

SAN FRANCISCO ROCK POSTERS,

1965 TO 1971

by

Sally Anne Tomlinson

B.A., University of California at Berkeley, 1983

ACCEPTED

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

DEAN in the Department of History in Art

9/1/08/21

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

Elizabeth Tumasonis (Department of History in Art)

John L. Osborne (Department of History in Art)

Fred Douglas (Department of Visual Arts)


Michael Longton (School of Music)

© SALLY ANNE TOMLINSON, 1991

University of Victoria

All rights reserved. Thesis may not be reproduced
in whole or in part, by mimeograph or other means,
without the permission of the author.

I have consented to an interview with Sally Tomlinson, whom I understand may use the information I have given her in the text of her thesis for the Master of Arts degree in the department of History in Art for the University of Victoria, Canada. I agree to the interview provided that the comments and answers I give her will be used for no other purpose than that stated above.


Signed 

Date


1-8-90

Peter S. Albin

I have consented to an interview with Sally Tomlinson, whom I understand may use the information I have given her in the text of her thesis for the Master of Arts degree in the department of History in Art for the University of Victoria, Canada. I agree to the interview provided that the comments and answers I give will be used for no other purpose than that stated above. No profit shall be made from the publication of the interview, or of the artistic production for which I am responsible.


Signed 

Date Jan 26, 1990

Signature of interviewer 

Clifton Buck-Kauffman

I have consented to an interview with Sally Tomlinson, whom I understand may use the information I have given her in the text of her thesis for the Master of Arts degree in the department of History in Art for the University of Victoria, Canada. I agree to the interview provided that the comments and answers I give will be used for no other purpose than that stated above. No profit shall be made from the publication of the interview, or of the artistic production for which I am responsible.

Signed 

Date 5/27/89

Signature of interviewer 

Lee Conklin


I have consented to an interview with Sally Tomlinson, whom I understand may use the information I have given her in the text of her thesis for the Master of Arts degree in the department of History in Art for the University of Victoria, Canada. I agree to the interview provided that the comments and answers I give will be used for no other purpose than that stated above. No profit shall be made from the publication of the interview, or of the artistic production for which I am responsible.

Signed

Date



Victor Moscoso
5-2-91

Signature of interviewer


May 5, 1990

Victor Moscoso

I have consented to an interview with Sally Tomlinson, whom I understand may use the information I have given her in the text of her thesis for the Master of Arts degree in the department of History in Art for the University of Victoria, Canada. I agree to the interview provided that the comments and answers I give her will be used for no other purpose than that stated above.

Signed 

Date  9/21/89

Jerry Pompili

I have consented to an interview with Sally Tomlinson, whom I understand may use the information I have given her in the text of her thesis for the Master of Arts degree in the department of History in Art for the University of Victoria, Canada. I agree to the interview provided that the comments and answers I give her will be used for no other purpose than that stated above.

Signed

Date


18 Jan 1990
David Singer

ABSTRACT

From 1965 to 1967, members of the Haight-Ashbury community in San Francisco formed a set of ideals which today are considered representative of Sixties youth. Their opinions on the American military involvement in Vietnam and their resistance to authority in general, along with the upheaval of society which their lifestyle represented, created a model for youthful emulation across the country. The San Franciscans organized get-togethers where experimental music, dance movement, color, and the effects of psychotropic drugs were celebrated. Even before the term "hippie" had been coined, the San Francisco dance concerts were the cradle of hippie society. And the posters created to advertise the early gatherings helped to shape and to promote the interests and ideals of this social group.

The initial series of rock posters did not terminate with the abandonment of the Haight-Ashbury community in 1967, however. In 1968, concert poster imagery reflected the head-on collision between the hippie ideals of peace and love and the reality of increasing violence in America. The posters created between 1968 and 1971 reflect the mood of despair during the transitional period between "flower power" and the time of facing issues which were shaking the foundations of American society. A careful examination of the course of rock poster art from

1965 to 1971 reveals that the later posters acknowledged young people's awareness of widespread drug abuse and other disturbing issues, such as environmental pollution, which were just then coming to light.

For the last two decades, the posters which were identified with the outdated hippie subculture and with the era which immediately followed, were, like the cultural periods they represented, largely forgotten. More recently, however, authors and media representatives have turned their attention to the Sixties decade. As a result, our fascination with the personalities and with the music of that period is being rekindled. More than nostalgia, our looking back has involved a re-evaluation of the idealistic philosophy which was then so prevalent. Since the Haight-Ashbury community is an integral part of that decade's history, enthusiasm for it and for the early concert posters is also on the rise. The recent inclusion of the so-called "psychedelic" posters in several books on poster art is evidence that their impact on the history of modern poster art is beginning to be evaluated.

Examiners:



Elizabeth Tumasonis (Department of History in Art)



John L. Osborne (Department of History in Art)

[REDACTED]
Fred Douglas (Department of Visual Arts)

[REDACTED]
Michael Longton (School of Music)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xv
DEDICATION	xvi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: Artistic Precursors and Styles of Influence, and Defining the Psychedelic Style.	18
CHAPTER TWO: From 1965 to the "Summer of Love".	116
CHAPTER THREE: From the Fall of 1967 to the Closing of the Fillmore West in July, 1971.	182
BIBLIOGRAPHY	238
ILLUSTRATIONS.	254

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Tilghman Press (artist), poster for The Four Tops, Johnny Tabot [sic], and De Thangs; Fillmore Auditorium, September 27, 1966. (Source: Paul D. Grushkin, The Art of Rock: Posters from Presley to Punk, New York, 1987, 46).
2. Alton Kelley, handbill for "A Tribute to Dr. Strange," October 16, 1965. (Source: Grushkin, 93).
3. Wes Wilson, BG 18, 1966. Poster for The Association, Quicksilver Messenger Service, Grassroots, and Sopwith Camel; Fillmore Auditorium, July 22-23. (Source: Grushkin, 118).
4. Wes Wilson, BG 18, Truth Search, 1967. Poster for Jefferson Airplane, Jimmy Reed, John Lee Hooker, and the Stu Gardner Trio; Winterland, Fillmore Auditorium, March 10-12. (Source: Grushkin, 121).
5. Herbie Greene, photographer, The Charlatans, ca. 1965. (Source: Jack McDonough, San Francisco Rock: the Illustrated History of San Francisco Rock Music, San Francisco, 1985, 113).
6. Herbie Greene, photographer, Janis Joplin, ca. 1966-67. (Source: McDonough, 151).
7. Alphonse Mucha, poster for 'Job' cigarette papers, 1896. (Source: Maurice Rickards, The Rise and Fall of the Poster, New York, 1971, 57).
8. Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, FD 29, 1966. Poster for Jim Keweskin Jug Band, Electric Train, and Big Brother and the Holding Company; Avalon Ballroom, October 7-8. (Source: Grushkin, 98).
9. "John Lennon's psychedelically painted Rolls Royce," 1967. Photograph. (Source: Bevis Hillier, The Style of the Century: 1900-1980, New York, 1983, 203).
10. Wes Wilson, BG 5, 1966. Poster for Jefferson Airplane and the Jay Walkers; Fillmore Auditorium, May 6-7. (Source: Grushkin, 117).
11. Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, Edwardian Ball, 1966. Poster for Jefferson Airplane sponsored by the Associated Students of San Francisco State College; Fillmore Auditorium, November 6. (Source: Grushkin, 154).

12. Hector Guimard, desk, ashwood, 1903. 28 3/4 x 101 in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Mme. Hector Guimard. (Source: Robert Schmutzler, Art Nouveau, New York, 1962, 101).
13. Victor Moscoso, poster for the Neiman Marcus Poster Show, 1967. Held at the Neiman Marcus Exhibition Hall, Dallas, Texas, October 2. (Source: Grushkin, 237).
14. Maurice Verneuil, illustration from Alphonse Mucha, Maurice Verneuil, and Georges Auriol, Combinaisons ornémentales se multipliant à l'infini à l'aide du miroir, ca. 1900. (Source: Alphonse Mucha et al., Art Nouveau Designs in Color, New York, 1974, 23).
15. Wes Wilson, BG 57, 1967. Poster for Byrds, Moby Grape, and Andrew Staples; Winterland, Fillmore Auditorium, March 31-April 2. (Source: Thomas Albright, Art in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1945-1980, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985, 170).
16. William Bradley, poster for Bradley, His Book, ca. 1896. 1032 x 704 cm. (Source: Dr. Ekhart Berckenhagen, Art Nouveau und Jugendstil, Berlin, 1970, pl. 34).
17. Aubrey Beardsley, The Peacock Skirt, illustration from Oscar Wilde, Salome. London and Boston: Lord Alfred Douglas, Elkin Mathews and John Lane Publishers, 1894. (Source: Schmutzler, 122).
18. Hector Guimard, Door from the Castel Beranger, Paris, 1894-98. (Source: Maurice Rheims and Felipe Ferré, Hector Guimard, New York, 1985, 31).
19. Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, Grateful Dead Anniversary Party, 1966. Poster for Grateful Dead, Andrew Staples, with lights by Bill Ham; The Old Cheese Factory, November 12. (Source: Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, Mouse and Kelley, New York, 1979, 18).
20. Stanley Mouse, Alton Kelley, and Michael Bowen, Human Be-In poster, 1967. Featuring Allen Ginsberg, Richard Alpert, Dick Gregory, Jack Weinberg, Timothy Leary, Michael McClure, Gary Snyder, Lenore Kandel, and all S.F. Rock Groups; Polo Field, Golden Gate Park, January 14. (Source: Mouse and Kelley, 28).

21. Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, Art in Fashion poster, 1966. Helen Harris Presents from Cathy's; San Francisco National Bar, October 6. (Source: Mouse and Kelley, 18).
22. Eugène Grasset, illustration from Méthode de Composition, 1905. (Source: Stephen Tschudi Madsen, Sources of Art Nouveau, New York, 1967, 52).
23. Jan Toorop, poster for Delftsche Slaolie, c. 1897. 34 x 22 in. (Source: Herschel B. Chipp, Jugendstil & Expressionism, Berkeley, 1965, 21).
24. Wes Wilson, BG 62, 1967. Poster for Grateful Dead and Paupers College; Fillmore Auditorium, May 5-6. (Source: Grushkin, 122).
25. Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo, bookplate for Wren City Churches, 1883. (Source: Schmutzler, 41).
26. Devore, KPFA Benefit poster, 1967. The Incredible Fish, Pink Floyd, Collectors, Committee, and Sopwith Camel; Fillmore Auditorium, October 30. (Source: Grushkin, 152).
27. Periodic structures. (Source: Cyril Barrett, Op Art, New York, 1970, 39).
28. Victor Vasarely, Transparency, 1953. Media not specified, 25 1/2 x 19 3/4 in. Denise René Gallery, Paris. (Source: Barrett, 67).
29. Fresnel-ring moiré. (Source: Barrett, 65).
30. Bridget Riley, Current, 1964. Emulsion on composition board, 58 3/4 x 58 1/4 in. Museum of Modern Art, New York. (Source: William C. Seitz, The Responsive Eye, New York, 1965, 34).
31. Wes Wilson, Can You Pass the Acid Test?. Poster for Ken Kesey's Acid Test, ca. 1966. The Merry Pranksters And Their Psychedelic Symphony, Neal Cassady Vs. Ann Murphy Vaudeville, The Grateful Dead Rock'n'Roll, Roy's Audiographics, Movies, Ron Boise And His Electric Thunder Sculpture, The Bus, Ecstatic Dress, Many Noted Outlaws, And The Unexpected. (Source: Grushkin, 92).
32. Anonymous, Krishna Consciousness Comes West poster, 1967. Swami Bhaktivedanta, Allen Ginsberg, The Grateful Dead, Moby Grape, and Big Brother and the

Holding Company; Avalon Ballroom, January 29. Collection of Marjorie Burch. Photograph courtesy M. Burch.

33. Marcel Duchamp, Fluttering Hearts, 1936. Cover for Cahier d'Art. 13 x 20 in. Gimpel Fils, London. (Source: Barrett, 24).
34. Diagram of color contrasts. (Source: Barrett, 81).
35. Peter Sedgley, Lazar. Media not specified, 36 x 36 in. Private collection. (Source: Barrett, 25).
36. Victor Moscoso, FD 57, 1967. Poster for The Doors, Miller Blues Band, Hajibaba, with lights by North American Ibis Alchemical Co.; Avalon Ballroom, April 14-15. Collection of Clifton Buck-Kauffman. Photograph courtesy C. Buck-Kauffman.
37. Victor Moscoso, FD 64, 1967. Poster for The Miller Blues Band, Daily Flash, and The Doors; Avalon Ballroom, June 1-4. Collection of The Postermat. Photograph courtesy Ben Friedman.
38. Rick Griffin, FD 79 (D-1), Everybody is Good at Heart, 1967. Poster for Big Brother and the Holding Company, Blue Cheer, The Eighth Penny Matter, with lights by the Diogenes Lantern Works; Denver Family Dog, September 8-9. (Source: Grushkin, 100).
39. Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, FD D-11, 1967. Poster for Other Half, Sons of Champlin, with lights by Diogenes L.W.; Denver Family Dog, November 10-11. (Source: Grushkin, 101).
40. Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, FD 19, 1966. Poster for Big Brother and the Holding Company, the Oxford Circle, Bo Diddley, Sons of Adam, with lights by Bill Ham; Avalon Ballroom, August 5-6. (Source: Grushkin, 96).
41. Victor Moscoso, FD 75, 1967. Poster for Moby Grape, Canned Heat, Vanilla Fudge, with lights by North American Ibis; Avalon Ballroom, August 10-13. Collection of The Postermat. Photograph courtesy Ben Friedman.
42. Bob Fried, FD 90, 1967. Poster for Canned Heat, Lothar & the Hand People, All Men Joy, and Super Ball; Avalon Ballroom, November 3-5. Collection of The Postermat. Photograph courtesy Ben Friedman.

43. Lee Conklin, BG 101, 1968. Poster for Vanilla Fudge, Steve Miller Band, Sonny Terry, Brownie McGhee, with lights by Holy See; Winterland, Fillmore, January 4-6. (Source: The Fillmore Posters 1989 Calendar, picture for the month of July).
44. Lee Conklin, BG 108, 1968. Poster for The Who, Cannonball Adderly, The Vagrants, with lights by Glenn McKay's Headlights; Winterland, Fillmore, February 22-24. (Source: Grushkin, 126).
45. Salvador Dali, Apparition of Face and Fruit Dish on a Beach, 1938. Oil on canvas, 45 1/8 x 56 5/8 in (114.8 x 143.8 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection. (Source: Dawn Ades, Dali and Surrealism, New York, 1982, 127).
46. Lee Conklin. Drawing without text for BG 134, 1968. Collection of the artist. Photograph courtesy Lee Conklin.
47. Giorgio de Chirico, Melancholy, 1912. Oil on canvas, 31 x 25 in. (78.8 x 63.5 cm). (Source: William Rubin, ed., De Chirico, New York, 1982, pl. 12).
48. David Singer, BG 178, 1969. Poster for The Who, Woody Herman & His Orchestra, A.B. Skhy, with lights by Brotherhood of Light, June 17-19; Santana, The Impressions, Ike & Tina Turner, Blues Image, with lights by Little Princess 109; Fillmore West, June 20-22. (Source: Grushkin, 133).
49. David Singer, BG 185, 1969. Poster for Fleetwood Mac and SRC, August 5-7; Jr. Walker and the All Stars, Lee Michaels, Tony Joe White, with lights by Brotherhood of Light; Fillmore West, August 8-10. (Source: Grushkin, 133).
50. Giorgio de Chirico, The Red Tower, 1913. Oil on canvas, 29 3/4 x 39 3/8 in. (75.5 x 100 cm). (Source: William Rubin, ed., pl. 13).
51. David Singer, BG 183, 1969. Poster for Ten Years After, Ike & Tina Turner, The Flock, with lights by Brotherhood of Light, July 22-24; Steve Miller Band, Albert King, The Mountain with Felix Pappalord, with lights by Little Princess 109; Fillmore West, July 25-27. (Source: Grushkin, 133).
52. René Magritte, The Therapist, 1937. Oil on canvas,

73 x 54 cm. Collection J.B. Urvater, Rhode-Saint-Genese. (Source: Patrick Waldberg, René Magritte, Brussels, 1965, 204).

53. Max Ernst, The woman with an hundred heads opens her august sleeve, illustration from Max Ernst, La femme 100 têtes, 1929. Collage on paper, 12 x 5 1/2 in. (30.5 x 14 cm). Collection of D. and J. de Menil. (Source: Robert Short, Dada & Surrealism, London, 1980, 94).
54. David Singer, BG 231, 1970. Poster for Jethro Tull, Fairport Convention, Salt 'N Pepper, Clouds, with lights by Little Princess 109; Fillmore West, April 30-May 3. (Source: Grushkin, 138).
55. David Singer, BG 216, 1970. Poster for Grateful Dead, Taj Mahal, Bigfoot, with lights by Brotherhood of Light; Fillmore West, February 5-8. (Source: The Fillmore Posters 1990 Calendar, picture for the month of January).
56. "Psychadelic [sic] Jawbreaker," photograph, 1990.
57. George Hunter and Michael Ferguson, The Seed, 1965. Poster for performances of The Charlatans; Red Dog Saloon, Virginia City, Nevada, June 1-15. (Source: Grushkin, 90).
58. Norman Hartweg (hand coloring by Sunshine Kesey), Can You Pass the Acid Test?, 1965. Poster for the Muir Beach Acid Test. (Source: Grushkin, 91).
59. Wes Wilson, poster for Big Brother and the Holding Company; Open Theater, Berkeley, January 15, 1966. (Source: Cummings G. Walker, The Great Poster Trip: Art Eureka, Palo Alto, California, 1968, 5).
60. Wes Wilson, FD 6, Sin Dance, 1966. Poster for the Grass Roots, the Sons of Adam, and Big Brother and the Holding Company; Avalon Ballroom, April 29-30. (Source: Grushkin, 95).
61. Wes Wilson, BG 7, 1966. Poster for Quicksilver Messenger Service and The Final Solution; Fillmore Auditorium, May 20-21. (Source: Grushkin, 117).
62. Alfred Roller, Sixteenth exhibition of the Vienna Secession, 1903. Poster, 35 1/4 x 11 1/4 in. (Source: Chipp, 37).

63. Alfred Roller, Fourteenth exhibition of the Vienna Secession, 1902. Poster, 35 1/2 x 14 in. (Source: Chipp, 21).
64. Wes Wilson, BG 34, 1966. Poster for Captain Beefhart & His Magic Band, Chocolate Watch Band, (and The Great Pumpkin); Fillmore Auditorium, October 28-30. (Source: Grushkin, 120).
65. Wes Wilson, BG 44, 1967. Poster for Young Rascals, Sopwith Camel, and The Doors; Fillmore Auditorium, January 6-7. Collection of Marjorie Burch. Photograph courtesy M. Burch.
66. Wes Wilson, BG 45, 1967. Poster for Grateful Dead, Junior Wells, Chicago Blues Band, and the Doors; Fillmore Auditorium, January 13-15. (Source: Grushkin, 120).
67. Egon Schiele, poster for a lecture by Egon Friedell, "Shaw oder die Ironie besser als Shakespeare," 1910. 24 3/4 x 14 1/2 in. (Source: Chipp, 20).
68. Wes Wilson, BG 48, 1967. Poster for Jefferson Airplane, Quicksilver Messenger Service, and Dino Valenti; Fillmore Auditorium, February 3-5. Collection of Marjorie Burch. Photograph courtesy M. Burch.
69. Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, FD 14, The Zig Zag Man, 1966. Poster for Big Brother and the Holding Company and Quicksilver Messenger Service, with lights by Bill Ham; Avalon Ballroom, June 24-25. (Source: Grushkin, 96).
70. Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, Peace, 1966. Poster for the Congressional District Write In Committee for Phil Drath, featuring Joan Baez, Mimi Farina, the Grateful Dead, Quicksilver Messenger Service, Ed Keating, and Don Duncan; Mt. Tamalpais Outdoor Theater, October 2. (Source: Grushkin, 228).
71. Victor Moscoso, FD 81, 1967. Poster for Youngbloods, The Other Half, and Mad River, with lights by North American Ibis; Avalon Ballroom, September 15-17. (Source: Stuart Wrede, The Modern Poster, New York, 1988, 213).
72. Victor Moscoso, FD 66, The Strong Man, 1967. Poster for The Youngbloods and The Siegal Schwall Band, with lights by the North American Ibis Alchemical

- Co.; Avalon Ballroom, June 15-18. (Source: McDonough, 63).
73. Victor Moscoso, Neon Rose #10, 1967. Poster for The Doors; Matrix, March 7-11. (Source: Grushkin, 169).
 74. Rick Griffin, poster for the Psychedelic Shop, 1966. Featuring the 1st Anniversary Jook Savage Art Show. (Source: Gordon McClelland, Rick Griffin, Limsfield, Great Britain, 1980, 8).
 75. Rick Griffin, FD 62, Sutters Mill, 1967. Poster for Quick Silver Messenger Service and Country Joe and the Fish, with lights by the North American Ibis Alchemical Co.; Avalon Ballroom, May 19-21. (Source: Grushkin, 99).
 76. Rick Griffin, Human Be-In poster, 1967. Featuring Timothy Leary, Richard Alpert, Dick Gregory, Lenore Kandel, Jerry Rubin, all San Francisco rock bands, Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gary Snyder, Michael McClure, Robert Baker, and Buddha; Polo Field, Golden Gate Park, January 14. (Source: Grushkin, 197).
 77. Bob Fried, FD 115, 1968. Poster for Steppenwolf, Charley Musselwhite, The 4th Way, and Indian Head Band, with lights by Electric Luminescence; Avalon Ballroom, April 19-21. Collection of The Postermat. Photograph courtesy Ben Friedman.
 78. Rick Griffin, BG 105, 1968. Poster for Jimi Hendrix Experience, John Mayall and the Blues Breakers, and Albert King, with lights by Holy See; Fillmore Auditorium and Winterland, February 1-4. (Source: 1989 Fillmore Posters Calendar, picture for the month of June).
 79. Lee Conklin, BG 153, New Year's Eve poster, 1968-1969. Featuring Vanilla Fudge, Richie Havens, Youngbloods, and Cold Blood; Fillmore West. Collection of the artist. Photograph courtesy L. Conklin.
 80. David Singer, BG 211, Chicago poster, 1970. Featuring Chicago, The Guess Who, Seals & Croft, with lights by Little Princess 109; Fillmore West, January 8-11. (Source: 1990 Fillmore Posters Calendar, picture for the month of July).

81. David Singer, BG 237, 1970. Poster for Grateful Dead, New Riders of the Purple Sage, and Southern Comfort, with lights by Dr. Zarkov; Fillmore West, June 4-7. (Source: Grushkin, 139).
82. David Singer, BG 238, 1970. Poster for John Sebastian, Buddy Miles, and Rig, with lights by Little Princess 109; Fillmore West, June 11-14. (Source: Grushkin, 139).
83. David Singer, BG 287, Fillmore West Closing Week, 1971. Original artwork for poster. Featuring: Boz Scaggs, Cold Blood, Flamin' Groovies, Stoneground, lights by San Francisco Lightworks, June 30; It's A Beautiful Day, Elvin Bishop Group, Grootna, Lamb, lights by Little Princess 109, July 1; Grateful Dead, New Riders of the Purple Sage, Rowan Brothers, lights by Heavy Water, July 2; Quicksilver Messenger Service, Hot Tuna, Yogi Blegm, lights by Little Princess 109, July 3; Santana, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Tower of Power, San Francisco Musician Jam, lights by Heavy Water, July 4. Collection of the artist. Photograph courtesy D. Singer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to acknowledge the unfailing patience and enthusiasm of my advisor, Dr. Elizabeth Tumasonis. My discovery of her background as a Berkeley student and former poster collector was the first of many serendipitous circumstances which greeted this undertaking from beginning to end.

For their help with the initial processes of research I want to thank Doug Sprenger of the Music and Audio Department of the University of Victoria, Jerry Pompili of Bill Graham Presents, and Peter Albin, my first interviewee, whose gracious reception meant more to this project than he can ever know. Others who deserve special acknowledgement are David Singer, for hours spent in conversation, and Clifton Buck-Kauffman, for favors too numerous to mention here.

I also wish to thank all those who so generously gave their time and lent their resources: Walter Medeiros, Lee Conklin, Alton Kelley, Victor Moscoso, Stanley Mouse, Ben Friedman, Ben Van Meter, Marjorie Burch, and Padraic Wangler.

And finally, my appreciation extends to good friends, especially Diana Lee, who listened patiently to extensive monologues on poster art.

DEDICATION

For the buoy (and goil) who kept me afloat:

Siena & Paul

INTRODUCTION

Every New Year's Eve, San Francisco rock concert promoter Bill Graham produces a spectacular show featuring one of the original Haight-Ashbury bands, the Grateful Dead. This year (1990-91), I concluded my research for the thesis which follows by attending the concert, a sold-out event held in Oakland's huge indoor coliseum. People came to the concert dressed in their best tie-dyed garments, and once the music started, they were dancing in the aisles. During intermission throngs of them joined hands-to-shoulders and danced together in one large snakelike formation, shuffling along to the rhythm of hand drums. Among the faces in the crowd I recognized Ram Dass, a.k.a. Richard Alpert, the former psychology professor who conducted LSD experiments on Harvard University students in the 1960s together with his colleague, Timothy Leary.¹ The presence of this popular American-born Buddhist guru, along with the vibrantly colored costumes, the long-haired and bearded men, and the collective dancing, seemed to me to represent a conscious reenactment of a particular kind of revelry which was begun in San Francisco in 1965, described in Chapter Two of this paper. Even the show hosted by Graham, and the music performed by the (Grateful) Dead, were elaborations on a prototype created

a quarter century ago. On New Year's Eve a light show, though different from those produced in the small dancehalls during the Sixties, provided visual stimulation to accompany the band's oldest and best-known songs, and to create atmosphere for their lengthy non-melodic guitar "riffs."

As Master of Ceremonies, Bill Graham made a grand entrance at midnight, suspended on a platform above our heads. He was dressed as a witchdoctor concocting a strange brew, while fire dancers gyrated to drum beats below him, and indoor fireworks exploded all around. He announced the evening's show as the commemoration of a 25-year collaboration between himself and the band; more than this, I noted, it also marked the silver anniversary of the first San Francisco dance concerts. Music similar to that played by the Dead on this New Year's night brought together in late 1965 a group of merrymakers who would, in the months which followed, organize a community around the nucleus of the musically-oriented gatherings. This youthful group established a collective and experimental lifestyle which would become known the world over by mid-1967. The term generally used to refer to their lifestyle and their ideology was taken from the name of the neighborhood which they adopted as their own, "the Haight-Ashbury."

The "hippies," as the Haight-Ashbury youths were

called, did not originate many of the activities or ideals which became synonymous with their identity. For example, they were not the first group to gather around public performances of experimental music,² nor were they the first to collect in one specific San Francisco neighborhood.³ The "Beats" or Beat Generation⁴ of North Beach preceded the hippies by as many as ten years,⁵ and it was their example which lighted the way for the later group. The Beats, like the hippies, made public their indulgence in hallucinogenic or psychotropic drugs.⁶ Also, certain of the Beats subscribed to the tenets of Eastern religious disciplines such as Zen Buddhism, and Beat poets Allen Ginsberg and Gary Snyder helped to encourage the hippies' interest in these philosophies.⁷ Beat literature also testifies to this group's permissive attitude toward extramarital sexual relations before the dissemination of the birth control pill allowed Sixties' youths, including the hippies, to liberalize social mores.⁸ Furthermore, the hippies did not initiate the practice of dressing in garb which identified and separated them from middle-class society, but it was the all-black costume of the Beats which the hippies replaced with their own characteristic bright colors and uncoordinated patterns.⁹ And as for the Haight-Ashbury light shows, even these were indebted to experimental shows produced in San Francisco in the late 1950s and early '60s.¹⁰ What did distinguish the

hippies from their countercultural predecessors was their greater numbers, which facilitated a community organization never attempted by the Beats.¹¹ Even more significant to many was the philosophical difference between the two groups: the optimistic attitude of the hippies contrasted to the Beats' brooding, more gloomy outlook.¹² While such characterizations are perhaps simplistic,¹³ those of us too young to remember the Beat Generation find evidence of a darker spirit in poems such as Lawrence Ferlinghetti's "The Situation in the West followed by a Holy Proposal," which begins as follows:

Dreaming of utopias
 where everyone's a lover
 I see San Francisco from my window
 thru some old navy beerbottles
 The glass is dark
 What's it all about
 I move the ships about
 in my binoculars
 like some mad admiral
 Dark Dark Dark
 we are all shunted into it
 a concrete Crete
 freeway pinball labyrinth....(14)

A hippie of 1966 probably would not characterize him- or herself as viewing life through murky binoculars, as Beat poet Ferlinghetti has. More likely, the hippie eyeglass would have beheld a view of Golden Gate Park, where so many of their social gatherings took place, and the activities in view would have been reported as if seen through rosy-hued lenses. Compare, for example, lyrics to the hit song of early June, 1967, written by John Phillips

of The Mamas and the Papas¹⁵ and recorded by singer Scott McKenzie:

If you're going to San Francisco,
Be sure to wear some flowers
 in your hair,
If you're goin' to San Francisco,
You're gonna meet
 some gentle people there...
Summertime will be a love-in there....(16)

One of the major forms of artistic communication for the San Francisco Beat group was poetry,¹⁷ while the hippies preferred the visual arts, where they could best convey their love of color and their fascination with the visual effects of movement. They also appreciated and identified with rock music and gathered together regularly for concerts and performances. The earliest of these were organized by a loosely-knit group of friends who called themselves by the enigmatic name, "The Family Dog."¹⁸ These events required advertising. And so it was that the hippie artists took up the medium of poster art, which became a means of group identification and expression. After the collapse of the hippie community in 1967, dance concert entrepreneurs such as Bill Graham and Chet Helms (who took over the "Family Dog" name for his promotional organization) continued to commission and to encourage poster artists to develop this art form which the San Francisco youth culture had come to call its own.

Surprisingly, very little has been written on the rock posters, which continued to be produced

uninterruptedly until 1971. The most comprehensive study to date is a Master of Arts thesis written in 1972 by a Berkeley student, Walter Medeiros.¹⁹ Medeiros's investigation focuses attention on those posters created within the Haight-Ashbury community through 1967. Later, in 1976, Medeiros put together a catalogue for an exhibition of the posters at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.²⁰ This publication extends our knowledge of poster art with its brief monographs on individual artists, some of whom worked through 1971. Other authors, such as Thomas Albright,²¹ Charles Perry,²² and Jack McDonough,²³ have mentioned rock posters in books on more comprehensive subjects. But these writers have limited their coverage of poster art to the work of the five major Haight-Ashbury artists,²⁴ and so information is scanty on the works produced after 1967. One book written exclusively on rock poster art was published in 1987 by music archivist Paul Grushkin (The Art of Rock),²⁵ which boasts 1,500 reproductions. Although it is primarily a visual reference work, within its text there is some information on David Singer, one of the most prolific post-Haight-Ashbury artists. Some other posters not found in Grushkin's book appear in a small, hand-printed catalogue produced by The Postermat store in San Francisco,²⁶ and this visual reference work is augmented by the essential facts (names and dates) recorded in Eric King's A

Collector's Guide to the Numbered Dance Posters Created for Bill Graham and the Family Dog, 1966-1973.²⁷

There are a number of artists of consequence whose names I had to pare from the following pages. One of these is Bonnie MacLean, who was the only woman artist to receive regular commissions for posters. Her oeuvre of about 25 posters, most of which were created during the final months of the Haight-Ashbury and the transitional period which followed,²⁸ is so diverse in subject matter and style of execution that its sheer variety suggests she was groping for new and meaningful images. Unable to reduce her contribution to a few representative examples, I found it impossible to organize a concise presentation of her works.

This paper includes a considerable amount of information not found in existing studies. I have been able to take advantage of historical distance, and of the availability of published accounts on the posters, on the music industry, and on the Haight-Ashbury community not available to writer Walter Medeiros, whose 1972 thesis was written immediately after the hippie period. I have been able to describe the shift in social and economic conditions during the pivotal summer of 1967 in San Francisco, along with an analysis of the effect this shift wrought on the poster imagery. As a result of these factors, I have divided the body of poster art into two chronological

phases: one spanning 1965 through the summer of 1967, and another commencing at the close of that summer season. Also, attention is given to the conditions of patronage, and to the two major patrons whose personalities and fluctuating fortunes made an impact on the work they commissioned. And I have investigated the issue of the "psychedelic style" of art, a term initiated during the first phase of posters. For this part of my discussion, I have quoted references made to "psychedelic" artwork, pointing out that the lack of a clear definition has left the style's component elements open to individual interpretation. And finally, in Chapter One I have identified the earlier artistic styles which had the greatest influence on rock poster artists.

This thesis is intended only as an overview of the posters produced in San Francisco, which include an estimated 550 posters created for just two patrons,²⁹ along with innumerable independent creations. Certainly, more in-depth work remains to be done before we can fully understand either the specific posters or the individual artists who created them. One problem which accompanies this topic is the inextricable association between the early artwork and the hippies' unabashed endorsement of drug use. The current position of society is vehemently against drugs, and this fact may dissuade some from selecting so controversial a topic to study. LSD-25 was

made illegal only in late 1966,³⁰ by which time several months' worth of weekly posters had been created. It is difficult to recapture the psychological climate of the late 1960s in San Francisco, especially without having experienced the LSD which was then so widely distributed in the Bay Area. Without having witnessed first-hand the Haight-Ashbury phenomenon, today's scholar may perhaps be justly accused of being ill-equipped to grasp fully what is "going on" in early rock poster imagery. To compensate for my own ignorance, and to give credence to this unwieldy aspect of my research, I sought out a variety of written references on psychedelic drugs. The most useful of these include: James Carey's published account of the government-funded experiments conducted at the University of California at Berkeley during the late 1960s, The College Drug Scene (1968);³¹ Martin Lee and Bruce Shlain's historical account of the creation and dissemination of LSD in Acid Dreams (1985);³² Timothy Leary's mystical "guide book" for an LSD "trip" which was widely read in its day, The Psychedelic Experience (1964);³³ chemist Albert Hofmann's book about his discovery of LSD and his subsequent experiences with this and other hallucinogens, LSD: My Problem Child (1983);³⁴ and The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test (1968),³⁵ Tom Wolfe's book on Ken Kesey and "the Merry Pranksters." If we exclude all drug related art from the canon, the opium-inspired works of Edgar Allen

Poe would be struck from America's standard literary history. Tolerance is necessary if we are to evaluate the impact which the rock posters have had, and continue to have, on the visual arts.

And so, backed by research in topics ranging from sociological tracts on the hippie subculture to books on rock album cover art, guided by my own life experiences with hippies, and equipped with my early memories of the posters which filtered down in 1966 and '67 to my hometown in Southern California, I offer the reader the following account of the San Francisco rock posters created between 1965 and 1971.

NOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

1. Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD, and the Sixties Rebellion (New York: Grove Press, 1985), pp. 74-77 and 86-88. Richard Alpert's name appears on two posters reproduced in this thesis, since he was featured as a guest speaker. See figures 20 and 76, of January, 1967, both of which were created for the event called the "Human Be-In."

2. The Beats were most interested in jazz music. Leonard Wolf, Voices from the Love Generation (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1968), preface, p. xix and xxi.

3. Michael McClure, Scratching the Beat Surface (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1982), p. 11.

4. The term "beat" was coined by Jack Kerouac, who gave it a range of meanings from "beat down" to "beatific." Academic American Encyclopedia, 1980 ed.

5. Jack Kerouac listed the chief members of the group in a letter to Allen Ginsberg in 1952. John Tytell, Naked Angels: The Lives and Literature of the Beat Generation (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976), p. 3. The first Beat work is considered to be John Clellon Holmes's novel, Go, published in that same year. Academic American Encyclopedia, 1980 ed.

6. The Beats discovered LSD in 1959. Wolf,

p. xxiii. Michael McClure writes about his first experiences with the peyote cactus in Scratching the Beat Surface, pp. 5-13. Evidence of their endorsement of drug use is found in works such as Jack Kerouac's novel On the Road, of 1957, and Allen Ginsberg's poem "Howl," of 1956. Kerouac defined the hipster, or beat, by his ability to procure drugs at any time. Tytell, p. 22.

7. Tytell, pp. 25-27, and 73-77. For Snyder and Ginsberg's role in promulgating Zen practices among the hippies, see Wolf, p. xxvii, and p. 108. See also Charles Perry, The Haight-Ashbury: A History (New York: Random House/Rolling Stone Press, 1984), pp. 121-22, 124, 127, and 257. Their names also appear on the "Human Be-In" posters of figures 20 and 76, since they, too, were guest speakers.

8. Allen Ginsberg's work is full of explicit sexuality, especially homosexuality. See for instance his poem, "Howl" of 1956. Another example of Beat writing which suggests their sexual attitudes is Jack Kerouac's novel, On the Road, of 1957. The birth control pill was granted the approval of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration in 1960. The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th ed. The hippies had the pill, and they were aware of its liberating value. Wolf, p. 211.

9. Wolf, p. xxi, and pp. xlii-xliii. Perry, p. 55.

10. Funk artists Wally Hedrick and Charles Yerby

both produced light shows with homemade projectors. Thomas Albright, Art in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1945-1980 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 84-5. Professor Seymore Locks of San Francisco State College first developed the liquid light show, which became a mainstay for the dance concerts. Perry, p. 67.

11. Chapter Two of this thesis describes the various ways in which the Haight-Ashbury was organized. The merchants formed an association which met with police and other city officials, there was a free legal advice organization, and a free medical clinic, among other services.

12. Wolf describes the Beats as "dark, silent, moody, lonely, sad," and the hippies as "bright, vivacious, ecstatic, crowd-loving, and joyful." Wolf, p. xxi. See also Perry, preface, p. x. James Carey described the "profound pessimism" of the Beats. James T. Carey, The College Drug Scene (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 175. The mood of the Beats was undoubtedly affected by their awareness of the possibility of nuclear holocaust. They were, after all, the first generation of artists and writers to emerge in the Era of the Bomb.

13. Peter Berg, a former member of the radical "Diggers" group from the Haight-Ashbury said in an

interview that "love" was a word that was "foisted on the Haight." It Was Twenty Years Ago Today, produced by Granada Television, consultant Derek Taylor, 1987. Charles Perry discusses the varied philosophical and political worldviews of the hippies on pp. 262-64. As for the Beats, John Tytell maintains that their early feelings of despair led to an elevated vision, influenced by their experiences and by their belief in Zen Buddhism. Tytell, pp. 4 and 75.

14. The entire poem is published in Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Starting From San Francisco (New York: New Directions Books, 1958), pp. 58-64.

15. This hippie singing group was based in Los Angeles. Although not written by a San Franciscan, the song was popular due to its stereotypical Haight-Ashbury point of view.

16. "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Some Flowers in Your Hair)," words and music by John Phillips. Copyright 1967 and 1970 by MCA Music Publishing, a division of MCA Inc., New York. Lyrics quoted from Songs of the 60's (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Hal Leonard Publishing Corporation, 1989), pp. 124-26.

17. In addition to Beat novelists William S. Burroughs and John Clellon Holmes, those who worked more exclusively as poets included Allen Ginsberg, Gregory Corso, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gary Snyder, Michael McClure

and Philip Whalen. Jack Kerouac wrote both novels and poems. Academic American Encyclopedia, 1980 ed.

18. Gene Sculatti and David Seay, San Francisco Nights: The Psychedelic Music Trip, 1965-1968 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), pp. 45-46. The group included Luria Castell (a political activist who had met Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in Cuba), Jack Towle, Alton Kelley, and Ellen Harmon. They lived together in one large house on Pine Street in San Francisco. The origin of the name has never been verified, although explanations have been put forward by Ralph Gleason, Sculatti and Seay, and others.

19. Walter Medeiros, San Francisco Rock Concert Posters: Imagery and Meaning, Master of Arts Thesis, History of Art, University of California, Berkeley, 1972.

20. Walter Medeiros, From Frisco With Love: An Introduction to the Dance Concert Poster Art, exhibition catalogue, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, October 6-November 21, 1976.

21. Thomas Albright, Art in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1945-1980 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985).

22. Charles Perry, The Haight-Ashbury: A History (New York: Random House/Rolling Stone Press, 1984).

23. Jack McDonough, San Francisco Rock: The Illustrated History of San Francisco Rock Music (San

Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1985).

24. The five include: Wes Wilson, Stanley Mouse, Alton Kelley, Victor Moscoso, and Rick Griffin.

25. Paul D. Grushkin, The Art of Rock: Posters from Presley to Punk (New York: Abbeville Press, Inc., 1987).

26. Ben Friedman, A Guide to the Numbered Family Dog Posters (San Francisco: The Postermat, ca. 1970).

27. Eric King, A Collector's Guide to the Numbered Dance Posters Created for Bill Graham and the Family Dog, 1966-1973 (Berkeley: Svaha Press, 1980).

28. Bonnie MacLean, who married Bill Graham in June of 1967 and changed her surname to MacLean-Graham, replaced Wes Wilson as the regular poster artist for the Fillmore Auditorium. For information on their marriage, see Perry, p. 203. Her replacement of Wilson is discussed by Grushkin, pp. 73-4. Her series of posters ran from May of 1967 to January of 1968, and she created two posters in October of 1969, one in December of 1969, and one in April of 1970. These are reproduced in Grushkin, pp. 122-25, p. 134, p. 135, p. 136, and p. 137.

29. Medeiros, From Frisco With Love..., p. 3.

30. The date was October 6, 1966. Wolf, p. 51.

31. James Carey watched a group of approximately 80 subjects who smoked marijuana and/or took LSD. His interviews covered a one-year period. James T. Carey, The College Drug Scene (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:

Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968).

32. Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD and the Sixties Rebellion (New York: Grove Press, 1985).

33. Timothy Leary, Ralph Metzner, and Richard Alpert, The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead (Secaucus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1964).

34. Albert Hofmann, LSD: My Problem Child, trans. Jonathan Ott (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, Inc., 1983).

35. Tom Wolfe, The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test (New York: Bantam Books, 1968).

CHAPTER ONE

Artistic Precursors and Styles of Influence,
and Defining the Psychedelic Style

The first San Francisco dance concert posters appeared in late 1965, and they helped to draw a crowd of youthful, costumed revelers who wanted to dance while they listened to live performances of rock music.¹ By early 1966, the dance concert had become a regular, organized social event which served as the nucleus for a developing subculture of "hippies." As a result of the earliest dance concerts, the young people involved in the dance activities realized just how many people shared their interests and by mid-1966 they had organized a community in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco.² The posters created for the music venues reflected the activities and the interests of the particular social group for whom they were created.³

While poster production continues for San Francisco rock music concerts until this day, the scope of this thesis is the period from 1965 to 1971. 1971 was the year rock music entrepreneur, Bill Graham, closed the music auditorium known as the Fillmore West.⁴ The closing of the Fillmore West signalled the end of an era, during which the system of patronage, as well as the interests and the values of the hippies, had remained more or less

continuous. It was also during this era that "rock" music, as distinct from the simpler rhythms and more vapid lyrics of the "rock and roll" music of the 1950s and early '60s, became firmly established as an expression of the youth culture of the United States; and because of its popularity it grew into a leading economic industry in California and elsewhere.⁵ The audience, the music, the musicians, the artists, and the patrons, are all factors in the history of the San Francisco rock posters. I have designated two periods of San Francisco rock poster art, the first of which spans from late 1965 until the end of the so-called "Summer of Love" of 1967.⁶ The second phase begins with the dismantling of the hippie community in the Haight-Ashbury at the end of that summer, until the closing of the Fillmore West.

The earliest of the San Francisco rock posters, and its sister art of the handbills produced for rock music events, reflected a characteristic style which made an immediate visual impact and which distinguished them from posters created previously in the United States and elsewhere. The rock posters were quite unlike their cultural predecessors which were the posters created for popular music events, such as those which advertised rhythm and blues performances, rock and roll concerts (figure 1), or folk music gatherings.⁷

If we consider the earliest existing advertisement

for a San Francisco dance concert, Alton Kelley's handbill of late 1965 (figure 2), we may immediately distinguish differences between the San Francisco live-music announcements and the type of poster reproduced in figure 1. Figure 1 is an example of what is called the "boxing style" of poster, which includes a reproduction of a photograph of the featured musician(s) and block-style lettering which conveys the essential information about the event. Boxing style posters were designed to be read quickly and from a distance.⁸ Kelley's handbill, in contrast, was distributed to individuals by hand⁹ (hence the term, "handbill"), and is very different from the boxing style posters. Kelley's design is the earliest example of a body of work which was created by artists who, along with their patrons, were (generally) willing to disregard the first principle of commercial poster design: unqualified clarity.¹⁰ We see that Kelley has drawn design elements which interrupt the separate units of the name, "Dr. Strange," and he combines a variety of lettering styles within a single name, such as "The Family Dog." The complexity and the overall busyness of the design serve almost to obscure the identities of the personages featured on the bill, rather than presenting the names clearly as block-style lettering would do. It would seem that for the group of friends who organized the first San Francisco dance concerts

under the name "The Family Dog,"¹¹ and whose "membership" included artist Alton Kelley, the decorative features of the design were considered as important as the information which the announcement conveys. In this case, catching the viewer's attention was the principal aim of the artist, since in 1965, few of the names on the bill would have been known to the general public anyway.¹² However, the limited legibility found in this handbill caught on as a stylistic feature for later posters, even for those which announced performances by nationally-known musicians.

We might understand more about the relevance of the posters' illegibility if we keep in mind the contrast between the Haight-Ashbury posters and the boxing style poster (see figure 1), which were created at the same time for popular music performances held in San Francisco. The clear readability of the block-style typeface was intended to impart basic information at a glance, which was especially important because the posters were often displayed along urban automobile routes. In the Haight-Ashbury community, on the other hand, a special value was placed on leisure time,¹³ and the hippies' disinclination to hold full-time jobs rendered the automobile an unnecessary luxury.¹⁴ The factors of ample time, the relative rarity of cars owned by hippies, along with the small size of the neighborhood and the mild climate of

California, made walking a feasible mode of getting around in the Haight-Ashbury. And so unlike the boxing style posters, the Haight-Ashbury posters were not geared to a busy and fast-paced lifestyle, and the careful study required to unravel their complexities was one way of making a statement about the ideal hippie lifestyle. This is not to say that the posters were found only in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, but this was their point of genesis. The contorted lettering was a form of "in-group" communication, disseminated from the hippie capital. The lettering styles came to be identified with the source of the posters in the Haight-Ashbury, which was one reason for their tremendous popularity in 1967.

