starting to use LSD, and the psychedelic people wanted to use the word AND”

“We will call this organization AND!”

“I mean, it’s not the name of anything, it’s a piece of grammar, but there we were, debating whether it would be a good idea to use the word as a name.”

“George was puzzled, because the people who were taking acid were talking from such a different point of view. We were not on the same ground as this political activist, so we had a vigorous conversation in that taxi.”

From an interview with ‘Hoppy’, 17 July 2011

Grassroots
Media **3**
Zine

In this issue:

John 'Hoppy' Hopkins

interviews from 2009-2014



The Grassroots Media Zine 3
John 'Hoppy' Hopkins interview from 2009-2014

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'Hoppy' in his flat, 2 September 2009

by

Mugiko Nishikawa

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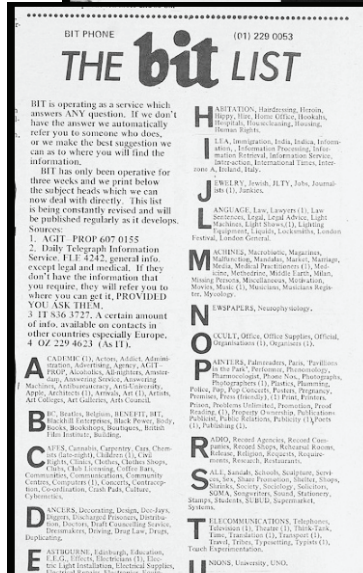
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Acknowledgements

I visited London on September 2015 with a draft of *Grassroots Media Zine#3*, and I met with several people who'd worked in Notting Hill in the 1960s, and who were also friends who have consistently supported my fieldwork in London since it began in 2001.

They all read this draft and offered many useful comments along with their memories. These meetings have for many years inspired me and allowed me to touch their 'sixties' and to offer their rich and vivid information to readers through my writing.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to: Mr. Adam Ritchie, Mr. Tom Vague, Ms. Beryl Foster, Ms. Jan O'Malley, Mr. John O'Malley, Revd. David Mason, Ms. Geneviève Fontier, and Mr. Neville Collins. Mr. Barry Miles also kindly read that first draft and sent me valuable suggestions by email.

Throughout the time that I knew him, John 'Hoppy' Hopkins encouraged me in my field and media work. I always enjoyed talking with him and I learned a lot about his concepts of "media and communication" and of course the "happening". I can no longer express my thanks directly to him, however I will celebrate his life by continuing with my grass-roots media activities and sharing his memories.

Mugiko Nishikawa
2 January 2016

Introduction

Stuart Hall described the Notting Hill¹ of the 1960s as ‘a transitional zone’².

“It became a kind of hub for the counter culture after ‘68 and all of these threads go into Notting Hill for some reason. And if you ask me why, I would say because it was a transitional zone, where people of different cultures, different ages, different classes . . . remember, they come into an old working class area with their own culture, so it’s white working class culture, black culture, middle class culture trying to get out . . . it’s a clash of cultures”

“. . . it’s a joining of cultures, and people like Hoppy and you know, artists and musicians. Of course they are all dying to go down there. For one thing the Jamaicans are there, so you get marijuana, you can hear good music, you can get invited into the blues parties at night etcetera. Notting Hill becomes a kind of counter culture centre.”

‘Hoppy’ as a symbol of counterculture in 1960s London

John ‘Hoppy’ Hopkins was born on 15 August 1937, and he died on 30 January 2015. It was early February when I came across the news of his death. I read about it online.

Various obituaries referred to him as the ‘King of the Underground’ or described him as a “Charismatic photographer, activist and leading figures in London counterculture of the Sixties”³ His friend Joe Boyd, a record producer, wrote⁴:

“John ‘Hoppy’ Hopkins, who has died aged 77, was one of the best-known counterculture figure of London in 1960s, not just as a photographer and journalist, but as a political activist. He was the co-founder of at least three underground projects: International Times magazine; a fabled but short-lived music venue called the UFO club; and the London Free School, a community-based adult education initiative. During the couple of years up to June 1967, when Hoppy was jailed for cannabis possession, Britain’s fertile and diverse counterculture took much of its inspiration from him, and he was the closest thing the movement ever had to a leader....”

“With his partner, Sue Hall, in 1969 he formed Fantasy Factory, a facility that revolutionized low-tech video editing, bringing it within reach of community activists and independent directors. UNESCO founded Fantasy Factory’s

educational package and distributed it widely in the developing world. A chance meeting in 1990 led to Hoppy designing and constructing a greenhouse for horticultural research at the University of Westminster.”

I met Hoppy during my fieldwork on community activities in 1960s Notting Hill. I was doing some research on the London Free School (LFS), and during a visit with some of the people involved in that project one of them mentioned Hoppy saying, *“I think you’ll have to ask Hoppy about the LFS.”* Consequently I asked for and was given his contact information, and eventually managed to set up an interview on the 2nd of September 2009. I then went on to interview him on several other occasions, with the last being on the 14th of September 2014. During our many conversations he told me about the LFS and many other activities he was involved in during the 1960s and later. He also occasionally referred to his family history and we discussed his conflicted feelings about the difference between his media image and what he felt was the reality of his life.

John Hopkins had, and eventually died from, complications associated with Parkinson’s disease. It grew increasingly difficult for him to write or use a computer, and towards the end his emails became shorter and shorter, yet they always included humour and love. He wanted a record of our conversations – almost 20 hours worth on 7 different occasions⁵ – because he

sometimes felt that he was becoming “stupid” as he put it, and he was very afraid of losing his memory.

Looking at the sixties with Hoppy

In this *Grassroots Media Zine* I usually use the name ‘Hoppy’. Most people I spoke to about him called him that, and he often used it himself, but I sometimes also refer to him as John Hopkins because he used his full name in his articles and on documents. One day I asked him the origin of ‘Hoppy’. It may seem obvious to a native English speaker that ‘Hoppy’ was simply a diminutive of his surname ‘Hopkins’, but that didn’t occur to me and I’d wondered if it was perhaps a kind of pen name, a personalized version of ‘Hippy’ or maybe ‘Happy’. When asked, however, he told me that Hoppy was simply a nickname he’d acquired in high school. His friends used to call him Hoppy, and he said there was no more meaning to it than that. He was known as Hoppy before and after the sixties, and indeed throughout his life, so that is the name we’ll generally use.

Hoppy was a key person for me in learning about the grassroots use of media in the 1960s. While Hoppy and other members sometimes carried out information campaigns using the mass media (e.g., newspapers and magazines), they also put out their own publications such as the *International Times* (IT), which was to become an influential countercultural newspaper in the UK in the late 60s, and they created other ways of expressing themselves and sharing information such as pamphleting, making posters, and even creating their own spaces where ideas, culture, and lifestyle could be shared, such as the establishment of the venue known as the UFO Club.

In talking with Hoppy I realized that in order to set up and implement all of these new schemes, one after the other, it was important to be a part of a network that had access to the latest information about culture, society, and politics – around the country and even overseas – as well as a kind of marketing sense that allowed you to think practically about what people might be looking for or wanting to do. Hoppy and his friends had a good sense of how to link people with places, and I’ve come to feel that the so called underground/counter-culture was not so much, or not

only, a simple reflection or expression of the lifestyle and beliefs of the ‘outsiders’ of that era, but that it was also brought about by a few so called ‘movers and shakers’ who were able to anticipate a certain number of social needs and then attempt to address them in various experimental ways.

One day we discussed the late George Clark (1926-97) – another key person in my researches⁶ – and Hoppy told me that he’d met Clark through the activities of the LFS in Notting Hill. We were discussing the differences between a leader and an organizer, and Hoppy said that he had wished to be an organizer rather than a leader, in contrast with George Clark who always wanted to lead.

[Mugiko] “*What is necessary in order to become a good organizer?*”

[Hoppy] “*If you understand a situation correctly, what people are doing and what they are interested in, you don’t have to do very much in order to have a big effect.*”

‘Happenings’ and fieldwork

Hoppy was an attentive conversationalist and he tried to pick up on what I was thinking and be conscious of what I did and did not seem to understand. This was indeed very helpful for me because it was not always easy for me to follow his stories. The biggest problem was my limited understanding of the English language, but he also frequently mentioned people, places, and events that were wholly unknown to me. Many of these references would most likely have been familiar to anyone who grew up in the West, or at least to someone more knowledgeable about the 60s than me, but they would, as often as not, cast a shadow for me in the very part of the story they were intended to illuminate.

Thankfully, however, he would regularly make it a point to ask, “Did I answer your question?” and if I hesitated or seemed unsure he would try to come up with a more suitable explanation. Overall he was very patient. Even after our interviews, when he thought he might have used a term that I didn’t understand, he would kindly repeat it for me in a follow-up email. It made it much easier for me to see an unfamiliar word

in writing, and be able to look it up. But even when I generally had an idea of what an unusual word meant, I would still sometimes ask what he'd meant when he used it. I did this even with some of the simpler words and with terms that we also use in Japanese as a word of foreign origin. For example,

[Mugiko] *“So for me, the term psychedelic, it is not easy to understand. If you could express it a different way, what would you say is meant by something being ‘psychedelic’?”*

[Hoppy] *“I think it’s supposed to mean something which is mind expanding”*

I used questions like these in order to get a clearer sense of what he was thinking and to dig more deeply into our conversation. For example, he often used the word, ‘Happening’ to describe events in which he was involved or that he had set up, and he explained the word to me in this way:

[Hoppy] *“The philosophy of the happening is you try to prepare for an event but you purposely do not define it completely, so that you don’t know what’s going to happen. The spirit of the happening is very important. You can use it as an active thing in a real situation”*

I was struck by this term and felt that I could relate to the philosophy behind it. In a sense this is how I approach my fieldwork. I meet with someone, ostensibly to further the specific purposes of my work, however unlike many researchers I do not attempt to control what actually happens in the interview. The conversation is open-ended in its direction since it is actually accomplished and created in collaboration with the participant(s). These are never simple pre-planned interviews designed to elicit topic-specific information. I plan where they will begin, but never try to direct where they might end.

The ‘spirit of the happening’ is an important tool for me in my work because I am well aware that I do not and cannot know in advance what the people I interview might be able to tell me, and that I will not find it out if I predetermine or limit what we discuss.

In our second meeting⁷ I visited him again at his

flat. He was in the process of preparing to move, and there were many boxes set out in which to carry his goods and memories. We spoke at length about his work with community video and he mentioned having recorded his mother. I also have produced a video of my mother Yuko titled, ‘A Bookshelf of Memories’⁸.

When I did my video for Yuko, she lived in Kyoto and was planning to remodel her old wooden house built in the 1920s in order to make it into a library. She loved reading, and for her books embodied many of the memories of her life. She wanted to put them together in one place and look at these memories in her own house. The house itself was a present from her mother, who got it in 1960 when Yuko married. My grandmother died in it the next year, just one week after her first granddaughter, Mugiko, was born in 1961. The film is a story about the three generations of women who helped create Yuko’s memories in this house.

I made this video to share with people that I knew in Hammersmith where I’d been doing research on the local community⁹. I thought it could help introduce me, and show how our lifestyle in Kyoto had changed since the 1960s.

While I was making the film though, I would have never imagined that someday I would share it with a pioneer of community video. Hoppy watched it and very kindly offered many comments to me at our next meeting. It was a conversation between a teacher and a student in a class on the basics of video production.

He also showed me several videos which he and his friends had produced since the 1970s: squatters in a flat in Notting Hill, a story about pensioners called “Song of Long Ago”, and a local history video, etc. These may have been the last lectures he gave at the “Fantasy Factory” which was the name of his video production and educational business.

I learned from Hoppy that using media, even just local community media, can help connect strangers and create networks that are able to transcend geographical, social, and cultural boundaries. Our conversations encouraged me to do my own media work. Because of Hoppy I was inspired to start a Japanese language radio show

at a community radio station in the US¹⁰. When I first visited the United States I didn't know anyone and was only going to be staying for a year, but I wished to use this hyper-local media outlet that I'd found to touch local society and also to connect the US and Japan through radio and the Internet. When I described this to Hoppy he became interested in my progress, and whenever we spoke after that he always asked me about the show.

Conflict between media image and reality

On the day when Hoppy showed me his videos, he talked about the conflict he believed existed between his 'media image', which grew out of his work in the 1960s, and the 'reality' of his life 50 years later.

[Hoppy] *"There is a contradiction between what's really going on and what the feedback from the outside world is saying."*

I could imagine his difficulty. Here was someone who had been a symbol of the Sixties in the media, and who had also performed that image himself in many ways throughout the years and yet he also felt trapped by it. He was unable to shake that creation and now here he was, struggling with disease and losing his physical control, his balance, and his memory, forced to confront the fact that his actual lived reality was now limited to a very personal struggle that few would or ever could know anything about.

Perhaps this is the true price of a quest for immortality, it's only your public image that can live forever. You, the real you, is ultimately doomed to die mostly unknown.

I would love to be able to tell his full story, but I only knew Hoppy for a short time, and the things we talked about were mostly his life in the sixties, so that must be the focus of this Zine. However these stories were being told during the closing chapter of his life, so the conflict between his image and his reality is an important point to consider if you hope to understand Hoppy as he was.

I asked him once how he would describe himself and he gave me a short and quick answer,

[Hoppy] *"I think of myself as an artist."*

To help people enjoy

When I visited London on July of that same year, 2011, Hoppy had already moved into a council flat. I met with him three times during my 10-day stay. He wanted to go out from that small flat, even though he sometimes needed support because of his balance problems. We had brunch at a café near the flat, and he also took me to meet a friend of his who worked with macrobiotic food and who had opened the first macrobiotic restaurant in London in 1968.

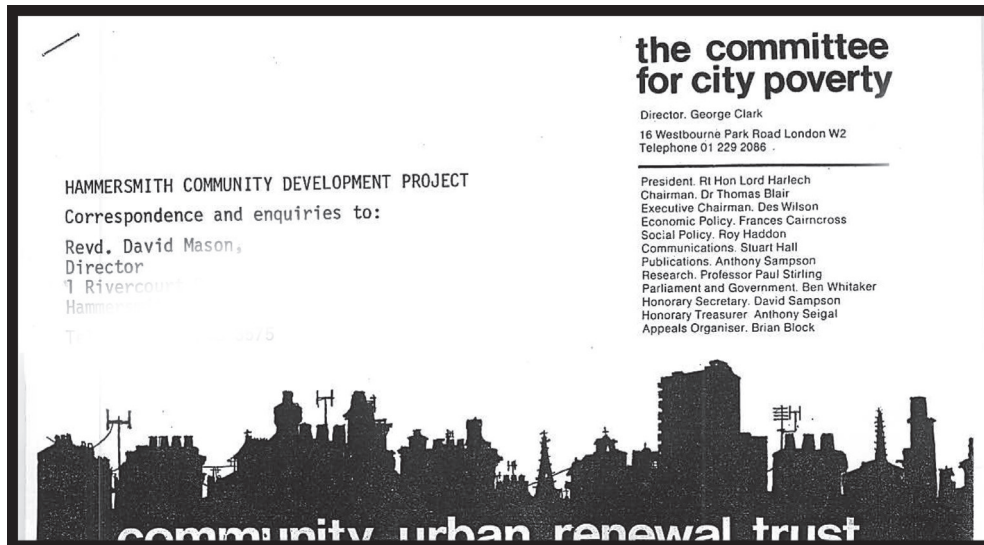
It was 3 years later when I next met him, on the 14 September 2014. It was becoming difficult for us to communicate through email because he could not use the computer by himself and different people were taking turns caring for him throughout the day and night. I visited him and stayed for an hour. He spoke slowly and looked as if he was enjoying the conversation. He talked about having a curious dream.

[Hoppy] *"I was in a place somewhere in Tokyo, somewhere like that, and there was an art show . . . Japanese art, lots of little spinning things, and doors opening and closing . . . all sort of things. Anyway, I didn't know where I was, but it looked as if it was falling and I managed to climb up through the floor and finally poked my head out. What I discovered to my surprise is that I had accidentally broken into an art gallery in Japan and I was having as much fun as the Japanese people who thought they were experiencing art, but I don't think the Japanese people, I don't think the promoters had the same point of view. I can't tell the story well, I had to practice, sorry."*

As I listened I imagined some sort of psychedelic art by him, and a happening staged for an exhibition in Tokyo. He loved to help people enjoy themselves, even in his dreams.

In this Zine I want to introduce Hoppy to you as an artist, and I will share some of his stories in the following chapters.

Chapter One Meeting Hoppy



Committee for City Poverty circa 1972

[Mugiko] *“The reason I am so interested in the London Free School is that in all the documents pertaining to activities in Notting Hill in the 1960s that I’ve seen, so many of the groups that were created were to protest, or be against something, but LFS was not against something, it was for something.”*

[Hoppy] *“I think that’s a very good observation. I think on the whole we were not against anything . . . well, maybe against being bored.”*

Journey to the Notting Hill of the 1960s

I had been in Hammersmith, London for a year, from 2001-2002, and during that time I became a volunteer at the Grove Neighbourhood Centre (GNC). I’d come across the GNC because it was near my flat and since I wanted to form some kind of relationship with the local residents, the GNC seemed like as good a place as any for me to begin trying to do that.

After being involved there for a while I became interested in the history of the place and I discovered that the centre was set up in 1973 as a development project of a Charitable Organization called the City Poverty Committee. The CPC was created to focus on poor areas of the inner city where there was little or no existing local community per se. The CPC endeavoured to create a spirit of community among the resi-

dents by setting up a neighbourhood council and also creating a community centre in hopes that the latter would become a gathering place and focal point for local activities. The overall idea of the plan seemed to revolve around both bringing people together and empowering them, and from this there would hopefully grow a sense of mutual purpose and group identity for the people living in that area¹.

I am always interested in the ways that people try to create ‘community’ and indeed there are many existing types of organizations doing just that sort of thing, but since this all took place over forty years ago, I was curious to know more about the ideas behind the projects of the CPC in the early 1970s and I discovered that it originally began as one of the community activities that took place in Notting Hill in the 1960s.

The director of the CPC in those days was a man named George Clark, and I found out that he was also involved in the University Left Review Club in Notting Hill after the race riot in 1958, and that he had also been a friend of Stuart Hall (1932-2014). I knew something of Hall's academic work and his profound influence on cultural studies so this connection between Hall and Clark greatly interested me. Along with his other activities it seems that Clark was also a radical activist in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the late 1950s and early 60s, and he had also been involved in community activities in Notting Hill since the mid-60s, continuing on for 30 or so more years until he died. From what I was initially able to discover about him, Clark indeed seemed like an interesting man. His ideas and practice were based around a concept of "local community" that is perhaps familiar to us today, but a half century ago many people considered him to be quite radical. Stuart Hall described him as a "*forerunner of what became a major political trend later (68 and after)*"².

In the previous edition of this Zine, *GMZ#2*, I describe George Clark – or at least the 'ghost' of him that I came to know through my research – as my 'guide' to Notting Hill. It was through my research about Clark and his career that I got my first glimpse of the interesting and often chaotic world of the 1960s in what has often been described as London's epicentre of social activism and grassroots movements, the place called Notting Hill.

My work started to pick up steam as I began to get a sense of what all I would need to understand, so after exhausting the records of the GNC I began expanding my range and doing documentary research in the Local Studies corner at the Kensington Central Library (KCL) in 2007. It was no longer just the origins of the GNC that intrigued me, I now wanted to know about the whole range of activities that had taken place in and around Notting Hill during the 1960s, and I wanted to understand who the various 'movers and shakers' were and what motivated them in their work.

In the library I found old wooden boxes full of library cards on which were listed many references to local issues and community activities that took place in Notting Hill in the 1960s, includ-

ing many items titled simply "George Clark". I also found a big volume of records described as "A Guide To The Records: Transferred To The Royal Borough of Kensington And Chelsea Local Studies Library April 2006"³ by a group called 'HISTORYtalk' (Kensington & Chelsea Community History Group). This organization had collected a huge number of documents concerning the local history of North Kensington and the grassroots activities there, including original documents, newsletters, meeting minutes of local organizations, hand written notes, photos, posters created by local people and organizations, etc. I became quite absorbed in reading and touching these documents from which I could feel traces of the lively atmosphere of this earlier era.

Thanks to my search for information about the GNC, and then about George Clark, I felt that I was getting to know something about the interesting world of Notting Hill in the 1960s, however if I'd never met any of the actual people who were there and who had participated in these activities themselves, I would likely not have continued on with this research for as long as I have. Documents can only tell you so much and I am not trained as a historian. As an anthropologist my work is with people, and it is only through speaking with and touching people that I feel I can share their lives and histories, otherwise the past is only a series of two-dimensional images for me and no matter how intriguing and evocative those images may be, some greater and more personal depth is necessary in order for me to truly immerse myself in someone else's world.

What was the London Free School?

One organization I'd read a great deal about was the London Free School (LFS). From my reading I was given to understand that the LFS was an action group formed in Notting Hill. Their purpose was to create a space where residents could come together and share information, any skills they might have that they felt could help other residents, increase their education, cope with difficulties, or even just make their lives more interesting⁴.

Peter Jenner (1943 -), who was a lecturer at the London School of Economics and also one of

what is the LFS ?

The London Free School-- LFS for short--was set up in the Notting Hill area in March 1966. A group of people decided that what was lacking in the area was a way in which people could get together to discuss questions which were vital to their everyday life.

For instance, how can one find out more about the school system, facilities for young children, legal matters, housing, wages and prices, mental health, and so on? How can people organise themselves to start up things like housing groups, consumer associations sports groups, nursery groups etc.?

What can one do about certain urgent problems that one person on his own can do nothing about? How can people make their own entertainment? How can one try ones hand at dramatics, or music, or painting? It was thought that the best way would be to get together in small informal study groups & call on experts in different subjects to come and give us information.



We held a public meeting on March 8th 1966 to which 120 people came to discuss the idea and groups were set up. The groups were quite informal, everyone of any age is welcome and there will always be free discussion. The LFS is not political or religious.

groups

The following groups are holding regular meetings at these times and places.

TRADE UNIONS, led by Marc Kornfeld. Sundays 2.30 at LFS.

PHOTOGRAPHY, led by Graham Keen. Sundays, but ring BAY 5666 for the time.

HOUSING, led by Peter Jenner. Thursdays 7.30 at LFS.

FAMILIES GROUP led by Rhaunie Laslett at 34 Tavistock Crescent. Phone her on PAR 9883 for time&day.

CHILDRENS PLAY GROUP also at 34 Tavistock Crescent, late afternoons Mon, Wed, Fri.



TEEN GROUP, led by Mike Laslett. Meets most evenings at 7.30 at LFS.

The GROVE, Notting Hill Neighbourhood Newsletter, Vol.1, No.4, London 23 May 1966

the founders of the LFS (and who would later become the manager of Pink Floyd), wrote in his article entitled "London Free School"⁵,

"The initial impetus for the idea was derived from Free universities in the United States, which were set up as anti-universities in order to counter the irrelevance and academic and political conservatism of many of the bigger establishments there. They aimed to teach out-of-the ordinary subjects in a new form, and their success was due to the way they succeeded in breaking free from the sausage-machine approach of the mass universities which prevails in many places. Initially this seemed an

attractive idea, but the more it was considered the more irrelevant it seemed to English experience and conditions."

The initial idea was to include a variety of recreations directed by specialists: artists, scholars and community activists who were all involved in various ways. According to *The Gate*, LFS offered 15 different kinds of group activities⁶ that were open to the local people. Some of the group leaders were from Notting Hill itself – for instance, Mrs Laslett (four kinds of classes for children) was 34 Tavistock Crescent W11 – but many of the groups leaders came from outside of Notting Hill: Peter Jenner offered the Housing & Immigration group and Economics group was in W9, and Pete Roberts (Modern History & World Power Structure) from SW7, etc.

I was interested in understanding how they managed such a diversity of members and activities in a single action group. According of the minutes of the LFS meeting 5 on 25 January, 1966, for the first public meeting of the LFS, set for the 8th of March, the principal members were John Hopkins: in charge of the secretariat, Graham

Keen: treasurer, John Esam: canvassers, and Phil Epstein & Peter Jenner: teaching faculty. Because he was the group's secretary, I ran across the name of John Hopkins in all the minutes and newsletters of the London Free School (LFS) and from all of this I began to get a sense of him as a person. He kept the minutes of the meetings of the LFS and they were very well organized. Apparently he printed them himself,

"Minutiae. John Hopkins could do any duplicating for present on his printing machine."⁷

The Secretary wishes to apologise for the long delay between the first meeting and this newsletter, and hopes you'll understand: there was a lot to do.

INFORMATION

HOW TO CONTACT THE SECRETARY John Hopkins, the Secretary, can always be reached on PARK 1489. There is an answering machine which takes calls while he is out. If you ring, it will answer the phone and say "...and will you please speak now". You should then leave your message, and John will deal with it on return. You can phone this number any hour of the day or night.

The Gate Vol. 1, No. 1, 4 April 1966

He was also in charge of the public service counter of LFS, if anyone wanted to contact the group.

All of these documents created by John Hopkins were neat and practical, and it took me some time to realise that this John Hopkins was also the same person as the ubiquitous 'Hoppy', a name I'd also seen mentioned many times describing a well-known charismatic pioneer of underground culture in 1960s London.

The world of Notting Hill was slowly coming together for me but as it did so, I discovered that every answer I found only seemed to bring with it another question that needed answering.

Housmans Bookshop: Linking the present to the "sixties"

In the summer of 2009 I heard about an interesting Talk Event by Tom Vague that was to be held at Housmans Bookshop⁸ on the 12th of August titled: "The London Free School, Notting Hill 1966: Counter Culture, Community Action and Carnival Roots." I was quite excited to see this as here, indeed, was my research subject! I immediately called the bookshop and made sure that the event was open to everyone without reservation.

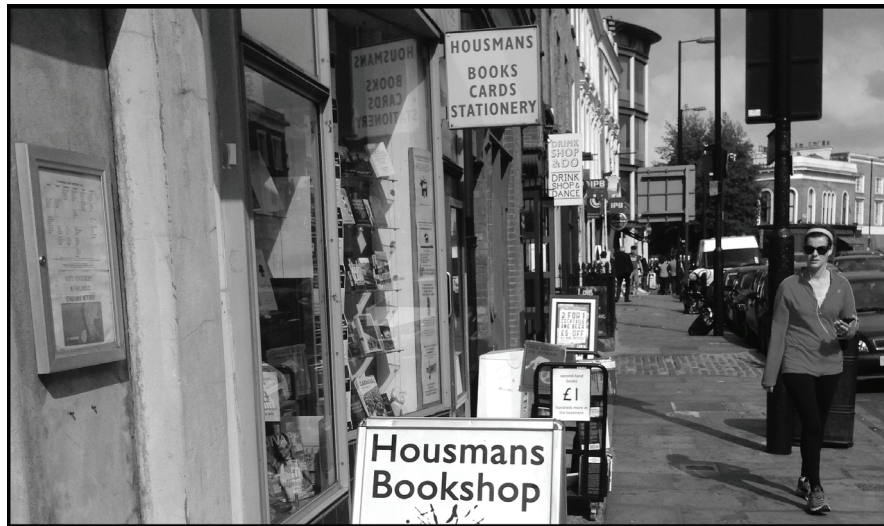
I'd met Tom Vague the previous year by chance when I'd visited the office of HISTORYtalk (North Kensington Community Archive)⁹. I wanted to see the "Oral Histories Personal and Local Studies Collections" by the organization and I was also interested in HISTORYtalk group itself. I had an appointment with one of the staff,

however when I got there I couldn't find the person I'd made the appointment with but while I was there I recognized a man whose photos I'd seen in books and online. It was Tom Vague, author of a long series of booklets titled *Vague* (on Psycho-geography Reports, Post-punk Fanzines, Punk Rock Memoirs)¹⁰, and I knew that he was well informed as to the local history of pop and counterculture in Notting Hill. Apparently he lived in the area and was working with HISTORYtalk at that time.

