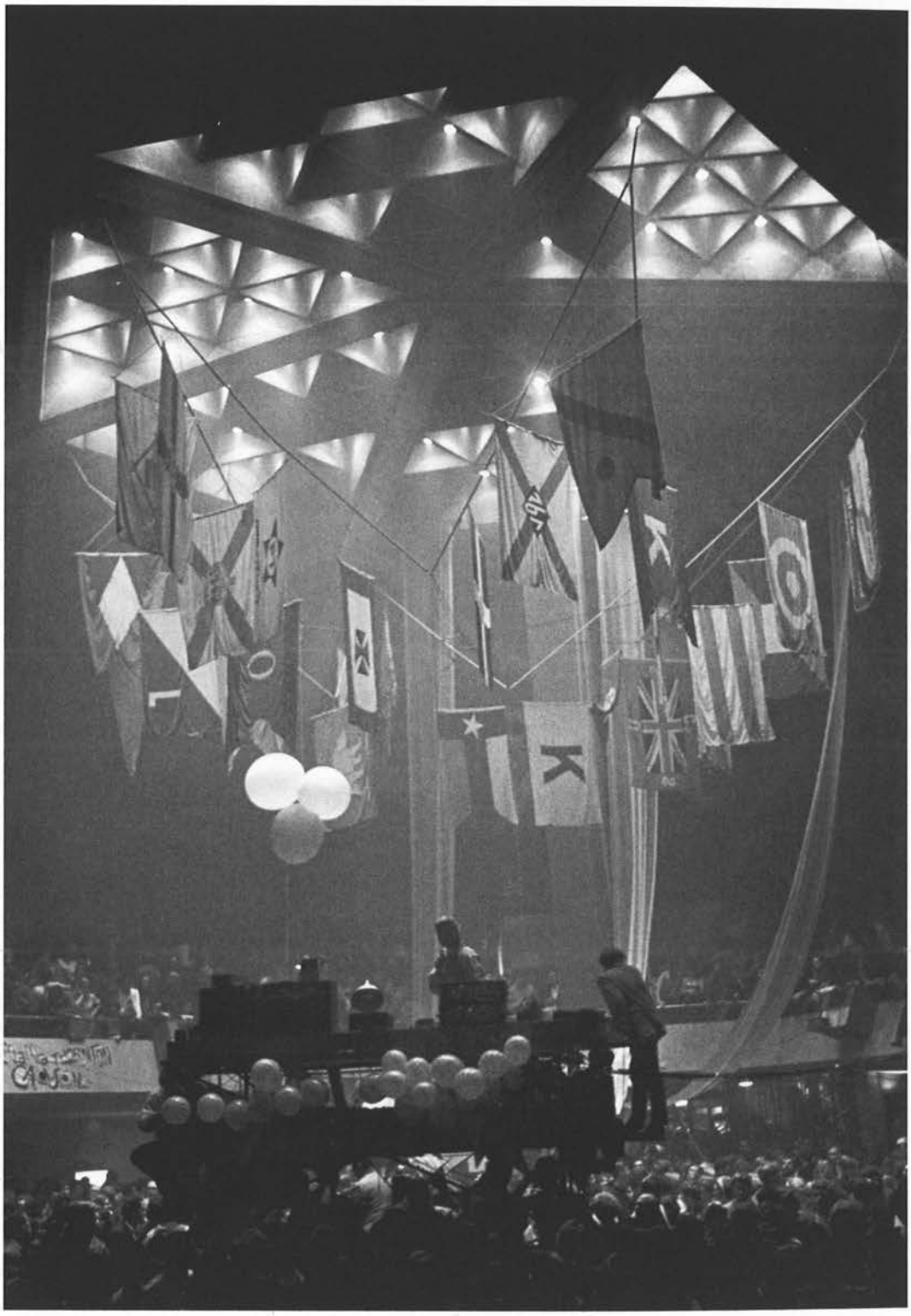
Fig. 1

# Counterculture Terroir: California's Hippie Enterprise Zone





Greg Castillo

Fig. 2

Ant Farm, "Pillow" inflatable, Freestone Gathering, Sonoma County, California, 1970

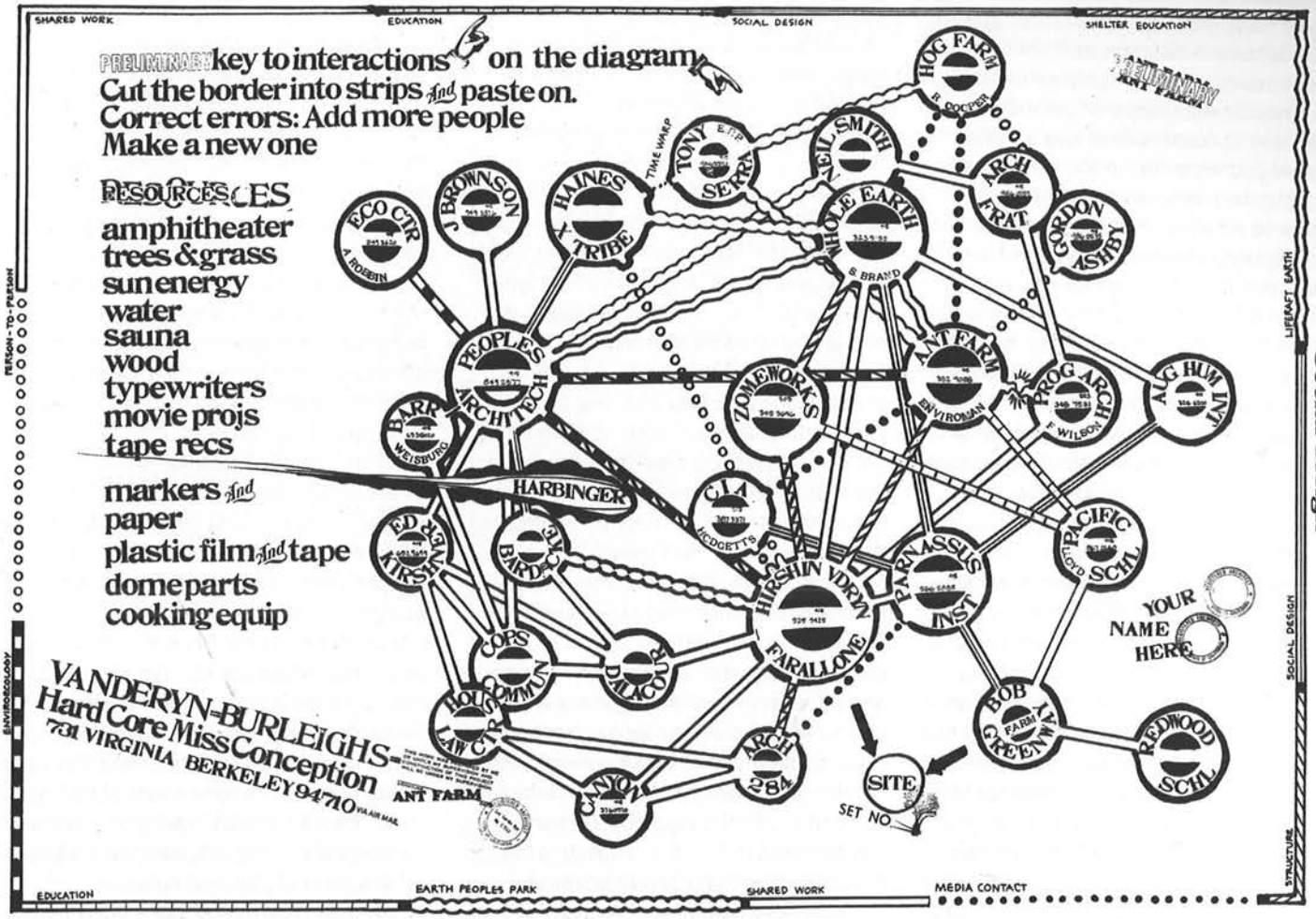
ne Freestone gathering of March 1970, eld on a bucolic Sonoma County farm xty miles north of San Francisco, marked decisive moment in Bay Area counter-ulture. (Fig. 2) A manifesto issued by nt Farm, an art collective, outlined the verging paths confronting hippies com-itted to social and ecological change. merica's vaunted "standard of living" ad sharpened "the difference between chest and poorest." Extractive industries nd the legal fictions enacted "to protect ese storehouses of fat" had spawned n ecologically disastrous consumer ulture. Decisions about what to do next ould launch hippies on a new journey of elf-discovery. Banding in ad hoc tribes, ndividuals might "either actively patch p their environment, or escape into less oubled lands and ideologies." Departure om "Fat City" augured "life in teepees, arth houses, domes (the obvious tech-ology), or the salvaged plastic of other ras." Those who chose to stay would ely on part time collaboration with the old rder powers" while fighting to "maintain n earth awareness." "Without sacrific-g the ideals of the new vision," a new reed of "media nomads" would juggle mmense quantities of weightless infor-nation" and assume "many roles—actors, owboys, clowns, pirates—in order to ain access to Fat City technology."(1) Summoned to Freestone by an invitation irculated by Sim Van der Ryn, a professor f architecture at University of California, Berkeley, groups and individuals exploring ommunal life, ecological sustainability, lternative education, guerrilla theater, and rassroots urban planning gathered "to learn to design new social forms, new building forms, that are in harmony with life … to build a floating university around the design of our lives."(2)

