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Hippie Modernism: Curation and Knowledge Co-Production

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Does the legacy of the hippie ‘outlaw builder’ have anything to contribute to the contemporary reimagining of architectural production? The question was posed curatorially in 2017 at the Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive (BAMPFA) in an amended version of *Hippie Modernism: The Struggle for Utopia*, an exhibition originally developed by Andrew Blauvelt at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis. As art historian Terry Smith asserts, ‘The narrative of an exhibition changes, in subtle and sometimes major ways, when it is installed in another venue.’ His observation was certainly true of the BAMPFA iteration of *Hippie Modernism*.¹ (Figure 1.) When Blauvelt and BAMPFA director Lawrence Rinder invited me to guest curate the Berkeley installation, I found new opportunities in the exhibition’s West Coast migration. Large environmental reconstructions could not be dismantled for transport, opening space for over 170 new objects and images exploring the creative output of the San Francisco Bay Area as an epicenter of counterculture experimentation. The revised exhibition’s debut on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1967 Summer of Love encouraged public debate about local history. *Hippie Modernism* initiated a volley of exhibitions and events, including *On the Road to the Summer of Love* at the California Historical Society, *The Hippies* at the West County Museum, *Lavender-Tinted Glasses* at the LGBT History Museum, and the *Psychedelic Soul* encounter series at the Museum of the African Diaspora. Their curators employed an approach that Tobias Ostrander calls ‘strategic regionalism,’ by which he means ‘a “regional” perspective that is not limited to geographic location, but often does imply spatial proximity.’² Coming on the heels of the 2016 US election, the semicentennial of the Summer of Love reconsidered the dynamics of regional alterity – social, cultural, political, and technological – that transformed the Bay Area during the ‘long ‘60s.’ If, at the most elemental, ‘the task of curating is to make junctions, to allow different elements to touch,’ in the words of critic and curator Hans Ulrich Obrist, points of temporal contact pervaded these Bay Area exhibitions.³ Rather than wallowing in flower-power nostalgia, *Hippie Modernism* set out to test the viability of Northern California counterculture as a ‘usable past’ capable of informing radical thought and action in the here and now.⁴

The jarring notion that hippies constituted an aesthetic avant-garde, the provocation embedded in the exhibition title *Hippie Modernism*, begs explanation. Conventional portrayals of San Francisco's counterculture portray it as a hallucinatory joy ride that ended with a crash: a trope inspired by the dissolution of the Haight-Ashbury district in the wake of the Summer of Love. Historians Peter Braunstein and Michael William Dole describe this generic plotting as a "canonical, Iliad-like narrative... reduced to easy-to-follow 'big moments'" and 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."⁵ Accounts that foreground hippie degeneracy ignore the spirit of communitarian innovation that unified Haight-Ashbury before it succumbed to a tidal wave of drug dealers, teen runaways, and sexual predators. Depreciation of Aquarian cultural disruption empowers conservative reactionaries, who have long employed the term counterculture as an 'all-purpose pejorative' in their fantasy that hippies dragged America into a vortex of social and moral decay, as historian Theodore Roszak observes.⁶ At the opposing end of the ideological spectrum, a New Left bias regards counterculture emblems of alienation as frivolous lifestyle accessories. Marxist critiques have depicted hippies as the trailblazers of a consumer culture that they abhorred, rather than exploited subjects mined as the raw material for herbal shampoos, fashion accessories, and a host of other profitable appropriations. Sandwiched between these ideological polarities, middling stereotypes of 'flower children' as indolent vagabonds who brightened sidewalks with their tie-died buffoonery grossly underestimate their role as agents of cultural transformation. As environmental historian Andrew Kirk observes, lurid and ironic chronicles of the counterculture 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.'⁷ In its Bay Area incarnation, *Hippie Modernism* provided a fresh look at the achievements of counterculture makers on their home turf through a program of research, community engagement, and public discourse: constituent facets of the expanded field of contemporary curatorship.

D.I.Y. Revolution

Counterculture aesthetic production served as a launch platform for the museum-based mode of inquiry showcased by *Hippie Modernism*. In contemporary curatorial practice, 'the aesthetic and, to a large degree, the art world are... seen as tools for investigating something other than art, for presenting ideas, research results, and project outcomes in a different discourse from other forms,' as curator Simon Sheikh notes. 'What is implied here, and also what is at stake in a more general and political sense, is the

curatorial as a specific system of knowledge production and its relation to other forms of research and an overall research culture [...] in relation to empowering subjects, groups and movements.’⁸ How these ambitions shaped curatorial practice were seen in BAMPFA’s collaborative exploration of the counterculture back-to-the-land movement. The downhill spiral of the Haight-Ashbury district after its Summer of Love prompted a mass exodus. Migrants to Berkeley turned its Telegraph Avenue neighborhood into ‘the capitol of the counter culture,’ according to members of the Village of Arts and Ideas, a local commune of design- and tech-freaks.⁹ Others left the city to embrace, in varying degrees, what Morning Star Ranch communitard Ramón Sender Barayón called ‘voluntary primitivism.’¹⁰ By the 1970s, the lure of a postindustrial Eden produced the largest wave of intentional community building the US had ever seen. As scattered nodes in a network connecting cities and college towns to backwoods retreats, rural communes advanced a provincially situated cosmopolitanism that collapsed conventional urban-versus-rural dichotomies. *Hippie Modernism* posed the curatorial challenge of representing a movement whose itinerant actors crafted objects ranging from cabins to D.I.Y periodicals not as aesthetic isolates, but as the tools needed to forge a novel cultural geography. Across two floors of gallery space, amendments to the original Walker Art Center exhibition were catalysts for public debate about the ideals and subjectivities advanced by the back-to-the-land movement and their utility today.

Among the possibilities offered by a life on the land was the reinvention of gender roles, a project advanced by the mimeographed journal *Country Women*, created by a collective headed by Carmen Goodyear and printed at Salmon Creek Farm, a commune in the Humboldt County cluster of hippie settlements known as the ‘Albion Nation.’¹¹ BAMPFA’s amended exhibition list included display copies of *Country Women* as well as a gay spin-off publication, *RFD*. Curatorial commitment to their radical legacies was far broader, however. After convening at Salmon Creek Farm to reconsider prospects for rural living, a new generation of feminists decided to revive *Country Women* as the D.I.Y. journal *Henbane*. The BAMPFA Art Lab assisted in printing its inaugural issue, which debuted at the museum with musical performances and skill-sharing sessions in wool spinning, bee keeping, and leather working.¹² That weekend, Creative Communes, a public forum held at the BAMPFA’s Osher Theater, brought together an early commune veteran, Ramón Sender Barayón; an independent curator and experimental land use advocate, Erin Elder; and the contemporary artist Fritz Haeg, responsible for the rebirth of Salmon Creek Farm as a forest retreat for artists and writers.¹³ Just as the launch of *Henbane* linked past and present ventures in D.I.Y. print activism, intergenerational discussion of communes as an archipelago of creative production linked counterculture legacies with current problems of artists priced out by the stratospheric cost of Bay Area

living and pushed out by a crackdown on non-building-code-compliant loft space. The contemporary curatorial enterprise, as framed by Maria Lind, advances ‘thinking in terms of interconnections: linking objects, images, processes, people, locations, histories, and discourses in physical space like an active catalyst, generating twists, turns, and tensions.’¹⁴ Exploring the extended physical and temporal landscape of the counterculture commons recast BAMPFA as a laboratory in which ideas were transacted through the curatorial mediation of objects, texts, creative acts, and public discourse.