Not wanting to miss the opportunity, I went over and introduced myself to him and explained a bit about my research. He was very kind and we had a long chat. I knew he'd researched LFS and that he had interviewed "Hoppy" several years ago. He also, interestingly, said that he'd seen George Clark during his last years in the 1990s, and that Clark was a notorious person in local pubs and the football club. This was indeed valuable information for me, as I'd had no idea how George Clark actually lived amongst the local people. I knew him only as a driving force behind a variety of organizations, both large and small, but I knew very little about him as a human being and so I was glad to receive this small glimpse into the ordinary day-to-day side of his personality.

During our conversation Tom Vague had told me many interesting things and so I was looking forward to seeing his talk at Housmans. In looking at some of the documents I had on the LFS in preparation, I noticed that the LFS had used Housmans Bookshop as their meeting place in 1966¹¹ and so here again was another small link in the chain that seemed to bind all of these people and places together. So much had gone on but it had all taken place in such a small area that everything seemed to overlap in ways that were very difficult for me to untangle from my temporally distant vantage point.

On 12 August 2009, About 20 people, aged anywhere from 20s to 80s, came to the Talk event. Tom began by showing a film produced by HISTORYtalk about the Notting Hill riots in 1958, and then he spoke about John Hopkins and some of the different counterculture activities that took place in Notting Hill during the 1966-68 period as they related to the LFS, showing many slides of the places, posters, and newspapers,



Housmans Bookshop

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa, September 2014

etc., the designs of which I thought were still very attractive even from a modern perspective. In a discussion period following the talk, an elderly person, who I believe was an (ex) activist and who likely knew the 1960s well, said that the activities in Notting Hill during that period were very complicated, with political, community action, working class movements, and counterculture activities all taking place at the same time, and that these different types of movements were not very well connected. Responding to this comment Tom referred to the name of George Clark as someone involved in several different kinds of activities. However an elderly person from the floor cut off his response saying, “George Clark was a bit of a different person” and after that Tom let the subject drop.

Another participant named Bill, who also looked to be in his 70s, said that LFS used to use the basement of the building of Housmans Bookshop for their meetings. Apparently during this period people used Housmans for a variety of different types of activities including counterculture meetings and printing. The *Peace News* was published there for example.

After the event I spoke with Bill and he asked me if I’d just come to Housmans for the first time. I told him that this was indeed my first visit and I asked if there were other bookshops of this sort in London. Bill explained that there used to be more but that due to the depression many of them had closed. He also mentioned that he’d been a volunteer at Housmans since the 1970s.

Then Tom Vague noticed me and called my name

“Mugiko!” I was glad and surprised that he’d been able to remember what must, for him, be an unusual Japanese name. He introduced me to the other staff at the shop as someone doing research on George Clark. This elicited several comments from Bill who said that he had met Clark back in 1962, and that he also knew Clark’s partner and her sister who were both pacifists. Bill also mentioned that Clark was difficult to get along with and that it was the first time he’d met someone who was interested in researching him.

Housmans Bookshop had clearly been an important place for activists throughout the years and especially for pacifists in London/UK. Tom Vague’s talk was a good opportunity for me to get in touch with the sixties by listening to the conversation between Tom and audience, and it all felt more real to me since it seemed that the 60s were like yesterday for some of them.

Meeting with Adam Ritchie

I first visited Adam Ritchie (1940 -) on the 22nd of August. Adam was a photographer. He went to New York in 1962 and came back to London on July 1965. He was also involved in activities in Notting Hill in the late 60s and early 70s, especially in the play-space group. I found his photos in the Kensington Central Library and enjoyed the way that the children looked lively and crazy in their play, you could see and feel that they were having fun.

I sent him an email and asked if we could meet:

“I saw your photos in the Library and I am inter-

ested in community activities and social movements in Notting Hill, in the 1960s. They were so energetic, chaotic, complicated and creative for me.”

He replied:

“It was a very exciting time to live in this city. I enjoyed it enormously. I look forward to seeing you at 3.00 pm on Saturday.”

When I met Adam I asked him why so many community and cultural activities were born in Notting Hill in the 1960s.

[Adam] *“Things were happening in other places too, but more things happened in Notting Hill and I think it was because this was a centre for new thinking about how to do things.”*

“After the race riot of ’58, quite a lot of people who hated the violence and wanted to put a stop to it became more interested in North Kensington and trying to see what the problems were there. There were horrible problems indeed. The housing was just awful and there was no place for children to play . . . there just was nothing good about this area. It was under the control of a Conservative council that didn’t care about it you see, so many people felt there wasn’t anything one could do. Yet people were trying to think of new ways of doing things because the way they had been done in the past wasn’t helpful. In fact this was why it had gotten to be so bad in the first place. Things had been continuing on in a same old ways for years and so simply making a protest was not of much use. But finally people started working on how to change things, not just to make a demonstration, but to actually change things.”

It was Hoppy who introduced Adam to Notting Hill through the activities of London Free School.

[Adam] *“(at that time), there was a big separation between what I’d call the political people and the Hoppy people. Hoppy had more to do with culture, and the others were more interested in housing, and poverty, and stuff like that. I was in between. I did a lot to help with squatting etc., but I was also very interested in Pink Floyd too.”*

“I think you should ask Hoppy about the LFS”

Adam asked if I wanted to speak to Hoppy and so of course I told him that I did.

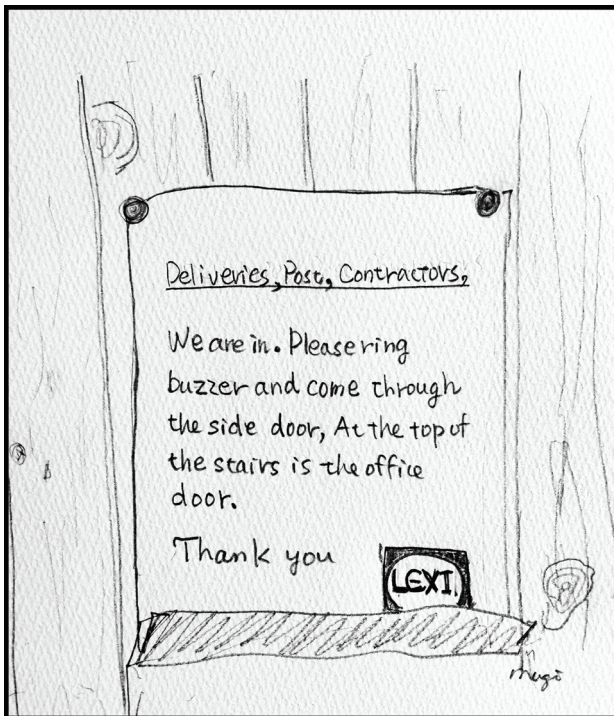
[Adam] *“He is 73 years old now and he has Parkinson’s. It’s one of those diseases that you get where you get weaker and weaker and weaker, so he is not very well and I would like to ask him first if he is willing to speak to you so that if he doesn’t feel up to it he can say no . . .”*

Adam also told me that there were many people who wanted to meet Hoppy and so it was not always easy to get a hold of him. Nevertheless I sent him an email that night.

John ‘Hoppy’ Hopkins Photography Exhibition at Lexi Cinema

Adam told me that there was an exhibition of John ‘Hoppy’ Hopkins photography in the theatre at the Lexi Cinema, and as I hadn’t received any response from Hoppy himself yet, I determined to go and at least expand my knowledge of his work. Lexi Cinema was located in Kensal Rise, in northwest London. It took me 20 minutes from the tube station at Kensal Green, and I arrived at an old building that looked like a church. It seemed to be a very interesting place but unfortunately appeared to be closed. I wandered around the building for a bit and eventually rang the bell at the back. The person who answered the door explained to me that they only did showings at night. Reluctant to leave empty-handed so to speak, I asked if it would be at all possible for me to see the exhibition anyway, as I was a visitor and not sure when I would be able to come again, so they kindly invited me inside and led me to a hall which had about 80 well-cushioned seats, a chic light purple wall, and Gallery space. Amongst other things they said that Hoppy was indeed a very good person and throughout my research most of people who knew Hoppy also expressed very positive feelings about him. Many people truly loved him and I was struck by how very much in contrast this was to the responses I would get when I asked about George Clark, a man who all these years later could still make people express anger and contempt.

I really enjoyed having the exhibition space to



Drawing of a sign on the back door of the Lexi Cinema.

myself. There were the black and white photos of jazz musicians, poets, bikers, CND activities, and Notting Hill in early 60s. They seemed like documentary photos to me and collectively they showed something of the distinct and unique character of that time and place. Through looking at his photos I felt that I could finally see some link between Hoppy – the charismatic photographer and promoter of popular culture – and John Hopkins, the meticulous and organized secretary of the London Free School. In both of these aspects I could see a man who was obviously able to keenly observe a situation and see people and their relationship to events very clearly.

A call from Hoppy, “Who are you?”

The day after I visited the exhibition Hoppy called me at my friend Akiko’s flat. I’d been staying with Akiko while in London and in my email message to Hoppy I’d given her address and telephone number. Akiko answered the phone:

[Hoppy] “I am John Hopkins, you sent me an email ”

[Akiko] “I did not send you any email! Who are you?”

Akiko could not understand him well and she was actually on the verge of hanging up, but

then she realized:

[Akiko] “Oh, I see, you are calling to Mugiko, she is my flat mate.”

Hoppy may have been surprised to get such a reaction, but when I spoke with him his voice was gentle and polite.

[Hoppy] “I am very sorry that I could not write to you, I have been very busy. When can we get together?”

And I got an appointment to visit his flat after 6 days on 2 September 2009.

The first meeting, “You are the second person”

On the way to meet with Hoppy I dropped into Housmans Bookshop to leave copies of the documents from the LFS showing that the school had used the basement of Housmans for their meetings. The members of the staff that I’d met at Tom Vague’s presentation said that they were very glad to receive the copies as they were in the process of recording the history of the bookshop going back to when it first opened in 1945. I was very happy to be able to contribute to this



Fantasy Factory

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa, September 2009

project.

Arriving at the address that Hoppy had given me, I noticed a plate beside a green front door that said “FANTASY FACTORY VIDEO POST PRODUCTION AND TRAINING. Hoppy had been active in the field of video production since the 1970s and I knew that he and his partner Sue Hall had set up and managed Fantasy Factory for many years, so it was apparent that I was in the right place. I still had more than 40 minutes till our appointment however, so I elected to walk around the neighbourhood for a bit. It was cloudy and cold even in early September and I entered an Indian grocery store in order to get warm and use up some time. There weren't very many places that I could go into, as this appeared to be a mostly residential area comprised mainly of council flats.

Between walking and looking at shops I managed to fill the extra time and I was back and ringing his bell right at 6pm. Hoppy came downstairs and opened the door,

[Hoppy] “*You came just on time*”.

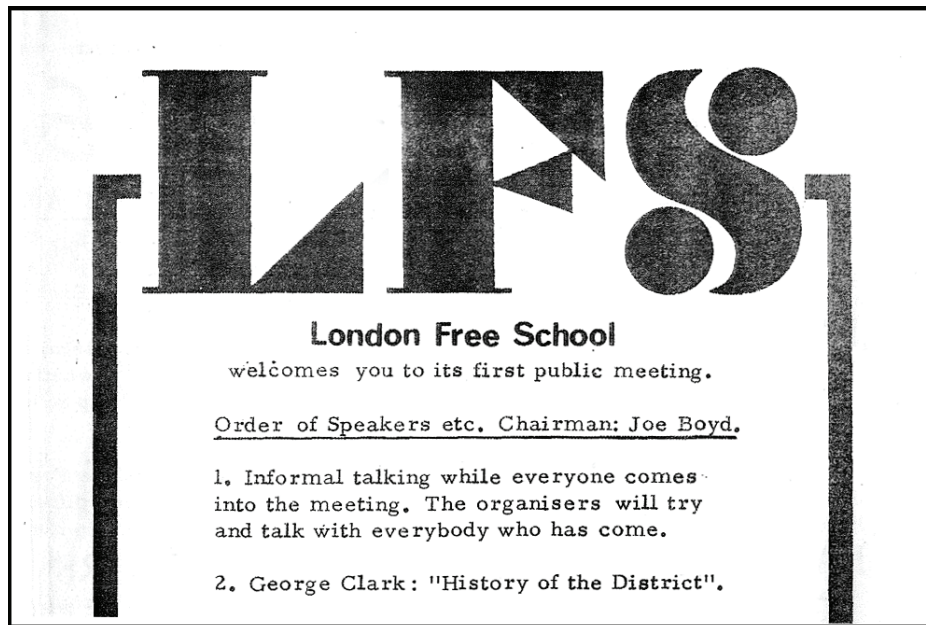
Hoppy wore blue jeans with a hole in the knee, a light blue V-neck sweater and a blue T-shirt. He also had on a brimless tapestry hat coloured green, red, and yellow that went well with the light colour of his clothes and his long white hair and beard. All taken together he presented a very relaxed and comfortable appearance.

We sat down at both ends of a long sofa that was in his living room next to the kitchen. He served tea, and I quickly prepared for our interview, taking two voice recorders from my bag and putting one near him and the other next to me. Hoppy mentioned that I was the second person who'd done that (used two recorders).

The first person apparently was a Japanese writer who had visited him just two weeks before. As Adam Ritchie had told me, Hoppy was a very busy person and many people wanted to talk with him.

Chapter Two

London Free School



From flyer for the first public meeting of the London Free School. 8 March 1966

After 40 years

During our interview I showed Hoppy copies of some of the documents I had acquired pertaining to the London Free School.

[Hoppy] *“It’s my typewriting!”*

Hoppy smiled and picked up each one in turn, looking it over carefully.

[Hoppy] *“This is a great collection. Actually I found one of these before, I think it’s the same as this one . . . it looks like it . . .”*

“Sorry, I’ll stop doing this in a moment but I’m just so curious . . .”

As with many of the other activists I’d interviewed, Hoppy had a very positive response to being shown the various artefacts from the past that I had been able to find. These kinds of historical documents tend to serve a variety of purposes for me in my fieldwork. Of course they contain information about a particular place or activity that may not exist elsewhere, but they

also serve as memory cues for the people that I interview, helping them recall things that might never have come to mind simply through conversation. I found them to be useful links to the past for me as well, helping me understand something about where, when, and why they were created. Along with the words themselves, the documents told other stories too, about whether they were made quickly or with great care for example, or if they were produced on expensive materials in order to last, or on something cheap that was only supposed to be temporary. These kinds of documents were tangible links to time and place, and I always made it a point to try to get a hold of as many as I could early in the research process in order to facilitate just this sort of interaction.

[Mugiko] *“After 40 years . . .”*

[Hoppy] *“Yes! Here’s one! I’ve been looking for a picture of Muhammad Ali when he visited. I took some pictures of him but I gave them to an agency because I was working as a professional photographer and I never got the pictures back, so I don’t have a copy of any of my pictures of*

Muhammad Ali.”

“He was so big, everybody else looked so small next to him. Very good, amazing!”

I was pleased to see that thanks to the copies of the minutes of the LFS that I'd found, and several other things, Hoppy could be transported back to 1966 in his memory. After looking through them he was quite animated and lively throughout our interview.

These documents from the LFS were also very helpful for me too, allowing me to better understand the difficulties involved in sharing the concept of a Free School with a local community that had no frame of reference for such a thing. It also helped me appreciate the very real and practical problems associated with a venture of this sort, such as the need for canvassing, fundraising, finding space for activities, and so on.

Even though the London Free School in Notting Hill only existed under that name for several months, it was not easy for me to get a sense of it in its entirety, because so many other important things involving the school were also happening during that short period of time as well. Hoppy and his friends began discussing their idea for a Free School towards the end of 1965. They'd named their school – to be located in Notting Hill – The London Free School, and held the first public meeting for local residents in March of 1966. They began holding classes and offering activities shortly thereafter and in May, the world heavyweight-boxing champion Muhammad Ali visited Notting Hill at the invitation of the school. In September the Notting Hill Fayre – now known as The Notting Hill Carnival – was held in collaboration with the Free School, and from September till December 1966, the school also put on several concerts featuring the band Pink Floyd at the All St. Church Hall in order to help raise funds. These events themselves were very successful despite the fact that the LFS itself did not last another year. By this point Hoppy had turned to publishing *The International Times*, which was launched in October of 1966, and he also set up the UFO club with Joe Boyd in December of that same year.

It seemed to me that the London Free School was a bit like a firework on a summer's night.

Beautiful and brilliant in its brief presentation, but gone before you were able to fully absorb it. And it was difficult to see through the glare of all the successful peripheral events at how the school itself actually did or did not function. In order to understand more, I began to look as much at its wake as at the ship itself for clarification, since most of what was ultimately tangible about the London Free School seemed to have been a consequence of all of these innovative and energetic people coming together to work, and not so much anything the school itself ever actually accomplished in its brief operation as a school.

But before any of this, one thing I wanted to understand was how Hoppy had ended up in Notting Hill in the first place.

Came to London and settled near Notting Hill

[Mugiko] *“How did you come to Notting Hill? Why there?”*

[Hoppy] *“Well, I suppose we all lived near—in Notting Hill or near Notting Hill already. I mean most of us knew some of the other people involved in the Free School before we started it, but as to why Notting Hill . . . I suppose it was because Notting Hill was such an interesting place to live. It wasn't very expensive, not like nowadays, and there was sufficient space in it for lots of different sorts of people to live quite close to each other. Also, I remember walking down Portobello Road with a friend just after I'd first come to London and there were houses boarded up, some shops had corrugated iron on the front of them and not being used . . . that sort of thing. I won't say I was very experienced with such things, but it was the deepest poverty I had ever seen.”*

[Mugiko] *“You were a professional photographer at that point?”*

[Hoppy] *“Yes, well, I got fed up with the job that I had (Atomic Energy Research Establishment). When I decided to come to London, Adam Ritchie had a friend who was a photographer and was looking for an assistant. We were introduced and he asked me if I would like to work for him. I came to London on the first of*

January, in fact the first night I slept in my own car. I think it was outside of the house where Adam Ritchie lived in Westbourne Park Villas (Paddington, W9). At that moment he was in London. I think he went to New York after that. I remember meeting him in New York in 1965 at the same time I was there.”

Hoppy offered a brief explanation of how he got his first camera in his 2008 book, and he also referenced how he came to be a photographer in an interview with Jonathon Green:

“My first camera was given to me on graduation day ‘58 at Cambridge by my godfather. I’d never taken a photo till then. For the next 2 years I learned how to see, and how to do the basics of ‘wet’ photography.”¹

“I arrived in London on the 1st of January 1960 with a black and white camera in my hand and I got a job as an assistant to a commercial photographer. It was heaven. I was doing something I really wanted to do for the first time in my life. So eventually I became a photographer and a bit of a journalist . . . I lived in Camberwell and Pimlico and eventually landed up in Westbourne Terrace and Queensway”.²

Hoppy’s residences became a place where his friends came together.

[Hoppy] “I got a job working as an assistant to a commercial photographer and he taught me a

lot of stuff. He also allowed me to use his dark room to make my own pictures and so I was able to gradually become a freelancer after about two years, and then I moved to Paddington and took a flat. Paddington is near to Notting Hill, where the railway is. So in Paddington I took a flat on Westbourne Terrace. There were four bedrooms, a kitchen, and a common space. I took the smallest bedroom and turned it into a dark room so I was able to do some photographic stuff in my home too, as well as work for the photographer.”

“The photographer’s name was Tommy Wolf and he was a really nice guy. We originally had an arrangement where, if I brought some work in I would get one-third of the value. Once I had my own darkroom in a different place, we changed the arrangement to where if I brought some work to him I would get two-thirds. So I was also able at the same time to be a freelancer and it was a way of making a bit more space and bit more money.”

“In order to pay the rent I had to have other people living in the flat. It became, not a centre, but it became a place where lot of people would be visiting all the time and that was good. There were lots of people and somehow together we managed to pay the rent. And that flat became some sort of focal point I suppose, although it was actually in Paddington and not precisely Notting Hill, but if you look at it with a bigger perspective then it was the same as Notting Hill. It was the same general area and atmosphere. So



SANITY - Aldermaston Daily, Easter 1962

anyway that is how I came to be living in Notting Hill and working as a freelancer."

Hoppy was establishing himself as a professional photographer and he kept very busy as he described in his book³:

"I found myself in a rich cultural environment – jazz, poetry, literature, arts, political protest, free love, experimentation – and followed my instincts when it came to earning a living with a camera. This meant working on both sides of boundary between straight and alternative lifestyles. Snapping the prime minister at lunchtime, mixing it in Notting Hill at night."

Hoppy's social nature combined with the necessity of covering his rent payments led to his flat becoming the meeting place for many of the people who would later become involved in the London Free School. In Barry Miles's 2002 book entitled: *"In the Sixties"*, Miles (1943 -) offers a more detailed description of that time and place⁴:

"In my early days at art school I never knew where I would spend the night when I hitchhiked to London. I always had my sleeping bag with me and often finished up on a friend's floor or curled up in the corner as a late-night party raged. I met Hoppy, Jon Hopkins, through friends in Cheltenham and he generously suggested that there was always room at his place. From then on, every two or three weeks for the next couple of years, I would hitch to town and head straight for flat three, 105 Westbourne Terrace."

"Hoppy's flat occupied the whole first floor of a large covered Regency row-house half a block from Paddington Station. Hoppy had the largest of the two front rooms, which both had access to a long balcony, overlooking the service road and tree of the terrace.I learned a lot from studying Hoppy's room: his filing system for negatives and boxes of prints, his methodical, scientific approach to his papers. He had studied science at Cambridge and worked for the Atomic Energy Research Establishment (AERE), first at Harwell then at Winfrith Heath, down in Dorset"

Hoppy resigned from AERE in 1959 and came to London in 1960 in order to pursue work as a professional photographer. He was in his early twenties, and the energy inherent both in the era

and in the young man combined to make this a very rich and productive period in his life.

In 1960s "a loose-knit of community" of artists and underground people, like Hoppy, had been growing in the area around Notting Hill. According to Michael Horovitz (1935-, poet, artist)⁵:

"I moved into Ladbroke Grove after I'd met Frances in 1960s. There were a number of people living around the area. Hoppy at Westbourne Terrace, a lot of artists from the Royal College of Arts. Hockney was up the road, David Oxtoby, another painter called Peter Lloyd Jones, Harry and Ruth Fainlight, Michael Hastings, John Michell, Alan Sillitoe, John Arden, Heathcot Williams, Logue, Trocchi . . . there was a loose-knit community. We didn't always love each other but we were aware of each other and met. There were lots of communal houses where you could always drop in and get a joint or a cup of tea, or companionship, conversation and music."

Notting Hill was also a business place for Hoppy.



Ladbroke Grove Station, August 2007

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa

Freelance photography and a marijuana business

[Hoppy] *"What being freelance means really is to be individual. That's the good part, but when you are freelance you also need to be getting work all the time, so the difficult part is the uncertainty of where the next job is coming from. When you are a freelancer and there isn't a job, your instinct says try harder, but actually maybe it is better to go on holiday..."*

[Mugiko] *"You can control your own time."*

[Hoppy] *“Yes, but sometimes I had to buy and sell marijuana too, because there wasn’t enough money coming in. Sometimes I had to be freelance drug dealer instead of freelance photographer.”*

[Mugiko] *“How did you get your marijuana to sell?”*

[Hoppy] *“Well, I had some friends who lived in Notting Hill and there were lot of West Indians there and marijuana is a part of their culture. So in those days it was very difficult to get hashish, but it was relatively easy to get marijuana as a plant marijuana leaves and flowers.”*

[Mugiko] *“It is possible to grow marijuana in the UK?”*

[Hoppy] *“Yes, it is possible, but we didn’t do that in those days. That was later.”*

[Mugiko] *“Later, okay. So, you were involved with marijuana in Notting Hill . . .”*

[Hoppy] *“Yes. There were good cafes and bars and basements, and there are lots of black people there so it was a good market, and we also used to go to Notting Hill to score – ‘to score’ means to get drugs.”*

[Mugiko] *“How many years did you stay at your place in Paddington?”*

[Hoppy] *“Three years. And then I moved to Queensway. It is less than a mile from Notting Hill gate. I was there for three years, but I was put in jail before the second three years was finished. I went to prison in 1967 but the lease on my flat had not finished and when I came out of jail I didn’t have the flat anymore because I think the landlords were not pleased about me being busted for dope. ‘Being busted’, that means I was arrested for smoking marijuana and for letting other people smoke marijuana in my house. Officially it is called ‘allowing the premises to be used for drugs’.”*

[Mugiko] *“So at that time marijuana was illegal?”*

[Hoppy] *“It still is.”*

In Notting Hill Hoppy widened his existing circle of friends to include many people from the West Indian community by way of his Marijuana business/use. His active social life at the time makes it no surprise that at least some of his many projects would revolve around, or grow out of the relationships and networks that he and his friends shared. His flat served as an energetic and creative space where younger artists, intellectuals, and activists all came together, and so some of the ideas behind the LFS for example were no doubt partly a product of what arose from that sharing of space, and the casual collaborations that naturally took place therein. However given that Hoppy, who was then in his twenties, would have been unlikely to be thinking about this formative process quite so deeply, I tried to read between the lines of his reminiscences in order to try to piece together some picture of his motivation for being involved in these activities while they were developing.

These proved to be difficult things to pin down however. As far as the London Free School went, I suspect that he was as, or more, interested in what the school could lead to than he was in what it might itself become. Whatever the reason, throughout our conversations on this subject there wasn’t very much about the actual thinking behind the creation of the LFS that seemed to stand out in his memory.

A meta-organization: plasticity, camaraderie, and zeitgeist

[Mugiko] *“How did you get the idea for London Free School? Did it come out of conversations with your friends, or someone introduced the idea?”*

[Hoppy] *“I think there may have been some models we followed, possibly from America. I’m not sure. But what—the most interesting thing about the London Free School for me was its plasticity, meaning nothing was fixed, nothing was very strongly defined, so if someone wanted to make an art class or language class, they didn’t have to do it in a formal way or have a syllabus.”*

“I mean, I think the thing that was good about the Free School was . . . I’m trying to think of the right word . . . what was good was that it was receptive. And it was possible to have one idea and

to join up easily with other people even though they had entirely different ideas. There was a lot of cross-fertilization going on.”

“But when I said plasticity, what I meant was that there was no hierarchy of control, there was no fixed program for learning, and that meant that it was easy for unusual things to happen because nothing was too well defined. So my word for the London Free School is that it was a meta-organization. It was very fluid in what could happen.”

“I’m not exactly sure how that happened except perhaps it was because there was a great amount of camaraderie between everyone involved – that’s a French word meaning ‘people being comrades’. A lot of people knew each other on the street, or would go to each other’s houses, or go and smoke some dope and listen to some music . . . all the different things that people would do.”

“But I really have to speak for myself and not speak for other people . . . what I saw was on account of being a photographer and being aware of media and how it works. But personally, I saw street life as another kind of medium as well, and I became very interested in communication, and the politics of communication and information. So I’m not saying that everybody had the same point of view as me, in fact one of the good things about the Free School was that you didn’t have to agree. It was not necessary to have – if you were teaching music in one way and I wanted to teach music in a different way, that’s fine, we don’t have to agree.”

“So I think my overall idea was to make a – was just to take what already existed just one little step more. To make a forum or draw people’s attention to what we were doing. It also – it also depended on the spirit of the times, the zeitgeist. You understand zeitgeist? It’s a German word. It means ‘the spirit of the times’.”

Hoppy may have forgotten where the idea for the LFS came from, but his close friend Miles offers us some details about the beginning of LFS in his book⁶.

“Hoppy returned from a visit to New York in 1965 filled with information about the Free University of New York and plans for a London

equivalent. The idea of an educational institution outside the usual controls of the authorities was very appealing and Hoppy used his prodigious energy to organize some public meetings to see how the Notting Hill community felt about starting one of their own. The usual suspects were rounded up: Hoppy’s flatmates Ron Atkins and Alan Beckett – both jazz critics – Kate Heliczer – Hoppy’s girlfriend – Joe Boyd, the economist Peter Jenner, Andrew King, Graham Keen – a photographer and old friend of Hoppy from CND and jazz days – Michael de Freitas – later known as Michael X, then Michael Abdul Malik – and John Michell, the landlord of a building the London Free School could use.”

