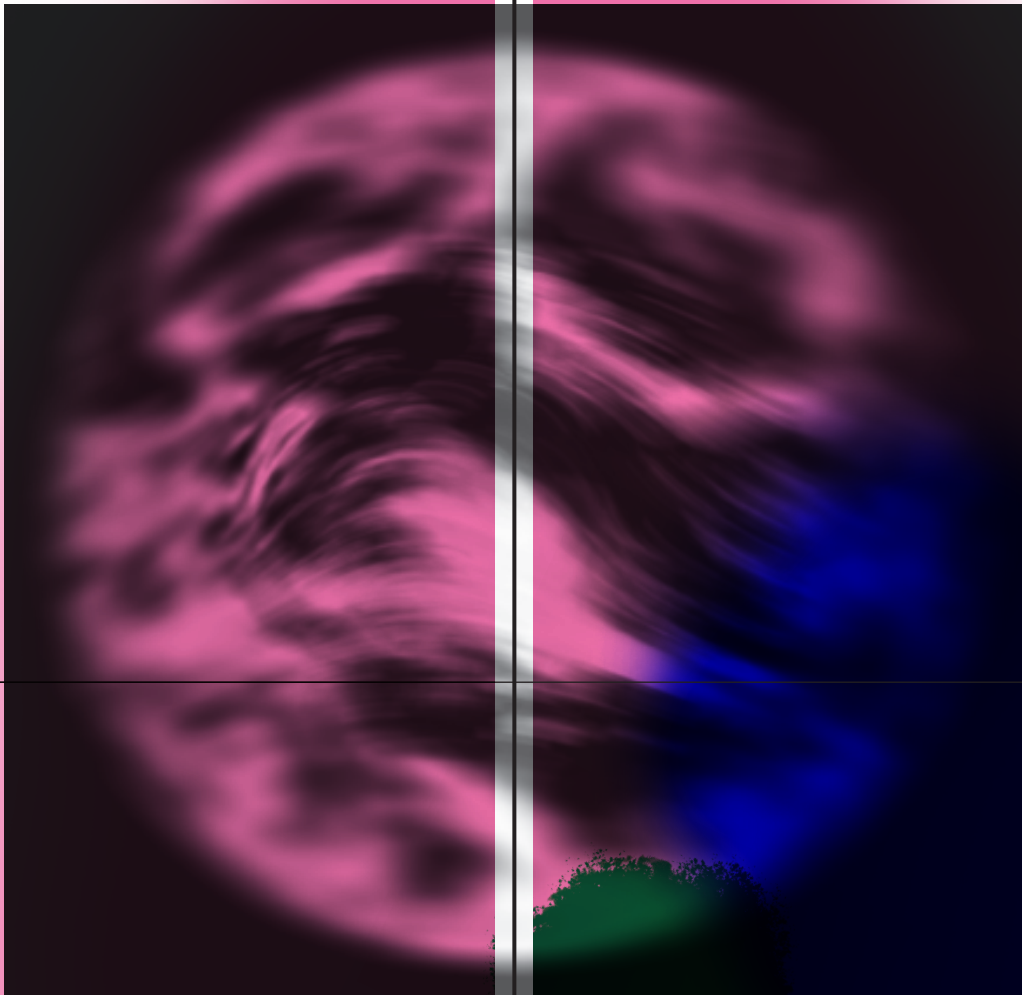


CANDIDE

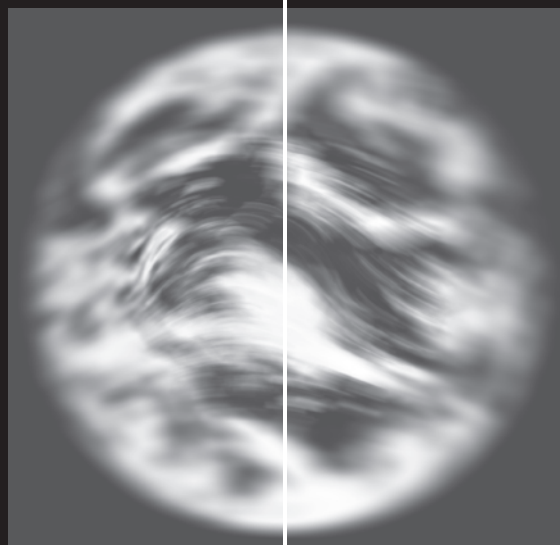
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Catalog Culture
across the
Whole Earth Catalog



