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## From Innocence to Experience

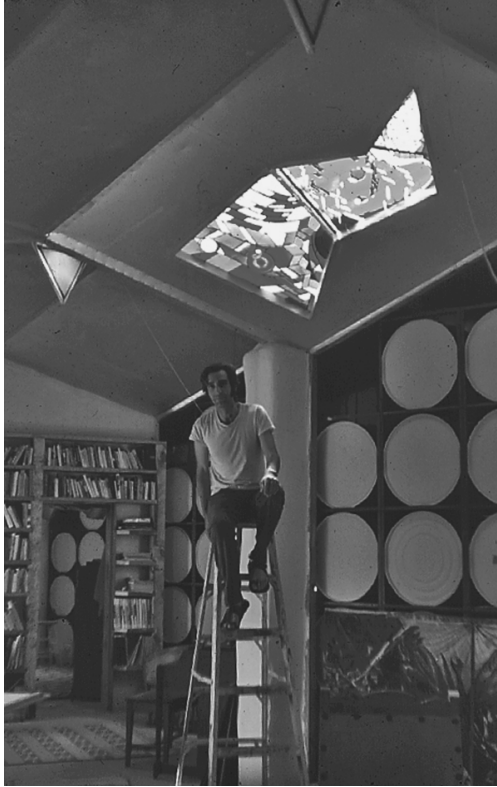
IRWIN B. KLEIN AND “THE NEW SETTLERS OF NORTHERN  
NEW MEXICO, 1967–71”

*Benjamin Klein and Tim Hodgdon*

The long 1960s, a period that stretched from the late 1950s through the early to mid-1970s, witnessed an unprecedented level of experimentation with communal living in the developed world. The region around Taos, New Mexico, was an epicenter for countercultural collectives. Photographer Irwin B. Klein documented portions of that remarkable, colorful experience (ill. 1). He made his first visit to the area in the mid-1960s, a moment in northern New Mexico history that writer and aural historian Jack Loeffler has described as “alive with an energy that was palpable, alluring, and ripe for social experimentation.” As Klein lived among newcomers to the area from 1967 to 1971, he created a powerful visual record of their efforts to transform the relationships that Americans had with each other, with the natural environment, and with their past. Instead of calling these bold utopians “hippies,” he chose to refer to them as “new settlers.”<sup>1</sup>

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Benjamin Klein received his PhD in British history from Brown University. In recent years he has been a lecturer for the International and Area Studies Teaching Program at the University of California, Berkeley; the Collegiate Seminar Program at Saint Mary's College of California; and California State University, East Bay. His current research examines the relationship between power, politics, and culture in late-Stuart England. Alan Klein is his father and Irwin B. Klein is his uncle. Tim Hodgdon holds a PhD in U.S. history from Arizona State University. He served as a visiting assistant professor in U.S. history at St. Thomas University, Fredericton, New Brunswick; an adjunct at North Carolina State University; and a Mellon Lecturing Fellow in the First-Year Writing Program, at Duke University. He is the moderator of the H-Communal-Societies discussion list. His current research addresses the history of radical-feminist antipornography activism in the United States after 1967.



ILL. 1. IRWIN B. KLEIN AT  
HOLLY AND STEVE BAER'S ZOME,  
CORRALES, NM  
(*Photograph courtesy Caroling  
Geary*)

In part, Klein's term distinguished the new settlers from the old and signaled the newcomers' admiration of Pueblo and Navajo communalism, and of their ingenious, technologically simple adaptation to life in a dry region. Hippies in all parts of the United States valorized both of these attributes as the hallmarks of a life-way in harmony with nature, and considerable numbers acted on what was, to some degree, a romantic longing to return to Eden by migrating.<sup>2</sup>

Klein's use of new settlers also foregrounded the hippies' intention to revitalize and redirect a rapidly disappearing peasant agrarianism.<sup>3</sup> That way of life, crowded out by the mechanization, consolidation, and capital intensification of American agriculture, was practiced only among a steadily shrinking number of marginalized rural people by the mid-twentieth century. The newcomers to northern New Mexico sought to reclaim elements of peasant agrarianism that might provide independence from what they saw as an unsustainable and oppressive way of life dictated by the clock rather than the seasons and the soil.<sup>4</sup> Although hippies never succeeded in the comprehensive transformation of American culture to which they aspired, their critique of American society continues to influence the way Americans think about the natural world and their place in it. The "great hippie invasion" of northern New Mexico marked an important chapter in the history of that state as well, for the flood of newcomers elaborated on and expanded the existing local and long-standing traditions of bohemian social experimentation in the region.

Klein's photographs offer historians and others interested in the counter-culture a wealth of insight into the means and motives by which the new settlers tried to overcome the alienation of capitalist labor and consumer

materialism. The images capture these counterculturalists in the process of creating new kinds of homes and communities that they hoped would connect them deeply to each other and to the earth. We have selected examples from Klein's series of black-and-white photographs entitled "The New Settlers of Northern New Mexico, 1967–71" to show that his work captures what he identified as the maturation of the counterculture as a social movement—the hippies' passage "from innocence to experience" as they tried to work out the practical means to their utopian ends.<sup>5</sup>

Curators, critics, historians, and others have recognized the importance of Klein's photographs of the countercultural scene in northern New Mexico. The curator and photographer Nathan Lyons selected one image, "David in the Mansion," from the "New Settlers" series for *Vision and Expression*, an exhibition at the George Eastman House in Rochester, New York, in 1969 and for his book of the same title published later that year (ill. 2). The same photograph appeared in a review of an exhibit featuring sixteen images from the "New Settlers" series written by critic A. D. Coleman and published in the *Village Voice* on 15 May 1969. One of the photographs from the "New Settlers" series appeared in *Liberation*, the New Left magazine, in 1973. Lloyd Kahn, former Shelter editor at Whole Earth Catalog, printed a number of Klein's photographs of northern New Mexico in his surveys of alternative dwellings, and Alastair Gordon included an image in his book on radical environmentalists in the sixties. Photographs from Klein's series were displayed at small



ILL. 2. DAVID IN THE MANSION (NMO6)  
(*Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate*)



venues in Toronto and Iowa in the early 1970s, and in New York City and northern California in 2009. That same year, Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo included twelve of Klein's images in her historical monograph on women in the counterculture, while Tim Hodgdon chose one of the photographs for the cover of his study of masculinity in two countercultural communities.<sup>6</sup>

We will analyze the "New Settlers" series by focusing on Klein's choice to characterize the countercultural movement in northern New Mexico as a transition from innocence to experience, a characterization we will explicate more fully later in this article. Placing these photographs in their historical context establishes Klein's reputation as an astute observer of the countercultural scene in the Southwest and situates this set of images as an important and valuable visual source for scholars interested in understanding the practices, rhythms, and rituals of hippies in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The natural beauty, color, light, climate, and cultures of northern New Mexico have attracted artists, writers, and utopians to the region for more than a century and a half. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Bert Geer Phillips, Ernest Blumenschein, and others established artists' and writers' colonies in Santa Fe and Taos, while Mabel Dodge Luhan, the wealthy socialite and arts patron, created a vibrant community of artists, writers, musicians, and intellectuals at her adobe mansion outside Taos. Photographers and artists, including Paul Strand, Edward Weston, and Georgia O'Keeffe, who came to New Mexico in the first half of the twentieth century, played an important role in the construction of the image of the Southwest as a place set apart from the modern world.<sup>7</sup> Beat poets, environmentalists, idealists, artists, and artisans arrived with the second wave of settlers and visitors in the post-World War II era. Max Finstein and Rick Klein, Steve and Barbara Durkee, Hugh Romney, and others established communes in northern New Mexico, while the late Hollywood actor Dennis Hopper created an alternative community of artists, actors, filmmakers, musicians, politicians, and radicals at the Luhan house in Taos, which he bought in 1970.<sup>8</sup> As an artist, Klein was attracted to New Mexico's natural beauty and its unique *mélange* of Indians, Hispanos, and Anglos, many of whom seemed to live at the margins of American modernity (ill. 3).