For many of the poster artists, making a poster difficult to read became a sort of "game" which required the active participation of the viewer to decipher the posters' messages.¹⁵ Note, for example, Wes Wilson's poster of July, 1966 (figure 3). There is also an association between the illegibility of the posters and the "psychedelic" experience, which has been explained by art historian Walter Medeiros: "The intensity of concentration which develops while attempting to decipher...[the words] resembles the state of mind which occurs when high on dope and experiencing intense visual involvement in details."¹⁶

Various associations were perceived to exist between

poster art and "dope" (a slang term for marijuana and the stronger hallucinogenic drugs); these occasioned the term "psychedelic art" for the early posters.¹⁷ The word "psychedelic," which means "mind expanding" or "mind manifesting," was coined by Dr. Humphrey Osmond in 1957.¹⁸ Dr. Osmond was a psychiatrist who used the term to refer to the psychic and visual effects of the chemical hallucinogen, lysergic acid diethylamide, or LSD. This was a substance which was legal until late 1966, and which was gaining acceptance during the late 1950s within the psychiatric community as a drug of therapeutic value.¹⁹ When the use of LSD and other hallucinogenic substances, including illegal marijuana, became more widely popular than ever before for recreational use within factions of the youth culture in 1965 and '66, the term "psychedelic" was extended to include certain kinds of experimental rock music, known as "acid rock," and, in turn, to the visual arts.²⁰ One aspect of psychedelic art was the light show which accompanied many of the live rock music performances in San Francisco from about 1965-69. The "psychedelic" effects of light show art seem to have been especially associated with the stop-action effects of stroboscopic lighting and with colored-liquid light projections.²¹ The liquid part of the light show was produced by swirling colored pigments together in a convex dish, and the moving configurations of colored lines,

whorls, and explosions of bubbles were projected onto the walls and ceilings of the auditorium by means of overhead projectors.²² Hallucinogenic drug users reportedly have visions of brightly-colored abstract patterns while under the influence of the stronger drugs, such as LSD and mescaline,²³ and the liquid light shows were intended either as enhancement or simulation of these widely-experienced psychedelically-induced visual phenomena.²⁴ Author Tom Wolfe, writing in the appropriate vernacular, conveys the general impressions created by a typical evening's light show:

The strobe, or stroboscopic...has certain magical properties in the world of acid heads...Heads discovered that strobes could project them into many of the sensations of an LSD experience without taking LSD...To people standing under the mighty strobe everything seemed to fragment. Ecstatic dancers--their hands flew off their arms, frozen in the air--their glistening faces came apart...The... light machine pitching the intergalactic red science-fiction seas to all corners of the lodge, oil and water and food coloring pressed between plates of glass and projected in vast size so that the very ooze of cellular Creation seems to ectoplast into the ethers...(25)

The other manifestation of psychedelic art was the posters which often featured bright colors in complementary combinations. Other features of the psychedelic poster were sinuous or spiralling lines and forms which appear to be dissolving, stretched out of

shape, or merging with other forms (see figure 4). These forms, the spirals, swirls, and liquid forms, seem to have been related in the minds of many to LSD-inspired visions, as well as to psychedelic light show art.²⁶ However, the so-called "psychedelic style" of poster art has yet to be defined. Only Walter Medeiros, the writer who is most articulate on the subject of the psychedelic style, has attempted to specify which visual qualities in poster art connote the psychedelic experience. These are "dense patterns" of both form and lettering, and the application of what he describes as "'hot' colors adjacent to each other, which causes edges of forms to vibrate or flow in a way similar to the visual experiences of LSD or mescaline."²⁷ Other writers, however, use the term "psychedelic" indiscriminately to describe all the poster art created through 1971, including artworks which might be more appropriately described as "Surrealistic" or even "Art Nouveau" in style.²⁸ The influence of these and other existing artistic styles on the body of artwork designated "psychedelic" warrants further examination. Therefore, in the following discussion, whenever I have used the term "psychedelic" to describe the appearance of a poster, I intend the term to refer to the specific criteria set forth by Walter Medeiros or by other writers on psychedelic poster art.

With the opening in early 1966 of the two major clubs which catered to the burgeoning Haight-Ashbury community, the Fillmore Auditorium and the Avalon Ballroom, four men were soon established as the leading poster artists. These were Alton Kelley and Stanley Mouse (né Miller) who collaborated as "Mouse Studios," Wes Wilson, and Victor Moscoso.²⁹ Each of these artists, and many others who worked in San Francisco, created poster imagery and lettering styles which drew upon a range of previously existing styles, one of which was Art Nouveau. The Art Nouveau style had been popular in Europe and the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, and so the sinuous, interlacing lines which are characteristic of Art Nouveau,³⁰ along with its iconography of vegetal and floral forms, stately women, and elegant birds, contrasted to the trends in the avant-garde arts of the 1950s and early '60s in the United States. Some of these were Abstract Expressionism, Op Art, and Pop Art, all of which possess a formal modernism which is quite unlike the florid designs of Art Nouveau. In the poster arts in general, very little had been created in the United States since World War II.³¹ The nearest thing to a poster art (besides Hollywood film posters) was billboard art, which embodied the simplicity of form referred to by one poster historian as "Bauhaus functional austerity."³² However, in the mid-1960s in England and the United States, there

had been a revival of interest in Art Nouveau, which was stimulated by museum exhibits in England and the United States, and by the publication of several art histories, such as those by Robert Schmutzler and Mario Amaya.³³ In November of 1965, an exhibit titled Jugendstil and Expressionism was held across the bay from San Francisco at the Berkeley University Art Museum; as we shall see in this and the next chapter, reproductions from its catalogue influenced rock poster artist, Wes Wilson.

One possible reason for the interest in the Art Nouveau style among the youthful hippie culture of San Francisco may have been the visual association between the elements characteristic of the Art Nouveau style and the architectural and decorative features which are distinctive of San Francisco. Victorian architecture, with its facades decorated by carved scrolls and vegetal forms and its Tiffany-style stained glass windows, is the principal architectural style of buildings located in the Haight-Ashbury district. Also significant to the hippies were the many local thrift stores, as sources for relics which they purchased to wear and to decorate their environment.³⁴ The hippies adopted an antiquated clothing style, often of rich fabrics, of paisleys and floral designs, which they gleaned from thrift store surpluses. Today we are able to get some idea of the contemporary vogue in clothing from photographs of San Francisco rock

musicians, The Charlatans band (figure 5), and Janis Joplin (figure 6). Therefore, because a visual association links the Art Nouveau style with the carvings of sinuous and floral designs found with the Victorian architectural style, we might understand its adoption in poster art as a graphic symbol for the physical features of the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood. Also, posters with Art Nouveau elements may have served as a kind of personalized invitation for those who were wont to adopt the costumes and assume the identities of the city's cultural ancestors.³⁵

It was Alphonse Mucha's Job Cigarette poster of 1896 (figure 7) which first attracted the attention of poster artists Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley.³⁶ The "lifting" of Mucha's design for the Mouse Studios' Avalon poster of October, 1966 (figure 8), demonstrates one application of Art Nouveau images to rock poster art. The central image of the two posters is almost identical, and only the choice of colors appears to distinguish the original from its more outrageous progeny. In this case, the existing image was undoubtedly quoted because it was appropriate to the special interests of the hippie community. Mouse and Kelley drew upon the "fetishism" which Mucha demonstrated for long, flowing hair, since a "natural" long hairstyle was as appealing to the hippies as it was to the Art Nouveau artists.³⁷ Even more significant,

however, was the analogy which could be drawn between the model's smoking activity, which inspires in her features a dreamy, far-away expression, and the experience of smoking marijuana cigarettes. Smoking "pot" was an important social activity within the hippie subculture, and certainly no viewer from the hippie community would have overlooked the poster's drug connotation.³⁸

In much of the literature about the San Francisco rock posters, Art Nouveau elements are mentioned as a prominent feature of the poster imagery. Author Bevis Hillier, in The Style of the Century: 1900-1980, remarks about the "psychedelic style" of poster art, that "its mazes and whorls and arabesques were in fact a none too subtle adaptation of Art Nouveau."³⁹ In 1967, a Time magazine article went so far as to designate the style of rock posters as "Nouveau Frisco."⁴⁰ Furthermore, Beatle John Lennon had his Rolls Royce painted in so-called "psychedelic" designs in the 1960s,⁴¹ and a photograph of the car (figure 9) demonstrates the close association between the flowers and scrolls of Art Nouveau and the "psychedelic" art form which had originated with San Francisco poster art. However, Walter Medeiros disagrees that Art Nouveau design elements are a prominent feature of the rock posters, and he maintains that the Art Nouveau style had "no formative influence on rock poster art." His conclusions are based on the fact that many of the

important poster artists working in 1966 and 1967 had little or no formal training in the arts, and his assumption is that they were "generally unaware of art history." Medeiros goes on to state that the vegetal-floral motifs and the line quality found in works of the Art Nouveau style were not influential on poster art in general, but rather "the origins of the rock poster style are in the patterns, color, and flowing forms of psychedelic vision/experience." He concludes that "only later, when a basic style was attained, did they [the poster artists] adopt some elements from Art Nouveau, and then only rarely."⁴²

When Medeiros discusses the "formative" era of poster design, we must assume that he refers to only the first months of rock poster art, which would include the first few posters of late 1965 and those created during the first regular months of production in early 1966. It might be argued that these early months of poster creation represent a period of experimentation, and that the earliest posters did not represent a lasting style of poster art, with the notable exception of Wes Wilson's arrangements of text into undulating shapes (see figure 10). By November of 1966, we see with Mouse Studios' Edwardian Ball poster (figure 11) that the "look" of Art Nouveau was established in poster art, and that the poster artists were no longer simply copying existing designs.

In this poster, note especially the rich paisley patterns which were popular at the turn of the century, and the asymmetrical composition created by the gray line which frames the paisley pattern. The enframing line recalls certain Art Nouveau glass works as well as furniture design; compare, for example, the desk designed by Hector Guimard in 1903 (figure 12).

Of course, it is true that not all of the posters included recognizable Art Nouveau design elements (although a number of them did), since the poster artists were inspired by several different styles. Also, in the case of certain specific posters which do include wholesale borrowing of Art Nouveau images, such as Mouse Studios' "Mucha" poster, we might agree with Medeiros's position in that such borrowings do not constitute "influence." Influence, according to Webster's Dictionary, "implies the power of persons or things...to affect others." In the world of artistic creation, the term "influence" is generally used to indicate an artist's adaptation or translation of existing visual material into a body of design of his or her own creation. Influence, therefore, is different from copying, and since it is the result of an artist's impressions, the question of what constitutes influence is not always clearly determinable. However, there were many posters which did not include wholesale transcriptions of existing images, but which

seem to have been, in one way or another, imitative of or influenced by Art Nouveau prototypes.

We have already found through cursory examination of Mouse and Kelley's posters that figures and designs were undoubtedly derived from images which the poster artists found in books on Art Nouveau. Their library research has been documented,⁴³ and so in their case, the appearance of such features may come as no surprise. However, in the case of other poster artists, it would seem that some of their imagery was also inspired by reading on the Art Nouveau movement.

Victor Moscoso created a number of poster images which included floral motifs, and we will examine one of these posters in comparison to Art Nouveau imagery. While there are other examples of Art Nouveau elements in Moscoso's posters, I have chosen to discuss one of his most celebrated posters which was not created for a San Francisco rock concert, but as an advertising poster for the Neiman Marcus Poster Show of October, 1967 (figure 13).

In this poster, Moscoso depicted a sphere which is a schematic floral design, and which appears to hover over an horizon of similar flowers. The individual flowers, with their overlapping forms tapered at one end and fanned out at the other, resemble a number of similar configurations found in works of Art Nouveau origin.⁴⁴

One very convincing comparison may be made with a diagram drawn by Maurice Verneuil for Alphonse Mucha's stylebook of ca. 1900 (figure 14). Also, the circular form in the upper left-hand corner of Verneuil's diagram of figure 14 is very similar to Moscoso's sphere in terms of an overall appearance, while the two-part division of Verneuil's sphere in the lower left corner resembles Moscoso's bipartite construction with its emphasized "yin-yang" configuration.⁴⁵ The comparison between the spherical element of Moscoso's poster and its component forms with various elements noted in Verneuil's designs is not meant to provide conclusive proof that Moscoso saw this specific publication. Rather, the comparison is made to point out that the diagrams selected for reproduction by Mucha and his associates were intended to illustrate in a general way the characteristic elements of Art Nouveau design, since it was published as a stylebook.⁴⁶ Moscoso, a well-educated artist who researched source material for his designs (as we shall see in Chapter Two), would have probably seen pictures similar to these in his study of the Art Nouveau style.

Wes Wilson's poster for the Byrds, of March 1967 (figure 15) seems to suggest his appreciation for certain aspects of the Art Nouveau style. Walter Medeiros opines that Wilson did not concern himself with works of Art Nouveau origin, but that in the case of this poster,

Wilson drew the picture as a response to a peacock design drawn by Victor Moscoso for an event of that same month which is flatter and rendered in bright colors.⁴⁷ However, it is possible that both artists were looking at works of Art Nouveau in which the peacock is a recurring element.

An example of an Art Nouveau peacock image which Wilson may have seen is William Bradley's bookplate, reproduced in figure 16. While Wilson, unlike Mouse and Kelley, never copied a design in its entirety, it is reasonable to assume that Wilson saw either Bradley's picture, or perhaps similar works by other artists, such as Aubrey Beardsley's drawing of a woman with an attendant peacock, of figure 17. Both Bradley's and Beardsley's pictures, as well as many other works of Art Nouveau origin, have an elegance of form which sweeps across the page in an S-curve, which we may also note in Wilson's composition. Also, many Art Nouveau designs were, like Beardsley's, black and white line drawings. Etchings and wood engravings were also published.⁴⁸ And if we examine Wilson's poster we note that the peacock's tail feathers are not represented realistically in all their glory, but in a schematic fashion, just as Bradley and Beardsley had done. Even the crest on the head of Wilson's bird resembles Art Nouveau jewelry designs, such as the hair ornament worn by Alphonse Mucha's Job

Cigarette woman of figure 7. Therefore, it would appear that Wilson's choice of subject, his composition, his linear technique, his treatment of tail feathers, and even his ornamental detail, were intended as a conscious evocation of original works of Art Nouveau design.

Elements which were recognizably Art Nouveau in origin were perhaps most frequently incorporated into the Mouse Studios' poster designs. One of Art Nouveau's most distinctive features is its line quality, especially the serpentine or "whiplash" line. I have selected for illustration a piece of metalwork, Hector Guimard's design for the doorway of Castel Beranger in Paris, of figure 18, to represent certain characteristic elements of Art Nouveau. Note especially the asymmetrical design, which is a type of composition also found in a number of Mouse Studios' posters, such as the Grateful Dead Anniversary Party poster of November, 1966 (figure 19).⁴⁹ The thin, serpentine line of Guimard's work may be compared to Mouse and Kelley's poster for the "Human Be-In" of figure 20. Walter Medeiros ascribes the quality of line found in several Mouse Studios' posters to the artists' previous experience in automobile pin-striping,⁵⁰ and no doubt this background did prove valuable to their sensibility for line work. However, the viewer will note that even with the Human Be-In poster (figure 20) there is a slight but deliberate relaxation of uniformity in the border design,

where the upper corners are not strictly identical. Such flexibility is not characteristic of automobile detailing, in which design symmetry and a consistent line execution is more normal.

In some cases, a specific connection between "psychedelic" posters and Art Nouveau sources may be firmly established. In the Mouse and Kelley design for the Art In Fashion poster of October, 1966 (figure 21), the features of a female form are elongated. Her figure appears to dissolve into "liquidy" lines which proceed from her and flow around the border of the poster in the form of globules and swirls. This poster would seem to embody the "'busyness' or visual density" and the "flowing, decorative forms" which Medeiros assigns to the psychedelic style, and which suggest the forms of the light show. Sweeping along the upper right-hand side of the poster is a serial arrangement of arcing lines which expand at their tips. Very similar forms appear in a text published by Art Nouveau poster artist, Eugène Grasset (figure 22), which was a kind of primer on the characteristic elements of Art Nouveau design.⁵¹ Kelley has acknowledged that he and Mouse did copy this particular section of design for the poster, while he maintains that "the squiggly lines are Stanley's."⁵² Mouse and Kelley's discovery and application of Grasset's diagram suggest two important ideas. The first is that

their research on the Art Nouveau style was more extensive than suggested by Medeiros, who has mentioned only their study of the work of Alphonse Mucha.⁵³ But even more important, their adoption of Grasset's diagram demonstrates that the line work and forms which were represented as rudimentary elements of Art Nouveau design were deemed appropriate by the poster artists for inclusion within a larger design which might be described as "psychedelic" in style. Line work like Grasset's would therefore seem to constitute a formative influence on some poster art.

A series of bending or swirling lines is a feature found in many works of Art Nouveau origin. Not all such serial arrangements are as regular in organization as those of Grasset's diagram, however. We see looser configurations in a design by the Dutch Art Nouveau designer, Jan Toorop, in which lines are repeated in a serial organization (figure 23). The poster, an advertisement for a salad oil called Delftsche Slaolie, is reproduced in a number of books on Art Nouveau, and also appears in the catalogue for the Jugendstil and Expressionism exhibit held in Berkeley, which we know Wes Wilson had seen.⁵⁴ We might compare Wilson's last poster for the Fillmore of May, 1967 (figure 24) with Toorop's design. Wilson treated the hair as a pattern of sinuous lines to fill the space and to frame the figural areas of

the picture. Such a use of a serial arrangement of lines suggests that Wilson was influenced by Toorop.

Another Art Nouveau example of serial arrangements of lines may be seen in Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo's Wren City Churches bookplate of 1883 (figure 25), which is also reproduced in a number of books on Art Nouveau. Mackmurdo's design is similar to the linear forms of a poster by Devore (single name only) for the KPFA Radio Station Benefit of 1967 (figure 26). Mackmurdo's line achieves an expressive force and movement that may also be seen in sections of Devore's poster.

While it would be difficult to prove that the rock poster artists were directly influenced by specific examples of Art Nouveau works, such as those represented here by Grasset, Toorop, Verneuil, and Mackmurdo, such examples are so frequently reproduced that it would seem likely that a poster artist seeking information on Art Nouveau would have run across at least one or two of them. Therefore, in response to Medeiros's statement that the flowing forms found in rock posters derived from the artists' visual experiences of LSD, we might add that since Art Nouveau design elements appeared in poster art as early as the fall of 1966, it is conceivable that the artists' simultaneous discoveries of Art Nouveau and LSD may have combined in the creations of a new kind of visual art. It is possible that the bright colors

derived, at least in part, from the LSD experience while, as Hillier noted, the "mazes and whorls and arabesques" may have been influenced by Art Nouveau. Also, the "dense patterns" which Medeiros ascribes to the psychedelic vision is a feature of many Art Nouveau works, for example Mackmurdo's bookplate (figure 25). Perhaps Art Nouveau pictures provided a readymade vocabulary which the poster artists drew upon for suggesting the visual distortion and density associated with the experience of LSD.

Another artistic movement which influenced a number of rock posters began as an avant-garde form, but had become widely popularized in the American culture by the mid-1960s. This was Optical Art, better known as Op Art. Originating in abstract painting, its designs were found in fashions, in discotheques, and in advertising before 1965.⁵⁵ Op Art was characterized by geometrical abstraction and hard-edged designs, and Op paintings are distinguished by their capacity to stimulate a retinal response in the viewer.⁵⁶

Optical art was not an entirely new artistic phenomenon when it appeared in pictures of the late 1950s. Many earlier artists had produced pictures noted for their optical illusions or visual ambiguity.⁵⁷ However, the artists of the Op movement systematized the kinds of forms and color combinations which were discovered to produce the illusions of different kinds of movement, especially

vibrating or flickering movement. The critic Cyril Barrett commented that the illusion of movement is so common to Op pictures that "movement might almost be called Op's defining characteristic."⁵⁸ For example, the "periodic structures" in figure 27 are made up of uniform patterns of many small geometric units, which repeat the same values at regular intervals.⁵⁹ William Seitz, who organized the first exhibit of Op Art shown in the United States at the Museum of Modern Art in 1965, says of periodic structures that the "sequential alterations in position, such as a step-by-step rotation of squares in an overall pattern, give an effect of cinematic movement."⁶⁰ The most noticeable effect produced by the periodic structures pictured here is appropriately called "optical flicker."⁶¹ In addition to periodic structures, other kinds of abstract configurations were found to produce similar effects. For example, Victor Vasarely's Transparency of 1953 (figure 28) produces an effect known as "irradiation," or vibrant luminosity.⁶² And another kind of optical reaction is known as the "moiré effect," which is created by "watery" intersections suggestive of "shock waves;"⁶³ see, for example, the Fresnel-ring moiré in figure 29.

The British painter Bridget Riley created a series of black and white pictures which are among the most frequently reproduced of all Op Art. One example from

this series is Current of 1964 (figure 30),⁶⁴ in which a pattern of wavelike forms creates a dizzying effect. Barrett describes the horizontal movement of lines which "seem to detach themselves from the central area of activity and float upwards or downwards apparently in front of the canvas."⁶⁵ A British author on Op Art, Michael Compton, describes the confusion which results when we try to trace the configuration of a single horizontal bar of wave patterns, and we find that any one of them might be perceived alternately as a crest or a hollow:

The eye (and the mind) is threatened with a complete breakdown in its power to control or structure what it sees. It is overwhelmed with contradictory information, much of it created by its own mechanisms which, in less extreme conditions, serve to stabilize perception. Because it can never quite see what the object is, it is forced to become intensely aware of its own perception of it, a situation which may arise (for example) when a person is under the influence of certain drugs. In quiet intervals one is saved from the threat of being overwhelmed by a periodical intellectual realisation of the basic simplicity of the picture.
(66)

Compton maintains that an intellectual or rational process is required in order to save the mind from its own unconscious mechanism, which is stimulated by Riley's picture much as it is by certain drugs. Compton's assessment would seem to link certain Op pictures with

Surrealist art, which was created, in part, to force a struggle between the conscious and unconscious areas of the mind.⁶⁷ Edward Lucie-Smith claims that Riley's painting "aims at throwing the spectator into a hypnotic trance."⁶⁸ And Riley herself has pointed out that the viewer's reaction to her paintings bears an affinity with "happenings" (a live art form), "where," she states, "the disturbance precipitated is latent in the sociological and psychological situation."⁶⁹ A more thorough investigation of the similarity in aim between certain Op artists and the Surrealists is outside the scope of this thesis, but I would like to underscore Riley's acknowledgment that her paintings are capable of "precipitating disturbance" within the viewer's psychological condition. We will return to this point later.

Certain connections may be established between Op Art and the San Francisco rock posters. One of the few examples of a poster which is composed almost entirely of non-representational optical forms is Wes Wilson's design for one of the social gatherings known as the "Acid Tests." These events were hosted by the author Ken Kesey. The poster (figure 31), which probably dates from early 1966,⁷⁰ suggests that Wilson found overall composition more important than the optical effects generated by various "borrowed" Op Art designs.⁷¹ However,

considerable optical flicker and movement are generated by certain areas of design; for example, note the small section where a Riley-influenced wave pattern is allowed to continue uninterrupted. The event which this poster announced was a kind of "happening," a celebration of LSD, during which the drug's effects were either simulated or enhanced by light shows, experimental rock music (usually performed by The Grateful Dead band), and by impromptu exchanges between the hosts (Keseey and his "Merry Pranksters") and the audience. Author Tom Wolfe reported on one of the Acid Tests:

The strobe, the projectors, the mikes, the tapes, the amplifiers, the variable lag Ampex...[Norman] Hartweg is staring at the dials--and he can't even see the numbers he is so bombed, the numbers are wriggling off like huge luminous parasites under a microscope...[Kenneth] Babbs says, "One reason we're doing this is to learn how to function on acid..." A high percentage [of the guests] took LSD about four hours ago...The two projectors shine forth with The Movie [of Keseey and the Pranksters' bus trip across the country]...The movie and Roy Seburn's light machine...and then the Dead coming in with their immense submarine vibrato vibrating, garanging...The Dead's weird sound! agony-in-ecstasis!...full of sort of ghoulish vibrato sounds as if each string on their electric guitars is half a block long and twanging in a room full of natural gas...Then suddenly another movie THE FROGMAN... a movie while under acid...deepens, deepens, deepens in perspective, this movie, the most 3-D movie ever made....(72)

Given the nature of the "Acid Test," Wilson's poster would seem almost to illustrate Compton's remark that the effects generated by Op Art could be linked conceptually to a drug-induced experience.⁷³ Perhaps the graph at the bottom right was intended to indicate that the participant's heart and brain activity could be measurably altered by his or her submission to the effects of Kesey's "test."

More frequently in the poster art, there is a combination of Op Art design and representational form. For example, in the anonymous poster Krishna Consciousness Comes West of 1967 (figure 32), a circular form is superimposed over a photograph of a seated figure of a guru or religious teacher. The circular form functions like a periodic structure (see figure 27), which, like the one below it, generates illusions of both color and form. If we concentrate on the upper circular form, in those areas not covered by the figure, we perceive that the red of the figure casts a reddish glow over the lines of the circle. Also, illusionary lines appear to radiate outward from the central portion of the circle. The capacity of optical forms to represent the visual equivalent of energy has been noted by Cyril Barrett and Op artist, Jesus-Raphael Soto,⁷⁴ and in this poster the illusions generated seem to represent a radiating field of energy emanating from the heart of the guru. Thus we see with

this poster, and with Wilson's Acid Test poster as well, that the use of optical form in poster art was intended to provoke more than a retinal or physiological experience, which were the aims of most Op Art.⁷⁵ Rather, with the posters the viewer is expected to use his or her interpretative faculty to equate the sensory effects stimulated by optical form with an experience which (the poster promises) exists outside its viewing. Thus, the inclusion of optical forms is intended to evoke a feeling or an experience which is meant to be associated in the viewer's mind with a specific event.

Optical theory also extended into the realm of color, where certain color combinations were found to produce the illusion of vibration, of advance and recession and other illusory effects. While the first truly optical painting produced in color is considered to have been Marcel Duchamp's Fluttering Hearts of 1936 (figure 33), which seems to pulsate "like a heartbeat,"⁷⁶ the artist who contributed most to optical color theory was Josef Albers. Albers published a book on his discoveries in 1963, titled Interaction of Color, which made a considerable impact on the art world in the mid-1960s.⁷⁷

The simple diagram in figure 34 reflects some of Albers's discoveries. We see that the same shade of red looks different when it is surrounded by different colors, such as blue, orange, or violet. The red appears to glow

in combination with a blue or blue-based color (such as violet), and the edge which separates the two colors appears to vibrate; but the red looks duller when placed alongside orange (a color which contains red) and no illusion of vibration occurs. Also, the position of a block of color may appear to shift position, as, for instance, the blue center of the first square appears to lie in front of the surrounding red area, while in the central square, the corresponding orange center appears to lie behind the red color. These optical effects are attributed to a phenomenon called "simultaneous contrast," which is a term for the illusions produced when two similarly intense colors, such as the red and blue of this diagram, are viewed simultaneously.⁷⁸ Simultaneous contrast can produce what writer John Lancaster describes as "the quivering illusion of movement, as the viewer perceives a constant vibration or interchange of stimuli resulting from what is termed the figure/ground phenomenon."⁷⁹ The "figure/ground phenomenon" is created when two colors, such as the red and blue of the left-hand square of figure 34, are equal in intensity, so that neither is lighter nor darker than the other. When colors such as these are similarly intense, the viewer cannot determine which color might assume the role of "central motif" within the picture's field, and so each of the colors may be perceived alternately as advancing or

receding in relationship to the other.⁸⁰ Simultaneous contrast is the principal mechanism for the illusion of pulsation in Duchamp's Fluttering Hearts picture, for example. Therefore, pulsation, vibration, and the advance and recession of areas of color, are just some of the effects produced by simultaneously contrasted colors. William Seitz remarks that the effects of simultaneous contrast "may be as dynamic as any produced by physical motion."⁸¹

Some of the colors painted on Op canvases during the mid-1960s approached an almost fluorescent or spectral intensity, for example Peter Sedgley's Lazar of 1966 (figure 35).⁸² The brightest, most vibrant colors of the Op artists were adopted by the San Franciscans, who used them in glaring combinations, such as those of the Mouse Studios' "Mucha" poster (figure 8). With the widespread publicity which greeted the rock music posters, the Op-derived colors came to be associated with the "psychedelic" style of art, since bright colors were associated with the visual experiences reported by psychedelic drug users. According to James Carey, who headed a research project on hallucinogenic drugs at the University of California at Berkeley in the 1960s, the perception of bright, glowing colors is the second most commonly-reported response to LSD. He quotes one man as remarking that LSD "kicked me...out of black and white and

into the technicolor in my life."⁸³ Albert Hofmann, discoverer of LSD, describes his heightened perception of color while under the drug's influence: "the remarkable brilliance of color...luminous colors...radiant colors flooded the room, folding over on top of one another in rhythm with the music."⁸⁴ It seems, however, that the bright colors chosen by poster artists were intended not only to be evocative of a drug experience, but the hot pinks and acid greens were also the "loudest" colors imaginable. At least one artist has associated the "blinding" colors of his posters with the "deafening" decibels produced by the rock musicians.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the emphasis on color was important to hippies, who valued adventure and spontaneity.⁸⁶ In rejecting the lifestyle of their elders, which they felt was dictated by a "nine-to-five" job, they also rejected the colorless dress code of the working person.⁸⁷ Chet Helms, manager of a rock band and of the Avalon Ballroom remarked that "having grown up in the Eisenhower years, the era of the gray flannel suit, we had a great thirst for color and reclaimed it as a mode of expression."⁸⁸ As one writer has stated, "color became the flag of the hippie culture."⁸⁹

While most of the artists who worked during the first phase of poster production used glaring color combinations at one time or another, the artist who most consistently

exploited the results of Josef Albers's color experiments was Victor Moscoso, who had studied under Albers at Yale University.⁹⁰ An examination of a couple of Moscoso's posters clarifies some of the ways in which Moscoso applied and extended the aims of Op Art into the special realm of San Francisco rock poster art.

Moscoso created a poster in 1967 for the Family Dog advertising a concert of The Doors and The Miller Blues Band (figure 36). It includes a periodic structure which spirals outward in a clockwise direction. Unlike the spirals in optical paintings, however, the full display of movement is cut off by blocks of text positioned diagonally above and below it. Although the red arms of the spiral are more opaque than the blue and green arms, if we concentrate on small sections of the design in isolation, our retina is affected by the simultaneous contrast of red and blue or green, which can appear to advance and recede. The spiralling motion of the periodic structure appears to originate from a large red dot, which seems to pulsate due to its "buzz saw" or barbed shape and due to the red and blue lines which alternate with greatest frequency there where they are smallest.

The spiral is superimposed on a female figure; this distinguishes Moscoso's poster from the works of the Op artists. The Op artists avoided the depiction of representational forms, due to their inherent connotative

and associative qualities which the Op artists felt would distract the viewer from the optical effects.⁹¹ Moscoso, on the other hand, combined an abstract optical form with an image freighted with associations, a bare-breasted female figure. This kind of figure has appeared innumerable times in past art as various pagan goddesses and as the Madonna. Moscoso represents the woman as if she is dancing, with her arms flung outward. Dancing is suggested also by the apparent movement of the spiralling form over her figure. Her pose, her semi-nudity, and half-closed eyes all indicate that she has abandoned herself to a self-expressive or ecstatic form of dance. Therefore, Moscoso has joined together an image which expresses an emotional activity with a periodic structure, and he has printed the whole in simultaneously contrasting colors. The poster is a kind of visual rebuttal to a statement made by Op artist, Victor Vasarely, who had said that "the stake is no longer the heart but the retina."⁹² For Moscoso, it would seem, the two "stakes" are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

William Seitz has said about Op Art that if "the observer is denied the security of a dominant central motif," as we are in this case with the spiral and the woman which compete for our attention, then the eye, he says, is denied "what psychologists call 'the law of simplicity.'"⁹³ According to Seitz, "The division of the

picture surface into two equally important foci stimulates a perceptual urge to fuse the two images into one, as with a stereoscope viewer."⁹⁴ With Moscoso's poster, one object of our focus spirals in a clockwise direction, while the other is the woman, whose body contours create a movement which runs counter to the spiral's motion. The arcing line of her left arm and the contour of her left side form two blades of a circular motion which draws the eye around the picture through the right arm and the curved shape of the drapery on her right hip. The movement and countermovement created by the spiral and by the lines of the woman's form combine to create a dizzying sensation, which is accentuated by the unstable diagonal placement of the lettering, and by the effect of pulsation generated at the heart of the periodic structure. The effect which results from the "two equally important foci" of Moscoso's poster is that the viewer feels thrown off-balance, as if enticed into the whirlpooling action of the vortex, a space dominated by the woman's dance. Perhaps Moscoso intended this female nude as a "siren" of the dance, or as patron saint for the Avalon Ballroom.

Moscoso also applied Albers's color discoveries to a poster created for The Doors, The Miller Blues Band, and the Daily Flash (figure 37). Here we see the effects of the simultaneous contrast of red (actually, hot pink for Moscoso's picture) with green and blue. Along the edges

of forms where the red meets the green and the blue, an illusion of vibration is set up. When the viewer focuses on the red and green areas of the cat's eyes, this area appears to advance on top of a blue background. However, when one focuses on the blue areas which are printed on top of the cat's face, the cat's eyes seem to recede, as if seen through a hole carved in a blue facade. The ambiguity is accentuated by the poster's "double figuration,"⁹⁵ as two separate images are discernable in the poster's image. These are the eyes and nose of a cat's face, printed in red and green, which, when looked at in another way, are transformed into two heads of hair for blue profiles set back to back. Under normal lighting conditions, we can detect the profiles with careful scrutiny, but by far the more compelling image is that of the cat's eyes. When viewed before a revolving color wheel at the Avalon Ballroom, however, the red areas of the poster would disappear before a red light, the blue areas would vanish before a blue light, and so on.⁹⁶ Therefore, with changing colored lights, the "reading" of the image would change dramatically, and flicker as it shifted from man to beast and back. Also, the areas of text would produce jumbled messages when viewed under flashing colored lights, since the green print reads "The Miller Doors," the red print reads, "Blues Band The Miller," while the blue print announces, "Daily Flash

Blues Band." We can imagine that when the viewer's perceptual faculties were stormed by loud music and the total-environment light show, the overall effect of image and text could provoke a profound sense of disorientation.

With this poster, Moscoso demonstrated his interest in the psychological response of the viewer in the dancehall. His use of form and color, and the consideration he gave to the special lighting conditions of the Avalon Ballroom, have resulted in an hallucinatory image, one which is not characteristic of our ordinary conscious experience of the everyday world. Moscoso's use of double figuration, which was developed by Salvador Dali, would seem to link this poster with the effects of Surrealist works of art.⁹⁷ While Moscoso's interest in creating a picture with surrealistic effects may seem to be very different from the retinal experiments of Albers and the Op artists, we might remember the earlier discussion of Bridget Riley's painting, Current, in which writers pointed out the capacity of her art to stimulate unconscious responses in the viewer. Furthermore, Josef Albers claimed that he was particularly interested in creating a "psychic effect" with his paintings.⁹⁸ As a self-pronounced "salesman of wonder,"⁹⁹ Albers claimed his pictures represented an "attack" on the viewer's "innermost pattern of experience," which he wielded in order to expand the viewer's receptivity to

"in-sight."¹⁰⁰ Albers's intention was, therefore, to assist the integration of the conscious process of viewing with the unconscious process of perception. While Moscoso's poster represents a break from Albers's non-illusionistic imagery, the two artists seem to have shared an interest in the almost magical qualities of color, and, with the surrealistic effects of this poster, Moscoso seems also to have been a "salesman of wonder" for his Avalon audience.

Use of the glaring colors declined during the second phase of poster production. The association of color with the drug experience, with the light shows, and with the hippie "culture" meant that as the Haight-Ashbury lifestyle wound down after the summer of 1967, at the same time, the colors used by many of the poster artists became more subdued. The artists also began to use Art Nouveau less and less. The profound upheaval which took place when an estimated 75,000 youths passed through the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood during the course of one summer affected the look of the rock posters just as it affected the hippie lifestyle in San Francisco, as we shall see in the following chapters.

Other artistic movements which should be considered in relationship to the posters include that of Pop Art. From 1961 to 1964, the years in which Pop Art became influential in the United States, the term "Pop" was

applied to works of art which included references to mass media sources.¹⁰¹ Roy Lichtenstein's depictions of comic strips and Andy Warhol's silkscreened rows of Campbell's soup cans were examples of subject matter which critics tell us were selected by Pop artists as a challenge to the distinction made between expendable, commercial art and the "fine" art exhibited in museums.¹⁰² Critic Mario Amaya has stated, however, that the Pop artists generally denied "either psychological or sociological interpretations for their works." Amaya continues:

We are to look at their works by and for themselves, without any ready reference at hand to explain them. If they 'mean' something socially significant, that's our business, not theirs. (103)

Pop Art, like Op Art, was widely publicized by the American media, and the poster artists were undoubtedly aware of the Pop artists' inclusion of readymade contemporary images within their artworks. Alton Kelley is one poster artist who has confirmed his knowledge of Pop Art.¹⁰⁴ Yet in those posters he created with Stanley Mouse which included readymade images, the "cool" attitude associated with Pop Art was not characteristic of their work.¹⁰⁵ Unlike Pop Art pictures, there were only a few rock posters which were based on current or nearly-current commercial imagery. Instead, most of the existing pictures used by the poster artists were works of fine

art, such as the pictures of Alphonse Mucha, photographs of Baroque sculpture, and Victorian-era etchings. One poster included an image from Michelangelo's paintings in the Sistine Chapel.¹⁰⁶ Images were taken from Hollywood movies, especially from the silent era of the 1920s,¹⁰⁷ but their antiquity might place these images in the category of fine, rather than popular, art. The application of fine art to poster imagery would seem to derive from Marcel Duchamp's example as much as it does from Pop Art, since it was Duchamp's presentation of a mustachioed Mona Lisa in 1919 which seemed to represent a reevaluation of the status of the Louvre masterpiece within the context of popular art.¹⁰⁸ And Duchamp's work, like the work of Art Nouveau artists, had been rediscovered in the early 1960s.¹⁰⁹ It was undoubtedly from his example that certain of the Pop artists drew their inspiration.¹¹⁰

The few posters which did include images drawn from the commercial arts of the 1950s and '60s were created as expressions of the interests, activities, and backgrounds which the Haight-Ashbury artists shared with their specific audience. One example is Rick Griffin's "Everybody is Good at Heart" poster of September, 1967 (figures 38a and b), about which Walter Medeiros has written that Griffin included many of the "things he loves."¹¹¹ Among these were product labels and

advertising "personalities," like the Royal Baking Powder label, "Elsie" the Borden cow, and "Mr. Peanut," which Griffin associated with pleasant memories from his childhood (see figure 38b).¹¹² According to Medeiros, Griffin viewed the product labels as "common 'folk' symbols...of love and care" which were "meaningful to people who've regained some degree of childlike simplicity" (a reference to the hippies).¹¹³ Medeiros interprets the advertising and product images found in this example of poster art as expressive of different values than those represented by Pop artists.¹¹⁴ Griffin's pictures are nostalgic while Warhol's choices, as with the Campbell's soup labels for instance, seem to represent a more objective, less sentimental kind of observation. It is interesting to point out, nevertheless, that Warhol defined Pop Art as "liking things" (he claims he ate Campbell's soup every day for lunch), while Pop artist Robert Indiana stated that "Pop is love in that it accepts all."¹¹⁵ These statements by two of the Pop artists show us that their posture toward contemporary, everyday subject matter was not as critical as Medeiros suggested. The "values" represented by some of the pictures created by Rick Griffin and Andy Warhol may have been more similar than he thought.

Griffin's poster, with its references to childhood recollections, was created for an audience in Denver,

Colorado. Mouse Studios also produced a poster for Denver which included Mad magazine's comic book character, "Alfred E. Newman" (figure 39). These two posters were commissioned by Chet Helms, manager of the Family Dog at the Avalon Ballroom in San Francisco, when he opened a dancehall in Denver in September, 1967; Griffin's poster was an announcement of its opening night.¹¹⁶ Both Griffin's and the Mouse Studios' posters include images which the members of the audience, like the artists themselves, would associate with their childhood. The artists and the audience were of a similar age, and were assumed to be from a similar middle-class background.¹¹⁷ Therefore, we might understand the inclusion of such comic-book or "pop" images in these two posters as a means for the artists to communicate information and experience which they shared with an audience whom they had never met. The reference in the Mouse Studios' poster to the atom bomb and its implications of war, the references to drugs in both posters (mushroom shapes, among others), and the images in Griffin's poster taken from other San Francisco rock posters (see figure 38b),¹¹⁸ were probably meant to communicate the opinions (about war), the interests (in drugs), and the characteristic Haight-Ashbury art forms to the new audience. No doubt, Helms and the artists assumed these factors of the Haight-Ashbury philosophy and lifestyle would receive

enthusiastic endorsement from the audience of a "sister" community in Denver.¹¹⁹

Another poster created by Mouse and Kelley might also appear to have been influenced by Pop Art. This is the dollar bill poster (figure 40) created for San Francisco's Avalon Ballroom. However, Alton Kelley has stated that he was not familiar with the pictures of currency painted by Andy Warhol in 1962, or those by two Los Angeles Pop artists, Robert Dowd and Phillip Hefferton, in the early 1960s.¹²⁰ And in any case, the poster may be related to the opinions held in common by the hippie residents of the Haight-Ashbury community.

The replacement of the portrait of a United States' President with the personality-portrait "logo" of the Family Dog organization seems to proclaim an authority for the Haight-Ashbury as a kind of nation unto itself, with the imaginary head of the Avalon Ballroom as its leader. The central image is a droll-looking Indian who is smoking, a "joint" or hand-rolled marijuana cigarette.¹²¹ In a humorous way, this personage seems to question the authenticity of those qualities which we normally assign to national leaders and founding fathers, whose portraits figure on American money. He also subtly suggests that the native Americans, with whom the hippies sympathized and identified,¹²² were actually the first "fathers" of the land, and yet it is difficult to call to mind

depictions of Indians on official, national works of art.¹²³ A joint-smoking Indian represented many qualities which were associated with the hippies, and he probably represented a kind of "Everyman" within the Haight-Ashbury community. Also, the parody of the dollar bill may refer to the hippies' disregard for accumulated wealth, and for their rejection of the value placed by middle-class citizens on regular employment and the pursuit of monetary security.¹²⁴ In several ways, the dollar bill image represents a playful questioning of those values which the hippies did not share with the larger society, and it was the hippies' rejection of these same values which resulted in the "founding" of the Haight-Ashbury community. The poster was not meant as an acrimonious attack on government or society, but rather the message is set forward with levity, and whatever judgment it suggests coexists with the artists' self-deprecating humor.

Perhaps Pop Art's main contribution to poster art was the appropriation of images which had already existed in the world. According to Walter Medeiros the poster artists used existing pictures "like words in a dictionary" to create special meanings and messages for their audience.¹²⁵ For example, Mouse and Kelley's dollar bill imagery asserted the beliefs and interest held in common by Haight-Ashbury residents. However, Medeiros's assumption is that the aims of Pop artists when

"borrowing" pictures were different from those of the Haight-Ashbury artists. Medeiros maintains that it was only the poster artists who were transforming familiar images into a "special, private meaning" for their audience.¹²⁶ It is true that the poster artists were not producing rows of a single image, as Warhol had done for his "metaphors of mass production."¹²⁷ Furthermore, the Alfred E. Newman character on the Mouse Studios' poster (figure 39) is not an anonymous comic-strip character painted in the Ben Gay dot style of Roy Lichtenstein, whose work has been described as "highly-charged subject matter...carried out in standard, obvious, and removed techniques."¹²⁸ Issues of formal construction and technique were not integral to the content of the popular imagery found in rock poster art, as it seems to have been for Pop Art. But the Pop and the poster artists did seem to share an attitude toward incorporating images from everyday life into their works, and this attitude was undoubtedly part of the "meaning" of their pictures. Lawrence Alloway referred to Pop Art's "connections with copying, counterfeiting, reflecting,"¹²⁹ and Medeiros similarly described the poster artists' objective as the "liberation of imagery from the sense of property."¹³⁰ Also, the work of the Pop and the poster artists suggest that both groups distrusted the distinction of what constituted museum art, and the

assumed separation of "high" and "low" cultural expressions.¹³¹

Another artistic style which influenced some of the rock poster art was Surrealism, in particular, "illusionist" Surrealism.¹³² Of special interest to poster artists were the works of Salvador Dali and René Magritte. Also the technique of collage, which the Surrealists took over from the earlier Dada movement, was the principal medium of poster artist, David Singer. Lee Conklin is another poster artist who created a number of works with surrealist effects, although his were line drawings of fantastical forms. While Conklin and Singer were the leading masters of the surrealist style of rock poster art in San Francisco, other artists also created occasional posters which drew upon the Surrealist movement of the late 1920s and '30s.

