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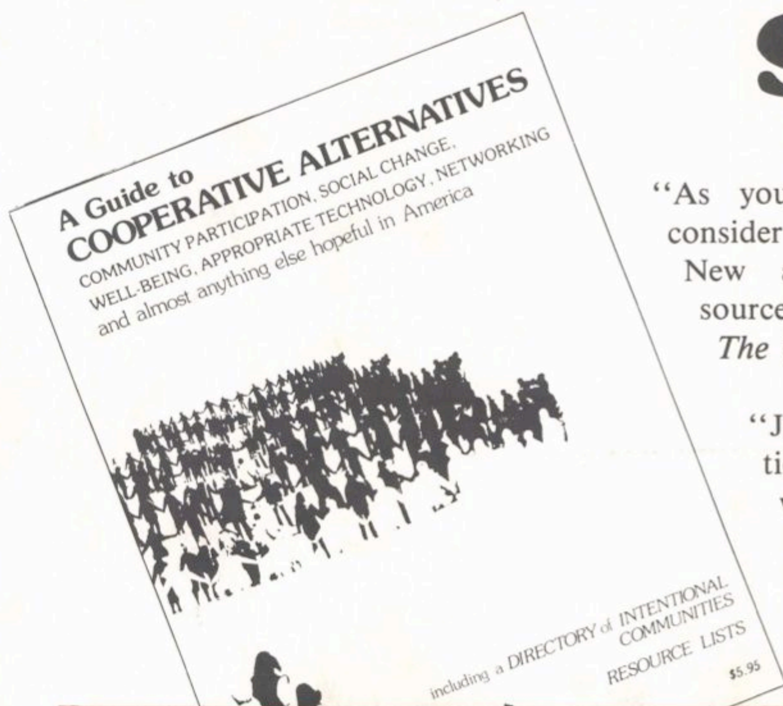

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Winter 1985

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Communities is published quarterly from offices at 126 Sun Street, Stelle, Illinois 60919. Second Class postage paid at Stelle, Illinois with additional entry at New Haven, CT 06511. Send contributions of editorial material to: CPC, 126 Sun Street, Stelle, IL 60919. Communities is $12.00 for one year; $20.00 for institutions. Single copies, $3.00. Add $2.00 for foreign subscriptions. US PS# 006570. Postmaster: Send changes of address to Communities, Journal of Cooperation, 126 Sun Street, Stelle, Illinois 60919.

Communities

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Special Thanks to

Dr. Donald Pitzer
The Advocate Press

Staff

EDITOR
Don Pitzer

PRODUCTION COORDINATOR
Chris Collins

BUSINESS MANAGER
Charles Betterton

EDITORIAL ASSISTANCE
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REACH
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To Our Readers

This is a special issue of *Communities*. It is an attempt to provide insights and perspectives from America's historic communal societies. How did they arise? What were their ideas and ideals? Why did they become communal? Which achieved the most, and why? Which prevailed the longest: What did they contribute to their memebers and the outside world? How can current communitarians and society at large benefit from their positive and negative experiences?

To help answer these questions, we are fortunate to have gotten articles for this special issue. Julia Neal is an authority on the Shakers in Kentucky and Librarian Emeritus of the Kentucky Library at Western Kentucky University. Karl J.R. Arndt is the leading Harmonist scholar, having spent more than forty years studying and collecting materials on the Harmony Society. He is Professor of German at Clark University. Kathleen Fernandez is curator of Zoar Village State Memorial in Ohio. Jonathan Andelson is noted for his research and publications resulting from his close association with the Amana Colonies in Iowa where he is Professor of Anthropology at Grinnell College. Mario DePillis is recognized for his groundbreaking work on Mormonism. He is editor of *Communal Societies* the journal of the National Historic Communal Societies Association and Professor of History at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Robert Sutton is Professor of History and Director of The Center for Icarian Studies at Western Illinois University. Carl Guarneri is a well-known Fourierist scholar and Professor of History at Saint Mary's College of California. Robert Hine, Professor of History at the University of California, Riverside, is author of the classic study of California's historic communal groups, *California's Utopian Colonies.* Professor Hines' graduate student, Michael Dermody, collaborated with him to write the essay published here based on a newly-opened manuscript collection on the Llano community.