A number of photographers documented the sixties counterculture in the Southwest. With the support of a faculty-fund grant from the State University of New York at Buffalo, Roberta Price, then a graduate teaching fellow in the Department of English, photographed the communes of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado in the summer of 1969. She returned to the Southwest the following summer and eventually settled at Libre, a commune



ILL. 3. HORSE AND BIRDS IN SNOW (NM72)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate)*

in the Huerfano Valley, where she lived for seven years. Photographer Lisa Law, who migrated to Truchas in 1967, used her camera to record the communal and hippie scene in northern New Mexico. In 1970 Robert Altman, then chief staff photographer for *Rolling Stone* magazine, spent several days in New Mexico taking photographs for an article written by freelance writer John Dean that appeared on 9 July of that year.<sup>9</sup>

Between 1966 and 1972, Irwin Klein made five or six extended visits to northern New Mexico documenting what he described as “the dropouts, renegades, and utopians,” “the children of the urban middle class,” and the “old beatniks” “liv[ing] alone, in couples, families, or small groups in the little Spanish-American towns in the back country” between Santa Fe and Taos (ill. 4).<sup>10</sup> He photographed the communes near Taos and the activities of the new settlers in Rio Arriba, Taos, and Mora counties, using El Rito as his home base. Located on the edge of Carson National Park, this Spanish village attracted a number of visitors in the late 1960s. Among them were Allen Ginsberg; Emmett Grogan (a seminal figure in the anarchist collective known as the Diggers); and Hugh Romney and the Hog Farm, which later settled at Llano near Peñasco. Peter Van Dresser, environmentalist, author, advocate of economic self-sufficiency, and long-time resident of El Rito, served as “conduit for [the] new settlers” there and hired some of them, including Klein’s younger brother, Alan; his close friend Larry Palmiter (see ill. 17); and the artist Peter Aschwanden, as caretakers for his properties.<sup>11</sup>



ILL. 4. VIEW OF COMMUNE  
FROM JUNK CAR, FIVE STAR  
(NM43)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin  
B. Klein Estate)*

Klein had already established himself as a serious photographer before his arrival in New Mexico. Born in Brooklyn in 1933, he grew up in a middle-class Jewish household in Queens, New York, and was the eldest son of a dentist and a homemaker. As an adolescent, he took photographs with a Brownie camera. Using his father's dental office located in the upstairs of their house as a darkroom, Klein did his own developing and printing. His serious interest in photography began in his twenties, when he photographed landscapes in Glacier National Park in Montana during the five summers he spent with his wife, Yvonne, working as a fire lookout. As an undergraduate at Queens College in the early 1950s, he became interested in Beat culture, discussing contemporary literature, philosophy, and art with friends in coffee houses, bars, and jazz clubs in New York City.<sup>12</sup>

After completing his bachelor's degree in 1955, Klein relocated to the Midwest to pursue an academic career first at the University of Chicago, where he received a master's degree in English in 1956, and then at the University of Minnesota, where he was a student in the doctoral program between 1956 and 1963. He participated in the cultural scene in Dinkytown, a hip neighborhood located near campus. When he was not teaching classes as a part-time instructor, he wrote a few book reviews for a small literary magazine and frequented coffee houses, tiny galleries, McCosh's bookstore, and other gathering spots. His friends included artists, intellectuals, and musicians, some of whom played music with a young Bob Dylan in Dinkytown.<sup>13</sup> There is no way to know whether Klein spoke with the photography faculty at the University of Minnesota, which included Jerome Liebling and Alan Downs. Apart from Eugene Wilcox, Klein had limited contact with other photographers in Minneapolis. The cultural critic John Fraser, then a graduate student in English, recalls the two of them chatting briefly with their used Leica cameras in hand one sunny morning on the Fourteenth Avenue bridge, but he never saw Klein's photographs. Klein became interested in the work of

French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson and the photographers associated with the U.S. Farm Security Administration, especially Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange, and may have attended photo exhibitions at the Walker Gallery or the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. He photographed the Dinkytown scene, the urban landscape of Minneapolis, and the rehearsals and performances of the Moppet Theater, a local theater company for disadvantaged children.<sup>14</sup>

Klein began receiving recognition for his photographic work in the mid-1960s. Patricia Caulfield printed three of his images along with a profile in *Modern Photography* magazine in August 1964.<sup>15</sup> That same year, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York City acquired silver gelatin prints of Klein's "'Super-Pop' Artists" and "Minnesota Fire." The former appeared in an exhibition of recent acquisitions at MoMA on display between early October 1965 and early January 1966. Klein's work also appeared in Mexico in 1966; at Columbia University in 1967; and in a show of photographers, including William Gedney, Robert D'Alessandro, and Joel Meyerowitz, at George Eastman House in Rochester, New York, in 1969, and in *Liberation* magazine in 1973. Klein selected and organized his images of street scenes of the Lower East Side, Little Italy, and other places in New York City in a photo essay entitled "Enclosures: Photographs of Manhattan, 1964–1969." Despite this exposure and activity, Klein struggled to make a living as a photographer and drove a cab in New York City to support himself.<sup>16</sup>

Klein's photo essays of Minneapolis and New York City belong to the tradition of "street photography," to borrow a term from Colin Westerbeck and Joel Meyerowitz. Identifying himself as a street photographer, he informed Caulfield in 1964, "I enjoy nothing so much as losing myself in the contemplation of familiar objects: people sitting around and the drift of the streets." Caulfield pointed out in her *Modern Photography* profile that "Klein has learned to work in the classic 35 mm candid tradition." He used Leica cameras with normal and wide-angle lenses and fast film to record his subjects in an "unobtrusive and unintrusive manner." Noting a quality that would later become important in "New Settlers," Caulfield observed, "In most of his pictures people seem completely unaware of the camera." He carefully framed his shots, relied on natural light, and did not crop his photographs in the darkroom. In "Minnesota Fire," Klein captures "the decisive moment" with a singular image of a street scene. Cartier-Bresson has defined this technique as "the simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event as well as of a precise organization of forms which give the event its proper expression" (ill. 5). Dark clouds and smoke fill most of the shot while a telephone pole, wires, and a fireman's ladder bisect the photograph. In the foreground, several bystanders, unaware of the camera,



ILL. 5. MINNESOTA FIRE  
 (Photograph courtesy Irwin B.  
 Klein Estate)

observe the fire; a solitary woman, clutching her winter coat, walks toward the artist. The photograph later appeared in *Mirrors and Windows: American Photography since 1960*, an exhibition curated by John Szarkowski at MoMA in 1978 and in an exhibit catalog of the same title. In his review of *Mirrors and Windows* in *Time* magazine, Robert Hughes described “Minnesota Fire” as “an exquisitely formal-looking image.”<sup>17</sup>