It is important to note that Surrealism did not influence the early phase of poster art, but it was tapped as a source of visual material only near the end of the summer of 1967. The late appearance of Surrealism on the rock poster "scene" is curious if we consider the similarity of interests held by the artists of the Surrealist group, led by André Breton, and the interests of the Haight-Ashbury artists. For both groups, the kinds of visions which originated in the unconscious mind were an important source of visual material for their pic-

tures.¹³³ For the early poster artists, however, it was the colorful and swirling or elongated forms found in such works as Wes Wilson's Truth Search (figure 4) which expressed something of the capacity of psychedelic drugs to release the lock normally held on the unconscious mind. For the illusionist Surrealist artists (principally Dali and Magritte) on the other hand, however "irrational" their subject matter, the forms rendered by them were clear, precise, and carefully modelled in light and shade. For them, it was the experiences of dreams and of exacerbated psychological states which were the wellspring of much of their hallucinatory imagery.¹³⁴

The first recognizable example of a surrealist style in poster art seems to have appeared in August of 1967, in a poster by Victor Moscoso (figure 41). Created for the Avalon Ballroom, this poster draws upon a number of principles characteristic of Surrealism, such as its use of collage, its inclusion of disproportionate size relationships, and its irrational association of disparate elements. Another surrealist poster was created that same year by Bob Fried, in November, also for the Family Dog (figure 42). In this poster, a group of nude women play within a cat's paws; there is no evidence that the oversized beast intends to eat them. Again, disproportionate size relationships and the ambiguity represented by the strange association of forms are in

accordance with "illusionist" Surrealism. Like works of Surrealism, Fried's picture seems to represent either a dream or an hallucinatory image, the elements and activity of which cannot be easily deciphered by the rational processes of the conscious mind.

There are other isolated examples of surrealistic poster art which date from late 1967, but it was only with Bill Graham's regular commissions of posters by Lee Conklin, beginning in January of 1968, that a steady stream of surrealistic images was created for rock concert promotion. One reason for its inclusion in rock posters might be that Surrealism evidently appealed to Bill Graham, owner of The Fillmore Auditorium and one of the most important patrons of posters. David Singer was employed by Graham in 1969 as the result of Graham's enthusiastic reception of Singer's surrealistic collages; Graham awarded him an unprecedented commission to design twelve consecutive posters.¹³⁵ Earlier, in 1968, when Lee Conklin began to produce the first surrealistic posters for Graham, it might be noted that Graham's business enterprise was changing and expanding, as was the rock music audience, at a time when the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood was being rapidly vacated. It would seem likely that at this time Graham decided that the imagery for his advertising posters needed a new "look" with broader appeal. If we consider certain "psychedelic"

posters, such as Wes Wilson's Truth Search (figure 4), we might understand that for someone not deeply involved in the drug subculture, some of the poster images might have been intimidating or alienating. Surrealism, by contrast, especially the paintings of Dali and Magritte, was widely published and well-known to the general public. Therefore, Surrealism could bridge the gap between the world of strange visions and experiences, and the familiar, mundane world into which surrealistic pictures had infiltrated.

Select examples of Conklin's artwork demonstrate a particular indebtedness to the paintings of René Magritte. For example, almost all of Conklin's images represent human body parts, which are generally separated from the rest of the body and dissociated from their normal bodily functions. This was a feature of several paintings by Magritte, such as his depiction of shoes with human toes (The Red Model, 1937), or the "face" with its features replaced by the erotic parts of a woman's torso (The Rape, 1934). Similarly, Conklin's posters often include representations of hands which do not behave like hands, but which metamorphose and behave in surprising ways, like those which embrace in the moonlight (figure 43). Another group of Conklin's posters include ears, which may indicate the importance of the sense of hearing at concerts. We find in Conklin's poster of figure 44, for

example, ears which become wings, enabling humanoid figures to engage in joyous flight.

Conklin also created several pictures of multiple figuration, recalling the "paranoiac-critical" method developed by Dali. Dali's Apparition of Face and Fruit Dish of 1938 (figure 45) is an example of a painting demonstrating this method, in which a clay pot becomes the left eye, and the head of a child lying on the beach becomes the right eye for a hallucinatory visage. Other manmade and landscape elements fill in for the nose and mouth, and the forehead and hair of a head perceivable within the picture. Closer examination reveals a bowl of pears and a dog's profile hidden within the landscape. Dali claimed that if we could give "free rein" to hallucinations in our daily lives, such as those he created by means of his "paranoiac-critical method," then we would be able to perceive a "coherent unity" of "significant relationships" which he felt existed among all worldly phenomena.¹³⁶ Dali's view may be likened to that expressed by spokesmen for Eastern religions and esoteric disciplines. They, too, describe a unity of all phenomena, which may only be perceived by the "enlightened" mind. Eastern philosophies were important to the hippies of the Haight-Ashbury, and the yogic disciplines became increasingly popular among the youthful population of Northern California as time went on,

especially since early hopes for drug "enlightenment," or a permanent change in consciousness, seemed by the year 1968 to have been misguided.¹³⁷

Double figuration, or the "paranoiac-critical method," may be seen in one of Lee Conklin's most celebrated images, the lion poster of August, 1968 (figure 46). The lion's nose and mouth areas suggest the figure of an African woman, whose headdress and face forms the lion's nose, her bone necklace forms the beast's teeth, her crossed arms his lips, her grass skirt forms his chin whiskers, and within his mane her legs are clearly visible. Two other faces form the lion's cheeks, while a group of three heads, separated by a small full-length figure, form the lion's furrowed brow and part of his mane.

The viewing of this picture is essentially a revelatory process, in which forms are unveiled to the viewer's perception one by one. The process may be likened to the practice of meditation, which is said to provide insight and sharpened perception, since meditation unfetters the mind from its daily concerns.¹³⁸ In the Hindu text, The Upanishads, mystics speaking from a meditative trance describe a unity of all phenomena, which they refer to as the "changeless reality" or the "immortal Self":

The immortal Self is the sun shining
in the sky, he is the breeze blowing

in space, he is the fire burning on
the altar, he is the guest dwelling in
the house; he is in all men, he is in
the gods, he is in the ether...he is
the fish that is born in water, he is
the plant that grows in the soil, he
is the river that gushes from the
mountain... (139)

It is possible that Conklin's lion poster, with its hallucinatory double image, was not understood by all viewers as a "psychedelic" image, but that it could also be interpreted as representative of certain esoteric forms of knowledge.¹⁴⁰ Support for this theory may be found in the fact that this image was adapted for an album cover design by San Francisco rock musician Carlos Santana, in 1970. Not long afterward, Santana announced his discipleship to the Indian meditation master, Sri Chinmoy.¹⁴¹ Conklin's poster shows us that surrealistic forms of art could speak different languages which communicated to the increasingly disparate interests of the Bay Area rock music audience.

From mid-1969 until 1971, it was David Singer's surrealistic collage art that dominated the posters produced for Bill Graham.¹⁴² While there were precedents for collage art in the Funk Art movement in San Francisco during the 1950s and early '60s, it was not their works which inspired Singer's poster imagery. California Funk artists Bruce Conner and Jess (Collins) assembled collages from objects found in everyday life, such as scraps of

newspaper, magazines, wallpaper, and other things.¹⁴³ In this aspect, their collages resemble those of Kurt Schwitters. His collage pieces were similarly non-illusionistic. Singer's collages, on the other hand, were created from magazine photographs and book illustrations and were arranged into unified compositions, much like the painted elements found in the works of René Magritte and the proto-Surrealist Giorgio de Chirico.¹⁴⁴

Some of the photographs selected by David Singer for his collages are placed in haunting settings, which recall the pre-1918 paintings of de Chirico. Like de Chirico's pictures, which often include "quotations" of classical sculpture, such as Melancholy of 1912 (figure 47), several of Singer's posters also include pictures of ancient sculpture placed in unexpected settings, as for instance in his adoption of the Venus de Milo (figure 48). In both Singer's and de Chirico's works, the statues seem to represent the artistic remnants of a lost civilization, and in both there is a deemphasis on a living human presence. In Singer's poster art, people are rarely featured at all, and when a breathing human does exist, it often seems representative of a divine presence.¹⁴⁵ In de Chirico's works, people are either altogether absent or reduced to the insignificance of ants compared with the monumental proportions of architectural or sculptural elements (see figure 47). The contrast between the man-

made elements and the absence of people in both artists' works engenders a feeling of uncertainty about the fate of humankind in the different worlds depicted by the artists.

Another pictorial device often found in de Chirico's paintings is the presence of shadows cast by unseen forms. Sometimes the shadow represents a menacing presence, as in the picture, Mystery and Melancholy of a Street; in others, however, the shadow seems to represent a more neutral presence. One of Singer's posters also includes a shadow of an unseen form (figure 49). Singer's shadow image suggests the many equestrian monuments in the works of de Chirico, one example of which is The Red Tower of 1913 (figure 50).

It is not only occasional elements chosen by Singer for his collage pictures, however, which recall the paintings of de Chirico. The posters of figures 48 and 49 also seem to possess the quality of "absolute silence" which William Rubin notes in de Chirico's paintings.¹⁴⁶ Also, the objects pictured in Singer's collages seem to be illuminated by a consistent, "white, non-atmospheric 'interior' light," which Rubin also remarks in de Chirico's pictures.¹⁴⁷ Of course, the light in Singer's pictures, as well as the absence of the blurring effects of atmospheric perspective (also characteristic of de Chirico), are both factors of the photographic processes

used for the magazine illustrations selected by Singer for his collages. However, when these qualities were combined by Singer, they convey a sense of silent stillness, due in part to an absence of human activity or presence, recalling the best of de Chirico's works.

While Singer states that he knew of de Chirico, the artist whom Singer names as a seminal influence is René Magritte.¹⁴⁸ One example of Singer's work appears to be a variation on a theme painted several times by Magritte; compare Singer's poster of July, 1969 (figure 51) with Magritte's painting of 1937 (figure 52).¹⁴⁹ However, with Singer's work in general, the importance which he attributes to Magritte can be seen only in both men's general tendency to juxtapose unrelated objects in curious combinations. Magritte gives far more attention to the human figure. The man in a bowler hat, people engaged together in various activities, and the metamorphic reconstructions of the human body are repeated elements in Magritte's oeuvre. But as we have seen, a living human presence is conspicuously absent from most of Singer's posters.

Singer created a few collages from Victorian-era etchings, just as Max Ernst and other members of the Surrealist group had done. However, the essential relationship between Ernst's and Singer's etching collages seems to reside more in the antique look of the source

material than it does in the creation of themes or specific images. A number of Ernst's pictures are wrought with psycho-sexual and violent implications, like his "collage novels" of 1929 and 1933, from which I have reproduced the picture, The woman with an hundred heads opens her august sleeve (figure 53).¹⁵⁰ This work makes us feel uneasy with its association of phallic imagery (the cacti), the nude figure whose upper half is buried under a sheet, and the death-like pose of the woman on the floor. Like Ernst, Singer put together collages of elements cut out of old etchings, but his works evoke more pleasant associations. The difference might be explained, at least in part, by the different backgrounds of the two artists. The Surrealist group was interested in the theories of Sigmund Freud, whose works were newly published when the group first assembled in the 1920s. Ernst's pictures, like those of Dali and other Surrealists, often dealt with themes of sexual repression and suppressed violence, which are essential themes to Freudian analysis.¹⁵¹ Singer, on the other hand, was creating pictures during a time when Freudian psychology seemed no longer relevant as the "sexual revolution" appeared to be underway. The leading exponent of the psychiatric community in the 1960s was Carl Jung. Different concerns are apparent when we compare Ernst's picture to Singer's poster of a very feminine image of a

woman (figure 54). Singer describes her image as an "anima projection" for the tiny male figure who wades in the stream (stream of consciousness?) to her right.¹⁵² The term "anima projection" was coined by Jung to refer to his concept of a female counterpart residing within every male psyche, and Singer is familiar with the writings of Jung.¹⁵³ Therefore, the viewpoints on human psychology prevalent during the two different eras in which Ernst and Singer lived probably explains the very different themes which they chose to express by means of a similar medium. Also, we must remember that Singer's was an advertising art, intended to attract and not repel. In any case, Singer's expression of a Jungian concept for this example of an etching collage might indicate his awareness and understanding of the related works of Max Ernst.¹⁵⁴

We have seen that during the era of poster art which was largely dominated by two artists working for Bill Graham, Lee Conklin and David Singer, Surrealism was an important influence on rock poster imagery. It is interesting to consider that in the view of many people, including Paul Grushkin, author of a book on the rock posters, both Conklin's and Singer's works fit within the category of psychedelic poster art.¹⁵⁵ However, while one or two examples of their work do deal with the subject of drugs, such as Singer's representation of psilocybin mushrooms (figure 55), and Conklin's pictures of mushrooms

which are hidden within larger complex designs,¹⁵⁶ in general, most of Conklin's and Singer's posters do not deal specifically with psychedelic subject matter. In fact, both of them have expressed confusion about the appellation in reference to their artwork.¹⁵⁷ Like the work of Conklin and Singer, Salvador Dali's artwork was also related to the psychedelic style by "acid prophet," Dr. Timothy Leary, who said: "Dali is the only painter of LSD without LSD."¹⁵⁸ Dali responded:

This is normal for one who tries to capture, with the most exacting fury of precision, the imagery of concrete irrationality...if the eye is a miraculous thing, it is necessary to know how to use it, as I have used mine; it has become a real, soft, psychedelic camera. I can cause it to make photographic negatives, not of exterior things, but of the visions of my thoughts...Then why should Dali use drugs when he has discovered that our world is a world of people with hallucinations...I have never taken drugs, since I am the drug...Take me, I am the drug; take me, I am hallucinogenic! (159)

Dali expresses his opinion that his art is "psychedelic" only in the original sense of the term, as "mind manifesting." In Dali's view, the act of looking at his paintings is comparable to the act of taking a drug, in that both experiences induce hallucinatory perception. However, if we can call Dali's work "psychedelic," then surely we must include other "mind-manifesting" works of art within the psychedelic style, such as certain

paintings by Hieronymus Bosch, William Blake, and perhaps even Matthias Grünewald. How are we to circumscribe the realm of the psychedelic style when the factors which make up the style have not been adequately defined? In today's world, two decades after the creation of the term "psychedelic" to describe a certain kind of experience, we find that the word is used everywhere, even in reference to the application of food dyes to candy found on supermarket shelves (see figure 56).

As we have seen, a variety of styles were influential on the rock poster imagery created in San Francisco between 1965 and 1971. Some of the most influential were Art Nouveau, Op Art, and Surrealism. From Dada and Pop Art the poster artists took the idea of image appropriation, which they put to their own uses. Whether or not we may consider all of the styles of poster art as part of the psychedelic style is a difficult question, since no one can seem to agree on this point. Still, the term has entered general use. San Francisco poster art has been called "psychedelic" by national magazines and documentaries on the decade of the Sixties, without anyone having defined the meaning of the term.¹⁶⁰

The poster artists were rarely, if ever, slavish imitators of earlier artists, even when they transposed an existing image directly onto a poster, as Mouse and Kelley did with Mucha's Job Cigarette picture. The application

of brilliant color was one way to change and existing work of art in order to make a unique statement. Other techniques which contributed to the distinctive look of San Francisco rock poster art included the blending of elements from different artistic styles and media, such as the combination of a periodic structure from abstract Op Art with a photograph, as we saw with the anonymous Krishna Consciousness poster (figure 32). We have also seen how Conklin and Singer created images which were intended to be recognized as surrealistic, but which were original creations in themselves. Furthermore, of all the posters created through 1971, only an occasional image refers in some way to the name(s) of specific rock groups listed on the bill.¹⁶¹ Instead, most of the posters were intended as larger expressions of the interests, values, and viewpoints of the audience to whom they were directed.

In the next two chapters, I will examine the works of the individual artists, who will be presented in chronological order, according to the date of the first appearance of their main body of posters. By grouping together works by individual artists, we will be better able to outline the personal factors which determined the kind of artwork each one created. And by means of a chronological organization, we may understand how local activities and national events affected the work they produced.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

1. "Dancing is the thing...they've got to give people a place to dance. That's what's wrong with those Cow Palace shows [where Top 40 music concerts were produced]. THE KIDS CAN'T DANCE THERE. There'll be no trouble when they can dance." Luria Castell of the Family Dog, quoted in Ralph J. Gleason, The Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound (New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1969), p. 1. See also Gene Sculatti and David Seay, San Francisco Nights: The Psychedelic Music Trip, 1965-1968 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), p. 45. And for detailed accounts of the costumes and dancing at the early concerts, see Gleason, pp. 6, 8, 12, and 16.

2. The development of the Haight-Ashbury, and its beginning in the dance concerts, is discussed in Sculatti and Seay, and in Charles Perry, The Haight-Ashbury: A History (New York: Random House/Rolling Stone Press, 1984).

3. The relationship between the interests and values of the hippies and poster imagery is the subject of Walter Medeiros's San Francisco Rock Concert Posters: Imagery and Meaning, Master of Arts Thesis, History of Art, University of California, Berkeley, 1972. Hereafter cited as, Medeiros, Posters..."

4. Paul D. Grushkin, The Art of Rock: Posters from Presley to Punk (New York: Abbeville Press, Inc., 1987),

p. 314.

5. Interesting histories of the development from rock and roll to rock music, the latter being considered a more sophisticated art form, are found in several books, including Charlie Gillett, The Sound of the City (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970). See also Jim Curtis, Rock Eras: Interpretations of Music and Society, 1954-1984 (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987); and David P. Szatmary, Rockin' in Time: A Social History of Rock and Roll (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1987).

6. The "Summer of Love" was a term assigned to the summer of 1967 as it was expected to unfold in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco. City officials, along with prominent members of the Haight-Ashbury community, gave a lot of consideration to the expected hordes of youth whom they knew would be attracted by media attention given the hippie community, and the scheduled celebratory gatherings. Perry, pp. 171-72, 192, 196, 204, 213-14, 226, 230-32, and 236-37. A press conference, called by the Haight Independent Proprietors (H.I.P.) on April 5, 1967, announced the formation of a Council for a "Summer of Love." It was evidently this group who came up with the name. Perry, p. 171. What happened that summer, and the number of those who passed through San Francisco due to the media attention, will be discussed in Chapter Two

of this thesis.

7. Grushkin discusses the earlier styles of popular music posters, and his book includes a great many color reproductions. See Grushkin, pp. 18-60.

8. The "boxing style" is a term used by Grushkin, who describes it as "straightforward, simple, unadorned." He accounts for its simplicity as reflective of, in part, budget restrictions and "the disappearance of the master printer." Grushkin, pp. 21-22. These posters were to be viewed by people in passing cars, and so they were tacked to telephone poles. Grushkin, p. 18 and p. 20.

9. Personal interview with Alton Kelley, 7 June 1990.

10. The "generally" in parenthesis refers to Bill Graham's dissatisfaction with some of Wilson's work and the work of others which tested the limits of legibility. Yet he continued to commission posters from artists who were noted for their difficult-to-read designs. About Graham's dissatisfaction, see Jack McDonough, San Francisco Rock: The Illustrated History of San Francisco Rock Music (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1985), p. 57, and Grushkin, p. 73

11. The first Family Dog dance, "A Tribute to Dr. Strange," was organized to recreate the atmosphere of the Red Dog Saloon of the previous summer in Virginia City, Nevada. Many San Franciscans attended the Nevada weekend

performances of the San Francisco band, The Charlatans. For these soirées, people dressed in old-fashioned costume and purportedly they took LSD. Grushkin, p. 69. For more information on the Family Dog, see Notes for Introduction, p. 15, note #18.

12. Personal interview with Alton Kelley, 7 June 1990.

13. McDonough says that the hippies' "most fervid belief was to short circuit the problem of money," since they didn't hold down regular jobs. McDonough, p. 19. John Robert Howard describes the hippies' state of "voluntary poverty" in "The Flowering of the Hippie Movement," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1969, pp. 45-46. In Jerry Hopkins's book, a woman is quoted as remarking on her pre-hippie existence, "What was it that I wanted that I traded time so lightly? Was it another car?" Liza Williams, "Which Way to the Exit?" The Los Angeles Free Press, 6 Jan. 1967, quoted in Jerry Hopkins, ed., The Hippie Papers: Notes From the Underground Press (New York: Signet Books, 1968), p. 19. And Rosenstone says of the hippies' beliefs that they thought it "wrong to stifle sex and love and play in favor of greater productivity." Robert A. Rosenstone, "'The Times They Are A-Changing.' The Music of Protest," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1969, p. 144.

14. McDonough describes the Haight-Ashbury society as being "on foot." McDonough, p. 55.

15. Personal interview with Victor Moscoso, 15 May 1990. For Moscoso, it was a "game." McDonough describes the posters as "difficult to read--but difficult for fun, not for perversity." McDonough, p. 57.

16. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 13. Also, Jack McDonough says: "In their zeal to produce an unfettered art that would match the secret psychedelic visions of the Brave New World of rock, the artists often came up with posters that defied the reader to interpret them." McDonough, p. 57.

17. Medeiros states that "the posters also evoked a 'trip' via drugs and/or music and light by purely visual means." Medeiros, Posters..., p. 13. The posters were "intended to capture the visual experiences of an LSD tripper." From "Nouveau Frisco," Time, 7 Apr. 1967, pp. 66-69. Wes Wilson said his colors were from his LSD experiences. Quoted in Grushkin, p. 72. The posters are also associated with the psychedelic drug experience by Thomas Albright, Art in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1945-1980 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), p. 169. And the same association is made in Images of an Era: The American Poster, 1945-1975 (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1975), p. 14. Hereafter cited as

Images of an Era.... Alain Weill calls the posters "apologies" for drugs in The Poster: A Worldwide Survey and History (Boston: G. K. Hall and Company, 1984), p. 347.

18. The word is defined as "mind expanding" by Albert Hofmann in LSD: My Problem Child, trans. Jonathan Ott (Los Angeles: J. P. Tarcher, Inc., 1983), p. 176, while it is defined as "mind manifesting" by Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD and the Sixties Rebellion (New York: Grove Press, 1985), p. 55.

19. Lee and Shlain, Chapter Two, pp. 61-70, discuss the use of LSD within the psychiatric community. Its discovery and nomenclature are discussed in Chapter One of Hofmann. The possession of LSD became illegal in California on October 6, 1966. Perry, p. 95.

20. The issue of what makes "acid rock" music is a complex one. Some of its features are lack of melody, long and meandering songs with big spaces for improvisation, obscure and obtuse lyrics, various component musical styles such as rockabilly and Indian raga, and the inclusion of "amplifier feedback," which earlier musicians considered anathema. All of these features are associated by authors on the subject with the experience of psychedelic drugs, although no one specifies why that is so. The leading authors on the topic are Sculatti and Seay, Gillett, and Szatmary. By 1967, both

Columbia Records and MGM Recordings exploited the music's association with drugs as part of their advertising campaigns. This is discussed by Sculatti and Seay, p. 177.

21. The light show is called a "psychedelic art" by Walter Medeiros, From Frisco with Love: An Introduction to the Dance Concert Poster Art, exhibition catalogue, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, October 6-November 21, 1976, p. 3. Hereafter cited as Medeiros, From Frisco.... In Newsweek magazine, the light shows were described as "psychedelic projections [which] slither across the walls in protoplasmic blobs, restlessly changing shape, color, and size." "The Nitty-Gritty San Francisco Sound," Newsweek, 19 Dec. 1966, p. 102.

22. Liquid light show art, and its history with beginnings in the Art Department of San Francisco State College, are discussed by Charles Perry, pp. 66-70.

23. See James T. Carey, The College Drug Scene (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 38 and p. 61. See also Hofmann, p. 112; Leonard Wolf, Voices From the Love Generation (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, and Co., 1968), p. 196; Timothy Leary, Ralph Metzner, and Richard Alpert, The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead (Secaucus, N.J.: The Citadel Press, 1964), p. 54 and p. 61; and for the effects of "complementary colors," see

Heinrich Klüver's Mescal and Mechanisms of Hallucination (Chicago: Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 24.

24. An article from the underground newspaper, The Los Angeles Free Press, 13 Jan. 1967, titled, "Love, Leary, LSD" states: "The screen will be undulating with ten or twelve, up to 16 sources of light that is duplicating what happens in the nervous system when it's turned on..." ("Turned on" is a slang term meaning that one is under the influence of drugs.) Quoted in Jerry Hopkins, ed., p. 85. Another writer said, "The challenge became to translate these [psychedelic] visions to others via some kind of medium and to set an environment for even further delving into the psychedelic unknown...." Mick Farren, ed., Get On Down: A Decade of Rock and Roll Posters (London: Big O Publishing, Limited, 1977), p. 10. And Charles Perry states that the dance concert audience was assumed to be "hip to psychedelics and probably stoned." Perry, p. 55.

25. Tom Wolfe, The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 214-16.

26. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 14. See also Grushkin, p. 71.

27. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 14.

28. The confusion with appellations will be discussed more in depth later in this chapter.

29. Most of the literature on rock posters deals only with these four, along with Rick Griffin, known to some as "The Big Five" of San Francisco rock poster art. Rick Griffin created his first poster a little later, near the end of 1966.

30. The characteristic line of Art Nouveau is discussed by many authors. It was described as "whiplash" by Alan M. Fern in "Graphic Design," in Art Nouveau: Art and Design at the Turn of the Century, ed. Peter Selz and Mildred Constantine (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959), p. 22.

31. The lack of posters after World War II in the U.S. has been attributed to the lack of cafes, to an increasing scarcity of "identifiable communities," and an absence of kiosks for the display of posters. Images of an Era..., p. 15. Another study states that American companies preferred radio and magazine ads, and that billboards provided a surface which could be understood when viewed at 60 miles per hour. Outdoor posters, by contrast, were regarded as a public nuisance. And for both billboard and poster formats, advertisers developed a "scientific" formula, which determined such factors as the amount of white space to surround the copy or image, the amount of copy, etc. Jean Progner and Patricia Dreyfus, "The Poster Revolution: Artifact into Art," Print, July-Aug. 1971, pp. 81-87.

32. Images of an Era..., p. 16. Alain Weill excepted posters which were created for the "expanding cinema." Weill, p. 164.

33. The Art Nouveau revival began in 1960 with an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, which travelled to the Los Angeles County Museum in January of 1961. Peter Selz and Mildred Constantine edited Art Nouveau: Art and Design at the Turn of the Century, which was published in 1959 in anticipation of this event. Another important exhibition was held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1963, which featured the work of Alphonse Mucha. And in 1966, Aubrey Beardsley's works were displayed at the Victoria and Albert Museum. According to Bevis Hillier, Art Nouveau images, objects and furniture appeared "everywhere" as a result of these exhibitions. Books such as Robert Schmutzler's Art Nouveau (trans. Edouard Roditi) of 1962, and Mario Amaya's Art Nouveau of 1966 appeared. Bevis Hillier, The Style of the Century, 1900-1980 (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1983), p. 209.

34. An Edwardian style of clothing was first adopted by Michael Ferguson and George Hunter of The Charlatans rock band. Hunter discusses his "finds" in the thrift stores as early as the spring of 1964, in Sculatti and Seay, pp. 27-28. Michael Ferguson ran a "psychedelic" shop, equipped with antiques and old junk, and which was evidently drug-oriented. The name for the shop was taken

from Hermann Hesse's cult novel, Steppenwolf, and was called "The Magic Theater for Madmen Only." It opened in 1964. See Grushkin, p. 67, and Sculatti and Seay, p. 27. The cowboy costumes which were sometimes worn by The Charlatans are discussed by McDonough, p. 6.

35. Medeiros discusses the hippies' assumptions of roles, by means of which he claims they identified with characters outside the general middle class (as part of their rejection of middle-class values). Among these he includes such "outsiders" as the cowboys of the Old West, who were "strong, independent men" with a code of "lawlessness." Medeiros, Posters..., pp. 3-4 and p. 58.

36. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 26, for a discussion of Mouse and Kelley's adoption of this image. Medeiros quotes Kelley as saying that he especially "dug" Mucha because he was "such a great poster-maker."

37. "The Art Nouveau artists were obsessed to the point of fetishism with women's hair, which they depicted with a life of its own, not agitated by wind but curling in arabesques like tendrils of a plant...." Martin Battersby, The World of Art Nouveau (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), p. 92.

38. Medeiros discusses the poster's drug reference in Posters..., p. 26.

39. Hillier, p. 206.

40. "Nouveau Frisco," Time, 7 April 1967, p. 69.

41. The designs are called "psychedelic" by Hillier, p. 203. The car is so described in the television program on the release of the Beatles' album, Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band. The program is called It Was Twenty Years Ago Today, produced by Granada Television, Consultant Derek Taylor, 1987.

42. Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 6.

43. Alton Kelley is quoted as saying, "We went to libraries looking for everything." Grushkin, p. 76. In a private interview, Kelley said that he and Stanley Mouse went to the "big library" in San Francisco and, since poster art had not been created in the United States for such a long time, they felt the field for imagery was "wide open." He says they went through the stacks, and they found "Art Nouveau so beautiful and so forgotten." He also said that when one poster artist saw another's work, he would be driven by that example to seek out sources and images. Kelley interview, 7 June 1990.

44. A similar design may be seen in R. Quested's "Winter" design, printed in The Studio XV, 69, Dec. 1898, p. 79, reproduced in Art Nouveau: An Anthology of Design and Illustration from 'The Studio', selected by Edmund V. Gillon, Jr. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967), p. 13. Vegetal designs of similar shape were created by William Morris for wallpapers and textiles. See, for example, his "Acanthus Wallpaper" of 1875, "Pimpernel

Wallpaper" of 1875, and "Cabbage and Vine Tapestry" of 1879, reproduced in Gillian Naylor, ed., William Morris by Himself (New York: Little, Brown and Company, Inc., 1988), p. 159, p. 165, and p. 191 respectively.

45. The yin-yang symbol, originating in Confucian philosophy and representative of an important concept in the I Ching or Book of Changes, symbolizes the passive/positive (yin), and the active/negative (yang) forces and elements of the universe. These are not considered to be separate forces, but exist simultaneously. Wing-Tsit Chan, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 14 and p. 557.

46. Mucha's stylebook, which he published with Maurice Verneuil and Georges Auriol, was called Combinaisons ornémentales.... It was originally published by the Librarie Centrale des Beaux Arts, Paris, n.d. [ca. 1900]. This was reprinted in the 1970s: Alphonse Mucha, Maurice Verneuil, and Georges Auriol, Art Nouveau Designs in Color (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1974). Mr. Moscoso told me in a phone interview after having read this passage that he had not seen this particular design, but felt that he and Verneuil arrived at the same "logical evolution" of design. He said, however, that at this time he was looking at other Mucha stylebooks, as well as texts on Art Nouveau. Telephone conversation of 2 May 1991.

47. Mr. Medeiros told me this in a conversation, March, 1990. The Moscoso poster is FD 51 of March, 1967.

48. Art Nouveau artist Walter Crane is one who "cultivated the woodcut look for its own decorative sake." John Updike, Just Looking: Essays on Art (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1989), p. 38.

49. In an interview of June 15, 1990, Kelley named Mucha as the source of inspiration for this original design. Mucha's posters often emphasized vegetal motifs which surrounded a female figure. For numerous examples, see Jack Rennert and Alain Weill, Alphonse Mucha: The Complete Posters and Panels (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1984). But since I am making a point about the Art Nouveau use of line in general, I chose to refer to what I felt was a quintessential example of it in Guimard's metal work. Another good example of the Art Nouveau line is Victor Horta's Tassel House of Brussels, dated 1892/3; a picture of his stairwell is included in nearly every book on Art Nouveau, for example, Robert Schmutzler, Art Nouveau (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1962), p. 67.

50. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 59.

51. Eugène Grasset, Méthode de Composition, 1905, reprinted in part by Stephan Tschudi Madsen, Sources of Art Nouveau (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), p. 52. Grasset's book, published in two volumes, "broke down the

basic elements of decorative illustration into the simplest of patterns." Victor Arwas, Berthon & Grasset (London: Academy Editions, 1978), p. 89.

52. Kelley interview, 7 June 1990.

53. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 88.

54. Medeiros, Posters..., note 38, p. 84.

55. For Op Art's contribution to fashion, see Cyril Barrett, Op Art (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1970), p. 181. Hereafter cited as Barrett, 1970. Also, black and white Op designs were the backdrop for at least one pop-music television program which was recently re-broadcast in the San Francisco Bay Area, a British program from about 1963-64 called, Ready, Steady, Go. Lawrence Alloway states that Op Art was "in common use in art, fashion, and humor magazines, and in the newspapers," and he also gives examples of its use in furniture advertising, in which Op designs were called "the appropriate furniture for the young life." Alloway makes the point that Op Art became associated with a "popular" form of art, rather than being thought of as "serious art," because this particular artistic movement was picked up by journals such as Vogue before it received attention in specialized art journals. See Lawrence Alloway, "Notes on Op Art," in Topics in American Art Since 1945 (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975), pp. 239-245. Clearly, Op Art was widely recognized by the American

public at a time just prior to its appearance in the San Francisco rock posters, ca. 1966.

56. Barrett lists the "common features" of Op Art; Op must be (1) abstract, (2) devoid of surface interest, which he specifies as "complex and varied design, organic or informal patterns, brushstrokes and impasto," (3) geometrical and hard edged (although he notes exceptions to this feature in the works of Peter Sedgley and Wojciech Fangor, on p. 59), and (4) of a certain optimum scale. He also states that the first feature of Op Art is that it "should produce a strong sensory or physiological impact or retinal experience." Barrett, 1970, p. 98. William Seitz states that Josef Albers objected to the terms "optical" or "retinal" because the responses those terms denote "are physiological and thus happen behind our retina, where all optics end." However, Seitz goes on to say, experiments have demonstrated that "at least some phases of these effects are physiological and photochemical and take place in the retina." William C. Seitz, The Responsive Eye (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1965), p. 18.

57. Barrett discusses the historical background of artistic movements which demonstrated an interest in optical effects, beginning with Impressionism. Some of the major influences on Op Art were Marcel Duchamp, with such works as his Rotary Demi-Sphere (Precision Optics) of

1925, Piet Mondrians's Broadway Boogie Woogie of 1942-43, and especially Josef Albers's teaching experiments at the Bauhaus and, later, at Yale University. Albers was responsible for creating "ambiguous" pictures, which appear to recede and advance by means of impossible configurations. Two series of "ambiguous" pictures by Albers are his Graphic Tectonics of the 1940s, and his Structural Constellations of the 1950s. Albers's work is discussed in Barrett, 1970, pp. 31-33. His works are reproduced in a number of monographs, such as Josef Albers: A Retrospective, ed. Diane Waldman, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1988).

58. Barrett, 1970, p. 99.

59. Barrett states that his terms for the structures of Op Art, one of which is the "periodic structure," are those which were used for similar forms in psychologists' textbooks. The structures are discussed in Barrett, 1970, pp. 38-50.

60. Seitz, p. 30.

61. Cyril Barrett, An Introduction to Op Art (London: Studio Vista Limited, 1971), p. 11 and p. 55.

62. This effect is described by Barrett, 1970, pp. 59-64.

63. The quoted descriptions are from Barrett. He explains the history of the term, "moiré," which is a

French word meaning 'watered,' first applied to fabrics known in English as 'watered silk.' Barrett, 1970, pp. 65-68. See also Seitz on the history of 'watered silk,' p. 38.

64. Another similar work is Riley's Fall of 1963, reproduced in Michael Compton, Optical and Kinetic Art (London: Tate Gallery, 1967), plate 3. Larger, simpler wave patterns are found in her painting, Intake of 1964, reproduced in Barrett, 1970, p. 101.

65. Barrett, 1970, p. 42.

66. Compton, unpagged [p. 4].

67. Surrealist spokesman, André Breton, sought a resolution between the two functions of the mind, but first, of course, the unconscious mind had to be revealed. "I believe," Breton wrote, "in the future resolution of these two states--outwardly so contradictory--which are dream [unconscious mind activity] and reality [perceived by the conscious mind], in a sort of absolute reality, a surreality, so to speak." André Breton, Le Manifeste du Surréalisme, 1924, quoted in Patrick Waldberg, Surrealism (New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 70.

68. Edward Lucie-Smith, Late Modern: The Visual Arts Since 1945 (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1969), p. 171.

69. Quoted in Compton, unpagged [p. 4].

70. Paul Grushkin has dated this poster ca. 1966. Grushkin, p. 92. Walter Medeiros, in a conversation of March, 1990, suggested a date of late fall, 1965. The problem with dating this work is that the date for the San Francisco "Acid Test" is uncertain. Charles Perry discusses a "small Test" in a San Francisco recording studio held on December 31, 1965, and says another bigger one was held on January 8, 1966, at the Fillmore Auditorium. Perry also states that Bill Graham hired Wilson to do an Op Art design for the "Trips Festival" of January 21-23, 1966, an event which was a collaborative effort between Graham and Kesey. On the "Trips Festival" flyer, only the spiral with a graph in its center is pictured. Perry's information would seem to suggest a later date for Kesey's "Acid Test" poster, since it was Graham, and not Kesey, who got the idea to hire Wilson to do an Op Art design for the "Trips Festival" poster. Perry, p. 48. Just whose idea it was to use Op designs is further confused by the appearance of an "Acid Test" record album, of an unknown date, which has Op Art designs on the cover. This is reproduced in Storm Thorgerson, Classic Album Covers of the 60s (New York: Gallery Books, 1989), p. 150.

71. The swirl is a periodic structure; the starlike circular image behind the swirl is similar to Wolfgang Ludwig's Cinematic Painting of 1964; concentric circles

are a periodic structure, and are featured by Tadasky in his painting, A101 of 1964; and the black dot with radiating lines in the upper right-hand part of the poster resembles the central part of circular designs found in several Op pictures, such as The McKay Ray Figure. These are reproduced in Barrett, 1970, p.41, p. 22, and p. 40, respectively.

72. Wolfe, p. 215. For some of the "tests," Kesey says that LSD was put in the Kool-Aid which was offered as refreshment. Further! Ken Kesey's American Dream, television documentary, KQED, 2 June 1990.

73. Seitz discusses the various effects produced by the viewing of Op pictures, including brightness and pulsation, and he states that "the eyes seem to be bombarded with pure energy." Seitz concludes: "These [effects] are increased, Gerald Oster has determined, under the influence of the drugs mescaline and LSD." Seitz, p. 31. Gerald Oster was an Op artist whose work, Triple Radial, is listed in the museum catalogue, p. 55.

74. Barrett quotes Soto:

What has always interested me has been the transformation of elements, the dematerialization of solid matter... Thus, as you watch, the pure line is transformed by optical illusion into pure vibration, the material into energy.

Barrett concludes that Op paintings may appear to glow, to radiate light, or they may be the visual equivalents of

other forms of energy, such as heat or electro-magnetic force. Barrett, 1970, p. 103. See also note 73, above, in which Seitz discusses "pure energy."

75. Occasional works of Op Art seem to refer to other phenomena, according to Barrett. He discusses Victor Vasarely's Supernovae of 1959-61 as suggesting "the boundless darkness of space and the great galaxies which inhabit it." Barrett, 1970, p. 64.

76. Barrett discusses Duchamp's work as the "first truly optical work" in color. Barrett, 1970, p. 31.

77. Josef Albers, Interaction of Color (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1963). The book influenced artists, especially the artists of the then-current Op Art movement. It also had an effect on the teaching of color theory and painting.

78. Eugène Chevreul, a French chemist working for Gobelins tapestry factory in Paris in the early nineteenth century, discovered that colors in proximity influence and modify one another. He also observed that any color seen alone appears to be surrounded by a faint aureole of its complementary color, referred to today as "negative after-image." Phoebe Pool, Impressionism (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), pp. 14-15. For the importance of Chevreul's book, The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colors, first published in 1839, on the Op artists, see Seitz, p. 18, and Barrett, 1970,

pp. 7-8.

79. John Lancaster, Introducing Op Art (London: B. T. Batsford, Limited, 1973), p. 35.

80. Barrett discusses another feature of simultaneous contrast, which is that each color intensifies the other. Barrett, 1970, p. 99. Josef Albers associated simultaneous contrast with after images which remain when one looks away after having concentrated on a color. For simultaneously contrasted colors, he says, the after images will be the complement of their originals. Josef Albers, Interaction of Color, pp. 22-23.

81. Seitz, p. 18.

82. According to Seitz, "Color in...[Op Art] is entirely without limitation...it varies from the purest hues of the spectrum to...unrelieved black and white." Seitz, p. 8.

83. James T. Carey, The College Drug Scene (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 38 and p. 54 respectively. The most commonly reported effect is intellectual, and pertains to one's perception of material or symbolic "structures." Carey says: "Man-made artifacts are seen as just that--unnatural and artificial." Such "artifacts" include institutions, roles, statuses, symbols, material possessions, etc. Carey, p. 38.

84. Hofmann, p. 95.

85. Personal interview with Victor Moscoso, 15 May 1990.

86. Medeiros discusses the hippies' identification with characters outside the middle class, whose "exciting, unpredictable life" offered a "greater variety of experience." He also says that the costumes were a "declaration of independence" and an "entrance pass" into a "'Magic Theater' which was unstructured" and in which "fantasy and reality merged." Medeiros, Posters..., p. 4.

87. Everywhere in the literature on the Haight-Ashbury, interviewees express their rejection of the "9-to-5" job and the lifestyle which they perceived was dictated by traditional employment. See especially individual interviews in Leonard Wolf, Voices From the Love Generation (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1968). McDonough states that the hippies' clothes were their statement that "self-expression and the quest for fulfillment" were more important than money. McDonough, p. 21.

88. Grushkin, p. 71.

89. McDonough, p. 55.

90. Moscoso interview, 15 May 1990.

91. Barrett, 1970, p. 98. Seitz says about Op Art that it is "stripped of conceptual association, habits and references to previous experience." Seitz, p. 7.

92. Vasarely's statement is from a treatise titled

'Planetary Folklore.' The title refers to a pictorial language "which is so basic that it is universal to the whole planet." According to Compton, the treatise is part of his Yellow Manifesto of 1955 (Paris: Galérie Denise René). Compton, unpagged [pp. 3-4]. The quote in the text of this thesis is from Barrett, 1970, p. 148. The full sentence reads, "The stake is no longer the heart but the retina, the refined mind becomes the subject of experimental psychology."

93. Seitz, p. 8.

94. Seitz, p. 30.

95. The "paranoiac-critical" or "double figuration" method is discussed by Dali in La Conquête de l'Irrationnel, 1935, translated and reprinted in Patrick Waldberg, Surrealism, pp. 91-92.

96. Mr. Moscoso described to me how the color wheel would affect the images of his posters. Interview, 15 May 1990.

97. Salvador Dali's "double figuration" method of image construction will be discussed in the section on Lee Conklin, later in this chapter. William Rubin refers to the "hallucinatory visions" in the work of Salvador Dali. William S. Rubin, Dada, Surrealism and Their Heritage (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1968), p. 11.

98. With reference to his Homage to the Square series of paintings, begun in 1949, Josef Albers said that

his definition of art was "the discrepancy between physical fact and psychic effect." Margit Rowel, "On Albers' Color," Artforum, Vol. 10, Jan. 1972, p. 37. See also Barrett, 1970, pp. 32-33.

99. Neil A. Chassman, "Poets of the Cities: Levelling of Meaning," in Poets of the Cities, New York and San Francisco, 1950-1965, ed. Neil A. Chassman (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1974), p. 28.

100. Francois Bucher discusses Albers's desire to "visualize a new spiritual climate" which Albers felt would require our "return to visual events which would sharpen our awareness and produce 'in-sight.'" The attack on "our innermost pattern of experience," claims Bucher, is the result of Albers's ambiguous line constructions. Bucher notes that "the brain lacks explanation for the phenomena straight lines can produce. Irritation, wonder, discovery and pleasure result." Francois Bucher, Josef Albers: Despite Straight Lines (London and Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1977), pp. 8-9.

101. Alloway, Topics in American Art, p. 120.

102. The removal of the distinction between "fine" and "commercial" art is discussed by most critics who write about Pop Art. See, for example, Alloway, pp. 119-120; Mario Amaya, Pop as Art: A Survey of the New Super Realism (London: Studio Vista Limited, 1965), p. 21 and p. 53. Lucy Lippard said that "expendable art was

proposed as no less serious than permanent art." Lucy R. Lippard, Pop Art (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1966), p. 32.

103. Amaya, p. 71.

104. Interview with Alton Kelley, 7 June 1990.

105. Amaya says about Pop Art that it is unlike Dada in that Pop "surveys 'coolly' and without apparent involvement in the world around it." Amaya, p. 55. He also describes Pop Art's "cold mechanical accuracy" which he states "belies emotional or sentimental content of imagery." Amaya, p. 88. According to him, the rendition of objects by Pop artists indicates "no feeling whatsoever for the object," but instead the object is "merely stated as visual truth, without additions or subtractions." Amaya, p. 20. It is difficult, nevertheless, to describe Andy Warhol's attitude as "cool" when he depicts such subject matter as the negro hunts in Alabama, a "waiting" electric chair, or Jackie Kennedy's "horror-stricken" face, whatever his means of formal presentation might have been. For a discussion of these subjects see Amaya, p. 103. Nevertheless, Ivan Karp, a Pop Art dealer, wrote about the works of Warhol, Rosenquist, and Lichtenstein that "they do not invite contemplation. The style is...thrillingly insensitive." Ivan Karp, "Anti-Sensibility Painting," in Artforum, Vol. II, No. 3, Sept. 1963, p. 26.

106. Rick Griffin's Contact poster reproduces

Michelangelo's The Creation of Adam, and was created for the Family Dog in March of 1967.

107. The women in several Mouse and Kelley posters are identified as silent screen stars by Dominy Hamilton in the introduction to Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, Mouse and Kelley (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1979), p. 11.

108. The picture by Duchamp is LH00Q of 1919. The mustache would seem to present the Mona Lisa as if she were printed on a placard and exposed in a public place, such as a railway station, where such defacings are common. While I want to credit Duchamp with the idea of quoting and sometimes altering existing works of art, I do not mean to suggest a similarity between Duchamp's attitude and that of the poster artists. As Fred Douglas of the University of Victoria has pointed out, Duchamp's stance, like that of the rest of the Dada artists responding to World War I, was emphatically negative; he was interested in projecting an "anti-art" attitude. To quote Mr. Douglas: "...the hippie community [on the other hand] believed that there was a natural truth and they wanted to embrace common imagery as authentic."

109. Duchamp's fame began to spread in the United States about 1960. Some of his work was included in the exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in 1961, The Art of Assemblage, which travelled to San Francisco. His first

major retrospective was held in 1963 at the Pasadena Art Museum, and a major one-man exhibition was held at the Cordier and Ekstrom Gallery in New York, in 1964. The catalogue for this exhibit, titled Not Seen and/or Less Seen of/by Marcel Duchamp/Rose Sélavy 1904-1964, was written by Richard Hamilton, and as a result of this show, Duchamp was "profiled" in The New Yorker magazine by Calvin Tomkins in February. This article was later published in Tomkins's book, The Bride and the Bachelors (New York: Penguin Books, 1965). See Octavio Paz, Marcel Duchamp: Appearance Stripped Bare, trans. Rachel Phillips and Donald Gardner (New York: The Viking Press, 1978), pp. 206-7.