Caroline Maniaque

Catalog Culture
across
the *Whole Earth*
Catalog



Bio

Caroline Maniaque, architectural historian, is a professor at the École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Normandie. Her work focuses on cultural exchange and the circulation of ideas between the United States and Europe, and on the training of architects. She has published *French Encounters with the American Counterculture*, Burlington, Ashgate, 2011; *Go West! Des architectes au pays de la contre-culture*, Marseille, Parenthèses, 2014; and *Whole Earth Field Guide*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2016 (with M. Gaglio). She was responsible for the collection of texts *Les années 68 et la formation des architectes*, Rouen, Points de vue, 2018 and co-edited *Architecture 68. Panorama international des renouvellements pédagogiques*, MétisPresse, 2020.

Abstract

From a six-page mimeographed newsletter offering nearly 120 articles for sale in the spring of 1968, the *Whole Earth Catalog* evolved into a 320-page index of ideas and practices that captivated an entire generation by 1974. The catalog was a collaborative effort, employing professional methods for data collection and selection. Its structure was organized around nine themes, with a method of surveying current publications to select those aligning with countercultural ideals. Led by Stewart Brand, a team of about a dozen people managed the entire editorial process, from creation to distribution. This essay explores the enduring relevance of this publication for architects today and aims to highlight the proactive role of the *Whole Earth Catalog* in promoting self-sufficiency and alternative lifestyles.

Summarizing a Cultural Moment

A catalog is a way of summarizing and grasping a cultural moment. This is exactly what the Science Museum showed us in its exhibition in London in 2008, capturing the role of catalogs from different historical periods. Among these, the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d'Alembert (1751–1772) was chosen to represent the 18th century. This multi-volume Enlightenment masterpiece aimed to document the techniques and crafts of industry.¹ Its success, with 4,255 copies sold of the 35 volumes of the first edition (half of them abroad)², was a significant act of French propaganda, leveraged by the power of information.

Turning to the 20th century, the Science Museum exhibited the *Whole Earth Catalog*,³ as a modern *Encyclopédie*, accompanied by a selection of objects such as a Selectric typewriter and a set of tools for self-building a house.

Far from being an act of government propaganda, the aim of the *WEC*, first published in California in 1968, was to inspire people to adopt a different way of living within the counter-cultural movement. (Fig. 1) It advocated reading books and buying tools to enable independence from industrial production, professional specialization, and municipal services.

The following commentary, written in 1972 by two journalists for the North American magazine *Contemporary Affairs*, summarizes well what the *LWEC* intended to be:

“This Space age WALDEN⁴ affirms the ability of man, the individual, to survive in a world of increasingly dangerous technology. Not only does this work provide access to practical tools of free-form-education, but also more pervasively, it explores an optimistic philosophy of individualism. In form and content, the *LWEC* mirrors the contemporary era, as does no other work. It is a field guide for young and old to the archaeology of the contemporary. Were this the only artifact of American culture in 1972 left remaining 100 years from now, our survivors would be able to put it all back together.”⁵

The *WEC* took the form of a magazine, illustrated in black and white, inspired by mail order catalogs like the *Old Farmer's Almanac* and

- 1 Roland Barthes commented on the interesting illustrations of hands to explain manual skills. See, Barthes 1972.
- 2 Counterfeit and adapted versions followed. See Darnton 1979.
- 3 *WEC* denotes the *Whole Earth Catalog* in general and *LWEC* refers to the 1971 edition, the Last *Whole Earth Catalog*. *L(U)WEC* makes reference to the 1974 updated edition. Both the *LWEC* and *L(U)WEC* are 447 pages long. Minor changes were also introduced from one printing to the next in the same edition. An overview of the *Whole Earth Catalog* is available at: www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2011/AccessToTools/
- 4 The authors are referring to Thoreau 1854.
- 5 Extract from the National Book Prize evaluation by Digby Diehl and E. Harrison, journalists for *Contemporary Affairs*, cited by Stewart Brand, April 13, 1972, Box 26, SBP M1237.