I am grateful to Charles Betterton, editor of *Communities*, for his kind invitation to create this special issue on America's historic communal societies. It is our mutual belief that only as we understand the work of those who have gone before can we progress in the most efficient way to build a better future. Furthermore, we are convinced that the connection between those who study and those who live in intentional communities is an essential linkage. With this issue we hope to initiate a dialogue which will be fruitful for both scholarship and communal living. My thanks therefore go to each of the writers and to all of the communitarians who will read and respond to these essays.

Dr. Donald E. Pitzer
Professor of History and Director of the Center for Communal Studies, University of Southern Indiana, Evansville, Indiana 47712
Executive Director, National Historic Communal Societies Association

A Reader's Column . . .

Community Ideas

by Bill Berkowitz

Most intentional communities today have one thing in common; they are newborns. Virtually all their adult residents are older than the communities themselves, while in traditional communities it's the other way around.

No wonder many intentional communities (and many communities in general) lack a sure sense of history. Yet that sense of history, of rootedness, of linkage with the past, can build community stability and strength. If your community is 300 years old, that's a plus; yet history really begins at birth. And so maybe one way to launch a Community Ideas column is to suggest some possibilities for bringing history into the community culture, no matter how old it is.

Could any of these ideas make sense where you live?

• Any community can have a historian—that's a healthy intentional act. The historian's task might include recording members' comings and going, events at key community meetings, construction activities, financial decisions, or purely personal reflections on the community's growth and development.

All this could be part of an official record, which might read like a diary, or like an old-fashioned chronicle. Community members might be free to add to the record as they wish, forming a true group history. And the record could be passed around from time to time, or read out loud, as a source of renewal and hope.

• Someone else could be the community photographer. If families keep albums, communities can too. There could be at least one "class picture" per year, or before-and-after photos of new community projects, or maybe non-photographic objects added to a community scrapbook.

• Almost all communities have a cassette recorder and tapes. That's essentially all you need to start a community oral history, which can be an evolving document. Key members may leave someday, or change their minds, or plain forget. Memory fades, and it fades selectively. But experience right now, both substance and style, can be preserved indefinitely on tape.

It can be a centering experience to listen to your own community's history. Good for little kids, too. And oral histories are easy to do: one good source to give you a start is James Hoopes, *Oral History: An Introduction for Students* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

• Community videos? Community history on film? Well, these may be within reach of many of you. The possibilities here are limitless, to say nothing of promotional uses or potential outside income generation. Any applications you'd like to report?

• In traditional communities, neighborhoods have designed other ways to keep history alive. For example, neighborhood groups in San Francisco have led history walks; Cincinnati has sponsored local landmark competitions. There have been neighborhood oral histories in Rochester, historic home rehab clinics in Galveston, and historic surveys in Roanoke, Alexandria, Virginia, has taken the lead in urban archaeology, with a bona fide down-and-dirty city-funded program.

You may not be ready to spend your spare time digging up artifacts, but some of these ideas might be adaptable at home. An excellent idea source for local history projects in general is the newsletter *Conserve Neighborhoods*, published by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 ($15/year = 10 issues).

•

It's one thing to preserve events that have naturally occurred in the past. But any community can also take a more active role, and set out to make events worth preserving. I'm thinking here of traditions, and rituals and symbols, and the part they play in community life.

As a society, we're short on community traditions. New communities in particular have few traditions to go by. And we miss out: for tradition rightly instilled can provide continuity, security, a feeling of place in the universe. Yet if traditions are lacking, we can create, or recreate, our own:

• Every community has a birthday, or a founder's day, and these are just cause for celebration. What else, with a little imagination?

• There can be ground-breaking day, or open house day, or a periodic communal retreat. There can be special time set aside for young and old to work together, or for outdoor dancing, or for community pie-baking and tasting around.

• We can align ourselves more

COMMUNITY IDEAS

closely with the natural calendar, with solstices, equinoxes, the sun and the moon, as native Americans did before us.

• We can hold reunions, as a public school once did close to where I live, or as a neighborhood near me is planning this fall. We are all community alumni, and every so often it's good to go back and nourish those roots.

• A community can have a logo; or colors associated with it; or distinctive signs about it; or symbolic artwork or sculpture at its entrance. Partly because they are so often lacking, these symbols cut deep.

Clearly, we're just scratching the surface here. Sometimes I wonder too if there's a way to adapt some of the early American customs that once serves so well—the town crier, for instance, or campfires, or quilting bees, or village bells . . .