The Free University of New York (FUNY) began in 1965 in Lower Manhattan. I found an article about FUNY in the popular *LIFE* magazine, in an issue dated May 1966. The title was: “The Anti-University university is the newest meeting place for young radicals”⁷ in which the author states that the original concept of FUNY was the rejection of established academic forms, and that the idea grew from a desire to share unconventional academic and political interests.

“The Free University of New York (FUNY) calls itself an anti-university, a label which signifies its rejections of every thing it thinks the big established, ‘corporation-backed’ universities stand for. A number of such anti-universities have popped up in Los Angeles, Chicago, Palo Alto and Berkeley, Calif., Austin, San Francisco, Detroit and New York. They have been castigated as schools for draft dodgers.”

“All of the anti-universities are small, and many of them operate sporadically. The largest and most consistent of them is the Free University of New York, whose classrooms layout is a seven-room loft over a coffee shop. This semester, 40 faculty members and 250 students are participating in 31 courses. Each courses lasts two hours and is held one night a week, Monday through Friday”.

Krebs (one of the founders of FUNY)⁸ says, “The only things we have in common is that we all want to see change. A lot of leftist subjects are forbidden in America universities, so they are taught here. The only way you can really learn about Vietnam in an American universities is through teach-in. Courses on contemporary realities like why we are at war in Vietnam should be taught 365 days a year.

If you can't teach material relevant to modern American life in the established universities, then you have to find a place to do it- even if the place is the grubby, and unheated and you don't get paid for doing it."⁷

Graham Keen, who was a photographer and longstanding friend of Hoppy's, said in an interview with Green⁹:

"Hoppy had gone off to America and came back with a whole load of new ideas. One was the Free School and one was an underground newspaper. We tried the Free School first."

Indeed Hoppy started the LFS and then later the *International Times*. Publishing newsletters, flyers, and posters for the LFS were important activities that they engaged in which allowed them to reach out to the local people. None of these things ever came close to matching the circulation number of the *IT* of course, but the techniques utilized were virtually the same.

The first meeting of the LFS was at the end of 1965, as Joe Boyd wrote in his book (2006)¹⁰:

"In November 1965, shortly after I arrived to take up my Elektra post, Hoppy invited me to the first meeting of the London Free School, the founding principles sound heartbreakingly naïve: we planned to offer free classes to the poor and under-educated of Notting Hill Gate, mostly West Indian, Irish and Polish immigrants."

There were several meetings of the LFS at Hoppy's flat, 115 Queensway W2, during the 3 month interval between the first LFS meeting in November 1965, and the first public meeting on 8 March 1966. It was the American, Joe Boyd, who wrote a draft of the 'Statement of AIM' of the LFS¹¹.

A tapestry that people were weaving

I asked Hoppy about Joe Boyd (1942 -).

[Hoppy] "*Joe came to England in 1964 I think. Did you read his book? It's a really interesting book. He needed a place to stay, and I had a flat with a spare room or something like this (points to nearby settee). And he - he was able to stop there until he found a place to stay. I don't remember exactly how we met in detail, but it was something like that.*"

"*Joe was managing some blues musicians who were on a tour around England or around Europe. He was working for an American impresario named George Wein who ran the Newport Jazz Festival and Joe, although he was very young . . . he was about 22-23, Joe was the tour manager of this group of touring musicians. And I was - I was interested in music and I was a photographer so I was photographing them for a music paper called the Melody Marker. The Melody Marker was at the time an important music paper. And somehow we met due to the interesting music and we became friends and we're still*

LFS-4

Appendix B

This is Joe Boyd's draft. You may think it needs addition, correction. If so, add anything below and bring it along to next meeting.

STATEMENT of AIMS

The London Free School is an education/^{al}action group. It comprises teachers, artists, writers, social & behavioural scientists, & others concerned with the economic, social, political & cultural welfare of London's immigrant & working people.

The purpose of the LFS is to make direct & dynamic contact with all ethnic & income groups in residential areas of London with the aim of making available valuable /advice and information, and opening lines of communication among people of similar interests, talents, problems.

friends. I saw Joe just last week and there's more to come."

[Mugiko] "So Joe Boyd also joined in the meetings of London Free School? He was interested in the London Free School?"

[Hoppy] "Yes, I mean, there was obviously something going on, there was a good deal of energy in Notting Hill and Joe was a stranger to London. He didn't know it well because he had not been there for long but when you're in a strange city you notice things. If you're in a new environment, you notice things all that much more, and that's why it's good to travel. So Joe was very much alive and he was always, 'what's this? What's that?'"

"I think John Cage came to England in the early 1960s, and he was . . . he was a sort of meta-musician. That's my word for it because he would play with silence as well as music and he would play with other sounds too like, when you dropped something on a piano, what happens? That sort of thing. He had a very good intellectual basis for his experimentation and he influenced a lot of people. He influenced jazz musicians, but he also influenced the modern avant garde musicians who were playing—they were playing with sound at the boundary between music and noise. And it's a very interesting boundary because when you—when you listen to that

sort of music, that sort of sound, and then you walk out on the street, it's still carrying on in you, it's in your head and you've become sensitive to all sorts of different kinds of sound."

"So very interesting things happened there, all over the place, and people like the Rolling Stones, and the Beatles, and Traffic, and all sorts of other musicians. They were all influenced by this as well. I mean, in 1966 my friend Miles ran a bookshop called Indica, and some of the money to back it came from Paul McCartney. So Miles knew Paul McCartney, and then he got to know some of the other Beatles too. So . . . then John Lennon met Yoko Ono, and she was really far out. I mean she was—she was very much an artist and some of the things that she did were very boring, but she was sort of fascinating as well."

"So I mean there was that—that was quite a strong thread. I mean, I think the way to think about those times was like a tapestry that people were weaving there that had many strands."

Hoppy's conversation was difficult for me to follow at times and it seemed to me that at least in one respect he lived up to the name 'Hoppy' because he would often 'hop' from idea to idea. It was almost like an interpretive dance made out of words that he would perform in order to help me understand more than just the single point

We are setting up discussion groups tonight and during the next few weeks which will be

LEARNING & TEACHING ABOUT:

HOUSING Pete Jenner, Steve Sedly, George Clark Why are rents so high? The Tenant's rights & powers. Legal protection. Housing Associations. Subsidies, Mortgages and council housing.	LABOUR RELATIONS & UNIONS Marc Cornfeld, Sue Mokotoff. Organisation of Unions, how to form a Union, why you join a Union. Places of work and problems; shop stewards; Labour Exchanges, how to seek employment.
FAMILIES & MENTAL HEALTH Phil Epstein, Mrs Laslett. The Family as a unit in society. What is a nervous breakdown, what are its effects on the family and the individual. Children problems. Help to women about family business, an afternoon club for women. Babysitting.	THE ARTS music Dave Tomlin, Cornelius Cardew. Making sounds and making music; Hearing sounds and hearing music. painting Nick Shumatov, Paul Harris. Develop your talents; looking at art; history of art; do some painting.
IMMIGRATION including Race Relations. Michael de Freitas, Pete Jenner, George Clark, Orlando Patterson. How friction between different groups happens, why we are afraid of others. Improving the situation. Civil rights.	MODERN HISTORY Peter Roberts. Western History for the past hundred years.
LAW Dave Berry, Lawrence Collins. Hire Purchase. The Police. Maintenance, Adoption, Illegitimacy. Legal Advice.	MATHS & STATISTICS Hilary Land. National opinion polls & their shortcomings.
ENGLISH Irving Foulkes, Havia Alswang. Play readings, creative writing; class discussion, public speaking; TV shows and other events discussed, possible publication of creative works.	COMPARATIVE RELIGION Peter Figueroa and Brian Cohen. Eastern and Western religions and philosophy.
ECONOMICS Mike Boyland. Wages & prices. Profit. Price deterioration, price fixing, advertising. Determination of wages.	PHOTOGRAPHY Graham Keen. Around the district with a camera. What you can do; professional advice.
SCIENCE Frank Fuchs. Basic physics and chemistry. Physiology. Biology. Zoology. Scientific method.	

se add your own suggestions to this list

Please ask questions

we were discussing. He would include a context for that point, as well as some ideas that he felt were also related to it, or necessary for me to know in order to fully understand it and all of the other tangential points that were included. I felt I could realize more of what he was saying when he spoke about ‘zeitgeist’, and ‘the spirit of the times’, because his speaking style seemed to me to capture that spirit very well.

Nevertheless, the idea of the London Free School still seemed more idealistic than realistic to me, at least in terms of how it fit into the daily lives of the people in Notting Hill. I wondered how those who created LFS presented their ideas to the local people, and how they found locations inside of Notting Hill to house their activities.

The first public meeting of the London Free School was held on 8 March at St. Peter’s Church Hall on the corner of Elgin Avenue and Chippenham Road in Paddington, W9. After that they had a meeting on Sunday, 13 March in the basement of 5 Caledonian Rd. N1 (Housmans Bookshop). Ultimately the public address of the LFS would become 26 Powis Terrace, W11, though they often used the All Saints Church Hall in Powis Gardens, W11 for their events. The second Full Meeting of the LFS was held there on Sunday, 24 April.

It was a very important thing for the LFS to acquire their fixed place in the basement of 26 Powis Terrace. The landowners of this property were John Michell and Michael de Freitas. We often find the name of Michael de Freitas (1933-1975) in documents by and about the LFS. De Freitas, also known as Michael X or Abdul Malik, was born in Trinidad, and then emigrated to the UK in 1957. Michael was a complicated man who left behind a confusing legacy. Alternately described as a hustler, a revolutionary, a civil rights activist, or even a bit of a visionary, de Freitas had deep roots in the Notting Hill area, and he was consequently considered to be a ‘go-to’ person who was regularly utilized by both the mainstream media and the more transient underground as a mediator between the local black community and those who sought to understand them, or who hoped to expand their relationships in that area.

The mediator, Michael de Freitas

[Mugiko] *“So where did you have your meetings?”*

[Hoppy] *“The first meeting we had was in a church hall. Church halls were a good place to meet because they were cheap and they – people didn’t make a lot of trouble.”*

“The London Free School had one fixed point and that was 26 Powis Terrace, which I think is the address on some of these copies of the minutes that you gave me. If you go and have a look now there’s a boutique there or something, but back in the 60s it belonged to two people, one was Michael X – Michael de Freitas – and the other was John Michell (1933-2009). He died earlier this year by the way. He was a very interesting person.”

“Anyway, Michael and John Michell said that it would be okay to use the basement. It had been used as some sort of gambling den before then I think. There was a snooker table in there and it was very dirty and dark and cold. But there was a fireplace and a chimney in there and one time when it got very cold they pulled up the floorboards and put them on the fire. It was like that. I mean it was poverty but an alternative sort of poverty. You can be poor and conventional, or you can be poor and alternative and unconventional.”

[Mugiko] *“How did you know Michael de Freitas?”*

[Hoppy] *“That’s a good question. People sometimes ask me that and I have to admit that I am not quite sure. We met somewhere around 1964 in Notting Hill I think. I am not sure exactly what the circumstances were, but he contributed to the free school and I contributed to the free school and it was there that we got to know each other so . . . “*

[Mugiko] *“Indeed in these minutes, Michael de Freitas shows up many times. So I thought that he must have contributed to London Free School a great deal.”*

[Hoppy] *“Yes, it was partly because he had some property, which was the building, and also because he wanted to be political. He took inspiration from Malcolm X, the American Malcolm*

X, who was assassinated. Some people were starting to become Islamic and Michael thought he would try that and so he changed his name to Michael X but I don't know if he was recognized by the rest of the black community as being a genuine political activist because he was able to assume different roles when necessary."

[Mugiko] *"He never referred to Islam. He never – he doesn't say much about the black community in the minutes of the LFS and I can't identify who is Muslim, who is black, who is white..."*

[Hoppy] *"Is that important?"*

[Mugiko] *"No, not important except that you told me he became Michael X in order to be like Malcolm X and so I wondered how much a part race and racial politics played. Are you saying he was political first or after he became involved in the LFS?"*

[Hoppy] *"In the London Free School he was not political in any way to do with race. I think that's mainly true. But sometimes he took up the racial angle. I mean I think really he was pretty intelligent and he was a freelance human being. Sometimes he could – sometimes he could be black and angry; other times, he would be white and middle class. He was good in mixing in with all sorts of different people."*

Indeed, like Hoppy, Michael de Freitas was involved in many different activities during the 1960s. In 1965 he founded the Radical Adjustment Action Society (RAAS)¹², and during the same period he was also playing a very important role in connecting the local people to the London Free School. He had very specific reasons for being involved in the LFS, as he mentions in his biography¹³:

"Quite apart from my conviction that white people should not play any major part in black organisations, I have always been ready to co-operate with them in any worthwhile venture outside that context. Two such projects with which I have been and still am involved, are the experimental London Free School, and Alexander Trocchi's Sigma."

Michael also refers to his connection with the LFS when he mentions a telephone call he received from Hoppy inviting him to his flat in

Queensway to discuss a new education initiative. Hoppy also mentioned that a number of Michael's friends would be at the meeting. Michael offers his impression of Hoppy saying¹⁴:

"Nervous energy radiated from him, and I thought at the time that if this man put his mind to something he'd probably get it done."

He also describes the energetic atmosphere of the meeting¹⁴:

"Everybody at the meeting was terribly sincere and eager, and I was caught up in the wave of enthusiasm. I talked a bit about the area and its needs as I saw them, and I said I thought the idea was a very interesting and workable one."

Williams wrote in his 2008 book entitled "Michael X: A Life in Black & White" that Michael was involved in the start of the LFS as "a doer and not merely dreamer" and he explained the house in Powis Terrace thusly¹⁵:

"The house was an old Rachman property, now owned by John Michell and mostly inhabited by prostitutes. Michael had run a gambling club there for a while but that hadn't worked out and it was now in a state of total squalor, impossible to rent out even by Grove standards. So he handed it over to the London Free School to use, free of charge, for eighteen months. There was already a billiard table there, left over from its previous incarnation; other founding members donated bits of furniture and started to clean the place up; and hey presto, the London Free School was willed into existence."

According the minutes of the LFS for the 15th of Feb 1966, there had been arguments both for and against using 26 Powis Terras.

5. Promises. The pros & cons of using basement of 26 Powis Terrace were talked over. It had been offered rent free by John Michael. We decided to take it (and this was reinforced by a cursory inspection after the meeting by some of us). It was a case of getting hold of Michele. (By Sunday we still hadn't got hold of him, and M de Freitas suggests we take it over anyway. Who's got time for a little relaxing

garbage removal?). M de Freitas has some office etc furniture.

5a. While discussing the subject, it was felt that any larger commitment at his stage wd be unwise, and this wasn't the time to get involved in real estate. Expansion should be possible, using 26 Powis Terrace as a base.

It was 3 weeks before the public meeting of LFS on 8 March, so they needed to decide the program for the day and many other practical details.

10. Organization of first meeting - who will look after it. Numerous small but essential tasks, like chairs, platform, notices outside the hall, sweeping up have to be done. John Hopkins wd keep an eye on it at this stage, M de Freitas offered help.

I think that Hoppy and Michael were two of the 'wheels' necessary in order to move the idea/ideal of the 'Free School' toward a practical reality in Notting Hill, and to create a space for more people to become involved.

Grassroots Media to contact local people

In a meeting that took place on the 15th of February 1966, the group appears to have been in a rush to prepare for the public meeting of the LFS that was to be held on March 8th in St. Peter's Church Hall on Elgin Avenue.¹⁶

1. For the canvassers. Brian Cohen said the results of the experimental canvass had been surprisingly good. They had taken a part of Powis Sq, with all-white council tenants, Irish tenants in private flats, and coloured tenants in private flats. White council tenants seemed to be less interested than coloured private tenants,

2. Several changes in the leaflet were necessary. It should have printers address, a contact address, stress non-religious and all age - groups. People were reading leaflets as they went down the street.

2a. Local shopkeepers should be persuaded to display posters in their windows. A rush-hour distribution of leaflets just before meeting for a day or two wd be useful in the streets and at tube station..."

Finally they were preparing to announce their plans and make contact with the local residents directly. To this end they would put up posters in the windows of local shops, and distribute leaflets in the street during rush hour.

Canvassing, publishing of newsletters, flyers, and posters, etc. were the important media for small grassroots movements in the 1960s. In these ways they could make contact with people and share their plans and ideas. If they wanted to put a poster in the window of a local shop for example, they would have to ask for permission, and explain their activities to the shopkeeper thus creating the rudiments of the kind of relationship necessary to build a functioning network. If you hoped to have a conversation on the street, it was more helpful to have a pamphlet to hand someone than to approach them empty-handed, and these conversations also helped to create awareness.

There was a systematic attempt to collect and record information,

3. Information from canvass is being collected on record cards: Jean McNeil can get some run off at LSE. Positive and negative results would be recorded for future reference. Several points about methods of canvassing etc. had emerged, when a street is done, one doesn't bother to go back to get those who one couldn't get the first time/politeness is valuable / never enter a house if a child opens the door. Further details in secretary's records.

As idealistic as the proposal for the school itself was, their methods of market research were solid, practical, and scientific. They carefully sought to advertise their plan and listen to the voices of their proposed 'customers'. Even the best of plans however, require a sufficient workforce, and from these minutes we can see that it was difficult for them to find enough people to

London Free School

LFS

offers you free education through lectures and discussion groups in subjects essential to our daily life and work

HOUSING PROBLEMS Landlords, rent and what can be done about them. The opportunity to discuss your housing problems with expert advisers.

IMMIGRATION Who are the immigrants and why? Why 'a problem'?

RACE RELATIONS Why do you fear? Why are you feared?

THE COMMUNITY & YOU Why communities exist. How to set up a community. What is a family? Why do you live alone?

CHILDREN Normal, delinquent, bright, backward and otherwise. How to form a nursery school in your street.

ENGLISH TEACHING UNIT Improve your English.

EDUCATION What is available? What is available for your child? Night classes, courses, apprenticeships, further training.

UNIONS Why unions? How to form one. The union principle outside your work.

WAGES AND PRICES Why you're paid what you're paid. Why it costs what it costs.

MENTAL HEALTH What is a 'mental breakdown'? How society creates mental illness. What must be changed?

LAW Why it does what it does and how. Can you use it to help yourself? Goal and other solutions.

MUSIC, ART AND LITERATURE From your own lives and community. Other people's art, music and literature.

THE LONDON FREE SCHOOL IS NOT POLITICAL, NOT RACIAL, NOT INTELLECTUAL, NOT RELIGION, NOT A CLUB. IT IS OPEN TO ALL.

On Tuesday March 8 1966 at 7.30.
AT ST. PETERS' CHURCH HALL corner of
 Elgin Avenue and Chippenham Road
The first public meeting of the London Free School will be held in the Notting Hill area

This will be to explain what the Free School is and does, when and where. A brief survey on the history of Notting Hill in relation to some of the subjects listed above will also be given.

Flyer of the first public meeting of the London Free School

do this work.

4. There were some difficulties. Only 17 hrs of canvassing time had been promised so far, and there was a shortage of people. M de Freitas, Eddie Freeman would try and find more people, Jean wd see George Clark. Notices about canvassers needed were going up in London Colleges. 21st Feb. was a deadline for assembling all available manpower. At weekend there wd be a trial run for just-processed novices, lunch at Jean's place.

The flyer for the first public meeting was printed at Lovebooks, as Barry Miles wrote¹⁷:

"While I was absorbed with getting Indica together with John and Peter, Hoppy had become involved with another new project: the London Free School. Many people on the scene were teachers or academic, many came from a left-wing background in CND or the Labour party and there was a lot of discussion about education as the key to changing society. This was, in part, what Indica was about: to introduce people to new ideas and the latest developments in art. It was on this same premise-to wise people up-that Hoppy and community activist Rhaunie Laslett began the London Free School in Notting Hill. It was launched with public meeting at St. Peter's Church Hall on Tuesday, 8 March 1966. The flyer for the

meeting, printed on the Lovebooks offset-litho machine in stunning red and black, red, 'The LFS offers you free education through lectures and discussion groups in subjects essential to our daily life and work.' It promised that 'The London Free School is not political, not racial, not intellectual, not religion, not a club. It is open to all'"

It was possible to follow the progress of the first public meeting in great detail thanks to the four different kinds of documents I was able to find: copies of the minutes of the regular meeting 5-7 (dated 25 January 1966, 8 February, 15 February), and flyers for the first public meeting on the 8th of March, a letter from Hoppy to his friends (dated 9 March), and newsletters for the local people (dated 4 April, 21 April, 23 May, and 23 June respectively).

The first meeting was held at St. Peter's Church Hall. The chairman was Joe Boyd.¹⁸ The details were reported on the front page of their first newsletter, *The Gate*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 4 April, 1966.

"The meeting, with about 120 people packing the hall, started with George Clark talking about the history of the district. Notting Hill had been an area with a moving population for over 500 year, and this could be seen as a cause of many of the area's special problems, both past and present. Brian Cohen continued the story in the present day. Then he explained how the Free School was being started now to try and help people to find out things they wanted to know. Any one who joined the Free School, he said, would be able to find people in the neighbourhood with similar interests: and people who had the same problems would probably find out what they could do about them. Also, the Free School hoped to run some local dances, carnivals in the summer, play groups for children, street theatres, and so on.

About fifty people filled in application forms for joining the discussion group, and many of us were still standing around talking and listening to music by the time we should have left. The local verger seemed to be very surprised at the number of people there. "It's six times larger than my Sunday congregation", he said, 'won't you tell me how you did it?'"

It is interesting to contrast this positive report

with a letter entitled “IMPORTANT THAT YOU READ THIS CAREFULLY”¹⁹ that Hoppy wrote the day after this successful meeting, in which he implored people to come to the next weekly meeting,

“These cannot repeat CANNOT be done efficiently in our present state, which is non-organised, and which depends very much on uncoordinated person-to-person initiatives, and which makes large demands on a few key for example, the division of function into “canvassers” and “faculty” would already seem to have created opposing poles,”

“The only proposal so far put forward is for the formation of a Steering Group of, say, 12 people, who would meet regularly and deal with all problems confronting the LFS. They would be responsible to the LFS in general and would have limited period of office, after which time the whole thing might need to be totally rethought. If this proposition were acceptable, members of such a group might be elected on Sunday”

In this letter we can see how Hoppy sought to manage the meta-organization, a group that he knew would not function without continuous time and attention.

In *The Gate* Vol. 1, No. 1, 4 April 1966, they also reported about the Sunday meeting at Housmans after the first public meeting,

“The next Sunday, all those who had helped organise the first public meeting, met and discussed what had happened so far. They elected a Committee to get on with the Free School activities; this Committee is to report back to everyone concerned, by April 24th, so that they can see whether everything is being done in the satisfactory manner. It is also to submit a constitution, plans for the next few months, and a report on what has been done so far. This will happen at a meeting, and we hope everyone who has anything to do with the Free School will come and say what they think. Details of the meeting will be announced in News-Letter No.2, to be produced in about two weeks time”

Something happened

In spite of the success of the first public meeting and Hoppy’s hard work trying to make the LFS into a functioning organization, the London Free School didn’t function very long as a school. Peter Jenner wrote²⁰:

“The initial steps were made by canvassing for a public meeting to gain support for the idea of Free school. This was held in March with an encouraging attendance. Over 50 people from the neighbourhood came along and there was fair degree of enthusiasm. But then nothing happened. Nothing had been properly planned and, what was worse, hardly anyone from the district came to the classes. Even when they did nobody seemed quite certain how to start a class, and we all began to feel we had simply led ourselves up the garden path. There were two important successes however, one was a playgroup for children, and the other was an embryonic teenage group.”

“These developments led to the need to rethink our approach. There was no evidence that the community was just waiting for education to be taken to it, there was in fact no reason why they should accept us any more than they accepted anyone else. But at the same time where we provided something functional and useful, such as the playground, we found the demand was considerable. This led us back to one of our original ideas, namely that the Free School should be a neighbourhood school.”

This paper was written a few months after the initial public meeting. The school ultimately did begin offering classes, but the local people didn’t show up for most of them, and it became clear to the school’s organizers that they couldn’t bring in ideas from the outside, based only on their own theoretical analysis of what was needed, and just simply expect the local people to accept or even appreciate what they were trying to do for them. From the perspective of the planners, the concept of the Free School as a multi-faceted educational enterprise just wasn’t getting any traction, however that doesn’t mean that nothing happened. There was some local participation in a few of the classes.

Michael de Freitas wrote about his experience teaching at the LFS, and he explained in his autobiography how and why he started the Basic

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The GATE

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Notting Hill Gate Neighbourhood Newsletter Volume 1 ***** Number 1

FREE SCHOOL First Meeting: Success

The first public meeting of the London Free School was held on March 8 at St. Peter's Church Hall on Elgin Avenue. For those who weren't able to come, here is a short account of what happened.

The meeting, with about 120 people packing the hall, started with George Clark talking about the history of the district. Notting Hill had been an area with a moving population for over 500 years, and this could be seen as a cause of many of the area's special problems, both past and present.

Brian Cohen continued the story into the present day. Then he explained how the Free School was being started now to try and help people to find out things they wanted to know. Any one who joined the Free School, he said, would be able to find people in the neighbourhood with similar interests: and people who had the same problems would probably find out what they could do about them. Also, the Free School hoped to run some local dances, carnivals in the summer, play groups for children, street theatres, and so on.

Surprise

About fifty people filled in application forms for joining discussion groups, and many of us were still standing around talking and listening to music by the time we should have left.

The local verger seemed to be very surprised at the number of people there. "It's six times larger than my Sunday congregation", he said, "won't you tell me how you did it!"

The cost of hiring the Hall was £52.6d. was collected towards it.

Committee

The next Sunday, all those who had helped organise the first public meeting, met and discussed what had happened so far. They elected a Committee to get on with the organisation of the Free School activities; this Committee is to report back to everyone concerned, by April 24th, so that they



can see whether everything is being in done in a satisfactory manner. It is also to submit a constitution, plans for the next few months, and a report on what has been done so far. This will happen at a meeting, and we hope everyone who has anything to do with the Free School will come and say what they think. Details of the meeting will be announced in News-Letter No.2, to be produced in about two weeks time.

26 Powis Terrace

We have been given free use of the basement at this address for the next 18 months, and for the last month have been cleaning it out and making it usable. Anyone who saw it 4 weeks ago, full of rubbish, no heat or light, smelling terrible, would be agreeably surprised to see it now. The front room has been cleared, cleaned and painted; paint, plumbing, paraffin heater, chairs were donated by some of the people concerned, but if it had not been for the co-operative effort and sheer hard work, no amount of donations would have improved the place.

Anyway (as they say) the Free School lives, and is being used most evenings by discussion groups. We hope very soon that the Free School will be open every evening of the week and that it will be an information centre for the neighbourhood. Already, there are notices there about accommodation required, details of groups meeting, a list of what more needs to be done at the basement, and so on. If you want something posted on the notice board, well, come and put it there yourself, and see what else is there.

URGENT!!!

At the moment, the basement still needs a lot of work on it and if you feel like lending a hand, let the Secretary know, or just drop in one evening when something is going on; the back room needs cleaning and decorating, the stairs need repairing. All this just so that we can have somewhere to

please turn over.....

IMPORTANT THAT YOU READ THIS CAREFULLY

from John Hopkins, Flat 5, 115 Queensway W2. 9-3-66.

Dear Friend,

As designated secretary of the London Free School I feel we have reached a point where we have either to stop and forget the whole project, or go forward with a more purposeful attitude, collectively, than we have done so far. I know that any sort of move in any specified direction will cause friction and dissention, but I think it is absolutely necessary if this is going to work, whatever it is.

Anyone who has been to the weekly meetings knows that the very fact that we are an amorphous group, with no mechanism even for arriving at any decision, has made it difficult to get things done at these meetings. It has also meant that we have been free from becoming a rigid, exclusive body.

However, after yesterday's public meeting, there are a number of things to be done, both practical (like continuing contact with people at the meeting, cleaning out 26 Powis Terrace Basement) and conceptual (whether this project is going in the direction we want it to, what mistakes have we made so far).