110. Actually, Pop was called "Neo-Dada" by some. Amaya, p. 18. Jasper Johns discusses Duchamp's influence on his work in Émile de Antonio's film, Painters Painting: The New York Art Scene, 1940-1970, released by Mystic Fire Video, 1972.

111. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 66.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid, p. 69.

114. Medeiros contrasts the "special meanings" of poster imagery with Pop Art, since Pop "elevated the exact object into art." Medeiros, Posters..., p. 62.

115. Warhol claims that he ate the same lunch for twenty years. See Ellen H. Johnson, ed., American Artists

on Art, from 1940 to 1980 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1982), p. 87. Warhol's quote about "liking things" appears in Johnson on p. 86, and Indiana's on p. 113.

116. Helms's "Denver Dog" venture is discussed by Perry, p. 235; Sculatti and Seay, pp. 166-67; and Grushkin, p. 249.

117. Most of the hippies were born between 1940 and about 1948, and they were from middle-class backgrounds. See Todd Gitlin, The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage (New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1987), p. 13. According to cultural anthropologist William L. Partridge, the hippies across the nation were generally "offspring of middle-class white Americans," were raised in the suburbs, and attended school at least through high school. William L. Partridge, The Hippie Ghetto: The Natural History of a Subculture (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), p. xiii, quoted in Curtis, p. 13.

118. Medeiros discusses Griffin's inclusion of images from rock posters in Posters..., p. 66. The poster images derive from Wes Wilson and from Mouse and Kelley, in particular. Their posters were widely disseminated by this time, and earlier in the year, Helms had created a separate office for the exclusive purpose of shipping posters all over the world. Grushkin, p. 80. Some of

them were also reproduced in "Nouveau Frisco," Time, 7 Apr. 1967, pp. 66-69.

119. Helms searched for a location in another city, and is quoted as having said that Denver was "one of the most sophisticated towns we visited." Perry, p. 235. For Helms, former manager of Big Brother and the Holding Company, the man responsible for bringing Janis Joplin from Austin, Texas, and the one who dressed in frock coats and behaved as if he were leading a religious service at the Avalon Ballroom every weekend, the term "sophisticated" probably meant something different than it does to most people. About Helms's character and interests, see Ralph J. Gleason, p. 15; Perry, p. 62; Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 5; and "These Are the Boys that Made the Art that Sparked the Scene..." California Living (Sunday Section, The San Francisco Chronicle), 20 Nov. 1966, p. 14.

120. Andy Warhol, Dollar Bills, 1962, oil on canvas, reproduced in Lawrence Alloway, American Pop Art (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), p. 108. Robert Dowd and Phillip Hefferton actually moved to Los Angeles in 1962 from San Francisco. Each painted a series of currency pictures. Hefferton's work was included in the 1962 exhibit at the Pasadena Art Museum, New Paintings of Common Objects, and in Lawrence Alloway's show of 1963, Six More, held at the Los Angeles County Museum of

Art. See Anne Ayres, L.A. Pop in the Sixties (Newport, California: Newport Harbor Art Museum, 1989), pp. 87-120.

121. The Indian was a fur trader pictured in the Heritage Book of Indians. Sculatti and Seay, p. 104. Medeiros says that the "logo" was designed by Wes Wilson in the second month of Chet Helms's Family Dog operation. His "cigar," states Medeiros, was intended to be recognized as a marijuana cigarette. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 25.

122. The hippies' identification with native Americans, their adoption of Indian clothing styles, and their "tribal" social organization are discussed by Medeiros in From Frisco..., p. 8. Also see Perry, p. 263. Curtis discusses their sympathy with the destruction of the native American cultures, and their feelings about the many broken treaties due to Europeans' greed for land. See Curtis, p. 111.

123. There may be images of Indians on national or government buildings, but no example comes readily to mind. Certainly, none is so well known as the Mt. Rushmore National Monument, with its mammoth busts of four U.S. Presidents, or the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. There was the Indian head nickel, but by 1966 this coin, which had not been minted since 1938, was a rarely-seen relic.

124. This feeling was a tenet in hippie ideology.

See, for instance, Hopkins, ed., pp. 18-19. McDonough points out the hippies' aversion to the wealth of suburban America which they felt "sustained racism and financed the Vietnam War." The pursuit of wealth also dictated that people work at meaningless, unrewarding, or even immoral jobs. But, he adds, the hippies would take the spare change of the middle class. McDonough, pp. 19-21.

125. Medeiros, Posters..., note 75, p. 90.

126. Ibid, p. 62.

127. Alloway, Topics in American Art, pp. 127-28.

128. Ibid, p. 148.

129. Ibid, p. 124.

130. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 62.

131. For more on the distinction between "high" and "low" art see Phil Patton's article on the recent exhibition of "popular" art at the Museum of Modern Art: "'High and Low'--Modern Art Meets Popular Culture," Smithsonian, vol. 21, no. 8, November 1990, pp. 138-149.

Patton states on p. 148:

...it is probably impossible to apply the terms 'high' and 'low' without treating work tagged with the latter term unfairly. Low art at MOMA is like a long-ignored and somewhat unsavory relative who has finally been invited for an obligatory and rather uncomfortable visit, but whose long-term residence would be unthinkable. One might almost distinguish high and low by whether or not they are

acceptable in an art museum. The challenge low presents to high is also, of course, a challenge to modernism.

132. Rubin uses the term "illusionist" for the Surrealism of Magritte, Tanguy, and Dali. The term is meant to distinguish their paintings from the "abstract" automatic procedures of early Surrealism, seen in the works of André Masson of the latter 1920s, and in certain paintings by Joan Miro, such as The Birth of the World of 1925. Rubin, p. 77.

133. These functions of the unconscious mind include dreams and hallucinations.

134. Breton defined "surreality" as a resolution of "dream and reality." André Breton, Le Manifeste du Surréalisme, 1924, reprinted in Waldberg, pp. 66-72. René Magritte's paintings are described as "dream image" illusionism by Rubin, p. 91. He describes Dali's imagery as representing the "most abnormal, exacerbated states" of human psychology. Rubin, p. 113.

135. Bill Graham usually commissioned just two posters at a time, and these would be printed together. This procedure explains the similar colors which are often printed on two consecutive posters in Graham's series. Singer says that Graham ordered twelve readymade collages for his 1969 summer series of concerts. David Singer, personal interview, 18 Jan. 1990.

136. Salvador Dali, La Conquête de l'Irrationnel, 1935, translated and reprinted in Waldberg, pp. 91-92.

137. The hippies had hoped that hallucinogenic drugs would help them to achieve a permanently "expanded" consciousness, as Dr. Timothy Leary had seemed to suggest. Leary's associate in the LSD experiments at Harvard, Dr. Richard Alpert, gave up drugs and became a devotee of an Indian guru. Around this time, Alpert changed his name to "Ram Dass," and he has been an influential writer and lecturer on meditation and related topics ever since. Also in late 1967, the Beatles announced their devotion to the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, although that didn't work out, as John Lennon's song, "I Found Out," from his John Lennon/Plastic Ono Band album (1970) makes quite clear. For information on the Beatles and the Maharishi, see Perry, p. 235, and "The Guru," Newsweek, 18 Dec. 1967, p. 67. All of these people were spokesmen and leaders whose examples were followed by many in the youth movement.

138. "When the senses are stilled, when the mind is at rest, when the intellect wavers not--then, say the wise, is reached the highest state. This calm of the senses and the mind has been defined as yoga. He who attains it is freed from delusion." The Upanishads: Breath of the Eternal, trans. Swami Prabhavananda and Frederick Manchester (Hollywood: The Vedanta Society of

Southern California, 1957), p. 24. This represents a Hindu view. For a Zen Buddhist view, see Shunryu Suzuki, Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind (New York and Tokyo: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1970).

139. The Upanishads, p. 22.

140. Lee Conklin agrees with my conclusion. Personal interview, 27 May 1990.

141. Jon Pareles and Patricia Romanowski, eds., The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia of Rock & Roll, (New York: Rolling Stone Press/Summit Books, 1983), pp. 489-90. For more information on the hippies' religious inclinations and the increased interest in religions by the end of the 1960s and into the early 1970s, see Curtis, pp. 240-241.

142. As part of a late revision of this paper, I would like to add Fred Douglas's observation that "Dawn Ades, in her book on photomontage, distinguishes between collage, or images assembled in a discontinuous space, with montage, which are images assembled in a continuous space." See Dawn Ades, Photomontage (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), pp. 8-9. According to her definition, Singer, who placed together disparate images as if seen (more or less) from a single viewpoint, was creating "continuous spaces" or montage, and not collage art.

143. Some of their works are on permanent display at Berkeley's University Art Museum. For information on Funk Art, see Peter Selz, Funk (Berkeley: University Art

Museum, 1967). See also Thomas Albright, Art in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1945-1980 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 81-164.

144. Rubin says that "illusionist" Surrealism was "always to manifest its debt to Giorgio de Chirico...by both his style and iconographic ordering." He also states that de Chirico's "important work terminated in 1917," which means that de Chirico's "important work" predates the Surrealist group's earliest activities by a few years. Rubin, p. 77.

145. One poster has a woman's head surrounded by an aureole created of hands. Another poster represents a nude female walking barefoot across the hot sands of a desert; she can be no mortal woman. Other posters include sculpture of ancient gods or Christian angels.

146. Rubin, p. 80.

147. Ibid.

148. Interview with David Singer, 28 May 1990. Of course Magritte, like the other "illusionist" Surrealists, was influenced by de Chirico.

149. Similar pictures by Magritte include a photograph of himself as The Healer, 1937; The Healer, 1937, oil on canvas; The Healer, undated, gouache; and The Liberator, 1947, oil on canvas. Different objects are found in place of the human head and torso in the different pictures. Reproductions may be seen in Harry

Torczyner, Magritte: Ideas and Images, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1977), figs. 357-360.

150. Ernst published La femme 100 têtes (The Hundred Headless Woman) in 1929. This was republished in 1981, translated by Dorothea Tanning, by the George Braziller Company of New York. Another collage novel by Ernst, with similar subject matter, is Une Semaine de Bonté (A Week of Kindness), which was first published in 1933. Dover Publications reprinted this book in 1976.

151. Rubin refers to the "Freud-inspired dialectic of Surrealism," p. 63. He lists, among other manifestations of Freud's theories, Dali's "obsessions" with such themes as "castration, putrefaction, voyeurism, onanism, coprophilia and impotence," p. 113. He also speaks of Freudian theory in reference to the Poupées or Dolls of Hans Bellmer, which are "truncated, fragmentary forms as though violently torn apart," p. 151.

152. Personal interview with David Singer, 18 Jan. 1990.

153. Carl G. Jung, Man and his Symbols (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964), p. 30. Personal interview with Singer, 18 Jan. 1990.

154. Singer is aware of the works of Max Ernst, and he has several books on the artist. Other collages by Singer which are based on Victorian etchings include

fairytale characters, such as "Puss in Boots," or they resemble illustrations from Victorian-era children's classics, such as Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland. These pictures may also relate to the theories of Jung, whose book Man and his Symbols analyzes fairy- and folktales in terms of their symbolic references to the human psyche. Singer's interest in the writings of Jung was revealed in conversation.

155. Grushkin lumps together all the posters from 1965-1971 under the heading, "The Psychedelic Years." Also, both Conklin and Singer have been told by individuals that their work is "psychedelic." Conklin has been told that his is "the most psychedelic of all." Personal interview with Lee Conklin, 27 May 1990, and with David Singer, 18 Jan. 1990.

156. One of Conklin's barely detectable mushrooms is found in BG 142 of October, 1968. BG 143, with its stark contrasts of red and black and its liquid, swirling forms would seem to represent a "psychedelic" style poster, but it was intended as an homage to Wes Wilson, and so that may explain its appearance. Interview with Lee Conklin, 27 May 1990.

157. Interviews with Lee Conklin of 27 May 1990 and David Singer of 18 Jan. 1990.

158. Quoted in Dali by Dali, trans. Eleanor R. Morse (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1970), p. 96.

159. Ibid, pp. 96-97.

160. Nearly every commentator on the posters refers to them as "psychedelic" without ever defining or clarifying the term. See for example Jon Borgzinner's article, "The Great Poster Wave," Life, 1 Sept. 1967, pp. 36-41. The posters were also labelled "psychedelic" on a credit which appeared at the end of a television program, broadcast in San Francisco on 13 June 1990 (Dave Wilson, director), called San Francisco in the 60s. Webster's Third International Unabridged Dictionary (1981) does not include the word "psychedelic," although the 1987 Random House Unabridged Dictionary, Second Edition, lists the following definition:

psych'e'del'ic (si'ki del'ik), adj.
 1. of or noting a mental state characterized by a profound sense of intensified sensory perception, sometimes accompanied by severe perceptual distortion and hallucinations and by extreme feelings of either euphoria or despair. 2. of, pertaining to, or noting any of various drugs producing this state, as LSD, mescaline, or psilocybin. 3. resembling, characteristic of, or reproducing images, sounds, or the like, experienced while in such a state: psychedelic painting. --n. 4. a psychedelic drug. 5. a person who uses such a substance. Also, psychodelic [1956; PSYCHE + Gk del(os) visible, manifest, evident + -ic] -- psych''e'del'i'cal'ly, adv.

161. The posters of David Singer are an exception in that a number of the images are visual puns on band names.

CHAPTER TWO

From 1965 to the "Summer of Love"

The new genre of rock music poster art was initiated in San Francisco during the summer of 1965. The first posters and handbills were distributed in San Francisco and Berkeley, where large college campuses are located.¹ This art form went hand-in-hand with a new kind of music which came into existence in 1965 in Berkeley and San Francisco. The music was conceived, at least in part, as an alternative to AM radio stations' formula for success, which was a three-minute song with simple lyrics sung to a catchy tune.² Beginning in 1965, songs by Bob Dylan and others were just beginning to offer notable exceptions to the rule, with new themes of protest and personal dilemma crossing the airwaves.³ However, San Francisco Bay Area musicians created music which no "disc jockey" in 1965 would have considered putting on the air. While music historians are careful to point out that no single musical style was adopted by all the San Francisco-based bands, they do mention that among the various groups there was a tendency toward half-hour-long guitar "riffs," lyrics which meandered almost as much as the music did, and a mixed repertoire of rock and roll, hillbilly music, Indian ragas and other styles, occasionally interspersed with the screeching sounds produced by "amplifier

feedback."⁴ The college-age community provided a sizeable audience for this music, which was sometimes played for free in the park or on Haight Street, while at the clubs admission fees were charged. Every kind of performance required advertising, and so the birth of rock poster art followed on the wings of these musical innovations. And posters were created for an audience which was as wildly enthusiastic about its own novel art form as it was about the new music.

One of the first San Francisco rock groups to experiment publicly with electronic equipment was The Charlatans band (see figure 5).⁵ The poster created for their opening night "gig" in June of 1965 (figure 57) has been nicknamed "The Seed" because of its status as the first example of a new genre of rock music art.⁶ The Seed, which was created by The Charlatans' own George Hunter and Michael Ferguson, was influenced by nineteenth-century advertising in its wording ("The Amazing Charlatans" and "Limit of the Marvelous"), its cameo portraits, its Art Nouveau flourishes, and its lettering styles.⁷ The old-fashioned appearance of The Seed set a precedent for rock posters which was to continue in a number of forms through the summer of 1967.

Within the city of San Francisco in 1965, rock poster commissions were generated from a number of sources. Marty Balin, founder of the Jefferson Airplane band,

opened a folk-rock nightclub which he named "The Matrix."⁸ The Matrix posters of 1965 did not break from earlier traditions of poster art, such as the boxing style poster, but in time the club would be a source of commissions for the more innovative poster styles.⁹ Another source for poster art during that first year were the dance concerts organized by the original Family Dog group, whose announcements were usually executed by Family Dog member Alton Kelley (figure 2).¹⁰ Ken Kesey's "Acid Tests" also generated a few printed announcements in late 1965, one of which, drawn by Norman Hartweg, is reproduced in figure 58. This example might be compared with Dada-style announcements, with their similar random placement of words and images, and their variety of typographies. The "Acid Test" evenings could also be likened to the audience-participatory Dada soirées held in Zurich during World War I.¹¹ But it is just as likely that the visual busyness, the random placement of forms and words, and the variety of lettering styles found on Hartweg's poster were derived from the graffiti and pictures painted by many hands on Kesey's famous bus, and on the walls (and trees) of his much-visited La Honda ranch.¹² Still another patron for rock music poster art in 1965 was Bill Graham, who was at that time the manager and fund raiser for the San Francisco Mime Troupe.¹³ These posters were no more innovative than the Matrix posters, however, in that they

were comprised of rather lengthy texts, they were generally monochromatic, and their only embellishment was a picture tacked on at the top.¹⁴ One last source for poster art was Chet Helms, in his role as manager for Big Brother and the Holding Company. Helms hired Wes Wilson to create his very first rock poster for a performance of the band at Berkeley's Open Theater in early 1966 (figure 59).¹⁵

Although posters were created for the first half-year of rock music activity in San Francisco, it is important to point out that the Family Dog group, Ken Kesey, Bill Graham, and Chet Helms, would plan only one evening's event at a time.¹⁶ Therefore, with the exception of the fledgling Matrix club, there was no regular or systematic presentation of live music performances. And so it follows that there was no capital to sustain a regular system of patronage for poster art.¹⁷ Poster creation was an erratic undertaking in 1965, and it was largely taken up by amateurs who were directly involved with a particular group or event.¹⁸ Nevertheless, announcements such as The Seed, Alton Kelley's Family Dog posters and handbills, Norman Hartweg's fanciful scrawls, and Wes Wilson's poster, which substituted a photograph of an Indian yogi for the usual picture of band members, all contributed to a new freedom from the existing standards of poster design. Before the idea of personal profit

making became a primary motivation for organizing an event,¹⁹ and when the concept of earning a living from making posters was inconceivable, poster art was freed from preconceptions about what tasks it should perform and what forms it should take.

A regular system of patronage was initiated in the first weeks of 1966, when Bill Graham obtained a coveted lease on the Fillmore Auditorium.²⁰ Graham was soon approached by Chet Helms, who managed to convince him to share "The Fillmore" (as it was called) on alternate weekends. It was at this point that Helms, who had assisted in the organization of the final event for the original Family Dog in early January 1966, took for his enterprise the Family Dog name. It soon proved impossible to negotiate a Graham-Helms "partnership" and, in April, Helms secured a lease on another old dancehall called the Avalon Ballroom.²¹ From April of 1966 until late in 1968 there were two clubs for regular weekly rock music performances in San Francisco, as well as a number of other places where dance concerts were sponsored by individuals or other organizations.²² The ensuing rivalry between "The Fillmore" and "The Avalon" was doubtless a factor in the rapid development of music poster art.

At first, Helms and Graham both hired Wes Wilson as their principal poster artist, but by June of 1966, Helms had begun to commission work from four artists.²³ In

addition to these, there were many others who created occasional posters for a variety of patrons, and so there must have been a lively competition for poster art commissions in 1966 and early 1967.²⁴ This atmosphere provided fertile ground for experimentation and creativity: the artists wanted to draw attention to their individual efforts, while patrons were interested in promoting a particular event, which was often one of several scheduled for the same evening.²⁵

When Helms first approached Wes Wilson, Wilson had been working for a basement printing operation, after having been a philosophy student for a while at San Francisco State College.²⁶ Helms assumed the role of art director for Wilson's first Avalon posters and in this capacity he provided Wilson with photographs and other images to be included in specific posters. He indicated humorous phrases for the margins of many posters (such as "May the Baby Jesus shut your mouth and open your mind"), and he conceived of themes or titles for the dance concerts (for example, see the Sin Dance poster of figure 60).²⁷ As Walter Medeiros has pointed out, Helms served as an important promoter of cultural identity for the hippies and it was his offbeat humor which characterized Wilson's early Avalon poster art.²⁸ After Wilson had worked for Helms for one month, he was also commissioned by Bill Graham to execute his posters.²⁹ Paul Grushkin

has demonstrated that Wilson developed a different style of poster art for each of his two patrons.³⁰ As examples of his two styles, compare Wilson's abstract design created for Graham in May of 1966 (figure 61) to his representational image produced for Helms in April (figure 60). Their similar red-green-white color combinations suggest that Wilson was experimenting with the effects of color on different forms.³¹ In any event, according to Walter Medeiros's account, by July of 1966 Wilson was suffering under the pressure of deadlines and overwork, and he decided to work only for Graham, who allowed him greater artistic freedom.³² It was under Graham's patronage that Wilson's talent flourished; he developed a style of poster art which was to influence a new generation of artists as far away as New York and London.³³

Wilson's Fillmore poster of May, 1966 (figure 61) was his first abstract masterwork. This poster has an "ambiguous" background design, in which the spatial orientation of cube formations can appear to shift according to our perception of their sides. Upon this background area he has "floated" an organic shape, around which the names of the bands and other vital information appear to be wrapped. This use of letter manipulation to create three-dimensional or undulating shapes is a characteristic of much of Wilson's poster work created

through May of 1967.

It was Wilson who first developed the semi-legible style of lettering, and his battles with Bill Graham over the posters' readability have been mentioned in a couple of published histories.³⁴ From mid-1966 forward, Wilson settled on one main lettering style, which he had discovered in the 1965 catalogue from the Berkeley University Art Museum exhibition, Jugendstil and Expressionism (see Chapter One). An example of this lettering style may be seen in certain posters by Alfred Roller which announced exhibitions of the Viennese Secessionist group (figure 62).³⁵ Wilson imitated Roller's lettering and made it very difficult to read by slanting, elongating, and otherwise contorting the letters into a variety of shapes.

It was also Wilson who, among the leading poster artists, seems to have been most interested in incorporating fine art forms, such as hand-drawn portraits and nudes, into his posters. In an interview published in Time magazine, Wilson named specific artists whose works he said had influenced his own.³⁶ Since we know that he had seen the Jugendstil and Expressionism catalogue, let us look to this source for possible influences on Wilson's poster artwork.

Alfred Roller's poster of 1902 (figure 63) is reproduced in the Berkeley catalogue. It may be compared

with Wilson's poster of October, 1966 (figure 64). The two pictures possess a number of similar elements. Wilson's rendering of a variety of flat, hard-edged, geometrical shapes for the background areas of his poster design and for the figure's clothing is very much like Roller's treatment of related features. Like Roller's figure, Wilson depicted a person wearing both headdress and necklace. Wilson's choice of colors is similar to Roller's, which are red, dark blue, white, and a lighter tint of red. In the poster of figure 65, we can see that Wilson also has adapted the specific pattern found on the gown of Roller's figure to his own purposes. Behind the head of a woman is a background design constructed of wavy lines which form ovals. Wilson has filled in these ovals to suggest human eyes, just as Roller had done. From these examples of Wilson's poster art we see that he, like innumerable artists before him, created works which bear the traces of influence from the past. In Wilson's case, it was perhaps natural that he would have been inspired by an artist who had worked in the poster medium.

It would seem that Walter Medeiros was mistaken when he suggested that Wilson was uninterested in past works of art.³⁷ Evidence for Wilson's study of existing artworks may be demonstrated in a comparison between his poster of January, 1967 (figure 66), and Egon Schiele's poster of 1910, reproduced in figure 67. Wilson named Schiele as an

influence after he had created this poster, although it is difficult to discern the extent of Schiele's influence beyond this one example. Wilson seems to have adapted the full-face view of Schiele's drawing, along with its individual features: eyes with triangular irises which look away to the left, the configuration of facial creases which appear to tense the areas of the forehead and nose, and the depiction of the neck with its multiple rings of folds. Wilson is no slavish copier, however, and he has drawn a demoniac visage rather than the merely unpleasant character of Schiele's portrait. Wilson printed his poster in red and green complements, which lend a sickening quality to the drawing.³⁸ At the same time, the effects of simultaneous contrast produced by the juxtaposition of red and green creates the illusion of vibration, which is menacing in its suggestion of a lifelike energy. And our attention is held by the figure's white eyes, which glare out from their red sockets with a fiery and inhuman glow. As we react to the power of Wilson's drawing, we might wonder how this fiendish apparition was capable of enticing people to the "good time" atmosphere of a Fillmore dance concert. This would seem to be one example of rock poster art which demonstrates that artistic expression could take precedence over commercial motives, and which reveals the indulgent nature of Bill Graham's patronage.

In addition to posters which drew upon an existing artistic tradition, Wilson also created poster images which seemed to refer to the psychedelic experience. Two examples of these from early 1967 may be seen in figures 4 and 68, in which forms are elongated and melded together, as if they are changing from a solid to a liquid state. On one of these (figure 4), Wilson has written prominently in dark purple letters the phrase, "Truth Search." His inclusion of this phrase reflects his inquiry into the nature of the universe (remember he had been a philosophy student), which he attempted to express in visual terms in a number of posters.

Walter Medeiros has suggested a relationship between the "multiple, merging figures" in Wilson's posters with an awareness which he says "occurred to most people who 'dropped acid,'" which was a perception of the existence of a "unity and continuity of life."³⁹ In Chapter One, I touched upon the subject of how art may reflect the artist's awareness of a cosmic unity with reference to Salvador Dali's "paranoiac-critical method" and Lee Conklin's lion poster (figure 46). At that point, I argued that Conklin's picture could serve as a double metaphor for both drug hallucination and for the penetration of deeper levels of reality by means of yogic practices. For many, the drug and the meditative experiences seemed to bring about similar revelations;

Timothy Leary wrote a book in 1964 which drew an analogy between Tibetan notions about an afterlife and the visions of an LSD user.⁴⁰ Several writers have discussed the serious attitude of many who ingested LSD as a quest for knowledge about life and the universe. Robert Rosenstone, writing in 1969, referred to what he called a "search for personal experience, primarily of the 'mind-expanding' sort." He explains:

Throughout the music--as in the youth culture--there is the search for a kind of mystical unity, the ability to feel a oneness with the universe. This is what drugs are used for; this is what the total environment of the light and music shows is about; and this is what is sought in the sexual experience. (41)

In Charles Perry's history of the Haight-Ashbury, he discusses a "psychedelic philosophy," which he describes as:

...an attempt to draw conclusions from an endlessly changing experience that in its very mutability seems paradoxically to reveal a unity. As boundaries between things dissolve, everything tends to become One, and also ideas merge. (42)

We might understand Wilson's work as an expression of a "mystical unity" linking together all life forms. In Wilson's art, people and objects lose their individuality as they melt into liquid pools, in which "boundaries between things dissolve." His stylistic treatment is quite unlike Conklin's precise drawing in that Wilson's

art conveys the visual distortion associated with LSD. However, Wilson's combination of words and picture may be understood as an attempt to convey the "acid" user's desire to seek a truth behind the organization of the universe. This poster shows that Wilson was not interested in simply conveying visual impressions, as some writers have suggested.⁴³ His endeavor to incorporate into his poster images the reverent attitude of many who took LSD was an ambitious undertaking, and it reveals the nature of his approach to "commercial" art. For Wilson, poster art was not so much a form of advertising as it was a medium for reflection on a topical philosophical inquiry.⁴⁴

Unfortunately, however, Wilson quit making Fillmore posters in May of 1967, when Bill Graham refused his request for more money. By this time Graham was selling tens of thousands of posters every month while paying Wilson only about \$100 per poster design.⁴⁵ Wilson expressed his resentment in his last poster for the Fillmore (figure 24), which includes a snake at the bottom of the design. The venomous creature has a swastika in place of a nose and a wide open mouth revealing fangs which prominently bear a dollar sign.⁴⁶

In contrast to the serious nature of Wilson's poster art, the posters created by his immediate successors at the Family Dog, Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, were often

light-hearted images, full of fun-loving, and sometimes ironic, humor. Stanley Miller was nicknamed "Mouse" in high school as a result of his many cartoon drawings involving Mickey Mouse. After graduating, Mouse made a living following the custom car circuit, producing and selling hand-painted T-shirts and other car-show paraphernalia. He formed "Mouse Studios" for this enterprise and has attached this name to his artistic production ever since.⁴⁷ Alton Kelley left Connecticut in 1964, where he had worked as a motorcycle mechanic.⁴⁸ In San Francisco, Kelley roomed with several people, and together they formed the original "Family Dog," under which name they sponsored early dance concerts (see the Introduction and Chapter One). Kelley first met Mouse during this period, before Stanley returned for a while to his home in Detroit, to escape being drafted into the armed services. When Mouse returned to San Francisco in early 1966 (having driven a hearse across country), he pulled up outside Ken Kesey's "Trips Festival," where he was greeted by Kelley.⁴⁹ The two men became good friends and they began working together, creating posters under the name, "Mouse Studios." Both Mouse and Kelley were very much in the vanguard of the Haight-Ashbury community; Mouse's studio was the site of Janis Joplin's first rehearsal with Big Brother and the Holding Company.⁵⁰

Concerning Mouse and Kelley's collaboration, Walter Medeiros has stated that although it was Stanley Mouse's hand which was most apparent, since Mouse was the more accomplished draftsman, poster design and production was shared equally by both men.⁵¹ Mouse says that Kelley "had a good layout sense" and that Kelley "found some fantastic images" for their posters, but he is quick to reject the idea that his role was solely that of "executor" of Kelley's ideas.⁵² According to Medeiros, Kelley left his name off some of the posters because he "didn't care about it or forgot," and so the printer would sometimes add his name, spelled as either "Kelly" or "Kelley."⁵³ Therefore, it is difficult to determine exactly how they divided their individual efforts, since they were evidently unconcerned about how much, or precisely what, each one was contributing.

Their first collaborative effort was the Zig Zag Man poster of June, 1966, created for Chet Helms's Family Dog (figure 69). The poster's image was taken from a copyrighted design found on packets of Zig Zag Rolling Papers, which was a brand of papers well-known to hippies. Mouse and Kelley's appropriation of this image caused them some apprehension about possible "legal reprisal," according to Medeiros, who explains this as the reason for the phrase printed in small letters at the bottom of the poster: "What you don't know about copying and

duplicating won't hurt you."⁵⁴ No action was ever taken against them, even though they went on to create a number of posters which included similarly "lifted" images. Some of these images have been described by Medeiros as "commonplace," because of their currency in everyday life.⁵⁵ In addition to the "commonplace imagery" of personality trademarks, such as the U.S. Forestry Service mascot "Smokey the Bear" and the RCA Victor dog who hears "his master's voice," we might also include the widely popular "Winnie the Pooh" and "Piglet" drawings from A.A. Milne's classic of children's literature, all of which appear in Mouse Studios' posters.

According to Medeiros, Mouse and Kelley's use of "commonplace imagery" served two principal functions. First of all, the images were intended by the artists to counteract an attitude which, Medeiros points out, was prevalent in American society at that time. He describes this as a future-oriented, "'life-is-certainly-improving-with-progress' mentality,"⁵⁶ which, I might add, the hippies opposed in general, especially with reference to technological advancements.⁵⁷ Medeiros maintains that Mouse and Kelley's images represented an alternative viewpoint, one which looked back to "socially less complex" periods of time.⁵⁸

At the same time, commonplace imagery was evocative of "pleasurable experiences" like those the audience could

associate with childhood.⁵⁹ Medeiros regards this as part of the artists' general attitude to poster making, "not as advertisements, but related to good times and brotherhood."⁶⁰ Of course, one could point out that much modern advertising works according to a similar principle of association created by the visual juxtaposition of a pleasurable experience and a product. For example, a photograph of people water skiing might be overlaid with an image of a cigarette package, which requires the viewer to supply the meaning to join together the experiences represented by the two apparently unrelated images.⁶¹ In this case, the viewer is supposed to associate the people's fun with the brand of cigarettes they would chose to smoke (under different circumstances, since they obviously cannot smoke while water skiing). Mouse and Kelley's pictures, in contrast, fill in the gap which would seem to separate two unrelated experiences, and which advertisement images usually leave open. For instance, one could not readily associate the adventures of "Winnie the Pooh" (figure 70) with the experience of a rock music concert. But for their poster, the hippie artists have added subtle drug references to Ernest Shepard's original drawing from Milne's Winnie books. The usually innocent Winnie carries a bundle which Medeiros identified as a compressed "kilo" block of marijuana, while a wisp of smoke emanates from Piglet's snout.⁶² The

poster image suggests that smoking "pot," which many did before concerts to enhance their appreciation of rock music, was considered to be as innocent and childlike as any of Winnie and Piglet's simple pleasures.

Another poster with an ironic portrayal of a recognizable character also spoofs a common advertising ploy. This is product endorsement by a well-known figure, such as "Garfield the Cat" recommending a brand of cat food. In Mouse and Kelley's poster, Smokey the Bear is depicted with half-closed eyelids, which gives him a "stoned" expression, as Medeiros has noted.⁶³ His belt buckle no longer identifies him by name as it does in Forest Service posters, but instead it proclaims "Smoke!" Mouse and Kelley's amendments of easily recognized drawings undermine the possibility of genuine endorsement by compromising the innocence of the original characters, so we are not certain whether they are endorsing a rock concert or something else.⁶⁴ By such means, Mouse and Kelley parodied the devices used by modern advertising to encourage spending. On a more serious note, these posters question the tactics which have resulted in the increasing commercialization of Western society. For these two artists, mocking the ploys of advertising was good fun, as Medeiros has pointed out, but also it was consistent with the hippie ethic of noncommercialism.⁶⁵ In a sense, Mouse and Kelley were

making fun of the very activity they were hired to perform.

While they worked principally for Chet Helms's Family Dog organization through 1967, Mouse and Kelley worked freelance as did all the poster artists.⁶⁶ They were not contracted to each other as partners, and each produced independent creations. One fine example of Mouse's work is the Port Chicago Vigil Benefit poster of February, 1967.⁶⁷ Working together, they also created a couple of posters with another artist, Rick Griffin. One of these was the Trip or Freak poster for a 1967 Halloween celebration at Winterland.⁶⁸

Victor Moscoso arrived on the poster circuit in the early summer of 1966. At the time of his first poster effort, in June of 1966, Moscoso was teaching lithography at the San Francisco Art Institute after having earned a Certificate from Cooper Union and a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree in painting from Yale University.⁶⁹ He has noted that his first impression of the rock posters was unfavorable; he felt at that time that he could create a more professional-looking product. He says that he soon discovered, however, that intuition was as important a factor as technical prowess.⁷⁰ In December of 1966, Moscoso formed his own poster production company, the "Neon Rose," which he launched with his Junior Wells poster created for The Matrix.⁷¹

Of all the poster creators working from 1965 to 1971, Moscoso experimented the most with color combinations and with applied technology. Some of his posters were entirely hand drawn, while others included photographs, and some reproduced paintings from past eras. He also manipulated photographic film in various ways. One of his techniques was to "block out" areas of a photograph, and fill in those areas with something else, like the abstract design seen in figure 71.⁷² In Chapter One we saw how he used color to create an unusual effect when viewed before a moving color wheel. One of the effects he exploited with this technique was a "two-step animation,"⁷³ seen in his poster of the strong man (figure 72). Medeiros has remarked about these "animated" posters that they were more than a static art form, and they became an "active supplement" to the light shows and the dance environment.⁷⁴ Moscoso, on the other hand, points out that the first function of all the posters was to attract attention on the streets, where they were seen under natural lighting conditions.⁷⁵ About his posters in general, Moscoso has commented:

Interestingly enough, one of the things that happened with the posters is that if I turned the rules upside-down, they worked much better. Everything I learned in school, I reversed. And that's when I got the hang of things. (76)

Yet it should be remembered from Chapter One that the

effects generated by some of Moscoso's posters were partially reliant on the discoveries of the Op artists (see figure 36). Furthermore, we may credit him with the effective application of his technical training and with the proficient handling of media emphasized by his teacher, Josef Albers.⁷⁷

Sometimes Moscoso incorporated art works from past eras into his posters, which we have seen Mouse and Kelley also did with their "Mucha" poster. Unlike Mouse and Kelley, however, Moscoso sometimes chose art pieces which bore no apparent connection with the Haight-Ashbury "scene." For example, one of Moscoso's posters includes an image from a painting by Ingres, Jupiter and Thetis (1811),⁷⁸ which he combined with a picture of a fish "by a Scandinavian artist."⁷⁹ Another poster reproduces a detail from a painting by the seventeenth-century Dutch artist, Pieter de Hooch (figure 73).⁸⁰ His choices cannot be explained by referring to his audience, since probably only a few people would have recognized the paintings or their origins.⁸¹ Moscoso says that he found these pictures while researching ideas for his posters, and that he simply chose images which interested him. He says only that Ingres's picture appealed to him, and that it was applicable to the "Neptune's Notion" theme assigned to that particular dance concert.⁸² (It hardly seems relevant that Ingres's subject matter was Jupiter, not

Neptune.) Neither the Ingres picture nor the de Hooch painting seems to suggest anything about the hippie lifestyle or the dancehall environment. It is possible that Moscoso's application of works drawn from the history of art was a response to Pop Art, which, as we have seen, was a movement which sought to elevate expendable art into the realm of "high" or "fine" art. Moscoso's poster may represent a reversal of the Pop artists' hierarchic reevaluation of artworks, since Moscoso made expendable reproductions of museum pieces. At the same time, his association of masterworks with rock posters would seem to raise the status of the popular art form. It is also possible that Moscoso may have intended to deface or devalue art historical monuments; in essence, this is what he did by printing antique masterworks in bold color combinations, by collaging them together with unknown works, or by superimposing lines across their surface to create illusory vibration (see figure 73). His evident design to turn upside down traditional values was not only in keeping with the trends in twentieth-century avant-garde art, but it was also consistent with a hippie point of view.⁸³

Rick Griffin had been a successful cartoonist in Southern California before he was drawn to San Francisco in late 1966.⁸⁴ Evidently, Mouse Studios' posters influenced his decision to give up cartooning and move

North to try his hand at poster art.⁸⁵ Earlier, in 1965, he had attended one of the Charlatans' performances in Virginia City,⁸⁶ and he must have realized that he was well suited to create Old West style posters. Griffin's interest in the Old West stemmed from his childhood experiences, when he had accompanied his amateur archeologist father to Indian burial sites and ghost towns. Griffin told Medeiros that the treasures brought home from these excursions were displayed by his father with brass plates engraved with period-style typefaces.⁸⁷ Griffin's interest in Indian lore had also been encouraged by his association with a communal group in Los Angeles who called themselves the "Jook Savages," some of whom possessed an extensive knowledge of native American life and folklore.⁸⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that many of Griffin's early posters drew upon themes from the Old West, both in imagery and lettering styles.⁸⁹

In his posters, Griffin often combined themes from the Old West with drug-related images. For his very first poster, created for the Psychedelic Shop (figure 74), Griffin developed a detailed style of line drawing. All along the border of this poster he has boldly drawn marijuana leaves, mushrooms, and drug paraphernalia in realistic detail. Another work, his Sutters Mill poster of May, 1967 (figure 75), includes more subtle references to drugs which he identified for Medeiros.⁹⁰ He explained

that his drawing of a miner panning for gold is actually a man cleaning his marijuana, as indicated by the strainer which lines the bottom of his pan. Out of a knapsack tumble what might be taken for gold ingots, but these bundles are wrapped to look like "kilos" of marijuana. A phrase at the bottom reads, "The discovery of gold at Sutters [sic] Mill." The word "gold," he explained, referred to a potent variety of marijuana, known as "Acapulco Gold." Of course, for the uninformed viewer, the drug references are too subtle to be easily recognized. But for the "hip" viewer, unravelling the meaning of text and image would have been part of the "game" activity associated with poster viewing. This poster illustrates what Medeiros referred to as "expressing the forbidden in the context of the permissible," which, he pointed out, was also a feature of rock music lyrics during this era.⁹¹

An important period in the history of the rock poster and the Haight-Ashbury community was the year between June, 1966 and July, 1967. This was a time of many celebratory events. In addition to the live rock music performances at clubs such as the Avalon and the Fillmore, there were also outdoor gatherings in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, which were free of charge. One of the earliest of the planned, large-scale events was called the "Love Pageant Rally," and it was organized in honor of the

inauguration of a new law which would make LSD illegal in California.⁹² According to Haight-Ashbury historian Charles Perry, organizers Allen Cohen and Michael Bowen⁹³ felt that a "celebration" would help to avert a possible protest demonstration against the law, which they felt would have been a needless continuation of "old forms" (their words), in which "the police always held the physical advantage." October 6, 1966, was declared a special day in the Haight, a day to honor the mandate which would, in effect, target the hippies as criminals. An advertising leaflet for the rally was circulated, which included a "Prophecy of a Declaration of Independence." Reading it today, we can learn much about the hippies' position on drug-taking, their justification for their actions, their opinions about a "frontier" of human consciousness which they felt they were establishing, and about their response to public antagonism, against which they defended themselves while maintaining a relatively benevolent attitude.

When in the flow of human events it becomes necessary for the people to cease to recognize obsolete social patterns which had isolated man from his consciousness, and to create with the youthful energies of the world revolutionary committees to which the two-billion-year-old life process entitles them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind should declare the causes which impel them to this creation.

We hold these experiences to be

self-evident, that all is equal, that the creation endows us with certain inalienable rights, that among these are: the freedom of the body, the pursuit of joy, and the expansion of consciousness, and that to secure these rights, we the citizens of the earth declare our love and compassion for all conflicting hate-carrying men and women of the world. (94)

The leaflet also suggested the means of celebratory expression: "Bring the color gold, bring photos of personal saints and gurus and heroes of the underground... bring children...flowers...flutes...feathers...bands... beads...banners flags incense chimes gongs cymbals...symbols."

The week following the Love Pageant, a group of self-styled revolutionaries calling themselves "The Diggers" advertised free food every day in the park at 4:00 p.m.⁹⁵ The Diggers later would also create a "free store," where people could trade in their own used articles of clothing for those of others, and free "crash pads," which accomodated new arrivals to the Haight during the summer of 1967.⁹⁶

Another celebratory gathering was the "Human Be-In," held in the park on January 14, 1967. It was better advertised, better attended, and drew more media attention to the Haight-Ashbury than any other previously-scheduled event.⁹⁷ According to Perry, at least five posters were created for it, including one by Rick Griffin

(figure 76), and one by Mouse and Kelley working in collaboration with "Be-In" organizer, Michael Bowen (figure 20).⁹⁸ The purpose of the event was to bring together disparate sectors of the youth culture, which by early 1966 had begun to feel somewhat estranged from one another.⁹⁹ The Haight-Ashbury's own chronicle, The San Francisco Oracle, printed a statement which expressed the guiding principle behind the event:

A union of love and activism previously separated by categorical dogma and label mongoring [sic] will finally occur ecstatically when Berkeley political activists and hip community and San Francisco's spiritual generation and contingents from the emerging revolutionary generation all over California meet for a Gathering of the Tribes for a Human Be-In....(100)

The event was also proclaimed by The Berkeley Barb, an underground newspaper which generally reported with a more political slant than the Haight-Ashbury Oracle. It declared:

The spiritual revolution will be manifest and proven. In unity we shall shower the country with waves of ecstasy and purification. Fear will be washed away; ignorance will be exposed to sunlight; profits and empire will lie drying on deserted beaches; violence will be submerged and transmuted in rhythm and dancing.
(101)

For this gathering, which was attended by an estimated 25,000 people, Timothy Leary made his first Bay

Area public appearance. Beat poets Allen Ginsberg and Gary Snyder led the crowd in rhythmical Hindu chants called "mantras," dedicated to "the coming Buddha of Love." Rock music was played by the four leading San Francisco bands of that time, Big Brother, the Grateful Dead, the Quicksilver Messenger Service, and the Jefferson Airplane, and by members of the Berkeley-based group, Country Joe and the Fish. The wires for the amplification were cut by someone early in the day, and so for the rest of the afternoon the sound system was guarded by an uncharacteristically peaceful contingent of the Hell's Angels motorcycle club. Some people came dressed as native Americans and medieval minstrels, while others came just as themselves. An "Indian incarnate" serving as Master of Ceremonies announced to the crowd, "Brothers, the spirit of the New Messiah may not be coming to us, but from us."¹⁰² The feeling prevailed during that day and the months following that a new era was dawning, which seemed to promise peace and greater spiritual awareness for all humanity. For many of those who had come from all over California to attend the "Human Be-In," it seemed that the mantle of leadership for a new brother/sisterhood had been granted to the residents of the Haight-Ashbury community.¹⁰³ While today the contagious optimism which prevailed at the "Be-In" may seem to have been naive and its proponents self-absorbed, still it is

important to understand that on January 14, 1967, there were thousands of sincere advocates of a new faith, who were themselves determined to carry the message to many thousands more across the Western world.¹⁰⁴

The word was carried to the most disparate quarters by the national media, with its subsequent articles on the "Human Be-In" published in national magazines and newspapers.¹⁰⁵ Coverage of this celebratory event launched a major media blitz on the Haight-Ashbury which would continue through the following summer. The publicity would draw thousands more young people to the area, in addition to sociologists¹⁰⁶ and famous people who were eager to witness first hand the unique social phenomenon.¹⁰⁷

By February of 1967, it had become apparent to members of the Haight-Ashbury community and to city officials that preparations would have to be made to brace the small city of San Francisco for a tremendous influx during the coming summer.¹⁰⁸ Meetings were called among Haight-Ashbury residents, and it was in these meetings that the concept of a "Summer of Love" was conceived.¹⁰⁹ Festivities were planned and the negative effects of the arrival of prospective thousands were discussed, just as these same problems were discussed in the chambers of the San Francisco City Council. Plans for housing, food, medical care, and other contingencies were broached in

both quarters.¹¹⁰

During the first months of 1967, much organizational effort brought to the Haight-Ashbury a variety of donated services. These included an organization for free legal advice, a free medical clinic, a job placement center for men who were generally considered unemployable because of their long hair, and a 24-hour emergency telephone switchboard.¹¹¹ Also the Haight served as a resource for financial opportunism. More than twenty shops opened which catered to the rising tourist interest in the community, and these traded in long-haired wigs, beads, flowered clothing, and other superficial paraphernalia of the hippie lifestyle.¹¹² The Gray Line Bus Company instituted a "Hippie Hop" tour, which was routed down Haight and Ashbury streets.¹¹³ And posters of all kinds were printed and sold by the thousands, supporting thriving new poster shops in San Francisco and Berkeley.¹¹⁴

As word got out about the upcoming "Summer of Love," two men who were involved with the rock music industry in Los Angeles organized a money-making venture for charity, and it was loosely patterned after the "Be-In" gathering.¹¹⁵ The Monterey Pop Festival was scheduled for June of 1967, at the beginning of the summer, and it was advertised with a San Francisco-style poster.¹¹⁶ Representatives of "The San Francisco Sound" were invited

to perform, along with then little-known Jimi Hendrix, England's "The Who," and other groups both newly-formed and experienced.¹¹⁷ While the Jefferson Airplane had already made their mark on radio-station popularity charts,¹¹⁸ most of the other San Francisco bands who performed in Monterey had never cut a record.¹¹⁹ Rock music industry executives attended the festival en masse, and they came armed with apparently limitless bank accounts to entice the heretofore recalcitrant San Francisco musicians into recording contracts.¹²⁰ A film was made of the event, and releases for this were thrust at the musicians just as they were mounting the stage to perform.¹²¹ The result of the festival was the emergence of the San Francisco bands from out of the "underground" of the Haight-Ashbury, and up into the bright lights of national attention.¹²²

During the first half of 1967, the posters which had been created for the Fillmore and the Avalon also met with tremendous success. Printed in editions of 300 in early 1966, the posters were by 1967 printed in the thousands every month, with reprinted editions of the more popular designs being released at the same time.¹²³ Time magazine quoted the escalating statistics for Bill Graham's poster sales, which reportedly rose from 59,000 during the month of December, 1966, to 112,000 for the month of February, 1967.¹²⁴ Graham himself has stated

that at one point, he was actually printing between 100,000 and 150,000 posters a week, and shipping them to cities the world over.¹²⁵ Victor Moscoso has said in interview that orders for his posters came from as far away as New Zealand.¹²⁶ In addition to the Time article, articles about the posters appeared in Life, Newsweek, and Commercial Arts in 1967, and the Oakland Museum was putting together its own collection.¹²⁷ Chet Helms divided his Family Dog organization into two separate businesses in early 1967, creating a separate division just for poster sales and distribution.¹²⁸ The five major poster artists were given an exhibit of their works at the Moore Gallery in July ("The Joint Show"), while other exhibits had already been mounted at the San Francisco Art Institute.¹²⁹ The posters became popular with young people across the nation and they undoubtedly played their role in attracting an estimated 75,000 people to San Francisco that summer.¹³⁰ The media attention, the success of the bands, and to some degree the success of the posters contributed to the process of change which was to affect profoundly the Haight-Ashbury community.