When Forrest Wilson, the editor of the journal *Progressive Architecture*, expressed interest in publishing an editorial on Freestone, its participants insisted that they produce their own camera-ready article. With the 1966 essay "LSD: A Design Tool?," the magazine had proven its titular credentials.(3) In allowing Freestone's design radicals to present their work on its own terms, Wilson went further, advancing an ongoing struggle by hippies to master their relationship with the media. Sensationalistic coverage of San Francisco's 1967 "Summer of Love" had swamped the Haight-Ashbury district with newcomers, including runaway teens and drug dealers. As the neighborhood careened toward predation and violence, its old avant-garde decamped for Berkeley, turning Telegraph Avenue into a new focal point for Bay Area hippie culture.(4) A free shuttle service, operated by a group calling itself the Provos, in homage to their Dutch counterculture brethren, joined the two neighborhoods. Meanwhile in the Haight, a mock funeral procession staged in October 1967 by the Diggers, an anarchic theater troupe, commemorated "The Death of Hippie." (see page 284) Mourners carried a casket labeled "Hippie, Son of Media" into Golden Gate Park, where they ritually buried the label "hippie" and the mass-media "trick" of portraying Bay Area alternative culture as synonymous with drug-addled dereliction.(5) "After the death ceremony," proclaimed a funeral organizer, "the people will rise up and build a new community." Known by the new name "freebies"—short for "free beings"—they would forge alliances "with 'turned-on' people in the 'straight' (conventional) community."(6) True to form, journalists portrayed the event as a collective suicide rather than a ritual rebirth. If newspapers represent "the first rough draft of history," as the saying goes, their bequest can be found in lurid and often ironic accounts of the counterculture that obscure its relevance as "a storehouse of significant cultural knowledge and an icon of an intellectual moment too often reduced to its least common denominator," in the words of the historian Andrew Kirk.(7)

Although the moniker "freebies" proved dead on arrival, the strategy of building bridges between what *Whole Earth Catalog* creator Stewart Brand called "outlaws and inlaws" flourished. "Advertisements for a Counter Culture," published in the July 1970 issue of *Progressive Architecture*, provides a demonstration within the design profession. (see pages 345–368) Gordon Ashby, a Freestone participant and emeritus of the design office of Charles and Ray Eames, assembled a camera-ready insert from materials provided by dozens of contributors.(8) The resulting twenty-four-page essay — a collage of texts, freehand drawings, cutout photos, and scavenged halftones printed in raw process colors — flagrantly ignored the journal's otherwise slick format and reputedly cost Wilson his job.(9)

"Advertisements for a Counter Culture" frames the Bay Area hippie design enterprise in ways that are both unfamiliar and historically significant. A diagram created by Ant Farm member Curtis Schreier with assistance from Chip Lord and Ashby traces a web of affinities linking counterculture architects, planners, ecological activists, and educational reformers.(10)(Fig. 3) Schreier appropriates balloon diagramming from corporate informatics, subverting its establishment vibe with humor and grit. Rubber-stamped lettering imbues a hippie handicraft aesthetic. Evoking the struts and connectors of another counterculture icon, the geodesic dome, network spokes converge upon nodes that, on closer inspection, reveal themselves to be the circular labels of rotary-dial telephones: the everyday electronic communication devices of postwar America. The chart doubles as a phone directory: a dial labeled "Arch Frat" bears the number of the San Francisco chapter of the American Institute of Architects, for example. Captions inscribed along the rectangular border

Fig. 3




Curtis Schreier, Freestone Chart, "Advertisements for a Counter Culture," *Progressive Architecture*, July 1970

clarify graphic representational conventions. Different line configurations indicate various topics of mutual interest, such as shelter, education, "enviroecology," and social design. Instructions tell users to "cut the border into strips and paste on. Correct errors: Add more people. Make a new one." Two blank circles on the right bear the caption: "YOUR NAME HERE."[11] With its explicit program for ongoing amendment by users, Schreier's diagram anticipates open-source information systems before the advent of their enabling technology, the personal computer.

If that claim seems hyperbolic — then consider after all, the Xerox Palo Alto Research Center (PARC) first launched its work to create the personal desktop computer in 1972, two years *after* the publication of "Advertisements for a Counter Culture"—note the diagram's rotary dial labeled "Aug Hum Int." It lists the telephone number at the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) for the Augmented Human Intellect Research Center: "a small band distinguished by their long hair and beards, rooms carpeted with oriental rugs, women without bras, jugs of wine, and on occasion the wafting of Marijuana smoke," according to John Markoff, a historian of digital technology.[12] Headed by Doug Engelbart, who invented and named the desktop "mouse" in the mid-1960s, the SRI group produced breakthroughs crucial to the development of personal computing at Xerox PARC.[13] The argument that Silicon Valley traces aspects of provenance to Bay Area counterculture, first made by Theodore Roszak in 1986, has been fully substantiated by Fred Turner, a historian of cyberculture.[14] The cross-fertilization of cyberculture and counterculture was not mere serendipity. SRI associate David Evans organized the 1969 retreat he named "Peradam," a term coined by novelist René Daumal for an object revealed only to those who seek it.[15] The event drew representatives from six nodes on Schreier's chart: Brand's *Whole Earth Catalog*, Ant Farm, Zomeworks, the Hog Farm commune, Pacific High School, and Berkeley's Ecology Center. Evans sought to open a dialogue between "those working within establishment research and academic worlds, and those living in intentional communities and working in so-called 'underground' enterprises," echoing the grand alliance of inlaws and outlaws called for two years earlier at the "Death of Hippie" ritual.[16] Similarly, the knowledge network charted by "Advertisements for a Counter Culture" suggests that hippie moderns grasped the revolutionary implications of digitally augmented human intellect far in advance of most members of the "Arch Frat."

A hidden cartography of Bay Area hippie enterprises lies within Schreier's diagram. Because landline telephones are fixed to specific sites, their numbers establish physical coordinates. These reveal Freestone affiliates scattered primarily through Berkeley and Silicon Valley. The chart does not place a single representative in the Haight-Ashbury district: a seemingly minor detail bearing major implications. As the Day-Glo epicenter of the rock music scene, the Haight nurtured the most prominent and profitable of hippie cultural expressions. Rock music and hippie environmental design, after a brief

convergence at the 1966 Trips Festival (discussed later in this article), assumed largely separate trajectories, as suggested in Schreier's diagram, and should be chronicled as distinct phenomena.

Freestone's alliance of activists dedicated to "earth awareness" defies another counterculture orthodoxy: the all but obligatory assessment of the counterculture as a hallucinatory romp with a dark denouement, a trope rooted in the Haight's dissolution after the Summer of Love. Historians Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle describe this stock biography as a "canonical, Iliad-like narrative … reduced to easy-to-follow 'big moments'" culminating in a "mandatory montage of the counterculture's 'dark side'—someone shooting up speed or having a bad trip, the Manson Family murders, and finally the Altamont concert-debacle—all ritualistically invoked."[17] Precluding any possibility of redemptive social transformation, accounts of hippiedom's degeneration profit the cultural conservatives who, as Roszak notes, use the term *counterculture* as an "all-purpose pejorative" in their fantasy that hippies dragged America into a vortex of social and moral decay.[18] At the opposite end of the ideological spectrum, a different bias against the counterculture has flourished. Interpreting its emblems of alienation as frivolous lifestyle accessories, Marxist critiques portray hippies as trailblazers of a consumer culture that they abhorred, rather than its exploited subjects. After all, how could a group freighted with white, middle-class origins and deemed unfit for duty on the dialectical battlefield possibly meet the criteria of history's agents of liberation? Middling stereotypes of flower children as indolent vagabonds who brightened sidewalks with their tie-died buffoonery also underestimate their role as agents of cultural change. Among the "many roles—actors, cowboys, clowns, pirates"—that hippies assumed, the jester indeed was an exalted persona, as evidenced by the presence on Schreier's Freestone diagram of the Hog Farm commune. Its founder, Hugh Romney, adopted the greasepaint camouflage of an alter ego, Wavy Gravy, after arrests and beatings at antiwar rallies prompted an epiphany: "clowns are safe."[19] "The circus may look like the epitome of pleasure," Charles Eames mused, "but the person flying on a high wire, or executing a balancing act, or being shot from a cannon must take his pleasure very, very seriously."[20] The stereotyped portrayal of hippies as troupers in a madcap sideshow becomes accurate when Eames's proviso is taken into account.

This essay examines the playful practices and serious stakes of Bay Area hippie modernism through evidence encoded in "Advertisements for a Counter Culture." Hippie design efforts in ecological sustainability and classroom liberation invite comparison to the reformist programs of previous modern movements. In contrast to iterations of modernism founded upon a Gesamtkunstwerk philosophy of aesthetic totality, the counterculture embraced holism and its mimetic ambition to "see things whole," as commemorated in the title and graphic architecture of the *Whole Earth Catalog*. Design radicals gathered at Freestone, like Bauhaus disciples a half-century earlier, were concerned with the transformation of daily life rather than the production of fine art objects. Sharing the modernist penchant for projecting the contours of a "new man" upon a "primitive" other, hippies perceived the potential for unalienated subjectivity not in a romanticized proletarian but rather in a sentimentalized American Indian and (of more immediate concern) the unadulterated child, making schoolroom emancipation one of the counterculture's most urgent missions, as Marta Gutman, a historian of childhood environments, has revealed.[21] (Fig. 4) Rejecting the assembly line processes fetishized by machine age modernism, hippies embraced recycling and bricolage as totems of a post-Fordist culture. At Freestone, all these facets of hippie modernism were harnessed to an overarching ideology of "earth awareness" and its goal of restoring nature's putative balance.