These cannot repeat CANNOT be done efficiently in our present state, which is non-organised, and which depends very much on uncoordinated person-to-person initiatives, and which makes large demands on a few key people. On the other hand, we are all aware of the dangers of "organisation"; for example, the division of function into "canvassers" and "faculty" would already seem to have created opposing poles.

* * * * *

Therefore I am calling a meeting this coming Sunday at 2.30pm in the basement of 5 Caledonian Rd NI (Housmans Bookshop, one minute from Kings Cross Underground) at which I hope proposals will be put forward to deal with the situation. By trying to give you as much notice as possible, I hope you'll make every effort to attend. If you've got something else to do, ask yourself what your priorities are. If you're not there, don't expect to ~~alter or reverse~~ be able to alter or reverse any decisions that may be taken in your absence.

The only proposal so far put forward is for the formation of a Steering Group of, say, 12 people, who would meet regularly and deal with all problems confronting the LFS. They would be responsible to the LFS in general and would have a limited period of office, after which time the whole thing might need to be totally rethought. If this proposition were acceptable, members of such a group might be elected on Sunday.

We are also going to need some money, for continuing expenses, for setting up 26 Powis Terrace premises, and so on. Please bring some with you and stop being coy about it - money is a fact of life - there is very little left over from the pre-meeting preparations.

Would you pass notice of this meeting on to anyone you think is interested. And 2.30 means 2.30.

John Hopkins.

PS At 3.30pm this Saturday there's a working party at 26 Powis Terrace. We need your energy and help, there, then, whoever you are. Come and get things moving, come in old clothes.

PPS If anyone has completed forms from the public meeting will they please take what information they want from the forms, and send them to me, now. Not tomorrow, now. If you don't we may never know who was there, and they'll most likely get let down. Thankyou.

English class he taught. He described the details of his class²¹.

"John Hopkins—or, Hoppy, as he was generally called—asked me if I would take a class, and I agreed to take one in Basic English. I chose this subject because I knew the area was swarming with illiterates who didn't like the idea of people teaching them anything, and I felt that if this two-way system got going they would find it acceptable."

The description of the first class by Michael was more emotional than the way Hoppy described it in the interview with Green²²:

"The Notting Hill Free School was a scam, it never really worked out" and "So the Free school never really got off the ground and it's an idea that really shouldn't be inflated with too much content, 'cos there really wasn't too much content"

Michael had a skill for reading and understanding his audience, and he knew how to direct his approach so as to connect with them on a personal level. He was not a traditional teacher of English by any means, instead he seems to have extemporaneously created an interactive process that sought to include the voices of the participants and make them a part of the teaching process.

"My own classes had a degree of success

which typified that of the whole school. My first class brought in a lot of middle-aged and elderly Irish people, a number of Africans, and a solitary West Indian. They didn't even know the letters of the alphabet and they sat looking at me expectantly, wondering how the miracle was to be worked. I started off telling the about the value of education and how it could be related to their everyday lives and help their children, and then I went on to chat about my own experiences in the area, my life at sea and things like that. They seemed very interested in what I was saying and when I stopped and began asking them what they'd been doing with their lives, most of them were quite eager to talk about themselves."

"How they remembered the days in Notting Hill when beer was a few pennies a pint and you could get ha'pennyworth of chips at the fish and chip shops; how they'd dug gas main trenches for a living, or carried house bricks, or been a night watchman; how all their children had worked newspaper rounds to supplement the family income."²³

In creating a dialogue with his students, Michael seems to have learned as much from them as he was able to teach, creating a more egalitarian and reciprocal process than is usual in a standard educational environment, and one that would have been an excellent model for the Free School overall if it had lasted long enough to finally get going.

LONDON FREE SCHOOL

The following groups are meeting regularly and you are invited to join them. If you want to join, get in touch with the group leader at his address, or telephone him, or write to The Secretary, London Free School, 26 Powis Terrace, W. 11.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Group leader's address & phone</u>	<u>Time/Day/Place of group meeting</u>
ENGLISH LANGUAGE (Reading, Writing)	Dave Conroy, 35 Glenloch Rd., NW3 PRI 4101 * * *	6.30 pm 26 Powis Terrace Tuesday
	Michael de Freitas, 58 Compayne Gdns, NW6 MAI 3955	

"I learned more social history, more vividly, than I'd have got out of any book and, in turn, I'd write on a blackboard the main points of what they were telling me and have them copy down the words. They did this laboriously at first but with greater and greater fluency as they mastered the letters and words. And they did it with a degree of fascination that made learning easier for them than they'd ever imagined it could be. They were writing about their own lives. The words meant something for them in terms of their own experience and their interest was riveted in a way that no abstract presentation of English could have achieved."²³

It seems likely that this description of the success of his class has been dramatized a bit for sake of the autobiography. The story has a self-aggrandizing and even cinematic quality that seems a bit out of tune with the historical reality of a school that was struggling (and would ultimately fail) to gain traction in the community it attempted to serve. But whether or no, I think that these quotes do go to show that if nothing else, Michael de Freitas did truly understand the ideal and spirit of the Free School in a way that I'm not sure everyone did. His story about teaching the Basic English class certainly expresses the very essence of how the Free School was supposed to operate. In it he recognizes that the LFS was intended to be an anti-authoritarian space where people could come together and teach one another, transcending the boundaries of the traditional student/teacher relationship. The LFS was designed to create a place where the diversity of the lived experiences of the people involved would be a fundamental strength, and that through collaboration and mutual exploration they would grow together and create something valuable that would redound to the benefit of all.

Muhammad Ali Visits W11

Though little happened at the Free School, some seeds were planted in the ground of Notting Hill that would eventually grow into other things. But from all of this it is easy to see that even though the local residents didn't warm much to the basic idea of the school qua school, there were certain aspects of it that they wanted and needed, and those they readily embraced. In fact it continued to be the case that many of the

things connected to the school, if not the actual school itself, did quite well indeed.

On Sunday 15 May 1966, the world heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali visited Notting Hill at the invitation of the LFS. The front page of *The Grove*²⁴ was titled: "MUHAMMED ALI VISITS W11"

"World heavyweight Champion Muhammed Ali paid what was supposed to be a private visit to the Play Group of the London Free School at 3pm last Sunday... Maybe it was the steady flow of well-washed children into 34 Tavistock Crescent, maybe it was the dozen or so determined looking helpers who dutifully gathered to make sure that no harm came to the great man. Whatever it was, Muhammed Ali had been in the house for only ten minutes and the street was blocked with expectant people. What a Sunday afternoon! The newspapers, bless them, had also heard and the cameramen waited impatiently."

34 Tavistock Crescent, where Muhammad Ali visited a children's group of the LFS, was the residence of Rhaunie Laslett (1919-2002)²⁵, where she was offering several classes for local children. Graham Keen also talked to Green about how the LFS came to be involved in Muhammad Ali's visit²⁶:

"At the Free School we came into contact with all sorts of people. We invited Muhammad Ali, who was over here to fight Henry Cooper, and



The Grove, Vol. 1, No. 4, 23 May 1966

he came around to Rhaunie Laslett's house, to meet locals. That was through Michael X. A couple of days later Michael took me to the Mosque in Regent's Park and Ali was sitting there with Herbert Muhammad, who was next in line to Elijah Muhammad, and people were being taken up to him and introduced to him and Michael said, 'This is a young white boy that is doing a lot for our people,' and I shook hands with him. Then we all photographed him on the steps outside."

In this newsletter, Michael de Freitas also wrote about why Ali came²⁷:

"The greatest Heavyweight Champion of all times, Muhammed Ali, came to visit. I asked him to come. The Free School asked me to ask him to come. The national papers pretended not to know the truth. Some of them looked for sinister motives behind the visits, but I will tell you why he came."

"It was because I told him about bedridden May collecting pennies so the kids could have pencils to draw and play with. Because of Mrs Laslett soon to be confined to a wheelchair, moving around faster than anybody in the Grove helping, truly helping, anyone who asks for help, and often they are too weak or stupid to ask. Because I love these people, the kids all fifty of them Black ones and White ones. Because he is a kind and loving man and help anyone he can."

Under this article, there follows an advertisement with framework,

ad infinitum

Are you in business to make money? Advertise with us ! This issue will have close on 4000 readers, but our potential readership is more like 40,000 and we're growing fast towards it. Each copy of THE GROVE is sure to be read by several people in Notting Hill. Become known to customers in your community through THE GROVE! Find us: 26 Powis Terrace W 11.

Ali's visit was a great boon to the finances of the LFS. Michael wrote in his book 1968²⁸:

"The Free School was so successful that it began to put out a regular paper of news and views called *The Grove*, whose circulation rose to 2,000. The visit of Mohammed Ali, the

heavyweight boxing champion, also helped to focus interest on the School's activities and enabled us to raise money for other amenities like the provision of an adventure playground for children of the area—the only playground they have—on a piece of ground that's due to have a fly-over built on it some time in the future."

In the next newsletter, *The Grove*, Vol.1, No.5, there is the first subscription.

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Change from 'The Gate' to 'The Grove'

One thing that I found puzzling was the fact that the LFS changed the name of its newsletter from *The Gate* to *The Grove* at around this time. In *The Gate*, Vol.1, No. 2, 21 April 1966, Michael de Freitas wrote about the different ways that the local black people and the mostly transient Free School people described the area where the school was located.

"There are many approaches to this place—some by road or rail—some by moral degeneration. Today I chose the bus, boarded a no.28 outside West Hampstead Station & headed for what was once my home, the "Grove" as we black one call it, the "Gate" as it is commonly called by Free School people. The Grove is still one of the few places I feel safe in Babylon, no yobbos are going to attack me there & get away with it...."

Courtney Tulloch discussed this in an interview with Green²⁹:

"Before *IT*, in the Free School era, Hoppy had a little magazine called *The Grove*, The Grove was a black name. The blacks renamed the area: the white hippies talked about Notting Hill Gate so it was 'The Gate' and the black people centred on Ladbroke Grove, so it was 'The Grove'. So Hoppy, who wanted to show how in the touch with black people he was, knowing the black name, called his magazine *The Grove*."

THE GROVE

notting hill
neighbourhood
newsletter
6d

LONDON, MONDAY 23 MAY 66.

VOL 1
NO 4

PUBLISHED
BY LONDON
FREE SCHOOL
26 POWIS
TERRACE W11

Cut and paste from *The Grove*

I never got around to asking Hoppy why they changed the name of the newsletter, but in *The Grove*, Vol.1, No.5, dated 23 June 1966, there is an article titled 'Why it is changing?' which stated that the LFS was shifting its activities more in the direction of community interests.

"Since starting the Free School on the above plan in March 1966 we have found that although interest was aroused, there was little attendance at most of the discussion groups which first met. Nevertheless, we now have a Music group where people are learning instruments and playing together, a Propaganda Workshop which tries out different ways of reaching people in the community, and one or two other active groups."

"Although these particular groups hold regular weekly meetings, we still felt that we were not really catering for all the needs of the community. Therefore, we had to devise other ways and other interests to further our local contacts."

"Our next project was to form Playgroups in the area and there were such a success that it

was necessary to increase the number of meetings to four a week. In addition there are senior and junior Boxing Classes meeting twice a weekly, and Teen group that meets nightly."

Idealists they may have been, but it is clear that the organizers of the LFS were practical enough to learn from their experiences. The school was created to benefit the community and so the community would get the final say about the London Free School and ensure that they ran it "on entirely flexible lines and with the intention of taking it in whatever direction the community wants."³⁰

Notting Hill Fayre

In the same newsletter describing the visit by Muhammad Ali, *The Grove*, Vol.1, No.4, 23 May, plans for a "Street Carnival" were also discussed:

STREET CARNIVAL to be held in July. Will any of our neighbours willing to participate, or with any suggestions, please contact John Hopkins, PAR 1489, or Rhaunie Laslett PAR 9883.



On the top page of the next newsletter, *The Grove*, Vol.1, No.5, 23 June, there was a headline: "September Fayre, pageant, fireworks, music, plays, poetry." The story contained details about the planning of events that would appeal to the residents.

Rhaunie (Rhaune) Laslett very likely originated the idea of the Notting Hill fair on her own and LFS collaborated with the idea³¹. David Mason (1926 -), who was a priest at the Methodist Church in Notting Hill in the 1960s told me:

[David] "Rhaune came to see me earlier that year (1966) to see what I supported and what the (Notting Hill) Social Council supported and the



september fayre

pageant, fireworks, music, plays, poetry

September 1966 will be a landmark in Notting Hill. For the first time this century--apart from a Bank Holiday entertainment that survived until the First World War--Notting Hill is to have its own Fair. Or Fayre, as they seem to be calling it. An opening pageant, with all the glamour and happiness of the Mardi Gras; a week of evening entertainments at low prices a Grand Torchlight Procession ending in a Firework Display; these are some of the activities planned by the Notting Hill Fayre Committee. Last week GROVE visited the "office" in the front room of 34 Tavistock Crescent and asked Committee Secretary Mrs Rhaunie Laslett just why it was all happening. "We felt that although West Indians, Africans, Irish and many other nationalities all live in a very congested area, there is very little communication between us. If we can infect them with a desire to participate then this can only have good results. Of course, not everyone likes to be in the public eye--but there are many ways in which people can participate to make it a success. We need carpenters, painters, seamstresses, wardrobe assistants, secretarial help, musicians, actors and organisers."

NOTTING HILL FAYRE: PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Sept 18th Sunday	Pageant, Procession, Musicals.
Sept 19th Monday	International Song & Dance Festival
Sept 20th Tuesday	Dickens & Drama Night
Sept 21st Wednesday	Jazz & Folk Festival
Sept 22nd Thursday	Poetry & Choir Night
Sept 23rd Friday	Old Tyme Music Hall
Sept 24th Saturday	Torchlight Procession & Fireworks

The Grove Vol. 1, No. 5, 23 June, 1966

*church did, and I agreed 100%. She was a key person for the first three years of the Notting Hill Carnival."*³²

In David's memory Rhaune did visit him, but on her own, not on behalf of the Free School at that time.

The interviewer for *The Grove*, Vol.1, No.5, asked Rhaunie,

"What was the local reaction so far?"

"Very Good! The Kensington Post said they would enter a float in the pageant, a large

brewery is interested and so are some big department stores. Superintendents of Notting Hill and Harrow Road Police Stations are being most cooperative, the landlords of the Windsor Castle said he would help with the Old Time Music Hall, Noel Flynn the actor, Russ Henderson, the London Irish Girl Pipers, the Polish YMCA and"

The visit by Muhammad Ali and the planning of a street carnival in Notting Hill provided a wonderful opportunity for more people to learn about the LFS and local newspapers began reporting about their activities.³³ Some articles used the LFS newsletter as a resource, although by this

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Former candidate hits out at Wilson

The Prime Minister's "amiable talks" with Ian Smith in Rhodesia have been criticised by Mr. Jonathan Rosenhead, Labour candidate for South Kensington in the General Election.

"If Mr. Wilson has a fault, it is being too talkative," says Mr. Rosenhead, writing in the local Labour Party's journal "Labour Report."

"Instead of going to Salisbury for amiable talks with the white supremacists we should be asked to have for lunch and tea, we should go to New York and arrange for mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia by all the members of the United Nations," he suggests.

"LONG CHATS"

Planned for the autumn...

A NOTTING HILL FESTIVAL

A MASSIVE PROCESSION, complete with bands, historical tableaux and youth groups, winding through the streets of Notting Hill is being planned this autumn by the recently formed London Free School, whose headquarters are at Powis Terrace, Notting Hill.

The procession will launch a "Festival Week" which will include a song and dance festival, a drama night, poetry readings, old time music hall and a jazz session.

Climax of the week—plan-

cession illustrating various areas of Kensington up until the present day.

"QUEEN BESS"

Portobello Road one-way signs to be moved



MRS. R. LASLETT K28

The Kensington Post, 10 June 1966

point there was no mention of John Hopkins as he had apparently moved on. Instead, the papers described Rhaunie Laslette as the secretary.

At first the Mayor of Kensington, Ald. Francis Fisher, announced the council's support of the LFS and the Carnival, however the council soon withdrew it. Rhaunie Laslett criticized council and pleaded for aid for the Carnival in an article entitled: "FAIR WILL GO ON AS PLANNED SAY FREE SCHOOL", in *The Kensington News*, 12 August 1966:

"If we stopped it now we would be giving in to outside pressure," says secretary Mrs. Rhaunie Laslett. ...She told the *Kensington News* that she thought the withdrawal of patronage from the Mayor was because of the Free School's association with Mr. Michael de Freitas. A Black Muslim, Mr. de Freitas teaches English to immigrants for the Free School. But Mrs. Laslett said: "We are convinced that Mr. de Freitas is not using the school to further the activities of the Black Muslim movement."

"Mrs. Laslett continued: 'We would be stupid to pretend that the refusal of the grant has not hit us badly. But through jumble sales, raffles and possibly a dance between now and the opening of the Fair, we may be able to cover the expenses.' She estimated the cost of running the carnival to be as low as £150, but said that help, particularly with transport,

was needed. A jumble sale is being held at All Saint Hall, Notting Hill, on Saturday, Starting at 1.30p.m. in aid of the Carnival"

The Kensington Post and *The Kensington News* occasionally gave information about the LFS in their newspapers³⁴ and most of the articles seemed to be supportive of the LFS. For local newspapers, dramatizing the difficulties of the carnival made for more interesting reading.

All of the experience, skill, and network for promotion that the members of the LFS possessed were invested in the carnival, and the project was accepted with enthusiasm and promises of support by local residents and businesspersons. Meanwhile, the free school itself quietly fell apart, fragmenting into separate single-purpose groups based in Notting Hill.

Adam Ritchie, for example, told me that when he came back from New York on July 1966, he joined the London Free School and he proposed to start "an adventure playground" project at a meeting of the LFS,

[Adam] "There was a meeting of the London Free School. It had meetings, and at the last one – because I don't know why they closed, but they just decided that it wasn't doing what they wanted. I said, "I'm really interested in getting an adventure playground there, because current-

ly – to keep it going, the idea going, and I want to do that. And if anybody is interested in joining me, please, come and join me.” And six people came, including John O’Malley. And so we had six people and they met at my house for the next two or three years every week and we planned what we were going to do next.”³⁵

The concept of an ‘adventure playground’ – proposed at a meeting of the LFS – eventually developed into the North Kensington Playspace Group, with Adam Ritchie as its chairman and John O’Malley its secretary.³⁶

In our various conversations, Hoppy frequently spoke about ‘happenings’, events planned to act as a catalyst for further and unexpected creation brought about by the participation or reactions of whoever was in attendance. He seemed to view ‘happenings’ as a powerful art form, and I think that in its execution – if not its design – the LFS could rightfully be said to have been a ‘happening’ of sorts. I mentioned earlier that more things grew out of the process of trying to create the school than whatever came of what the school itself actually did as a school, but those things would almost surely not have occurred on their own – or at least not in anything like the same form – so whatever else it was or was not, the LFS was indeed a ‘happening’ insofar as the collaborative act of its creation gave birth to a variety of new, unexpected, and in some cases quite successful offspring.

Happening: planting some seeds

Hoppy seems to toy with this same idea in the following exchange:

[Hoppy] “There was another sort of event, which used to happen sometimes, which was called a Happening. And the interesting thing about a Happening is that you were never quite sure what was going to happen and there’s a lot of uncertainty. And sometimes this was interesting, sometimes it was erotic, sometimes it appealed to your artistic side. Other times you might be sitting in a small room watching a movie and then the room filled up with smoke and someone starts—gets up and starts reading poetry. In 1966, there was an event it was called the Destruction in Art Symposium.”

“And an artist called Gustav Metzger (1926 -) organized it. He was one of the first—he was the first person to make any light show in England in the early 1960s before light shows became popular and Gustav held this series of events which would called the Destruction in Arts Symposium”.

“Basically people would make some sort of work of art out of wood and metal and stuff that they’d found on this derelict land which they had cleared to build the Westway and they would set fire to the art when they’d made it. And this is the Destruction in Art symposium and there was some lectures given about what it was about.”

The Destruction in Art Symposium (DIAS) was held at the Africa Centre in Covent Garden from 9-11 in September of 1966. Throughout the month of September happenings, poetry readings, and performances took place in venues all over London.³⁷ One of the performances of the DIAS was in the Notting Hill Festival, at the Aclam Road playground, on Monday 22 September 1966,³⁸ as Miles referenced in his book³⁹:

“The London Free School children’s playground, on land cleared to build the Westway, was the site of many events, including Pro Diaz’s action Painting with Explosives.”

[Hoppy] “Metzger had a good intellectual justification for carrying out these crazy events. And that—that didn’t come—that didn’t exactly come out of the London Free School but the London Free School was part of the environment, part of the situation that was very close to it. So you couldn’t say really that the Destruction in Art Symposium was completely separate from the London Free School anymore than you can say that the Carnival was completely separate. But I think the—a good image of the London Free School is to think of it as a bit of ground where you’re going to plant some seeds. And then you scatter the seeds and some of them grow and some of them die.”

“One of the good seeds that came of the London Free School was the band Pink Floyd. They started to play some benefits for the Free School because it was running out of money. I mean I was the person who paid for the newsletter.”

“I was doing the London Free School and other

*things . . . they were so interesting that I didn't have time to take photographs, but I became short out of money because I'd paid for the school newsletter of the Free School and so I decided to have a school benefit in the church hall."*⁴⁰

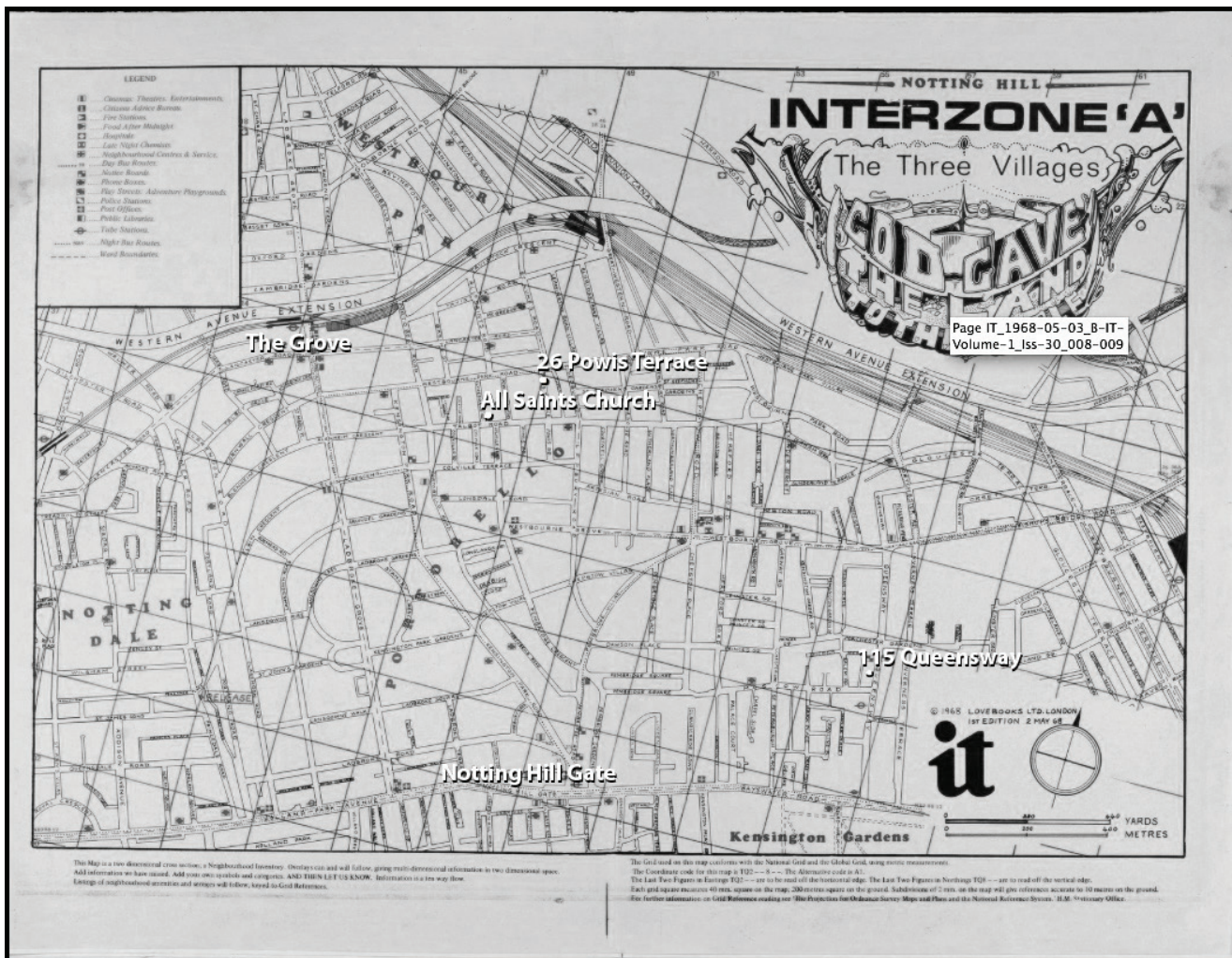
"At the first benefit we had Pink Floyd came, and they were just a bunch of young people from Cambridge playing some strange sort of music and there were some Americans who had a projector to make a light show and the combination of a light show and the band . . . nobody had seen anything like it before, and it became very popular. And so every week, I think on a Friday, we would have a benefit, and what started as a very small thing became bigger and bigger and bigger. That was one of the unsuspected things that came out of the London Free School."

While the London Free School overall certainly did not succeed as it was intended or designed to, at least the 'school' aspect of it did continue on to some extent as the "London Free School in Notting Hill", they went on to sponsor events for children in the area, and even offered a class or two as well. Nevertheless, by this time Hoppy had already moved onto other things, though I don't think it was because he felt that the LFS was a failure or not worth pursuing any more, as some apparently did. Indeed, he was working hard at this time in order to help finance the LFS, however the operational activities of the LFS were moving more and more in a direction dictated by the desires of its community base, and Hoppy was more interested in things like the DIAS and other activities that had a broader appeal outside of the local area. In order to understand Hoppy's shift at this time it is important to remember what Adam Ritchie had said about Hoppy and his involvement:

[Adam] *" . . . there was a big separation between what I'd call the political people and the Hoppy people. Hoppy had more to do with culture, and the others were more interested in housing, and poverty, and stuff like that."*

Hoppy's activities revolved primarily around London's nascent underground scene because that is what he was interested in. This is not to say that he was unconcerned about the people of Notting Hill, or about issues of social justice

in general – far from it – I just think that what Hoppy liked to do, and where he felt his talents lay, tended to lead him in a different direction. The underground was his scene, and it's problems and potentials seemed to be what interested him the most. In all of his many projects Hoppy worked towards what he hoped might be, all the while remaining open to the many possibilities for what things could become. In other words, I don't think that Hoppy usually began with a goal, and then worked backwards in order to come up with ways to achieve it. Instead, I think he started with an idea, and then worked forward in order to discover what all could be done with it.



Map of 'Interzone A' that was included in the *International Times* No. 30, 3 May 1968.

We put the name and address of places related to the London Free School on this map. Hoppy's flat, where he and his friends discussed the idea of starting a free school in Notting Hill, was located at 115 Queensway. The fixed location for the London Free School was 26 Powis Terrace, and the LFS used the All Saint's Church Hall for meetings and fund raising events.

Chapter Three

Hoppy and the sixties



A room in the Fantasy Factory, 19 February 2011

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa

When I first started to notice Hoppy's name, I thought there were two different people being referenced, the organized and steady John Hopkins of the LFS, and the charismatic 'Hoppy' of the London underground. As I read more about him, and then finally had a chance to meet and talk with him, I began to see the richness and complexity of the man, and I felt that we were becoming real friends. This friendship however isn't necessarily reflected in our interviews. Hoppy was aware of my research topic and kindly wanted to do whatever he could to help me with it, and I in turn felt obligated to use our time together conscientiously and stick to the subject, so we mostly spoke about topics related to his work in the 1960s, and I only picked up bits and pieces of his larger story outside of that.