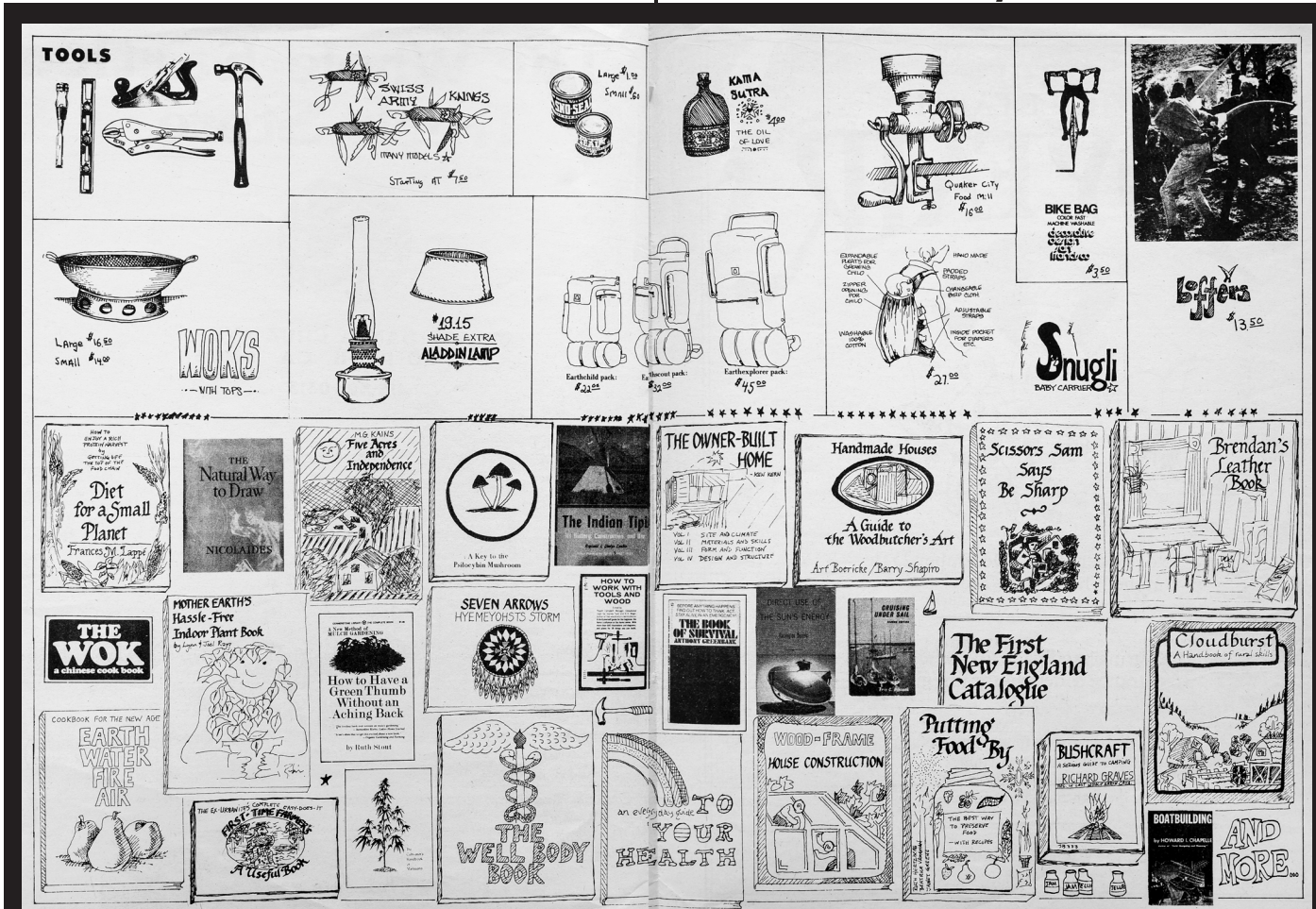


Fig.1 - Double page "Tools" from a six-page mimeographed newsletter presenting nearly 120 articles for sale in the spring of 1968, Whole Earth Truck Store, Menlo Park, CA: Portola Institute. WEAP M 1045, box 37, file 6. Special Collection, Stanford University Library, California. Courtesy of Stewart Brand.

the *L. L. Bean Catalog*,⁶ which sold all the necessary items for those living in the countryside. This type of catalog had enjoyed popularity in the United States since the mid-19th century, thanks to the settlers who colonized the western territories beyond the Rocky Mountains in isolated and poorly equipped places. Far from cities, shops and roadways, these settlers were forced to figure out for themselves means of building, living and surviving without recourse to government aid. Mail order catalogs provided a way for them to access all sorts of tools and products indispensable to their chosen way of life and captured the pragmatic spirit of the American frontier myth. The mail order catalog was simultaneously an important element in the development of capitalism⁷ and a tool of empowerment promoting self-sufficiency among non-urban dwellers.