## The Freak Enterprise System

Stewart Brand and the *Whole Earth Catalog* are central, graphically speaking, to Schreier's exploded diagram of Bay Area hippie design. Brand, whose métier was forging "network forums" from disparate intellectual groups, was in this sense representative rather than unique.[22] The hippie innovators charted by Schreier practiced radical connectivity as a shared working method. Ant Farm, which in 1970 specialized in nomadic installations featuring inflatable structures, claimed as creative confederates the Hog Farm commune; exhibition designer Gordon Ashby; *Progressive Architecture* magazine; Pacific High School, an educational experiment in the Santa Cruz foothills; Hirshen/Van der Ryn Architects, sponsor of the Farallones Institute, a laboratory for sustainable and socially conscious design; architect Craig Hodgetts at the California Institute of the Arts; and the maverick defense lawyer Tony Serra. Equally interconnected was People's Architecture, a commune that coalesced with the founding of People's Park in Berkeley and agitated against local slash-and-burn redevelopment schemes.[23] Affiliates of these self-described "dropout designers and architects, community action freaks, and pick and shovel soldiers" included two other residential collectives: COPS (Committee on Public Safety) commune, which ran a "food conspiracy" (a nonprofit community provisioner) and an underground print shop; and the Berkeley Tribe, publisher of an eponymous alternative newspaper. Accomplices also included Ant Farm; Frank Bardecke, a University of California antiwar activist; Ed Kirshner, an affordable housing organizer; Barry Weisberg, an environmentalist focused on East Asian geopolitics; Berkeley's Ecology Center, the nation's first community-based sustainability resource provider; and Hirshen/Van der Ryn Architects, the diagram's most interconnected node. Network entrepreneurship was the rule rather than the exception among Bay Area hippie moderns, whose roster of contacts, unlike the "Art Worlds" model elaborated by Howard Becker, extended far beyond connections of practical necessity.[24]

Rather than describing a gallery arts paradigm of creative production, Schreier's chart resembles an innovation cluster model of regional economic development. Devised in the 1990s to account for successful alternatives to Fordist economies of scale, cluster theory examines "economies of scope" found in places such as Silicon Valley: regional milieus that display "a distinctive pattern of nodes and connections with a particular identity that makes the system specific and irreproducible."[25] Cluster innovation is fostered by cooperative learning rather than proprietary research; actors are defined by their collective synergies, rendering pointless any attempt "to analyze each component of [such] a complex system separately."[26] These qualities pertain as well to Schreier's diagramming of Freestone as a gathering of diverse talents converging upon a shared project of systems transformation. "The counterculture was defined as beyond the history of art," curators Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner observe, "because there never was a category within the narrative of contemporary art that could contain it."[27] Like regional innovation clusters, Bay Area hippie moderns defy assessment as individual auteurs, the predominant mode of art's critical analysis.

Fig. 4

Schoolchildren with a learning project from Sim Van der Ryn's Arch 284 course at the College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley, 1969

Schreier's diagram also suggests the relationship of hippie innovation to one of its crucial units of production: the communal collective. Live/work cooperatives constitute nine of the chart's nodes (Ant Farm, Berkeley Tribe, Canyon, COPS, Earth People's Park, Harbinger, Hog Farm, Pacific High School, and People's Architecture). Bay Area urban collectives shatter the stereotype of hippie communes as remote outposts "in the deserts and the woods, accompanied by a back-to-nature and in many cases anti-technology ideology."[28] A new generation of scholarship, undeterred by "the knowing smile, the weary condescension that greets the word 'commune,'" noted by the social historian Iain Boal, has established a taxonomy of collective households that includes urban, rural, and "third space" intermediaries located in the immediate hinterlands of metropolitan areas.[29] Cultural conservatives cite the transience of communes as proof of their inferiority to the nuclear family. The comparison is specious. Unlike domiciles intended to reproduce insular kinship lines, counterculture communes often functioned as providers of novel goods and services and as laboratories for innovative technologies: as such, they manifested the norms of risk and transience shared by any other start-up venture.

Northern California, the world's most productive hippie enterprise zone, was a counterculture terroir—a site that nurtured uniquely local outcomes. A cultural imaginary shaped by the Pacific was one of its assets. For founders of the University of California, the Golden Gate may have brought to mind a stanza by Bishop George Berkeley—"Westward the course of empire takes its way"—but it also provided a portal through which Asia moved eastward. Bookshops in San Francisco and Berkeley stocked arcane texts on Tibetan Buddhism, Vedism, and Zen: philosophies that proved highly competitive with the eschatology advanced by Marx and his apostles. Eastern religions inspired the Beats, a Bay Area counterculture that blossomed in the 1950s, preparing the ground for a psychedelic successor. Within a decade, crosscurrents of East and West, of esoteric traditions and rebellious nonconformity, produced a "San Francisco Renaissance," described by the philosopher Alan Watts as "a huge tide of spiritual energy in the form of poetry, music, philosophy, painting, religion, communications techniques in radio, television and cinema, dancing, theater, and general life-style [that] swept out of this city and its environs."[30] Beat poets acknowledged peyote buds and psilocybin mushrooms as auxiliary tools of transcendence in the mid-1950s, just as the CIA began testing LSD and other psychoactive drugs on unwitting subjects in San Francisco brothels as well as on volunteers at Stanford University and the Menlo Park Veterans Administration Hospital.[31] Consistent with the Bay Area's postwar legacy of creating marketable spin-offs from federal research, in 1960 Myron Stolaroff, a former engineer at the Ampex electronics firm in Redwood City, founded the International Foundation for Advanced Study. It accepted self-nominated volunteers for a fee of $500—adjusted for inflation, about $4,000 today—for a two-day regimen of tests gauging the impact of LSD upon "creatives," a category that included scientists, engineers, and designers. Stolaroff's Institute unlocked the doors of perception for a number of figures on Schreier's Freestone diagram, including Gordon Ashby, Stewart Brand, Sim Van der Ryn, and Neill Smith as well as various members of SRI's Augmented Human Intellect Research Center, including its founder, Doug Engelbart. In "LSD: A Design Tool?" Smith informed *Progressive Architecture* readers that after taking the acid test, his previous focus on aesthetic form shifted to a "more flexible, existential or ontological design process" reflecting a "greatly increased degree of personal and intellectual freedom."[32] In addition to its impact on individual career trajectories, the quest for spiritual and/or pharmacological enlightenment produced "outsider" experiences and values that bonded members of the Bay Area subculture and established mutual trust: a form of behavioral capital closely scrutinized by business theorists in their studies of regional innovation milieus.[33]

Hippies disdained academia, particularly California's "multiversity" system, explicitly designed to boost postwar industrial and economic growth. However, regional universities fertilized the Bay Area's counterculture terroir in just the same way that they bankrolled Silicon Valley's cognitive capital. Berkeley's chemistry library provided Augustus Owsley Stanley III, the Henry Ford of homemade LSD production, with a formula that fueled San Francisco's Summer of Love. A Berkeley anthropology course on Native Americans inspired Cliff Humphrey, a former Army roads engineer, to found Ecology Action, a commune of community organizers that pioneered now-familiar recycling and energy conservation practices.[34] Cheap, state-subsidized tuition brought a continuous stream of intellectually adept and politically impassioned students to contribute volunteer labor to counterculture ventures. The Berkeley Free Speech Movement of 1964 and the creation of People's Park in 1969 both demonstrated how mutual aspirations could forge collective agency from thousands of individual actors as well as the University's unintended ability to construct communities founded upon shared antipathy to its policies.

While the University of California may have been reviled, pacts made with the leviathan established strategic outposts that straddled inlaw and outlaw realms. At UC

Fig. 5


*Outlaw Building News*, College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 1972

erkeley's Department of Architecture, Sim an der Ryn conducted design studios as xperimental counterculture laboratories, ach generating its own underground pub- cation. A node at the bottom of Schreier's hart labeled "Arch 284" refers to the first of an der Ryn's "outlaw builder" studios. Its raduate school participants designed do- -yourself interventions that invited children transform their own schoolroom using cycled materials. Van der Ryn's homespun ocument of the project, the *Farallones crapbook*, became a profitable objet trouvé r the Manhattan publishing giant Random ouse, establishing the counterculture as a ot commodity when marketed thorough a ew genre of West Coast "lifestyle" publi- ations.[35] A subsequent outlaw builder udio, "Making a Place in the Country," ok students to a remote Marin County site construct a communal settlement from alvaged redwood. The class fashioned its nal report, *Outlaw Building News*, as an underground publication.[Fig. 5] It sold out as quickly as it could be printed, providing funds for a successor project. The "Natural Energy Systems" studio used timber from a demolished barn to build a demonstration "Energy Pavilion" for sustainable home technology. Random House contracted the course reader for retail distribution as the *Natural Energy Designer's Handbook*.[36] Revenue from each class publication, rather than enriching individuals, funded new experiments: a venture capital paradigm characteristic of the freak enterprise system.