Now, looking back, I feel that I would have approached these interviews differently if I'd had some idea in advance of what all there was to know about him, and if I'd allowed myself to

acknowledge how little time we would ultimately have together.

I bring all of this up because much of what could be said about Hoppy's life just isn't included here. We spoke a great deal, and about many things, but the more personal stories are fragmented and usually occurred as tangents to the primary themes we were discussing. Still, I think we can discover a bit about his life, where he came from and where he felt he was going, by reading between these sparse lines.

I call this chapter 'Hoppy and the Sixties', which is a pretty general theme, but what I hope to share with you here is some of what he told me about what he was doing before the period we've discussed in the first two chapters. We'll hear about his life at the University, the effect that American culture had on people in that period – particularly people in the underground – and also something about his experiences working

as a photographer. From these things I hope to catch a glimpse of why he made the choices he did, and form some ideas about his overall direction and motivation.

University life and an exemption from conscription

Joe Boyd makes mention of Hoppy's personal history before coming to London in his obituary¹,

"Son of Victor and Evelyn Hopkins, John was born in Slough, Berkshire; his father was a naval engineer. After attending Felsted School, Essex, he took a general science degree at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, receiving his MA in 1958. As Hoppy put it, he discovered sex, drugs and jazz at Cambridge and pursued all three with great diligence. After graduation, he worked as a lab technician for the Atomic Energy Authority at Harwell, but lost his security clearance following a jaunt to Moscow for a communist youth festival."

I'd also asked him about his time in school,

[Mugiko] *"You graduated from Cambridge, but at that time it was not easy to go to university?"*

[Hoppy] *"Well, actually I was just in the pipeline. I mean I didn't understand really what the university was supposed to be. It was just the next place to go when you left the school. I was lucky I got a scholarship in the university. And when I left the university, I only just passed my degree. I had a really low grade of degree because I spent a lot of my time at university trying to have sex, playing music, and generally having a good time. And when I left the university, I didn't have a good degree. So the job that I got was also not a very good job."*

"I got a job working at the atomic authority, I decided – I didn't want to – in those days we still had conscription, and I decided that I didn't want to kill people and I didn't want to be part of the army. I felt quite emotional about Hiroshima and Nagasaki too, so I found this job, which had an exemption from conscription and it happened to be in the atomic energy authority. It was just a coincidence. But then the place that I worked was very near Oxford and so I decided to live in Oxford. That was wonderful because when I was in Cambridge, as a student, I found out all

the good things about student life, and when I got my first job and lived in Oxford I was able to participate in the student life in Oxford, even though I wasn't a student anymore. I met a lot of people there who I still know today, so that was very important for me to be able to be in that cultural milieu in Oxford after going to Cambridge. So I have connections both in Oxford and Cambridge."

"In Cambridge, I met people who since have been scientists and technicians, all sorts of different science based jobs, plus some musicians. There were two types of people in Cambridge. There were the academics - or people who worked in the university - and then there were people from the town. I got to know people from both parts, mainly because I played in bands. I played piano. And the people who played music were both from the university and from the town. You know playing in the backroom in pubs that sort of thing, because then jazz seemed to be very important. In Oxford, I met more political people, who have risen to places in the left of politics."

"I mean my political education wasn't really conventional because in Oxford, during the winter one time, I went on a march. There was an American- base called Brize Norton and there was a march from Brize Norton to Oxford. It was about 15 miles and it was in the winter so it was very cold. At the end of the march we all gathered around a man standing on a box who was making a speech about how bad the Americans were and all that, and the reason we were all here together, and so on. I noticed my own reaction to that part of it was – it was an emotional reaction, but one that I couldn't really control very well. And I realized that the game that was being played was to get people energized by going on a march and then to speak strongly with them afterwards in a way that I felt wasn't quite fair. I felt I have been tricked in a way . . . not in a nasty way, but I thought I could see that it wasn't going to do me much good to go on marches."

"And in the 60s and the late 50s there were protest marches, mainly about nuclear disarmament. So, I was in favour of nuclear disarmament and part of the work that I did as a photographer and a journalist was to try to raise



Flyers of CND from the early 1960s

awareness of nuclear disarmament and that sort of thing. But I related to the CND movement perhaps as much as a photographer as an activist. Indeed people sometimes call me an activist, but I think it's not quite the right word."

[Mugiko] "When you were connected to the CND as a photographer you had already resigned the Atomic Energy Authority?"

[Hoppy] "Well, I worked for the atomic energy authority as a technician. What we did for the work was, in those days there was a certain sort of reactor, which was being developed, it was called the advanced gas-cooled reactor where basically the medium, which extracted heat from the reactor, was a certain gas. And the reactors were made of modules and they were big blocks of graphite with a hole in the middle and there were uranium bars. And what we did was to assemble small test pieces of reactors in making different configurations of the graphite and the uranium to see which combinations were going to give the best results."

"So I spent my time largely moving graphite blocks and uranium bars into different configurations and then testing them to find out what the neutron density was. There were two branches to the atomic energy industry. One was for peaceful uses and the other was for military uses. I worked in the peaceful side of it, but I began to be aware that the government I was working for was also making nuclear warheads. I don't know what else to say about that at the moment."

"After about two years, I began to get rather

bored because they moved my job to the south coast, away from Oxford. And it was very culturally empty where I was living. And I had a lot of friends including a girlfriend in Oxford, which wasn't that far away. It was maybe two hours' drive on a Friday night. And the roads in those days, there was a lot less traffic on the roads. There weren't any motorways but there wasn't a lot of traffic anyway and you could drive at night. They were main roads for sure but you could drive at night just looking at the white line in the middle of the road and you could drive fast. You can't do that anymore. But I finally decided that I would leave the atomic energy authority and get a job as a photographer."

"The story of how I came to the conclusion to leave the atomic energy was because I had been invited to go with a group of left wing activists to Russia. If you went to Russia, you had to go in a group. I told the security people at the atomic energy authority that I was going to go to Russia for my summer holiday and they said to me, 'We don't want you to do that.' I said 'You can't stop me. I am going to go. I will come back for sure. No problem about that.'"

"So against the wishes of the security -- and the security I'm talking about is what is now called MI6 -- I went to Russia with this group of people in a converted -- you know what a hearse is? When people die, you put them in a coffin and you put the coffin in a long car, which is called a hearse. My friends in the group had bought an old hearse and painted a big peace symbol on the back and they painted it yellow. And thus we went as a group to Moscow in this hearse...."

"When I came back to my job I was late. In another words, I had two weeks' holiday but I managed to come back late, so I had taken more holidays than I was supposed to. A friend of mine from Cambridge was working as a newspaper reporter. He worked for the Daily Mirror. I gave him a call when I got back to the country and he wrote a story and put my picture on the front page with sort of ragged clothes on and no shoes titled: "Atom Officer Back from Russia." Security were very annoyed about this and they gave me quite a strong interview and that was the point when I decided that I wanted to leave. The only other thing I could think to do was to be a photographer. So that's the back story."



A room in the Fantasy Factory, 25 February 2011

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa

Affection for US culture

In his room there was a large mounted photo that Hoppy took of William Burroughs.

[Mugiko] “So the beat generation came of course from America. You were interested in the United States at that time?”

[Hoppy] “Yes, at that time the US was a place where there was a lot of creativity going on. I mean there was a lot of movement of people, especially young people, and particularly to England because of the language. Many of these were draft dodgers, so there was a great Diaspora of young people, mainly men - but they brought women with them too - leaving America because they didn’t want to join the army. They brought their culture with them and they were a big influence, but the influence of American culture goes back a long way — a long way before the Vietnam war — because in the Second World War there were many Americans who lived in bases in England, and when the war ended, they didn’t go away. Or most of them didn’t go away but they were an influence on my generation because they had crew cuts, and they had plenty of money, and they could get nylon stockings for the women.”

“And every American base had a shop called the PX. And the PX is where — if you were an American soldier, a GI — you could go to the PX

shop, and you could buy stuff cheaply and you could buy things which you couldn’t buy in the rest of England because there was—food rationing continued into the 1950s because food was short. When I wanted to get sweets for school I had to bring out my ration book coupons. And also there was a black market.”

“So for instance, the popularity of Marlboro cigarettes is another thing caused by the influence of Hollywood, which was continuous. And then there was the music. So music was a strong influence starting with, well you can’t say where it started, but the recorded music started early in about the first years of the 20th century. For me that was mechanical recording. Recording started to go electric in the 1920s. And then they came with movies with sound. And then once recorded music became popular there was a continuous market, and then a lot of it was for black people who had their own music.”

“Until after the war, the first big singing celebrity was Frank Sinatra and he was the image of the teenage boy, the young man, and he was very strongly associated with the mafia and all that stuff. And then the black music was continuing all the time, but one of the next people was Elvis Presley who made it more popular. And then the time of rock and roll started except it was called Rhythm and Blues in the beginning. If you look in the culture, music is everywhere. So it’s difficult to find one line that describes the

music. In the 1960s there was a huge amount of experimentation with music as well as with all sorts of other things. And so the 60s was very rich and the music was everywhere.”

“So the American influence was already there and of course there’s music, particularly jazz, which was very exciting that is going on. In fact, around about the year 1960, there was a lot of new American jazz. There was English jazz as well in other countries but really the source of it was America, and that was an influence as well, and there were a few musicians who hung around the school. One of them called Dave Tomlin.”

“He was a saxophone player. And I think he had a family but he left them and lost them completely and he went and lived in the basement of the London Free School because he had no other place to live and he was very poor but he played saxophone in the street a lot. Joe Boyd and I started a club in (December) 1966, which was called the UFO and that was in the Tottenham Court Road but Dave Tomlin used to come in the middle of the night where people were lying on the floor and he would walk around playing solo saxophone.”

Jazz was an important vehicle for American culture during this period. Miles wrote in *“Notting Hill Days: A personal memoir of the early sixties”*²

“Hoppy was working as a news photographer for the *Sunday Times* as well as for *Melody Maker* and *Peace News*. This meant that he was taking pictures of everything from visiting jazz and blues men, through CND’s Easter marches from Aldermaston, to Harold Wilson, with a few fashion models in between who wanted to build up their portfolios. Dexter Gordon, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Duke Ellington, Cecil Taylor and Archie Shepp: he got to photograph all the big names. We were all keen on jazz, and several of Hoppy’s good friends were jazz critics. They would gather in the living room to listen to the latest Ornette Coleman and nod their heads knowledgeably over the photographs Hoppy showed them. You could see they wished they’d been there.”²

Hoppy also enjoyed jazz with his friends. Adam Ritchie told me one such story from the time he’d lived with Hoppy in early sixties³,

[Adam] *“I lived in a big flat apartment with Hoppy and several other people – six of us altogether – and one of them, Allan Beckett, had a friend who was an airline pilot who went to America all the time, back and forth, and who loved jazz and had friends who were in the record business – discs. And he used to come back with discs made by Miles Davis, and people like Miles Davis, before they were released to the public. So, in London, we used to play music that wasn’t even available to anybody in the world – not anybody, but you couldn’t buy it, and it would just arrive, all this wonderful jazz. It was mostly jazz, modern jazz, very modern jazz, and we played them.... He used to be given the records in America, and then he’d bring them back and he’d give them to his friend in England. I don’t know how it worked, but they used to just get these records, which were absolutely new and very exciting.”*

In 1965 Hoppy visited New York when Adam was working there. Adam spoke about how surprised Hoppy was by the advanced system for reserving ticket by phone in the US.

[Adam] *“Hoppy came too – I don’t know if he stayed with me or he had a place to stay. He arrived in New York at my apartment. He came over, I don’t know on what basis, but I think just a visitor’s thing. He came for two weeks or a week. And it was quite nice because he arrived and he said he was interested in going to the Newport Jazz Festival and taking photographs. And I picked up the phone, and on the telephone, I got him recognized as a press photographer and I got him an airline ticket or a train ticket, and it was all done at nine o’clock at night by telephone. And he couldn’t believe it because that was – you couldn’t do anything like that. You had to go to Newport and buy the ticket in England. Everything was slow and very, very difficult, and – or you’d have to go to a – everything was complicated. And his entire trip – not his entire trip, he did other things also, but really quite important part of his trip was organized in five minutes by me on the telephone. And I think that affected him quite a lot. He was astounded that you could – I mean it was like computers are now. You can do anything on a computer. In those days, it felt like about going in a racing car instead of walking. You travel very fast, and I think that quite affected him. The guy was quite pleased.”*



Hoppy holding his photo of William Burroughs, 25 February 2011

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa

Poetry reading and Lovebooks in 1965

[Hoppy] *“We, Miles and me, we started a publishing company, ‘Lovebooks’ in 1965, for small works of poetry and avant-garde writing. We published some Ginsberg for the first time and some of William Burroughs. That was before International Times. Actually it was called Long Hair. Long Hair magazine, and we could see the connection between Long Hair magazine and the poetry reading in 1965, and then what became International Times. It’s like a broad river flowing and other tributaries joining. So it all fits together quite well I think.”*

[Mugiko] *“How did you know William Burroughs? He was your friend?”*

[Hoppy] *“Well, friend is too strong a word. We knew each other and met a few times when he used to – there used to be a group of people who stayed around him. I was not one of that group. Miles was a very active correspondent. He would write letters and ask for poems and generally showed strong interest in that sort of things. And so he became a focal point.”*

Miles (2002) shared an interesting anecdote about Hoppy and how he set up a litho press by himself⁴:

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“Meanwhile, Hoppy and I pursued our plans to publish an independent literary magazine aimed at the audience that had attended the Albert Hall poetry reading – not just printing poetry, but trying to pull together the various strands of the emerging scene we had observed there. We expected problems. Binn Tivy, who had surreptitiously printed Darazt for us at the firm where he worked, had been very worried about the nude photographs of Gala we had published and warned us that any depiction of public hair was illegal. Though we had no plans to publish any more nudes, in order to avoid potential censorship problems and to have complete control over what we were publishing. Hoppy decided that Lovebooks should have its own offset litho press. I knew nothing about printing technology, but to Hoppy, a trained reactor physicist, the mastery of a small litho press was not a problem. He found a used one for £100, which he installed in a room of its own in his new flat in Queensway. My only experience with litho was at Art College, where we had to grind down great blocks of stone using different grades of sand in order to produce a surface to print from. Hoppy’s machine, however, used zinc plates, which he made using a converted kitchen mangle.”

Hoppy had meetings of LFS in 1966 at his new flat in Queensway and may have used this litho

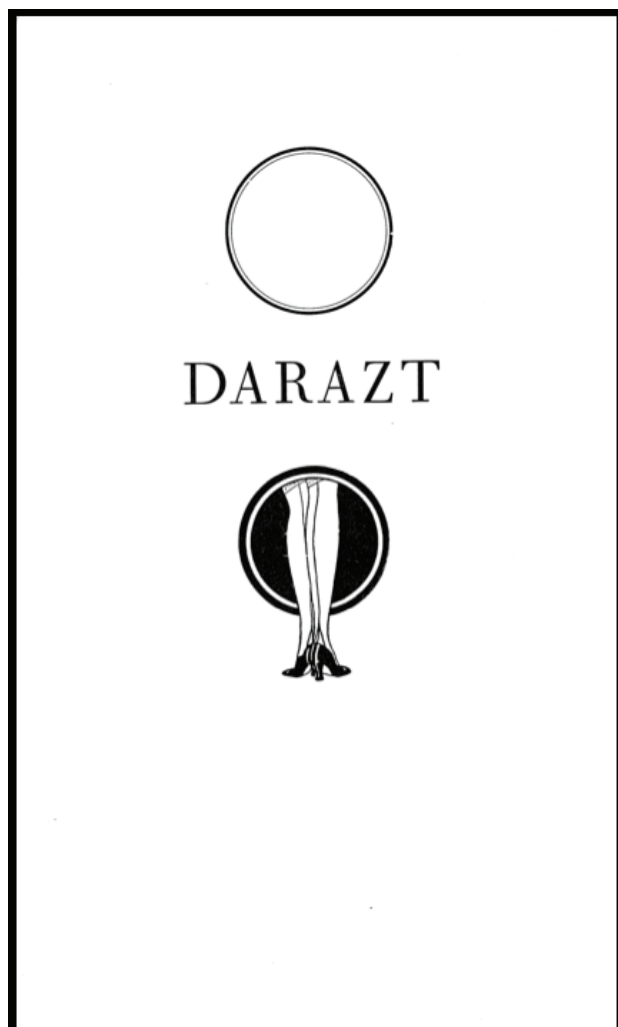
press for printing minutes, the newsletter, flyers, etc.⁵

[Mugiko] *“The poetry reading was in June 1965. With whom did you organize it?”*

[Hoppy] *“A group of people, perhaps about dozen. And some of the people I can remember their names. There was Allen Ginsberg, the American poet, and his woman friend, Barbara Rubin, who was a filmmaker, and Miles. Because when Ginsberg came to London, he stayed with Miles and Miles’ wife Sue Miles who died recently and she was a very strong woman and very strong personality. Michael Horovitz, have you found his name before? He is a poet and he lives in Notting Hill and he makes very many poetry events. He has a little cart and in the cart he has publications to sell and most of his events happened in central London in Notting Hill and Hampstead places like that. He is very well known. He is about 75 now. And he was a person who really invented jazz poetry and he knows many jazz musicians and he knows many poets as well. Maybe next time when you come you can meet him because he lives in Notting Hill and he is very well known there.”*

“And the organizers for the Albert Hall reading, there was a New Zealander called John Esam and another person who came from Greece called Dan Richter. There were really quite a lot of people. But the decision to make the event happened about 10 days before the event. It was really a spontaneous event. And there were some people sitting around. I think Allen Ginsberg had just arrived and he was famous. He had just arrived in England. He had been travelling and somebody said, ‘Why don’t we do a poetry reading?’ And then people got interested in that and somebody said, ‘What’s the biggest hall in London?’ and we said, ‘It is the Albert Hall’.”

“The next thing we knew Barbara Rubin who was with Ginsberg at the time picked up the telephone and found out it was possible to rent the Albert Hall for one night and then somebody else had to put up the money because it was quite expensive. And before you knew what was happening the preparation for the event had started. And you couldn’t really analyse it with a business plan because it was sort of thing that if you looked at the business plan you would say



The copy of DARAZT that Hoppy gave me at our first meeting, 2 September 2009

‘this is impossible’.”

“So it seemed to catch the imagination of many people and it was one of those events you could call a happening, though I think that’s not quite the right word. But the publicity worked very well and part of the publicity was photos. The idea was to take some good photos and to get them published in the newspapers just before the event because that is the best time for the publicity to happen, and it worked very well. So, there was a network of people that you could say already existed or you could also say was spontaneously created. But either way it was definitely a group activity and it would not be possible to do something like that with just one person.”

[Mugiko] *“So how did people find out about the poetry reading?”*

[Hoppy] *“In two ways. There was some forward publicity and there was very much word of mouth. I mean a lot of people had telephones or most people had telephones. There was no email*

but people used telephones quite a lot. And ‘word of mouth’, that means people speaking to people, worked very strongly.”

“I think one of the reasons why that type of networking was effective was because there wasn’t an Internet. This was before the *International Times*. A lot of events happened but the information about them did not get out into the media. Once we started the *International Times* then it was easier for organizers to make events because there was a medium there. That’s how it all fits together.”

[Mugiko] “So you created your own media?”

[Hoppy] “Yes, I think there was a general amplification in that time where there was a need for the media in the alternative in the underground. And once the media was there, then that made for a better circulation of information and it snowballed, meaning it started to accelerate by itself.”

[Mugiko] “And then you setup the *IT* in 1966?”

[Hoppy] “Yes, that’s right.”

International Times in 1966

[Mugiko] “When you published *International Times*, where did people get the newspaper?”

[Hoppy] “There were several answers and the main answer was they were sold on the street. Like the British do nowadays, well we had street sellers, especially on the West End. I mean around Oxford Street and Tottenham Court Road, where there was always people on the street. And there were street sellers and we also sold subscriptions but the street sellers sold most copies. But there is another answer too, when we first published it in October of 1966, it was very exciting to drive down the road in a Mini

with the back filled with newspapers and what we would do, we would drive along until we came to a newsagent and then we would get out of the car with two or three newspapers and put them in the stand, and not ask, we’d put them in the stand and then other people would come along and they would see this, they would pick it up and they would go to the newsagent and say, ‘I want to buy this’, and the newsagent would say ‘what?’ So that was a good trick.”

“The idea was to make a bit of surprise as well. I think it was the philosophy of *Happening* coming out again. But we started, we started the *International Times* because there was no medium, there was a big gap between the straight media and what was happening on the ground. The local papers were no good and the national—the national press was only interested in sensation and you manufacture that everyday.”

“So just like the music developed in very interesting ways, so the underground press developed. And there were some models for underground press, which we knew about in America, in New York. There was, first of all there was the *Village Voice* which was started in the 1950s by an Englishman, John Wilcock, but also with Norman Mailer and some other literary people



Hoppy with *IT*, 19 February 2011

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa

and then in the 1960s, there was a next generation of underground press in the States and particularly the East Village Other, from New York and later on the Berkeley Barb and the Los Angeles Free Press."

"And we knew about these things because communication was good, people were traveling across the Atlantic all the time and you could send telegrams and make phone calls and stuff like that. So as soon—as soon as the underground press started up again in New York, we could see that there was an opportunity to do something, to start a paper which would be socially beneficial because it would carry news which people—news and information which people wanted to know."

"And we were right because IT grew very fast. It had a period of strong popularity in the late 1960s."

On the last page of the *IT* there was a list of places where the paper was available titled: 'You can get it here'. The number of places on the list – book shops, galleries, theatres, colleges, etc. – increased quickly: 35 for the first *IT* (14 October 1966), 68 for the second (October 31), and 92 for the third (November 14). From the beginning, the *IT* was also sent abroad – NY, Paris, Stockholm, Rhode-Saint Genes, Kurfürstendamm, Mexico DF, San Francisco, Roma, Bruxells. Clearly the *IT* began as a global endeavour, not something solely intended for a local audience just as the name International Times suggests. They did not, however, take their local readers for granted. A great deal of research and analysis went into trying to understand just where their local readers lived and worked.



Academy of Visual Arts, 12 Soho Sq., W.1.
Paperback Gallery, Bristol.
Out of Town News, Harvard Sq., Cambridge, Mass.
Colletts Record Shop, New Oxford St., W.C.1.
Wooden Shoe Bookshop, 42 New Compton St., W.C.1.
8th Street Bookshop, 17 West 8th St., N.Y.
Hamstead Theatre Club, 98 Avenue Road, N.W.3.
Richard Demarco Gallery, 8 Melville Crescent, Edinburgh 3.
I.C.A. Gallery, 17/18 Dover St., W.1.
Discurio, 9 Shepherd Street, W.1.
Paperbook Gallery Ltd., 22a Charles St., Edinburgh 8.
Amschel, 33c Kings Rd., Chelsea S.W.3.
Karma, 28 Gosfield St., W.1.
Troubadour, Old Brompton Road.
Trattoria Da Odoio, 41 Dean Street, W.1.
Shakespeare & Co., 37 rue de la Bucherie, Paris V.
Sandsbergs Bokhandel, Saregater 8, Stockholm.
Andre Desramaux, 32 Av du Vallon, Rhode-Saint-Genes, Belgium.
London School of Contemporary Dance, 5-7 Berners Place, W.1.
The Little Theatre Club, Garrick Yard, W.C.2.
Clara Burchner, Forum Theatre, Bethn 15, Kurfürstendamm 200.
Dalis SA, Calle Ambers 12, Col. Juarez, Mexico DF.
City Lights Bookshop, 261 Columbus Ave., San Francisco 2.
Beterbooks, Charing X Rd., W.C.2.
Indica Bookshop, 102 Southampton Row, W.C.1.
Granny Takes A Trip, 488 Kings Rd., Chelsea, S.W.3.
235 Kings Rd., Chelsea S.W.3.
Susan Locke, Kings Rd., Chelsea, S.W.3.
Op-Pop-Shop, Trastevere, Roma.
Treetop Coffee Shop, Southampton Row, W.C.1.
Holborn Books, 203 High Holborn, W.C.1.
Mandarin Books, Notting Hill Gate & Swiss Cottage.
Jeannette Cochrane Theatre, Southampton Row, W.C.1.
Libreria l'Oca, via dell'Oca, Roma.
Librairie in Licorne, 26 rue de Dublin, Bruxelles 5, Belgium.

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Academy of Visual Arts, 12 Soho Square, W.1.
Akiyama-zaai, Prinsengracht 234, Amsterdam.
G. Amschel, 33c Kings Road, SW3.
Blouseart Arts Forum, School Lane, Liverpool.
The Book Place, Friary Street, Guildford.
Beterbooks, 94 Charing Cross Road, WC2.
Paperback Gallery, 62 Park Row, Bristol.
Faperback Gallery, Edinburgh.
Clara Burchner, The Living Theatre, Berlin 15.
Church Street Bookshop Ltd., 57 Ken. Church Street.
Clark & Sackwell Ltd., Hotel Street, Leicester.
Cochrane Theatre, Southampton Row, W.C.1.
Cambridge College of Arts, Collier Road, Cambridge.
Choses, 80-82 Heath Street, Hampstead.
Collie's Record Shop, 70 New Oxford Street, W.1.
Telle's Book Shop, 66 Charing Cross Road, WC2.
Delacy Pottery, 1 Albert Street, NW1.
A. Desramaux, Rhode-St-Genese, Belgium.
De Oetho, 41 Dean Street, W.1.
Discurio, 9 Shepherd Street, W.1.
Dralc Gallery, 3-7 Porchester Place, W.2.
Debris Record Shop, 77 Charing Cross Road, WC2.
Students' Union, LSE, Houghton Street, WC2.
Euras Ltd, 81 Pimlico Road, SW1.
Freeman Synagogue, 1080 Uxbridge Road.
Miss Fairy Freed, Dillon's Bookshop.
Granny Takes A Trip, 488 Kings Road.
Gear, Carnaby Street, W.1.
Holborn Books, 203 High Holborn.
Housman's Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road.
Indica Gallery, 6 Masons Yard, Duke Street, St. James's.
Architects' Association, Bedford Square.
Hung On You, Grafton Street, SW5.
The Id Bookshop, Seattle, Wash.
Indica, 102 Southampton Row.
I.C.A., 17-18 Dover Street, W.1.
Wooden Shoe Bookshop, 42 New Compton Street.
Karma, 28 Gosfield Street, W.1.
Librairie Anglaise, 42 Rue de Seine, Paris 6eme.
Libreria l'Oca, via dell'Oca, Rome.
D. A. Merchant, 239 Holloway Road, N7.
Op-Pop Shop, Trastevere, Rome.
Pam Pam, 22 Maddox Street, W.1.
Hamstead Theatre Club, Avenue Road, NW3.
Richard Demarco Gallery, Edinburgh 3.
Seape, 457 Fulham Road, SW10.
Students' Bookshop, 21a Silver Street, Cambridge.
Shakespeare & Co., 37 Rue de la Bucherie, Paris.
Shakespeare Bookshop, Berkeley, Calif.
Turret Bookshop, Kensington Church Walk, W8.
Susan Locke, Kings Road.
Sandsbergs Bokhandel, Stockholm.
Tompkins Square Books, New York.
Tommoddy Zaire, Pasadena, Calif., USA.
235 Kings Road, SW3.
Trent Book Shop, Trent Bridge, Notts.
Troubadour, Old Brompton Road.
Mandarin Books, Notting Hill Gate, Swiss Cottage.
London School of Contemporary Dance, Berners Place.
City Lights Books, San Francisco, Calif.
Out of Town News, Cambridge, Mass.
8th Street Bookshop, New York.
Peace Eye Bookstore, New York.
La Joie de Lire, 40 Rue St. Severin, Paris.
Robert Fraser Gallery, 69 Duke Street, W.1.
The Badge Boutique, 116 Whitfield Street, W.1.
Bookshop 85, 85 Regents Park Road, N.W.1.
John Funnival, Rookmore House, Woodchester.
Gloria Palanski, 116 Whitfield Street, W.1.
Furore, 218 Fulham Road, S.W.10.
Hamstead Record Centre, 72 Heath Street, N.W.3.
Hacheite Librairie Francaise, 4 Regent Place, W.1.
David K. Brown, Student Union, Birmingham 15.
Andrew Marky, Fine Art Dept., Newcastle University.
Music Lane, Fortobello Road.
Marian O'Dwyer, Hope Hall, Exeter.
Sylvia Foshin, Hendon College of Technology.
J. Steele, Students Union, Keele University.
Sloopy's, 44 The Mall, W.5.
Sons-Sok, Earls Court Road, S.W.5.
Tand, Torvalds Road.
David Wise, Fine Art Dept., Newcastle University.
Brian Walsh, 98 Bardett Road, E.3.
Newsline, Maple Street, at G.P.O. Tower.
Andre Desramaux, Rhode-St-Genese, Belgium.
Drina Galleries, 5-7 Porchester Place, W.2.
The Yellow Room, Elizabeth Street, S.W.1.
Wards Bookshop, Kings Road, S.W.3.
Wendy Harpe, 132 Brownlow Hill, Liverpool.
Tanna, 65 Pimlico Road, S.W.1.
The Mighty Acorn, 18-20 St. Mary Street, Southampton.
Victoria Miller, 2 Island Road, St. Ives.
Eco-omni's Bookshop, Portugal Street, W.C.2.
Quinn Theatre, Great Newport Street, W.C.2.