- 6 The Windsor typeface used in the *L. L. Bean Catalog* was also used for the title page of the *Whole Earth Catalog*.
- 7 Architectural historian Sigfried Giedion noted the essential role of mail order catalogs—most notably that of Sears and Roebuck—for the development of standardization, mass production and, by extension, capitalism during the 19th century. See, Giedion 1948.
- 8 Turner 2006; Kirk 2007; Binkley 2007.

Although the (large and growing) literature on the *Whole Earth Catalog* has sought to situate the catalog in the context of the West Coast's counterculture or the digital culture,⁸ counter-cultural publications are a distinct minority among the books that the *Catalog* recommended to its readers. The books recommended for (or by) the readers included all kinds of practical information, ranging from where to buy seeds, tools and clothing, through reflections on the universe, and all the way to philosophical, scientific and geographical textbooks. This broad informational reach ensured the *WEC*'s unquestionable success. Between 1968 and 1972, almost two million copies were sold,⁹ and an entire generation turned to the *WEC* for advice and inspiration.

The *WEC* editor, Stewart Brand, a Stanford-trained biologist, thought that a combination of journalistic approaches would reach a wide audience of urban and non-urban readers. As described in the British architectural periodical *Architectural Design*, Brand's *WEC* united "individual bits and pieces with a loose editorial matrix of laconic style and wry humor, a mixture of biological, metaphysical and communications jargon written with an earthy, mid-western twang."¹⁰ The *WEC* covers featured images of planet Earth,¹¹ metaphorically highlighting the catalog's underlying theme that everything is interconnected and that only the individuals who possess the appropriate intellectual and physical tools can save themselves.

The seven divisions of the first 64 pages of the catalog included: "Understanding Whole Systems," "Shelter and Land Use," "Industry and Craft," "Communications," "Nomadics," and "Learning." Subsequent versions had nine sections, with the additional subdivisions of "Shelter and Land Use" and "Industry and Craft." Each section was divided into themes, often represented on a single spread. A reader (or one of the *WEC* reviewers) introduced each text or group of items. Throughout these sections, the emphasis was on self-education: Why go to the garage to have your bicycle or vehicle repaired when you can do it yourself? Why employ an architect or a builder to build your house when

9 The 1971 edition was distributed by Random House.

10 *Architectural Design*, April 1970: 169-170.

11 The publication from 1971 is recognizable by its cover, representing "the first American photograph of the 'Whole Earth'" dating from November 1967, taken by NASA during the Apollo 4 mission. The back cover is similar to the cover of the first autumn 1968 catalog.

you can construct it with your bare hands using salvaged material? Why live in a sprawling city, dependent on expensive services, when you can live in the country and be self-sufficient?

Networks of Experts

The *WEC* was based on a network of experts – which does not necessarily mean professionals, but rather enthusiasts who had developed an expertise – who found, evaluated and shared ideas and skills. The constitution of competences also relied on a wide range of contributors, from laymen to scientists. To get readers involved, the catalog offered a cash compensation of 10 dollars for every review written and a small reward for every suggestion published.

Brand directly approached people he knew to be knowledgeable about certain topics and invited them to review a particular book. But also, starting with the *Supplement* that followed the first *WEC* in the autumn of 1968, he directly challenged readers and invited them to participate by suggesting books they considered essential or adding information to those already published in the *WEC*. The active participation of amateurs gave a particular flavour to the *WEC*, reflecting very personal, and sometimes quirky, enthusiasms and abilities. Brand's introduction contained a simple rationale divided into "Function" and "Purpose". The catalog was to be an evaluation and access device, making it possible for readers to "know better what is worth getting and how to do the getting."¹² To be listed in the catalog, an item had to prove its usefulness as a tool, its relevance to independent education, its high quality or low cost, its originality (not already common knowledge), and its easy availability by mail.

Brand required a particular discipline for the reviews. The commentator not only had to give a quick overview of the document but also bring a well-informed and enlightened critique to the subject. Brand stressed this last point by stating that: "An ideal review gives the reader a quick idea of what the item is, what it's useful for, how it compares to others like it, and how competent the reviewer is to judge. (This last is why I stopped having unsigned reviews – the reader gradually grows familiar with the weaknesses and strengths of the various reviewers)."¹³ Each text was

¹² Brand 1968: 2.
¹³ Brand 1971: 435.

introduced by a member of the editorial team and accompanied by the book cover, sometimes with a quotation or an illustration.

The catalog was first and foremost the result of a methodological organization of information. Brand was very aware of the work on bibliometrics and scientific data. The book *Data Study* (1968), included in the *WEC* selection, was a reference text on the science of organizing books and concepts. It highlighted the complexity of cataloging books in a library.