## Ludic Productivity from Trips to Transformer

The creative output of Freestone hippie moderns refutes portrayals of the counterculture as a precursor of "slacker" culture, or a "refusal of work" amenable to Marxist or anarchist theorizing. Hippies demanded ludic returns on investment, making their labor seem like something other than work. Fun, rather than a reward for task performance, was understood to be implicit in anything worth doing. This was not an outlook original to hippies, of course. "Life was fun was work was fun was life" is how designer Deborah Sussman described her time at the Eames office.[37] In the early 1960s, Eames office alumnus Gordon Ashby brought that work-as-play ethos to 84 Vandewater, his San Francisco studio, where corporate clients and rock musicians mingled with North Beach artists and architects for a candlelit lunch or a giddy session of collective mural production on a roll of photo backdrop paper. Ashby cofounded the graphic design program at the San Francisco Art Institute, located a few strenuous uphill blocks from his office, where Stewart Brand, another acid test veteran of the International Foundation for Advanced Study, had enrolled in 1962 to study photography. Upon receiving a 1963 IBM commission to produce *Astronomia*, an exhibit for New York's Hayden Planetarium, Ashby hired Brand as a copy photographer. He traveled to archives and observatories collecting the patchwork of exhibition images beloved by Ashby and his mentor, Charles Eames. Entranced by nineteenth-century almanacs, Brand informed Ashby that one was needed by their own generation: an early intimation of the concept behind the *Whole Earth Catalog*. Ashby was ready to help with that project, providing a crash course in graphics to the former janitor Brand recruited to paste up *Whole Earth Catalog* page layouts.[38](see page 268)

Brand and Ashby's most memorable collaboration occurred at the Trips Festival in January 1966: a "Happening" that marked Brand's emergence as a hippie network entrepreneur par excellence, and established Ashby as a mediator between the inlaw culture of IBM corporate design and the outlaws of the San Francisco acid rock scene.[Fig. 1] The event defined the future of Bay Area hippie culture: as Tom Wolfe observed in *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, "the Haight-Ashbury era began that weekend."[39] It also marked the divergence of two alternative modes of counterculture enterprise: market transaction and the hippie gift economy. Brand and electronic music composer Ramon Sender Barayón conceived the festival as a melding of the "acid tests" conducted by Ken Kesey's Merry Pranksters and the performance art of USCO, a commune in rural New York. USCO traveling shows deployed various electronic and pharmacological technologies—peyote,

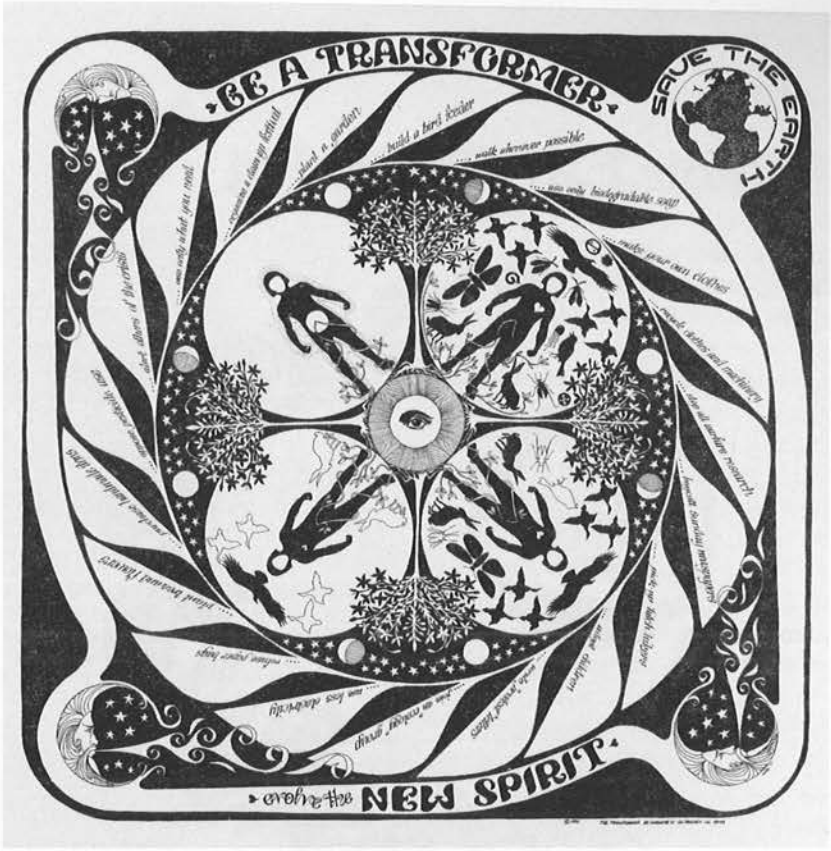
LSD, oscilloscopes, slide projectors, strobe lights, and tape decks—to infuse media spectacle with tribal ritual.[40] To fill three nights of programming at San Francisco's Longshoreman's Hall, Brand recruited the San Francisco Tape Music Center, artist and avant-garde filmmaker Bruce Conner, the Open Theater cabaret, Kesey and his Merry Pranksters, the Grateful Dead and other local rock bands, a stroboscopic trampoline artist, and an array of light show pioneers. Among the latter, Ashby was unique in having honed his audiovisual skills at the Eames office, where he had worked on *Glimpses of the U.S.A.*, shown at the 1959 American National Exhibition in Moscow, and *Think*, a twenty-two screen display for the IBM pavilion at the 1964 New York World's Fair. *Light Matrix*, Ashby's light show for the Trips Festival, bore a related provenance. For a planned IBM pavilion at the 1967 Montreal World's Fair, he had proposed a wall-mounted grid using light and form to convey the workings of a data system, with "1" represented by a lit bulb and "0" by an unlit one. Turned on and off in various configurations, patterns would flicker across the grid: complex information rendered as binary code. Ashby pitched the concept to his corporate client with a slide show mock-up that made clear and colored dots dance across a black screen when projected in rapid succession. Ultimately, IBM decided not to participate at the Montreal Fair, presenting Ashby with an opportunity to recycle the *Light Matrix* demo as psychedelic spectacle. The eve of the Trips Festival found Brand and Ashby at a local J. C. Penney department store buying out the entire stock of white shower curtains so that they could be taped together as a projection surface. On the night of the event, however, Conner's film fluttered across the ad hoc screen instead.[41] Projected directly onto the venue floor, *Light Matrix* flashed its binary patterns across Trips Festival celebrants, dissolving the distinction between performers and spectators: a move consistent with Brand's broader aesthetic goals.

The Trips Festival advanced performance art well beyond territory explored previously by USCO. Brand abandoned the alpha-male shamanism of his USCO colleagues: artist-technicians who subjected audiences to avant-garde stimuli in order to gauge human response.[42] Instead, the Trips Festival asserted a radically diffuse model of creative agency. Fliers for the event announced: "the audience is invited to wear ECSTATIC DRESS & bring their own GADGETS (a.c. outlets will be provided)."[43] Brand and his co-conspirators seeded the venue with electronic paraphernalia to be discovered and played with; microphones in one location sent disembodied voices to speakers placed elsewhere on the floor. "Everything was going on at once," musician Jerry Garcia recalled:

> It was a great, incredible scene, and I was wandering around. I had some sense that the Grateful Dead was supposed to play sometime maybe. But it really didn't matter. ... That was the beauty of it. People weren't coming to see the Grateful Dead. So we didn't feel compelled to perform.[44]

A festival manager, who Garcia described as the only person there who wasn't high, and the Pranksters remembered as "this asshole with a clipboard," brushed aside Brand's performance art paradigm.[45] Bill Graham, the promoter of the San Francisco Mime Troupe, managed festival ticket sales. Exhilarated by the $12,500 ($78,000 today) grossed in festival entries over three days, he turned his attention to a run-down Fillmore district theater, turning it into a national brand, and its performances the countercul-