IT #2, 10/31/66, p16

31 bus route and a Fertile Crescent of readers

[Hoppy] "In 1967 I went to prison for smoking dope and when I came out of prison I had a lot of energy and I wondered what to do so I went to International Times and I did some research. And I wanted to find where everybody lived. The researching was quite simple. Parts of the sales of IT were to subscribers who sent it their addresses. So the research really was to analyse the addresses and to put them on a map like this. And there were maybe, I don't know how many subscribers, maybe 200 or some quantity like that. But that was sufficient in order to be able to see a pattern and distribution. And there were also subscribers who were further away or not in London or in other cities in other countries.



Academy of Visual Arts, 12 Soho Square, W.1.
Akiyama-zaai, Prinsengracht 234, Amsterdam.
G. Amschel, 33c Kings Road, SW3.
Blouseart Arts Forum, School Lane, Liverpool.
The Book Place, Friary Street, Guildford.
Beterbooks, 94 Charing Cross Road, WC2.
Paperback Gallery, 62 Park Row, Bristol.
Faperback Gallery, Edinburgh.
Clara Burchner, The Living Theatre, Berlin 15.
Church Street Bookshop Ltd., 57 Ken. Church Street.
Clark & Sackwell Ltd., Hotel Street, Leicester.
Cochrane Theatre, Southampton Row, W.C.1.
Cambridge College of Arts, Collier Road, Cambridge.
Choses, 80-82 Heath Street, Hampstead.
Collie's Record Shop, 70 New Oxford Street, W.1.
Telle's Book Shop, 66 Charing Cross Road, WC2.
Delacy Pottery, 1 Albert Street, NW1.
Discurio, 9 Shepherd Street, W.1.
Debris Record Shop, 77 Charing Cross Road, WC2.
Students' Union, LSE, Houghton Street, WC2.
Euras Ltd, 81 Pimlico Road, SW1.
Freeman Synagogue, 1080 Uxbridge Road.
Miss Fairy Freed, Dillon's Bookshop.
Granny Takes A Trip, 488 Kings Road.
Gear, Carnaby Street, W.1.
Holborn Books, 203 High Holborn.
Housman's Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road.
Indica Gallery, 6 Masons Yard, Duke Street, St. James's.
Architects' Association, Bedford Square.
Hung On You, Grafton Street, SW5.
The Id Bookshop, Seattle, Wash.
Indica, 102 Southampton Row.
I.C.A., 17-18 Dover Street, W.1.
Wooden Shoe Bookshop, 42 New Compton Street.
Karma, 28 Gosfield Street, W.1.
Librairie Anglaise, 42 Rue de Seine, Paris 6eme.
Libreria l'Oca, via dell'Oca, Rome.
D. A. Merchant, 239 Holloway Road, N7.
Op-Pop Shop, Trastevere, Rome.
Pam Pam, 22 Maddox Street, W.1.
Hamstead Theatre Club, Avenue Road, NW3.
Richard Demarco Gallery, Edinburgh 3.
Seape, 457 Fulham Road, SW10.
Students' Bookshop, 21a Silver Street, Cambridge.
Shakespeare & Co., 37 Rue de la Bucherie, Paris.
Shakespeare Bookshop, Berkeley, Calif.
Turret Bookshop, Kensington Church Walk, W8.
Susan Locke, Kings Road.
Sandsbergs Bokhandel, Stockholm.
Tompkins Square Books, New York.
Tommoddy Zaire, Pasadena, Calif., USA.
235 Kings Road, SW3.
Trent Book Shop, Trent Bridge, Notts.
Troubadour, Old Brompton Road.
Mandarin Books, Notting Hill Gate, Swiss Cottage.
London School of Contemporary Dance, Berners Place.
City Lights Books, San Francisco, Calif.
Out of Town News, Cambridge, Mass.
8th Street Bookshop, New York.
Peace Eye Bookstore, New York.
La Joie de Lire, 40 Rue St. Severin, Paris.
Robert Fraser Gallery, 69 Duke Street, W.1.
The Badge Boutique, 116 Whitfield Street, W.1.
Bookshop 85, 85 Regents Park Road, N.W.1.
John Funnival, Rookmore House, Woodchester.
Gloria Palanski, 116 Whitfield Street, W.1.
Furore, 218 Fulham Road, S.W.10.
Hamstead Record Centre, 72 Heath Street, N.W.3.
Hacheite Librairie Francaise, 4 Regent Place, W.1.
David K. Brown, Student Union, Birmingham 15.
Andrew Marky, Fine Art Dept., Newcastle University.
Music Lane, Fortobello Road.
Marian O'Dwyer, Hope Hall, Exeter.
Sylvia Foshin, Hendon College of Technology.
J. Steele, Students Union, Keele University.
Sloopy's, 44 The Mall, W.5.
Sons-Sok, Earls Court Road, S.W.5.
Tand, Torvalds Road.
David Wise, Fine Art Dept., Newcastle University.
Brian Walsh, 98 Bardett Road, E.3.
Newsline, Maple Street, at G.P.O. Tower.
Andre Desramaux, Rhode-St-Genese, Belgium.
Drina Galleries, 5-7 Porchester Place, W.2.
The Yellow Room, Elizabeth Street, S.W.1.
Wards Bookshop, Kings Road, S.W.3.
Wendy Harpe, 132 Brownlow Hill, Liverpool.
Tanna, 65 Pimlico Road, S.W.1.
The Mighty Acorn, 18-20 St. Mary Street, Southampton.
Victoria Miller, 2 Island Road, St. Ives.
Eco-omni's Bookshop, Portugal Street, W.C.2.
Quinn Theatre, Great Newport Street, W.C.2.

IT #3, 11/14/66, p12



People who were highly mobile and who move around a lot. People who didn't stay at the same address all the time."

"I looked at it as a database, the subscriptions, and what I discovered was that the main concentration of readers of the International Times was along the number 31 bus route which goes from Chelsea, to World's End, to Kensington, to Notting Hill, to Maida Vale, to Swiss Cottage, to Kensington. That's the number 31 bus route, and it turned out that we called it the Fertile Crescent. Have you heard that name before? The Fertile Crescent was a name given to it, I think, by anthropologists. It was a place in Iraq where they had the first cities and it was called the Fertile Crescent. It was like the beginning of urban civilization. So we also called the number 31 bus route the Fertile Crescent."

(Hoppy points out the area to me on a map)

"Well, the shape of the Crescent . . . we have to go down to the river . . . somewhere down here, and it turns out the bus comes down through Chelsea . . . there is Notting Hill, and Chelsea is down here somewhere . . . eventually you get as far as the river down here. The 31 Bus came down here somewhere I think in this area."

[Mugiko] *"So in this area you determined there were more readers who were interested in alternative media?"*

[Hoppy] *"Yes, that's right. The main density of readers was in this Fertile Crescent. And we gave a name to part of it. We called that part Interzone A. Did you ever see the map?"*

"Interzone A, the name came from a book by William Burroughs⁷. We discovered that as well as the Fertile Crescent. So Interzone A, there

is a small part of on this big map but we also identified Interzone B and Interzone B was Covent Garden, which is in the West End. Covent Garden was very close to here. And why Covent Garden was interesting was because there was one building there which was really central. It was open 24 hours and there are Arts Lab and some mattresses in the basement where people would some time sleep or have sex or whatever people wanted to do."

"And there were small restaurants and a small theatre space. And right at the top of the building, in back, lived Jim Haynes and Jack Moore who were two more people who started IT. And Jim Haynes and Jack Moore started the Arts Lab. Have you heard of the Arts Lab before? It turned out there was the Fertile Crescent and then as a centre point of it there was the Arts Lab. And the Arts Laboratory was very close to Piccadilly Circus."

[Mugiko] *"And did you also have the 14 hour Technicolor Dream in 1967? Where was that held?"*

[Hoppy] *"That's right, it was in the Alexander Palace, in North of London. The shape of London geologically is there are hills on the north and hills on the south and the centre it comes down like a ball shape. And the most of the subsoil is clay, which holds water very well. When you go to the Primrose Hill, you look and you have seen the hills to the south of London and the hills to the north of London where the Alexander Palace is. And if you look at the hills of the south, there is a big TV transmitter. That's called the Crystal Palace."*

You can trace Hoppy's activities on a map of London and discover some sense of his world in the 60s. He and his friends borrowed the name

Interzone A and B from a book by Burroughs, and in so doing gave another level of meaning to the area they were describing. I remember Hoppy told me in our first interview in 2009,

[Hoppy] *“I saw street life as a medium as well, and I got very interested in communication, and the politics of communication and information.”*

For Hoppy Notting Hill – a chaotic and relatively small part of London – and the greater metropolitan area were just different kinds of medium, where people communicated with one another in different ways and developed connections. His ideas about communication and information were developing, in collaboration with many of the customers of the *IT* in order to create a network that expanded beyond any specific geographical boundaries.

The name of the next project that Hoppy was involved in, was BIT.

BIT, the smallest piece of information

[Hoppy] *“IT became so popular as a source of information that the telephone lines to the newspaper were often jammed. In May 1968, there was an uprising mainly in Paris but in France among the students. That was best part of the context. Also, in May 1968 was the point where I was editor of The International Times just for two or three years, and there were so much – the people wanted information so much in the underground that it became difficult to keep the newspaper working because people were phoning up all the time asking for information.”*

“So I wondered what to do. So I decided that I would try to split – I would plan to try to divide between the activities of running the newspaper, and the provision of information over the telephone people wanting what’s the price of drugs, where can I sleep tonight, where can I get some food, how do I get to India by car, many different things people wanted to know. ‘I need a crash pad’. You understand what the crash pad is? A crash pad means, ‘I need somewhere to sleep tonight’. Pad was the name for flat. ‘Come and visit my pad’, ‘come and visit my flat’. Crash pad was when you could – somebody would sign up and say, ‘I need to crash’ meaning ‘I need to sleep’. So, there were people who would let oth-

er people stay in their houses. They were crash pads. ‘What is the price of drugs?’ What else... ‘Are there any good concerts on tonight?’ ‘Are there any good gigs on?’ or, ‘Where can I find some musicians to make a band?’ or, ‘I’m going to drive to India. I want some information about going through Iran.’ All sorts.”

“There’s a whole multidimensional profile of information which people wanted. I analysed the situation and I realized that one of the functions of International Times, which was providing information, had got out of control. The result was that the switchboard was often jammed. When the switchboard is jammed, it’s like when on the freeway, there’s an accident, and everything stops. It’s the same thing with information. What I figured out was that the thing to do was to split IT into two. So, I called the second part BIT, because it’s a good name. Bit was the smallest piece of information you could have in the computer. I thought it could be called byte, but anyway, I called it Bit.”

“International Times was IT and then BIT because the names were similar they would be associated. So anyway I know it was small office in Notting Hill in Kensington Park Road above a shop. The shop was run by a friend of mine. He was selling button badges; circular badges which had all sorts of slogan. So my office was above the Badge Boutique, which was the name of the shop. And the demand for information kept growing. And that brought me to talk to these other people: Richard Neville who was the editor of OZ Magazine and John Wilcock who was an older man and journalist who started the Village Voice in New York in 1950s.”

[Mugiko] *“Why was he there?”*

[Hoppy] *“He was originally a journalist for the Daily Mail in England and he went to America and got involved in the alternative press then, started the Village Voice, and then he was a traveling journalist for a long time. So that’s these three people were and there was me who was – I had been the editor of IT for short time and I started the information service BIT. So at one point it seemed to me having done my part of it what I thought actually do it which was starting the information service and somebody else after that was editing The International Times. I*

stopped editing the paper and I concentrated on the information service."

A 'bit' is the smallest piece of information in a computer. It is literally the '0' or the '1' used in the binary language that forms the basis of all computer programming. Using the word 'bit' as the name of an information-sharing service might seem like an obvious thing to do now, in the 21st century, but to do so in the 1960s suggests a very modern way of thinking about information at that time. One might well imagine that back then a book would be the first image to come to mind as the de jure representation of a vehicle for information storage. The name BIT in essence predicts the overwhelming dominance computers now hold in the world of information technology.

Hoppy presented his idea for BIT in the *IT* No.33, 14 June 1968. It is very interesting to read about their concept of a "memory bank" and the way they described information:

BIT

1. Memory bank containing information about information. If you want

to know something you can contact BIT and this sector will tell you where to find the information you require, if possible.

2. Memory bank containing information. Based on London, starting with information already available that isn't at present stored anywhere else.

3. Search facility. When information is requested which has not yet been gathered, this sector would start a gathering operation, using media and any other means.

4. Dispersal facility. Information gathered to be made available to any interested parties, media, etc.

Note: Sector 2 would comprise several memory banks, in particular indexes of community facilities, future events, available people and their individual capabilities, etc.

Project already started:

COMMUNITY REQUIREMENTS A list is being built up of things that need

TIME OUT

TIME OUT is a new information publication on what to do and where to go in London, a comprehensive directory of events and places covering clothes, food, help, lectures, exhibitions, groups, jazz/folk, clubs, films, theatre, cinema, music, swimming, fairs, puppets, and many other things, telling you how to get there, cost, and what to expect when you arrive.

TIME OUT issue 2 (London Sept. 2-23) will be available on August 28 at 1/- from retail outlets all over London which include: Madarin Bookshops, Musicland Record Shops, Chelsea Drug Store, ICA, One Stop Records, Better Books, Indica, Arts Lab etc., or send 1/- for a copy by return post to: TIME OUT, 77 Platts Lane N.W.3. (SW1 2308 and 584 7434).

EUPS!

THE Alternative Society tends to coordinate itself by default rather than design, discovering affinities as haphazardly as a march-past of troops finding themselves all out of step at the same time.

Rather belatedly, the members of the 'alternative press' got round to inaugurating the European Underground Press Syndicate last week.

Representatives from IT, OZ, Black Dwarf, BIT, Albion, Gandalf's Garden, Other Scenes, Peace News, ICA News, Taloc and Fire, got together to get EUPS together.

EUPS is intended to be 'an informal association of the publications of the alternative press existing to facilitate communication between such papers and the public at large.'

Action so far has been mildly encourag-

BUM TRIP

THE Magical Mystery Tour, which Middle Earth had planned for this weekend (August 24-25) has been cancelled.

The reason is a combination of lousy weather and not enough tickets being sold in advance. The organisers did not want to risk a flop.

By way of a consolation, however, the DOORS and the JEFFERSON AIRPLANE will be playing at the Middle Earth Club at the Roundhouse on Friday and Saturday, September 6 and 7.

● **SUPPORT**
● **RELEASE**
● **before**
● **RELEASE**
● **SUPPORTS**
● **YOU**

603-8654 Emergency
229-7753 Office

bit

01-229-8219

24-HOUR INFORMATION SERVICE

KEEP IT COOL ON THE PHONE - BIT IS YOUR SERVICE - KEEP IT THAT WAY.
BIT CAN SUPPLY INFORMATION ON ANYTHING, ANYONE, ANYWHERE!!!
DO YOU NEED WORK DONE? PHONE BIT.

FEED at the

macrobiotic restaurant



Meals from 3/6, cooked according to the ZEN PRINCIPALS of YIN & YANG. Cooked meals and macrobiotic groceries to take away.
Free food available

Not open for lunches Evenings all week except Monday. From 6.30 to midnight
136a Westbourne Terrace
Entrance around corner in Bishops Bridge Rd.
Phone: 01-723-7367

doing in the community on any level.

METHODRINE A search operation for information about the use of attitudes to Methedrine. Please let BIT know what you would like to know on this topic, whether you are researcher, a newspaperman, a policeman, or a human without any special reason. This information will be statistical only and will not involve personal details of any individual.

BIT REQUIREMENTS BIT needs help on the following topics: Use of computers, organisation of memory facilities, methods of coding information, system analysis, cybernetics, preparation and analysis of questionnaire to be printed in media etc., media research, telecommunications, information retrieval.

IF YOU CAN HELP WITH IDEAS OR INFORMATION OR MANPOWER, PLEASE WRITE: BIT, c/o IT, 22 Betterton Street, London WC2.

John Hopkins, Coordinator, BIT

BIT worked like this . . . a selection of people who were knowledgeable about the underground and counterculture came into the office of BIT and took telephone calls from people who had questions about these topics because this kind of information was not available in the predominant media of the day. A customer might make a donation if they felt that they'd received something useful, and any information shared through these conversations would be filed at the BIT offices for use in future calls. This practice effectively created a search 'engine', like say Google, combined with something similar to a web-based service like Wikipedia, where an ever-growing open-sourced database is created out of the interactions and shared input of many people over time.

I don't intend to suggest that these concepts were entirely unique to BIT, or that they were first created there, only that the creativity and innovation of this service was indeed ahead of its time, and that similar, albeit computerized, services are now very popular and quite big businesses in their own right.

After an experimental period, BIT formally advertised their activities in the *IT* No.37, 9 August 1968:

BIT PHONE (01) 229 0053

THE bit LIST

BIT is operating as a service which answers ANY question. If we don't have the answer we automatically refer you to someone who does, or we make the best suggestion we can as to where you will find the information.

BIT has only been operative for three weeks and we print below the subject heads which we can now deal with directly. This list is being constantly revised and will be published regularly as it develops.

Sources:
1. AGIT-PROP 607 0155
2. Daily Telegraph Information Service. FLE 4242, general info. except legal and medical. If they don't have the information that you require, they will refer you to where you can get it, PROVIDED YOU ASK THEM.
3. IT 836 3727. A certain amount of info. available on contacts in other countries especially Europe.
4. OZ 229 4623 (As IT).

ACADEMIC (1), Actors, Addict, Administration, Advertising, Agency, AGIT-PROP, Alcoholics, All-nighters, Amsterdam, Answering Service, Answering Machines, Antibureaucracy, Anti-University, Apple, Architects (1), Arrivals, Art (1), Artists, Art Colleges, Art Galleries, Arts Council.

BBC, Beatles, Belgium, BENEFIT, BIT, Blackhill Enterprises, Black Power, Body, Books, Bookshops, Boutiques, British Film Institute, Building.

CAFES, Cannabis, Carpentry, Cars, Chemicals (late-night), Children (1), Civil Rights, Clinics, Clothes, Clothes Shops, Clubs, Club Licensing, Coffee Bars, Communities, Communications, Community Centres, Computers (1), Concerts, Contraception, Co-ordination, Crash Pads, Culture, Cybernetics.

DANCERS, Decorating, Design, Dec-Jays, Diggers, Discharged Prisoners, Distribution, Doctors, Draft Counselling Service, Dressmakers, Driving, Drug Law, Drugs, Duplicating.

EASTBOURNE, Edinburgh, Education, E.E.G., Effects, Electricians (1), Electric Light Installation, Electrical Supplies, Electrical Repairs, Electronics, Equipment, Estate Agents, Events, Eyes.

FANCY Goods, Film Companies, Film Makers, Film Makers Co-op, Film Processing, Film Producers, Films (1), Finance, FIT, Food, Foreign Travel, France, Free Facilities, Furniture.

GOLD, Govt. Agencies, Graffiti, Grass, Graphics, Graphics & Design (1), Greater London Arts Assoc. GPO.

HABITATION, Hairdressing, Heroin, Hippo, Hire, Home Office, Hookahs, Hospitals, Housecleaning, Housing, Human Rights.

IEA, Immigration, India, India, Information, Information Processing, Information Retrieval, Information Service, Inter-action, International Times, Interzone A, Inland, Italy.

JEWELRY, Jewish, JLTY, Jobs, Journalists (1), Junkies.

LANGUAGE, Law, Lawyers (1), Law Sentences, Legal, Legal Advice, Light Machines, Light Shows (1), Lighting Equipment, Liquids, Locksmiths, London Festival, London General.

MACHINES, Macrobiotic, Magazines, Multifunction, Mandala, Marive, Marriage, Media, Medical Practitioners (1), Medicine, Methedrine, Middle Earth, Milan, Missing Persons, Miscellaneous, Motivation, Movies, Music (1), Musicians, Musicians Register, Mycology.

NEWSPAPERS, Neurophysiology.

OCCULT, Office, Office Supplies, Official Organisations (1), Organisers (1).

PAINTERS, Palmreaders, Paris, 'Pavilions in the Park', Performer, Phonology, Pharmacologist, Phone Nos., Photographs, Photographers (1), Plastics, Pregnancy, Police, Pop, Pop Concerts, Posters, Psychiatry, Press (friendly), (1) Print, Printers, Prison, Problems Unlimited, Promotion, Proof Reading, (1), Property Ownership, Publications, Publicist, Public Relations, Publicity (1), Poets (1), Publishing (1).

RADIO, Record Agencies, Record Companies, Record Shops, Rehearsal Rooms, Release, Religion, Requests, Requirements, Research, Restaurants.

SALE, Sandals, Schools, Sculpture, Services, Sex, Share Promotion, Shelter, Shops, Shrinks, Society, Sociology, Solicitors, SOMA, Songwriters, Sound, Stationery, Stamps, Students, SUBUD, Supermarket, Systems.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS, Telephones, Television (1), Theatre (1), Think-Tank, Time, Translation (1), Transport (1), Travel, Tribes, Typesetting, Typists (1), Touch Experimentation.

UNIONS, University, UNO.

WELFARE, Whereabouts, Writers (1).

XEROX

YOUTH

The list of topics was arranged in alphabetical order. When I ran across this list in the *IT*, it reminded me of a description of Hoppy's room in early 1960s that I'd read in Miles' book⁸,

"I learned a lot from studying Hoppy's room: his filing system for negatives and boxes of prints, his methodical, scientific approach to his papers."

Throughout the sixties Hoppy may have developed a system to collect and file information in order to share it with others. Today we can sim-

ply use a search engine on the computer for instant retrieval of information, but a half century ago information was stored in many different places, some of which were inaccessible to the general public. Any thorough search for information required that you already know where to look, or that you seek the assistance of someone who did.

I think that the key to BIT as an information service was not the information initially put into it, so much as the fact that it created a network whose operations over time generated and stored an ever-increasing amount of information that was self-selected for relevance and usefulness.

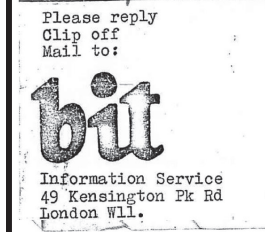
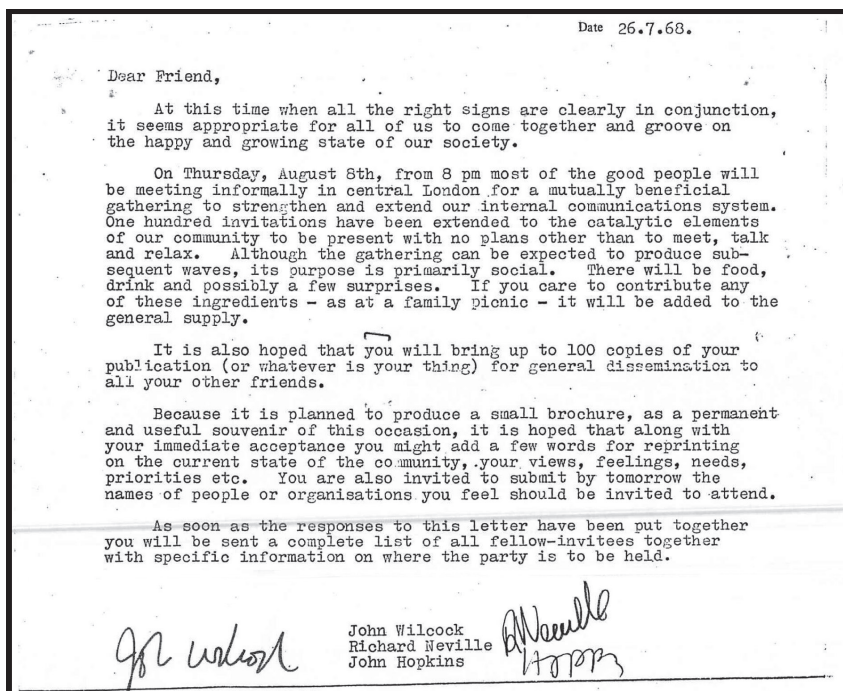
After May 1968: Invitation for a meeting of a hundred of persons

BIT was just one way that information was being collected, shared, and used for the good of the underground community. Hoppy gave me a copy of a letter dated 26 July 1968, which was an invitation to a party to be held on 8 August 1968 in the name of John Wilcock, Richard Neville, and John Hopkins from BIT. Invitation Letter by BIT, 26 July & 5 August 1968.

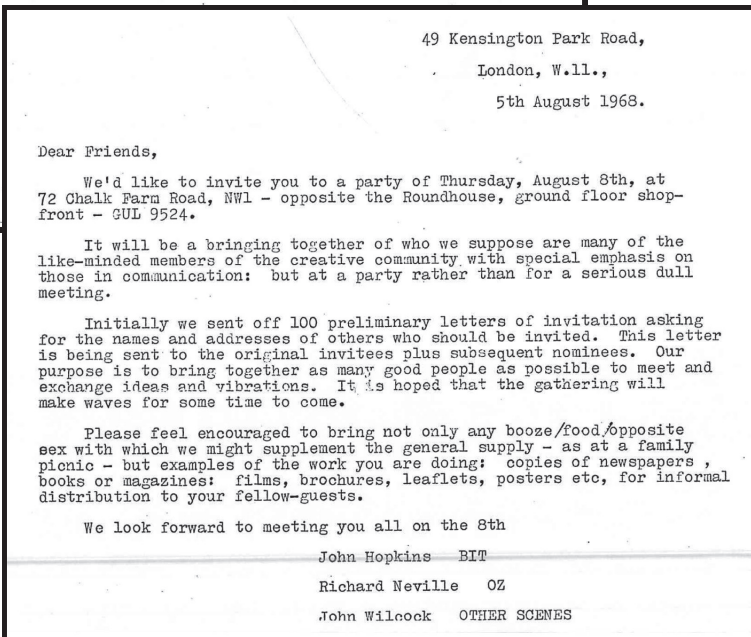
Here was a bold idea. To select a hundred people thought to be active, interesting, or creative, and then try to figure out a way of getting them together for their mutual benefit and in order to increase existing, and/or foster, new communications between them.

To me, of all the various activities I've heard and read about from the sixties, this one event perfectly captures the spirit of the times. The 1960s zeitgeist, as Hoppy might call it. There was no anticipated gain and not even a specific outcome identified. It was simply an event designed to get people together who, having come in contact, might possibly do something interesting or meaningful or positive because of this meeting. This was indeed planting seeds and then waiting to see what might grow!