It seems no coincidence that hippie creative production defied appreciation as such before the curatorial turn in contemporary art practice. To postwar critics wielding criteria tailored for avant-gardes orbiting the New York art world, sensibilities rooted in collective, anti-disciplinary, D.I.Y. activity seemed utterly inchoate. The theory-deflecting output and opaque authorship of transient utopias and their materialized dialogues eluded tools of formal and genealogical evaluation used to assess an individual’s *oeuvre*. “The counterculture was defined beyond the history of art,” Alissa Auther and Adam Lerner assert, “because there never was a category within the narrative of contemporary art history that could contain it.”¹⁵ With the emergence curatorship as a field of critical inquiry and creative mediation, a new appreciation for the collaborative indeterminacy of counterculture endeavors was possible. The *Whole Earth Catalog* is a case in point. Its D.I.Y patchwork of text, photos, dingbats, drawings, and purloined engravings began as a review of products, practices, books, and ideas thought useful to back-to-the-land settlers: what editor Stewart Brand called “access to tools.” The locally printed, underground bestseller was soon commodified by Random House as its first entry in a new category of ‘California lifestyle’ publications. The *Catalog* baffled a reviewer for the Manhattan-based magazine *Esquire*. He marveled at “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.”¹⁶ Thirty-five years later, Steve Jobs appreciated its sensibility and logic as “Google in paperback form before Google came along.”¹⁷ Now seen as a crowd-sourced, print-based browser loaded with mediated blog content *avant la lettre*, the *Catalog* now attracts close scrutiny from scholars and curators, and has been explored in international exhibitions and scholarship.¹⁸ Recent interpreters regard it an ancestor of Bay Area cyberculture and ecological consciousness, rather than some hippie variant of a mail-order catalog. The Summer of Love, subject to a parallel revision in scholarship, is now understood as a pivotal event linking rebellious Beat-era cultural innovation with contemporary regional ventures in social, technological, and economic disruption.

Much of the recent scholarship on the *Whole Earth Catalog*, as welcome as it is, remains hostage to a paradigm of auteurship unsuited to products of counterculture co-creation. Singling out Brand and his *Catalog* as metonyms for an era misleads cultural historians on a number of fronts. First, coincident with the publication's brief lifespan, it suggests an ephemeral counterculture, sending the movement to a premature grave. Brand's 1966 campaign demanding that NASA release a photograph of the earth from space launched the publication conceptually; the 1971 'Demise Party' celebrated the close of its three-year funding from the Portola Institute. Use of these milestones to corroborate an acid-tests-to-Altamont plotting of counterculture history fetishizes the big bang moment while neglecting efforts to fulfill its visionary prescriptions over the ensuing decade, a lifespan better accounted for by the 'long '60s' framework urged by historian David Farber.¹⁹ Second, in fetishizing the *Catalog* as a visionary enterprise, Brand's role is easily misconstrued as author rather than orchestrator. Like other joint ventures of its time and place, the *Catalog* upheld a radically diffuse model of production. Editors Lloyd Kahn, Jay Baldwin, and Gordon Ashby all shared creative agency along with *Catalog* readers solicited to contribute content. In the realm of architecture, Farallones Design operated similarly, with UC Berkeley professor (and future California State Architect) Sim Van der Ryn scouting the creative terrain that collaborators – including college lecturers and graduate students, ecologists, educators, botanists, and solar engineers – would share responsibility for developing.²⁰ Co-production as a hippie creative method leads to a third point about the *Catalog*: its D.I.Y. process was as revolutionary in portent as any of its content. The studio that Brand set up for graphic production, shoehorned into the garage of a tattered Menlo Park estate known as Rancho Diablo, served as an informal academy, teaching acolytes the basics of what is now called desktop publishing: a legacy closely examined in the *Hippie Modernism* exhibition narrative.

The regional surge in grassroots publishing and distribution nurtured at Rancho Diablo produced guides to the interconnected counterculture realms of D.I.Y. building and childhood education. At BAMPFA, a vitrine dedicated to the *Catalog* included copies of *Big Rock Candy Mountain*, a parallel catalog of 'free school movement' pedagogy produced in Brand's workshop. An exemplar opened to a page spread promoting inflatable structures by the Bay Area-based art commune Ant Farm, said to provide ideal environments for early learning. A recreation of the 'Relaxation Cube' from *Nomadic Furniture*, a D.I.Y. guide by Victor Papanek and James Hennessey, became a reading lounge stocked with a collection of regional D.I.Y. publications. It included vintage copies of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, *Big Rock Candy Mountain*, and Lloyd Kahn's *Domebook* and *Shelter* – all produced using the Rancho Diablo equipment – and fellow travelers like *The*

Raspberry Exercises: How to Start Your Own School (and Make a Book!) by Salli Raspberry and Robert Greenway, *Farallones Scrapbook* by Sim Van der Ryn and friends, and the Freestone collective publication *Dwelling: On Making Your Own*.²¹ All featured cut-and-paste illustrations and a patchwork of typefaces leavened by calligraphy and hand lettering: qualities deemed risibly crude by mainstream publishers, but which boasted counterculture credentials by adopting the ragged style of political leaflets and underground newspapers: semaphores of urgent, skinflint production.²² The assemblage sensibility went beyond mere style to invoke what Jane Bennett calls the “agency of assemblages,” that is, the collectivity of people and things in ad-hoc collaboration. Belying their stereotype as back-to-nature Luddites, members of the hippie creative class embraced new technologies that permitted novices to generate justified copy, shoot halftone images, and create camera-ready paste-ups that could be taken to any printer.²³ Brand’s garage shop taught an assortment of interested parties how to operate an IBM Selectric composer and Polaroid MP-3 halftone camera, the tools of choice for ambitious hippie self-publishers.²⁴ The final step in the process, a trip to the printer, was easy in the Bay Area, which boasted the greatest concentration of small, independent, politically progressive press shops anywhere in the world.²⁵ Bookpeople, an employee-owned and operated distributor based in Berkeley, marketed the regional efflorescence of D.I.Y. handbooks.²⁶ By providing a crucial skills subsidy, the *Catalog* inaugurated a new era in West Coast self-publishing, as Lloyd Kahn, a notable beneficiary, observed fifty years ago.²⁷ Its torrent of D.I.Y. manifestos promoted a radical transformation of postwar subjectivity from mass-consumer to counterculture maker: arguably, the greatest achievement of Brand’s hippie start-up.