By all accounts, it wasn't only the number of people who visited the Haight-Ashbury during the "Summer of Love" which caused the rapid disintegration of the original community, but also it was the character of many of those who came. The portrayal of the Haight-Ashbury in the

media was perhaps not inaccurate, but it was selective. The media sensationalized the concept of "free love." They emphasized the drug use and abuse, while they also underscored the possibility of life in the Haight-Ashbury with only minimal financial resources, which they often ascribed to the generosity of the "love" ethic. For example, Newsweek reported in February:

There are no hippies who believe in chastity, or look askance at marital infidelity, or see even marriage itself as a virtue. Physical love is a delight--to be chewed upon as often and freely as a handful of sesame seeds. "Sex is psychedelic," said Gary Goldhill, 38, an Englishman who gave up radio scriptwriting to live as a painter in the Haight-Ashbury area. "And, in all psychedelic things, sex is very important." ... Virtually every hippie has taken LSD. (131)

An article by Hunter Thompson was printed in The New York Times Magazine in May:

Marijuana is everywhere. People smoke it on the sidewalks, in doughnut shops, sitting in parked cars or lounging on the grass in Golden Gate Park...Some of the rock bands play free concerts in Golden Gate Park for the benefit of those brethren who can't afford the dances. An at-home entertainment is nude parties at which celebrants paint designs on each other...Drugs have made formal entertainment obsolete in the Hashbury...[He asked one woman how she lived, and she replied]: "From meal to meal. I have no money, no possessions. Money is beautiful only when it's flowing...We take care of each other. There's always something to buy beans and rice for the group,

and someone always sees that I get grass or acid...." (132)

By June, Newsweek had taken a decided stand against drug abuse in the Haight, which may have led one journalist to exaggerate:

Perhaps 80% are steadily high on drugs ranging from LSD to...Methedrine, Dexedrine, and Benzedrine, known collectively as "speed..." The sickly sense of incense fills the air to mask the reek of marijuana..."The whole idea is love," said a man who quit his job in insurance to go to the Haight. (133)

It is not surprising, with reference to the above quotes and to the articles which appeared in other journals, that many of the people attracted to San Francisco by the media attention were underage or in trouble, unstable and insecure, while others were indigents or drug abusers.¹³⁴ Along with the young people who flooded in, there were, of course, others who preyed upon them as unsuspecting victims. The community was disrupted that summer by vandalism, sexual abuse, and violent crime, and was a target for dealers who "pushed" hard drugs, such as methedrine, LSD mixed with amphetamines, and even heroin.¹³⁵ It became apparent to those who stayed until the end of the summer that the dream which had been conceived earlier was over, at least as far as life in the city was concerned. According to Charles Perry, most of the original residents moved out of

the city, many to rural communes in Marin and Sonoma counties in Northern California, or to New Mexico.¹³⁶ Those few who remained behind, he reports, spoke often of the need to carry guns for self-protection.¹³⁷ When the summer's light had waned in October of 1967, those few remaining of the original hippie community attempted to exorcize the neighborhood of unwanted elements. They staged for themselves and for the media a funeral procession announced as the "Death of Hippie." At the end of the ritual, a coffin into which people had thrown hippie memorabilia was set on fire.¹³⁸ However, their tactic failed and, by the end of 1967, the Haight-Ashbury was on its way to becoming a heroin-ridden slum.¹³⁹

And so the community which grew up with the dance concerts, and which had become a source of financial support and artistic inspiration for the first years of rock poster art, very suddenly went out of existence. At the same time, the rock music industry established a base in San Francisco with studios, business offices, and talent scouts,¹⁴⁰ and so the number of bands performing there increased tenfold.¹⁴¹ As we will see in Chapter Three, Chet Helms began to encounter financial difficulties in 1967 and in 1968 he lost his lease on the Avalon Ballroom. He tried to run another club for about a year before he quit the business altogether.¹⁴²

Bill Graham, in contrast to most of the other businessmen who got their start during the hippie era, increased his involvement in the music industry and went on to achieve tremendous financial success. In addition to opening two new clubs, one in San Francisco and another in New York City, he also tried his hand at the recording end of the music business, and he managed the careers of a few rock musicians as well.¹⁴³

It is fascinating to chart Graham's changing concept of the rock music audience in San Francisco through an examination of the poster art he commissioned during and after the summer of 1967. After Wes Wilson left his employ in May, Graham was forced to become more actively involved with the posters, because he had to choose the artists whose works he would commission. As we will see in the next chapter, these choices involved the kinds of imagery which he wanted to represent his expanding business. Chet Helms also continued to patronize poster art in late 1967 and 1968, and we will look also at some of those posters in Chapter Three.

Important new faces arrived on the poster "scene" in late 1967. Some of the former artists stayed on the course they had begun during Haight-Ashbury's heyday, while they also became involved in endeavors such as album cover design for the San Francisco bands, and other business activities.¹⁴⁴ In the next chapter, we will

look at posters created by only one of the five original artists, Rick Griffin. His imagery and style shifted dramatically in late 1967, probably in response to the changing times. Also we will see that a different mood informed much of the second phase of rock poster art, since the artists and the audience were not nearly so insulated from national events as the early Haight-Ashbury residents had been.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

1. The Family Dog handbills were distributed in both cities. Gene Sculatti and David Seay, San Francisco Nights: The Psychedelic Music Trip, 1965-1968 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), p. 47. Also, the Family Dog dances were advertised in Ralph J. Gleason's jazz column in The San Francisco Chronicle, and so the entire Bay Area population was alerted to them. The band, Country Joe and the Fish, originated in Berkeley in 1965, and posters would have been distributed to their fans. Jack McDonough, San Francisco Rock: The Illustrated History of San Francisco Rock Music (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1985), p. 164. I have also assumed an audience was drawn from both cities because the first Fillmore posters from early 1966 list ticket sources located in both cities, a precedent for which was probably set forward by the 1965 events. Big Brother and the Holding Company also played early "gigs" in Berkeley.

2. The pre-Dylan music played on AM radio has been described as "saccharine songs about teenage love." David P. Szatmary, Rockin' in Time: A Social History of Rock and Roll (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1987), p. 59. Motown music, of Detroit, produced five number-one songs in 1965, and Motown allowed "no songs of protest or social awareness of any kind." Jim

Curtis, Rock Eras: Interpretations of Music and Society, 1954-1984 (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987), p. 215. Rick Sklar has been quoted as saying that the San Francisco music was an answer to Dave Clark's statement that "There's no message in our music. It's just for fun." Sculatti and Seay, p. 121. In 1965, the FCC decided to force radio stations with both an AM and an FM frequency to broadcast different programming on each. The AM radio stations had established a policy of playing only from a list of "hits," which they created and which ranged from 15 to 40 songs. The decision led to FM stations playing different, non-Top 40 songs, and this policy created a national audience for Bob Dylan and others who were not Top 40 performers. Curtis, p. 129, and Charlie Gillett, The Sound of the City (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), p. 351. The policy of the 3-minute limit to songs played on AM radio was broken in 1967, according to Rick Sklar, with Simon and Garfunkel's "Mrs. Robinson," and Bobby Gentry's "Ode to Billy Joe." In 1968, Richard Harris's "MacArthur Park," at 7 minutes, 20 seconds, easily broke all records for airplay. Rick Sklar, Rocking America, An Insider's Story: How the All-Hit Radio Stations Took Over (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), p. 3.

3. Dylan was still obscure in 1963, when Peter, Paul, and Mary recorded his song, "Blowin' in the Wind."

Gillett, p. 297. It was with his 1964 release of the album, The Times They Are A-Changing, featured in Life and Newsweek, that his income made a sudden leap into the thousands-per-week bracket and he achieved national attention. Szatmary, p. 70. In 1965, the Byrds launched "folk rock" music with their recording of Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man," which alluded to "soft drugs" and "trips." Gillett, p. 300 and pp. 337-338. Also released in 1965 was Barry McGuire's version of the pessimistic song, "Eve of Destruction," which was a best-seller for a time. Robert A. Rosenstone, "'The Times They Are A-Changing.' The Music of Protest," in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1969, p. 136.

4. McDonough is one who points out the lack of homogeneity in San Francisco-based rock music. McDonough, p. 10. Descriptions of the eclecticism and the "sound" are found in Sculatti and Seay, p. 121; "The Nitty-Gritty San Francisco Sound," Newsweek, 19 Dec. 1966, p. 102; Szatmary, p. 118; and Gleason, pp. 112-113. Perry states that before the San Francisco bands, musicians had tried to avoid the sounds known as "feedback." Charles Perry, The Haight-Ashbury: A History (New York: Random House/Rolling Stone Press, 1984), p. 73. Chet Helms called the San Francisco music "Apocalyptic Blues." See "These Are the Boys that Made the Art that Sparked the

Scene...," California Living, 20 Nov. 1966, p. 12. Sculatti and Seay state that some songs were over 30 minutes long. Sculatti and Seay, p. 75.

5. Sculatti and Seay, p. 26, p. 29, and p. 33. See also Paul D. Grushkin, The Art of Rock: Posters from Presley to Punk (New York: Abbeville Press, Inc., 1987), p. 68. And Simon Frith and Howard Horne, Art Into Pop (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1987), pp. 94-5. For descriptions of the wild scene at the Red Dog Saloon in Virginia City, see McDonough, pp. 4-5; Grushkin, p. 68; and Perry, pp. 7-11.

6. According to Grushkin, it was first dubbed "The Seed" by Cummings Walker. Grushkin, p. 69. See frontispiece of Cummings G. Walker, The Great Poster Trip: Art Eureka (Palo Alto, California: Coyne and Blanchard, Inc., 1968).

7. The Seed is described by Medeiros, Posters..., p. 59. Hunter borrowed the term "Marvelous" from old Karmi Troupe posters. Sculatti and Seay, p. 104.

8. McDonough, p. 6, and Sculatti and Seay, pp. 39-40.

9. Grushkin reproduced a few announcements from 1965, along with many from the later years.

10. Luria Castell says that Kelley did the first three handbills, and she thinks "a lady named Amy" did two silk-screened posters. She says also that she was told

that Marty Balin may have had a hand in those two posters. Grushkin, p. 70. The original Family Dog hosted 5 dances, through January of 1966. Grushkin, p. 70.

11. Leonard Wolf called the Acid Tests "outrages" and "scandals that create a new style or a new world view," maintaining that everyone "grinds their teeth" over their bad taste, bad morals, insolence, vulgarity, lunacy, cruelty, and irresponsibility. Leonard Wolf, Voices From the Love Generation (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, and Co., 1968), p. 223. This description brings to mind the Dada soirées. Howard compares the "total effect" of the dance environments to the nightclub environment created by the Dadaists, both of which, he explains, were created to break up "traditional linear habits of thought, a disconnection of the sensory apparatus from traditional categories of perception." John Robert Howard, "The Flowering of the Hippie Movement," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1969, p. 44.

12. Descriptions of the graffiti on Kesey's bathroom wall and fixtures, the paintings on the trees, and the bus decorations are found in Tom Wolfe, The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test (New York: Bantam Books, 1968). The first handbills were executed by various "Pranksters," and Hartweg's solo efforts may have been an attempt to reproduce their variety. See Wolfe, p. 211. Hartweg's

arrival on the Prankster scene is described by Wolfe on pp. 137-148. Wolfe states that Hartweg realized the Pranksters weren't interested in "the common intellectual currency that makes up conversations of intellectuals in Hip L.A.," where Hartweg came from. Wolfe, p. 141. According to Wolfe, the "receptive standard intellectual," who has heard of the "1913 Armory Show and Erik Satie and Edgar Varese and John Cage," might think that the Acid Tests "sound sort of avant-garde." But in fact, he explains, "like everything else here [where Kesey and the Pranksters are], it grows out of the experience with LSD." Wolfe, p. 52. There is no evidence that Kesey or Hartweg had ever heard of the Dada soirées, or that they had seen the Dada announcements.

13. Bill Graham left a lucrative job at Allis-Chambers Manufacturing Company to manage the Mime Troupe. Grushkin, p. 112. He was paid \$125 a month. Sculatti and Seay, p. 55. There were three Mime Troupe fund raisers in late 1965 and one in January, 1966. Grushkin, p. 112.

14. These are reproduced in Grushkin, pp. 112-14.

15. Grushkin, p. 70.

16. The histories of these events, and the genesis of each one, are found in Grushkin's and McDonough's books.

17. None of these events were big money makers. The

most the original Family Dog ever made was \$1500. They usually lost money. Grushkin, p. 70, and Sculatti and Seay, p. 64. One Mime Troupe event did raise \$4800, which seemed a large sum of money at the time. But making money was not the aim. The admission prices were listed at the door: "If you have a full-time job and earn \$100,000, admission is \$48. If you work part-time and make less than \$20, come on in." Sculatti and Seay, p. 55.

18. Kelley was a Family Dog member; Hartweg associated with Kesey and the Pranksters; Wilson was a semi-professional, as we shall see, although he was friends with the members of Big Brother. Peter Albin states that it was the band who first encouraged Wilson to "loosen up." Personal interview with Peter Albin, 8 Jan. 1990. And of course, Charlatans' band members created The Seed.

19. See note 17, above.

20. The lease on the Fillmore was desired by poet Lew Welch, Ken Kesey, and Los Angeles entrepreneurs. Graham "fought like a tiger" to get it. McDonough, p. 7.

21. Helms assisted the last Family Dog dance on February 4, 1966. Perry, p. 57. Actually, Helms and John Carpenter together approached Graham, since it was Carpenter who knew Graham. The history of the early collaboration is discussed in Sculatti and Seay, pp. 68-70. See also Perry, p. 59; Grushkin, p. 70; and

McDonough, p. 8.

22. Grushkin's book makes clear the number of clubs and dance sponsors in the business during the early years. Some of these were the California Hall, Carousel Ballroom, Western Front, Winterland, Firehouse, and Hell's Angels events, among others. Even Stanley Mouse hosted a fund raiser when Alton Kelley's studio was firebombed, although this was in 1968. Grushkin, p. 230.

23. They shared Wilson for two and one-half months. Grushkin, p. 70. See also McDonough, p. 8. The four artists were Wilson, Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley, and in June, Victor Moscoso began creating posters.

24. The numerous artists are represented in Grushkin. See also Eric King, A Collector's Guide to the Numbered Dance Posters Created for Bill Graham and the Family Dog, 1966-1973 (Berkeley: Svaha Press, 1980).

25. Several events were frequently scheduled for the same evening. The most famous of these evenings was November 6, 1965, when the Family Dog's "Tribute to Ming the Magnificent" dance concert was held the same night as a San Francisco Mime Troupe party with music and poetry. The Family Dog devised a plan by which people could be bussed back and forth between the two events. McDonough, pp. 6-7.

26. The company was run by Bob Carr and was called Contact Printing. Walter Medeiros, From Frisco With Love:

An Introduction to the Dance Concert Poster Art, exhibition catalogue, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, October 6-November 21, 1976, p. 5. Hereafter cited as Medeiros, From Frisco.... Wilson's college activities are discussed in Grushkin, p. 70.

27. "May the Baby Jesus..." was graffiti found on a bathroom wall. This slogan and Helms's art direction are discussed in Walter Medeiros, San Francisco Rock Concert Posters: Imagery and Meaning, Master of Arts Thesis, History of Art, University of California, Berkeley, 1972, pp. 6-7. Hereafter cited as Medeiros, Posters.... Other posters advertised the theme dances called "Tribal Stomp" and "Laugh Cure," which included the caption: "The smile that won't come off. It is worth practicing to get this sort of smile. Try it in your mirror." Perry, p. 64. There was also "Wonderland," "Euphoria (An Air Conditioned Concert)," and "Hupmobile 8 (A Freewheeling Vehicle)." Another saying found on a poster was, "From Beasties and Grumplies and Things that Go Bump in the Night, Dear Lord Protect Us." Sculatti and Seay, p. 105.

28. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 6, and Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 5. Medeiros says that as a Family Dog motto, Helms put forward the saying (from the I-Ching), "It furthers one to install helpers and set armies marching," which indicated his attitude toward his

enterprise. Medeiros, Posters..., note 83, p. 22. Helms has been quoted as saying, "I am a producer. I am a taste maker. There's no reason we can't define our own tastes rather than have them set for us by older people." Quoted in Gleason, p. 15. Medeiros says that the titles and phrases printed on posters were intended to make fun of the "striving, hang ups, seriousness, and self-importance most of us acquire from our roles in daily life." Medeiros, Posters..., p. 8.

29. Wilson executed the first poster of the Family Dog numbered series, Tribal Stomp, in February, 1966. He created the second poster in Bill Graham's numbered series, Batman Dance, in March, 1966.

30. Wilson's two styles are discussed in Grushkin, p. 70. Grushkin's chronological ordering of the posters within their respective numbered series also makes this point clear. See also Perry, p. 65.

31. At the Contact Printing Company, where Wilson trained as a graphic artist, there was only one old hand press. The color separation would slip every couple dozen posters, so they specialized in one-color posters. Perry, pp. 63-4. Wilson's experience with color printing was gained with these early posters.

32. Medeiros, Posters..., pp. 6-7, and From Frisco..., p. 5.

33. According to Perry, his style was imitated in

Los Angeles, Austin, London and Detroit. Perry, p. 118.

34. Sculatti and Seay, p. 104; McDonough, p. 57; and Grushkin, p. 73.

35. The Viennese Secessionists and the Jugendstil were part of the Art Nouveau movement. Wilson describes his fascination with Roller's letters as an interest in "negative space." Grushkin, p. 72. See also Medeiros, Posters..., p. 13.

36. For a Time magazine article, Wilson listed Mucha, Van Gogh, Klimt, and Schiele as influences. "Nouveau Frisco," Time, 7 April 1967, p. 67.

37. Medeiros states that Wilson, like the other poster artists, was generally unaware and uninterested in past styles. Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 6, and private conversation, March, 1990.

38. The color combination of red and green for a sickly effect may have been the result of Van Gogh's influence on Wilson's art, with reference to the The Night Cafe of 1888. Van Gogh also used red and green complements in portraits such as La Berceuse and Self-Portrait with Bandaged Ear and Pipe, both of 1888.

39. Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 7. Howard said that "LSD develops a certain sense of fusion with all living things." Howard, p. 49. Wilson himself said, "We have something you can't say in words--only in line, color, and feeling." Quoted in "Coolest Things:

Personality Posters and Psychedelic Posters," Newsweek, 6 March 1967, p. 87.

40. Timothy Leary, Ralph Metzner, and Richard Alpert, The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead (Secaucus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1964).

41. Rosenstone, pp. 143-44.

42. Perry, p. 264. Perry also wrote that the Haight-Ashbury community was "not just people getting stoned," but that they were exploring the "completely uncharted world of psychedelics." As he puts it, they were risking their "health, sanity, future, and life itself in pursuit of answers." Perry, p. 275.

43. Wilson was named as the "foremost practitioner" of the poster style which "intended to capture the visual experiences of an LSD tripper." "Nouveau Frisco," Time, 7 April 1967, p. 67. Alain Weill said, "especially Wilson's posters" suggested the "visual disturbances brought on by hallucinogens." Alain Weill, The Poster: A Worldwide Survey and History (Boston: G.K. Hall and Company, 1984), p. 347.

44. In 1966, the Federal Drug Administration of the United States estimated that over ten percent of all college students had tried LSD. Szatmary, p. 113. This statistic would imply that Wilson was not addressing a purely local phenomenon with his imagery.

45. Newsweek also stated that Graham sold 57,000 Wilson posters in one month. "Coolest Things: Personality Posters and Psychedelic Posters," p. 87. Wilson's discussion of his fees is quoted in Grushkin, p. 87. Griffin, too, who worked primarily for Chet Helms, has said that he was paid about \$100 per poster design. Sculatti and Seay, p. 106.

46. The poster is described in Perry, pp. 190-191.

47. Mouse's background is discussed in McDonough, p. 60, and in Grushkin, p. 74, where it states that Mouse worked the car show circuit from 1958-65. See also Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 7.

48. Grushkin, p. 69.

49. Mouse's description of his trip across country and his meeting Kelley is quoted in Grushkin, p. 75.

50. Joplin's rehearsal in Mouse's studio is discussed in Pollock, p. 114, and Grushkin, p. 88. The position of the two artists in the Haight-Ashbury community is emphasized by Medeiros, From Frisco..., pp. 7-8.

51. Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 8.

52. Grushkin, p. 75.

53. Medeiros, Posters..., note 6, p. 81.

54. The papers were commonly used for "joints." Medeiros, Posters..., p. 26. The artists' apprehension is discussed in Medeiros, Posters..., note 98, p. 93.

55. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 61.

56. Ibid, pp. 63-64.

57. The hippies' position on technology is discussed in Rosenstone, p. 144. George Hunter's use of complex designs represented his idea that "decorative styles are liberated from the restrictive 'efficiency' mindset of the technological society." Medeiros, Posters..., p. 67. Curtis points out, on the other hand, that technology was necessary for electronic music. Curtis, p. 226.

58. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 63.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid, p. 62.

61. For a good discussion of how advertising encourages our filling in of meaning for pictorial associations, see Judith Williamson, Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising (London: Marion Boyars Publishers, Ltd., 1978).

62. Medeiros writes about this poster, "What's he [Winnie] holding? Is Piglet smoking?" Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 26.

63. On the poster it says, "Keep California Green." This work is discussed in Medeiros, Posters..., p. 26.

64. They did not need to "sell" the use of marijuana, since its use was already widespread within the hippie subculture and among college students. Rather, Mouse and Kelley used such references for amusing "in-

group" anecdotal images.

65. The bands especially represented a non-commercial ethic before the summer of 1967; this was why they often played for free. See McDonough, p. 19; Rosenstone, p. 144; Szatmary, p. 123; and Sculatti and Seay, p. 136. One source, presented as a representative of the hippie point of view, said: "I could make money, but all I could buy with the money would be things...So, I've dropped out..." Liza Williams, "Which Way to the Exit?" from The Los Angeles Free Press, 6 Jan. 1967, quoted in Jerry Hopkins, ed., The Hippie Papers: Notes From the Underground Press (New York: Signet Books, 1968), p. 18.

66. Everyone worked for everyone; even Wilson went back to create a few more posters for Chet Helms in late 1967 and 1968. This point is apparent from the posters reproduced in Grushkin's book.

67. Stanley Mouse's Port Chicago Vigil Benefit poster, which advertises appearances by the San Francisco Mime Troupe, Country Joe and the Fish, the Steve Miller Band, and Robert Baker at the California Hall, on February 19, 1967, is reproduced in Grushkin, p. 173.

68. The Trip or Freak Halloween Ball featured the Quicksilver Messenger Service, the Grateful Dead, and Big Brother and the Holding Company, at Winterland, in 1967. The poster is reproduced in Grushkin, p. 185.

69. His first poster was FD 11 of June 3-4, 1966. See Eric King, pp. 10-11. The artist explained the facts of his background in a phone conversation of 2 May 1991.

70. He said that he had to overcome his self-conscious inhibition. Grushkin, p. 79.

71. He recognized that the series of posters commissioned by Bill Graham and the Family Dog would become "sought-after classics, from which the artists would receive little financial reward." Grushkin, p. 168. The Junior Wells poster is reproduced in Stuart Wrede, The Modern Poster (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1988), p. 212.

72. The term, "blocking out," is Moscoso's own. Personal interview, 15 May 1990. This poster is discussed by Medeiros, who describes it as the "arrested motion of dance." Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 9.

73. Personal interview with Victor Moscoso, 15 May 1990.

74. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 14, and From Frisco..., p. 10.

75. Interview with Victor Moscoso, 15 May 1990.

76. Interview with Moscoso.

77. Cyril Barrett states that Albers's first aim as a teacher was not to solicit creative expression, but to encourage his students' discovery of what can be done with "materials and the basic elements of a picture, form and

colour." Cyril Barrett, Op Art (New York: The Viking Press, 1970), p. 32.

78. Jean Dominique Ingres, Jupiter and Thetis, 1811, from the Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, France. The poster is FD 49, of February, 1967.

79. "I forget what his name is; that's where the fish comes from." Moscoso interview, 15 May 1990. My efforts to locate the original painting have been unsuccessful.

80. Pieter de Hooch, The Courtyard of a House in Delft, 1658, from the National Gallery, London.

81. The "anti-intellectualism" of the hippies is discussed by Howard, p. 45. Moscoso's elite educational background was certainly not common among Haight-Ashbury residents.

82. Moscoso interview, 15 May 1990.

83. Paul Kantner of the Jefferson Airplane said: "One particular element I enjoyed was the breaking of shackles--intellectual shackles represented by the mentality of the fifties, sexual shackles that had been in place forever, and interest in the forbidden zones of all types. Anything proscribed by the establishment--everything from Chairman Mao to drugs to acupuncture to Eldrige Cleaver--was looked into with relish." Foreward to McDonough's history of San Francisco rock music, p. vii.

84. Griffin created the "Murph the Surf" cartoon character for Surfer magazine. Medeiros, Posters..., note 105, and Grushkin, p. 77.

85. Medeiros says that the San Francisco posters drew Griffin to the Haight-Ashbury (Posters..., note 105, p. 77), while elsewhere he states that Stanley Mouse was Griffin's favorite artist (Posters..., note 104, p. 77). Grushkin maintains that "apparently" it was Mouse and Kelley's posters which drew Griffin, which Grushkin may have assumed from Medeiros's report. Grushkin, p. 77.

86. He had also seen the flyers produced by Hunter and Ferguson. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 64.

87. Ibid, p. 53.

88. Ibid.

89. Old West images were popular with the San Francisco hippies, many of whom were, like the original settlers, from other places. Medeiros has pointed out the hippies' appreciation for the "last frontier" aspect of California's Gold Rush Era, which they felt they were carrying on with regard to human consciousness and mind exploration. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 58.

90. Ibid, p. 29.

91. Medeiros quoted Richard Goldstein, The Poetry of Rock (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969), p. 7, in Posters..., p. 59.

92. This and the following description are taken

from Perry. He says 700-800 attended. Perry, pp. 96-7.

93. Allen Cohen was a poet who founded the Haight-Ashbury chronicle, The San Francisco Oracle. And Michael Bowen was a collagist in North Beach and the Big Sur area of Monterey, California. Perry, p. 88.

94. Perry, p. 97. Rosenstone maintains that in song lyrics, psychedelic drugs represented the key to unfamiliar pleasures and the hidden beauties of the universe. The most frequent claim, he states, was that "trips" were of lasting benefit because they improved the quality of life after the individual "comes down" from the drug. Rosenstone, p. 142.

95. Perry, pp. 97-8. The Diggers were former members of the Mime Troupe. As Diggers they were opposed to the "premises of culture based on profit, private property, and power." Wolf, p. 117. They were part of a radical movement which looked forward to anarchist revolution, which its leaders foresaw as inevitable in the United States. Wolf, pp. xxxv-xxxvi. Todd Gitlin devotes a great deal of chapter nine to the the activities of the Diggers in The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage, (New York: Bantam, Doubleday, Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1989), p. 222-41.

96. Perry, p. 220, and Howard, p. 46.

97. Gleason, p. 44, and Perry, p. 131.

98. Perry, p. 123. I have seen only the two

posters that I mention in the text and a handbill by Michael Bowen, reproduced in Grushkin, p. 197.

99. According to Perry, The San Francisco Oracle editors were aware of disharmony between the Berkeley-type radicals and the acidheads. Perry, p. 121. Berkeley people considered the Haight residents "self-indulgent." The hippies, it was believed, felt they possessed an "extra-political power" which made actual political activity unnecessary, and the radicals resented this attitude. Perry, pp. 263-64.

100. The San Francisco Oracle, January 1967, p. 2.

101. Quoted in Perry, p. 122.

102. My descriptions of the "Be-In" are a compilation of Perry, pp. 120-30; Gleason, p. 41; and Steve Levine, "The First American Mehla," The San Francisco Oracle, Jan. 1967, as quoted in Hopkins, ed., pp. 20-22. The Hell's Angels are discussed by Medeiros, Posters...., p. 38, and by Perry, p. 131. These four rock groups were considered the first generation of San Francisco bands according to Gleason, p. 77.

103. Perry, pp. 197-98. Peter Tork of the Monkees said a few months later that he and everybody else thought the dawning Age of Aquarius had come, and everything was going to be "roses from here on out." Bruce Pollock, When the Music Mattered: Rock in the 1960s (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983), p. 144.

104. Even the Beatles seem to have responded to the "scene" in the Haight-Ashbury. Their album Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, released in June of 1967, seemed to endorse the lifestyle with lyrics and music which suggested that they had taken psychedelic drugs. One song was particularly pertinent to the Haight-Ashbury, in that it concerned a teenage runaway. Perry, pp. 198-99 and p. 208. The relationship between the Beatles and the Haight-Ashbury is also the subject of a television documentary, It Was Twenty Years Ago Today, produced by Granada Television, consultant Derek Taylor, 1987.

105. Two of these include "Dropouts With a Mission: the Hippies," in Newsweek, 6 Feb. 1967, pp. 92-5, and Hunter S. Thompson, "The 'Hashbury' Is the Capital of the Hippies," in The New York Times Magazine, 14 May 1967, pp. 28-9 and 120-24.

106. Perry states, perhaps facetiously, that there were so many sociologists doing field studies in the Haight by the late summer that they considered forming their own professional organization. Perry, p. 293.

107. These included George Harrison and his friend Patti Boyd, in August. Perry, p. 226. Paul McCartney visited in the early summer. Gleason, p. 276. Ballet stars Rudolph Nureyev and Dame Margot Fonteyn were arrested at a party. Perry, p. 217. And the mayor of Delhi, India, Hans Raj Gupta, also visited. Perry,

p. 224.

108. Perry, pp. 136-39. The Council officially announced the "Summer of Love" on April 5th. Perry, p. 171. See also George Getze, "San Francisco Girds for Hippie Invasion," The Los Angeles Times, 13 April 1967, part II, p. 6, in which police chief T. J. Cahill is quoted as saying, "Hippies are no assets."

109. The formation of a Council for a Summer of Love was announced on April 5th. Perry, p. 171. The Council is discussed in Perry, p. 192, along with their announcement.

110. Perry discusses the housing quarters that were set up by city-run institutions on p. 204. He says that the Board of Supervisors voted to support, with reservations, the mayor's resolution to declare hippies unwelcome. Perry, p. 191.

111. The switchboard is discussed in Perry, p. 198. The Free Clinic founder was David Smith, who rounded up 30 part-time volunteer doctors for his staff. Perry, pp. 200-201. The "Hip Job Co-Op" is discussed in Wolf, p. xxxvii, and a poster for it was created by John Thompson, which is reproduced in Grushkin, p. 236. Also reproduced in Grushkin is a poster for the Haight-Ashbury Legal Organization created by Mouse, Kelley, and Griffin, p. 193.

112. Szatmary, p. 124.

113. The "Hippie Hop" was advertised as "the only foreign tour within the continental U.S." Szatmary, p. 124.

114. Pollock, p. 117. According to Life magazine, the Print Mint poster shop sold up to 800 posters a day. Jon Borgzinner, "The Great Poster Wave," Life, 1 Sept. 1967, p. 38. Ben Friedman opened The Postermat in San Francisco during this period, and it is still thriving today. See also Grushkin, pp. 85-86.

115. The festival was billed as "3 days of music, love, and flowers." It was organized by Lou Adler and Alan Pariser, with help from John Phillips of the Mamas and the Papas rock group, Derek Taylor, publicist for the Beatles, and others. Admission fees brought in \$500,000 for charity. Sculatti and Seay, p. 162. See also Gillett, p. 343; Perry, pp. 205-209; Hopkins, pp. 153-56; and Pollock, p. 133, who states that "decidedly non-Top 40 music was played to the crowd." Gillett describes the event as a "deliberate attempt...to recreate the Be-In for the benefit of people in the record business and national media who'd missed it the first time around." Gillett, pp. 353-54.

116. Tom Wilkes's Monterey Pop Festival poster is reproduced in Grushkin, p. 258.

117. Some of the groups who played at the three-day event were the Jefferson Airplane, Steve Miller Blues

Band, Quicksilver, Grateful Dead, Big Brother, Country Joe and the Fish, the Jimi Hendrix Experience, the Electric Flag, Simon and Garfunkle, Laura Nyro, the Byrds, the Who, Otis Redding, and Ravi Shankar. List compiled from Pollock, p. 87 and p. 133; Gillett, p. 354; and McDonough, p. 10 and p. 16.

118. The Jefferson Airplane's first album (before Grace Slick joined them) was released in September, 1966. Their second album, Surrealistic Pillow, was #10 on the album popularity charts, and Slick's song, "Somebody to Love," was the #7 single by the end of May. Perry, p. 194. According to Gillett, it was the strength of this group which convinced the record companies that other San Francisco groups had commercial potential. Gillett, p. 354.

119. McDonough, p. 16.

120. "Throwing caution...to the winds, the A&R men brought out their cheque books and bid frantically with each other...." Gillett, p. 354. See also Pollock, p. 87 and p. 133, and Sculatti and Seay, p. 163. Joe Smith of Warner Bros. is quoted as having said, "The Grateful Dead. Even the name was intimidating. What did it mean? Nobody knew." Sculatti and Seay, p. 151. The bands' hostility toward recording companies before this date was well-known. Sculatti and Seay, p. 136, and Szatmary, pp. 122-23. "As a reaction," states Szatmary, "they gave concerts

for free."

121. The film was produced by D. A. Pennebaker. The Grateful Dead wouldn't sign the contract and didn't appear in the film. McDonough, p. 16.

122. Nearly everyone was signed. Big Brother was signed for \$200,000. McDonough, p. 151, and Sculatti and Seay, p. 163. Janis Joplin became an overnight success. McDonough, p. 10. Paul Simon remarked that the San Francisco bands were doing things that day with electronics and with lyrics which made most of rock music "sound old-fashioned before it's even begun." Gleason, p. 45. Before that, very little San Francisco music had been heard outside the city. Now it was springing up all over the place. Sculatti and Seay, pp. 99-100. See also Szatmary, p. 123 and p. 126 for more information on the bands' subsequent success.

123. Later printings were 5,000. Medeiros, From Frisco..., p. 3. Ralph Gleason states that the early posters were printed 500 at a time, and by 1968 printings were up to 25,000. Gleason, p. 293.

124. In January, he sold 81,000 posters. "Nouveau Frisco," Time, 7 April 1967, p.66.

125. McDonough, p. 59.

126. Moscoso interview, 15 May 1990.

127. Life, 1 Sept. 1967, pp. 36-41. Newsweek, 6 March 1967, p. 87; and a Dugald Stermer essay from

Communication Arts is quoted at length in McDonough, p. 57, although he doesn't cite the source. The Oakland Museum had been collecting the posters since early 1966. Perry, p. 218. Gleason states that museums in New York, London, and Europe asked for copies. Gleason, p. 63.

128. This happened at the end of January. Perry, p. 134, and Grushkin, pp. 80-81.

129. Perry, p. 218. Each of the "Big Five" artists produced a poster for "The Joint Show," and these are reproduced in Grushkin, pp. 234-35.

130. The point about the posters' popularity with youths was well made by John Cipollina. The late Cipollina, who played with the Quicksilver Messenger Service, said that when the band travelled across country, few young people had ever heard recordings of their music. He said people told them that the band had aroused curiosity because its name appeared on so many San Francisco posters. Sculatti and Seay, p. 108.

131. "Dropouts With a Mission: the Hippies," Newsweek, 6 Feb. 1967, pp. 92-5.

132. Hunter S. Thompson, "The 'Hashbury' is the Capital of the Hippies," The New York Times Magazine, 14 May 1967, pp. 28-9 and 120-24.

133. "The Hippies are Coming," Newsweek, 12 June 1967, pp. 28-9. In the same article, Newsweek calls the Haight "not so much a neighborhood as a state of

mindlessness...compounded of drugs and dreams, free love and LSD." John Howard describes a reading audience who wanted to be "titillated and outraged" by revelations about "sex orgies and drug parties," as well as youths and adolescents who viewed the lifestyle in the Haight as "daring and exciting." Howard, p. 50. And McDonough describes it this way: "The Haight-Ashbury was under the full and unrelenting gaze of the rapacious media." McDonough, p. 10. Perry lists the daily newspapers, as well as Life, Look, Time, Newsweek, Playboy, and the National Review. Perry, p. 227.

134. Pollock, p. 120, and Perry, p. 271.

135. Methedrine users have been characterized by certain writers as crazy, schizophrenic, paranoid, and prone to violent hallucinations. Perry, p. 227, and Howard, p. 49. Heroin is discussed by Perry, p. 227 and p. 236. Szatmary said that during the summer the city was spending \$35,000 a month on drug abuse treatment, and that heroin was increasingly used. Szatmary, pp. 124-25. Also reported was the gang-rape of a newly-arrived 16-year-old girl. Perry, p. 137. Other incidents of violence are discussed by Perry on pp. 194-95. And two well-known drug dealers were the victims of grisly murders. Perry, p. 224.

136. Perry, p. 227.

137. Ibid.

138. Perry, p. 242, and Szatmary, p. 124. The press release about the procession is quoted in abbreviated form: "The media cast nets, create bags for the identity-hungry to climb in. Your face on TV, your style immortalized with soul in the captions of the Chronicle [the San Francisco daily newspaper]. NBC says you exist, ergo I am...." Perry, p. 243. Not everyone joined in, as some felt it was a calculated media event. Perry, p. 243.

139. McDonough, p. 10. Perry says that by 1968 it had become a "heroin-infested slum where somebody could get knifed for a bag of groceries." He continues that even though the neighborhood was at its lowest ebb in 1969, by the mid-Seventies it was refurbished and revamped. Perry, p. 299. Lately, it doesn't look as clean and inviting as it did in the mid-Seventies, however.

140. Discussed in Sculatti and Seay, p. 157. Michael Phillips, Vice-President of the Bank of America, surveyed the economic power of rock music in the city and predicted that by the mid-1970s, rock music would be San Francisco's fourth largest industry, eventually grossing \$6 million dollars a year. Gleason, pp. 67-68. Although his calculations proved to be wrong, his statement buoyed music industry enthusiasm in the city.

141. Gleason listed over 400 band names from a compendium printed in 1968. Gleason, p. 168.

142. In 1969, Helms reorganized the Family Dog as the Rubber Dog, and opened a dancehall in the Playland Amusement Park close to the beach, on the city's western-most edge. It lasted only a few months. Perry, p. 287.

143. He had managed the Jefferson Airplane for a short while in 1966, and he later managed Santana. McDonough, p. 41. He started two record labels, which never got off the ground. McDonough, p. 45. The Fillmore East opened March 8, 1968. The new Fillmore West moved into the site of the old Carousel Ballroom, which had been run briefly by the Grateful Dead and their friends. In order to secure the lease, Graham flew to Dublin to talk to the owner. Gleason, pp. 60-61. See also Sculatti and Seay, p. 123. For a detailed account of Graham's enterprises during this period and a biography see McDonough, pp. 37-47.

144. The artists designed album covers, group logos, T-shirts and promotional merchandise. Griffin and Moscoso created comic strips for Zap and other underground comic books. Sculatti and Seay, p. 108. Mouse and Kelley created a new company, the Monster Company, primarily for the production of rock-related T-shirts. Grushkin, p. 321. Various artists have also created occasional posters for Bill Graham and for groups such as the Grateful Dead and the Dinosaurs, through 1990.

CHAPTER THREE

From the Fall of 1967 to the
Closing of the Fillmore West in July, 1971

The decline of the Haight-Ashbury community and the success of the San Francisco rock bands affected the economic and social structure of the dancehalls. The cost of producing live performances soared with increased musicians' fees.¹ The bands' newly acquired capital enabled them to purchase mountains of electronic equipment, for which club owners were expected to provide a crew of able technicians.² Also, among the revellers in the audience there were record company scouts, in search of new and marketable talent.³ Perhaps the most significant change came as the result of media attention given the bands, which, as Ralph Gleason reported in 1968, aroused the curiosity of a large new audience. According to him, music enthusiasts now attended the dancehalls, and they came to listen and to discuss the music. Unlike earlier audiences, they were far less concerned with dancing and light shows.⁴

A number of established clubs operated through late 1967 and 1968 and, at the same time, new ones were opening.⁵ Yet the clubs which had been popular during the Haight-Ashbury era, Bill Graham's Fillmore Auditorium and Chet Helms's Avalon Ballroom, remained in the limelight

during these years. Unlike the early years, however, Graham's shows were different from the spectacles put on by Helms. Graham, never a hippie,⁶ sensed the changing winds and altered his operation accordingly. Dancing was eventually eliminated,⁷ perhaps in part to make room for a larger audience. Later, in 1969, he would be instrumental in discontinuing the light shows.⁸ Bit by bit, Graham's concerts gave greater attention to the quality of the audio experience, and less to the support of social interaction.⁹

During the early months of 1968, Graham opened two new clubs. In San Francisco he took over the lease on the Carousel Ballroom, which, for a short time, had been managed by the Grateful Dead band. This new club, which he named the Fillmore West, allowed him to move from the rough Fillmore neighborhood and into more socially acceptable environs.¹⁰ He also established another club, the Fillmore East, in New York City, the heart of the music industry and also his former place of residence.¹¹ His choice of name and location indicates his intention to capitalize upon the reputation of the original Fillmore, and his spotlighting of San Francisco bands further supported that endeavor.

Chet Helms worked from a set of ideals very different from those of Graham. To understand Helms's conception of his role, and of the place of his club within the hippie

community, we need only consider his habit of donning a frock coat for Avalon evenings, and his greeting guests with "Welcome to our church."¹² He once denied the Avalon stage to a popular local band, because, as he told them, they lacked "missionary zeal."¹³ He was committed to a "hippie sensibility," because he himself had helped to create the style of wit, the vision, and even the music which was eventually intertwined with the identity of the Haight-Ashbury community.¹⁴ When that community disbanded, he continued to focus on "The Dog" as the nucleus of a brotherhood of like-minded individuals. Helms thought of the hippie phenomenon as a new religion, and of himself as proselytizer, promulgator, and later, guardian. He produced audience-participatory total-environment shows through 1968, with something of the determination of a zealot maintaining relics for visiting pilgrims.¹⁵ The members of the middle-class community which surrounded the Avalon considered Helms successful in his preservation of hippiedom, and they deplored it. In 1968 they put pressure on city officials to target the club as a center of drug activity and a haven for teenage runaways.¹⁶ In November of 1968, Helms's license was revoked and he presented his final show at the Avalon Ballroom.¹⁷

Back in the summer of 1967, when the image of the Haight-Ashbury community became a model for youthful

emulation across the country,¹⁸ Helms scouted out potential cities for a second Family Dog club. He settled on Denver, Colorado, where he opened a "Denver Dog" in September. He had not anticipated the reaction of Denver's more staid residents, many of whom were leery of Helms and of the prospect of a Haight-Ashbury style subcommunity. Helms's club was frequently raided by police who checked patrons' identification and searched them for drugs.¹⁹ Needless to say, the experience interfered with the congenial atmosphere which Helms relied upon for the success of his endeavor. The club lasted only a few months, and its premature closing undoubtedly caused its proprietor considerable financial loss.²⁰

Meanwhile, back in San Francisco, Helms had turned over his poster enterprise to an appointed director.²¹ By the fall of 1967, Helms was in such financial straits that he ceased paying his artists.²² He also owed a considerable sum to the printer, Levon Moscofian, whose role in helping to create the look of rock poster art was invaluable.²³ The result of Helms's financial difficulties was manifold. The regular Family Dog artists, Griffin, Mouse and Kelley, and Moscoso, created only a few Avalon posters in late 1967, while a great number of one- and two-poster artists appeared and disappeared just as quickly.²⁴ Without Moscofian's

assistance, quality control was no longer standardized and the relative excellence of each poster seems to have been determined by the individual artist's background and printmaking knowledge. The posters from the final year and a half of the Family Dog display great variety of subject matter and artistic styles, and a peculiar unevenness. While some are painfully amateurish, others are outstanding works of art.