Klein’s “New Settlers” series, particularly his intimate portraits of individuals, couples, and families either posing for or oblivious to the camera, represents a departure from his photo essays of Minneapolis and New York City and the photojournalistic approach of Altman. “I have proceeded slowly, rather than in a journalistic fashion, and tried to enter into the time, space, and light which envelopes [sic] my subjects,” Klein explained in a press release for an exhibition of his work in 1970. Coleman seemed to understand the artist’s intentions. In his *Village Voice* review published in 1969, he wrote, “More concerned with the people than with their activities, Klein captured the shiftings of a group mood as its presence begins to inhabit an alien territory.” The image of a group of hippies milling around outside an adobe building at a commune encapsulates Coleman’s assessment (ill.6). Klein occupied a unique space between observers like Altman, who “dropped in” on the scene but “never dropped out,” and active participants like Price and Law, who completely immersed themselves in the new settler lifeway. More importantly Klein’s technique and approach give his photographs more depth and resonance than the work of other photographers who documented the counterculture in northern New Mexico, among them Law, who, in her own words, “wanted to capture the moment the best I could so I could share the moment with others so they would feel what I saw.”<sup>18</sup>

Drawing from the body of work shot in New Mexico, Klein selected eighty photographs and arranged the images into eight chapters. He hoped to publish these photographs along with an introduction as “The New Settlers of



ILL. 6. SUNDAY LUNCH, SUE STANDING ON STUMP, FIVE STAR (NM49)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate)*

Northern New Mexico.” He spent the last few years of his life in New York taking photographs of the streets of Brooklyn. In March 1974, Klein died of a heart attack in a hospital where he was recovering from a fall from his apartment window near the Brooklyn Bridge, perhaps an attempt to commit suicide. Prior to his tragic death, he was working on a series of photographs of shrines. All of his negatives, most of his prints, and his cameras and equipment were either lost or stolen. One can only guess what his oeuvre as a whole looked like. The color slides from his Brooklyn street life photographs were displayed for the first time at Domeischel Gallery in New York City in 2009. His other work is archived in the permanent collections of the George Eastman House, the Museum of Modern Art, the New York Public Library, and the Brooklyn Museum.<sup>19</sup>

In order to approach the “New Settlers” series as historical evidence, historians must attend carefully to the words that Klein chose to frame his images for his prospective audience. He began by declaring himself a participant as well as an observer. He argued that readers should not understand his work solely as his own creation, a product of the genius of the autonomous artist, but rather as a collaboration with his subjects. He told his audience at the outset that this collection was “part family album,” since he thought about those communitarians with whom he had spent considerable time in New Mexico as family (ill. 7). He also called the series “part document,” for he saw hip experiments with simple living as history in the making. He delimited the work’s function as



ILL. 7. ALAN, FLY, AND MICKEY BESIDE PLOW WHEEL,  
VALLECITOS (NM30)

*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate)*

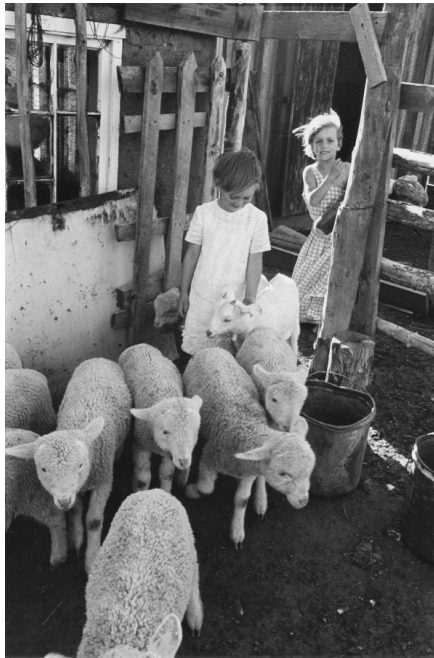
documentary, however, by also pronouncing it “part myth”—a remark difficult to decipher, but perhaps intended to call attention to his work’s participation in the creation of the myth around hippies and their way of life, or to caution readers not to read too much into these photographs, given his keen awareness of how much he had not captured through the camera lens.<sup>20</sup>

Although Klein did not conceive of his project as a systematic documentation of the countercultural experiment, at least one settler who watched him work suggests that his impulse as documentarian was stronger than his introductory remarks might indicate. His friend Donna Elliot characterized him as more “an observer and documenter” than an active participant; another friend, Caroling Geary, recalled that he was relatively uninvolved in the day-to-day activities of the new communities.<sup>21</sup> If these descriptions are accurate, Klein’s series fits even more squarely in the tradition of socially conscious camerawork that stretched from Jacob Riis in the Gilded Age through the Farm Security Administration photographers of the Great Depression, and beyond. Undoubtedly, Klein also felt the influence of the deliberately subjective immersion approach to reporting on social phenomena that blossomed in the 1960s under the rubric of New Journalism. This fresh approach to news-gathering was a radical reaction to the pieties and politics of “objective” reporting, the method that the modernized profession had embraced to distance itself from the partisan muckraking of the Progressive era. Scholars who approach Klein’s compilation as historical evidence must balance Elliot’s and Geary’s recollections against Klein’s introductory remarks. The new settlers knew that their photographer was not a fully committed fellow insider. Yet, his sympathy and respect for their efforts were unmistakable, and

facilitated the extraordinarily “unobtrusive but revealing” rapport between photographer and subject foretold by Coleman in his review in 1969 and evident in the images that comprise “New Settlers.”<sup>22</sup>

While Klein shared his subjects’ dream of transforming the world not through the organization of mass movements so much as through the proliferation of a radical, transcendent cultural sensibility, he managed to maintain a social and historical perspective on hippies’ efforts to develop that sensibility. He shared a desire to “develop a viable way of life outside our urban technological complex” with many other bohemian radicals of his time. And like many participants in the counterculture, Klein saw these efforts as, in part, examples of the “perennial attempt of human beings to renew the patterns of their lives.”<sup>23</sup> He reminded Americans that to live in houses clad with mud was not an exercise in antiquarianism but rather an effort to address pressing problems of ecological sustainability and widespread alienation through simple living—a deeply Rousseauvian rejection of the postwar American belief that progress toward an ever-more-refined civilization could be achieved through the development, embracement, and application of complex technology (ill. 8). That stance no doubt seems unremarkable to stu-

dents of the countercultural movement of the 1960s—and it should, since one can derive it from a host of other contemporary sources. Yet Klein’s explanation of his choice of the term settler marks him as a keen and noteworthy observer of the tumultuous events swirling around him. He rejected the notion common among hippies and journalists of the day that collective living—indeed, all things hip—represented a resounding break from the past.<sup>24</sup> Instead, Klein argued, in the company of other astute participants in the scene, that by the time the new settlers had begun to make their mark in New Mexico, the unbounded idealism that initially propelled many in the counterculture back to the land had already begun to evolve into a reiteration of patterns deeply rooted in American history. In making this move, Klein beat historians



ILL. 8. GIRLS WITH SHEEP, VALLECITOS (NM37)  
(*Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate*)





ILL. 9. GIRL IN WINDOWSILL,  
VALLECITOS (NM281)  
(*Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein  
Estate*)

of the counterculture to the punch by discerning a fundamental shift in thinking among cultural radicals in the late 1960s. He organized the “New Settlers” around this shift, which he described as a “rite of passage from innocence to experience . . . a development away from the image of the hippie toward older American archetypes [such as] the pioneer and the independent yeoman farmer.”<sup>25</sup>