From the disciplinary perspective of historians of science and technology, ‘the American counterculture appears as a place of high purpose populated by risk-taking people of vision and occasional lunacy,’ rather than a drug-addled twilight zone, as Beth Bailey and David Farber observe.²⁸ The concatenation of user-friendly technology, community skill-sharing, and hunger for an accessible hippie knowledge base yielded a distinctive sociotechnical imaginary, a concept defined by Sheila Jasanoff and Sang-Hyun Kim as “collectively held, institutionally stabilized, and publicly performed visions of desirable futures, animated by shared understandings of forms of social life and social order attainable through, and supportive of, advances in science and technology.”²⁹ Understanding how a hippie sociotechnical imaginary coalesced as an alternative to its cold war other awaits an accounting of the synergies that linked an array of Aquarian tools. Arrayed by scientific complexity, these ranged from the handicrafts typically associated with hippie culture, through the self-publishing know-how taught at Rancho Diablo; and to high-tech innovations like LSD-25, the Swiss laboratory compound that

galvanized a subculture, and the cybernetic connectivity prefigured by Community Memory, an electronic bulletin board and ‘information flea market’ installed at sites across Berkeley in 1973 by a cyberfreak collective headquartered at the Village of Arts and Ideas commune.³⁰ (Figure 2) Arguably the world’s first digital social media network, Community Memory was showcased in BAMPFA’s *Hippie Modernism* as material evidence that Bay Area hippies conceived and consumed a spectrum of technologies in pursuing the art and science of ‘evolutionary consciousness.’

The Craft of Self-Building

The exaggerated historical status of geodesic domes as built icons of hippiedom reduces a complex legacy to boilerplate. The problem is showcased at ‘Your Place in Time: Twentieth Century America,’ an exhibit on permanent display at the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn. A domestic interior installation titled ‘Back to the Land: Communal living in a geodesic dome, 1973’ clusters thrift-store furnishings and a wood stove beneath a framework of geodesic metal struts milled and joined with lapidary precision: a conventionalized hippie signifier absurdly at odds with its rag-tag contents.³¹ As the default value for counterculture shelter, Fuller’s tensegrity dome sustains an interpretive bias Giorgio Vasari introduced into environmental design when he conflated creative innovation with individual biography in his foundational treatise on Renaissance visual culture.³² Neither the name-brand mode of architectural history nor its binary alternate, a vernacular paradigm focused upon transmission of traditional form and construction technique, adequately addresses the kaleidoscopic output and improvisational vitality of hippie outlaw builders. By adding a portfolio of color images created by Barry Shapiro for the 1973 book *Handmade Houses: A Guide to the Woodbutcher’s Art*, BAMPFA’s installation of *Hippie Modernism* brought to conclusion an arc of architectural investigation that began with the appropriation of Fuller’s dome by the communards of Drop City and hippie D.I.Y. impresario Lloyd Kahn, proceeded with a parallel investigation of plastic inflatables by members of the Ant Farm commune (among others), and culminated in the ad-hoc artistry of Shapiro’s ‘woodbutchers.’ His visual record of makeshift hippie carpentry – many of its exemplars long since vanished due to intrinsic impermanence or demolished for code violations – illustrated an exhibition narrative about hippie architecture informed by curatorial research and oral history interviews conducted with veteran outlaw builders.

Two early self-published manifestos rooted in outlaw building experience – one lionized by architectural historians, the other ignored – established divergent approaches to outlaw building. As editor of the Shelter section of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, Lloyd Kahn, a dropout San Francisco insurance broker turned D.I.Y. builder, accrued the credibility

and skills needed to produce *Domebook One* (1970) and 2 (1971) with co-author Bob Easton. Buckminster Fuller had sparked the dome craze a decade earlier in his lecture circuit through college campuses across the US. A 1965 talk delivered at the University of Colorado inspired Drop City, an artists' retreat often considered America's first hippie commune. Captivated by Fuller, Clark Richert and his fellow 'Droppers' cobbled together a geodesic shantytown in Libre, Colorado from scavenged materials, including lumber scraps, factory-reject plywood, tarpaper, chicken wire, and junkyard car roofs.³³ Kahn's subsequent domebuilding program at Pacific High School, a live-in learning community south of San Francisco in the Santa Cruz Mountains, produced seventeen student-built domes between 1969 and 1971. They served as case studies in his two D.I.Y guides, securing Kahn's status as domebuilding impresario while demonstrating the disadvantages of Fuller's geometries in ad-hoc construction. Distributed nationally by Random House, *Domebook* provided royalties that Kahn used to build a final geodesic home for himself in Bolinas. Featured in a two-page *Life* magazine spread, its national publicity belied Kahn's growing awareness that "domes weren't practical, economical, or aesthetically tolerable – at least for me."³⁴ A hallucinogenic epiphany certified his discontent, as he recalled in a curatorial interview. Hiking in Marin County while on mescaline, an architectural apparition stopped him in his tracks. In a pristine forest meadow, a spectral geodesic dome raced through time, defiling the Edenic setting with its warped plywood panels and yellowed Plexiglas windows. Alarmed by the damage done to his Karma by popularizing such structures, Kahn directed an equally horrified editor at Random House to recall all unsold copies of *Domebook 2* from bookstore shelves at the height of sales.³⁵ Beyond its charm, Kahn's anecdote is of historiographic significance. As David Farber insists (with a wink), counterculture scholars should take drugs seriously. In marginalizing hippie visionaries 'fueled by a combustible mix of LSD and social alienation, mainstream historians of recent American history have missed a big story about how a substantial subset of Americans came to rethink how they eat, how they communicate, how they stay healthy, how they design and build, and how they have fun.'³⁶ Bringing to mind Jane Bennett's conception of 'vibrant matter,' psychedelics exerted a vigorous agency in Kahn's decision to end his vocation – and profits – as reigning guru of hippie geodesics.³⁷

While Kahn was pasting up *Domebook One* in Brand's Rancho Diablo garage, Alicia Bay Laurel was finalizing *Living on the Earth*, a manifesto so gentle that its revolutionary program is easily missed. Joan Didion's essay 'Alicia and the Underground Press' records Bay Laurel's baptism as a counterculture publisher working for the *Los Angeles Free Press* at the age of seventeen.³⁸ In 1968, after dropping out of San Francisco State to pursue design under the mentorship of collage artist Jean Varda, she took up residence

at Wheeler Ranch, an 'Open Land' commune in rural Sonoma County.³⁹ To help orient newcomers to life on the 320-acre site, Bay Laurel compiled a guide for self-reinvention through what fellow communitarian Ramón Sender Barayón called 'voluntary primitivism': a strategy of lateral class mobility that envisioned America's productive overcapacity as the supply chain for an Eden of permissive austerity. Comprised of handwritten text and freehand line drawings suffused with wide-eyed innocence, *Living on the Earth* sold out of its initial Bookpeople run of 10,000 copies thanks to a glowing review in the *Whole Earth Catalog*. Picked up by Random House as part of its California gold rush of monetized alternative press offerings, Bay Laurel's guide 'for people who would rather chop wood than work behind a desk so they can pay [household utilities]' became an unlikely bestseller. Still in print nearly fifty years later in its updated edition as well as in Spanish and Japanese translations, *Living on the Earth* earned Bay Laurel a 1971 'Woman of the Year' award from the fashion merchandizing journal *Mademoiselle*: proof that mass-marketing had inverted the anarchism of her handmade call-to-arms.⁴⁰ Camouflaged by its reception as a lifestyle commodity, *Living on the Earth* outlined a radically ad-hoc approach to shelter that reflected the emergent practices of Northern California's outlaw builder culture while circumventing Kahn's geodesic dead-end.