Fig. 6



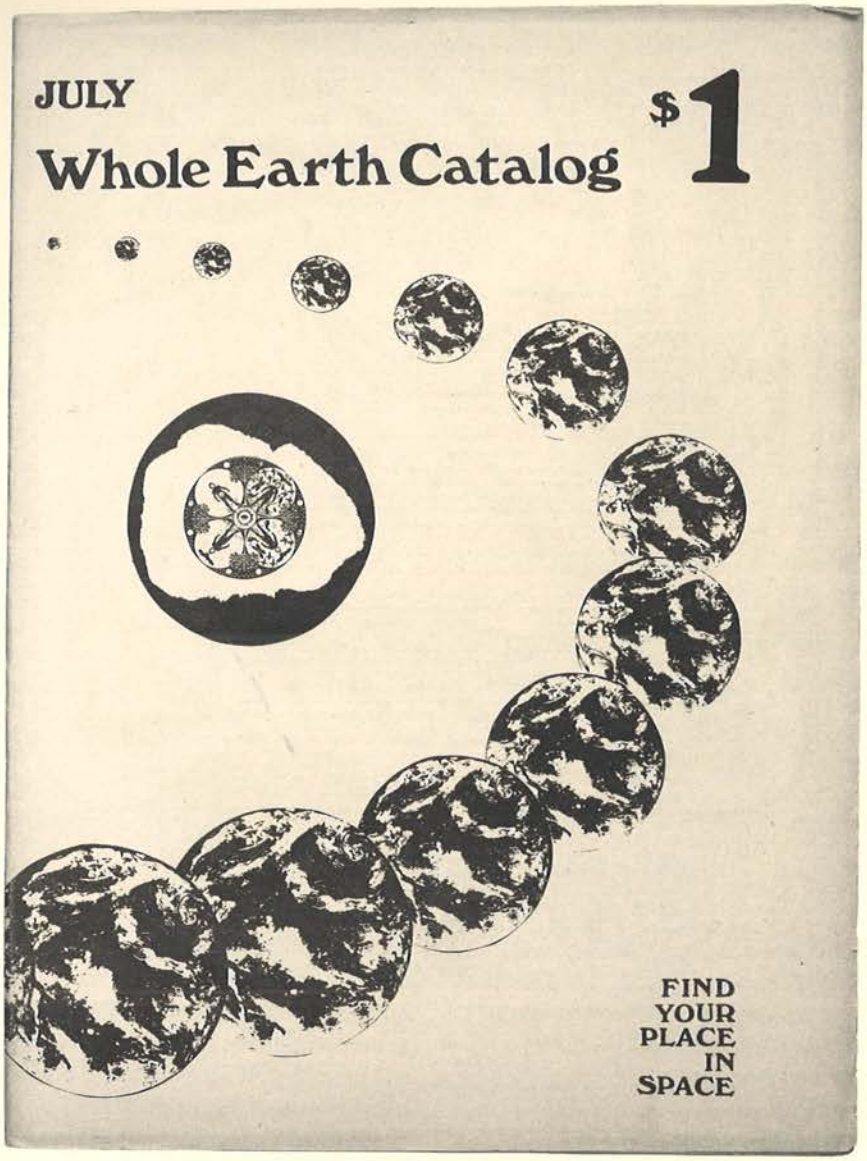

Gordon Ashby, *Transformer* poster, "earth green" ink on oatmeal paper, 1970

ture's premiere commodity. Hailed as an outlaw art form, rock music conformed quite profitably to postwar mass consumption's newfound "attention to smaller or *fringe* market segments," as codified by marketing consultant Wendell Smith in 1956.[46] Catapulted out of the hippie gift economy, Garcia and company became celebrities delegated to craft fields of amplified sound while planted securely onstage, not "wandering around" eroding distinctions between performers and spectators. At the Trips Festival, hippie moderns realized the avant-garde dream of shattering the proscenium wall. It took an astute outsider to recognize the market value of keeping it intact.

## Seeing Things Whole

Ant Farm's call for hippies to "actively patch up their environment" and "maintain an earth awareness" while embracing a regimen of "minimum needs … provided by the waste products of Fat City" announced the advent of the "ecofreak," a novel subjectivity determined to invent environmentalism's everyday material culture.[47] Ashby, who prided himself as a skilled mediator between "those who conformed to rules and those who broke them," cultivated inlaw and outlaw

Fig. 7




Gordon Ashby with Doyle Phillips, *$1 Whole Earth Catalog*, July 1970

personae as an eco-activist. Exhibition planning for Oakland's new city museum immersed him in research on environmental systems years before they made the leap from scientific journals to public discourse. Unlike Brand, who had studied biological cybernetics at Stanford as an undergraduate, Ashby was introduced to systems thought via design.[48] Every associate at the Eames office received a challenge to develop an audiovisual treatment for *Cosmic View: The Universe in Ten Jumps*, a children's book by Kees Boeke, a Danish schoolteacher.[49] Its sequence of forty drawings situated human life between the realms of subatomic particles and galactic clusters. "At school we are introduced to many different spheres of existence, but they are often not connected with each other," Boeke wrote, "so that we are in danger of collecting a large number of images without realizing that they all join together in one great whole."[50] At the Eames office, this holistic outlook informed the 1977 film *Powers of Ten*. Ashby instead affirmed Boeke's whole systems philosophy in a museum installation combining natural science, history, and art collections. The "California Hall of Ecology," in development from 1964 to 1969, was "less an educational experience than an educational happening—an acquisition of understanding unhampered by the standard impedimenta of education," according to a critic for a leading conservation journal. Taking the form of a journey, a transect through ecological regions from ocean shoreline to High Sierra forest, the exhibition drew praise as a "revolutionary" first-of-its-kind experience.[51]

Proceeds from the Oakland Museum commission subsidized Ashby's second career as an environmental performance artist. "Transformer," the pro bono arm of 84 Vandewater, distributed "supplies, tools, facilities, skills and knowledge to persons outside the office working on ecological projects."[52](Fig. 6) Traveling to Bay Area college campuses, Ashby staged improvisational theatrics that challenged students to recognize their place in the biosphere. A promotion in "Advertisements for a Counter Culture" included a mail-in coupon for a Transformer poster "suitable for framing." (see page 357) Ashby's design appropriates the Vedic mandala form as an aid to ecological and spiritual contemplation. The poster's four quadrants are arrayed in a circle around a centering eye. Read counterclockwise, they depict the greening of an androgynous silhouette. Tendrils shoot from an umbilicus and climb down legs to root, bud, and blossom. In a chain reaction, quadrants progressively fill with wildlife; as biodiversity increases, the figure's heart grows larger. Read clockwise—in the direction of mechanical time, that harbinger of industrial civilization—the process is reversed: species disappear; the human heart shrinks. Calligraphy radiating around Ashby's visual manifesto tells the viewer to "purchase handmade items; oppose pesticide use; alert others of the crisis; use only what you need." Printed on (presumably edible) oatmeal paper, Ashby's Transformer poster championed mind/body unity in every possible sense.[53]

The imperative of envisioning holism—perceiving the whole system through just one of its parts, or within a set of integrative symbols—pervaded hippie environmentalism. A metonymic eye—"looking both larger and smaller than where our daily habits live and seeing clear through our cycles," as Brand put it—was the counterculture successor to the "new vision" of an abstracting "camera eye" or "kino eye" championed by early modernists as the machine era's bequest to visual culture. "*We may say that we see the world with entirely different eyes*," László Moholy-Nagy emphatically proclaimed in 1927. "This is not enough … since it is important for life that we create new *relationships*."[54] Hippie moderns would have said the same, although with entirely different intent than the avant-garde prophets of industrial modernity. The *Whole Earth Catalog*, from the terrestrial mandala adorning its cover to the constellation of tools within, "was *itself* modeling whole design," design historian Simon Sadler argues.[55] An essay in *Esquire* magazine suggests that at least some readers lacked the metonymic training needed to discern the whole systems

Figs. 8 & 9


Gordon Ashby, pages from *$1 Whole Earth Catalog*, July 1970

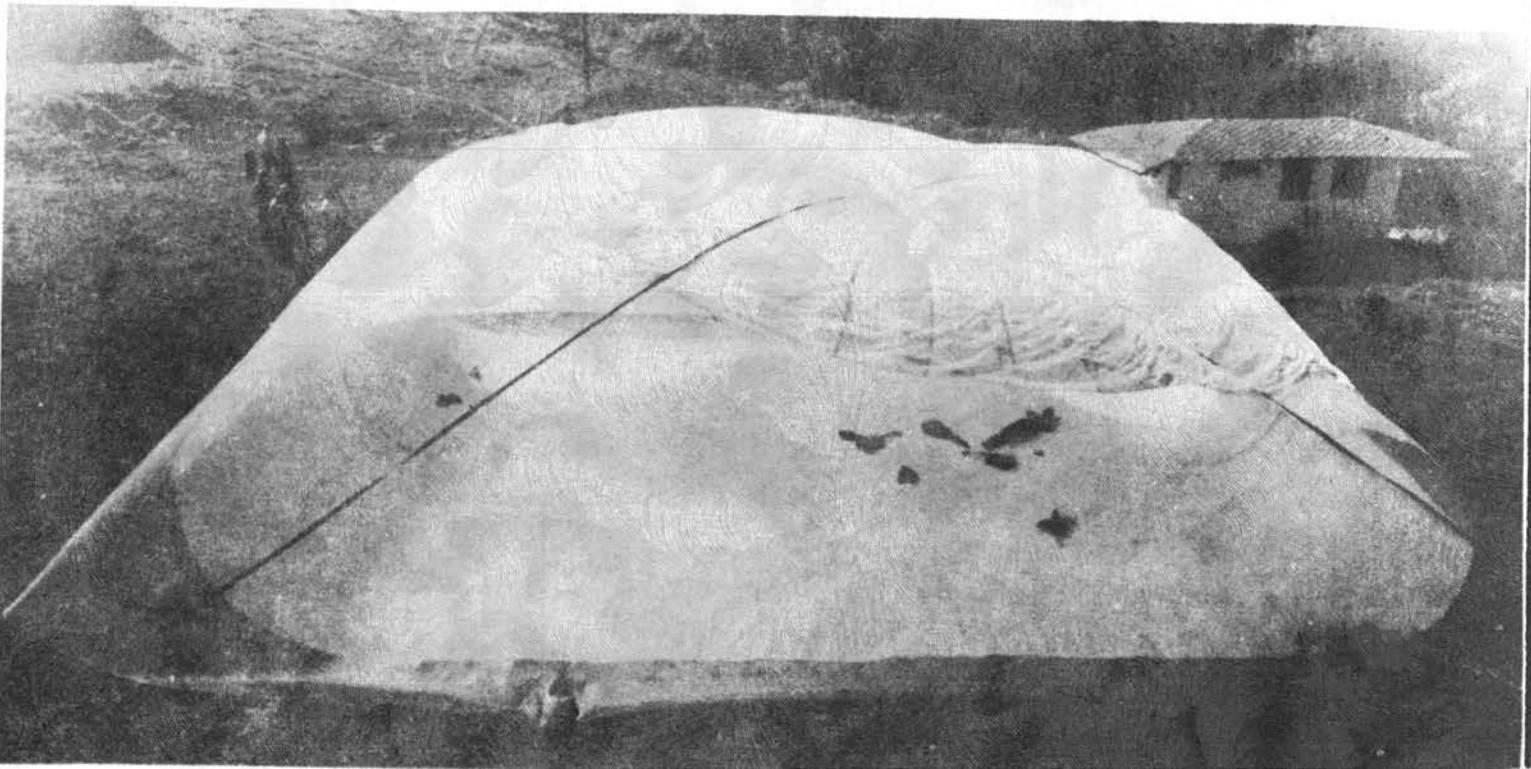
lurking behind the *Catalog*'s patchwork of "tools" and discursive captions:

> The very quality of the *Whole Earth Catalog* that most delighted and charmed me as a reader is the incredible variousness of it, the bewildering profusion of its content, the enigmatic capriciousness of its format ... held together by some mysterious principle of internal dynamics, some inscrutable law of metaphysics which I simply didn't understand, which no one who hadn't actually been close to the very center of the Whole Earth operation could even begin to define.(56)

Only one issue of the *Whole Earth Catalog* ever acknowledged that readers might need instruction in seeing things whole. In June 1970, with Brand headed off for a much-needed vacation, Ashby assumed responsibility for the July *Catalog*. His resulting "concept issue" marked a decisive, one-time departure from the standard format. It provided a Rosetta stone with which to decrypt the whole systems ideology encoded within Brand's hippie testament.(57)

On Ashby's cover, the photo of the Earth from space that graces most issues of the *Whole Earth Catalog* is paraphrased as a receding parabola of multiple planets surrounding Ashby's "Transformer" mandala. (Fig. 7) A subtitle, "Find Your Place in Space," announced the issue's thematic emphasis and hidden prize. Paging past the familiar patchwork of text, photos, dingbats, drawings, and purloined engravings, the reader encountered another catalog embedded within the first. Its cover, familiar in composition and typeface, bears the banner *Whole Thing Catalog*: a shift in title that, along with a cover photo of a spiral galaxy rather than a planet, signals a transition to meta-narrative scale, as noted by Padma Maitland, a historian of South Asian design.(58) Eight pages devoted to mandala collages follow. (Fig. 8) Ashby later remarked that the mandala possessed a unique capacity to express the hippie Zeitgeist. "Breaking away from a linear perspective ... having many voices. The mandala gives that opportunity; it has many layers. An acid trip is like that."(59) Combining precise line drawings with halftones clipped from magazines and at times hypnotically repeated, *Whole Thing* mandalas exhibit the obsessive craftsmanship, concern with alchemy, and displacement of the mundane also found in the work of Ashby's contemporary, the San Francisco collagist Burgess Franklin Collins, who signed his work "Jess." Zooming in and out of human geographies, ecological systems, and outer space, Ashby's mandalas offer a hallucinatory spin on Boeke's *Cosmic View*. An accompanying text elaborates the *Whole Thing* meta-catalogue of systems consciousness. Mandalas captioned "Travel Equipment" and "Information Guide" depict concepts of biodiversity and symbiosis, showing readers why "knowing how the *place* works helps you find yours." A final mandala, titled "Transformation, Phase One," strikes a metaphysical note. (Fig. 9) Within a solar penumbra, quadrants for earth, air, fire, and water bracket astrological signs, a cycle of lunar phases, and silhouettes of living creatures. The insert abruptly shifts its medium of representation to conclude with a film storyboard. Photo-collaged frames illustrate a debate between "Announcer," "Radical," "Regular American," and "Third World," situating these imagined subjects in a struggle involving political power, wealth, natural resources, and ecological preservation. Their argument culminates with the understanding that "The Earth crisis is *your* crisis ... and mine," and an appeal to "Change with care ... compassionately."(60) Mandalas and new media imagery in the *Whole Thing Catalog* locate the reader within nested realms of interdependence. A few months prior to its publication, a visitor to the Oakland Museum remarked of the California Hall of Ecology installation: "It was more than vision with our eyes: it was vision we felt with our minds but saw with our eyes"—a kinesthetic experience also conjured by

# has GROWN to fit the needs of today!



the mandalas and filmic narrative Ashby deployed in his *Catalog* meta-supplement and its whole systems cartography.[61]

## Showdown at Aspen: Whole Systems vs. "the System"

In June 1970, three months after the Freestone convening, a caravan of chartered buses disgorged many of its veterans at the International Design Conference at Aspen (IDCA). Bay Area ecofreaks had arrived to induct their establishment colleagues into a campaign to save the planet. They instead provoked, in the words of Reyner Banham, "a guaranteed communications failure."[62]

Among the Freestone alumni were Craig Hodgetts of CalArts, representatives from Pacific High School in Santa Cruz and People's Architecture in Berkeley, and Sim Van der Ryn, who had organized the hippie "environmental action group" just weeks after inviting Bay Area activists to "build a floating university around the design of our lives" at a remote Sonoma farm.[63] Fellow travelers included Cliff Humphrey of Ecology Action; the Berkeley-based guerilla theater group the Moving Company; and Michael Doyle, a firebrand activist with the landscape design office of Lawrence Halprin in San Francisco and the founder of Environmental Workshop. Steve Baer and company arrived uninvited in their shambling Zomeworks school bus carrying a payload of skeletal zomes of various sizes. Children brought along for a Rocky Mountain field trip by the Bay Area contingent soon clambered over the spidery structures. Members of the Ant Farm collective pulled up in their customized *Media Van* (see page 300) and promptly contravened IDCA rules by planting their vinyl inflatable atop a sacrosanct landscape designed by the Bauhaus luminary Herbert Bayer. Denied access to many of the subsequent conference presentations, the Ant Farm contingent lurked at the margins of the event as self-proclaimed "rabble-rousers." Over the next few days, members of what Banham dubbed "the Berkeley / Ant Farm / Mad Environmentalist coalition" would try to persuade the design establishment to join an ecological crusade to save the planet: an audacious goal that threw the IDCA into chaos.[64]

The 1970 conference theme and invitation list virtually guaranteed an epochal clash of values. The IDCA board used its IBM International Fellowship program to fund a delegation from France that included industrial designers Roger Tallon, Claude Braunstein, and Eric Le Comte; design journalist Gilles de Burre; and an architect, a geographer, and an economist. Two representatives of the Paris-based Utopie intellectual circle—the Marxist sociologist and cultural critic Jean Baudrillard and the architect and inflatables enthusiast Jean Aubert—rounded out "the French group."[65] Concerned that US student radicals would use an available Graham Foundation grant to stage events that would constitute "almost as a counter-conference, or an anti-conference," in the words of IDCA president Eliot Noyes, the IDCA board contacted Sim Van der Ryn a month before the event to organize an environmental action group.[66] If the board thought that deputizing a university professor would ensure a supply of docile, studious participants, they were badly mistaken.

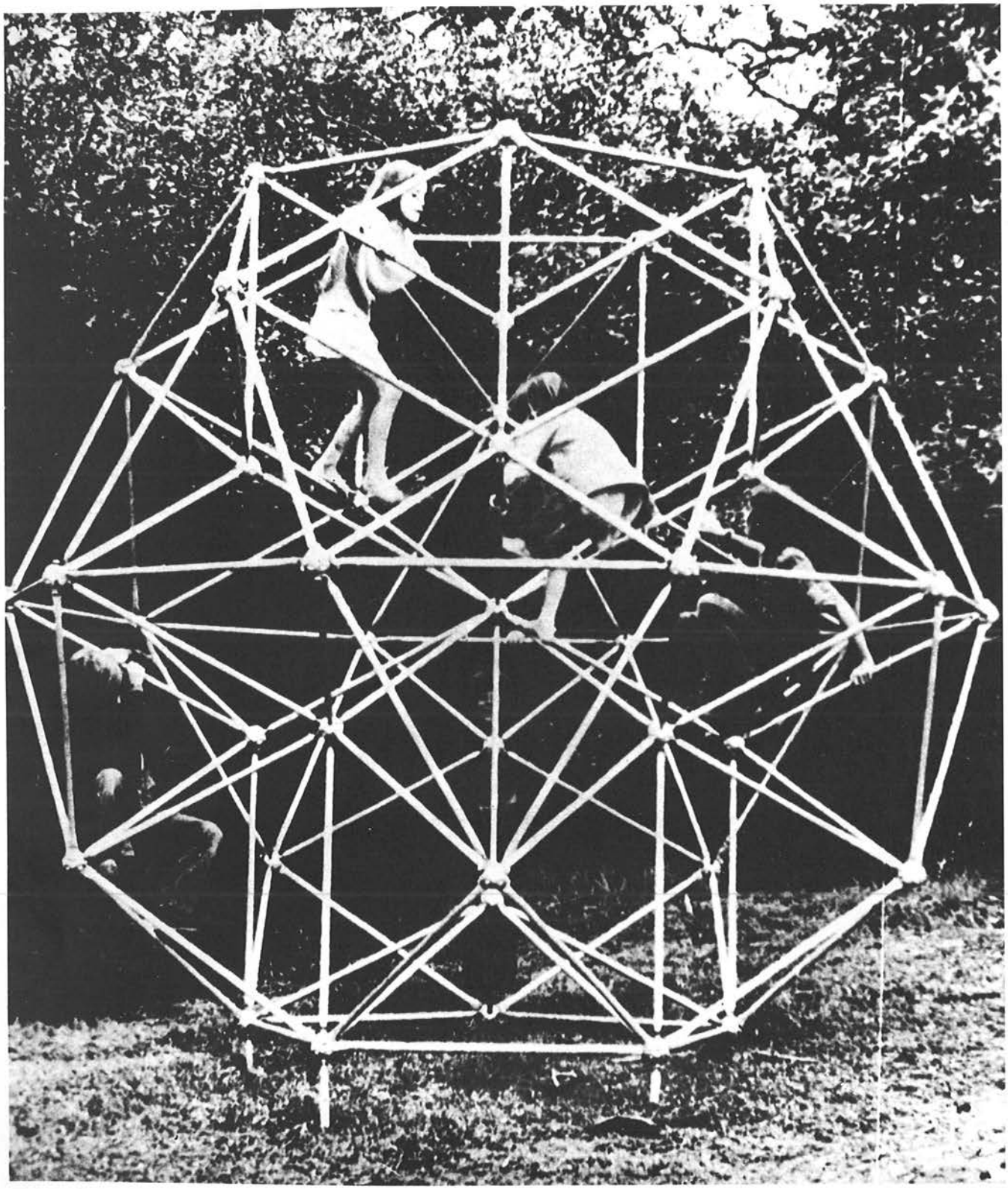
From hairstyles and attire and to socializing style and mode of discourse, a chasm separated Bay Area hippie moderns from Aspen's establishment modernists. The 1970 IDCA theme, "Environment by Design," also was sown with potential misunderstandings. For Bay Area ecofreaks, the terms *environment* and *ecology* were synonymous; for the conference organizers, as design historian Alice Twemlow points out, "environment" was simply the context in which designed objects existed.[67] Among the "French group," the term brought to mind the Unité d'enseignement et de recherche de l'environnement (U.E.R.E.), a successor to the Ecole des Beaux Arts "charged with teaching art and environment, 'environment' rather in the Bauhaus sense."[68] For hippies, Environment by Design implied ecological affinity; for others at the conference, the phrase conjured an aesthetic effect of total design. By 1970 Bauhaus-inspired modern design had become the high style of corporate America. At Aspen, Bay Area advocates of ecological functionalism, trash bin funk, and *épater le bourgeois* insolence confronted the devotees of an embalmed avant-garde, its hackles long since gone flat.