The main information sources were publishers' catalogs, personal and friends' bookcases, as well as the bookshelves of the Stanford University and Menlo Park libraries.¹⁴ Brand also relied on *Scientific American* and *Popular Science* for their information, as well as *WEC*'s sister publications: notably *Mother Earth News*, *Big Rock Candy Mountain*, *Canadian Whole Earth Almanac*, and *Natural Life Styles*.¹⁵

Readers could use the catalog in different ways. One could order the suggested books from the publishers or from the Whole Earth Truck Store, or one could consult it for the mere pleasure of leafing through the extracts and illustrations. The rich and abundant information it contained satisfied several generations of readers, who were happy to browse through it without needing to delve deeper into the works.

The 'Shelter' Section

What interest does this publication have for architects? Although architecture as such is not really discussed – apart from mentioning Frank Lloyd Wright¹⁶ and Antoni Gaudí – many topics of (what is conventionally acknowledged as) 'design' are included. The emphasis is less on employing professional architects and tradesmen and more on do-it-yourself: from building your house to designing and making your own furniture and creating your own office space.

Is there a coherent theme to all this information? There is a holistic emphasis, a stress on systems, a respect for nature and a desire to preserve it, a suspicion of the city, its industries and laboratories, a distrust of the professions and a utopian desire to create self-sufficient communities living a new kind of life.

14 "The literature for us consisted of Publishers' Weekly, Forthcoming Books in Print (both from R.R. Bowker, source of all the basic cataloging information of books in the U.S.)." Brand 1971: 435.

15 Brand 1971.

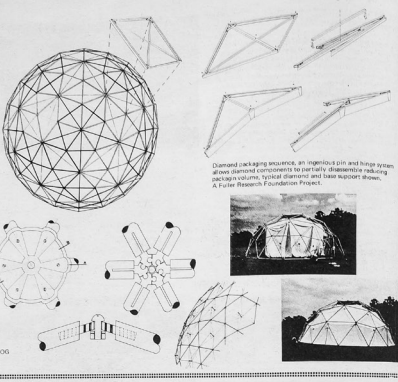
16 Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture is represented only by a text and a photo of interlaced fingers, symbolizing the marriage of engineering and architecture.

Geodesics

This is the first book wholly devoted to geodesics. Good text, clear drawings, introductory text on the basic principles of Fuller's geodesic domes.

The brief text discusses geodesics, construction, materials, frequency, and other factors (the constants necessary for calculation of different diameter domes).

The illustrations are beautiful. They are good for a designer's eye—they will show a final form and then also the form's childhood by pinpointing points of symmetry from which patterns grow.

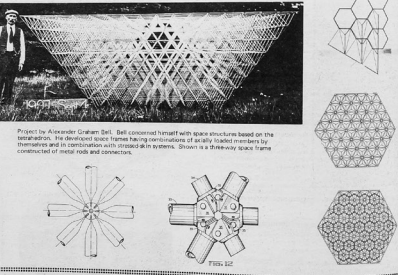


Quarried and jagged members, an ingenious coil and brim system, glass opening components to partially disassemble reducing weight versus typical domes and ease erection. Shown: A Fuller Research Foundation Project.

Product information for Geodesics book, including price (\$4.00) and publisher details (Whole Earth Catalog).

Space Grid Structures

A space grid is a means of spanning great distances with little weight, and a few intermediate supports.



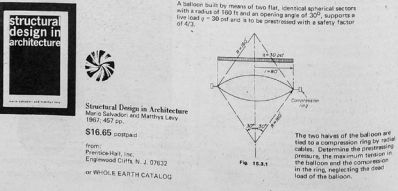
Project by Alexander Graham Bell. Bell conceived himself with space structures based on the hexagonal cell. He developed space frames using specifications of widely spaced members by construction with truss-like systems. Shown is a three-way space frame constructed of metal rods and sockets.

Product information for Space Grid Structures book, including price (\$12.50) and publisher details (Whole Earth Catalog).

Structural Design in Architecture

Scope: Load determination, material characteristics, design of beams, frames, cables, arches, trusses, thin shells, membranes, space frames.

This is a book of tested formulas that give back-of-the-envelope solutions that are good to within a few percent. Nothing revolutionary, just very real ideas.



A balloon built by means of two flat, identical spherical sectors with a radius of 100 ft and an opening angle of 30°, supports a load of 30 or so ft, to be constructed with a safety factor of 4:1.