Stripped of chapter headings, *Living on the Earth* leads readers through an 'unmapped land' on what is known in German as a *Bildungsreise*, a journey of discovery and learning. Informed by her experience at Wheeler's Ranch, Bay Laurel serves as pathfinder 'from traveling the wilds to the first fence, simple housing, furnishing houses, crafts, agriculture, food preparation, medicine': a counterculture reenactment of human technological development, but with an uncanny destination. Her evolutionary narrative begins with making tents and progresses to building scavenged wooden shelters. *Living on the Earth* describes two cottage types that closely match examples at Wheeler Ranch and the Star Hill Academy for Anything in Woodside, close to Rancho Diablo. 'If you live on land that has been raped ("logged") you may find stumps that work as foundations for your house. Sometimes a large redwood is cut down but the little ones around it are left, forming a little pavilion.' (Figure 3) Just as D.I.Y. carpenters might repurpose nature's detritus, they could also recycle man-made scrap generated by demolition and mainstream construction. "Cheap lumber: buy from a wrecker or work as a wrecker yourself, lumber mill-ends, lumber seconds." For wood post construction, enclosure and partitions could be fashioned from "old windows, shelves, doors, canvas (even old paintings), boards, lattices with vines, bamboo, screens, etc."⁴¹ *Living on the Earth* sketched a paradigm for architectural production located far downstream in the flow of resource consumption and celebrated its capacity for delirious formal improvisation.

Kahn would come to the same conclusion. The pristine geometries of Fuller's geodesics, he soon realized, demanded expensive kiln-dried lumber, generated waste in materials manufactured as rectangular sheets, were difficult to insulate and nearly impossible to weatherproof, and defied building additions or expansions. He felt that *Domebook 2* made tensegrity structures 'look too easy, too much like a breakthrough solution, too exciting.'⁴² Riffing on the lyrics of a popular country western tune, Kahn closed the book on his geodesic adventure with the lament "Mamas, don't let your mathematicians grow up to be-come builders."⁴³ An alternative approach to D.I.Y. building was needed, and his co-editor, Bob Easton, knew where to find it. As revealed in a curator interview, Easton added theoretical objections to Kahn's pragmatic doubts, asserting that geodesic domes were industrial design inventions rather than architecture: a distinction Kahn understood all too well, having paid a hefty licensing fee to publish Fuller's patented diagrams in *Domebook One*. The argument had far-reaching implications. It repudiated an entire vector of modernist development dating back to the early 1920s, when Walter Gropius guided the Bauhaus away from Expressionist handcraft and instead toward mass production, machine culture, and the cult of the engineer. Easton was captivated by the self-build paradigm celebrated in *Architecture Without Architects: An Introduction to Nonpedigreed Architecture*, Bernard Rudofsky's 1964 exhibition at the New York Museum of Modern Art. Its exhibition catalogue made the rounds of architecture schools, including Berkeley's, where Easton had received his degree.⁴⁴ Rudofsky's global kaleidoscope of low-tech housing, assembled from images excavated from anthropology institute archives, disguised curatorial intentions that were anything but ethnographic. As Felicity Scott notes, he sought photographs shot 'with an eye for modern architecture.'⁴⁵ Like other 20th century invocations of the primitivist muse, *Architecture Without Architects* used vernacular objects to diagnose aesthetic problems alien to their context. In *Behind the Picture Window*, Rudofsky's 1955 lampoon of postwar domesticity, he had mocked spurious innovations like 'the currently fashionable combination of hammocks, barber chairs and operating tables... disguised as furniture' (and, foreshadowing hippie sensibilities, proposed instead sitting on floors). *Architecture Without Architects* shifted his tactic from contemporary parody to pre-industrial paean. An aphorism by the Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga, cited by Rudofsky, must have resonated with Kahn and Easton as they wrestled with their geodesic demons: 'The expectation that every new discovery or refinement of existing means must contain the promise of higher values or greater happiness is an extremely naïve thought.' Equally apposite was Pietro Belluschi's definition of architecture, also quoted by Rudofsky, as 'a communal art, not produced by a few intellectuals but by the spontaneous and continuous activity of a whole people with a common heritage, acting under a community of experience.'⁴⁶ *Shelter*, the successor to the *Domebook* series, would

envision an architectural solution to Rudofsky's *cri de coeur* and propose building it largely from trash.

'Smart But Not Wise,' an essay in *Domebook 2*, foreshadowed the Pauline conversion that led Kahn and Easton to a craft vernacular better suited to building with junk and scrap, the 'fallout' of industrial society. A conference sponsored by MIT's Architecture Machine Group, founded in 1967 by Nicholas Negroponte and Leon Grossier, proved inspirational. Shown a prototype interface for digitally designed plastic buildings manufactured by robotic equipment on site, Kahn was 'particularly disturbed by the vision of the architect sitting at the cathode tube, drawing his design into the computer, the computer causing the foam truck to build the house.' He recognized the mistake that also had popularized domes: 'making plastics and a totally weird shelter outlook appear seductively appealing.' The experience prompted Kahn to inventory what he had learned about building, starting with the principle 'use of human hands is essential.' An aesthetic rooted in handcrafted and locally-sourced materials required time investment strategies incompatible with standardization, industrial efficiency, and their payoff of temporal compression: 'used lumber looks better than new lumber, but you've got to pull nails, clean it, work with its irregularities.'⁴⁷ The ecological consciousness that came with recognition that 'the only growing resource is trash' led Kahn and Easton to profile masters of 'Demolition as a Lifestyle, as a Way, as a Path' using biographic conventions more typically associated with builders and designers. A parallel belief that 'wrecking is a way of thinking' reconnected Kahn and Easton to the genesis of hippie geodesics, however inadvertently.⁴⁸ In his 1967 manifesto, Drop City communitarian Albin Wagner proclaimed: 'We have discovered a new artform: creative scrounging. We dismantle abandoned bridges by moonlight. We are sort of advanced junkmen taking advantage of advanced obsolescence.'⁴⁹ More than just providing free building materials, he asserted, scrounging produced a new subjectivity. 'Trapped inside a waste-economy, man finds an identity as a consumer.' In contrast, learning to 'tear down abandoned buildings, use the unusable... the garbage of America' flouted middle-class aspirations and decorum. In retrospect, the truly countercultural aspect of Drop City domes appears to have been their means of production: the building process rather than the built form.⁵⁰ The enthusiasm that Kahn and Easton soon developed for variations on the hand-built shed bore an ironic relationship to Fuller's evolution as an architect. In a 1966 *New Yorker* interview, he recalled purchasing a hammer and nails with birthday money received as a child in order to build 'experimental houses' – his term for the handmade shanties that littered the woods around the Fuller family summer home.⁵¹ In shelving crystalline geodesics in favor of funk and junk bricolage, Kahn and Easton threw Fuller's design ontogeny into reverse in *Shelter*, their post-geodesic gospel. Distributed by Random

House, it sold over 300,000 copies nationally, redefining the self-build practices applied to the production of counterculture structures and subjectivities across the U.S.