The most significant factor which affected the subject matter of posters created after the "Summer of Love" was the newly-formed dancehall and poster-viewing audience. During the Haight-Ashbury years, the artists had been neighbors of many of the people in their audience. After the centralized community disbanded, however, some of the artists report that they worked in isolated, almost hermetic conditions.²⁵ The audiences were now drawn from a hundred-mile radius and posters were distributed to the farthest reaches of the greater Bay Area.²⁶ Not able to benefit from the audience contact which earlier artists had enjoyed, the new artists relied on outside sources of information, such as the news media, to determine the issues and interests of concern to their peers, as we shall see. In 1967, more lenient age restrictions permitted high school students into the clubs.²⁷ Along with these youngsters, there was the usual group of college-age people, and another older

contingent was undoubtedly drawn by the Fillmore's varied offering, which included rhythm-and-blues music and 1950s rock and roll.²⁸ And so, as their audience became more heterogeneous, the artists had to broaden the appeal of their poster imagery.

The topic most often addressed by posters in the early years had been, of course, drug use. But during and after the "Summer of Love," city officials became increasingly intolerant of drugs, and police raids and seizures of contraband were more frequent throughout San Francisco.²⁹ Also, with the greater proliferation of amphetamine and barbituate use, the public behavior associated with drug use changed, and drug-related crimes increased.³⁰ "Use" was beginning to seem synonymous with "abuse," and yet drug indulgence was more prevalent than ever among the youthful sector of the music-listening crowd. The situation was undoubtedly a delicate one for club proprietors, whose continuing success would require that they become more sensitive to community interests and police pressure. The owners of the clubs must have grown increasingly reluctant to support the psychedelic style of poster art, which had associated club names with overt drug proselytization. And yet, at the same time, club proprietors could not afford to alienate a large sector of their audience by appearing to take an anti-drug position. Perhaps this dilemma explains why a number of posters

produced between late 1967 and 1971 pictured imaginary worlds, distant in time and space. These could be interpreted as either flights of fancy or as drug-induced "alternate" realities. Artists produced scenes inhabited by dinosaurs, dwarves, and medieval personages. One of the most frequently recurring styles was a kind of illusionistic surrealism, taken up by poster artists in the early fall of 1967.

In Chapter One of this thesis, I mentioned Bob Fried as one of the poster artists who drew surrealistic pictures (see figure 42).³¹ Fried was new to the rock-poster-making scene in the summer of 1967, when he was lured away from his studies at the San Francisco Art Institute by his friend and fellow artist, Victor Moscoso.³² Fried quickly proved himself a master poster designer, and many of his pictures fall into the ambiguous "alternate reality" category. In his own view, however, his pictures continued the interests of earlier artists working in the psychedelic idiom:

I wanted them to have entrances and passages, to convey feelings of dimensional space, like what you feel when you trip on acid, passing from one reality to another. [I wanted] to express a kind of space network, rushing, floating, going through time. I wanted people to feel in my posters the sense of discovery I myself was experiencing. (33)

Despite his expressed intention to communicate an

"acid" experience, it is easy to overlook the drug orientation in many of Fried's posters. Most notably, he never included the melting forms or the minute detail which were the recognized conventions for expressing drug-addled sensations. In his pictures, the actual subject is more assertive than in many of Wilson's and Moscoso's posters, which bombard the viewer's senses with giddy patterns or hallucinatory effects.

Let us consider, for example, Fried's depiction of a painted face on a poster created for the Family Dog in April of 1968 (figure 77). The more we look at it, the more the portrait takes on a menacing aspect with its intently staring yellow eyes. The figure seems to possess unearthly powers, which account for the arrangement of impossible illusions held in orbit around his visage.

As we examine these illusions, we detect "entrances" and "passages" into areas of "dimensional space," just as Fried described. Ambiguity is created through the way he has treated solid forms as areas of star-studded blue sky. This fabric of sky forms a headdress and a collar for the figure, contradicted by the flatness of the magician's cranium. In addition to this dimensional sleight of hand, we also get a sense of "rushing" or "floating" created by the network of white teardrops drawn upon the rounded green form (the torso?), which seems to be situated farther back in the picture. Fried has built a structure

of incongruous relationships between solid forms and airy space, between flatness and three dimensionality, and between static shape and dynamic movement. While this picture reflects Fried's criteria for communicating an "acid trip," it seems to deal less with the psychedelic experience than with necromancy, a subject matter which is no more inherently "psychedelic" than any account of Merlin or Hobbitland's Gandalf.

To the young people of San Francisco, the dismantling of the Haight-Ashbury by outside forces was just the beginning of a series of depressing events. Many of them felt a gap in their lives after their community was dissolved. The drugs and the violence which followed on the heels of "flower power" left a number of them feeling disappointed and without direction. Rock poster art continued to be a voice for their interests and a declaration of their world view. And it mirrored the passing of shadows across their once-jubilant faces.

While certain images created between late 1967 and 1971 continued to express the jaunty conviviality of rock poster art's seminal period, some of them reveal introspective tendencies, while others convey a sense of foreboding. Interestingly enough, it was one of the original five artists who first expressed the shift in mood which would affect the youth culture over the next few years. Rick Griffin, whose early posters had been

celebrations of marijuana and other natural psychedelic substances,³⁴ began in December of 1967 to make enigmatic pictures, imbued with his own deeply-felt personal symbolism.³⁵ His first effort in this direction was a strange drawing, in which a science fiction alien holds out a white pill inscribed with the words, "Pay attention."³⁶ Later, in 1968 and 1969, Griffin's poster images expressed his generalized feelings of anxiety and despair, and Walter Medeiros describes this period for Griffin as one of "intense soul searching."³⁷

An image which recurred in his posters is an eyeball depicted as an animate being. The humanlike behavior given to the eye suggests personified sight.³⁸ Its first appearance in a Fillmore poster was in February, 1968 (figure 78). To young people of the counterculture, the image included a number of elements familiar to them from a variety of sources. The anthropomorphized eyeball had appeared several years earlier in the artwork which travelled with the car-show circuit. Author Hank Harrison attributes its genesis to a car-show artist named Von Dutch.³⁹ Stanley Mouse was another artist who had drawn maniacally-behaved eyeballs during his early career as a "hot rod surrealist."⁴⁰ It was fitting that Stanley's most ardent admirer, Rick Griffin, would make this contribution to rock posters. Griffin added feathered wings and a serpent's tail to the basic limbed form, and

gave it a serious demeanor in place of its earlier absurdity. As a model for these additions, he may have looked to the Aztecs. The "feathered serpent," Quetzalcoatl, was an important figure in Aztec cosmology, who represented, among other qualities, duality, or the union of opposites.⁴¹ Mexican Indian mythology was familiar to a number of hippies, who frequently travelled to Mexico and visited the Mexican pyramids. Another possible source for Griffin's creature is the Chinese dragon, also a flying serpent and often depicted by artists with round, bulging eyeballs. The flames which encircle the creature in Griffin's poster are a feature common to dragon pictures. Such images are plentiful in San Francisco, a city famous for its Chinatown and its large Asian population.

As we find in most of his posters from this period, Griffin has drawn the forms in bold, black outlines and printed the picture in saturated, primary colors. Griffin had long been a cartoon artist, and he began working in 1968 for the underground magazine Zap Comix.⁴² The cartoon idiom is defined by outline and its reliance on primary colors (think of Superman's costume, for example), and this visual language would have been well known to the generation of Marvel comic book enthusiasts. As we have seen, Alton Kelley's earliest Family Dog posters referred to Marvel heroes and villains (see figure 2),⁴³

suggesting his assumption of the audience's familiarity with these comic magazines. Griffin drew upon popular art forms, but the seriousness of his presentation, his skillful draftsmanship and control of color raise his posters qualitatively above their sources in the comic book, or in the artwork associated with car shows. Griffin's poster demonstrates his mastery of color printing technique which he says he gained through his poster-making experience.⁴⁴ When we compare the application of color in this poster to that in many other posters from this period, Griffin's image seems richer.

This poster, like most of Griffin's work during this two-year period, is ambiguous in meaning. Sometimes his strange creatures brandish vanitas objects, like the skull here which serves as reminder of the vanity of life and of human mortality. To communicate his forebodings, the artist created a new mythology which blended popular culture and popular art forms with his own intuitive feeling for what would "speak" to his peers. Later posters by Griffin became so obscure in their symbolism that they verged on unintelligibility, a quality underscored in some by their prominently-scrawled "nonsense" scripts.⁴⁵ At times, Griffin seemed determined to undermine the basic function of posters as a communication art. However enigmatic the poster images seem to be, the number of commissions awarded to Griffin

while he worked in this strange and eerie style attest to the interest which they generated among his audience.

Poster imagery was affected by national events as well as local developments. Much of the news of this era dealt with American military involvement in Vietnam. Public opinion on the issue was divided. Troop withdrawal was championed by young people who were subject to the involuntary draft system. They found heroes in the figures of Senators Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy, two candidates in the 1968 Presidential election. Another prominent figure was the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who was admired for his civil rights activism and for his pioneer efforts in the large-scale nonviolent demonstrations which were aimed at influencing governmental reforms. Kennedy, King, and McCarthy spelled new hope for the youth culture. Although they worked within the largely distrusted political arena,⁴⁶ they represented the ideals of peace and non-violence to many.

But in the first half of 1968, the dream of peaceful coexistence espoused by hippies, student groups, and their leaders was shattered by the sound of bullets. In April, Dr. King was assassinated in Memphis. His death triggered three days of riots, looting, and fires in one hundred sixty-eight urban black communities.⁴⁷ Then, in June, Robert Kennedy was assassinated just at the moment of his victory in the California Democratic Primary election.⁴⁸

These murders re-opened a wound in the body of the American public, a wound inflicted just five years earlier with the shooting of the charismatic young president.

Violence was not limited to political assassination in 1968, but seemed to spread to the protest movement. Antiwar demonstrations and other protests against authority grew more numerous and explosive than ever before. The titles of articles published in the major magazines that year bear witness to the attention given student unrest: "Freedom vs. anarchy on campus" read a U.S. News article; "Resistance across the nation" declared Time; and from The New York Times Magazine, "Confessions of a professor caught in a revolution."⁴⁹ The major confrontation between protestors and police forces in 1968 was organized initially by the student-based S.D.S. (Students for a Democratic Society). This protest was staged in Chicago, the site of that year's Democratic National Convention, and it targeted the Vietnam War.⁵⁰ When protestors were bloodily beaten by National Guardsmen called in by Chicago's Mayor Daly, television cameras brought live coverage of the violence into virtually every American home. In 1968 and 1969, American society was deeply shaken by conflict. Students were pitted against university administrators, youths against police, blacks against whites, parents against children, and in center-stage consciousness, there was the ongoing war in

Southeast Asia. No wonder that a possible revolution was speculated on in the wings.⁵¹

As American society became increasingly volatile, poster artists like Lee Conklin responded with pictures directed toward a youthful public. To quote Conklin, "the news would always bring you down."⁵² It forced him away from the light-hearted whimsy of his early posters, and brought out the brooding, pessimistic aspect of his work.

When Chet Helms's license for the Avalon Ballroom was revoked in late 1968, Bill Graham realized that public demand for traditional New Year's Eve celebrations was great enough for him to sponsor two shows.⁵³ The commissions for both New Year's posters went to Lee Conklin. Conklin ignored the precedents set by Mouse Studios and other artists who had created celebratory imagery, and instead he drew pictures which Bill Graham could only find "morbid."⁵⁴ We can probably attribute the very existence of Conklin's 1968-69 New Year's posters to the fact that he bypassed Graham's approval in his rush to get the master copies to the printer on time.⁵⁵

Given the circumstances of 1968, we can understand Conklin's reluctance to promise all good things and a carefree celebration for the coming year. The best tiding he could muster was the depiction of a baby which emerges from the top of a cracked human skull. True, new hope springs forth with the infant, but at the same time its

footing is insecure, threatened by the presence of a rat whose tail protrudes from the skeletal smile.

His other New Year's Eve poster is even more grim (figure 79). For this announcement, Conklin has drawn an hourglass, the standard symbol for time's passing, but in place of the usual grains of sand he substituted naked and writhing bodies. Mouths agape, hands groping, the bodies pile in a wormlike heap at the bottom of their prison. Conklin's vision is an uncomfortable reminder of the gas showers at Auschwitz. The feeling inspired by the picture is heightened by banners twisting around the columnar supports of the glass: they read "Young Bloods" and "Cold Blood," two of the bands scheduled to perform.

By the time of the New Year's shows, Helms's club had been shut down and Bill Graham emerged as San Francisco's leading concert producer.⁵⁶ 1969 proved to be a good year for Graham. He enjoyed great success, and earned a reputation through his peripheral involvement with the Woodstock Music and Art Fair. This famous rock music festival was held out of doors in rural New York state, and it spanned three days from August 15th to 17th.⁵⁷ The audience of four hundred thousand "long-haired and wildly dressed kids"⁵⁸ travelled from all points to hear the music of San Francisco musicians Carlos Santana, the Jefferson Airplane, Country Joe and the Fish, and Sly and the Family Stone. Many other bands also played at

Woodstock, and a number of these had, at one time or another, performed at the Fillmore Auditorium.⁵⁹ The youthful congregation who attended the show is reported to have "lived in love, trust and tranquility for three days,"⁶⁰ despite the inadequate sanitation and the terrible weather, stifling heat followed by rain and mud.

While only a few paid for their admission to the festival since the gates quickly proved ineffective,⁶¹ the Woodstock Festival was considered to be one of the most successful rock extravaganzas of all time. Both a record album and a feature-length film were produced from the concert, to share the Woodstock experience with others who had missed it, and to recoup some of the investor's financial losses.⁶² The producer of the Woodstock film, Bob Maurice, credited Bill Graham with initiating diplomacy between the filmmakers and the rock bands. "Without Bill," he told the associated press, "we would not have been able to do it at all. He reassured a lot of groups we weren't just exploitative."⁶³

Bay Area music archivist and author Paul Grushkin has commented on the festival's immediate impact on the music business:

A triumph of communal will, talent, and ideals, it marked the peak of what could be accomplished by harnessing rock's musical power to a great massing of youth. And it also ushered

in a new era of exploitation engineered by what had become rock's own powerful interests. For all its idealism, Woodstock represented the first full realization of rock's commercial potential, its marketability. (64)

Within the next couple of years, as Grushkin has noted, concert presentation changed from a small and somewhat erratic undertaking to a business enterprise which was organized on a nationwide basis.⁶⁵ By 1970, concert tours of popular bands were regularly playing to capacity crowds in civic auditoriums and large sports arenas.⁶⁶ These events were set up by record companies to promote new releases, and they were generally advertised by radio and newspaper.⁶⁷ Peter Albin, whose group, Big Brother and the Holding Company, was enjoying its pinnacle of success in late 1968,⁶⁸ maintains that advertising for concerts during this era was still the domain of the individual concert producer. The record companies dictated neither the advertising medium nor the imagery to be used in visual ads.⁶⁹

In San Francisco, Bill Graham advertised in the newspapers and radio,⁷⁰ but he also continued to patronize poster art. He commissioned posters to announce the large concerts which he set up in the major auditoriums, and to advertise the regular weekly shows held in the more intimate environment of the Fillmore West.

In 1969, the music itself also began to change.

Where before only a couple of musical styles had been represented in the upper rungs of sales charts, now a number of different styles were explored and developed, as the rock industry expanded rapidly.⁷¹ As a result, the record-buying, concert-going audience was splintering into factions.⁷² One reason for the development of new kinds of musical expression was that the "Top 40" playlists long favored by radio disc jockeys were undermined by the establishment of "underground" radio stations which highlighted experimental music and less popular kinds of songs.⁷³ Also, there was a need for new kinds of music when, in 1969, psychedelic or "acid rock" music declined in favor.⁷⁴ That year, new sounds were initiated, such as the "heavy metal" music of Led Zeppelin⁷⁵ and Grand Funk Railroad,⁷⁶ and the country "bayou" music of San Francisco's own Creedence Clearwater Revival.⁷⁷ Also on the rise was synthesizer-enhanced "art rock" music, such as that produced by Pink Floyd and several newer groups,⁷⁸ the continuing development of "soul music" by Aretha Franklin and new representatives such as the Bay Area group, Sly and the Family Stone,⁷⁹ and there was also a revival of interest in older forms of rock and roll.⁸⁰ These were just a few of the types of music which Bill Graham offered in concert.

One problem for Graham, in view of the fragmented audience, was how best to represent his shows in poster

format. A single bill might include three or more different musical offerings, and each would draw its own audience. To further complicate the matter, during this period Graham began to feel that poster imagery needed a new direction and that his regular artists had "run a bit dry" of inspiration.⁸¹ To keep up with the times, a new image for the Fillmore West could help to revitalize his operation, and this image could be provided by poster art. And so it stood when David Singer walked into Graham's office bearing his portfolio of collages in mid-1969. Singer had originally envisioned them as greeting cards,⁸² but Graham immediately recognized their potential as compelling and engaging poster images.

Bill Graham has said about Singer that he "revolutionized concert poster art...as much as Wes Wilson or Rick Griffin."⁸³ His collages have been described by Walter Medeiros as "cool and classical" in comparison with the "hot" colors and busy surfaces of earlier posters.⁸⁴ Medeiros goes on to say that Singer's posters are evocative of "vastness, stillness, the eternal and the transitory," and they inspire a mood which is "the exact opposite of that which the original poster art projected."⁸⁵

Despite Medeiros's observation, Singer's posters are generally thought to have continued the psychedelic "tradition" of earlier works.⁸⁶ His depictions of

disparate objects in unfamiliar settings represent a world of interior rather than exterior reality, much as the psychedelic swirls and merging forms of earlier posters had done. But in comparison to the earlier work Singer's posters are complex, layered in meaning, referring to several facets of experience and of intuitive knowledge. Some of them refer to classical art, to mythology and literature, and of course, to the music and culture which was then current. We will consider only a few of the posters which make reference to issues of interest to Singer and his contemporaries.

Singer's collages are striking in their sophistication. Well-composed and skillfully executed, they have none of the self-consciously homespun or "funky" character of many earlier posters.⁸⁷ His posters reflect the sophistication of much of the music of the period, which had achieved a high level of intellectualism in Bob Dylan's "surrealistic" lyrics of the early 1960s⁸⁸ and in the Beatles' music and lyrics from the time of Sgt. Pepper (1967) on.⁸⁹ Literate journalism had also turned its attention to rock music by this time, and its major forum was The Rolling Stone magazine, begun in 1967 in San Francisco.⁹⁰ The "fine art" quality of Singer's posters seems to proclaim that rock music was no longer just the plaything of youthful rebellion, but rather its appreciation had evolved into a cultured activity.⁹¹

Singer's posters represent a final shift away from the "folksy" character of some of the earlier posters, and from the "psychedelic" effects of work such as Victor Moscoso's. The shift in imagery was a daring move on Bill Graham's part. Singer reports that Graham displayed his posters in a showcase at the Fillmore to sound out the reactions of the public.⁹² Once assured of their impact, he began commissioning Singer's work regularly.

Whether or not we consider David Singer's posters to be "psychedelic," they did continue the traditional function of rock posters, which was to express the viewpoint and the interests of a particular group. For example, there was one poster of January, 1970, which announced a performance of the band called "Chicago" (figure 80). The single-word appellation is treated like a newspaper headline, printed in capital letters and centered over a picture which bears a direct relationship to it as text. In the collage below, a photograph of an American flag is intended to trigger the viewer's memory of the Democratic Convention held in that city a year-and-a-half earlier (see page 195).⁹³ Irony is supplied by a photograph of a child's hand holding a triple-flavor ice cream cone superimposed over a picture of an American flag. This image may represent youthful wishes or dreams fulfilled; the reality offered by the government to its children was not so rewarding as ice cream, however.

While the memory Singer elicits is specific, he wanted the poster image to represent "everything that was happening then."⁹⁴ The violence directed by the government against the peace movement, and the retaliations in disruptive protest activity, as well as the threat of continuing war were issues which, in 1970, always seemed to be hanging in the backdrop of daily life.

Singer derived his authority for associating the Chicago Convention with the band's name from their 1969 debut album, Chicago Transit Authority. The album, which was "an ambitious jumble of jazz and rock," included a recording of chants shouted by protestors outside the halls of the 1968 Convention.⁹⁵ Singer assumed that the political opinion inferred by the band's inclusion of this "cut" on their album was shared by youths living in the Bay Area.

Singer's poster serves as a weathercock, marking the direction of youthful opinion just as earlier posters had done. But rock poster subject matter had changed since the Haight-Ashbury era, when artists had been concerned with a revolution waged on the personal and social fronts. Singer's poster represents a politicized revolution, which targeted what youth felt were the intolerable dictates handed down to them by an authoritarian and repressive government.⁹⁶

Singer's Chicago poster commented on the increasing

violence surrounding the protest movement. Developments in the Bay Area were particularly volatile at this time, since both Berkeley and San Francisco had campuses which were conspicuous centers of protest activity.⁹⁷ In Berkeley in May of 1969, a controversy over the so-called "People's Park" erupted. This dispute involved a plot of land purchased by the university regents, who then left it undeveloped for a year. Students and other local residents took over the corner lot and declared it to be a park.⁹⁸ The university administration responded by enclosing the land in a fence. Local sheriff's deputies were called in to uphold the university's rights to the property and to remove the plants and play equipment which "the people" had installed there.⁹⁹ Upon arriving on the scene, police were met by an angry crowd wielding rocks and bricks. Todd Gitlin describes the ensuing events:

...amid rampant disbelief the deputies lifted shotguns to their shoulders and opened fire. For several hours they emptied their loads of birdshot and buckshot into crowds, they shot people running away from crowds, they shot passersby and reporters, they fired at students simply walking around on the campus.... (100)

Riots broke out, and tear gas was sprayed causing "problems for blocks away."¹⁰¹ That night, Governor Ronald Reagan called in the National Guard to restore order, and he decreed that "no person could loiter on the streets or campus between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m."¹⁰² Gitlin

and first-hand witnesses describe "a state of martial law" which was instituted throughout downtown Berkeley: public meetings were prohibited, and armed guards roamed the streets.¹⁰³ One day during the month-long installation of troops, a helicopter "blanketed the entire campus, all square mile of it (including the campus hospital and nearby schools), with tear gas."¹⁰⁴ Finally, university professors, as well as residents and businessmen could stand the intrusion no longer, and they implored Reagan to dismiss the Guardsmen.¹⁰⁵ The university chancellor agreed to lease the corner land to the Berkeley City Council for seven years.¹⁰⁶ The real cost of the standoff between university administrators and protestors was an enraged local population, one life lost,¹⁰⁷ one man blinded,¹⁰⁸ and more than 50 injuries treated by local hospitals.¹⁰⁹

The shooting deaths of four students during an antiwar demonstration at Kent State University in Ohio represented "the bloodiest confrontation...in the crusade against the Vietnam War."¹¹⁰ The demonstration of May 4, 1970 was just one of many held across the nation in response to President Nixon's announcement that the Vietnam War would be extended into Cambodia.¹¹¹ President Nixon, upon hearing about the four deaths caused by nervous National Guardsmen who fired into a crowd of students, had only this to say: "When dissent turns to

violence, it invites tragedy."¹¹² The President's apparent sanction of the Guardsmen's blunder added fuel to the fire already raging across university campuses. In California, plans for a statewide strike were averted by Governor Reagan's announcement that all one hundred twenty-one state-run campuses would be closed for a few days to "allow time for rational reflection away from the emotional turmoil, and to encourage all to disavow violence and mob action."¹¹³ But for weeks, the tension escalated on campuses, and more than two hundred shut down for at least one day, while some closed for the remainder of the semester.¹¹⁴

David Singer produced a black-and-white photcollage poster later that month which reflected the state of affairs between protestors and government representatives (figure 81). In the background, helmeted troops march in strict cadence, as if in mindless obedience. In the foreground, an enormous black hawk which rises high over desert sands is being harassed by an insignificantly tiny white bird. The picture's symbolism seems to be intentionally conventional, with its black (evil) bird representative of the "hawkish" position on the war, and the (good) white dove of peace as the government's harmless adversary. The image represents an imbalance of power, and its message would have been clear to its audience.

To state the obvious, the period during which Singer created Fillmore posters was one of tremendous upheaval. It was also the era when public attention was newly drawn to the issue of pollution, which presented another cause for distress. To bring the matter home, in January of 1969, in Southern California the first offshore oil spill devastated fish and wildlife along 40 miles of beaches.¹¹⁵ Not only were events like this one making the news, which publicized the dangers of industrial pollutants, but also people were encouraged to reform their personal habits. They were told that their reliance on individual automobile transportation was causing smoggy, deadly air, that their unchecked consumerism was creating an excess of waste not easily disposed of, and that the "population explosion" threatened future food supplies and exacerbated the other conditions. Unless the situation changed, they were told, there might be no clean air, no clean water, and no hope of ever recovering the good health of the planet's life-sustaining ecosystem.

Some of Singer's posters addressed the growing concern over pollution. In one collage, Christ is crucified not upon Calvary, but upon a veritable mountain of wrecked and abandoned cars.¹¹⁶ The sky is blood red with smog, and so it is air pollution which darkens the heavens at the moment of His death. In another poster, the Statue of Liberty sinks into New York Harbor, while

cars travelling on a freeway rush toward the statue's mouth (figure 82). An imposing steel structure grinds down on her crown, described by Singer as "the weight of industrialism."¹¹⁷ The clear message is that industrialism and the effects of technology are crushing certain heretofore inalienable liberties. Many other posters by Singer do not make such specific points, but they do seem to picture an abused planet. A number of them are desolate landscapes, barren of human or vegetal life, although evidence of advanced technology is everywhere present. Perhaps the recurring motif of wasteland expressed his feelings of uncertainty about the world's future.

While Singer's landscapes are sparsely populated, several include statues. These stone or bronze figures often represent classical gods, mythological heroes, or Christ. In some, the deities make gestures of supplication, with their arms raised, palms turned upwards, faces tilted toward the heavens. They are perhaps interceding for us, pleading our cause with invisible powers. In one, an Olympian god holds up his hand, palm in an outward address to the viewer, admonishing us to stop where we stand. He needn't; we always do stop before Singer's posters, where we are struck by their commanding silence. Singer's posters seem designed to get us to ask ourselves: what is the scope,

the purpose, even the future of human life? And as we ponder these things, Singer reminds us to consider the spirit of human existence along with the flesh.

By the time Singer created the final Fillmore poster, the "hippie scene" as a large-scale social phenomenon was nearly over. The "peace and love" image which had characterized the movement, and which was reflected most successfully at the Woodstock festival, was defiled just a few months later by another free outdoor event, held just south of San Francisco. The Altamont Concert featured a number of bands and headlined the Rolling Stones.¹¹⁸ It was the Stones who hired the motorcycle gang, the Hell's Angels, as security guards. They were on this occasion characteristically violent in their tactics. While the Rolling Stones performed their song, "Sympathy for the Devil," members of the Angels beat and killed an 18-year-old black man. The Angels were responsible for 100 injuries that day, including two musicians hurt while performing. Besides the violence, about 700 people required treatment for the drugs they had taken.¹¹⁹ "Altamont," one author remarked, "spelled the end of utopian illusions."¹²⁰

Perhaps the final blow to the public's tolerance for the hippie lifestyle, with its concomitant drug use and sexual permissiveness, was struck by Charles Manson. Manson was a long-haired "acidhead" and leader of a

cultish commune in Death Valley, California. He was indicted by the grand jury in the same month as the Altamont Concert for having ordered his "family" of women followers to slay victims including actress Sharon Tate.¹²¹ The fact that Manson had, a couple of years earlier, spent a short time in the Haight-Ashbury community did not help to raise public opinion about hippies, or about the communes into which many of them had moved.¹²²

The idea that drugs might, in an extreme case, induce people to murder was only slightly more frightening than the evidence that people were killing themselves with drugs. The issue was driven home when three of rock's most promising stars died within weeks of one another, in late 1970 and early 1971. Jimi Hendrix, who had played a screeching electric guitar version of "The Star Spangled Banner" at Woodstock, Jim Morrison of The Doors, and the Haight-Ashbury's own Janis Joplin, all died drug-related deaths. All three were in their twenties.¹²³ Their loss was deeply felt by San Franciscans, who had seen each of them perform from the earliest days of the Haight-Ashbury, at various places including the Fillmore Auditorium.

Around the same time, an inevitable reaction against hippie music was signalled by David Bowie's rise to fame. Bowie's personal style became as important as his music, indicated by the term "glitter rock" which was

coined in reference to his performances.¹²⁴ Bowie's costumes, his green- and orange-colored hair, and his heavily painted face contrasted the faded jeans and T-shirts worn by groups like the Grateful Dead, while his adoption of alternate egos challenged the whole concept of "being yourself" on stage. Bowie's glitter act was followed by that of Elton John, rock music's own Liberace, and later by Frank Zappa's protégé, Alice Cooper.¹²⁵ The popularity of Cooper, whose concert performances included hacking baby dolls to bits and staging macabre self-executions,¹²⁶ made it clear that the concepts of "personal honesty," "peace," and "love" had vanished from the rock music scene by the early 1970s.¹²⁷

In the early summer of 1971, Bill Graham made the sudden decision to close both of his Fillmore clubs.¹²⁸ This signalled the end of an era and with it, his own ambition to move along. He claims that his decision was made more for personal reasons than for business considerations. He had come to believe that the rock musicians' greed reflected their position of inflated status within the youth culture. And this greed had a domino effect, as he explained to Paul Grushkin:

[The San Francisco psychedelic period was] a magical time...when people really believed in a new utopia. While most of the people who went to the Fillmore were there just to have a good time, many also thought it was the beginning of a new world. But by

1971 I began to feel there was a sense of mass idolatry about rock bands, and what accompanied the work of making concerts happen was big, big business. The feelings that had first cast a spell over everybody--the musicians, the promoters, the audience--was now slipping away. (129)

And so it was against this background, with the debacle of Altamont, the deaths of Fillmore-associated rock stars, the crimes of Charles Manson, the volatile state of the protest movement, and the changes in rock music performances that David Singer was commissioned to conceive of an appropriate image which would commemorate the closing performances of the Fillmore West.

Singer's poster represented the six years of the Fillmore's existence with an image evocative of intertwining and opposing forces (figure 83). The innocence of a sleeping dog is haunted by a black cat's stare, while a white kitten playfully bats at a ball over its head. In the artist's own words, the poster represents "a dream state, a reverie," dreamed by the dog, who dreams about cats.¹³⁰ The white cat, he says, symbolizes the conscious mind, while the "sinister" black feline represents the mysterious unconscious. The "ball" naively batted by the white cat is the globe of Saturn, astrology's baleful planet, which Singer describes as the planet of "confrontation, especially in the material world."¹³¹ From his own background with Pennsylvania

Dutch folk art, he derived the two abstract birds which flank the collage. These he describes as "guardians," whose presence seal the tomb of the Fillmore's existence. With sparing means, drawing upon the juxtaposition of a very few pictures, he has called forth "the Fillmore experience, which was by now an entire structure that had hundreds of elements."¹³²

The poster did not announce an upcoming event, but it was commissioned after the final week of concerts. Singer remarked that it may be the only commemorative poster in the Fillmore numbered series.¹³³ Because of the unusual conditions of the commission, Singer could work slowly, giving careful thought to his choice of pictures and to their implied symbolism. About his mental processes, he said:

I used the relationship of my unconscious being to my conscious self. I never simply thought out intellectually what I would do. I felt I would be guided by a symbology that was part mine and part belonging to the outside world. (134)

Soon after he closed the Fillmore West, Graham changed his tack and geared up for the "big business" of music presentation in the Bay Area. He continued to commission posters, but he hired new artists whose slick professionalism is thought to have marked a turning point in rock poster art.¹³⁵ Currently, most of Graham's posters are executed by an in-house staff artist,

although posters for special performances are occasionally requested from his former artists.¹³⁶ For example, in 1990 Rick Griffin created one for the popular heavy metal band Aerosmith, while Singer's collage work commemorated Paul McCartney's Bay Area engagement.

Today, the posters created for "Bill Graham Presents" are not intended for sale, due to the legal restrictions placed on revenue earned from a band's name. Posters no longer advertise a show, but are created only as commemorations, and given to select people.¹³⁷ (Although occasionally, some of these are put up for sale by the recipient of the gift.)¹³⁸ Since Graham makes no money from the posters created today, his continuing patronage is evidence of his lasting affection for this stepchild which he has, after all, raised from infancy. He has expressed something of his sentiments about the posters:

...I never went into the music business, much less the poster business, just to expand and exploit...I remember how many times printing companies and stationery companies would offer me a fortune for the Fillmore posters...But I...never wanted to bastardize what meaning the posters have for me. (139)

With the recent resurgence of interest in the decade of the Sixties, the early posters have come to stand as totems of cultural identity for the Haight-Ashbury community. Examples of "psychedelic" poster art have been highlighted in television documentaries on the era,¹⁴⁰

and they have been hung in major poster exhibits across the country.¹⁴¹ They have also been discussed and reproduced by art historians documenting the history of poster art.¹⁴² Sometimes original poster artwork is offered for sale, with prices ranging from a few thousand to as much as \$25,000.¹⁴³ Individual posters from the earliest days are still for sale, and in San Francisco's leading poster shop they are priced from about \$40 to \$100, although rare pieces can bring much, much more.¹⁴⁴ Their frequent plagiarization prompted Eric King to write a connoisseur's book on the recognition of sanctioned printings, which makes a complete catalogue of the Fillmore and Avalon series.¹⁴⁵ Rumor has it that another, similar book is in the works, and also that other Master of Art theses are being written currently.¹⁴⁶ In addition to these anticipated works of scholarship, an interested publisher has asked Walter Medeiros to write a book just about Wes Wilson.¹⁴⁷

Twenty-five years after the creation of the first rock poster, this once localized endeavor has influenced much art, both private and commercial. And what is perhaps even more significant, the work which originally came from society's fringes is now taking its rightful place in the history of Western art.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

1. Before the bands had recording contracts, Graham and Helms could dictate what they would pay them. Jack McDonough, San Francisco Rock: The Illustrated History of San Francisco Rock Music (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1985), p. 21. See also Ralph J. Gleason, The Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969), p. 296.

2. The Grateful Dead acquired the most equipment, since they were generously funded by Owsley, the acid king. McDonough, p. 135. Gleason discusses the need for technicians, p. 296.

3. McDonough, p. 73. See also Gene Sculatti and David Seay, San Francisco Nights: The Psychedelic Music Trip, 1965-1968 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), p. 165.

4. Gleason, p. 300.

5. A list and brief history of many of the clubs may be found in Paul Grushkin, The Art of Rock: Posters from Presley to Punk (New York: Abbeville Press, Inc., 1987).

6. Gleason, p. 286; Sculatti and Seay, p. 55; McDonough, p. 37. See also David P. Szatmary, Rockin' in Time: A Social History of Rock and Roll (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1987), p. 126. For a more in-depth comparison of the two men, see Charles

Perry, The Haight-Ashbury: A History (New York: Random House/Rolling Stone Press, 1984), pp. 61-63.

7. Gleason, p. 300.

8. The light show artists went on strike in the summer of 1969, and Graham "simply cancelled light shows and pointed out that attendance didn't drop at all." Perry, p. 287. See also McDonough, p. 62.

9. At first, Graham had focused quite a bit of attention on the social aspect, handing out apples at the door and playing classical music and showing slides of birds at the end of shows to "help people ease back into reality." Sculatti and Seay, p. 66.

10. McDonough, p. 40; Sculatti and Seay, p. 166. Graham flew to Ireland to secure the lease on the Carousel. Gleason, p. 61. McDonough says the Carousel was managed by the Dead and the Jefferson Airplane, p. 18.

11. McDonough, p. 37.

12. Perry, p. 62. The San Francisco Chronicle also presented Helms as leader of a "new religion." See "These Are the Boys that Made the Art..." California Living, Sunday Section of The Chronicle, 20 Nov. 1966, p. 12.

13. Sculatti and Seay, p. 89.

14. Helms helped to forge an "identity" for the Haight-Ashbury through the medium of poster art. See this thesis, p. 119. See also Walter Medeiros, From San Francisco with Love: An Introduction to the Dance Concert

Poster Art, exhibition catalogue, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, October 6-November 21, 1976, p. 5; Grushkin, p. 71; and Perry, p. 64. He hosted basement "jam sessions" for musicians as early as 1965, which led to the creation of Big Brother and the Holding Company. It was Helms who brought Janis Joplin from Texas. Sculatti and Seay, p. 68, and Grushkin, p. 50.

15. Actually, according to Perry, most of the venues couldn't afford light shows. Perry, p. 287. Sculatti and Seay thought that by this time, the "avantish happenings" were "just plain boring." See p. 63.

16. Gleason, p. 49.

17. Gleason, p. 61.

18. Perry states that "mini Avalons and Fillmores were everywhere," p. 275. See also Sculatti and Seay, p. 122.

19. Sculatti and Seay, pp. 166-67. They say he also opened a club for a short while in Portland, and he organized a few shows in Irvine, in Los Angeles County.

20. Perry confirms Helms's financial loss over the Denver Dog, p. 287.

21. Phil Hammond was the first director, succeeded by Jack Jackson, known as "Jaxon." Grushkin, p. 80.

22. Gleason, p. 305.

23. Ibid. For Moscofian's role in poster production, see Grushkin, pp. 81-2.

24. For a list of their names and efforts, see Eric King, A Collector's Guide to the Numbered Dance Posters Created for Bill Graham and the Family Dog, 1966-1973 (Berkeley: Svaha Press, 1980), pp. 28-42. Many of the posters may be seen at The Postermat on Columbus Avenue in San Francisco.

25. Personal interview with Lee Conklin, 27 May 1990, and with David Singer, 18 Jan. 1990.

26. The audience was drawn from Sonoma County, in the North, to San Jose in the South. Interviews with Conklin and Singer.

27. The age was dropped from 18 to 16 in April, 1967. Perry, p. 178.

28. Charlie Gillett, The Sound of the City (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), p. 357. Also, McDonough, p. 41.

29. Mick Farren, ed., Get On Down: A Decade of Rock and Roll Posters (London: Big O Publishing, Limited, 1977), p. 10. Also, Bruce Pollock, When the Music Mattered: Rock in the 1960s (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983), p. 121.

30. Perry, pp. 225-29.

31. See this thesis, pp. 63-4.

32. Grushkin, pp. 82-3.

33. Quoted in Grushkin, and taken from Medeiros's research efforts. (Fried died in the 1970s.) See

Grushkin, p. 83.

34. Some of these were reproduced in Chapter Two of this thesis. Griffin also produced non-rock music posters which were pure and simple drug images. Several of these are reproduced in Gordon McClelland, Rick Griffin (Surrey, England: Dragon's World Ltd., 1980).

35. Medeiros has interpreted the Aoxoamoxoa image for his catalogue, and he discusses the strange character of Griffin's imagery. See From San Francisco..., p. 11.

36. The poster is FD D-18 of December, 1967, and is reproduced in Grushkin, p. 102.

37. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 23.

38. Griffin stated the images were "done at the height of third-eye LSD consciousness." McDonough, p. 61. If the eyeball represents the third eye, the image would be personified spiritual insight. No doubt, it symbolizes many things.

39. Hank Harrison, The Dead (Millbrae, California: Celestial Arts, 1980), p. 103.

40. Perry coined the term, p. 65.

41. Peter Tompkins, Mysteries of the Mexican Pyramids (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1976), p. 388, and Jose Lopez Portilla, Quetzalcoatl in Myth, Archeology and Art (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1982), pp. 11, 12, 27, and 35. The qualities represented by Quetzalcoatl are varied and numerous, but

duality seems to be his principle characteristic.

42. Perry, p. 290.

43. Kelley's Marvel posters feature the characters Dr. Strange, Ming the Merciless, and Sparkle Plenty. The names of Marvel heroes and heroines supplied themes for the early Family Dog dance concerts. Two posters and three handbills by Kelley are reproduced in Grushkin, pp. 93-4.

44. Grushkin quotes Griffin, p. 78.

45. "Nonsense" scripts say nothing; they involve the viewer in a futile attempt to unravel their seemingly interlaced letters. Griffin was the only artist I know who used them, although for one of Griffin's posters, it was actually Moscoso who drew the picture. For more on these see Medeiros, Posters..., p. 22.

46. Who had killed President Kennedy, for instance? The Warren Report had come into question. See Todd Gitlin, The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage (New York: Bantam, Doubleday, Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1989), pp. 312-13. The CIA was distrusted and believed to be involved in murderous conspiracies. To understand the sentiment of youths on the topic of the CIA, see Gitlin, pp. 150, 324, 343, 434, and 435. More information on the CIA was given by a television documentary, Secret Intelligence, produced by Mitchell Koss, Community Television of Southern California, 1988. Viewed on KCTS

Channel 9, Seattle, Washington, April/May, 1988. See also Warren Rogers, "The Truth About LBJ's Credibility," in Look, 2 May 1967, pp. 70-74. And there was the issue of the FBI's secret files on private citizens. Gitlin, p. 314. These are just a few of the issues, and the government agencies, which made youths uneasy.

47. Szatmary, p. 130.

48. Kennedy was shot by Sirhan Sirhan in the Los Angeles Democratic headquarters at the Ambassador Hotel, on June 4, 1968. He had won four out of five presidential primaries, including one that day in California.

49. "Confessions...", A. Etzioni, New York Times Magazine, 15 Sept. 1968, pp. 25-27. "Freedom vs. Anarchy...", Ronald Reagan, U.S. News and World Report 65 (30 Dec. 1968), pp. 47-49. "Resistance Across the Nation," Time 92 (18 Oct. 1968), pp. 61-2.

50. Szatmary, p. 130. The organization of the event was partially owing to Tom Hayden's guidance. The "Chicago 8," who were tried for their Chicago activities, included non-student Yippie leaders, Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman. And Bobby Seale of the "8" was associated with the Black Panthers. Gitlin, pp. 310-11.

51. There were several actively revolutionary, anarchistic groups, including the Black Panthers and the Weather Underground wing of the protest movement. The S.D.S. itself was leaning toward radicalism, as outlined

in Gitlin's history of their activities. According to Gitlin, a Daniel Yankelovich poll conducted in October of 1968 revealed that 750,000 students said they identified with the New Left, which the pollsters concluded "suggest a potential for disorder in our society that has barely been tapped." Gitlin, pp. 344-45.

52. Conklin interview.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. By the end of the decade, Graham had grossed over \$5 million. Szatmary, p. 126.

57. My information on Woodstock comes from Robert Steven Spitz, Barefoot in Babylon: The Creation of the Woodstock Music Festival, 1969 (New York: The Viking Press, 1979), unless otherwise specifically quoted.

58. The Incredible Decade, 1960-1970, (New York: Year Encyclopedia News, Inc., 1970), p. 213.

59. Other San Francisco groups involved were the Grateful Dead, Creedence Clearwater Revival, and Janis Joplin (who had split that year from Big Brother). List compiled from McDonough, p. 10. Other bands who had played at the Fillmore included Jimi Hendrix, the Paul Butterfield Blues Band, Crosby Stills and Nash, the Incredible String Band, and Ten Years After. List compiled from James Haskins and Kathleen Benson, The 60s

Reader (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1988), pp. 100-1. The Woodstock creators and producers purportedly lost \$2 million on the original venture. 1969 Time Annual: The Year in Review (New York: Time-Life Books, 1970), p. 45. Woodstock Ventures signed an immediate contract agreement with Warner Brothers Pictures in order to recoup some of their loss. Spitz, p. 488.

60. The Incredible Decade, 1960-1970, p. 213.

61. 1969 Time Annual, p. 45.

62. The picture was produced by Warner Brothers and as of January, 1979, the worldwide box office gross was \$50 million. Spitz, p. 488.

63. John L. Wasserman, "Maurice in Wonderland--A 'Woodstock' Story," The San Francisco Chronicle, 6 May 1970, p. 51.

64. Grushkin, p. 314. Also, Gillett discusses the long-term effects of Woodstock on the rock music business, p. 404.

65. Grushkin, p. 314. See also Spitz, Introduction, p. xv.

66. Grushkin, p. 318.

67. Grushkin discusses this change in San Francisco in the early Seventies, p. 318. In San Diego, and probably elsewhere, it happened earlier with the advent of large-scale concerts.

68. Their album, Cheap Thrills, held the number-one

spot in the album popularity charts for 8 weeks in late 1968. Sculatti and Seay, p. 170.

69. Interview with Peter Albin, 8 Jan. 1990.

70. Graham's staff artist was Randy Tuten, who also created posters, including some collaborative work with Singer. Grushkin, p. 324.

71. Szatmary lists these styles and others, pp. 153-67. He describes the changes from the 1950s to the 1970s in the internal organization of the rock music industry as a result of each individual company's growing capital and power, pp. 168-9.

72. McDonough, p. 97. See also Jim Curtis, Rock Eras: Interpretations of Music and Society, 1954-1984 (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987), pp. 129, 236, and 251.

73. KMPX, the San Francisco station under the direction of "Big Daddy" Tom Donahue, played tapes made by new local bands. McDonough, pp. 95-7. Playlists were begun by Bill Gavin, of San Francisco, in 1958. McDonough, p. 97.

74. 1969 Time Annual, p. 149.

75. Curtis discusses Led Zeppelin's "heavy metal" music, pp. 286-7. They were an English band and their first album was Led Zeppelin (Atlantic), 1969. Jon Pareles and Patricia Romanowski, eds., The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia of Rock and Roll (New York: Rolling Stone

Press/Summit Books, 1983), p. 320.

76. Grand Funk Railroad was formed in 1969 in Flint, Michigan. First album: On Time (Capitol), 1969. The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia, p. 224.

77. Creedence Clearwater Revival was first formed in 1959. However, their first album, Creedence Clearwater Revival (Fantasy), was released in 1968. The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia, p. 127.