This rich and incisive passage deserves explication if historians are to understand what Klein believed he had captured in his photographs (ill. 9). We can do this along two dimensions. The first involves the evolution of countercultural thinking about the means and ends of the revolution in consciousness that they advocated. In the early days of hip bohemianism, many dreamed that humans might find a way to live in a state of perpetual ecstatic

liminality, liberated completely from the limitations of social structure—a possibility seemingly revealed in the course of experimentation with psychedelic drugs, anarchistic forms of a moneyless economy, open-land communalism, and Asian mysticism. This attitude was certainly the end of the continuum that Klein labeled “innocence.” Although many hippies who believed they had experienced the oneness of all things with the help of lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) remained beguiled by the beauty of that vision, others gradually became convinced that there were earthly limits to this transcendence. Over time, experience taught them that, to use the terminology of anthropologist Victor Turner, the ecstatic state of antistructure, whether induced by ritual processes or mind-altering drugs—necessary as hippies thought it was to human welfare—could last only for a moment. They reasoned, however, that while humans might not be able to live perpetually in the ecstasy of antistructure, the attempt to restore periodic access to that transcendent experience—however temporary—was still a radical departure from the American faith in consumerism, technological innovation, and private property. Counterculturalists remained convinced that modern Americans suffered deeply from an “uptight” overemphasis on structure and order.<sup>26</sup>

One of the implications of this steadfast belief was that, if conventional American society languished in a world of rigidity, many hippie communes remained in the grips of an illusion that the new social order would emerge spontaneously in the absence of any structure at all. From the perspective of those moving away from innocence, the result was, to borrow a phrase from anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace, the creation of “slums” in the countercultural “wilderness” that did not serve the interests of hippies intent on social transformation. In June 1976, Arthur Kopecky, a resident of the New Buffalo commune near Taos, expressed a growing impatience with the stagnation that resulted from the “innocent” common understanding that each member must be free to do his or her own thing. He wrote in his journal: “We want business—no more food stamps or welfare or being so broke. We’ve got a lot of people [at the commune], so we’ll have to think bigger.” Thinking bigger meant rationalizing the commune’s economic activities and identifying a niche on the margins of the larger society that they could exploit to achieve economic independence. The choice to pursue economic self-sufficiency required residents to commit to a common vision: sacrifice a measure of individual autonomy in exchange for the economic autonomy that they could achieve through coordinated, collective effort.<sup>27</sup>

Kopecky’s push for rationalization met with keen resistance. Disgruntled hippies departed New Buffalo, but months later, they returned to reclaim the commune at gunpoint in the name of the original dream: to reach a state of never-ending ecstasy through the rejection of all imposed order. Other communes of the era struggled with the same questions. After many years of growing unease and internal debate at the Farm in south central Tennessee, those in favor of modifying the original dream won out without resorting to weapons, although the community underwent a wrenching decollectivization and reduction in population in 1983. Klein had already seen this pattern clearly enough a decade earlier to adopt it as the organizing principle for his selection of photographs in the “New Settlers” series, providing historians a framework for interpreting the images and a means for periodizing the history of the rural counterculture.<sup>28</sup>

The second dimension of Klein’s compelling statement about the shift from innocence to experience deserving explication is his invocation of the settler on the western frontier and of the “independent yeoman farmer” as Jungian “archetypes” in the American unconscious. Once again, as an observer of events still unfolding, Klein demonstrated a keen understanding of patterns that scholars creating the new history of the American West would soon discover. These New Western historians have pondered the enduring mythology fed by Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis, first unveiled in a

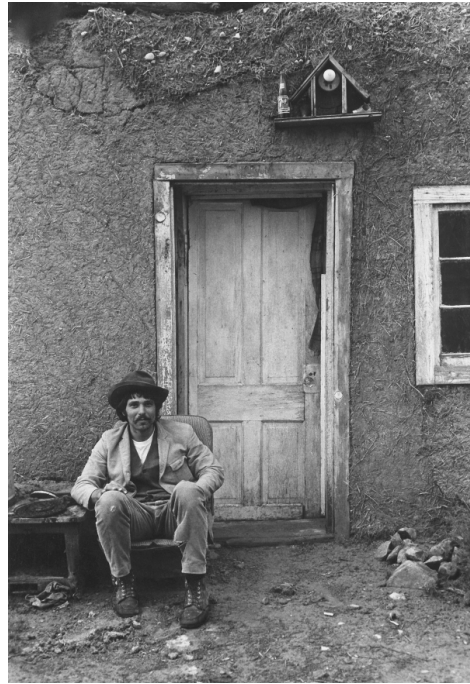
public lecture in 1893. An important part of this mythology is faith in the West as a land of renewal and independence.<sup>29</sup> Klein also intuited the significance of hippies in social historians' later examinations of the twentieth-century rise of an individual identity grounded in consumption at odds with an older vision of individual (masculine) identity grounded primarily in the production of things for the common good. In that shunted-aside democracy of producers, genuine equality required broad access to resources, including, in author Edward Bellamy's utopian portrait, access to agricultural land.<sup>30</sup> Klein's use of the term yeoman invokes the Jeffersonian—and Crèvecoeurian—vision of political power exercised by local communities subject to influence mostly by those men who worked the land that they owned. That archetype, ironically, fueled both radical and conservative challenges in the 1960s to Franklin D. Roosevelt's model of a government-regulated industrial economy.<sup>31</sup>

Klein's perception of a movement from innocence to experience is readily apparent in his sequencing of the images in the "New Settlers" series.<sup>32</sup> "David in the Mansion" portrays a slender youth sporting a broad-brimmed hat, standing in an interior doorway of a house in El Rito (see ill. 2). His visage, shining like a new penny, contrasts sharply with the worn, faded



ILL. 10. KITCHEN WINDOW OF MANSION, EL RITO (NM07)  
(*Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate*)

wallpaper that lines the interior. Signs of hippie presence appear in the subsequent photos: a batik image of a Plains Indian draped over the edge of a cupboard (ill. 10); a reproduction of the Mona Lisa adorning a doorway as naked children play (ill. 11); Irwin Klein's brother, Alan, seated in front of an adobe house (ill. 12); a woman picking fruit (ill. 13); and a sunlit interior scene, in which a star chart has been tacked above a desk and a psychedelic poster for an establishment called the Pot Shop appears at eye level (ill. 14). The counterculturalists' arrival in the Taos area from more urban places signaled ongoing momentum in their search for ecstatic utopia. They probably had not fully confronted the challenges of sustaining themselves in this dry land, but historians cannot be sure: Klein did not document the order in which he shot these scenes.



ABOVE LEFT: ILL. 11. MOTHER AND BABIES  
THROUGH ADOBE DOORWAY, EL RITO  
(NMO8)

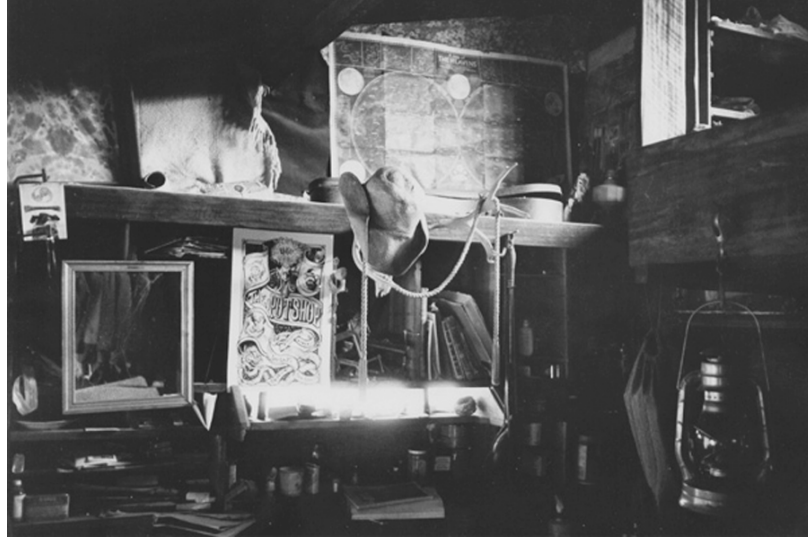
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein  
Estate)*