Liberated Territories and the Outlaw Builder

Histories that equate Fuller's counterculture impact solely with geodesic domes miss a more significant contribution: his spatial concept of social and technological innovation 'In the Outlaw Area,' as his *New Yorker* interview was titled. Fuller elaborated the Outlaw Area in an idiosyncratic origin myth of technological progress. He claimed that early civilizations produced breakthroughs only upon taking to the open sea, an outlaw area that imposed challenges in a realm unregulated by land-based covenants. Sailors became 'world men.' Lawlessness begat piracy and weaponry, but ultimately advanced what Fuller called 'livingry.'⁵² By assembling shelters from found materials in extravagant disregard of permits and codes, hippie craftsmen constructed their livingry on an outlaw turf of own making. In 1969, Art Boericke, a former building tradesman and newly baptized outlaw builder, traversed Northern California with photographer Barry Shapiro in search of the imaginative structures popping up 'sixty miles up a dirt road' or 'four miles up a creek.'⁵³ Aware that their pictorial, *Handmade Houses*, would be seen by building inspectors as a hit list for red tagging illegal construction, Boericke and Shapiro withheld mention of locations and owners from the text. Shapiro's images, made available to BAMPFA by the University of California Bancroft Library and exhibited in *Hippie Modernism* for the first time in high-resolution digital enlargement, showcased the extemporized brilliance of Bay Area outlaw builders.

The BAMPFA exhibition proved fateful for one of Shapiro's subjects: the Howard Waite cabin, perched on a forested hillside above Inverness, California. Built by a retired engineer and his helpers from timber felled and hewn on site, then hoisted into place with a block and tackle, Waite's cabin fuses rustic detail with a hyperbolic paraboloid roof and glazed prow of midcentury modernist ancestry. (Figure 4) After appearing in *Handmade Houses*, Shapiro's photograph featured in the 1975 exhibition *Architectures Marginales Aux USA* ('Architecture at the Margins, USA'), curated by Jean Dethier of the Centre de création industrielle, the former architecture department of the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris. Dethier, a trained architect, had visited *Architecture without Architects* at MoMA. In harvesting its primitivist exemplars from affluent America, *Architectures Marginales* inverted Rudofsky's sampling of overseas vernacular buildings for U.S. consumption. Dethier created the exhibition for display at the American Cultural Center in Paris, a venue funded by the US Information Services. However, shanties inhabited by bare-breasted hippies and captions describing outlaw builders as 'fugitives from the silent majority' (*les rescapés de la majorité silencieuse*) outraged the US

Ambassador to France and his cultural attaché, who demanded the removal of a dozen images and three quarters of the wall text. Before Detier could even contemplate such changes, the show was closed. Undeterred – and in fact, encouraged by press coverage of the diplomatic meltdown – Detier reinstalled *Architectures Marginales* at the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, where curious Parisians mobbed the *succès de scandale*. Dethier's survey of American outlaw building culture traversed Western Europe for the next four years, appearing in Barcelona, Berlin, Bilbao, Bordeaux, Brussels, Cologne, Copenhagen, Marseilles, and Stockholm, to name some of the more prominent venues.⁵⁴ Under the heading 'Le château de Robinson: Made in U.S.A.,' Shapiro's photo of the Waite cabin also appeared in a special issue of the French design journal *Architecture D'Aujourd'hui* inspired by Dethier's exhibition.⁵⁵ As the 'subversive statement' of an underground building culture repudiating superpower triumphalism, *Architectures Marginales* transformed Europe's prevailing New World imaginary.⁵⁶ Caroline Maniaque-Benton, who has studied Detier's exhibition, acknowledges its 'destabilization of the Modern movement in architecture when confidence in Modernism was beginning to crumble.'⁵⁷ This decisive role in global architectural history proved crucial in protecting Waite's outlaw *oeuvre* from demolition forty years after its transatlantic debut.

With its emphasis on low-tech craft skills, counterculture D.I.Y. construction is easily misconstrued as a privileged disengagement from modernity. However, the tools, processes, and output of hippie outlaw builders, when approached as the implements of an alternative sociotechnical imaginary, coalesce as constituents of engaged, high-stakes resistance. As Felicity Scott observes: 'For the communards, these structures were a principle means of disseminating prospects for... alternative modes of life; they were strategic vehicles in their attempts to withdraw from the state's regulation of environmental controls.'⁵⁸ Handbuilt homes, scrounged from scrap in contravention of building codes and zoning regulations, championed ecological consciousness over consumer profligacy; tribal clans over insular families; and circadian rhythms over mechanical time. Outlaw construction 'was at once a manifesto for freeing the land or ceding it (back) to the commons and an invitation to participate in testing the limits of the police and legal system's (let alone the neighbors') tolerance.'⁵⁹ This challenge to the established order triggered regional 'Code Wars.' County sheriffs, building inspectors, public health officials, and FBI officers descended upon Bay Area communes trailed by bulldozers, their weapon of choice. During a 1973 raid on Wheeler's Ranch, communards torched their own homes to prevent bulldozers from plowing through a recovering forest.⁶⁰ During Sausalito's 'Houseboat Wars,' developers ordered construction equipment operators to demolish structures at dawn while inhabitants slept inside.⁶¹ In 2017, using the legal tools of the Code Wars, the Inverness Association,

a homeowners group, turned their attention to the ensemble of structures built by Howard Waite. The property's new owner, alerted to the contemporary heritage value of Waite's cabin by its high profile in *Hippie Modernism* press material, asked for help in fighting an injunction to cease all preservation work and demolish 'the Windmill,' a quirky tower originally intended to produce electricity for Waite's bohemian enclave, but immediately transformed into an illegal dwelling. At a hearing of the Marin County Planning Commission, I stressed that Waite's photogenic cabin, stripped of its surrounding ensemble, would lose its evocation of counterculture collectivity just as surely as a farmhouse shorn of outbuildings surrender its capacity to represent agrarian life. County officials were persuaded to overturn the demolition order.⁶² This unusual form of curatorial outreach insured that a site of experimentation, rather than simply an experimental structure, survived intact, advancing an interpretation of the hippie D.I.Y. builder not simply as a builder of radical shelters but, more significantly, as the creator of enclaves dedicated to self-reinvention, and in which non-conforming relationships, values, epistemologies, emotional regimes, and belief systems could be tested and transacted in a supportive community setting. In effect, outlaw builders attained their privileged position within the counterculture as its architects of liberated territory.

Twenty five years ago, Dell Upton, an historian of material culture, proposed a 'different architectural history [that] accepts as its unit of analysis the entire *cultural landscape*.' Rather than assessing buildings purely as repositories of their makers' intentions, Upton insisted that public reception invested objects and environments with changing meanings. His working definition of a cultural landscape aggregated these disparate readings, validating 'the fusion of the physical with the imaginative structures that all inhabitants of the landscape use in constructing and construing it.'⁶³ For Bay Area hippies, the objects, sites, and discourses of liberated territory defined a counterculture landscape. Fuller's conception of outlaw areas, introduced to Haight-Ashbury hippies in a 1967 article in the *San Francisco Oracle*, their underground newspaper, received further elaboration three years later in the *Whole Earth Catalog*.⁶⁴ Dividing social actors into 'outlaws' and 'inlaws,' Steward Brand described the outlaw area as evolution's 'open end, a place for other stuff to happen,' and 'an Aquarian haven for the most useful pioneers – the cream *and* the dregs of society.'⁶⁵ A prevailing sense of Bay Area exceptionalism encouraged hippies to map its cultural landscape as an archipelago of outlaw zones: an imaginative act which in turn further reinforced regional difference. Brand's endorsement came relatively late: by the close of the 1960s, outlaw spatial imaginaries permeated local counterculture, as historian Anthony Ashbolt documents. Student activists described the occupation of Berkeley's administrative buildings as yielding 'liberated territory.' The Black Panther Party, formed in neighboring Oakland in

1966, considered liberated territory vital to the struggle for community safety and self-determination.⁶⁶ Within such emancipated enclaves, a revolutionary order could be prefigured, according to political activist Tom Hayden. He commended them for contributing ‘a dimension of territory, of real physical space, to the consciousness of those within.’⁶⁷ Spatial appropriation to establish zones outside prevailing cultural covenants departed from Fuller’s theory, which envisioned outlaw areas found in nature rather than made to order. From student and racial ghettos to rural outposts, pockets of liberated turf staked a radical geography in which alternatives to being ‘trapped in the system’ might be devised and savored.⁶⁸ Each of the regional exhibitions mounted during the fiftieth anniversary of the Summer of Love addressed, in its own way, the flickering presence of an historical landscape of alterity within Bay Area culture and consciousness.