Product information for Structural Design in Architecture book, including price (\$16.65) and publisher details (Whole Earth Catalog).

O'Dome

The O'Dome is a lightweight circular structure that can be constructed in a matter of weeks and erected in three hours.



18 diameter \$1200, 20 diameter \$1500, 22 diameter \$2000, depending on amount of glass.



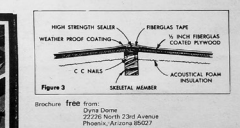
Put a trap door storage box in your deck.

Dyna Domes

There are about a dozen Dyna Domes on the outskirts of Phoenix. Each new one built gets a little closer to the city limits.



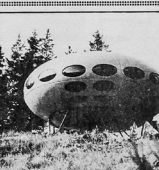
These are good quality, low cost plywood domes, with fiberglass exterior and polyurethane foam insulation.



Complete dome, erected on concrete floor within 500 miles of Phoenix. Approx. \$400 per sq. ft. Floor space. Complete kit with instructions for erection. Approx. \$2.00 per sq. ft. floor space.

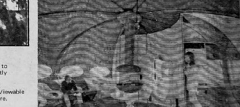
Future

Designed, tested for its forests, and finely-crafted wooden structure, has produced the first self-contained, commercially available foam fiberglass dwelling.



Future House: \$10,000 for shell, \$14,000 for completely equipped house.

Future House: \$10,000 for shell, \$14,000 for completely equipped house.



Future Facts: 1. Fully insulated 2" polystyrene foam - heat loss - 22 to 72 ft in 30 minutes.

11. No site preparation whatsoever, except for concrete pads to bolt down legs (also on tires to shell).

12. Complete for maximum security shell - all are attached.

Fig. 2 - A presentation of three-dimensional structures and domes in "Shelter and Land Use", Whole Earth Catalog, 1969. Courtesy of Stewart Brand.

For the WEC, the most pressing challenge was that of dwelling. The 26-page "Shelter" section included in the first edition offered everything to satisfy both home builders and do-it-yourselfers, presenting manuals on how to build lightweight structures, tipis and sheds, as well as how to repair and maintain existing structures. (Fig. 2) The editors' skill lay in presenting a wide range of publications - from the lyrical to the highly technical - in a way that would capture readers' attention and inspire them to take action. These included technical manuals for carpenters, electricians and plumbers. The first major step toward empowerment and responsibility was to demystify the cult of expertise. The Whole Earth Catalog constantly implored people to take responsibility for their own lives by taking control of the technology they depended on. Surprisingly, the geodesic domes and lightweight structures of alternative

architecture were placed toward the end of the section. They appeared in two books by Steve Baer, *Dome Cookbook* (1968) and *Zome Primer* (1970), as well as Lloyd Kahn's *Domebook 2* (1971). Alongside Paul Oliver's *Shelter and Society* (1969), the reader was encouraged to examine vernacular architecture and conventional house types, adapting them to new ways of living: a holistic approach involving materials, climate responsiveness and resource availability. Attention to climate, microclimate and the effects of extreme weather (such as tornadoes and hurricanes) was covered by several books, including Frank Lane's *The Elements Rage* (1965), illustrated with striking photographs.

The "Shelter" section opened with C. L. Duddington's *Evolution and Design in the Plant Kingdom* (1969), which had the task of affirming the analogy between biological and architectural forms (a recurring theme in Western architecture but rarely taken literally as in this case). Duddington's analysis suggested how buildings might 'grow' naturally just as plants do. Displayed on a double-page spread, this book was juxtaposed with an image of the serpentine terraces of Antoni Gaudí's Park Güell in Barcelona. (Fig. 3) Also present in this spread were images of vernacular architecture taken from Bernard Rudofsky's *Architecture without Architects* (1964), the book accompanying the eponymous MoMA exhibition.

Nevertheless, the selection did include some avant-garde architects such as Archigram, Moshe Safdie, Buckminster Fuller, Paolo Soleri and Christopher Alexander. Particular attention was paid to Frei Otto, probably because the graphic and photographic quality of his two books devoted to lightweight structures took into account experimentation, energy conservation and ephemeral structures. The art group Ant Farm was also given part of a page, with its *Inflatocookbook* (1971) inspiring many to work with pneumatic structures. The overall effect was to provide homebuilders with everything they needed to know and think about when designing a home: from site selection to material selection, to seeking technical assistance, to broader issues about living.