Disparate modes of communication also separated hippie and establishment modernists. Interaction at the IDCA conventionally consisted of formal conference presentations and informal mixing over meals and cocktails: a socializing formula rejected by members of the Bay Area environmental action group. Ecofreaks staged an outdoor bazaar distributing underground publications, held encounters in the Ant Farm inflatable, and arrived at conference talks trailing children. Cliff Humphrey suggested a picnic at the Aspen city dump as an object lesson in consumer waste; instead he collected garbage generated by IDCA participants and displayed it in a pile during his formal presentation. By far the most disruptive mode of counter-culture expression, however, was hippie performance art. A Happening conducted by the Moving Company, captured on film in *IDCA '70*—a documentary by Eli Noyes (the son of the IDCA president Eliot Noyes) and his partner Claudia Weill—chronicled the hazard of moving street theater out of urban space and onto a proscenium.(Fig. 10) Stripped of their plein air setting and impromptu audience, the Moving Company's ad-libbed rants, shtick, and slapstick ritual lost their carnivalesque bite, coming off instead as amateurish theatrics.[69] The agitprop techniques of hippie street theater, unsurpassed at rallying counter-culture initiates, proved utterly unsuited to forging bonds with design profession in-laws: an outcome crucial to the long-term impact of Bay Area ecofreaks at Aspen.

More conventional presentations on ecology were provided by Cliff Humphrey of Berkeley's Ecology Action "life house," and Stuart Udall, a pioneering environmentalist and former US Secretary of the Interior. Challenging the techno-futurist "euphoria" pervading earlier IDCA conclaves, Udall acknowledged his "pessimistic role" in describing the dire stakes of status-quo inertia. "If you're not part of the environment movement already ... you're part of the problem in 1970."[70] Humphrey contended that "pessimism has no survival value," but otherwise restated Udall's message in even stronger terms. He proposed that the IDCA conference topic, rather than "Environment by Design," should have been "Survival by Design." "The urgency, the calamity that is confronting us has not been transmitted to you," he asserted. Gesturing to garbage heaped beside him as an instructional aid, Humphrey decried the role of designers "lubricated with a profit motive" in "ruining our life support system." Closing the "survival gap" between throwaway mass consumption and the biosphere's carrying capacity demanded that designers renounce their collaboration with the former and fight for "a new economic system" in which profits were not accrued "by destroying our environment."[71]

Humphrey's plea received novel confirmation in an address by Walter Orr Roberts, one of the world's leading climatologists. Scientists knew that the amount of carbon dioxide generated by burning fossil fuels was "sufficient to produce substantial changes in the heat

# Zomeclimber.



**Simple in structure.**
**Complicated in shape.**

Fig. 10

Eli Noyes and Claudia Weill, Stills from *IDCA 70*, 1970

balance of the atmosphere," he noted. Indeed, atmospheric data indicated that it already had. "A striking change that many of us have tried to explain has been the warming trend that occurred in the northern part of our continent, and particularly in the Northeast of the United States, between about 1900 and about 1950." A subsequent slowing of the trend confounded scientists. Roberts believed that carbon dioxide absorption by oceans accounted for the difference between predictive calculations and the measured data. Accumulating atmospheric carbon, while a matter of record, defied the capacity of scientists to predict "whether in Aspen, or New York, or Rio de Janeiro, or Sofia, or Moscow, this is going to produce drier climate or wetter climate, warmer climate or colder climate." Much about the "fragile gaseous envelope around our earth" eluded scientists, but Roberts suspected "we may have engaged in global scale weather modifications experiments without knowing it."[72] Thirty years before the term *Anthropocene* first appeared in the *Global Change Newsletter*, an unlikely assembly of industrial designers and hippie activists heard evidence of humankind's launch into an unprecedented geological epoch.[73]

Ecology and its whole systems perspective defied conventional thinking, Udall warned. "If you're not ready to entertain new ideas or concepts—some of them are quite radical—you can't be an environmentalist."[74] At Aspen, proponents of two avant-garde traditions, one aesthetic, the other political, were among those who rejected ecology's radical ideas. Reyner Banham, an impresario of avant-garde movements past and present, peppered his address, "The Education of an Environmentalist" with insults aimed at Berkeley's ecofreaks. Disparaging "Sim Van der Ryn's tribes," Banham stressed the importance of not repeating what he called "The Great Berkeley Disaster," stating "The College of Environmental Design up at the back of that war-torn campus is to my mind, simply a modish monument to an idea that never got off the ground." A working environmental education, according to Banham, would be founded on "non-utopian propositions" to avoid "producing environmental know-alls who are no use to what we humorously refer to as 'the real world outside.'"[75] Proposing "the actual intellectual content of an environmental course," Banham ranted against the most radical proposition in circulation among Aspen's scientist and ecofreak contingents:

> We will certainly have gone below the threshold of what is educationally tolerable if we produce people who think carbon dioxide is a pollutant. ... You live on carbon dioxide; it's the key link in our life cycle. Yet we talk about it as though it were some kind of dangerous pollutant. It's no more dangerous [a] pollutant than water is.[76]

Banham rejected any possibility of aggregate human impact on global climate, insisting: "We're already talking here [at Aspen] as if we and nature were equals or we were Jehovah creating the world again. We are very small environmental operators."[77] A profound alienation from ecological values triggered Banham's screed. His advocacy of a pop utopia, as envisioned by the British group Archigram, glorified structural evanescence and by extension, as Twemlow observes, an ideal of inexhaustible resources begging to be consumed.[78] Confronted with a hippie avant-garde hostile to the hypertrophied mass consumption and the unspoken inequities of "Second Machine Age" modernism, Banham found himself outflanked by a new avant-garde and threatened with cultural irrelevance, prompting a vitriolic reaction to "the Berkeley / Ant Farm / Mad Environmentalist coalition."

The design establishment had advice for ecofreaks, and a professor of geography and urbanism, Peter Hall, took it upon himself to deliver it. In an address that seconded Banham's disdain for ecofreaks who were "getting preachy," Hall demanded that they "stop talking about the coming apocalypse," alleging that Bay Area environmentalists were simply hypocrites:

> You've all worn metaphorical hair shirts, even if they look impeccably styled in the West Coast idiom from where I stand, and you're all bearing crowns of thorns, and self-flagellation has been taking place all over the tent, and the wailing and the cries of woe must have been heard all the way down to Denver. ... You're cleansing yourself, you're purging yourself of sin, and then you'll emerge into the weekday again and start sinning all over again.[79]

Ecological activism proved equally repugnant to the New Left radicals of the French contingent. Jean Baudrillard applauded Banham for illuminating "the moral and technical limits and the illusions of Design and Environment practice." In a closing statement Baudrillard proclaimed that "environment, design, the fight against pollution, and so on" were "pure social manipulation" and "a new 'opium for the people.'"[80] He continued: "In the mystique of Environment this blackmail toward apocalypse and toward a mythic enemy who is in us and all around [us] tends to create a false interdependence between individuals. Nothing better than a touch of ecology and catastrophe to unite the social classes, except perhaps a witch hunt (the mystique of anti-pollution

being nothing but a variation of it)."[81]

According to Baudrillard, in protesting an economy premised upon environmental degradation, Aspen's ecofreaks were perpetrators of a conspiracy hatched by global governments and corporate capitalists "to mobilize people's conscience by shouting apocalypse."[82] As spokesman for the French Group, Baudrillard conflated the US military campaign against communism in South East Asia and Latin America with the populist campaign against environmental pollution, linking the two in a homogenizing anti-American political imaginary that galvanized New Left factions on both sides of the Atlantic.[83] The wave of 1960s environmentalism did in fact create alliances between ecofreak outlaws and political inlaws such as US Senator Gaylord Nelson, who sponsored national recognition of the first Earth Day in 1970, an event celebrated by an estimated 20 million people in the United States. Baudrillard's portrayal of environmentalists as counterrevolutionaries, however delusional, did serve a pragmatic purpose: the assertion of a New Left monopoly on radical politics.