Liberated Territories, a BAMPFA forum accompanying *Hippie Modernism*, invited the public to reflect upon the Bay Area’s intersecting counterculture turfs as activist legacies.⁶⁹ Artist and eco-advocate Bonnie Ora Sherk described the creative trajectory that led from her surreal *Portable Parks* installations, documented in the BAMPFA gallery, to *Crossroads Community* (a.k.a. *The Farm*): a seven-acre wasteland beneath a San Francisco freeway interchange reclaimed and replanted as the urban farmland, community center, children’s exploration area, and human and animal performance space that Lucy Lippard called “the most ambitious and successful work of ecological art in this country.”⁷⁰ Lisa Uddin, an historian of visual culture, assessed the newsprint graphics of Black Panther Minister of Culture Emory Douglas (also on display at BAMPFA) as a medium that extended Panther ideology and turf outside the Party’s Oakland stronghold. The illegal occupation that produced Berkeley’s People’s Park and the subsequent uprising to defend it, two defining moments in Bay Area counterculture history, were reviewed in the gallery through archival posters and broadsides, and at the Forum in a talk by environmental historian Anthony Raynsford, who mapped the Park’s within a regional geography of liberated spaces and recounted its scrutiny as a case study in the grassroots production of urban public space by faculty at Berkeley’s College of Environmental Design. (Figure 5.) A gallery installation of color images shot by Robert Sommer, a professor of environmental psychology, documented the D.I.Y. sculpture park of the Emeryville mudflats, another landmark of Aquarian emancipation. (Figure 6.) Using driftwood and flotsam washed onto the San Francisco Bay shoreline, trespassing bricoleurs erected an assortment of giant animals, human figures, and vehicles over the course of two decades. Rising from the tidal muck, they soon disintegrated, providing building material for the next generation of constructions. Thanks to a linear site beside Interstate 80, tens of thousands of commuters saw the

ever-changing collection of large-scale assemblage objects every day. Unlike the commercial billboards lining the opposite side of the freeway, Mudflats artworks advertised the conceptual geography of the outlaw maker rather than bolstering the world of the mass consumer. The common threads uniting an ecological *Crossroads Community*, Black Panther Oakland, People's Park, and the Mudflats gallery were their mutual exercise of grassroots agency, adaptive reuse and radical revaluation of marginal sites and materials, emphatic ethos of resistance, and mobilization of all these factors to forge regional collectives rooted in alterity. What *Hippie Modernism* might still contribute to our own troubled times is its counterculture reminder that local D.I.Y. construction of lived alternatives to an odious status quo is not only possible but indeed obligatory.

Hippie Modernism: Curation and Knowledge Co-Production

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Images for Sandra Löschke, ed., *Rethinking Architectural Production: Between Experience, Action and Critique* (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group)



Figure 1. *Hippie Modernism: The Struggle for Utopia*, installation at the Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive (BAMPFA), February – May 2017; Greg Castillo, guest curator. In the center is a recreation of the *8-Fold Polar Zonohedron* originally created by Drop City communards Clark Richert and Richard Kallweit for the 1968 Brooklyn Museum of Art Experiments in Art and Technology (E.A.T.).



Figure 2. Community Memory terminal at Leopold's Records, Berkeley, California, 1973. The cardboard box with its taped plastic cover suppresses the noise of a teletype machine used to print out digital posts in an age before cheap CRT monitors, and is a textbook example of hippie ad-hocism. Photo courtesy of the Computer History Museum, Mountain View: Community Memory records, Box 12, Folder 15, Catalog [102703229](#).



Figure 3. *Left:* 'Bosco's House,' Star Hill Academy for Anything, Woodside CA, ca. 1970. Built of scavenged materials retrieved on site and from demolished buildings, and erected within a 'fairy ring' of young California redwoods that have sprouted around the perimeter of a logged parent stump, the shelter created by Bosco, a Star Hill communitarian, mirrors a construction tactic described in Alicia Bay Laurel's book, *Living on the Earth*. Photo: Barry Shapiro archive, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Figure 4. Howard Waite House, Inverness, CA, completed ca. 1972. Barry Shapiro's photographs appeared under the title 'Le Maison d'un *Ingénieur*' in the 1975 exhibition *Architectures Marginales aux États-Unis* curated by Jean Dethier of the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris. Photo: Barry Shapiro archive, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Figure 5. Frank Ciecioraka, *Let a thousand parks bloom*, 1969, Web offset lithography on newsprint, 32 x 23 in. Ciecioraka's broadside, reproduced on cheap newspaper stock, expressed local defiance of National Guard and law enforcement aggression over the grassroots appropriation of a vacant University of California lot to create People's Park: a conflict that sparked riots and the killing of an innocent bystander by police. The poster title is a variant of Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong's 1957 pronouncement: "Let a hundred flowers blossom." Photo courtesy of Lincoln Cushing/Docs Populi Archive.



Figure 6. Emeryville Mudflats sculpture builders, ca. 1975. Photo: Robert Sommer, Sommer Collection, courtesy of the California College of the Arts, San Francisco

NOTES

- ¹ Terry Smith, *Thinking Contemporary Curating* (New York: Independent Curators International, 2012), 192.
- ² Thomas Ostrander, "Strategic Regionalism," in Paul O'Neill and Mick Wilson, and Lucy Steets, eds., *The Curatorial Conundrum* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2016), 176-7.
- ³ Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Ways of Curating* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), 1.
- ⁴ The literary critic Van Wyck Brooks envisioned a 'usable past' as an incubator for creative innovation: see Van Wyck Brooks, "On Creating a Usable Past," *The Dial* (11 April 1918): 337-41. His disciple, Lewis Mumford, applied the concept to devise a New World genealogy for architectural modernism: Alan Trachtenberg, "Mumford in the Twenties: The Historian as Artist," *Salmagundi* 49 (Summer 1980): 29-42.
- ⁵ Peter Braunstein and Michael William Dole, "Historicizing the American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s," in Peter Braunstein and Michael William Dole, eds., *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 6-8.
- ⁶ 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).
- ⁷ Andrew G. Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas), 56-7.
- ⁸ Simon Sheikh, "Towards the Exhibition as Research," in Paul O'Neill and Mick Wilson, eds., *Curating Research* (London: Open Editions, 2015), 34-5.
- ⁹ Village of Arts and Ideas (Douglas Shaw, Susan Pike, Ralph Steiner, Larry Borok, Dave Anderson, Peter Zeigler, Eric Reiter, Steve Selkowitz, Peter Clark, Ben Parks, Bob Eige, Douglas Schoeffler, and Michael Bambach), *Village One* (Berkeley: Zygote Graphics, 1972), 25. The Quick City West project is described in Sylvia Lavin and Kimberli Meyer, eds., *Everything Loose Will Land: 1970s Art and Architecture in Los Angeles* (Nürnberg: Verlag für moderne Kunst Nürnberg, 2013), 21; 297.
- ¹⁰ Ramón Sender Barayón, *Morning Star and Wheeler's Open Land Communes: A Brief Run-Through of Their Histories and Manifesto I and Manifesto II* (San Francisco: Calm Unity Press, 2016), 18. Sender was also the co-founder, with Morton Subotnik, of the San Francisco Tape Music Center in 1962 and a co-producer, with Steward Brand and Ken Kesey of the 1966 Trips Festival, an event that launched the counterculture era in San Francisco.
- ¹¹ Cal Winslow, "The Albion Nation: Communes on the Mendocino Coast," in Iain Boal, Janferie Stone, Michael Watts, and Cal Winslow, eds., *West of Eden: Communes and Utopia in Northern California* (Oakland: PM Press, 2012), 137-156; also see oral history interviews with Dawn Hofberg, 157-165, and Carmen Goodyear, 170-172. Goodyear's