ABOVE: ILL. 12. ALAN SITTING IN FRONT  
OF ABODE, EL RITO (NM16)

*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein  
Estate)*

LEFT: ILL. 13. WOMAN PICKING FRUIT, EL  
RITO (NM12)

*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein  
Estate)*



ILL. 14. LIGHT FROM SOLAR REFLECTOR ON DESK, VAN DRESSER'S SOLAR HOUSE IN POTRERO CANYON, CARSON NATIONAL FOREST (NM21)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate)*

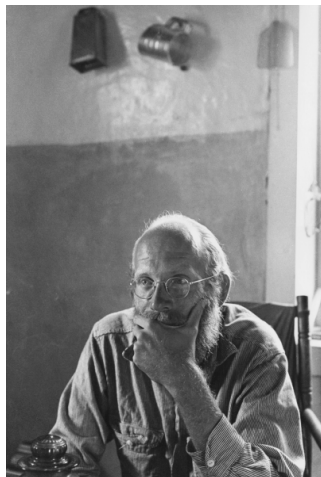


ILL. 15. HOG FARMERS PARADE, EL RITO (NM25)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate)*

Even more evocative of the hippies' initial state of innocence is the sequence of photos (NM23–NM28) that records the arrival of the celebrated collective known as the Hog Farm in El Rito in 1968 (ill. 15). Actor Hugh Romney, one of the key figures in the group, described the Hog Farmers as “an expanded family, a mobile hallucination, an army of clowns . . . fifty people on a perpetual trip, citizens of earth.” These former residents of a bona fide hog-farming operation in southern California had taken to the road in search of land in New Mexico. They set up camp in El Rito for a time and staged a Fourth of July parade in the town, with some of their members—and a swine called Pigasus—dressed in carnivalesque costumes (ill. 16). The group eventually purchased land to the south of El Rito in Llano. Although

most members returned to California after a time, the location still housed a number of Hog Farmers in the late 1990s.<sup>33</sup> Klein's images of this flamboyant commune-on-wheels certainly stand in sharp contrast to the modest self-presentation of many new settlers, as captured in his contemplative portrait of a close friend, whose weathered face, tangled beard, and wrinkled work shirt all complement the steady gaze communicating a determination to remain, come what may (ill. 17).

Moving further into Klein's sequence, past the images of the Hog Farmers and photographs of the short-lived Church of the Five-Star Ranch (NM42–NM49), the shift to experience that so fascinated him begins to emerge in images of a sparse, dry landscape and the labor it required of all those settlers and farmers attempting to live within the limits it imposed.<sup>34</sup> Certainly, in the earlier



ILL. 17. PORTRAIT OF LARRY PALMITER, EL RITO (NM35)  
(*Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate*)



ILL. 16. WAVY GRAVY AND HOG FARMERS PARADE, EL RITO (NM23)  
(*Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate*)

sequences there are shots of hippies hard at work. In one image, for example, a man pauses in his labor with a long-handled tool, perhaps a hammer or axe, when noticing a visitor at the fence while his daughter feeds goats in the foreground (ill. 18). Such images of laboring hippies become far more frequent in later images. A weaver works fabric in one photo (ill. 19) and two men repair a fence while a horse grazes in the background in the next frame (ill. 20). In another image, a man begins his work with lumber and tools as the morning sun peeks over the horizon (ill. 21). The sequence NM641–NM73 presents a woman chopping wood (ill. 22), boys feeding goats inside a barn (or, perhaps, in a house), a woman milking a goat, a man struggling to drag a dairy can filled with water to his thirsty horses, a pair of men operating a cross-cut saw to procure firewood on a wintry day, and a crew engaging in the back-breaking labor of fashioning adobe bricks (ill. 23).

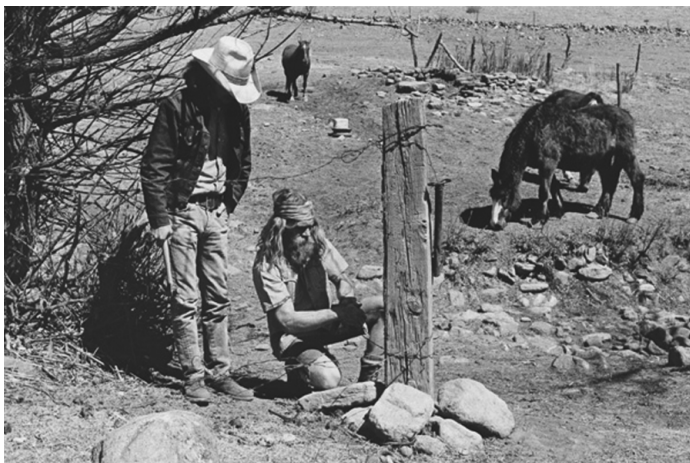


ABOVE: ILL. 18. GUPPIE  
FEEDING DANNY'S GOAT, EL  
RITO (NM20)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B.  
Klein Estate)*

RIGHT: ILL. 19. THE WEAVER  
(NM59)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B.  
Klein Estate)*



BELOW: ILL. 20. FIXING FENCE  
(NM60)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B.  
Klein Estate)*





LEFT: ILL. 21. CARPENTER AT DAWN (NM64)  
(*Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate*)



RIGHT: ILL. 22. WOMAN CHOPPING WOOD IN SHELTER BOOK (NM63)  
(*Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate*)



ILL. 23. CREW MAKING ADOBES, IN SHELTER BOOK (NM73)  
(*Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate*)



Clearly these scenes invite many questions from viewers hoping to use them as historical evidence: what was the sexual division of labor among the new settlers; how did the settlers acquire the skills practiced in the images; and what knowledge and skills did these individuals possess upon their arrival? Standing alone the photographs cannot answer such questions; historians need a greater variety of sources to contextualize the efforts they depict. Yet, if historians compare the scenes in these photos to the places from which their subjects came, stark contrasts immediately emerge. How did these former university students, urban service workers, and sons and daughters of the post–World War II suburbs come to seek lives behind walls of mud and straw or in shacks with weathered doors and windows salvaged from other structures? Automobiles and power lines announce that this place is not the primitive Southwest conjured by John Wayne movies or by tourist brochures. But the contrast between the built environments of their former and present lives—between shaded suburban streets and sidewalks and the rutted roads down which they now traveled in search of firewood—would deepen the information received from their journals, letters, and tax records.