The French group's attack on environmentalism came during a closing session that left Banham, its chair, "psychologically bruised," as he later confided.[84] Representing the Bay Area contingent, Michael Doyle read out an uncompromising set of conference resolutions. Its eleven points demanded an immediate US military withdrawal from Vietnam; a moratorium on extractive industries pending environmental impact regulation; recognition of land claims by Native Americans; an end to the persecution of blacks, Mexican Americans, women, and homosexuals; the legalization of abortion; a new planned economy based on need rather than profit; immediate Federal action on the ecological crisis; and a refusal by designers to work on any product or service devised "for the sole purpose of creating profit."[85] Doyle insisted that conferees vote on the resolutions as a block; Banham countered by "picking up every point from the floor, in order give frightened souls a chance to slip out quietly."[86] Although he ultimately succeeded in calling a clause-by-clause referendum (with the empowered children of the Bay Area contingent standing up with adults to have their vote duly counted), ensuing bitterness on all sides prompted the IDCA board to consider whether to abandon the whole conference enterprise.[87] After a vote, the board decided to continue the IDCA tradition; Eliot Noyes, confessing that the week's developments had left him "bruised, stale, and weary," resigned his position as the organization's president.[88]

With the benefit of hindsight, we understand that Baudrillard, Banham, and Hall were categorically—even cataclysmically—wrong. The ecological crisis was neither a hippie hallucination nor an illusion produced by Marxist false consciousness. Given contemporary evidence that carbon dioxide is indeed a noxious pollutant; that, in the years since 1970, biospheric degradation has continued to race toward catastrophe; that economic and political systems rewarding ecological destruction are to blame; and that survival is truly at stake; a reevaluation of Bay Area ecological counterculture is long overdue. Whatever might be said about their motley raiment, grab-bag philosophies, and clown-car comportment, ecofreaks, reassessed as hippie moderns, demand reevaluation as an avant-garde galvanized by the radical mission of inventing environmentalism's everyday material culture.

Notes

(1) Curtis Schreier, "Advertisements for a Counter Culture," *Progressive Architecture* 51, no. 6 (June 1970): 86.

(2) Forrest Wilson, editorial introduction to "Advertisements for a Counterculture," 70.

(3) Anonymous, "LSD: A Design Tool?," *Progressive Architecture* 47, no. 8 (August 1966): 147–153.

(4) W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 145, 152.

(5) Peter Coyote, "Interview by Etan Ben-Ami, Mill Valley, California, 12 January 1989," *The Digger Archives*, accessed January 21, 2014, http://www.diggers.org/oralhistory/peter_interview.html.

(6) "Hippies Bury Movement, Proclaim Birth of Freebie," *Milwaukee Journal*, October 7, 1967; "Hippies Will Hold Funeral To Mark 'Death' Of Life In Haight-Ashbury," *Lodi News-Sentinal*, September 28, 1967.

(7) Andrew G. Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas), 56–57.

(8) Gordon Ashby, interview by Padma Maitland and the author, Pt. Reyes Station, CA, November 14, 2014.

(9) In interviews with the author from 2012 to 2014, Gordon Ashby, Jim Campe, Chip Lord, and Sim Van der Ryn each attributed Wilson's departure from his post as editor of *Progressive Architecture* to the negative reception of "Advertisements for a Counter Culture."

(10) Curtis Schreier, communication with the author, November 24, 2014.

(11) Schreier, "Advertisements for a Counter Culture," 73.

(12) John Markoff, *What the Dormouse Said: How the 60s Counterculture Shaped the Personal Computer Industry* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2005), xxi.

(13) For the Engelbart's role in the origins of personal computing, see Donald L. Nielson, *A Heritage of Innovation: SRI's First Half Century* (Menlo Park, CA: SRI International, 2006), 2:12–28.

(14) Theodore Roszak, *From Satori to Silicon Valley: San Francisco and the American Counterculture* (San Francisco: Don't Call it Frisco Press, 1986); Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

(15) Markoff, *What the Dormouse Said*, 176–178. "Paradam," as Markoff refers to it, is a misspelling. René Daumal, *Mount Analogue*, trans. Roger Shattuck (Boston: Shambala, 1992), 121–122.

(16) David Evans, Peradam invitation, undated (September 1969), accessed December 20, 2014, http://who1615.com/pdfs/EarlyContactwithSBrandplus5pp.pdf. The dated document provides evidence that the Peradam event occurred in September 1969, rather than "the fall of 1970," as stated by Chip Lord in an oral history interview: Linda Kallipoliti, "Interview with Chip Lord and Curtis Schreier," in *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X to 197X*, ed. Beatriz Colomina, Craig Buckley, and Urtzi Grau (Barcelona: Actar, 2010), 411, 409.

(17) Peter Braunstein and Michael William Dole, "Historicizing the American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s," in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Dole (New York: Routledge, 2002), 6–8.

(18) Theodore Roszak, "The Misunderstood Movement," *New York Times*, December 3, 1994. Notable titles of the counterculture-as-catastrophe genre include: Alan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987); Robert Bork, *Sliding Toward Gomorrah* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994); Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979); Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984); and William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960s* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971).

(19) Wavy Gravy, *Something Good for a Change* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 126.

(20) Charles Eames, "Language of Vision: The Nuts and Bolts," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 28, no. 1 (October 1974): 17–18.

(21) Marta Gutman, "Spaces of Childhood: A Radical Agenda for Design and Research" (unpublished lecture, Townsend Center for the Humanities, University of California, Berkeley, October 30, 2014).

(22) Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture*, 5.

(23) "Peoples Arch" flyer, undated (circa 1970), Art and Music Clip File, Berkeley Public Library, Berkeley, CA; Steven V. Roberts, "Halfway Between Dropping Out and Dropping In," *New York Times*, September 12, 1971.

(24) Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

(25) Ron A. Boschma and Robert C. Kloosterman, "Clustering, Learning, and Regional Development," in *Learning from Clusters : A Critical Assessment from an Economic-Geographical Perspective*, ed. Ron A. Boschma and Robert C. Kloosterman (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 2.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, "The Countercultural Experiment: Consciousness and Encounters at the Edge of Art," in *West of Center: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965–1977*, ed. Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), xxiv.

(28) Kallipoliti, "Interview with Chip Lord and Curtis Schreier," 411.

(29) Iain Boal, prologue to *West of Eden: Communes and Utopia in Northern California*, ed. Iain Boal, Janferie

Stone, Michael Watts, and Cal Winslow (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012), xiii–xiv.

(30) Alan Watts, *Zen and The Beat Way* (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 1997), xx.

(31) Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, *Project MKUltra: The CIA's Program of Research in Behavioral Modification* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1977).

(32) Ashby interview, 2014; Markoff, *What the Dormouse Said,* 58–65; Van der Ryn interviews, 2012–2014; Anonymous, "LSD: A Design Tool?": 149.

(33) For an overview, see Gert-Jan M. Linders, Henri L.F. de Groot, and Peter Nijkamp, "Economic Development, Institutions and Trust," in *Learning from Clusters*, 111–138.

(34) Steven V. Roberts, "The Better Earth: A report on Ecology Action, a brash, activist, radical group fighting for a better environment," *New York Times Magazine* (March 29, 1970): 7–13.

(35) Sim Van der Ryn et al., *Farallones Scrapbook: A Memento and Manual of Our Apprenticeship in Making Places and Changing Spaces in Schools, at Home, and Within Ourselves* (Pt. Reyes, CA: Farallones Designs, distributed by Random House, 1971).

(36) Sim Van der Ryn, *Design for Life: The Architecture of Sim Van der Ryn* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2005), 45–46.

(37) The description of the Eames office work ethos, by alumna Deborah Sussman, is from her interview in the documentary film *Eames: The Architect and the Painter*, DVD, 85 min., First Run Features, New York, 2011.

(38) Ashby interview, 2014.

(39) Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1976), 263.

(40) Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture*, 34, 47–49.

(41) Ashby interview, 2014.

(42) Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture*, 51.

(43) Trips Festival flyer reproduced in David W. Bernstein, "San Francisco Tape Music Center: Emerging Art Forms and the American Counterculture, 1961–1966," in *The San Francisco Tape Music Center: 1960s Counterculture and the Avant-garde*, ed. David W. Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 7.

(44) Jerry Garcia interview in Bill Graham and Robert Greenfield, *Bill Graham Presents: My Life Inside Rock and Roll* (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 140–141.

(45) Jerry Garcia, Bob Weir interviews in Graham and Greenfield, *Bill Graham Presents*, 140, 139.

(46) Wendell R. Smith, "Product Differentiation and Market Segmentation as Alternative Marketing Strategies," *Journal of Marketing*, 21, no. 7 (July 1956): 7.

(47) Ant Farm, "Advertisements for a Counter Culture": 86.

(48) Ashby interview, 2014.

(49) Michael J. Golec, "Optical Constancy, Discontinuity, and Nondiscontinuity in the Eameses' Rough Sketch," in *The Educated Eye: Visual Culture and Pedagogy in the Life Sciences*, ed. Nancy Anderson and Michael R. Dietrich (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2012), 167–168.

(50) Kees Boeke, *Cosmic View. The Universe in 40 Jumps* (New York: John Day, 1957), 4.

(51) T. H. Watkins, "A Walk Across California," *Cry California* 4, no. 4 (Fall 1969): 11.

(52) "Advertisements for a Counter Culture," 72.

(53) "Advertisements for a Counter Culture," 83.

(54) László Moholy-Nagy, *Painting Photography Film*, trans. Janet Seligman (London: Lund Humprhries, 1967), 29 (emphasis in the original).

(55) Sadler, "An Architecture of the Whole": 119.

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