78. Pink Floyd and "art rock" are discussed in Curtis, p. 278-9. The Moody Blues, Yes, and Emerson Lake and Palmer are also considered "art rock" groups in Curtis's analysis.

79. Sly Stone (real name, Sylvester Stewart), his role in the San Francisco music industry and his music, is discussed in Gillett, pp. 358-59, and in Sculatti and Seay, p. 137. The band "fused black rhythms and a psychedelic sensibility into a new pop/soul/rock hybrid that drew both black and white audiences." The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia, p. 509.

80. 1969 Time Annual, p. 149.

81. Grushkin, p. 316.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 70.

85. Medeiros, From San Francisco..., p. 22.

86. See this thesis, pp. 73-4.

87. Medeiros described "funky" art as abhorring the neat, ideal image of respectable people, and its expression was in loose, disheveled images. It is informal, doesn't take itself too seriously, and may appear ridiculous, absurd, or bizarre in context with its environment, such as a motorcycle jacket worn with an old evening gown. Medeiros, Posters..., p. 5. The style probably accompanied the anti-intellectualism that John Howard attributes to Haight-Ashbury hippies. John Robert Howard, "The Flowering of the Hippie Movement," The Annals of the American Society of Political and Social Science, March 1969, p. 45.

88. McDonough, p. 12; Szatmary, p. 67. See also Robert A. Rosenstone, "'The Times They Are A-Changing.' The Music of Protest," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1969, pp. 133-4. Intellectualism was a quality of pre-Dylan folk music, but Dylan made the quality widely popular in rock music. Pollock, p. 11.

89. Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band is discussed in McDonough, p. 12. See also the article by Lewis Segar, "!'Sgt. Pepper the Most!--Beatles, Dig?" from The Los Angeles Free Press, 9 June 1967, rpt. in Hopkins, ed., pp. 192-98.

90. The Rolling Stone was founded by Ralph Gleason and 21-year-old Jann Wenner, in November, 1967. Sculatti

and Seay, p. 164; Gillett, pp. 351-54; McDonough, p. 101. In the mid-1970s, the magazine moved its offices to New York City.

91. McDonough, p. 62, refers to Singer's "fine art consciousness."

92. Singer interview, 18 Jan. 1990.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. "Chicago Transit Authority" was the band's original name. By the time this poster was created, their name had been shortened. Information and quote from The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia, p. 98.

96. One repressive act which hit hard was the federal government's decision to withhold student financial aid from anyone known to have been involved in protest activity. Earl C. Behrens, "Budget Bill Crackdown on Students," The San Francisco Chronicle, 17 May 1969, p. A-1. Also, Governor Reagan had fired a U.C. Berkeley President for his reluctance to use police force against protestors. Perry, p. 135.

97. San Francisco State College (which since then has been redesignated a university), under the leadership of President Hiyakawa, was in a state of constant strife. And U.C. Berkeley had been a center of activity since the Free Speech Movement in 1964.

98. Actually, the lot was unattended for only ten

months before these events. Gitlin, p. 354. Information about People's Park was also taken from the television documentary, 1969, written by Mitchell Barry, narrated by Dick Cavett, produced in 1982 by Bruce Cohn Productions, Inc. See also Haskins and Benson, pp. 77-78.

99. Gitlin, pp. 355-57.

100. Gitlin, p. 357.

101. "Net of Tear Gas," The San Francisco Chronicle, 16 May 1969, p. A-5.

102. "Big Berkeley Riot. Cops Use Shotguns--Bloody Street Fight," The San Francisco Chronicle, 16 May 1969, p. A-1.

103. Gitlin, p. 357. Also, interview conducted with Marjorie Burch on November 12, 1989. She said that her medical student friend would go out into the "war zone" after curfew hours to attend to the wounded. Another eyewitness was Padraic Wangler, whom I interviewed on October 20, 1990.

104. Gitlin, p. 357. See also, "Helicopter Sprays Students Hemmed In by Guardsmen; Tear Gas Blankets Campus," The San Francisco Chronicle, 21 May 1969, p. A-1.

105. "Berkeley's 'Silent' Citizens Speak Out," The San Francisco Chronicle, 20 May 1969, p. A-5; "Berkeley Education Board: 'Take the Troops Away,'" and "200 Vote to Stop Teaching," both articles of 21 May 1969, p. A-6; and "UC Faculty Votes 642-95 To Get Rid of Park Fence;

Resolution Also Urges GIs to Go," 24 May 1969, p. A-1.

106. "Big Berkeley March Today--Council Favors the Lease, Heyns Supports Park Plan," The San Francisco Chronicle, 30 May 1969, p. A-1. Controversy still rages on what to do with the property. See Ralph Jennings, "Plan to split People's Park may hit snag," The San Francisco Chronicle, 20 Feb. 1991, p. A-2.

107. 25-year-old James Rector, an onlooker, died after abdominal surgery for buckshot wounds. "Buckshot Blamed in Berkeley Death," The San Francisco Chronicle, 21 May 1969, p. A-5.

108. Alan Blanchard, an artist. Gitlin, p. 357.

109. Gitlin, p. 357. The Chronicle stated that more than a hundred people were injured just on the first day of violence, May 15th. The newspaper's list of people treated by Berkeley hospitals included the names of two men identified as members of the Press. "Big Berkeley Riot. Cops Use Shotguns--Bloody Street Fight," The San Francisco Chronicle, 16 May 1969, p. A-1, and the list appears on p. A-6.

110. "4 Students Killed By Ohio Troops," The San Francisco Chronicle, 5 May 1970, p. A-1.

111. Locally, there were also violent flareups at the University of California at Berkeley, at Stanford, and at San Francisco City Hall. "Flareup of Violence at Berkeley," and "Stanford Campus at Standstill," both

articles found in The San Francisco Chronicle, 5 May 1970, p. A-1.

112. "The Killings at Kent State," The San Francisco Chronicle, 5 May 1970, p. B-1.

113. Ron Moskowitz, "Reagan Shuts the Colleges-- Campuses to Reopen Monday," The San Francisco Chronicle, 7 May 1970, p. A-1.

114. Pollock states that at Colorado State there was a fire, an ROTC building at the University of Nebraska was occupied by students, there were three weeks of rioting at Berkeley, and so on. Pollock, pp. 149-50. See also, "Colleges Closing Across the U.S.," The San Francisco Chronicle, 7 May 1970, p. A-1.

115. 1969 Time Annual, p. 115.

116. This is poster BG 179, for shows of June 24-29, 1969.

117. Interview with Singer, 18 Jan. 1990.

118. The Altamont Concert was held on December 6, 1969. Information taken from Pollock, p. 123. See also Szatmary, p. 149; Curtis, p. 110 and p. 232.

119. The man's name was Meredith Hunter. "Countless others were severely beaten." Perry, p. 288. Marty Balin of the Jefferson Airplane describes being knocked out while trying to stop another fight. Pollock, p. 123. The other musician injured was Denise Jewkes of the Ace of Cups group. See especially, Sol Stern, "Altamont: Pearl

Harbor to Woodstock Nation," in David Horowitz et al, eds., Counterculture & Revolution (New York: Random House, Inc., 1972), pp. 113-131.

120. Gitlin, p. 406. Perry called Altamont "the symbolic dead end of a generation's adventure." Perry, p. 288. See also Curtis, p. 232.

121. Perry pointed out the coincidence of dates, p. 288. Information taken from Gitlin, pp. 399, 400, 403, 404, and 405. See also Lee and Shlain, pp. 185-86, p. 257 and pp. 258-59.

122. Perry mentions Manson's brief appearance in the Haight, p. 288. Lee and Shlain say that Manson was in the Haight during the "Summer of Love." Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD and the Sixties Rebellion (New York: Grove Press, 1985), pp. 185-86.

123. Morrison died July 3, 1970, at age 27, of a heart attack in the bathtub. Hendrix, age 24, died of a drug overdose on September 18, 1970. On October 3rd, Joplin died of a heroin overdose at age 27. Szatmary, p. 150.

124. For more on David Bowie and "glitter rock," see Szatmary, p. 161. See also Farren, p. 16.

125. All three put on concerts described by Curtis as "grandiose spectacles." Curtis, p. 237. See also Farren, p. 16. I know about the professional relationship between Cooper and Zappa from friends who used to

associate with Frank Zappa in the late 1960s and '70s, and who attended the party where Cooper was "introduced."

126. "Alice Cooper, Super-Ghoul," in Soul, Pop, Rock Stars, Superstars (London: Octopus Books, Limited, 1974), pp. 227-30. Cooper began his career in 1969, although it was his 1971 release, Love It To Death (Warner Bros.), which was "the first of a string of gold and platinum singles and albums." The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia, p. 120.

127. Pollock says that by the mid '70s, the "hippie ethos" was "the object of endless, mirthless scorn by a younger generation of cynical, heavy-metal products," p. 206. See also Farren on the changing attitudes, p. 16.

128. Singer talked about his surprise at Bill Graham's sudden decision to close the Fillmore West. "I thought I'd be doing 50 more Fillmore posters," he said. Interview with the artist, 18 Jan. 1990. The Fillmore East, in New York city, was closed at the end of June, 1971. The Fillmore West was closed a week later, on July 4, 1971. McDonough, p. 41.

129. Grushkin, p. 314.

130. Singer's interpretation is quoted in Grushkin, pp. 315-16.

131. Singer also calls Saturn a "heavy" planet. Grushkin, p. 315.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid, p. 318. Also, correspondence from Eric King stated his opinion that after 1971, "the style of posters changed substantially." Personal correspondence of 23 March 1990.

136. Singer interview, 18 Jan. 1990.

137. Telephone interview with Jerry Pompili, Vice President of Operations for Bill Graham Presents, 13 Nov. 1990.

138. Conversation with David Singer.

139. Grushkin, p. 88.

140. Two documentaries include It Was Twenty Years Ago Today, produced by Granada Television, consultant Derek Taylor, 1987, and a program produced locally and directed by Dave Wilson (July, 1990), San Francisco in the 60s.

141. Two exhibits include "The Modern Poster" (1988) at the New York Museum of Modern Art, and "Images of an Era: The American Poster 1945-1975," held at the Smithsonian Institution in 1975. There was also the 1976 exhibition at San Francisco's Museum of Modern Art, for which Medeiros produced the catalogue, From San Francisco With Love.

142. For example, Posters: A Concise History (1972) by John Barnicoat; J. Stewart Johnson, The Modern American

Poster (1983); Alain Weill's The Poster: A Worldwide Survey and History (1984); and Stuart Wrede's The Modern Poster (1988).

143. The price was attached to a Stanley Mouse original which I saw. I have seen prices near this figure on lists sent by the artists to poster art collector, Clifton Buck-Kauffman.

144. A poster by Rick Griffin, which was created for a show in Hawaii that was later cancelled, recently sold for \$5,000. The poster is listed in Grushkin as no. 3.116, reproduced on p. 291. The price was quoted in "San Francisco Posters Finding New Life," The San Francisco Chronicle, 18 Dec. 1990, p. E-2, although the article omitted both the artist's name and the poster's identification. This information was given to me by Grant McKinnon, an employee of Best Comics in San Francisco. The Chronicle article also stated that posters for Ken Kesey's January, 1966 Trips Festival are currently selling for \$3,000. In the Postermat store, David Singer's poster for the Fillmore Closing (see figure 83) sells for \$600.

145. Eric King, A Collector's Guide to the Numbered Dance Posters Created for Bill Graham and the Family Dog, 1966-1973 (Berkeley: Svaha Press, 1980).

146. Interviews with individual artists brought this information to light.

147. Conversation with Walter Medeiros, March,

1990.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Hugh. Art of the Sixties. Oxford, England: Phaidon Press Limited, 1978.
- Ades, Dawn. Dali and Surrealism. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1982.
- . Photomontage. New York: Pantheon Books, 1976.
- Albers, Josef. Interaction of Color. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1963.
- Albin, Peter. Personal interview. 8 Jan. 1990.
- Albright, Thomas. Art in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1945-1980. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985.
- . "A Unique Radiance. Wilson's Giant Step Forward." The San Francisco Chronicle, 3 March 1973, p. 35.
- "Alice Cooper, Super-Ghoul." In Soul, Pop, Rock Stars, Superstars. London: Octopus Books, Limited, 1974, pp. 227-30.
- Alloway, Lawrence. American Pop Art. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974.
- . Topics in American Art Since 1945. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975.
- Amaya, Mario. Pop as Art: A Survey of the New Super Realism. London: Studio Vista Limited, 1965.
- Antonio, Émile de. Painters Painting: The New York Art Scene, 1940-1979. Mystic Fire Video, 1972.
- Art Nouveau. Finch College Museum of Art, 1969.
- Art Nouveau: An Anthology of Design and Illustration from The Studio. Selected by Edmund V. Gillon, Jr. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1969.
- Arwas, Victor. Berthon & Grasset. London: Academy Editions, 1978.

- Ayres, Anne. L.A. Pop in the Sixties. Newport, California: Newport Harbor Art Museum, 1989.
- Bardacke, F. J. "Who Owns the Park?" Leaflet of May, 1969. Rpt. in Counterculture & Revolution. Ed. David Horowitz, Michael P. Lerner and Craig Pyes. New York: Random House, Inc., 1972, p. 48.
- Barnicoat, John. Posters: A Concise History. London: Thames and Hudson, Inc., 1972.
- Barrett, Cyril. An Introduction to Optical Art. London: Studio Vista Limited, 1971.
- . Op Art. New York: The Viking Press, 1970.
- Battersby, Martin. The World of Art Nouveau. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968.
- Behrens, Earl C. "Budget Bill Crackdown on Students." The San Francisco Chronicle, 17 May 1969, p. A-1.
- Benedict, Brad and Linda Barton. Phonographics: Contemporary Album Cover and Design. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1977.
- Berckenhagen, Ekhart. Art Nouveau und Jugendstil. Berlin, Germany: Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1970.
- "Berkeley Education Board: 'Take the Troops Away.'" The San Francisco Chronicle, 21 May 1969, p. A-6.
- "Berkeley's 'Silent' Citizens Speak Out." The San Francisco Chronicle, 20 May 1969, p. A-5.
- "Big Berkeley March Today--Council Favors the Lease; Heyns Suggests Park Plan." The San Francisco Chronicle, 30 May 1969, p. A-1.
- "Big Berkeley Riot. Cops Use Shotguns--Bloody Street Fight." The San Francisco Chronicle, 16 May 1969, pp. A-1 and A-6.
- Big Brother and the Holding Company: "Ball and Chain". Dir. and prod. Robert N. Zagone, Musical dir. Dave Williams. KQED Television special, April 25, 1967. Re-released by Rhino Video, 1989.
- Borgzinner, Jon. "The Great Poster Wave." Life, Sept. 1, 1967, pp. 36-41.

- Borsi, Franco and Ezio Godoli. Paris, 1900. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1977.
- Breton, André. Le Manifeste du Surréalisme, 1924. Trans. and rpt. in Patrick Waldberg. Surrealism. New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 66-72.
- Bucher, Francois. Josef Albers: Despite Straight Lines. London and Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1977.
- "Buckshot Blamed in Berkeley Death." The San Francisco Chronicle, 21 May 1969, p. A-1.
- Burch, Marjorie. Personal interview. 12 Nov. 1989.
- Calvocoressi, Richard. Magritte. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979.
- Carey, James T. The College Drug Scene. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.
- Champigneulle, Bernard. Art Nouveau. Trans. Benita Eisler. Woodbury, New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1972.
- Chang, Wing-Tsit. A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Chassman, Neil A., ed. Poets of the Cities, New York and San Francisco, 1950-1965. Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1974.
- Chipp, Herschel P. Jugendstil & Expressionism. Berkeley: Regents of the University of California, 1965.
- "Colleges Closing Across the U.S." The San Francisco Chronicle, 7 May 1970, p. A-1.
- Compton, Michael. Optical and Kinetic Art. London: Tate Gallery, 1967.
- Conklin, Lee. Personal interview. 27 May 1990.
- "Coolest Things: Personality Posters and Psychedelic Posters." Newsweek, 6 March 1967, p. 87.
- Curtis, Jim. Rock Eras: Interpretations of Music and Society, 1954-1984. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987.

- Dali, Salvador. Dali by Dali. Trans. Eleanor R. Morse. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1970.
- [^]. La Conquête de l'Irrationnel, 1935. Trans. and rpt. in Patrick Waldberg. Surrealism. New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 91-92.
- Dalton, David. Janis. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971.
- Dean, Roger and David Howells. Ultimate Album Cover Album. New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1987.
- Dell'Arco, Maurizio Fagiolo, Alain Jouffroy, Wieland Schmied, Domenico Porzio. De Chirico. Milan, Italy: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1979.
- De Noon, Christopher. Posters of the WPA. Los Angeles: The Wheatley Press, 1987.
- Descharnes, Robert. Salvador Dali. Trans. Eleanor R. Morse. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1985.
- "Dropouts with a Mission: the Hippies." Newsweek, 6 Feb. 1967, pp. 92-5.
- Edelstein, Andrew J. The Pop Sixties. New York: World Almanac Publications, 1985.
- Edwards, John. The Seventies. London: Macdonald Educational Ltd., 1980.
- Ernst, Max. The Hundred Headless Woman. (La femme 100 têtes). Trans. Dorothea Tanning. New York: George Braziller, 1981; rpt. Paris, 1929.
- [^]. Une Semaine de Bonté. New York: Dover Publications, 1976; rpt. Paris: Editions Jeanne Bucher, 1934.
- Farren, Mick, ed. Get On Down: A Decade of Rock and Roll Posters. London: Big O Publishing, Limited, 1977.
- Felton, Dave. "What Happens When Psychedelic Ball Ends?" The Los Angeles Times, 13 Apr. 1967, Part II, p. 6.
- Ferlinghetti, Lawrence. A Coney Island of the Mind. Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions Books, 1955.
- [^]. Routines. New York: New Directions Books,

1964.

- . The Secret Meaning of Things. New York: New Directions Books, 1966.
- . Starting From San Francisco. New York: New Directions Books, 1958.
- Fern, Alan M. "Graphic Design." In Art Nouveau: Art and Design at the Turn of the Century. Ed. Peter Selz and Mildred Constantine. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959.
- The Fillmore Posters 1989 Calendar. Novato, California: Landmark General Corporation, 1988.
- The Fillmore Posters 1990 Calendar. Novato, California: Landmark General Corporation, 1989.
- "Flareups of Violence at Berkeley." The San Francisco Chronicle, 5 May 1970, p. A-1.
- "4 Students Killed By Ohio Troops." The San Francisco Chronicle, 5 May 1970, pp. A-1 and B-1.
- Frascina, Francis, ed. Pollock and After: The Critical Debate. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1985.
- Fried Shoes, Cooked Diamonds. Narr. Allen Ginsberg. Prod. Carmina Cinematografia S.R.C., 1979.
- Friedman, Ben. A Guide to the Numbered Family Dog Posters. San Francisco: The Postermat, ca. 1970.
- Frith, Simon and Howard Horne. Art Into Pop. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1987.
- Further! Ken Kesey's American Dream. Broadcast on KQED, Berkeley, California, 2 June 1990.
- Garcia, Jerry. "Garcia on The Art of Rock." The Golden Road, 15, Fall 1987, pp. 42-43.
- Geldzahler, Henry, ed. Josef Albers at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Exhibition of His Paintings and Prints. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1971.
- Getze, George. "Summer Horde Awaited: San Francisco Girds for Hippy Invasion." The Los Angeles Times, 13 Apr.

- 1967, Part II, p. 6.
- Gillett, Charlie. The Sound of the City. New York: Pantheon Books, 1970.
- Ginsberg, Allen. Howl and Other Poems. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1956.
- Gitlin, Todd. The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage. New York: Bantam, Doubleday, Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1989.
- Gleason, Ralph J. The Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound. New York: Ballantine Books, 1969.
- Goldberg, Michael. "Artists Sue Over Posters." Rolling Stone, 23 April 1987, p. 29.
- Gomringer, Eugen. Josef Albers: His Work As Contribution to Visual Articulation in the Twentieth Century. New York: George Wittenborn Inc., n.d.
- Gottlieb, Annie. Do You Believe in Magic? Bringing the 60s Back Home. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1987.
- Gottlieb, Carla. Beyond Modern Art. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1976.
- Gowans, Alan. Learning to See: Historical Perspective on Modern/Popular Commercial Arts. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1981.
- Green, Blake. "Poster Pals Gather Again. Artists of the '60s Relive Their Psychedelic Successes." The San Francisco Chronicle, 1 Oct. 1985, pp. 36 and 38.
- Grushkin, Paul D. The Art of Rock: Posters from Presley to Punk. New York: Abbeville Press, Inc., 1987.
- "The Guru." Newsweek, 18 Dec. 1967, p. 67.
- Harris, Mary Emma. "Josef Albers: Art Education at Black Mountain College." In Josef Albers: A Retrospective. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1988.
- Harrison, Hank. The Dead. Millbrae, California: Celestial Arts, 1980.
- Haskins, James and Kathleen Benson. The 60s Reader. New

- York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1988.
- Heller, Steven. "Experimental Typography: Victor Moscoso, Master of Psychedelic Lettering." U & I C, vol. 17, no. 4, Fall 1990, pp. 26-29.
- Hillier, Bevis. The Style of the Century, 1900-1980. New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1983.
- "The Hippies Are Coming." Newsweek, 12 June 1967, pp. 28-29.
- Hofmann, Albert. LSD: My Problem Child. Trans. Jonathan Ott. Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, Inc., 1983.
- Hopkins, Jerry. Bowie. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1985.
- Hopkins, Jerry, ed. The Hippie Papers: Notes From the Underground Press. New York: Signet Books, 1968.
- Hopkins, Jerry and Danny Sugerman. No One Here Gets Out Alive. [Jim Morrison biography.] New York: Warner Books, Inc., 1980.
- Howard, John Robert. "The Flowering of the Hippie Movement." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. March 1969, pp. 43-55.
- Huxley, Aldous. The Doors of Perception. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1954.
- Images of an Era: The American Poster, 1945-1975. Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1975.
- The Incredible Decade, 1960-1970. New York: Year Encyclopedia News, Inc., 1970.
- It Was Twenty Years Ago Today. Produced by Granada Television, Consultant Derek Taylor, 1987.
- James, David E. "Rock and Roll Representations of the Invasion of Vietnam." Representations, 29, Winter, 1990, pp. 78-98.
- Jennings, Ralph. "Plan to Split People's Park May Hit Snag." The San Francisco Chronicle, 20 Feb. 1991, p. 2-A.

- Jimi Hendrix. Television program produced by The Burbank Studios, n.d.
- Johnson, Ellen H., ed. American Artists on Art, from 1940 to 1980. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1982.
- Johnson, J. Stewart. The Modern American Poster. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1983.
- Josef Albers: A Retrospective. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Publishers, 1988.
- Jung, Carl. Man and His Symbols. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964.
- Karp, Ivan C. "Anti-Sensibility Painting." Artforum, vol. II, no. 3, Sept. 1963, pp. 26-27.
- Kelley, Alton. Personal interview. 7 June 1990.
- Kelley, Ken. "Grace Slick." San Francisco Focus (Publication of KQED FM of Berkeley, California), Oct. 1989, pp. 82ff.
- Kennedys Don't Cry. Writ. Philip S. Hobel. Narr. Cliff Robertson. CBS Television Special, 1989.
- Kerouac, Jack. Heaven & Other Poems. San Francisco: Gray Fox Press, 1959.
- . On The Road. New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1955.
- Kesey, Ken. The Further Inquiry. New York: Viking Penguin, 1990.
- "The Killings at Kent State." The San Francisco Chronicle, 5 May 1970, p. B-1.
- King, Eric. A Collector's Guide to the Numbered Dance Posters Created for Bill Graham and the Family Dog, 1966-1973. Berkeley: Svaha Press, 1980.
- . Personal correspondence. 23 March 1990.
- Kluver, Heinrich. Mescal and Mechanisms of Hallucination. Chicago: Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press, 1966.

- Knight, Christopher. Art of the Sixties and Seventies: The Panza Collection. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1988.
- Kozloff, Max. "American Painting During the Cold War." Artforum, vol. XI, no. 9, May, 1973, pp. 43-54.
- Lancaster, John. Introducing Op Art. London: B.T. Batsford, Limited, 1973.
- Law, Lisa. Flashing On the Sixties. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1987.
- Leary, Timothy. Manifesto, 1970. Rpt. in Counterculture & Revolution. Ed. David Horowitz, Michael P. Lerner and Craig Pyes. New York: Random House, Inc., 1972, pp. 67-68.
- Leary, Timothy, Ralph Metzner, and Richard Alpert. The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead. Secaucus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1964.
- Lee, Martin A., and Bruce Shlain. Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD and the Sixties Rebellion. New York: Grove Press, 1985.
- Lee, Paul A. and Ralph Metzner, eds. The Psychedelic Review. Vol. I, June, 1963.
- Liano, Ignacio Gomez de. Dali. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1982.
- Lindey, Christine. Superrealist Painting & Sculpture. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1980.
- Lippard, Lucy R. Pop Art. New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1966.
- "Love, Leary, LSD." The Los Angeles Free Press, 13 Jan. 1967. Rpt. in The Hippie Papers: Notes From the Underground Press. Ed. Jerry Hopkins. New York: Signet Books, 1968, pp. 82-87.
- Luce, John. "Jefferson Airplane Loves You. New San Francisco Sound." Look, 30 May 1967, pp. 58-62.
- Lucie-Smith, Edward. Art in the Seventies. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980.
- . Late Modern: The Visual Arts Since 1945.

- New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1969.
- . Super Realism. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1979.
- McClelland, Gordon. Rick Griffin. Limpsfield, Great Britain: Dragon's World Ltd., 1980.
- McClure, Michael. Scratching the Beat Surface. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1982.
- McDonough, Jack. San Francisco Rock: The Illustrated History of San Francisco Rock Music. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1985.
- McLuhan, Marshall. Understanding Media. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964.
- Madsen, Stephan Tschudi. Sources of Art Nouveau. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.
- Making Sense of the Sixties. Writ. Harvey Ardman, William Duggan, Jr., and Eric Stange. Dir. David Hoffman. Prod. Ricki Green and David Hoffman. Narr. Carol Rissman. Production of WETA in association with Varied Directions, Intl., 1991.
- Medeiros, Walter. From Frisco with Love: An Introduction to the Dance Concert Poster Art. Exhibition catalogue, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, October 6-November 21, 1976.
- . San Francisco Rock Concert Posters: Imagery and Meaning. Master of Arts Thesis, History of Art, University of California, Berkeley, 1972.
- . Personal conversation. March 1990.
- Moscoso, Victor. Personal interview. 15 May 1990.
- . Telephone conversation. 2 May 1991.
- Moskowitz, Ron. "Reagan Shuts the Colleges--Campuses to Reopen Monday." The San Francisco Chronicle, 7 May 1970, p. A-1.
- Mouse, Stanley. Personal conversation. January 1990.
- Mouse, Stanley and Alton Kelley. Mouse and Kelley. New York: Dragon's World/Dell, 1979.
- Mucha, Alphonse, Maurice Verneuil, and Georges Auriol.

- Combinaisons orné mentales se multipliant à l'infini à l'aide du miroir. Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux Arts, n.d. [ca. 1900]. Rpt. as Art Nouveau Designs in Color. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1974.
- Muller, Hans. Jugendstil. Leipzig, Germany: Prisma-Verlag Zenner und Gurchott, 1972.
- Naylor, Gillian, ed. William Morris By Himself. (New York: Little, Brown and Company, Inc., 1988.
- "Net of Tear Gas." The San Francisco Chronicle, 16 May 1969, p. A-5.
1969. Writ. Mitchell Barry. Narr. Dick Cavett. Prod. Bruce Cohn Productions, Inc., 1982.
- 1969 Time Annual: The Year in Review. New York: Time-Life Books, 1970.
- "The Nitty-Gritty San Francisco Sound." Newsweek, 19 Dec. 1966, p. 102.
- "Nouveau Frisco." Time, 7 Apr. 1967, pp. 66-69.
- Pareles, Jon and Patricia Romanowski, eds. The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia of Rock and Roll. New York: Rolling Stone Press/Summit Books, 1983.
- Partridge, William L. The Hippie Ghetto: The Natural History of a Subculture. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.
- Patton, Phil. "'High and Low': Modern Art Meets Popular Culture." Smithsonian, vol. 21, no. 8, Nov. 1990, pp. 138-49.
- Paz, Octavio. Marcel Duchamp: Appearance Stripped Bare. Trans. Rachel Phillips and Donald Gardner. New York: The Viking Press, 1978.
- Perry, Charles. The Haight-Ashbury: A History. New York: Random House/Rolling Stone Press, 1984.
- Poggioli, Renato. The Theory of the Avant-Garde. Trans. Gerald Fitzgerald. Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Pollock, Bruce. When the Music Mattered: Rock in the 1960s. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983.

- Pompili, Jerry. [Vice President of Operations, Bill Graham Presents.] Personal interviews. 21 Sept. 1989, and 13 Nov. 1990.
- Pool, Phoebe. Impressionism. New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.
- Portilla, Jose Lopez. Quetzalcoatl in Myth, Archeology and Art. New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1982.
- Progner, Jean and Patricia Dreyfus. "The Poster Revolution: Artifact into Art." Print, July-Aug. 1971, pp. 81-87.
- Rather, Lois. Bohemians to Hippies: Waves of Rebellion. Oakland, Calif.: The Rather Press, 1977.
- René Magritte. Conceived by Jean Saucet. Text by René Passeron. Trans. Elisabeth Abbott. Paris: Editions Filipacchi, 1970.
- Rennert, Jack and Alain Weill. Alphonse Mucha: The Complete Posters and Panels. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1984.
- Rheims, Maurice and Felipe Ferré. Hector Guimard. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1985.
- Rickards, Maurice. The Rise and Fall of the Poster. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971.
- Rogers, Warren. "The Truth About LBJ's Credibility." Look, 2 May 1967, pp. 70-74.
- Rosenstone, Robert A. "'The Times They Are A-Changing.' The Music of Protest." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1969, pp. 131-144.
- Roth, Barry. "Tell It Like It Was: The Summer of Love Remembered." Image (Sunday edition of The San Francisco Examiner). 19 July 1987, pp. 14-21 and p. 34.
- Rowel, Margit. "On Albers' Color." Artforum, vol. 10, Jan. 1972, pp. 26-37.
- Rubin, William S. Dada, Surrealism, and Their Heritage. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1968.

- Rubin, William, ed. De Chirico. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982.
- Russell, John and Suzi Gablik. Pop Art Redefined. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., Publishers, 1969.
- San Francisco in the 60s. Dir. Dave Wilson. Broadcast on KZST, San Francisco, June, 1990.
- The San Francisco Oracle, Jan. 1967.
- "San Francisco Rock Posters Finding New Life." The San Francisco Chronicle, 18 Dec. 1990, p. E-2.
- Schafer, William J. Rock Music: Where It's Been, What It Means, Where It's Going. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972.
- Schmutzler, Robert. Art Nouveau. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1962.
- Sculatti, Gene and David Seay. San Francisco Nights: The Psychedelic Music Trip, 1965-1968. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985.
- Secret Intelligence. Prod. Mitchell Koss. Community Television of Southern California, 1988. KCTS 9 Seattle, April/May 1988.
- Segar, Lewis. "Sgt. Pepper the Most!--Beatles, Dig?" The Los Angeles Free Press, 9 June 1967. Rpt. in The Hippie Papers: Notes from the Underground Press. Ed. Jerry Hopkins. New York: Signet Books, 1983, pp. 192-98.
- Seitz, William C. The Responsive Eye. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1965.
- Selz, Peter. Art in a Turbulent Era. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985.
- . Funk. Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1967.
- Selz, Peter and Mildred Constantine, eds. Art Nouveau: Art and Design at the Turn of the Century. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959.
- Short, Robert. Dada & Surrealism. Secaucus, New Jersey: Chartwell Books, Inc., 1980.

- Siegel, Jeanne. Artwords: Discourse on the 60s and 70s. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985.
- Singer, David. Personal interviews. 18 Jan. 1990, and 28 May 1990.
- Sklar, Rick. Rocking America, An Insider's Story: How the All-Hit Radio Stations Took Over. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984.
- Songs of the 60's. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Hal Leonard Publishing Corporation, 1989.
- Spitz, Robert Steven. Barefoot in Babylon: The Creation of the Woodstock Music Festival, 1969. New York: The Viking Press, 1979.
- . The Making of Superstars: Artists and Executives of the Rock Music Business. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978.
- "Stanford Campus at Standstill." The San Francisco Chronicle, 5 May 1970, p. A-1.
- Stern, Sol. "Altamont: Pearl Harbor to Woodstock Nation." In Counterculture & Revolution. Ed. David Horowitz, Michael P. Lerner, and Craig Pyles. New York: Random House, Inc., 1972, pp. 113-131.
- The Studio XV, 69, Dec. 1898. Rpt. in Art Nouveau: An Anthology of Design and Illustration from The Studio. Selected by Edmund V. Gillon, Jr. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1969.
- Szatmary, David P. Rockin' in Time: A Social History of Rock and Roll. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1987.
- Taylor, Derek. It Was Twenty Years Ago Today. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1987.
- "These Are the Boys that Made the Art that Sparked the Scene...." California Living (Sunday Section, The San Francisco Chronicle), 20 Nov. 1966, pp. 12-14.
- Thompson, Hunter S. "The 'Hashbury' Is the Capital of the Hippies." The New York Times Magazine, 14 May 1967, pp. 28-9 and pp. 120-24.
- . Hell's Angels. New York: Ballantine Books, 1966.

- Thorgerson, Storm. Classic Album Covers of the 60s. New York: Gallery Books, 1989.
- Time Annual 1969: The Year in Review. New York: Time-Life Books, 1970.
- Tompkins, Calvin. The Bride and the Bachelors: Five Masters of the Avant-Garde. New York: Penguin Books, 1962.
- Tompkins, Peter. Mysteries of the Mexican Pyramids. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976.
- Torczyner, Harry. Magritte: Ideas and Images. Trans. Richard Miller. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1977.
- "200 Vote to Stop Teaching." The San Francisco Chronicle, 21 May 1969, p. A-6.
- Tytell, John. Naked Angels: The Lives and Literature of the Beat Generation. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976.
- "UC Faculty Votes 642-95 To Get Rid of Park Fence; Resolution Also Urges GIS to Go." The San Francisco Chronicle, 24 May 1969, p. A-1.
- The Upanishads: Breath of the Eternal. Trans. Swami Prabhavananda and Frederick Manchester. Hollywood: The Vedanta Society of Southern California, 1957.
- Updike, John. Just Looking: Essays on Art. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1989.
- Waissenberger, Robert. Vienna Secession. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1977.
- Waldberg, Patrick. René Magritte. Trans. Austryn Wainhouse. Brussels: André de Rache, Publisher, 1965.
- . Surrealism. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1965.
- Waldman, Diane, ed. Josef Albers: A Retrospective. Soloman R. Guggenheim Museum. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1988.
- Walker, Cummings G. The Great Poster Trip: Art Eureka. Palo Alto, California: Coyne and Blanchard, Inc.,

1968.

- Walker, John A. Art Since Pop. London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1978.
- Wallis, Mieczyslaw. Jugendstil. Munich, Germany: Keyersche Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH, 1974.
- Wangler, Padraic. Personal interview. 20 Oct. 1990.
- Warren, Geoffrey. All Colour Book of Art Nouveau. London: Octopus Books Limited, 1972.
- Wasserman, John L. "Maurice in Wonderland--A 'Woodstock' Story." The San Francisco Chronicle, 6 May 1970, p. 51
- Watts, Alan W. The Joyous Cosmology: Adventures in the Chemistry of Consciousness. New York: Vintage Books, 1965.
- Weber, Nicholas Fox. "The Artist as Alchemist." In Josef Albers: A Retrospective. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, 1988.
- Weill, Alain. The Poster: A Worldwide Survey and History. Boston: G.K. Hall and Company, 1984.
- Williams, Liza. "Which Way to the Exit?" The Los Angeles Free Press, 6 Jan. 1967. Rpt. in The Hippie Papers: Notes From the Underground Press. Ed. Jerry Hopkins. New York: Signet Books, 1968, p. 19.
- Williamson, Judith. Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising. London: Marion Boyars Publishers, Ltd., 1978.
- Wolf, Leonard. Voices From the Love Generation. Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, and Co., 1968.
- Wolfe, Tom. The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test. New York: Bantam Books, 1968.
- The World in 1971. The Associated Press. U.S.: Western Publishing Company, Inc., 1972.
- Wrede, Stuart. The Modern Poster. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1988.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Many of the posters reproduced in the following pages are part of a numbered series. For these I have indicated the recognized designations immediately after the name of the artist(s). "BG" refers to Bill Graham's commissions and "FD" is the abbreviation for Chet Helms's Family Dog, followed by the number of each poster's position in its respective series. When an underlined title is included, it is either a name which has been used by Walter Medeiros or it is applied here to make clear reference to the text.

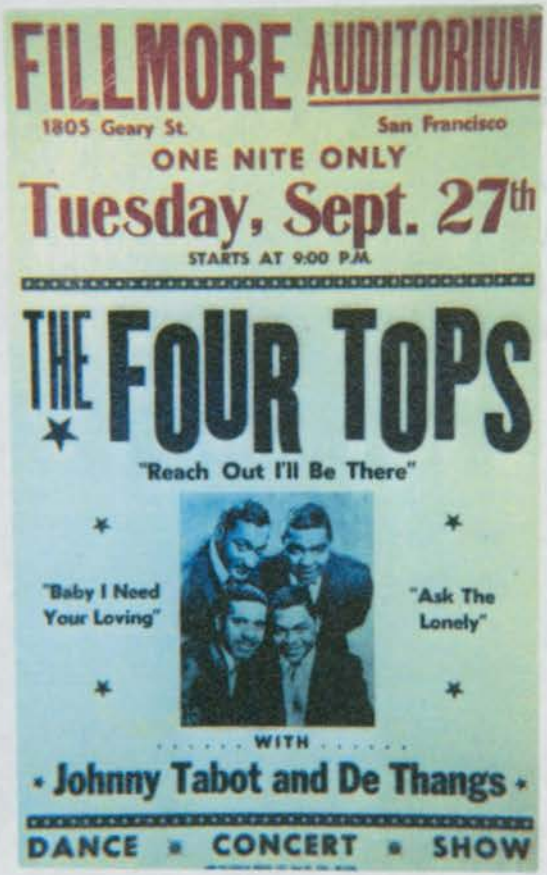


Figure 1:
 Tilghman Press (artist)
The Four Tops,
Fillmore Auditorium
 September, 1966
 Poster

Figure 2:
 Alton Kelley
A Tribute to
Dr. Strange
 October, 1965
 Handbill



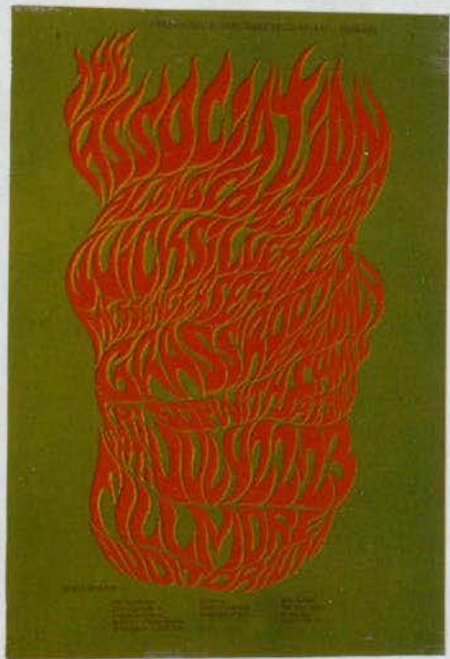


Figure 3:
Wes Wilson
BG 18
September, 1966
Poster

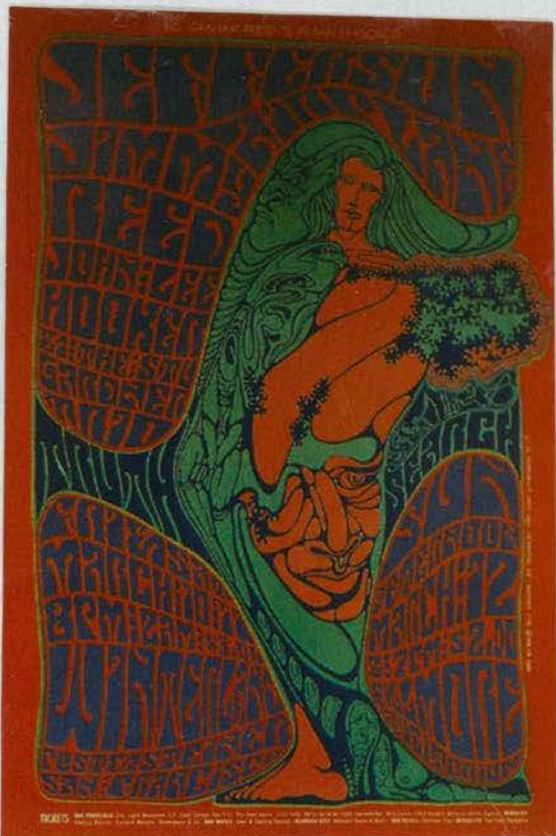


Figure 4:
Wes Wilson
BG 54 (Truth Search)
March, 1967
Poster



Figure 5:
Herbie Greene, photographer
The Charlatans, ca. 1965
From left to right: George Hunter,
Richie Olsen, Mike Wilhelm,
Dan Hicks, Michael Ferguson



Figure 6:
Herbie Greene, photographer
Janis Joplin, ca. 1966-67

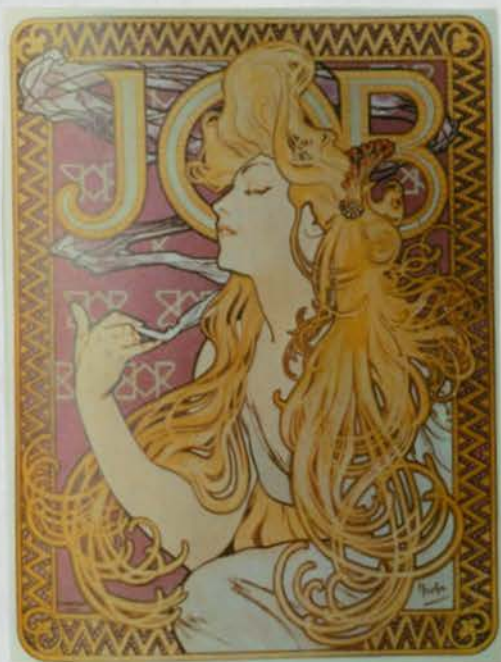


Figure 7:
Alphonse Mucha
Job Cigarettes
1896
Poster



Figure 8:
Stanley Mouse and
Alton Kelley
FD 29
October, 1966
Poster



Figure 9:
Anonymous photographer
John Lennon's Rolls Royce, 1967

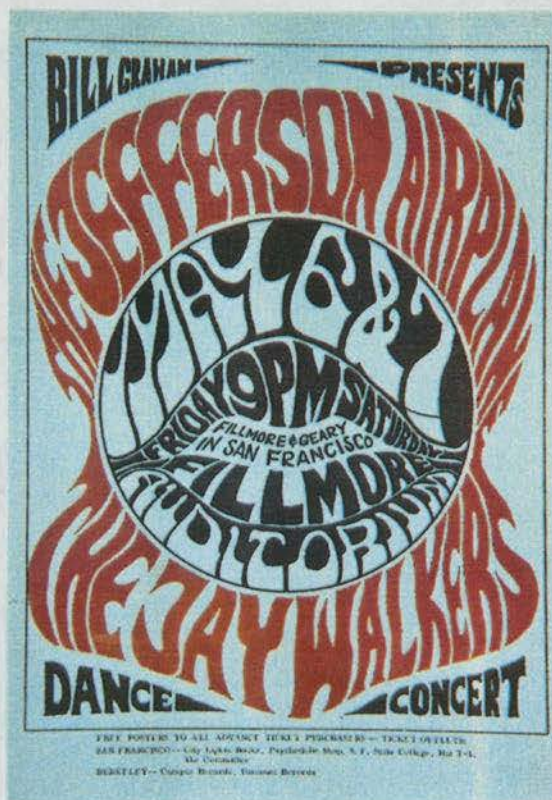


Figure 10:
Wes Wilson
BG 5
May, 1966
Poster



Figure 11:
Stanley Mouse and
Alton Kelley
Edwardian Ball
November, 1966
Poster

Figure 12:
Hector Guimard
Wood desk, ca. 1903

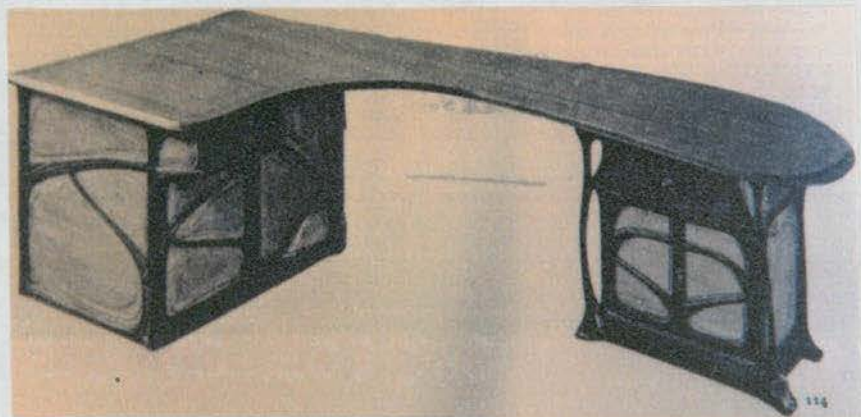




Figure 13:
Victor Moscoso
Neiman Marcus
Poster Show
October, 1967
Poster

Figure 14:
Maurice Verneuil
Illustration from Alphonse Mucha's
Combinaisons ornémentales...
No date [ca. 1900]





Figure 15:
Wes Wilson
BG 57
March, 1967
Poster



Figure 16:
William Bradley
Bradley, His Book
No date [ca. 1896]
Poster



Figure 17:
Aubrey Beardsley
The Peacock Skirt
Illustration for
Oscar Wilde's Salome,
1894