Among the books included in the "Shelter" section were several intended to stimulate the imagination. For instance, suggested by the Zen Mountain Center, Heinrich Engel's book *The Japanese House: A Tradition for Contemporary Architecture* (1964) was presented by Brand as a treasure trove of information on the art of building in Japan and the social and spiritual structures that characterize it. D'Arcy Thompson's *On Growth and Form* (1917, revised in 1942) was also significant and featured in the "Understanding Whole Systems" section. Many architects and artists were particularly drawn to Thompson's detailed studies of the evolution of plants and animals, emphasizing their reliance on specific geometric proportions like the Golden Section.

The WEC also publicized Lloyd Kahn's best-selling book *Shelter* (1973) (185,000 copies

Fig.3 - Double spread of the "Shelter" section. In this double page spread (pp. 84-85), the book on the analysis of plants, *Evolution and Design in the Plant Kingdom*, was juxtaposed with an image of the serpentine terraces of Antoni Gaudi's Park Güell in Barcelona, *The Last Whole Earth Catalog*, 1971. Courtesy of Stewart Brand.

Shelter

Evolution and Design in the Plant Kingdom
Live dwellings—how soon? Houses of living vegetable tissue. The walls take up your CO2 and return oxygen. They grow or diminish to accommodate your family changes. Add a piece of the kitchen wall to the street. House as friend. Dweller and dwelling domesticate each other. Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Structures. Engineers lately has been inspired by botanics, the analysis of living systems for their technological accomplishments that might be borrowed by us. So far, plants have been overlooked.
Hay! Plants. Start with this systemic lovely book and the nearest seed pod. —SB

Evolution and Design in the Plant Kingdom
 C. L. Duddington
 1969, 288 pp.
 \$2.95 postpaid

from: Thomas Y. Crowell Company
 201 Park Avenue E.
 New York, N.Y. 10003
 or WHOLE EARTH CATALOG

The mechanical stress that occur in the branches of a tree may be assumed to be the same as in any other condition. The mechanical tension of the top of the branch is in tension, while the material near the bottom is in compression. If it is kept a straight course the wood must resist both these stresses equally. How it maintains its apparently unyielding course we do not know.

If we study the wood on the lower side of branches of conifers we find that the wood is made of layers of browned fibers, we call this wood "secondary wood," and it differs from the wood of the upper side of branches, which is made of fibers that are called "compression wood," it is denser than normal wood, and is made of the secondary and primary layers.

The tracheids are shorter than usual, and are laid down inside the primary secondary layer, and are laid down inside the primary secondary layer. The fibers have a thick outer layer, the secondary wall, which refracts light very readily and is composed mostly of cellulose instead of lignin.

Insert work has indicated that the formation of reaction tissue is not limited to the wood, for the secondary phloem, the cortex and the cork cambium may also show modified growth.

The study of reaction wood is a relatively new branch of botany, and much remains to be learned before we should be able to claim that the plant is a present organism, but several prominent botanists in the field have expressed the opinion that reaction wood is in some way responsible for the fact that branches do continue growing in the direction in which they are cut, and do not change their direction of growth as a result of the stresses set up by their own weight.

Water is not sucked up from the leaves, nor is it pushed from below by root pressure, suction, or osmosis, in small plants. Our first possibility that it is pushed up by some compressive cell mechanism also depends on the structure of the plant. Our second possibility is that it is pushed up by the growth of cork, but scientists are skeptical about this. Our third possibility is that it is pushed up by the growth of cork, but scientists are skeptical about this. Our fourth possibility is that it is pushed up by the growth of cork, but scientists are skeptical about this.

Turning once more to the theory that water is raised from above we can see that there is plenty of food available for the job. For transportation up an amount greater than the amount of the soil with pressure well above the ten or twelve atmospheres that we need for raising water up to the top of a pine tree. The trouble begins when we try to do it in a practical way. Section just cut will not do it for a moment or so, and the second section will be better. Some other phenomenon must be involved something that can enable the soil in the leaves to be raised right into the roots and head the water up. The answer to the problem seems to be in a theory that water is raised from above by Dwyer and Joly, known as the "vacuum theory." As water is raised from above, it is raised from above.