story is told in the video documentary *Women on the Land: Creating Conscious Community* (Mendocino Coast Films, 2012).

¹² <https://bampfa.org/event/country-womyn-revisited>, accessed 14 November 2017.

¹³ <https://bampfa.org/event/hippie-modernism-forum-creative-communes>, accessed 14 November 2017. A video record of the Creative Communes forum can be seen at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEYYkVTN1t4>, accessed 14 November 2017.

¹⁴ Maria Lind, *Selected Writing*, Brian Kuan Wood, ed., (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2010), 63.

¹⁵ Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, "The Countercultural Experiment: Consciousness and Encounters at the Edge of Art," in Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, eds., *West of Center: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), xxiv.

¹⁶ Ed McClanahan and Gurney Norman, "The Whole Earth Catalog," *Esquire* (July 1970): 96; quoted in Sam Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle Consumption in the 1970s* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 152.

¹⁷ Steve Jobs, Stanford Commencement Address, 12 June 2005.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1R-jKKp3NA&t=12m45s>, accessed 16 November 2017.

¹⁸ Relevant works include Diedrich Diederichsen and Anselm Franke, eds., *The Whole Earth: California and the Disappearance of the Outside* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013); Andrew Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2007); John Markoff, *What the Dormouse Said: How the 60s Counterculture Shaped the Personal Computer Industry* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2005); Theodore Roszak, *From Satori to Silicon Valley: San Francisco and the American Counterculture* (San Francisco: Don't Call it Frisco Press, 1986); Felicity Scott, *Architecture or Techno-Utopia: Politics After Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007); and Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

¹⁹ David Farber, "The Radical Sixties," *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (December 2011): 712-713

²⁰ Consistent with the rudimentary state of counterculture studies, Farallones Design, credited with pioneering experiments in alternative learning environments, D.I.Y. construction pedagogy, and sustainable building practices, remains a terra incognita of architectural scholarship. An outline of its history can be found in Sim Van der Ryn, *Design for Life: The Architecture of Sim Van der Ryn* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2005), 34-57. A number of its early projects were featured in *Design Radicals: Creativity and Protest in Wurster Hall*, an exhibition that I curated in 2014 at UC Berkeley's College of Environmental Design.

<http://exhibits.ced.berkeley.edu/exhibits/show/designradicals/outlawbuilders> (accessed 10 December 2017).

²¹ Victor Papanek and James Hennessey, *Nomadic Furniture: how to build and where to buy lightweight furniture that folds, collapses, stacks, knocks-down, inflates or can be*

thrown away and re-cycled (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973); Lloyd Kahn et. al., *Domebook* (Los Gatos, CA: Pacific Domes, 1970-71); Lloyd Kahn and Bob Easton, eds., *Shelter* (New York: Random House, 1973); Salli Raspberry and Robert Greenway, *The Raspberry Exercises: How to Start Your Own School (and Make a Book)* (Freestone, CA: Freestone Publishing Company, 1970); *Farallones Scrapbook*, Sim Van der Ryn et. al. (Point Reyes Station, CA: Farallones Designs, 1971); River, *Dwelling: On Making Your Own* (Albion, CA: Freestone Publishing Co., 1975); Alicia Bay Laurel, *Living on the Earth: Celebrations, Storm Warnings, Formulas, Recipes, Rumors, and Country Dances* (New York: Random House, 1971).

²² On 1970s lifestyle print culture and its West Coast origins, see Sam Binkley, *Getting Loose: Lifestyle Consumption in the 1970s* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 101-128.

²³ Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2010), 20-38.

²⁴ Binkley, *Getting Loose*, 109; Sam Yanes, interview with author, 1 February 2015.

²⁵ Lincoln Cushing, "Red All Over: Political and Countercultural Printshops of the SF Bay Area," lecture at San Francisco Public Library, 13 April 2014:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tU9CsU0aZfQ&feature=youtu.be>, accessed 1 February 2015.

²⁶ Bookpeople remained the sole distributor of the *Whole Earth Catalog* up until its March 1971 Supplement issue. Steward Brand, "History: Some of what happened around here for the last three years," *Whole Earth Catalog* 1160 (June 1971). <http://www.wholeearth.com/issue/1150/article/322/history-some.of.what.happened.around.here.for.the.last.three.years> (accessed 21 November 2017).

²⁷ Lloyd Kahn, "History of the Whole Earth Catalog and The Birth of West Coast Publishing." <http://lloydkahn-ongoing.blogspot.com/2015/03/history-of-whole-earth-catalog-and.html> (accessed 18 November 2017).

²⁸ David Farber and Beth Bailey, 'Afterword: The Counterculture Looking Glass,' in David Kaiser and W. Patrick McCray, eds., *Groovy science: knowledge, innovation, and American counterculture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 391.

²⁹ Sheila Jasanoff, "Future Imperfect: Science, Modernity, and the Imaginations of Modernity," in Sheila Jasanoff and Sang-Hyun Kim, eds., *Dreamscapes of Modernity: Sociotechnical Imaginaries and the Fabrication of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 4.

³⁰ Works that have begun an investigation of the hippie science and technology nexus include 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); Andrew G. Kirk, *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas); and David Kaiser and W. Patrick McCray,

eds., *Groovy science: knowledge, innovation, and American counterculture* (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 2016). Community Memory founders Lee Felsenstein, Efrem Lipkin, Ken Colstad, Jude Milhon, and Mark Szpakowski had as their goal an electronic bulletin board that would democratize information sharing and provide a “tool for collective thinking, planning, organizing, fantasizing, and decision-making.” Printout texts displayed at the BAMPFA installation of *Hippie Modernism* revealed how quickly locals adopted the new technology and harnessed it for personal use. Joyce Slayton, “Remembering Community Memory / The Berkeley Beginnings of Online Community,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 December 2001: <http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Remembering-Community-Memory-The-Berkeley-2842143.php> (accessed 20 November 2019). The project’s genesis is described by one of its inventors, Lee Felsenstein, on his blog: http://www.leefelsenstein.com/?page_id=44 (accessed 20 November 2017). The artifacts of the Community Memory project are held by the Computer History Museum in Mountain View, CA: <http://www.computerhistory.org/atcm/community-memory-precedents-in-social-media-and-movements/> (accessed 20 November 2019).