Klein also included scenes of social interaction in his series, for these images demonstrate that the new settlers were learning forms of interaction made possible by dropping out of the time-discipline imposed by industrial and bureaucratic labor. Some of these images appear early in the series (see ill. 18). Part 8 of the “New Settlers,” entitled “Visits,” includes shots of places and people whom Klein met in passing. However, the most interesting sequence concerning hippie sociability appears in the final part of the work, which records a wedding at the New Buffalo commune in Arroyo Hondo. The first photograph, of the doorway to the round main room of the residence, shows guests meditating on the performance of a flutist, perhaps prior to the ceremony (ill. 24). The next photograph, depicting the arrival of the bride and groom, is a study of how the couple negotiated the tensions between hip



ILL. 24. THE GATHERING  
INSIDE THE MAIN ROOM  
(NM81)

*(Photograph courtesy  
Irwin B. Klein Estate)*



ILL. 25. BRIDE AND GROOM (NM82)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate)*

and conventional marriage rituals (ill. 25). The bride, in a sense, arrives in the less adventurous costume: a white wedding dress with veil. But the dress extends only to above the knees, and she wears flat sandals, not high heels. The groom's couture reiterates the Haight-Ashbury penchant for Edwardian dress: he steadies a bowler hat against a gust of wind and leans on a cane (although we cannot be sure whether the cane served solely as an article of fashion). A dark sash gathers a peasant shirt at his waist and beads dangle from his neck. The counterculture contributed mightily to a general trend away from formal compartment even in solemn (and traditional) rituals such as weddings during the 1960s and 1970s. If today it has become quite common for couples to stage weddings in a wide variety of settings and to write at least some of the script, it is in part because gatherings like this one pointed the way.<sup>35</sup>

Two photographs give a sense of the dozens of people who gathered for the wedding celebration. One shows the guests linking hands for a blessing of the wedding feast (ill. 26). Klein's shot captures one segment of the circle standing in front of a slat-sided flatbed truck of considerable age. Mountains rise in the distance. In the second photograph, the guests serve themselves at an outdoor trestle table (ill. 27). What stand out in this scene are not the long hair, beards, and headscarves of the guests, but the utensils on the table: a mish-mash of everyday kettles and boxes pressed into service for the occasion. For the assembled settlers, this meal represented a lavishing of resources for a special occasion, but the investment was not in special dishware, as might have been the case if the couple had followed the conventions of consumer society. Rather, the investment was made in the hours that communitarians—more likely settler women than men—spent preparing generous quantities



ILL. 26. WEDDING GUEST BLESSING FOOD (NM83)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate)*



ILL. 27. WEDDING FEAST (NM84)  
*(Photograph courtesy Irwin B. Klein Estate)*

of food, in the time away from everyday routines, and in the wear and tear on old trucks prone to breaking down on rough dirt roads. The return was in their release from rural isolation and renewal of the hope that those who devoted themselves to fashioning a simpler way of life would become an extended family—a clan or “tribe”—that would deliver its members from the loneliness and alienation of straight society.

In this possibility of belonging, both to the natural world and to a larger human family, the improvised ritual processes of hippiedom sometimes revealed themselves as tangible and attainable. On the journey from innocence to

experience that Klein traced in his photographs, these new settlers of northern New Mexico discovered just how much work—and risk—was involved in building the alternative structures that, they hoped, would deliver the experience that Victor Turner called “*communitas*” far more reliably than did conventional life. Klein’s legacy to historians is that the relationships he cultivated with his subjects allowed him to capture the fading innocence and material poverty of these rural settlements, and their growing strength and practicality as they gained experience in rural life. More than that, he captured the new settlers’ inner light as they struggled to build on the earth warm places that they could genuinely call home.

The inner light that Klein captured in his photographs, and the insightful framing of his images with an introductory essay pointing in the direction of a sophisticated historical metanarrative, make his artful rendering of the new settlers historically significant. His framework spoke not only to what made hippies new and different—many journalists and participants in the counterculture had already explored that dimension in great detail—but also to the place the new settlers of New Mexico occupied in longer patterns of cultural revitalization. This is not to say that Klein was the only participant-observer to do so. As Timothy Miller has so ably demonstrated, most of the key figures in the early genesis of the counterculture were keenly aware of past efforts.<sup>36</sup> Yet Klein’s rejection of the impulse to snap quick pictures and return to the city, and his less-partisan perspective on developments that spoke directly to his own deep longing for a nurturing community, make his work of particular interest to those who, looking back, strive to place the counterculture in the larger fabric of twentieth-century American life. Irwin Klein’s images help vivify the stories historians tell of this time of hope and seeking, experiment and renewal.

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## Notes

1. The term the long 1960s dates back at least to 1984 when it appeared in Fredric Jameson, "Periodizing the Sixties," in *The Sixties without Apology*, ed. Sonya Sayres, et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 208–9. For more on the scope of experimentation with communal living during that period, see Timothy Miller, "New Mexico's New Communal Settlers," *New Mexico Historical Review* 87 (winter 2012): [insert page numbers]. Jack Loeffler, "Counterculture in the Land of Clear Light," *El Palacio* 113 (spring 2008): 40–51; and Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1999).

We join Irwin Klein in his use of the term new settlers, but will also use the term hippie and its adjectival form hip to denote that tendency within the post–World War II social movements that identified the transformation of individual consciousness as the primary means by which to promote the revolutionary transformation of American society. This is in contrast to the New Left, which, while noting the importance of individual shifts in consciousness, prioritized the organization of mass protest through vehicles such as Students for a Democratic Society. Over time these two tendencies became inextricably intertwined; they were not discrete populations (although their subscribers were mostly white), but rather projects and networks to which individuals could, and did, commit themselves exclusively, serially, or concurrently. For further discussion, see Tim Hodgdon, introduction to *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius: Masculinity in Two Countercultural Communities, 1965–83*, Gutenberg-e Project (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/hodgdon>.

2. In subsequent decades, historians have problematized the romantic binary of simple technology and ecological harmony of Native Americans and the high technology and ecological destructiveness of European American invaders. These historians have also accounted for the ways in which Native American cultures in all regions modified the environment in order to make it more productive for humans beyond the obvious ways (pursuit of agriculture and the construction of dwelling spaces), as well as the ways white people forced indigenous people to change by destroying habitat and encouraging dependency on white commerce. For example, see William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); and Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983). For a discussion of even the most idealistic hippies' tendency to valorize marginalized peoples as an expression of unintentional ethnocentrism and racism, see Hodgdon, *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius*, 2.23–30; 4.28, n. 30; 4.42–47.
3. Although the term peasant is rarely used in the American context, we use it here neither as an evocation of European rural traditions nor in its Marxist inflection; the latter denotes farmers who, while they may have owned a productive asset, lacked the class-for-itself organization necessary for collective self-determination in an industrializing economy. Instead, we intend the term to foreground hippies' admiration of preindustrial non-elites whose sense of self-worth came from learning the many crafts required to draw subsistence from the land, whether they owned it or not. For a discussion of the term, see Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment: A Short*