Just 3 days before the party, they sent another letter. Hoppy showed me the list of the invitees, and there were truly more than a hundred names on it! But in order to get a sense of the scale of the preparation involved in this event remember



Invitation from BIT for a meeting of one hundred persons dated 26 July 1968 and 5 August 1968



that this was the sixties. They had no Internet or social networking services. In order to contact someone a phone call was made or a letter was typed. For letters someone had to write each address on an envelope by hand, or type one on a label, and then add a stamp and put it in the post. Phone calls must be made when someone was likely to be around to pick up, and if not then they had to try again later.

Hoppy said that they didn't think that everyone who was invited came, but in fact nearly a hundred people did show up for the meeting.

[Hoppy] *"So this letter was written in August in 1968 about three months after May '68. It was an attempt to try to connect people that I could find who seemed to be prime movers. Prime movers . . . people we knew that were doing interesting things. So attached to this letter is the list of people to whom it was sent. They were the first 100 that I could think of. The idea was to call them together for a meeting but there wasn't a real purpose other than getting them to meet each other. I don't think that many people came. I mean, it would be nice way to say 100 people came and they brought 100 jam tarts with them or 100 things of propaganda."*

[Mugiko] *"So you said earlier this was after the May 1968 event in Paris. What was the relationship between May 1968 and this event?"*

[Hoppy] *"It's the context. The idea was that it is possible to have revolutions and it is possible to occupy the street. It's possible to change things. That was the general feeling that people had from May 1968 and there wasn't direct connection but when – I mean like for instance what's happening now in the Arab Maghreb, many people feel this is changing the world. Not always in the way that you want but people feel that is exciting. Particularly, the Arab people, it's very exciting time for them, maybe like the students in May '68 in France."*

[Mugiko] *"What kind of people did you invite?"*

[Hoppy] *"Well, I think the right word is activist. But we could look at some of them and see who they actually are. I will start at the beginning and see what I can remember."*

Hoppy looked over the list and described each of the invitees.

[Hoppy] *"Joe Berke, he was a psychoanalyst and he worked with Ronnie Laing, Laing was an vanguard psychoanalyst who tried to accept mad people as if to not distinguish between mad people and not mad people. I mean, he opened a playschool, Kingsley Hall, in the East End of London. There was a community where psychiatrist and people who are mad could live together and help each other. So Joe Berke was one of a number of alternative psychoanalysts. He is someone from Anti University. There was a movement to take learning out onto the street if you like. They called themselves the Anti University and they got a lot of trouble for using the word university because the proper universities felt there is something wrong. Somebody had stolen their word 'University'."*

[Mugiko] *"So that means anti-authority?"*

[Hoppy] *"Yes, that's right. Here is Jim Haynes who started the London Art Lab. Have you come across that?"*

[Mugiko] *"What kind of art, radical art?"*

[Hoppy] *"All sorts of arts. The art of food, the art of film and any sort of art you can get into a building. The arts laboratory was a 24-hour open place where there was food and there were artists and musicians and filmmakers. And it was in Covent Garden, which is in the centre of London. And it became a very popular idea, the idea of Arts Laboratory. And people started arts laboratories all over the country in big towns like Birmingham and Glasgow. So it became a very popular movement and eventually got absorbed by the straight culture as the art-centered movement. But there was a very strong influence."*

"The New Left Review, Perry Anderson. The New Left Review was serious left wing politics from a group of people who started in Oxford when they were undergraduates and the New Left Review is a magazine which is still in existence."

[Mugiko] *"You have some connection with New Left people or New Left Review?"*

[Hoppy] *"I knew some of the people, but I didn't*

List, as of today, still growing:

Joe Berke, Sue Stetler, ANTI UNIVERSITY. Jim Haynes, ARTS LAB. Tom Nairn, WRITER. Perry Anderson, NEW LEFT REVIEW. Dave Curtis, FILM MAKERS COOP. Michael Gassman, ZETA. John Rety, FREEDOM. Peter Stansill, INTERNATIONAL TIMES. Roy Guest, PROMOTER. Harvey Matusow, THE AMERICAN. Joe Boyd, OSIRIS. Bob Overy, PEACE NEWS. Mazin Zeki, FIRE. Simon Thompson, CIA. John Esam, IMAGE. Bob Cobbing, ALP. Mary Finnegan, DAILY EXPRESS. Dave Stringer, FIREBIRD. JG Ballard, WRITER. Martin Bax, AMBIT. Ernie Ebam, GRANADA. Philip Bolsover, SANITY. Driffield, FREE BOOKSHOP. John Papworth, RESURGENCE. Peter Cadogan, WIN. Asa Benveniste, TRIGRAM PRESS. Wendy Sharkey, RADIO LOVE. Dave Robins, CIRCUIT. Caroline Coon, RELEASE. Paul Waldman, Dave Howson, MIDDLE EARTH. Dan Richter, RESIDU. David Mairowitz, RUNNING MAN. Tony Elliott, Bob Harris, UNIT. Richard Branson, STUDENT. Helen Exley, Mike Venner, HELP. Ray Rich, GROUP 6. Mike Kustow, ICA. Courtney Tulloch, HUSTLER. Chris Kypreos, RUNNING MAN. Alex Trocchi, SIGMA. Pete Frost, CHALLENGE. Muz Murray, GANDALF'S GARDEN. Steve Pank, ALBION. Miles, INDICA. Charles Marowitz, OPEN SPACE THEATRE. Mike Horowitz, NEW DEPARTURES. Pete Brown, BROKEN ORNAMENTS. Simon Musicland, MUSICLAND SHOP. Stuart Montgomery, FULCRUM PRESS. George Hay, ARTSCOPE. Dan Omer, ISRAEL IMPERIAL NEWS. Marty Segal, HUBBA HUBBA. Alan Swift, Emmanuel Petrakis, NEW LIFE. Tod Lloyd, WITCHSEASON. Edna O'Brien, WRITER. Anthony Haden Guest, WRITER. John Peel, RADIO ONE. Nadia Wills, FREE FRANCE. Tony Smith, BBC. Tariq Ali, BLACK DWARF. Christopher Logue, POET. Robert Frazer, ART GALLERY. Family Dog, PRINTER. Alan Aldridge, DESIGNER. Martin Sharp, ARTIST. David Hockney, PAINTER. Tony Pratt, THE SUN. Robert Tasher, Mike Lesser, JLT. Richard Neville, Paul Lawson, OZ. John Hopkins, BIT. John and Amber Wilcock, OTHER SCENES. Derek Hill, NEW CINEMA CLUB. Mario Amaya, ART & ARTIST. Denis Norden, WRITER TV. Manfred Mann, The Scaffold. William Burroughs, Michael X, Frankie Y, Steve & Jane Abrams, SOMA. Keith Gordon, INTERNATIONAL TIMES, Phil Ochs, Tony Cox, Yoko Ono, Paul McCartney, APPLE, John Goodchild, Mark Boyle, Clifford Chewaluzza, AFRICA CENTRE, John Marshall, Moya Hutt, BIT, Lyn Richards HELP, Felix de Mendelssohn JONATHAN CAPE, Jane de Mendelssohn BIT, Nicholas Tanburn, Sue Haussmann, Johnny Byrne WRITER, Thom Keyes FILMSCRIPTS, Adam Minrod, MOONLIGHT & SUN, Graham Keen INTERNATIONAL TIMES.

(We think some names may have been left off the list, due to the speed at which we have been working - SORRY)

List of names for BIT's meeting of one hundred persons, 8 August 1968

subscribe to their political doctrine."

[Mugiko] "How about Stuart Hall? Did you know him?"

[Hoppy] "Stuart Hall, I wonder if he is down here . . . probably not. He is a really interesting guy because he understands the media and he understands politics as well. I met him in the 1970s in the context of mass communication research. Mass communication means broadcasting and magazines. He was a member of the - it is called the IAMCR with the International Association for Mass Communication Research. That is one of those societies where you'd find media intellectuals. I was the member of it for maybe a year or two, but I am not an intellectual. He is primarily an academic or he was. I haven't seen him for a very long time. Perhaps, he wouldn't remember me at all."

[Mugiko] "How about Trocchi?"

[Hoppy] "Trocchi wrote a book in New York. Trocchi came from Scotland and he was a junky. That means, he used heroin and he went to New York and he wrote a book called Cain's Book that had some notoriety. I don't remember reading it myself but I think it was to do with his life as a

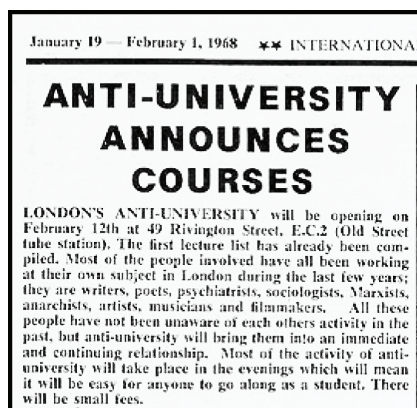
junky. He was a British part of the beat generation and he is dead."

After a few questions of this sort I think it became clear to Hoppy that I didn't recognize most of the names on the list, so he kindly explained them to me one by one, and told me why they had been chosen. I found the great diversity of activities and organizations represented especially interesting. The Anti-University, Art Lab, The New Left Review, Sigma, Indica, Osiris, Hustler, Africa Center, New Departures, IT, BIT, and so on.

The organization that immediately stood out to me was the Anti-University. The ideas and activities of this group seemed very similar to those of the London Free School. The Anti-University didn't begin its activities until February 1968, 2 years after the LFS, but it certainly seems to have sprung from the same set of ideals.

Later, after our conversation, I located several documents referencing the Anti-University of London and I was therefore able to understand how it was connected to the Free University of New York (FUNY)⁹. Joe (Joseph) Berke, one of the founders of the Anti-University, was an American psychoanalyst who was involved in

setting up FUNY. Berke moved to London on September 1965 and stayed at Kinsley Hall in order to work with R. D. Laing¹⁰. Berke wrote an article titled “The Free University of New York” published in the *Peace News*, 29 October 1965¹¹. Berke tried to set up the Free University of London (FUL) but was not able to do so at that time¹².



The International Times, No. 24, 19 January 1968

I believe that Hoppy was inspired by what he saw of FUNY when he visited New York, and he brought the idea back with him to London. He and his friends learned more about the Free University movement through people like Berke, as well as the underground media. If the LFS had chosen a name like the Free University however, or the Anti-University, then it would likely have been more difficult to appeal to the local people they'd hoped to engage, given that the word 'university' has long been connected to exclusive institutions of higher learning that few of the intended students of the LFS would have been able to relate to.

LFS was created to serve, as well as be, a part of its home in Notting Hill, and consequently it developed in its own original way, eventually disappearing as an coherent entity leaving behind only a variety of self contained community activities. Perhaps this is the best example of the 'plasticity' that Hoppy spoke of. LFS was able to transform itself into what the people in the community wanted it to be.

Hoppy was becoming more involved in other activities, IT, UFO club, and BIT, and they invited 100 radical activists to a party including Berke from the Anti-University. The list indeed looked like a tapestry of the people of the "sixties" in London.

The list from BIT was created a half century ago, however, if you search the the names in internet, you could find more half of them. They were younger at that time and beginning of their career as alternative artists, activists, academic persons etc., and more people have survived in the information.

[Mugiko] *"So now after 40 years, now they were famous. But at that time, they were how old . . . younger 20s and 30s, or 40s?"*

[Hoppy] *"I would say up to the age of about 30, roughly speaking. I mean, when you get a statistical distribution in the middle there is a lot and there is a long tail."*

[Mugiko] *"Many of the people on the list are well known now, and if they were in their 50s at the time they would already have been established. But if they were like, late 20s and early 30s, they were not so famous but they might have had many fresh ideas. Each person was like pioneer in their field and they were trying to do something. So I think there was much energy."*

[Hoppy] *"Yes that's right. It was lot of good energy and I don't know it happens now but maybe there are people doing this sort of thing now. I have heard only in the Facebook and all this."*

[Mugiko] *"But indeed what did you do in that event? Talk to each other and..."*

[Hoppy] *"As far as I know, people just met each other. The intention was to try to get 100 people at the same place and same time. But the actuality is some people didn't come, some people brought their friends. I mean, I don't think it was planned any further than come on have a party. But clearly if you look at the number of people here who you will called activists, it was intended to try to raise consciousness among ourselves through what everybody was doing."*

[Mugiko] *"So after May 1968 everyone was inspired and got together and talked but not for any specific purpose, just to exchange information. They exchanged and they shared ..."*

[Hoppy] *"That was the idea. But I mean it wasn't just – the context with everything after that point. Shakespeare, Blake, poetry, sculpture, and mu-*

sic . . . all of that stuff and in May '68 and then this happened in August '68. And after that there were other thing and other things. So this is just like a slice in time."

If you think of the people invited to this party primarily as bearers of information – in their knowledge, ideas, experiences, and points of view – then it is easy to see that BIT was just one part of what was a larger effort by Hoppy to find ways to share information – in a variety of different forms – and get it from those who had it to those who may need or want it. I don't think this was always the conscious goal of what he did by any means, but it was certainly the subtext for a great deal of it. The party of a hundred was one such attempt, the London Free School yet another, and so were photography and journalism as well. The same kind of dynamic holds true for many of Hoppy's activities during this period. There was a potential created whenever information was shared, and it was all the myriad possibilities inherent in that exchange that inspired Hoppy's imagination, and this is why he kept trying to find new and different ways of doing it.

Although there was a commercial aspect to some of these ventures – as in the UFO Club, *The IT*, etc. – for the most part financial considerations were at best secondary for Hoppy, or a necessary evil at worst. Hoppy sometimes invested his earnings in order to further his activities. The goal of many of his activities was just to make something new that expressed or embodied some aspect of the spirit of the times. The random aspects of the 'who', the 'what', or the 'where' were a by-product of making the whole process as open and inclusive as possible – a necessary parameter of the 60s ethos. 'Control' is, perforce, limiting, but there is a natural potential for a creative tension to be produced in that liminal space between the need to direct an action in order to ensure that it leads only to a specific, desired end, and the pure experimentation of just letting something go in order to see what happens next. But this, I think, was the true artistry of the happening. If a self-sustaining balance can be achieved between these two dichotomous paths, you have set the stage for a successful happening.

Hoppy's instincts as a scientist were to control for variables, and his instincts as a young man

in the 60s were to have fun and just hope that his efforts would 'make waves', as the second party letter puts it so neatly. I would posit that his mastery of the creative tension I described above is the primary reason that Hoppy was so successful in so many different areas. He was like a surfer who could ride a creative 'wave' farther out into the sea than most of us are able to go, and yet despite this he would begin, but would seldom follow through with, any of his projects to a specific conclusion. He had the skills to create, to organize, and inspire, but he didn't always have a settled goal in mind when he put those skills to work, beyond simply coming up with something new. Once he'd given birth to something it had a life of its own, and his job was complete insofar as what he really wanted to do with it. In a sense it was the giving birth itself that was his real goal.

A catalyst to encourage people, hand over to the next generation

[Mugiko] *"So at that time some clients called you, or called BIT rather, and they asked questions. After that question was answered, how did you get money? This was a kind of business or something voluntary?"*

[Hoppy] *"I think there was never any official money. People who were pleased with the service would make a donation. So, people would be asked, "Can you make a donation if it is helpful?" BIT was 'under the radar', not official – it didn't officially exist, therefore it was quite interesting. Sometimes the workers would gang together and revolt or refuse to do something. I mean when you get an organization, which is run by autonomous people, every now and then there are clashes of personality or there's a thief there or something like that. The social dynamics are quite strong, quite powerful."*

[Mugiko] *"How did you manage people? Let's says a very special person comes along, they're quite knowledgeable or they are a specialist in some subject . . ."*

[Hoppy] *"Personally I didn't try to manage people. I was good at starting things. I wasn't good at finishing them. But BIT particularly was, it was a bit like the London Free School. It was a service; the organization was passed from*

hand to hand. The main point is that it worked quite well.”

[Mugiko] “How many years did it run?”

[Hoppy] “I think it ran for about 20 years. BIT was not organized in that way but in fact after the first few years, it depended on one particular person, who had a genius for organization called Nicholas Albery (1948-2001). He more or less took over BIT in the middle of the 1970s. He had all sorts of ideas. He started an organization called the Natural Death Centre. He invented a country called Frestonia, where a small part of Notting Hill became independent country.”

“He was full of ideas. He changed BIT into the institute for social invention, and managed to get a lot of very high-powered people involved in it. In other words, he started with the original loose idea and managed to turn it sort of inside out and made all sorts of organizations out of it. Another thing was, they published a book of poetry called ‘Poem a Day for a Year’, and it had 365 poems in it. And he set himself a task of learning all the poems by heart. He was an extraordinary person. Unfortunately he died in a car accident. But he was the next generation.”

[Mugiko] “So, you handed BIT over to another person. You set something up and then another person continued the organization.”

[Hoppy] “That was what happened with BIT. I think that’s sort of what happened with Free School as well because I don’t remember doing anything to stop it or to end it.”

“My particular interest was in communications and the patterns that they made and what you found out from them. And I went on being interested in that from time to time right up ‘til now, and the world’s changed.”

[Mugiko] “I think you have talent to link people with people. You link many things, information and persons.”

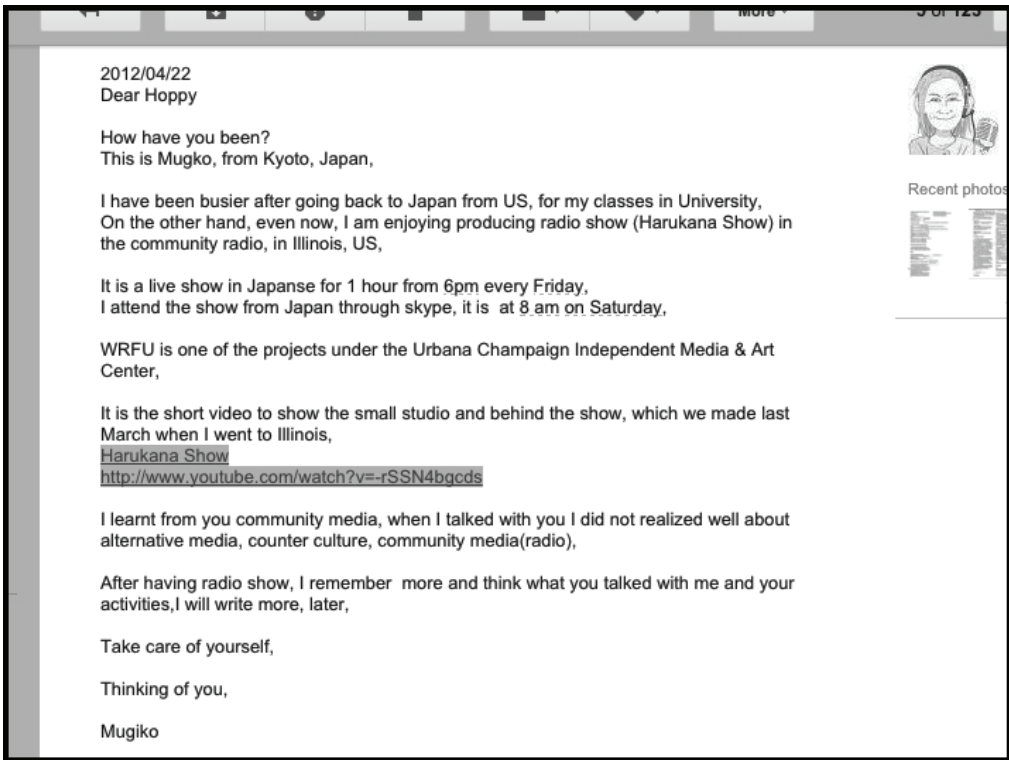
[Hoppy] “From time to time. Well, what I mean, what happens, what happens is my personality has changed very much. No, it’s true. And I am more withdrawn into myself now so I am not a

very good catalyst. The trick really was to try to be a catalyst to encourage other people, to introduce people to each other, you know, someone wants a drummer over here and someone wants a saxophonist and you put them together, and sometimes it would work out. So that—that, it’s an easy thing to do if you’re interested in people. You just introduce them together. Sometimes it’s good and it works and sometimes it doesn’t and never mind.”

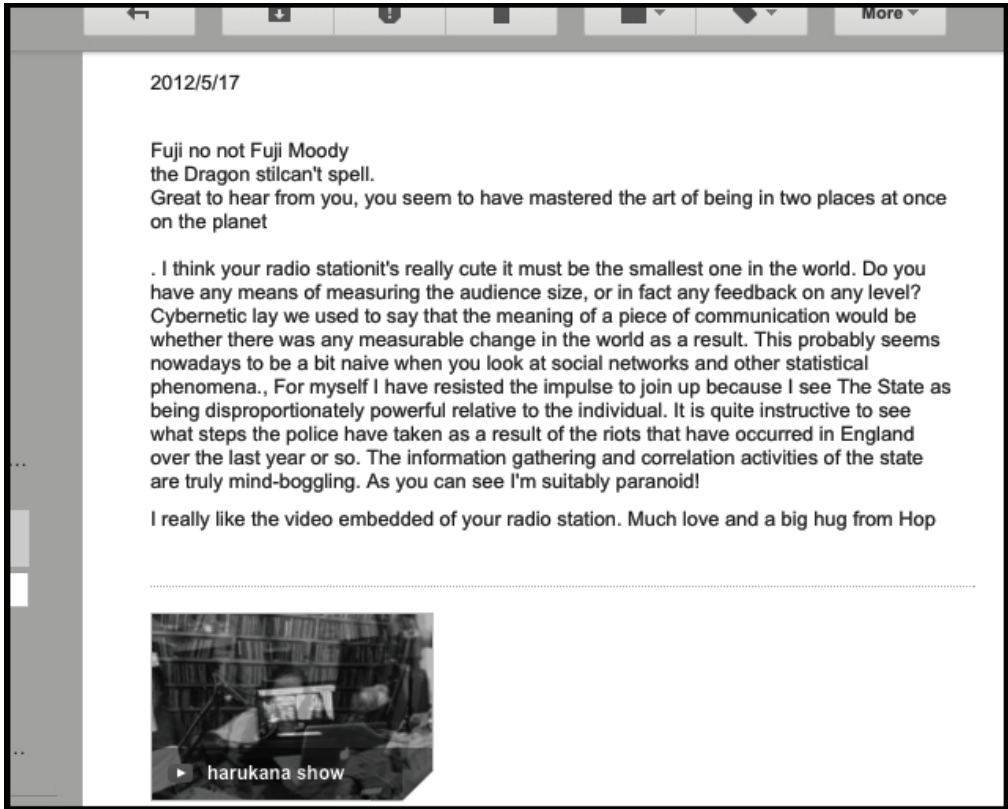
[Mugiko] “So, one thing I am interested in about your activities . . . your activities have a particular base. London Free School was based in the local community of course but most of your activities were based on networks of people. And you seem to love to extend those network and add more and more links.”

[Hoppy] “Yes, sometimes it works that way. I mean I enjoy introducing people to each other. What was important was the interface, the connectivity. Now of course, with the Internet, you could go back and say, well the whole world is available. And it’s fairly free of geography in the cyberspace.”

“I was also interested in the communication structure because what I thought was that the view, the understanding of what society is? What society was? It was often too rigid and not dynamic because really one person or one organization – one person is a member of different groups, all the time moving. If you get into a bus to make a cruise – if you are getting on a bus, then the other people on the bus, you are a group. And every time the bus stops, somebody gets off and somebody gets on. That demonstrates the changing nature of the group. It is dynamic.”



Email from Mugiko to Hoppy dated 22 April 2012



Reply from Hoppy dated 17 May 2012

Chapter Four

Memory, image and reality



Hoppy in his new council flat, 13 July 2011

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa

Hoppy had a personal magnetism that attracted a diversity of people into his world. They entered from different fields and beyond geographical boundaries, nations, and cultures, and then stayed to collaborate – with him and with each other – and it was at least partly as a result of this dynamic mix that so many of his activities could be successful, in their impact if not always in their practical application. London had a vibrant underground, and Hoppy’s projects, like the LFS, UFO club, IT, BIT and others, each had that rare quality of being able to instantiate some important aspect of the ideas and ideals of the times, to such a degree that they collectively lent weight and substance to the very underground scene that made them possible, strengthening both.

Thinking about it this way it could be said that Hoppy materially contributed to what the “sixties” in London would ultimately turn out to be, and yet at least in terms of his background it could also be said that he was a relatively typical

white British man of his era, and this contrast interested me a great deal and I wanted to explore it further. That someone with his upbringing might be attracted to an alternative and unconventional lifestyle was not an unusual thing for the young men and women that found themselves caught up in the general “shift in the class formation” that Stuart Hall referenced in an interview with Kuan-Hsing Chen¹.

“The New left had a wider formation. It emerged in the very moment of 1960s, when there was a major shift in the class formation going on. There were a lot of people in the transition between the traditional classes. There were people with working class backgrounds, who were scholarship boys going to colleges and art schools for the first time, beginning to get professional jobs, to be teachers, and so on”.

I asked Hoppy about his personal history before the 60s and in an interview from February 2011, he referred to his attempts to record his mother

talking about their family history, which went back to British India.

Memories of his mother and family history

[Hoppy] *“I did some recording of my mother. She was really very shy of that. So, I recorded more audio than video of my mother because she found audio recording was less threatening. I mean she didn’t like having a camera pointed at her. But what I was trying to record was what she could remember about the family history because we didn’t have any history. The history was all from word of mouth. It’s a sort of story telling. Not everything that people say is true because memory works in a funny way. But I am quite glad that I did record that, and somewhere I have got those recordings.”*

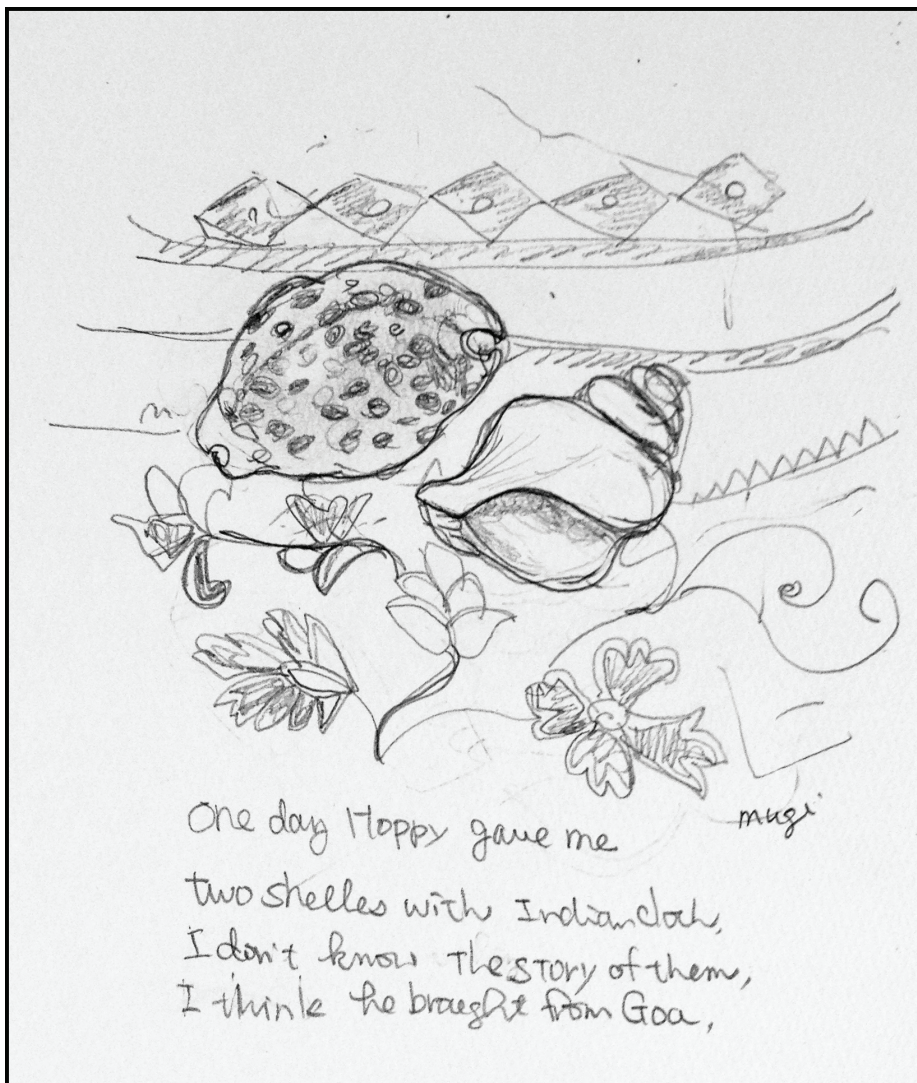
Hoppy spoke more about his father’s side of the family and less about his mother’s side. He described his mother’s father as being like “a play-boy”, and he mentioned that it was a social taboo for the family to talk about him so this may have had something to do with it. His grandmother used to play the piano at society parties.