Architecture Without Architects
 Bernard Rudofsky
 1966, 160 pp.
 \$4.95 postpaid

from: Doubleday & Company
 Garden City, N.Y. 11531
 or WHOLE EARTH CATALOG

84 Natural Structure

Antoni Gaudi
If everbody's got inspired by Gaudi, like they say they are, how come there's no new buildings around that look like his?
Good sense architects who have and stiffen and crown their hickory feathers. Give us more jungle bars like this one. If their buildings are incoherent, good. —SB

Antoni Gaudi
 Josep Guinovart, Joseph Liss Sart
 1960, 170, 192 pp.
 \$10.00 postpaid

OUT OF PRINT
 from: Paper Publishers, Inc.
 111 Hudson St., N.Y. 10003
 or WHOLE EARTH CATALOG

These benches are shaped to the human body. In addition their serpentine design facilitates the formation of conversation groups, for the resulting benches are not so stiff and formal. Human needs and their satisfaction are carefully considered. Perhaps it is due to his understanding of these needs, that Gaudi's work has always met with general success by the most sophisticated public.

Writings and Buildings
 I read this while I was in the Army, where our bugle calls were an auditory record.
 I find this while I was in the Army, where our bugle calls were an auditory record.
 I find this while I was in the Army, where our bugle calls were an auditory record.

Writings and Buildings
 Edge Krutman, Ben Rubatum, eds.
 1960, 288 pp.
 \$3.95 postpaid

Writings and Buildings
 Edge Krutman, Ben Rubatum, eds.
 1960, 288 pp.
 \$3.95 postpaid

Gaudi & Wright Shelter 85

sold), which has had several editions and has been adapted and translated for several countries.¹⁷ Also in this publication, the goal was to encourage people to build their own homes. Different types of structures were illustrated here: tipis, adobe houses of the Pueblo Indians, shacks made from salvaged components, and domes.

Despite this dismissive attitude toward professional architects, some young teachers in France used the *WEC* as a guide to meet specialists in alternative building techniques during their trips to the United States. As a result, they began researching earth architecture and solar energy devices upon their return. In France, for example, *Le Catalogue des Ressources* (1975) offered a wealth of information on the construction and restoration of stone houses. Although the designers claimed influence from the *WEC*, this French publication was significantly different from its American cousin in size and organization. Published in four volumes, it covered various aspects of daily life, from food and clothing to transportation, housing, education, health and media. The *Catalogue des Ressources* also provided information on building, showcasing various construction processes divided into four volumes, each segmented into four fields of knowledge. The commercial success of the *Catalogue des Ressources* (with more than 100,000 copies sold), would later give rise to the publishing house Alternatives and the circulation organ of the same name.¹⁸

Actions, Events and Politics

Brand was a born organizer, who enjoyed bringing people together to observe the outcomes. Event organization played a pivotal role in the culture of the *WEC*. A notable example is the Alloy conference¹⁹ held in New Mexico in 1969, orchestrated by engineer Steve Baer and later featured in the *WEC*. A range of inventive and diverse minds were invited for three days (March 20 to 23) to an abandoned tile factory in La Luz, New Mexico, “between the Trinity bomb-test site and the Mescalero Apache reservation.”¹⁹ The Alloy conference attracted engineers, inventors, architects, educators and event organizers, including Jay Baldwin, Dean Fleming, Kahn and

¹⁷ Kahn 1973.

¹⁸ Maniaque-Benton 2011: 131-141.

¹⁹ Brand 1971: 111.

Brand. To accommodate all these people, a small camp was set up consisting of a series of domes and other lightweight structures. Behind the idea of bringing together a variety of heterogeneous thinkers was the hope that a kind of alchemical fusion would create a new kind of knowledge, based on both experience and imagination. Their intention was to replace the thinking of industrial consultants and the architectural profession by combining a variety of approaches—practical, scientific, spiritual, and traditional—to solve the major environmental problems of the day. Brand wrote a lengthy report summarizing many of the discussions on technology and lifestyle that occurred during this event.²⁰

Due to the success of the *WEC* and events like the Alloy Conference, members of the alternative movement closely associated with the catalog assumed official responsibilities in California. During his term as governor from 1975 to 1983, Jerry Brown appointed Jay Baldwin as a consultant to the new Office of Appropriate Technology in 1976.²¹ Sim Van der Ryn, who had been involved in the 1965 Berkeley student protests while teaching at the College of Environmental Design, served as the chief architect of the State of California. He developed the Energy Efficient Office Building program, marking the government's first energy-saving initiative in architecture.²² The personal and professional connections between Baldwin, Brand²³ and Governor Brown largely explain how countercultural ideas penetrated the political sphere.

20 Brand 1971 [1969].

21 A series of publications attests to the works undertaken by this group. See, Office of Appropriate Technology 1976.

22 These aspects are well developed in Kirk 2007 and Sadler 2016.

23 Brand served as an advisor to the governor.

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