- History of the Agrarian Revolt in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), xv–xvi.
4. That many in the back-to-the-land movement (which was not an entirely countercultural phenomenon) sought both a livelihood through agriculture and, more particularly, the revitalization of peasant lifeways is evident even in a cursory examination of primary sources. For example, see the series of publications in *The Whole Earth Catalog*, <http://www.wholeearth.com/index.php>. Stephen Gaskin, the spiritual leader of the Tennessee commune known as the Farm, the largest of the 1960s communes, urged Americans to become “voluntary peasants” in *Hey, Beatnik! This Is the Farm Book* (Summertown, Tenn.: Book Publishing Company, 1974). Of course even the countercultural dimension of the back-to-the-land movement was diverse in aim and intention. The Farm’s understanding of “voluntary peasant” changed dramatically over the course of the 1970s, as large, gasoline-driven tractors, combines, and potato harvesters quickly displaced the burgeoning commune’s original team of workhorses. For the back-to-the-land movement more generally, see Jeffrey Jacob, *New Pioneers: The Back-to-the-Land Movement and the Search for a Sustainable Future* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).
  5. Irwin B. Klein, introduction to “The New Settlers of Northern New Mexico, 1967–71,” <http://homepage.mac.com/pardass/IRWINKLEIN/NEWSETTLERS/index.htm>. The distinction between the task discipline of agrarianism and the time discipline of the factory appears in E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1963).
  6. Nathan Lyons, ed., *Vision and Expression* (New York: Horizon Press/George Eastman House, 1969), 26. The George Eastman House holds “David in the Mansion” in its permanent collection. A. D. Coleman, “Latent Image,” *Village Voice*, 15 May 1969, 15, 17; *Liberation* 17, no. 10 (June 1973): 31; Lloyd Kahn, *Shelter* (Bolinas, Calif.: Shelter Publications, 1973), 38–39, 67; Lloyd Kahn, *Home Work: Handbuilt Shelter* (Bolinas, Calif.: Shelter Publications, 2004), 40–41; and Alastair Gordon, *Spaced Out: Radical Environments of the Psychedelic Sixties* (New York: Rizzoli, 2008), 148. Photographs from the “New Settlers” series were displayed at the Baldwin Gallery in Toronto, Canada, and the East Street Gallery in Grinnell, Iowa, in the early 1970s, and at the Domeischel Gallery in New York City and the Saint Albert Hall Library at Saint Mary’s College of California in Moraga in 2009. Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius: Women of the Sixties Counterculture* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009); and Hodgdon, *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius*. For more on *Liberation* magazine, see James Tracy, *Direct Action: Radical Pacifism from the Union Eight to the Chicago Seven* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 85, 86, and 116; and Stoughton Lynd and Andrei Grubacic, *Wobblies and Zapatistas: Conversations on Anarchism, Marxism and Radical History* (Oakland, Calif.: PM Press, 2008), 36.
  7. Arrell M. Gibson, *Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900–1942* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983). See also Julie Schimmel, *Bert Geer Phillips and the Taos Art Colony* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); Van Deren Coke, *Taos and Santa Fe: The Artist’s Environment, 1882–1942* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963); Van Deren Coke, *Photography in New Mexico: From the Daguerreotype to the Present* (Albuquerque: University of New

- Mexico Press, 1979); and Lois Palken Rudnick, "The Mabel Dodge Luhan Years, Los Gallos (1918–1962)," in *Utopian Vistas: The Mabel Dodge Luhan House and the American Counterculture*, John Gaw Meem Southwestern architecture collection series (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).
8. Rudnick, "Dennis Hopper and Friends, The Mud Palace (1970–2075)," in *Utopian Vistas*; Loeffler, "Counterculture in the Land of Clear Light"; and Alvar W. Carlson, *The Spanish-American Homeland: Four Centuries in New Mexico's Rio Arriba* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 109–10. See also Miller, "New Mexico's New Communal Settlers."
  9. Roberta Price, *Huerfano: A Memoir of Life in the Counterculture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004); Roberta Price, *Across the Great Divide: A Photo Chronicle of the Counterculture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010); Lisa Law, *Flashing on the Sixties* (San Francisco, Calif.: Chronicle Books, 1997); John Dean, "Summer of New Mexico and the Acid Cowboys," *Rolling Stone*, 9 July 1970, 24–28; Robert Altman, e-mail messages to Benjamin Klein, 26 and 27 October 2010; and John Dean, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 14 November 2010. For other photographs of the counterculture in northern New Mexico, see Iris Keltz, *Scrapbook of a Taos Hippie: Tribal Tales from the Heart of a Cultural Revolution* (El Paso, Tex.: Cinco Puntos Press, 2000); and Arthur Kopecky, *New Buffalo: Journals from a Taos Commune* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).
  10. Press release for exhibition, "The New Settlers of Northern New Mexico, 1967–71," Baldwin Street Gallery of Photography, Toronto, Canada, 1970 (photocopy owned by authors); and Klein, introduction to "New Settlers." Klein indicated that he made five visits to northern New Mexico between 1966 and 1971. However, Caroling Geary recalled seeing him in Santa Fe in 1972. Caroling Geary, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 14 October 2010.
  11. Donna Elliot, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 10 January 2010; Alan Klein, e-mail messages to Benjamin Klein, 7 and 28 February 2010; Bill Morgan, *I Celebrate Myself: The Somewhat Private Life of Allen Ginsberg* (New York: Viking, 2006), 434; Emmett Grogan, *Ringolevio: A Life Played for Keeps* (1972; repr., New York: New York Review of Books, 2008), 434; Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 293–94; Hugh Romney, *The Hog Farm and Friends by Wavy Gravy as Told to Hugh Romney and Vice Versa* (New York: Links, 1974), 26–27; and "Peter Van Dresser: Ecologist," *Mother Earth News*, September/October 1975, <http://www.motherearthnews.com/Nature-Community/1975-09-01/Interview-With-Peter-Van-Dresser.aspx>. The interview with Peter Van Dresser was previously published in *Lifestyle!* in October 1973.
  12. Alan Klein, "Alan Klein: On His Brother, the Photographer Irwin Klein," interview by Mark Lynch, *Inquiry*, WICN, broadcast 10 July 2009; <http://www.wicn.org/podcasts/audio/inquiry-alan-klein-his-brother-photographer-irwin-klein> (accessed 18 November 2010); Yvonne Klein, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 22 February 2010; Alan Klein, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 9 May 2010; Alan Klein, e-mail messages to Benjamin Klein, 24, 29 December 2009, and 15 October 2010; and Ed Nadel, e-mail messages to Benjamin Klein, 27, 28 December 2009.
  13. For a description of the Dinkytown scene, see Bob Dylan, *Chronicles*, vol. 1 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004), 234–57. See also Howard Sounes, "Bound for

- Glory," chap. 2 in *Down the Highway: The Life of Bob Dylan* (New York: Grove Press, 2001).
14. Lyons, ed., *Vision and Expression*, 167; Yvonne Klein, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 18 October 2010; Dave Morton, postcard to Benjamin Klein, n.d. (postmarked 22 March 2006); Dave Morton, telephone interview with Benjamin Klein, 27 May 2006; Caroling Geary, e-mail messages to Benjamin Klein, 14, 15, 16 October 2010; Caroling Geary, e-mail messages to Benjamin Klein, 24, 25 October 2011; John Fraser, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 20 October 2010; Janice Crabb, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 19 July 2006; Martha Boessing, telephone interview with Benjamin Klein, 27 July 2006; and Irwin B. Klein, artist's record, n.d., The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. For more information on the Moppet Theater, see John V. Hicks, "The Children's Theatre Company: Raising the Curtain," in *Spotlight on the Child: Studies in the History of American Children's Theatre*, ed. Roger Bedard and C. John Tolch (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989), 159–74. For a brief discussion of Robert Wilcox's career, see "The Photographs of Robert Wilcox," *The Massachusetts Review* 19 (winter 1978): 752.
  15. Patricia Caulfield, "Discovery: Irwin Klein," *Modern Photography*, August 1964, 70–71, 94.
  16. John Szarkowski, curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art, purchased "Minnesota Fire" (acquisition number 1204.1964). Klein donated "'Super-Pop' Artists" (acquisition number 1203.1964). Megan Feingold, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 26 October 2010; and Lyons, ed., *Vision and Expression*, 167. Between 1969 and 1971, *Vision and Expression* was exhibited at the following venues: the Krannert Art Museum at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth; the El Paso Museum of Art; the University of Connecticut; the Philadelphia Museum of Art; the Edmonton Museum of Art; and the Witte Memorial Museum, San Antonio. Eleven photographs from "Enclosures: Manhattan, 1964–1969" appeared in *Liberation* 17, no. 10 (June 1973): 3, 11, 14, 16, 19, 22, 25, 34, 35, and 43. Joseph Struble, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 3 March 2010. "Enclosures: Manhattan, 1964–1969" can be seen at <http://homepage.mac.com/pardass/IRWINKLEIN/ENCLOSURES/index.htm>.
  17. Curator Colin Westerbeck and photographer Joel Meyerowitz define street photography as "any public place where a photographer could take pictures of subjects who were unknown to him, and whenever possible, unconscious of his presence." See Westerbeck and Meyerowitz, *Bystander: A History of Street Photography* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1994), 35. Caulfield, "Discovery," 94; Henri Cartier-Bresson, *The Decisive Moment* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952); John Szarkowski, *Mirrors and Windows* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1978), 100; and Robert Hughes, "Mirrors and Windows," *Time*, 7 August 1978, 83–84. "Minnesota Fire" also appeared in Caulfield, "Discovery," 71; *Photography Year 1979* (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1979), 54; *Creative Camera*, no. 184, October 1979, 354; and Peter Galassi, *American Photography, 1890–1965*, from the Museum of Modern Art, New York (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1995), 244.
  18. Press release for "New Settlers," Baldwin Street Gallery; Coleman, "Latent Image," 17; Robert Altman, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 26 October 2010; and Lisa Law, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 10 October 2010.