[Hoppy] *“I found out about four or five generations ago (on my father’s side), when the British Empire was still in existence, some of my ancestors were architects who lived in India and they helped to build some of the – by then modern buildings in New Delhi and other places. In other words, they helped to construct parts of the new empire. Probably some of those buildings are standing today, I don’t know. I haven’t followed it up. I am not really very interested in my own genealogy.”*

“Well, my father was an engineer and his father was a sailor. He worked in the merchant navy which is I think commercial shipping we call it now. So my father was an

engineer and he got a scholarship to college and degree and this was very good because his father was never educated like that. And my mother and my father met because my mother was his secretary in about – in the early 1930s. And they were both single only children. In other words neither of them had any siblings, and they got married in 1936.”

“My father was working for a German company and this was not very good because of Hitler and Nazis and he never talked very much about that. But when the war started, he tried to join army to go fighting but the government said, ‘No, you stay behind. We want you to re-search into ship engines, locomotive engines, and vehicle engines’. So, he stayed behind to do research really into diesel engines. And he did quite well. My mother was busy looking after me and my sister. And at the end of the war in 1945, it was possible to move to a bigger house and my father went on being an engineer until he died more or less, and my mother went on being a housewife.”



*One day Hoppy gave me
two shells with Indian cloth,
I don't know the story of them,
I think he brought from Goa,*

[Mugiko] *“How was your relationship with your parents? Did they realize what you were doing in London?”*

[Hoppy] *“They didn’t. I think I only have asked my father for money once. I asked him for 200 pounds to set up Lovebooks, which is our publishing company. I didn’t tell him the name and I think he was so surprised at being asked if he would put up some money that we never made a proper contract or anything like that. And I never gave him the money back because it was never properly arranged in the first place. It was good that he put up the money. I mean I don’t know what we spent it on. Perhaps we spent on publications.”*

Over the course of our conversations the image of Hoppy as a radical pioneer of 1960s counterculture began to blur a bit as I looked at the kindly, elderly gentleman in front of me. It’s true that he had long white hair and a beard, and that he wore a brightly coloured hat and youthful clothes, yet here we were, sitting and chatting about his family history and drinking tea in a way that seemed so very British to me. I often used to listen to people talk about their family histories in my research on the local community in Hammersmith.

I asked him how he’d imagined his future when he was a child and our conversation jumped back to his current perspective and he analysed where he was, where he had been, and where he saw himself going.

Dreams of his childhood

[Mugiko] *“When you were child, what did you want to be when you grew up?”*

[Hoppy] *“Well, I can only give you two answers. The first one was to be an engine driver . . . like the engine in front of trains. Well, I think it must have been because my father was an engineer. But I have another photo of myself taken when I was a small child dressed up as a bus conductor.”*

[Mugiko] *“You love people, so maybe you wanted to be a bus conductor in order to see many people every day?”*

[Hoppy] *“I don’t know what the reason was.*

You’d get on the bus and the conductor would go from person to person saying ‘show me your ticket’ and checking the ticket.”

[Mugiko] *“Indeed your life was like bus conductor, always you introduce people to each other. You are the driver and people come onto your bus and you take them to some new place and then the people get off and start something new of their own. But you’ve gone onto the next place already. You are always advanced.”*

[Hoppy] *“That’s a nice idea. I think it was a good thing to introduce people to each other.”*

[Mugiko] *“But the difference is that you never make much money so . . .”*

[Hoppy] *“Well, if you run a club the most important place to be is on the door because that is where people pay money. And if you can’t control at a gate, then you are right. But you have to be careful because people get ripped off there. And what I learned in the 1960s was if you don’t pay careful attention to what’s on the door, it was called turnstile. Turnstile is a gate that you go through. If you don’t pay attention to that then you will never make any money at all. Consequently, you lose money and then that will be very sad.”*

“But one of the things that I notice looking back at the 1960s, was that people would often do things which, if you were try to analyse them and ask the question, ‘is this a good business idea?’, the answer will always be no. So people were frequently doing things which were impossible by normal business standards. I think that’s a very healthy situation to be in.”

[Mugiko] *“But didn’t you feel any conflict between your ideas and business? Without money you can’t do anything. Well you can do some things, but not very much . . .”*

[Hoppy] *“I am not saying that you can do anything without money. I am just saying that many people did things, which don’t fit into conventional way of using money. I mean it might be possible to have a society without money at all but that’s a completely different question.”*

[Mugiko] *“But in order to continue something*

for long time money is important.”

[Hoppy] *“You have to manage it properly. Particularly when you are young, you break the rules because all the rules are there. People make big jumps of imagination. And when you get older, well, you have more experience and unless you are very lucky, your possibilities become less.”*

[Mugiko] *“When people are young, they have the energy and ideas and power to do anything. But the possibilities become less when they are older, is that what you’re saying?”*

[Hoppy] *“Yes, you’ve got it. You got it exactly. You might not agree, but looking at myself, my possibilities have become a lot less. I think if you try and analyse that a bit, people sometimes have their imagination fulfilled by a dream or an idea or a person or something.”*

A gap between public image and reality

[Hoppy] *“And, I think, you have to be careful about that because when a person has a public image, but sometimes the person changes but the public image doesn’t change. So there is contradiction or a tension between really what’s going on and what the feedback from the outside world is saying. It’s like someone saying I want you like you were in the 1960s whereas actually now it’s 50 years later and things are not the same, people are not the same.”*

[Mugiko] *“So public imagination . . . For you it means that you are the famous Hoppy of the 1960s, and that’s all that many people know of you. And so they have some imagination of who that Hoppy is, and people keep that kind of imagination for a long time. But indeed Johns Hopkins is always changing.”*

[Hoppy] *“Yes, that’s right. It is not always a good change. But that means if things are like as you described, then the real personality gets further and further away from the media image, and that can create some problems.”*

[Mugiko] *“So there is a conflict with the past since you are always living with the present.”*

[Hoppy] *“Yes, for example I found out that one of the ways I could earn money was to exploit*

my old photographs. I am very glad that I can do that because otherwise I wouldn’t have the money that I need to live on, but the exploitation of those photographs seems to increase the idea that some people have that I’m still like I was in 1967. It’s rather funny because in 1967 I spent half the year in jail during the Summer of Love, and people don’t remember that. So it was a strange time.”

[Mugiko] *“You have your own image of yourself.”*

[Hoppy] *“Yes. I mean in this time in my life, my body is not working so well and it will get worse because eventually you die and the process in the last few years of your life is that usually gradually the body stops working so well. Your teeth fall out, your eyesight gets dim, the high frequency perception in your ears doesn’t work, and there are changes in your brain as well. I think in order to live with that . . . okay, I have to get used to the idea of change again, because maybe for 20 or 30 years I haven’t bothered much about change, but now my body is starting to change more rapidly.”*

“I have to remember that this is the case. Otherwise I made my own internal conflict again by trying to pretend to be what I used to be. But it was a very strange feeling to notice that I was becoming stupid. I mean it’s quite interesting but I have to make it interesting. Otherwise, it makes me sad. Anyway, this is all natural as one people look at it. But sometimes it’s not very easy.”

“I think it depends for me on how much I am doing in the outside world and how much I am not doing. Time seems to go by very fast. When you are looking at the reason time goes by very fast, it is because there is not enough happening. And there is not enough happening because there is one part of me which wants safety and security and no change, and there is another part of me which wants the opposite. I still want to learn things and I want to enjoy change. So there are two opposite tendencies, one for stasis, and one for movement.”

“And it’s easy sometimes to be lazy and to lie in bed all day and whatever that’s the metaphor for – lying in bed. But I have some real problems, which may interfere communication. With the



Hoppy when I saw him last. 14 September 2014

Drawing by: Mugiko Nishikawa

my eyes are saying 'here is the stair' and my feet are saying, 'no, it's there.' It's very simple to describe but I have to remember stuff like that."

"And the other thing is with the keyboard I am very inaccurate. But that comes from a combination of the eyesight problem and I have another problem which is called Parkinson's disease which is to do with movement and the lack of fine control of movement, meaning it is very easy to hit the wrong key on keyboard. Or something which I find really impossible to do now is take a 13 amp plug and unscrew it, or change the fuse and put it

keyboard, I am very, very slow, and very inaccurate, and the reason for this is there are two conditions to get used to. One is my eyesight is not so good and I recently has an operation on one eye to put a plastic lens in because of cataract which is a sort of crystallization. "

"But I've had a lot of perceptual trouble after that because when the lens was changed it started to send different signals to my brain that my brain is not used to. And for the last 12 months my brain has been trying to accommodate the fact that is getting different signals from this eye so what it was used to for this eye. Practically speaking, I have to be very careful when I was stepping off a bus because sometimes I can't tell how far down the road is and sometimes going downstairs I have to be careful because when

back together again. The reason I have difficulty with that is partly motor control, but it's partly because if I am looking at something close to, my brain is having difficulty in looking at the signal for my two eyes making sense of them. So sometimes I see double."

"But there are some quite interesting things. For instance sometimes when I am out in the street, there is a lot of street furniture, like machines giving tickets and parking meters and that sort of thing. Sometimes I see them not as machines but as little people, which is a sort of hallucination. And I can control it to a degree. But sometimes when I am in a room by myself or just with one person my brain starts to imagine there are other people. Fortunately because I have taken quite a lot of drugs in my life, I continue to do so with a

certain amount of frivolity.”

“But it’s also difficult to write. Sometimes there is a problem with some people having Parkinson’s because your writing gets very small and then it becomes so small that you can’t read it. And it’s really a strange feeling when you have written something down as carefully as you can and you go back and you try and read it and it just looks like nonsense. I have been experimenting that my latest conclusion is that I am left-handed. So if I write, my hand covers it up. But what I figured out was that if I can get it so I can see the top of the letters, it is much easier to stay in the straight line. Otherwise it can go like this. Anyway those are the type of things that I have to be honest with myself about and try to adapt. Anyway that’s my story.”

The Last meeting

I did not see Hoppy for three years after our interview on July 17, 2011. I had become increasingly involved in my Japanese language radio show that was broadcast from a community radio station in the US, and I was also starting to map out what I would do with my years of research into the community activities in Notting Hill in the 1960s, so I cut back on my fieldwork while I concentrated on these other things. I continued to send emails and cards to Hoppy of course, and would sometimes talk to him about my media work and my attempts to connect the US and Japan. His emails were always very encouraging and filled with warmth and humour. One day, I received an email written in a very large font.

“Dear Mugi,

I was so pleased to receive your card, it was a warm breath in a chilly landscape. I haven’t been in touch because I had an accident and broke my leg, had to spend some time in hospital and now have only a small amount of mobility. This, together with Parkinson’s leaves me somewhat incapacitated, as my eyesight is also quite defective. I hope your radio station is doing well and would love to see you again if

you are passing this way. Going to Japan must remain a dream for the next life. Let us stay in touch.

A big hug for you, your friend Hop.”

Hearing this I realized that I needed to go and see Hoppy again very soon. Six months later, on the 14th of September 2014, I visited Hoppy again at his council flat. There were several people taking turns caring for him around the clock and when I got there Hoppy was eating his lunch so I asked his current caregiver if it would be ok for me to talk with him.

[Caregiver] *“You can talk all day, afternoon, no problem about that. If you need anything just ask me. I am in the kitchen, okay? I am going to leave you alone, okay? You want me to close the door?”*

[Mugiko] *“No, that’s not necessary.”*

[Hoppy] *“He comes from Brazil, he is good”*

Hoppy talked very slowly now but told many jokes as usual. While we were talking he got up and started looking for a book titled *CARNIVAL*². He said *“its a big size photography book and should be here. I want you to see it.”* He hadn’t been up for long before he fell to the floor. It wasn’t a serious fall and neither he nor the caregiver seemed to give it much thought but it made me realize that it was no longer easy for him to move around by himself, and I understood that his illness had progressed a great deal since I’d seen him last.

Nevertheless we chatted as usual and he asked me how my family was. I recalled an interesting story that I’d wanted to relate to him. I’d found a copy of *The International Times*, No. 65, 26 September 1969 at my parents’ house in Kyoto, Japan. In fact I discovered several documents that were related to my research on Notting Hill in the 1960s. My parents had been at Sorbonne, University of Paris, for 2 years, 1968-69. While they were traveling in London Yuko, my mother, picked up several magazines to bring back with her to Japan and amazingly still had them 40 years later. One featured article in *At-*

lantic Life, 10 June 1968 was “The new ‘French Revolution’ and there was also “Notting Hill a decade later: Coexistence”, a story written 10 years after the race riot in 1958. In the article about Notting Hill there was even an interview with George Clark, my original guide to 1960s London, talking about community activism.

It was indeed strange to think that now here I was talking with John ‘Hoppy’ Hopkins about his life in 1960s London and that it was the same period that my parents were also there as well and that they would bring back a piece of Hoppy’s work – the issue of the *IT* – and other documents from that era. The sixties were indeed experienced globally, all around the world.

I told this story to Hoppy.

[Hoppy] “You were talking to your mother?”

[Mugiko] “Yes, I told her, ‘I know Hoppy, he published the *IT*’, It was very surprising because I never ever imagined that in Japan, in Kyoto, at my house, I would find a copy of the *IT*.”



The *IT* that my mother brought to Kyoto from London in 1969.

[Hoppy] “That’s really nice.”

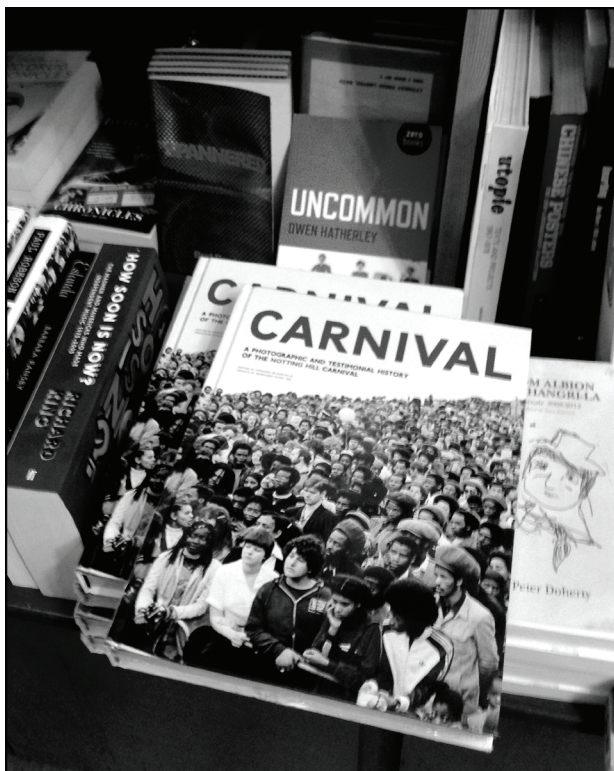
Finally I asked him for permission to write about him and use these interviews in my writing.

[Hoppy] “I am honoured. It’s very important for me”.

“What’s happening with me is that I am slowly becoming more stupid and less capable and things like your book they are marking a place. Every now and again, it’s convenient to make a place like that, otherwise, you wipe out your own history. And this is something I have never been in this before. So, it has the element of novelty, which keeps it interesting. That’s my story at the moment, but I know other people who used to be in the public eye and have retired, and there’s only one or two that I have come across who are prepared to make a fool of themselves in public if you see what I mean. Most people when they get to this sort of age ___ it makes them completely shut down. But if you don’t mind your own pauses in a conversation, there is still something that ___ report back. I was wondering how any of it would fit with a radio station on the other side of the road, I don’t know the answer to that yet. But the first thing is to find out is if you can understand my speech?”

We spoke for about an hour and enjoyed our conversation. He saw me to the door of the flat, supported by his caregiver, and then hugged me and kissed me on the neck. His hug and kiss were surprisingly energetic and so I said, “See you again”.

But it was my last present from Hoppy.



I dropped in Housemans Bookshop after my interview with Hoppy and I found a copy of *Carnival*, a book that he wanted to show me but couldn't find. Hoppy wrote the preface, and is quoted in several places in the book, described as one of the founders of the London Free School

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa, 14 September 2014



In our last interview Hoppy was unable to find his copy of *Carnival*, but he said that I could find it in the bookshops in Notting Hill, and indeed I found one in Housemans Bookshop right after I left his flat. When I visited London the next year, I came across the book once again, this time in the window of Rough Trade (record shop) and it made me smile to feel that he was still there talking to me.

Photo by: Mugiko Nishikawa, 17 September 2015

Notes

Introduction:

1. Notting Hill is located in North Kensington of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, the west part of inner London. North Kensington was divided into four Wards: Golborne, Pembridge, Norland and Notting Hill Gate in 1960s. According to the 1966 Census, the total population of North Kensington was 68,200 (Notting Hill Housing Service 1967, p.13).
2. *Grassroots Media Zine #2*, pp. 37-38.
3. *The Independent*, 3 February 2015.
4. *The Guardian*, 15 February 2015.
5. The interviews with Hoppy were on 2 September 2009, 19, 25 February 2011, 13, 15, 17 July 2011, 14 September 2014.
6. See the details in *GMZ #2*.
7. 19th of February 2011.
8. In English, 24 minutes 29 seconds, Nishikawa 2005
9. As to my research on local community in Hammersmith since 2001, see *GMZ #2*.
10. "Harukana Show", the Japanese radio show from WRFU started in April 2011, details in *GMZ #1*.

Chapter One:

1. Nishikawa 2006.
2. In a letter to me written in 2011(*GMZ #2*, pp. 21-22).
3. It is mostly 140 pages, including "Carnival Collections", "Newspapers and Magazines", "Notting Dale Urban Studies Centre", "Oral Histories Personal and Local Studies Collections", "Photographs, Film, Illustrations, Paintings", "Rugby Club".
4. *The GROVE*, Vol.1, No.4, 23 May 1966.
5. Jenner 1966, p.16.
6. *The Gate*, Vol.1, No.1, 4 April 1966. Trade Unions (Group leader: Marc Kornfeld), Photography (Graham Keen), English general (Irving Fuchs, Havia Alswang), English Language reading, writing (Dave Conroy, Michael de Freitas), Comparative Religion (Pete Figueroa), Law (Lawrence Collins), Music (Dave Tomlin), Housing & Immigration (George Clark, Peter Jenner), Modern History & World Power Structure (Pete Roberts), Play Group for 5-11 years

old (Mrs. Laslett), Teenage Group (Mrs. Laslett), Family, Children & Mental (Mrs. Laslett, Dr Phil Epstein), Dancing (Sherry Lynton), Current Affairs (Secretary, LFS), Economics (Peter Jenner), Drama (Secretary, LFS).

7. "London Free School meeting 6", 8 February 1966.
8. Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX, is a "radical bookshop since 1945", according to its website: "We are not-for-profit bookshop, special in books, zines, and periodicals of radical interest and progressive politics. We stock the largest range of radical newsletters, newspapers and magazines of any shop in Britain."
9. HISTORYtalk have also collected oral stories of the local people and I visited their office to see the documents. I was interested in their approach in respect to voices of residents and record and produce their own history.
10. Vague: URL.
11. "IMPORTANT THAT YOU READ THIS CAREFULLY from John Hopkins", 9 March 1966.

Chapter Two:

1. Hopkins 2008, p.159.
2. Green 1988, p.12.
3. Hopkins 2008, p.159.
4. Miles 2002, p.31.
5. Green 1988, p.14.
6. Miles 2010, pp.186-187.
7. Vaughan 1966, pp.119-120.
8. Allen Krebs was one of the founders of FUNY. "Krebs, 32, has a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in social psychology and was dismissed December 1964 from Adelphi University in Garden City, N. Y. for 'teaching deficiencies'. He says a trip he made to Cuba was the real basis for his release." Vaughan 1966, p. 119. Krebs joined the Anti-University of London, which was set up in February 1968.
9. Green 1988, p.95.
10. Boyd 2006, p.134. On Friday February 20th, 2015 Boyd offered further details on his website in an article titled "John 'Hoppy' Hopkins". It is the original draft of his obituary in *The Guardian* and website one is more detail than the newspa-

per. "I got him another pass to the Newport Jazz Festival in July '65, where he told me about the big poetry reading at the Albert Hall he'd helped organize a few weeks earlier. I didn't grasp its significance until I moved back to London in November. I rang Hoppy as soon as I arrived and he invited me to a meeting of the London Free School the following night. Everything seemed to have changed; Hoppy was no longer taking pictures, he was organizing. Leaflets were printed, a hall was rented, West London locals – Trinidadians, Irish, Ukrainians, students on the dole – were targeted as beneficiaries. The idea was to share our privileged knowledge with the disenfranchised – a theme that would run throughout Hoppy's life". As to the London Free School, Boyd also described, "Hoppy started the first of a life-long series of projects to democratize communication and information."

11. Appendix B in "London Free School meeting 6", 8 February 1966.
12. Stuart Hall referred to why Michael de Freitas came more involved into the political black movement in *GMZ #2*, pp. 35-36.
13. Malik 1968, p. 151.
14. Malik 1968, p. 154.
15. Williams 2008, pp. 125-126.
16. "London Free School meeting 7", 15 February 1966.
17. Miles 2002, pp. 116-117.
18. "London Free School" (flyer for the first public meeting), March 1966.
19. "IMPORTANT THAT YOU READ THIS CAREFULLY from John Hopkins", 9 March 1966.
20. Jenner 1966, pp. 17-18.
21. Malik 1968, p. 154.
22. Green 1988, p. 96.
23. Malik 1968, p. 155.
24. *The Grove*, Vol.1, No.4, 23 May 1966.
25. Rhaunie Laslett is the spelling more commonly used here than the more formal Rhaune Laslette. In the documents of LFS in 1966, and in other books, her name is sometimes written Rhaunie, or Mrs. Laslett. We will mainly call her Rhaunie in this Zine for the same reasons we call John Hopkins, Hoppy. She "had been born in London to an American Indian mother from North Carolina and a Russian father. When she grew up she decided to identify with her mother's culture." Cohen 1993, p.10.
26. Green 2008, p.101.
27. *The Grove*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 23 May 1966.

28. Malik 1968, p.156. Ali's first name was spelled 'Muhammed' in the *Grove* and 'Mohammed' in Malik 1968.
29. Green 1988, p.102.
30. *The Kensington News*, 24 June 1966, p.9.
31. "The Notting Hill Festival of 1966 was the brainchild of half-Native American social worker Rhaune Laslett, working in collaboration with the London Free School, a community action adult education project co-founded by Laslett with photographer and political activist John 'Hoppy' Hopkins and an amorphous group of contributors drawn from the local community." Blagrove Jr. 2014, p.12.
32. This interview was on 18 September 2015. The other interview with David Mason is in *GMZ #2*, pp. 12-14.
33. "Clay in Notting Hill, surprise visit to school's play group" in *The Kensington Post*, 20 May 1966. "Planned for the autumn.... Notting Hill Festival" in *The Kensington Post*, 10 June 1966. "More plans for Notting Hill Festival Week" in *The Kensington Post*, 17 June 1966. "How the people of Notting Hill are brought together" in *The Kensington News*, 24 June 1966.
34. "Pageant and procession at Notting Hill Fayre" in *The Kensington News*, 7 July 1966. "Flyover site to be temporary playground" in *The Kensington Post*, 15 July 1966. "Abandoned cars poll" in *The Kensington News*, 8 July 1966. "Fair will go on as planned say Free School" in *The Kensington News*, 12 August 1966. "Filth, rust and broken bottles where children play" in *The Kensington News*, 26 August 1966. "Funds appeal for Fayre" in *The Kensington News*, 26 August 1966. "FESTIVAL WEEK AT NOTTING HILL" in *The Kensington Post*, 16 September 1966. "Why no council support?" in *The Kensington News*, 23 September 1966. "Steel band in carnival procession" in *The Kensington News*, 23 September 1966. "Notting Hill's big carnival" in *The Kensington Post*, 23 September 1966.
35. The interview on September 19, 2014.
36. "North Kensington Playspace Group: a scheme of amenities, play facilities, and open space for North Kensington" (pamphlet), 1967/68.
37. "It brought together a diverse group of international artists, poets, and scientists, including key representatives of the counter-cultural underground, to speak on the theme of destruction in art." "Art & the Sixties, exhibition themes,

Destruction in Art Symposium” from website of TATE.

38. *The Kensington Post*, 16 September 1966, p.1.

39. Miles 2010, p.154.

40. Williams wrote in *Michael X* that Hoppy was also as worried about money as Michael de Freitas was. “*Michael was not the only person with money worries. John Hopkins was getting tired of financing the London Free School out of his own pocket: ‘So I decided to hold a benefit or two in a local church hall’.*” Williams 2008, p.141.

Chapter Three:

1. “John ‘Hoppy’ Hopkins obituary” in *The Guardian*, 15 February 2015.

2. Miles 2008, p.96.

3. This interview with Adam Ritchie was on 16 February, 2011.

4. Miles 2002, p.90.

5. “*Hoppy did indeed use the offset machine to print the flyers*”, an email from Barry Miles dated 3 October 2015.

6. Miles told in the interview with Green, “*IT’s print curve began around 10,000 and went up to peak in May ’68 around 44,000.*” Green 1988, p.124.

7. *The Naked Lunch* (1959) by Williams Burroughs.

8. Miles 2002, p.31.

9. Berke ed. 1969, Nuttall 1968, Wilson 2007. The *International Times* reported the open of Anti-University, previous month it started in the article title “ANTI-UNIVERSITY ANNOUNCES COURSES”: “*LONDON’S ANTI-UNIVERSITY will be on opening on February 12th at Rivington Street, E. C. 2.*” “*Among first courses offered are several by psychiatrists. David Cooper Psychiatrists of Revolution, Ronnie Laing who has only called his course Seminar as yet and Joe Berke on Anti-institution.*” “*Al Krebs, an American Marxist, who was involved with the Free University of New York, is giving a course on Sociology of World Revolution.*” *The International Times*, No.24, 19 January 1968.

10. Levy in Dialectics of Liberation website.

11. Joseph Berke, “The Free University of New York in the *Peace News*, 29 October 1966, in the Anti Tabloid pdf p.6.

12. Nuttall (1968) referred to the trial and failure of Free University of London by Berke and

also to the London Free School. Nuttall 1968, pp.220-221.

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1. Hall 1996, p.461

2. Blagrove Jr. ed., 2014

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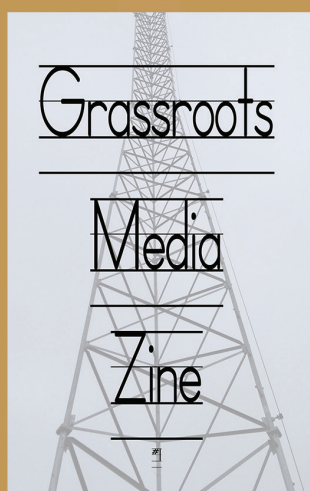
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As its name implies, the Grassroots Media Zine series examines the way grassroots organizations utilize media in order to connect people across social, cultural, and regional boundaries. In these first issues we'll introduce you to some of the influential activists who have lived and worked in the Notting Hill area of 1960s London.

In GMZ#3, we speak to John 'Hoppy' Hopkins, and discuss his activities during this seminal period of the London underground, including his involvement in the formation of the London Free School, creation of The International Times, BIT, and more.

If you are interested in obtaining earlier issues of the GMZ, or would like more information about the series, you can contact us at harukanashow@gmail.com.

GMZ#1
Community radio
in the US



GMZ#2
Interview with
Stuart Hall