Figure 18:
Hector Guimard
Door from the Castel Beranger, Paris
1894-98



Figure 19:
Stanley Mouse and
Alton Kelley
Grateful Dead
Anniversary Party
November, 1966
Poster



Figure 20:
Stanley Mouse,
Alton Kelley, and
Michael Bowen
Human Be-In
January, 1967
Poster



Figure 21:
Stanley Mouse and
Alton Kelley
Art in Fashion
October, 1966
Poster

Figure 22:
Eugène Grasset
Illustration from
Méthode de Composition,
1905





Figure 23:
Jan Toorop
Delftsche Slaolie
1897
Poster



Figure 24:
Wes Wilson
BG 62
May, 1967
Poster

Figure 25:
 Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo
Wren City Churches
 1883
 Bookplate



Figure 26:
 Devore
KPFA Benefit
 October, 1967
 Poster

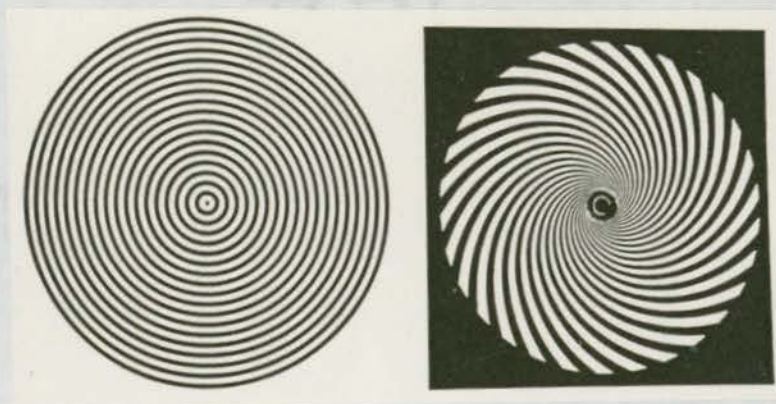


Figure 27:
Periodic structures
Concentric circles and spiral

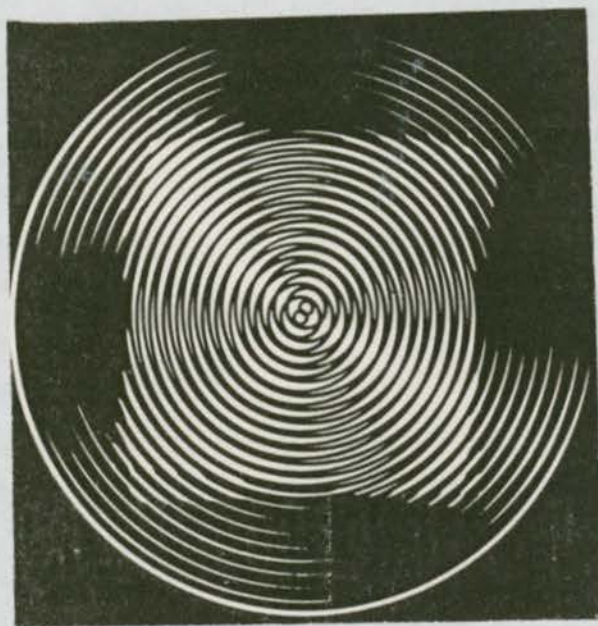


Figure 28:
Victor Vasarely
Transparency, 1953
Media not stated

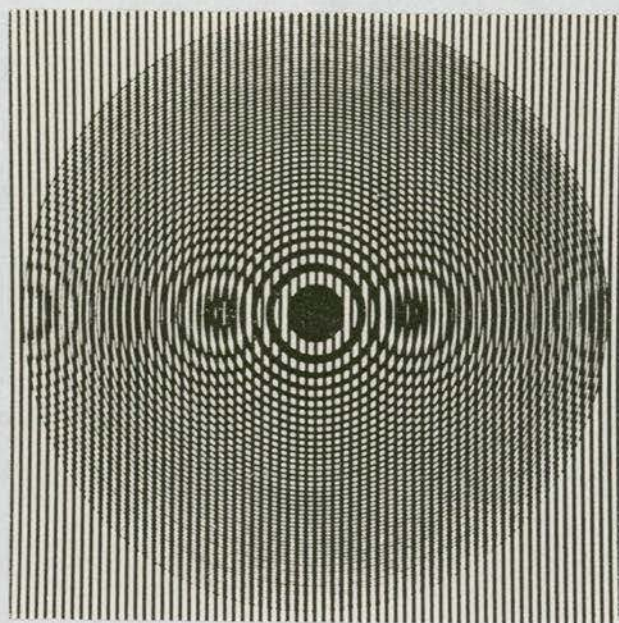


Figure 29:
Fresnel-ring moiré



Figure 30:
Bridget Riley
Current, 1964
Emulsion on
composition board

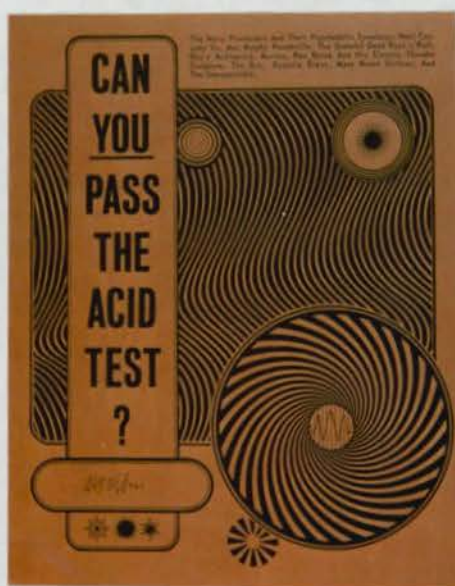


Figure 31:
Wes Wilson
Can You Pass the
Acid Test?
ca. 1966
Poster



Figure 32:
Anonymous
Krishna Consciousness
Comes West
January, 1967
Poster



Figure 33:
Marcel Duchamp
Fluttering Hearts, 1936
Cover for Cahier d'art



Figure 34:
Diagram to demonstrate the
effects of color contrasts



Figure 35:
Peter Sedgley
Lazar, 1966
Media not stated



Figure 36:
Victor Moscoso
FD 57
April, 1967
Poster

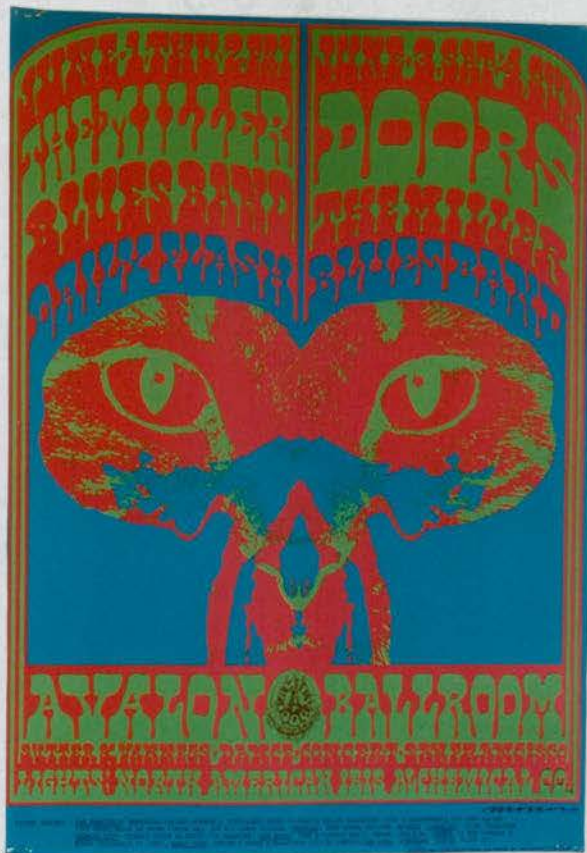


Figure 37:
 Victor Moscoso
 FD 64
 June, 1967
 Poster



Figure 38a:
 Rick Griffin
 FD 79 (D-1)
Everybody is Good at Heart
 September, 1967
 Poster

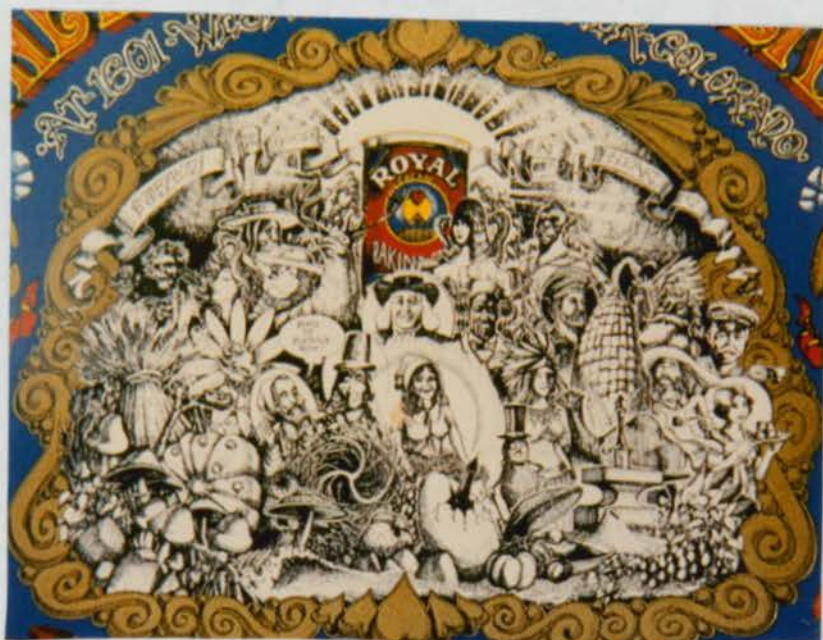


Figure 38b:
 Rick Griffin, FD 79 (D-1), detail



Figure 39:
Stanley Mouse and
Alton Kelley
FD D-11
November, 1967
Poster



Figure 40:
Stanley Mouse and Alton Kelley
FD 19
August, 1966
Poster

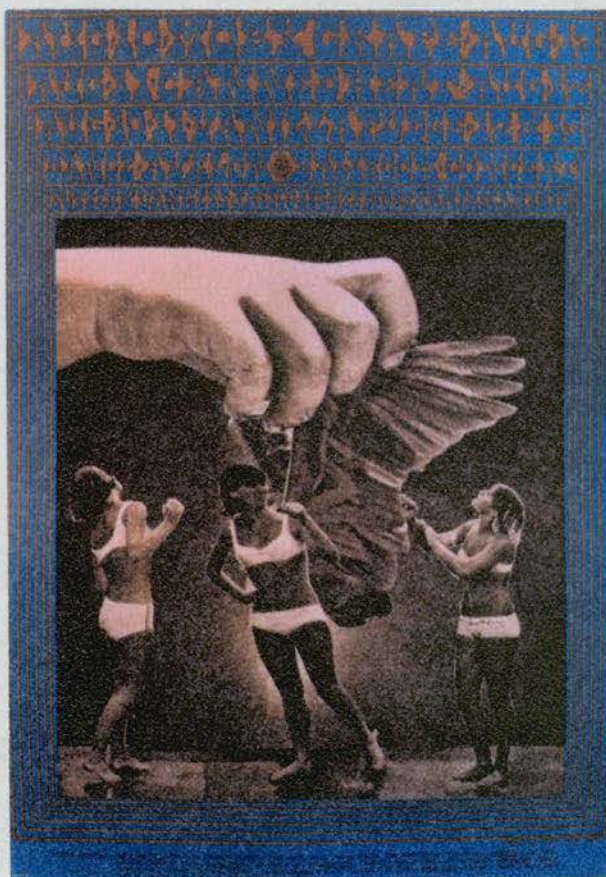


Figure 41:
Victor Moscoso
FD 75
August, 1967
Poster



Figure 42:
 Bob Fried
 FD 90
 November, 1967
 Poster

Figure 43:
Lee Conklin
BG 101
January, 1968
Poster

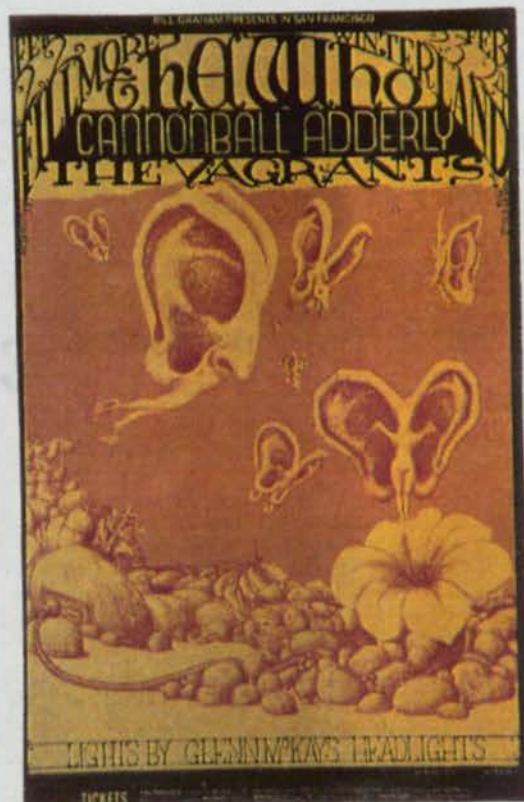


Figure 44:
Lee Conklin
BG 108
February, 1968
Poster

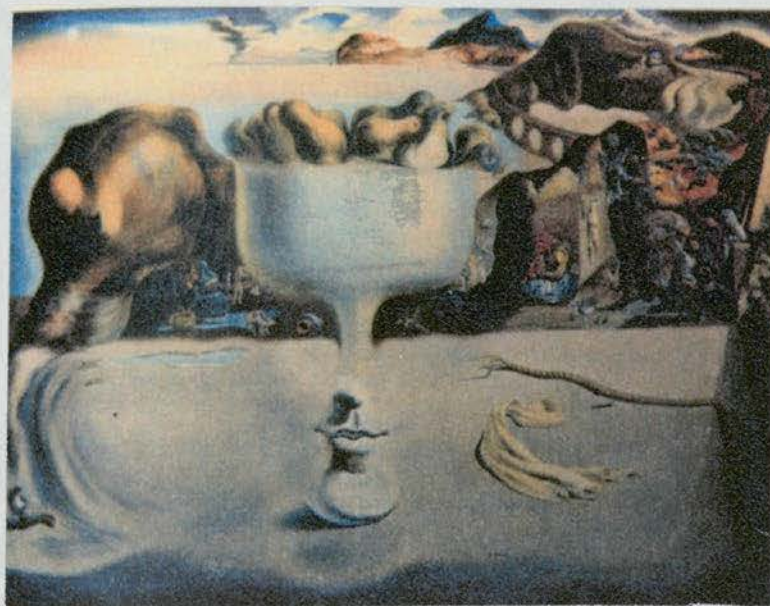


Figure 45:
Salvador Dalí
Apparition of Face and Fruit Dish on a Beach, 1938
Oil on canvas



Figure 46:
Lee Conklin
BG 134
Poster image redrawn
without text
August, 1968

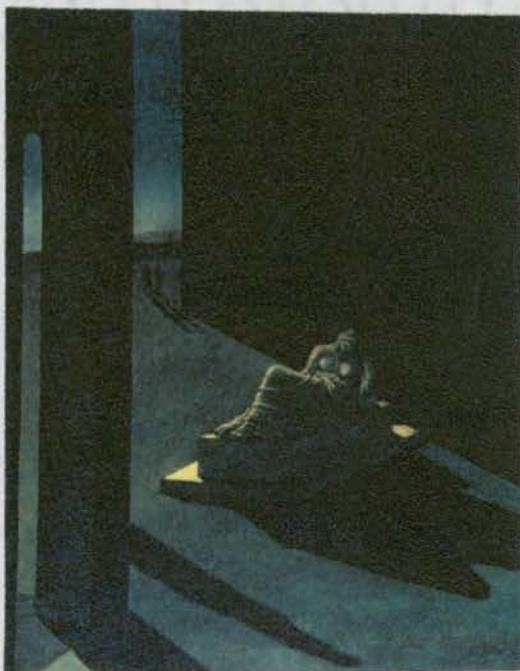


Figure 47:
Giorgio de Chirico
Melancholy, 1912
Oil on canvas

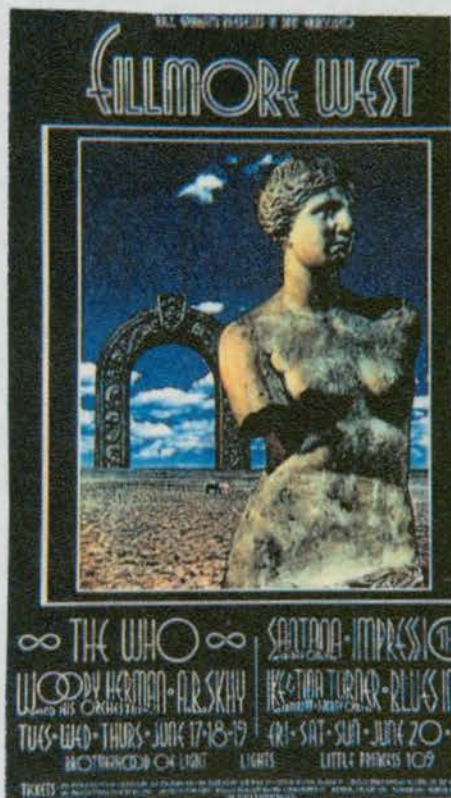


Figure 48:
David Singer
BG 178
June, 1969
Poster



Figure 49:
David Singer
BG 185
August, 1969
Poster

Figure 50:
Giorgio de Chirico
The Red Tower, 1913
Oil on canvas

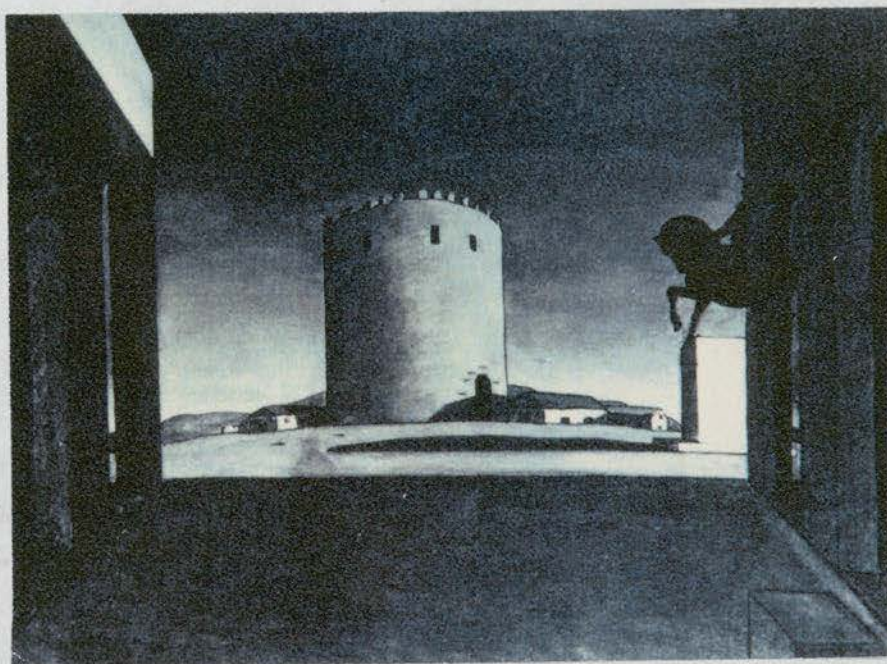




Figure 51:
David Singer
BG 183
July, 1969
Poster



Figure 52:
René Magritte
The Therapist, 1937
Oil on canvas



Figure 53:
 Max Ernst
The woman with an hundred heads
opens her august sleeve
 Illustration from Max Ernst, La femmes 100 têtes, 1929
 Collage

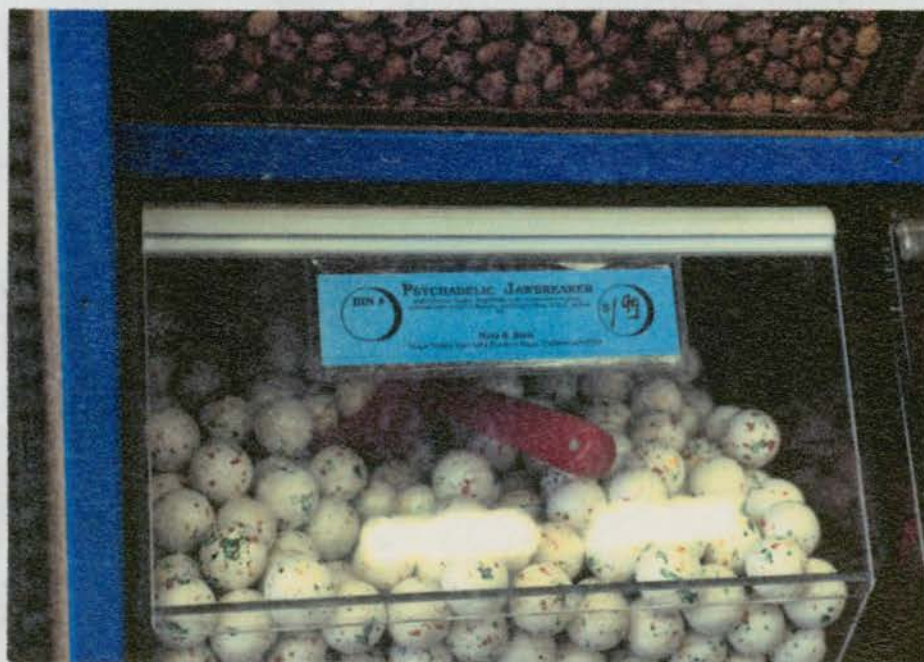


Figure 54:
 David Singer
 BG 231
 April, 1970
 Poster



Figure 55:
David Singer
BG 216
February, 1970
Poster

Figure 56:
"Psychadelic [sic]
Jawbreaker"
Photograph taken by the
author in
Fiesta Market,
Sebastopol, California
1990



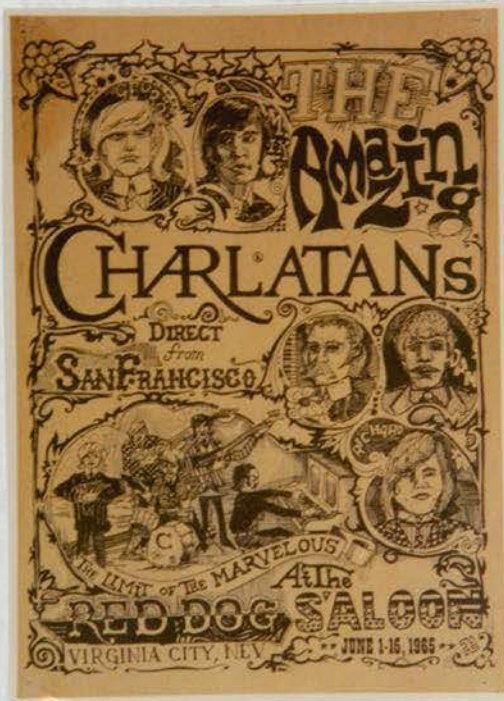


Figure 57:
George Hunter and
Michael Ferguson
The Seed
June, 1965
Poster

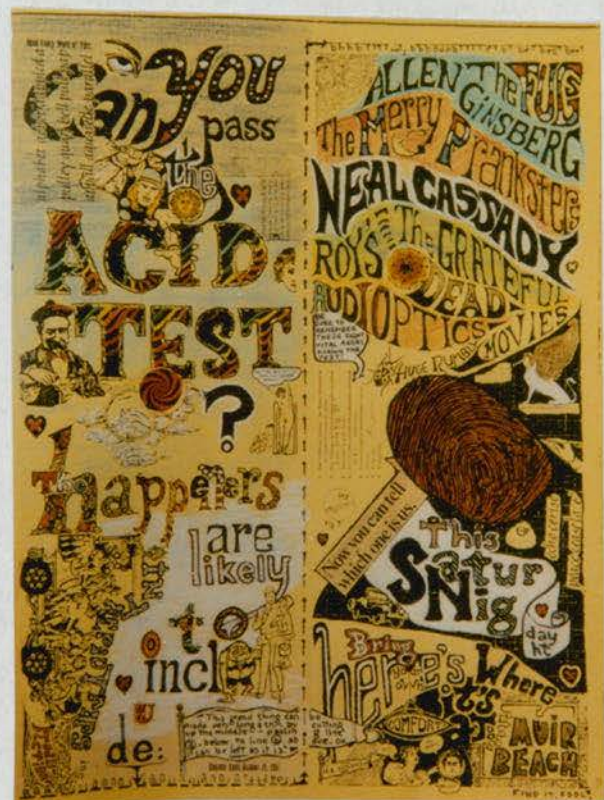


Figure 58:
Norman Hartweg
(Hand coloring:
Sunshine Kesey)
Can You Pass the
Acid Test?
December, 1965
Poster

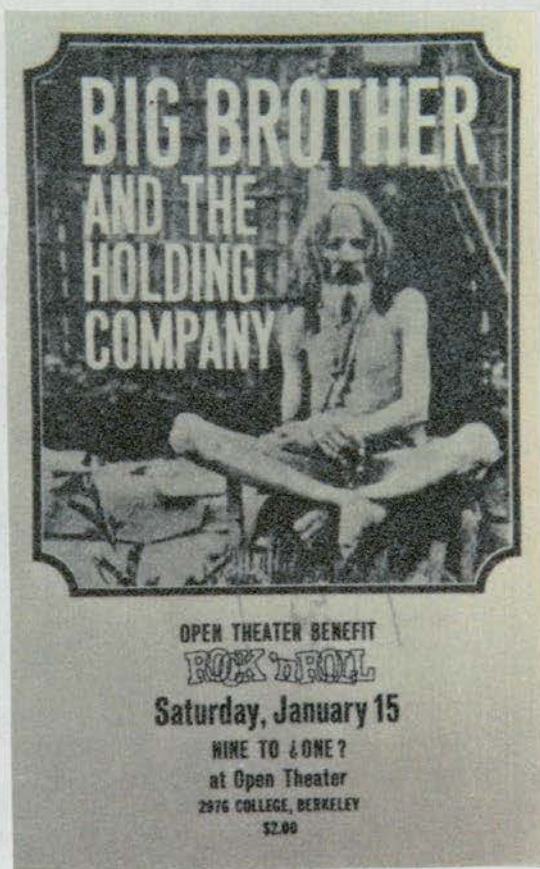


Figure 59:
Wes Wilson
Big Brother and the Holding Company
at the Open Theater (Berkeley)
January, 1966
Poster



Figure 60:
Wes Wilson
FD 6
Sin Dance
April, 1966
Poster



Figure 61:
Wes Wilson
BG 7
May, 1966
Poster

Figure 62:
Alfred Roller
Secession exhibition, 1902
Poster

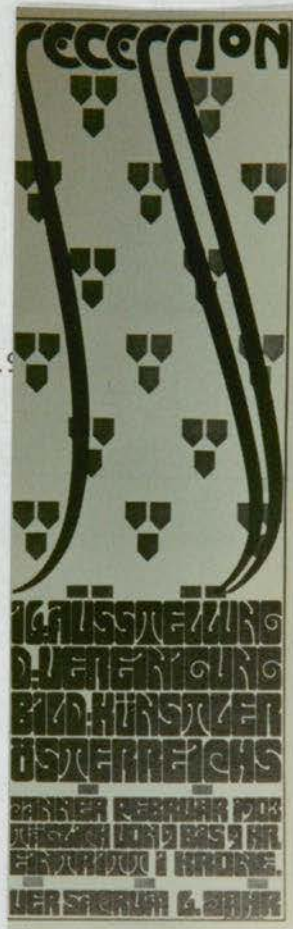


Figure 63:
Alfred Roller
Secession exhibition, 1902
Poster

Figure 62:
Alfred Roller
Secession exhibition, 1903
Poster



Figure 63:
Alfred Roller
Secession exhibition, 1902
Poster



Figure 64:
Wes Wilson
BG 34
October, 1966
Poster

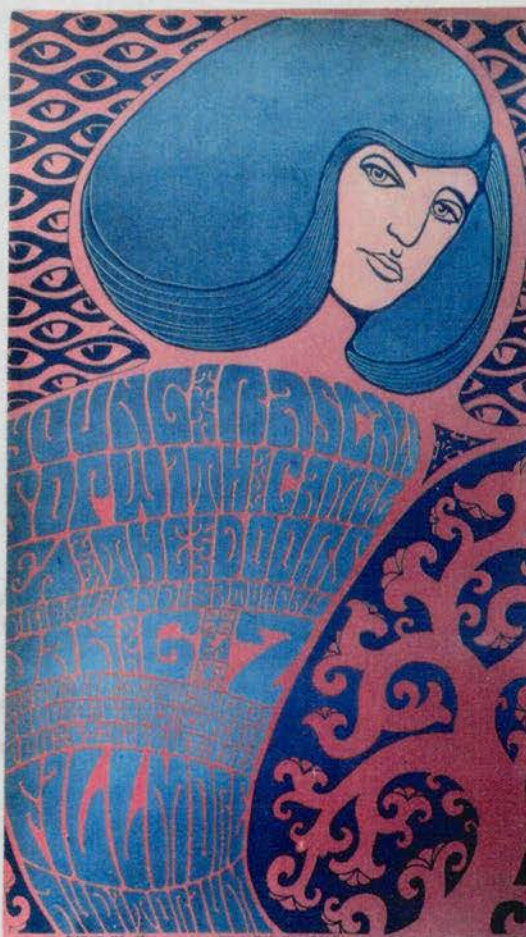


Figure 65:
Wes Wilson
BG 44
January, 1967
Poster

Figure 66:
Wes Wilson
BG 45
January, 1967
Poster

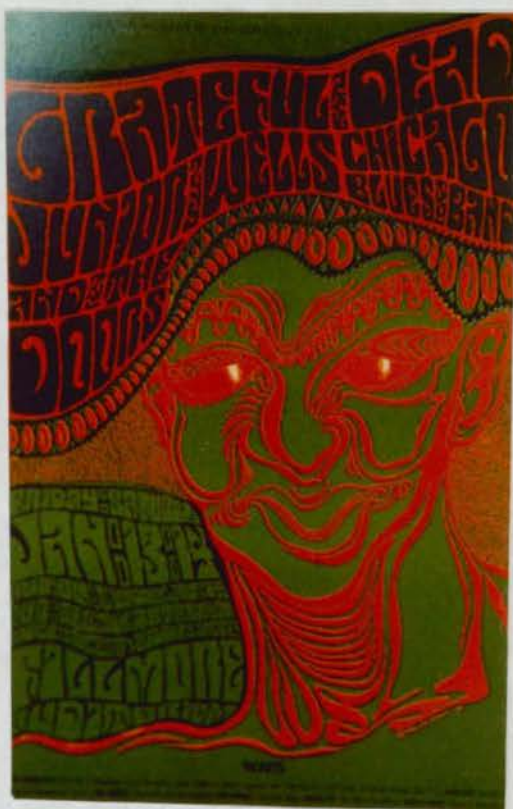


Figure 67:
Egon Schiele
Poster for a
lecture by Egon Friedell,
"Shaw oder die Ironie
besser als Shakespeare"
1910



Figure 68:
 Wes Wilson
 BG 48
 February, 1967
 Poster

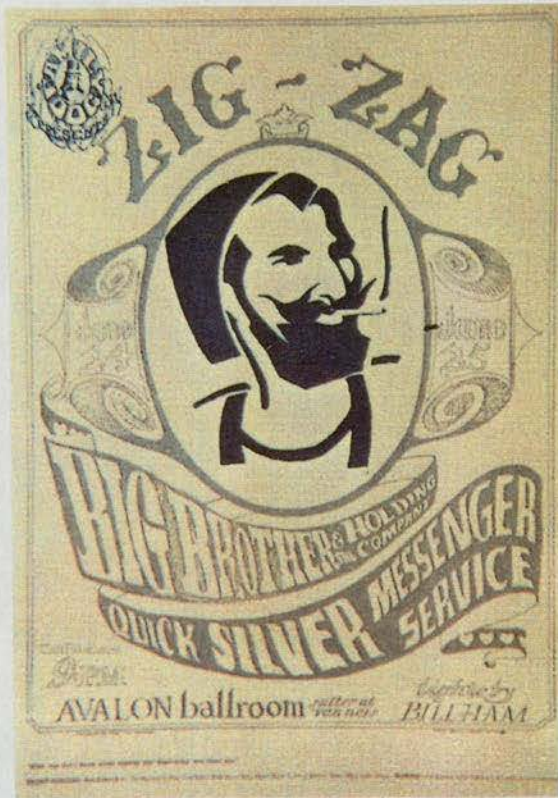


Figure 69:
Stanley Mouse and
Alton Kelley
FD 14
Zig Zag Man
June, 1966
Poster



Figure 70:
Stanley Mouse and
Alton Kelley
Peace (version 1 of 3)
October, 1966
Poster

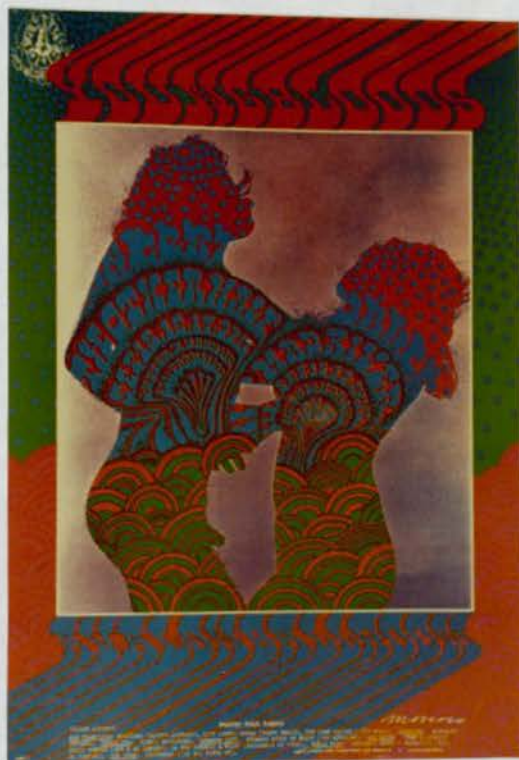


Figure 71:
Victor Moscoso
FD 81
September, 1967
Poster



Figure 72:
Victor Moscoso
FD 66
The Strong Man
June, 1967
Poster

Figure 73:
 Victor Moscoso
 Neon Rose #10
 March, 1967
 Poster

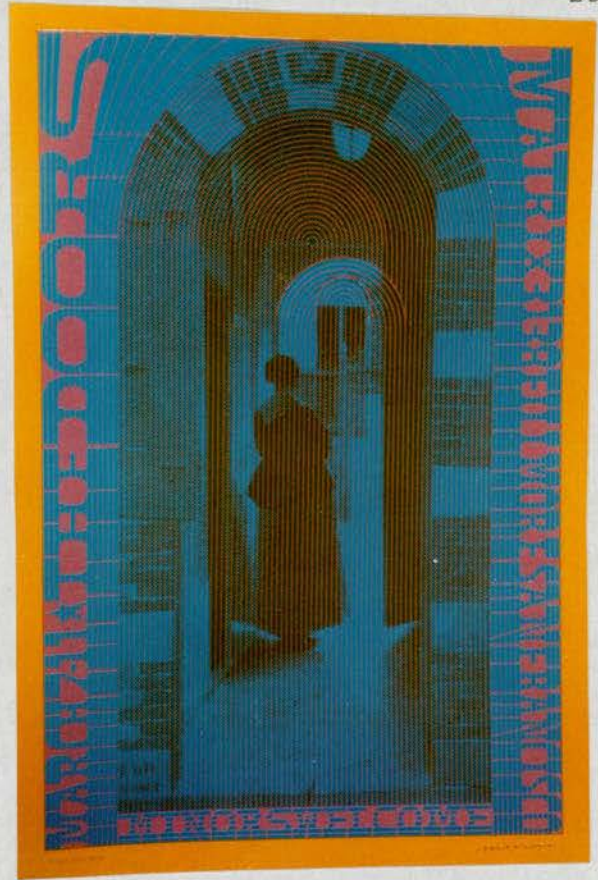


Figure 74:
 Rick Griffin
The Psychedelic Shop
 1966
 Poster



Figure 75 (above):
 Rick Griffin
 FD 62
Sutters Mill
 May, 1967
 Poster

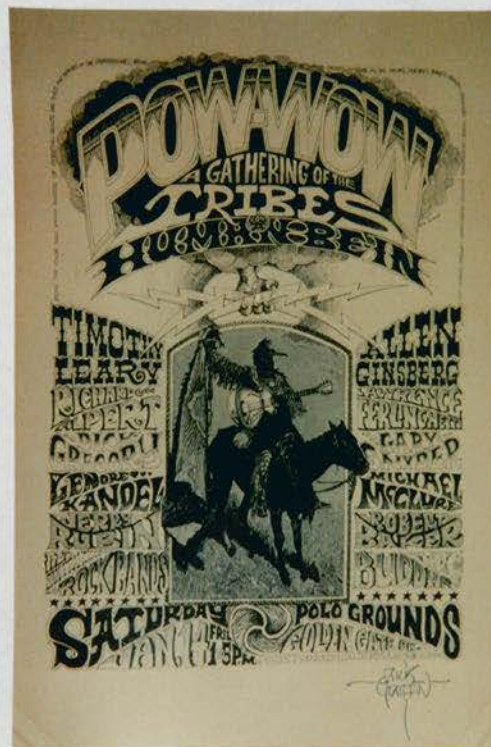


Figure 76 (below):
 Rick Griffin
Human Be-In
 January, 1967
 Poster

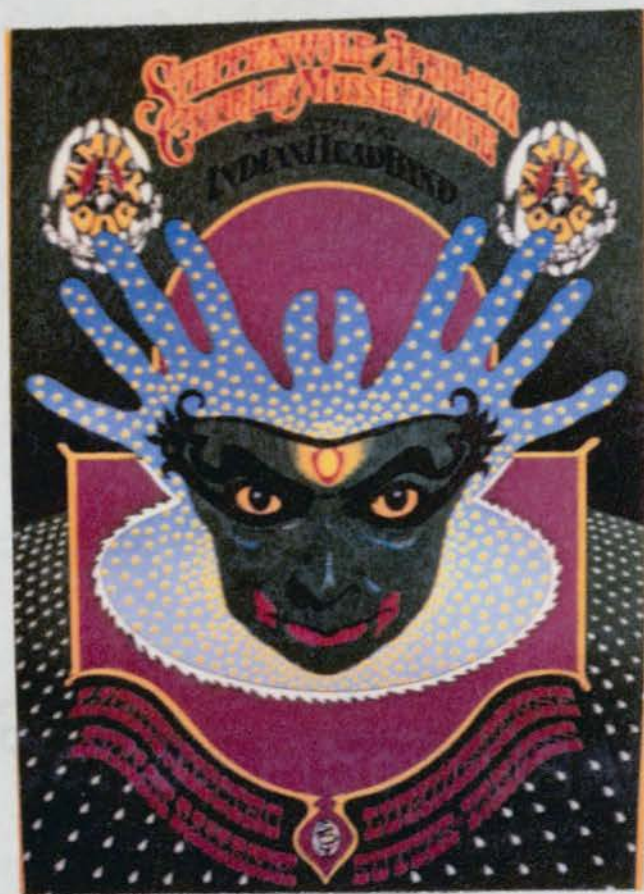


Figure 77:
Bob Fried
FD 115 (detail)
April, 1968
Poster

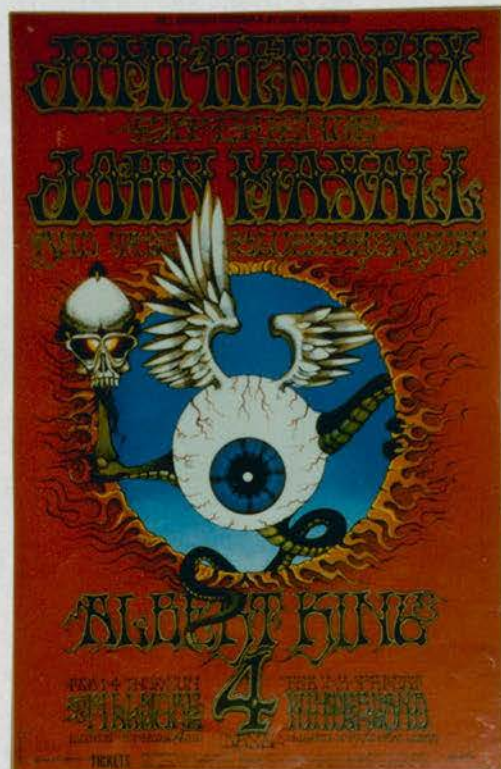


Figure 78:
Rick Griffin
BG 105
February, 1968
Poster

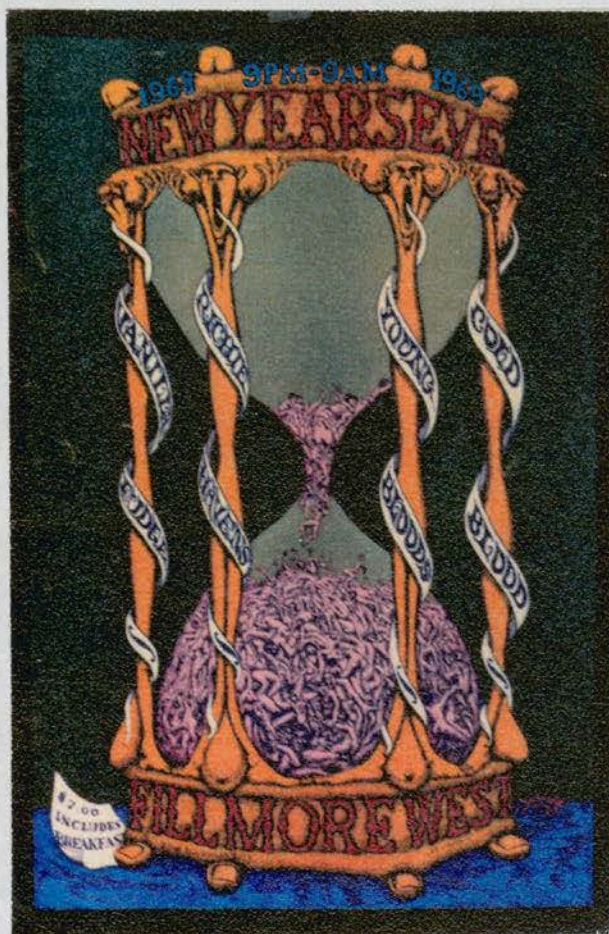


Figure 79:
Lee Conklin
BG 153
New Year's Eve, 1968-69
Poster

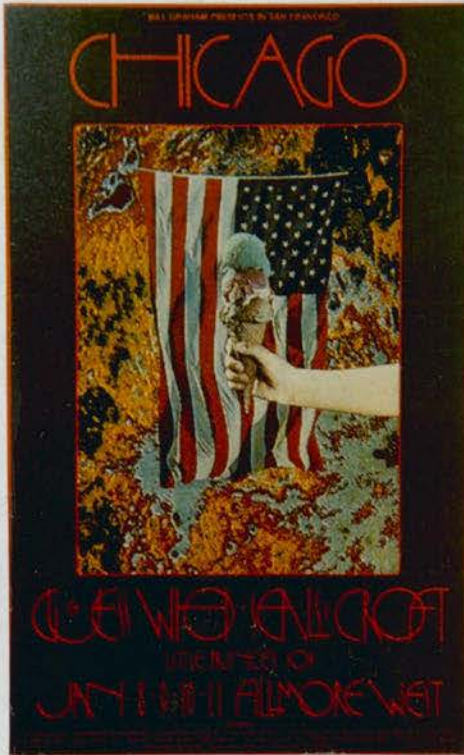


Figure 80:
David Singer
BG 211
Chicago at the Fillmore
Poster



Figure 81:
David Singer
BG 237
June, 1970
Poster

Figure 82:
David Singer
BG 238
June, 1970
Poster

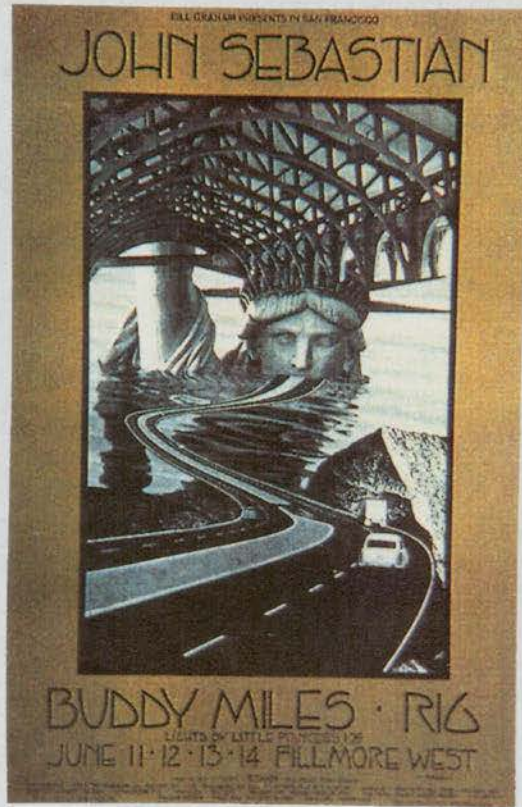


Figure 83:
David Singer
Original artwork for BG 287
Fillmore West Closing Week
June, 1971
Poster



VITA

Surname: Tomlinson Given Names: Sally Anne
Place of Birth: Chula Vista, California, U.S.A.
Date of Birth: July 29, 1953

Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Victoria	1988 to 1991
Sonoma State University	1983 to 1985
University of California, Berkeley	1981 to 1983
Grossmont Junior College	1972 to 1975

Degrees Awarded:

B.A. University of California, Berkeley	1983
A.A. Grossmont Junior College	1975

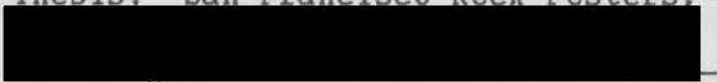
Honours and Awards:

University of Victoria Fellowship	1988-90
Perlie & Carter Camp Scholarship	1982-83
Rudolph F. Nichel Scholarship	1982-83

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis: San Francisco Rock Posters, 1965 to 1971

Author: 

SALLY ANNE TOMLINSON

July 9, 1991