19. Tsaarah Litzky, e-mail message to Alan Klein, 24 January 2008. The binder containing the original materials for “New Settlers” is archived in the Photography Collection, Prints and Photographs, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, New York Public Library. See also Jack Domeischel and Anita Chernewski, *Last Look: The Color Photographs of Irwin Klein (1933–1974)* (New York: Domeischel Gallery Ltd., 2010); and Alan Klein, *Only the Dead Know Brooklyn: A Photographic Transmigrative Opera in Five Acts (1972–1974); Plus Other Works* (Estate of Irwin Klein, 2009), [http://web.me.com/pardass/ibk/ONLY\\_THE\\_DEAD\\_KNOW\\_BROOKLYN/ONLY\\_THE\\_DEAD\\_KNOW\\_BROOKLYN.html](http://web.me.com/pardass/ibk/ONLY_THE_DEAD_KNOW_BROOKLYN/ONLY_THE_DEAD_KNOW_BROOKLYN.html).
20. Klein, introduction to “New Settlers.”
21. Donna Elliot, e-mail message to Benjamin Klein, 23 December 2009; and Caroling Geary, e-mail message to Alan Klein, 7 December 2009.
22. Lawrence W. Levine, “The Historian and the Icon: Photography and the History of the American People in the 1930s and 1940s,” in *The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 256–90. For a contemporary reflection on the New Journalism, see Michael L. Johnson, introduction to *The New Journalism: The Underground Press, the Artists of Nonfiction, and Changes in the Established Media* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1971). Scholarly analysis of the New Journalism is scattered and, reflecting the gradual assimilation of the approach into the established genre of investigative journalism, now tends to be called immersion journalism. See James L. Aucoin, “The Re-Emergence of American Investigative Journalism, 1960–1975,” *Journalism History* 21 (spring 1995): 3–12; and Steve Weinberg, “Tell It Long, Take Your Time, Go in Depth,” *Columbia Journalism Review* 36 (January/February 1998): 56–61. Quotation from Coleman, “Latent Image,” 17.
23. Klein, introduction to “New Settlers.”
24. Miller, *The 60s Communes*, 1. For Charles Perry’s awkward attempts to explain the emergence of the Haight-Ashbury nearly twenty years after his participation in the events, see Charles Perry, “Strange Clouds Gather,” chap. 1 in *The Haight-Ashbury: A History* (New York: Vintage, 1985).
25. Klein, introduction to “New Settlers.”
26. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Chicago, Ill.: Aldine, 1969). For sources capturing a longing for perpetual antistructure among diverse counterculturalists, see Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*; Stephen Gaskin, *Monday Night Class* (n.p.: Book Farm/Bookworks, 1970); and Peter Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall: A Chronicle* (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1998). For insightful investigations of the use—and gradual abandonment—of LSD by dedicated countercultural radicals, see David Farber, “The Intoxicated State/Illegal Nation: Drugs in the Sixties Counterculture,” in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and ‘70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), 17–40; and Arthur Theodore Kachel, “An American Religious Community Using Hallucinogens in 1970” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1975). For contemporary criticism of hip radicals’ impractical idealism, see “Peter Van Dresser: Ecologist.”
27. Anthony F. C. Wallace, “Slums in the Wilderness,” chap. 7 in *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, with the assistance of Sheila C. Steen (New York: Random House, 1969; New York: Vintage, 1972). Arthur Kopecky, *Leaving New Buffalo Commune*

- (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 21. For a study of rural communes' trend toward niche specialization in southern New England, with those that failed to specialize therefore becoming collections of unmotivated hangers-on, see Barry Laffan, *Communal Organization and Social Transition: A Case Study from the Counterculture of the Sixties and Seventies* (New York: P. Lang, 1997).
28. On Kopecky's eviction from New Buffalo, see Kopecky, *Leaving New Buffalo Commune*, 198. On the Farm's decollectivization, see Hodgdon, *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius*, 6.75–82; and Miller, *The 60s Communes*, 122–23.
  29. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893* (Washington, D.C.: 1894), 197–227. For an overview of New Western history, see Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). An insightful inquiry into the enduring power of the Turner thesis is William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (April 1987): 157–76. Of course, the new history of the American West did not emerge *sui generis*. For an earlier, counter-triumphalist assessment of the imagined West, see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).
  30. On the clash between producerist and consumerist identities, see Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (1973; repr., New York: Pantheon, 1984); Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1983); and Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward, 2000–1887* (Boston, Mass.: Ticknor, 1888).
  31. Just as the 1960s produced both radical and conservative challenges to Franklin D. Roosevelt's vision of government playing a significant role in an economy grounded in the private ownership of property, so too have radical and conservative scholars glossed Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782) in dramatically different ways. Compare the rendering of the Crèvecoeurian yeoman farmer as a mythical figure that obscures America's multicultural heterogeneity by Gary Gerstle with conservative historian Victor Davis Hanson's celebration of the independence of the Crèvecoeurian yeoman. Gary Gerstle, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans," *Journal of American History* 84 (September 1997): 524–58; and Victor Davis Hanson, "Democracy without Farmers," *Wilson Quarterly* 24 (spring 2000): 68–79.
  32. In the captions for each photograph included in this article, the images in the "New Settlers" series are cited by parenthetical reference to the frame-by-frame numbering system employed by Klein's younger brother, Alan, who maintains the website and created captions for the photographs (see note 5 for web address). The order of pages on the website partly follows that used by Irwin Klein in his manuscript. Note that, instead of indicating inserted pages using hyphenation (as in a series like 9, 9–1, 10), inserted pages on the website carry three digits. For example, the page falling between pages 9 and 10 carries the number "091."
  33. Hugh Romney, "The Hog Farm," *The Realist*, no. 86 (November/December 1969): 18; Hugh Romney quoted in Miller, *The 60s Communes*, 43. This paragraph draws

- on Miller's overview of the group (*ibid.*, 41–43). See also the photograph of the Fourth of July parade, Lisa Law, *Flashing on the Sixties*, 117.
34. For more about the Five Star Ranch, see Miller, "New Mexico's New Communal Settlers."
  35. For observations on sartorial experimentation in the early counterculture, see Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 6. On the loosening of formal manners in public settings in the United States, see Kenneth Cmiel, "The Politics of Civility," in *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 263–90.
  36. Timothy Miller, "The Roots of the 1960s Communal Revival," *American Studies* 33 (fall 1992): 73–93.