³¹ I discuss the Henry Ford Museum exhibit in Greg Castillo, “Hippie Modernism: How Bay Area design radicals tried to save the planet,” *Places*, October 2015, <https://placesjournal.org/article/hippie-modernism/> (accessed 18 November 2017).

³² Giorgio Vasari, trans. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). The continuing influence of the narrative conventions used by Vasari is analyzed in Alina Payne, “Vasari, Architecture, and the Origins of Historicizing Art, *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 40 (Autumn 2001): 51-76.

³³ Erin Elder, “How to Build a Commune: Drop City’s Influence on the Southwestern Commune Movement,” in in Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, eds., *West of Center: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 2-20.

³⁴ Lloyd Kahn, *Refried Domes* (Bolin, CA: Shelter Publications, 1989), 1-2.

³⁵ Interview with Lloyd Kahn, Bolinas, 12 November 2016.

³⁶ David Farber, “From Innocence to Experience: LSD, the Counterculture, and Sustainable Lives,” lecture at the Northwestern University Summer of Love Conference, San Francisco, 29 July 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pby8MHCLWLo&feature=youtu.be> (accessed 15 December 2017); David Farber and Beth Bailey, “Afterword: The Counterculture Looking Glass,” in David Kaiser and W. Patrick McCray, eds., *Groovy science: knowledge, innovation, and American counterculture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 391-92.

³⁷ Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010). Kahn’s abdication went unnoticed by numerous dome enthusiasts: in 1989 he complained of being besieged by ‘the same old questions, 16 years later, but now increasing in frequency.’ Kahn, *Refried Domes*, 2.

³⁸ Joan Didion, 'Alicia and the Underground Press,' *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. 241, No. 1 (13 January 1968): 14.

³⁹ On Wheeler Ranch (a.k.a. Sheep Ridge Ranch) see Ramón Sender Barayón, *Morning Star and Wheeler's Open Land Communes: A Brief Run-Through of Their Histories and Manifesto I and Manifesto II* (San Francisco: Calm Unity Press, 2016) and "Communes U.S.A." *The Modern Utopian*, Vol. 5, Nos. 1,2,3 (1971): 121-29. The campaign by public officials to eradicate Wheeler's Ranch is detailed in Felicity Scott, 'Bulldozers in Utopia: Open Land, Outlaw Territories, and the Code Wars,' in in Iain Boal, Janferie Stone, Michael Watts, and Cal Winslow, eds., *West of Eden: Communes and Utopia in Northern California* (Oakland: PM Press, 2012), 57-71.

⁴⁰ A biography of Alicia Bay Laurel (née Kaufman) can be found at <https://aliciabaylaurel.com/bio/> (accessed 21 November 2017).

⁴¹ Bay Laurel, *Living on the Earth*, 16 -18.

⁴² Lloyd Kahn and Bob Easton, "Introduction to Domebook 3," *Shelter* (Bolinás, CA: Shelter Publications, 1973), 109.

⁴³ Kahn, *Refried Domes*,

⁴⁴ Interview with Robert Easton, Berkeley, 6 May 2016.

⁴⁵ Felicity D. Scott, "An Eye for Modern Architecture," in Architekturzentrum Wien, ed., *Lessons from Bernard Rudofsky: Life as a Voyage* (Basel: Birkhauser, 2007), 176-178.

⁴⁶ Johan Huizinga and Pietro Belluschi quoted in Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1965), unpaginated.

⁴⁷ Lloyd Kahn, 'Smart But Not Wise: Further Thoughts on Domebook 2, Plastics, and Whiteman Technology,' in Lloyd Kahn and Bob Easton, eds., *Domebook 2* (Bolinás: Shelter Publications, 1971), 86-89.

⁴⁸ Lloyd Kahn and Bob Easton, *Shelter* (Bolinás, CA: Shelter Publications, 1973), 80-84.

⁴⁹ Albin Wagner (pseud. Peter Rabbit), *Boston Avatar*, 4-18 August 1967: 7. Quoted in Erin Elder, "How to Build a Commune," 10.

⁵⁰ Albin Wagner (pseud. Bill Voyd), "Funk Architecture," in Paul Oliver, ed., *Shelter and Society* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 164.

⁵¹ Calvin Tomkins, "In the Outlaw Area," *New Yorker*, 8 January 1966: 82.

⁵² R. Buckminster Fuller, "Invisible Future," *San Francisco Oracle* 1, No. 11 (December 1967): 5, 24.

⁵³ Art Boericke and Barry Shapiro, *Handmade Houses: A Guide to the Woodbutcher's Art* (San Francisco: Scrimshaw Press, 1973), unpaginated.

⁵⁴ On Detier and *Architectures Marginales Aux USA*, see: Caroline Maniaque-Benton, *French Encounters with the American Counterculture, 1960-1980* (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2011), 76-90.

⁵⁵ 'Architecture Douce,' *Architecture D'Aujourd'hui* 179 (May/June 1975): 1-68. Shapiro's photographs illustrate an essay by Sim Van der Ryn, 'L'avènement du Natural Design': 28-34.

⁵⁶ Ibid: lxxv.

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- ⁵⁷ Maniaque-Benton, *French Encounters with the American Counterculture*, 89.
- ⁵⁸ Scott, 'Bulldozers in Utopia', 64.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid, 58.
- ⁶⁰ Sender Barayón, *Morning Star and Wheeler's Open Land Communes*, 11.
- ⁶¹ Jonah Owen Lamb, 'Held Fast: How Renegade "Squatters" Won Sausalito's Houseboat Wars', *SF Weekly* (16 September 2015), <https://archives.sfweekly.com/sanfrancisco/news-san-francisco-sausalito-bay-area-marin-county-housing-rent-houseboats-art-artists-squatters-squatting-real-estate-developmen/Content?oid=4064859&storyPage=3>. (Accessed 2 December 2017).
- ⁶² Anna Guth, 'Moonlight Kingdom okay, commission says,' *Point Reyes Light* (15 June 2017), <https://www.ptreyeslight.com/article/moonrise-kingdom-okay-commission-says>. (Accessed 2 December 2017).
- ⁶³ Dell Upton, 'Architectural History or Landscape History?,' *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, No. 4 (August 1991): 198.
- ⁶⁴ R. Buckminster Fuller, "Invisible Future," *San Francisco Oracle* 1, No. 11 (December 1967).
- ⁶⁵ Stewart Brand, "Loose Talk 1: The Outlaw Area," *Whole Earth Catalog*, January 1970: 21.
- ⁶⁶ Anthony Ashbolt, *A Cultural History of the Radical Sixties in the San Francisco Bay Area* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), 119, 124.
- ⁶⁷ Tom Hayden, *Trial* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1971), 159. Quoted in Ashbolt, *A Cultural History of the Radical Sixties*, 160.
- ⁶⁸ Ashbolt, *A Cultural History of the Radical Sixties*, 117.
- ⁶⁹ A video recording of the BAMPFA Liberated Territories forum (11 March 2017) can be viewed online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9EE8E5ki-Ys> (accessed 11 December 2017).
- ⁷⁰ Lucy Lippard, quoted in Jana Blankenship, "The Farm by the Freeway," in Elissa Auther and Adam Lerner, eds., *West of Center: Art and the Counterculture Experiment in America, 1965-1977* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 44.