•

In the next issues, we'd like to start citing come of your own community ideas. We think you as readers and community members have plenty of fresh and workable ideas that need, and deserve, some broader recognition. All of us know more than any one of us; so let's use this column to learn from each other. What ideas have worked for you? Or what could work, if given a chance?

We'll really be glad to learn about your own community ideas, especially small-scale and low-cost ideas, on any community topic at all. We'll acknowledge each one, and starting next time, we'll print as many as we have room for. So, readers, let's hear from you! Drop us a note in care of this column:

Community Ideas, Communities, 126 Sun Street, Stelle, IL 60919.

—Bill Berkowitz

REVIEW

At the Crossroads

A Publication of the Communications ERA Task force

"This is a document with a mission. By providing a concise overview of the dangers and opportunities confronting our society, along with some of the social patterns emerging in response to these realities. Robert Theobald and his cohorts in the Communications Era Task Force (CETF) hope to push discussion of fundamental social change out of the margins and into the mainstream of public debate. After reviewing some of the primary forces that will shape our future (such as computers and telecommunications, physical and ecological limits to growth, the threat of nuclear weapons, changing sex roles, and so on), the authors discuss ways in which people are coming to take more control over such areas as health care, crime prevention, workplace conditions, and investment decisions. They give special attention to new models of lifelong learning, new patterns of work, and new structures of decision-making that are both locally based and globally oriented.

"Although many of the themes may be familiar to social-change activists, what is special about this document is that the ideas are presented in a manner accessible to a wide variety of people. CETF has adopted a unique strategy for circulating the document. Everybody who reads it and agrees with its basic message is encouraged to send in his or her signature and order copies to give to parents, coworkers, legislators and friends. Since we last reported on it, the document has reached a large number of people in this way. A sampling of the signers of an early draft of the document is included in the margins of the booklet. The diversity of its

continued on pg. 59

LETTERS

Keep on keeping on. I enjoy the balanced mix of theory and practical experiences, and variety of subjects. Would like to see more "resources" and perhaps more information/short reports about persons and groups—especially strategies for increased communication, gathering, joining, etc.

Lee Regan
Reston, VA

Six members of the Kerista Megacommune Network from two of our communes, The Purple Submarine and Sanity Mix, attended the National Historic Communal Society Conference (NHCS) in San Diego on October 3-5, 1985. We had a wonderful time and enjoyed meeting the academic historians.

It would be very productive if as many existent communal living groups as possible join the NHCS Association. The dues are only $30.00 per year. The purpose of the association is to study communal socieities, past and present. The scholars we met appear to be very sincere.

Those of us on the psychosocial frontier of equalitarian communal living need and want more and better dialogue with academicians. Our own network will be publishing a course entitled, "Advanced Practical Utopian Theory." We invite scholars, teachers and students to request our free literature describing the course. The course is for study at home or in classroom, and will be especially valuable to people living in intentional communities.

Bro Jud, Planning Director
Kerista Megacommunal Network
San Francisco, CA

Crucibles of Culture

by Allen Butcher

THE STUDY of intentional community is today an academic and experiential discipline which may be entering an intentional phase of its own. As our culture moves inexorably toward an ever more technologized state, we can expect that the psychological and sociological sciences will enjoy greater emphasis as we try to understand how we may direct the growing influences of advancing communications technologies toward addressing the human need for a nurturing, supportive society rather than an entirely competitive one. It is through this query that intentional community is likely to eventually find itself the center of study, as alternative communities become increasingly recognized as being essentially self-determined experimental crucibles of society. These ready-made test tube cultures are among the most complex forms of social organization. In community all the aspects of society and culture exist in a microcosm, creating a high intensity of internal elements. The many, often conflicting forces must be intentionally arranged into a harmony, or at least a symbiotic relationship. This quest for utopia has in the past and may again provide us with sociological and psychological insights for additional application and much greater extension.

The study and promotion of intentional community is a very commendable pursuit, and enjoys growing interest today, with the most active organization arising from the Indiana State University at Evansville history department. The National Historic Communal Societies Association (NHCSA) prints a journal called *Communal Societies* and sponsors annual conferences presenting works of scholars investigating historical and contemporary communities, and presentations by persons currently living in community. The work of this association encourages our awakening to the tradition of forming intentional societies or communities in response to perceived inadequacies in contemporary culture. The NHCSA and the study of community both hold great potential for growth as we consider the role of community in our culture, and work from there to anticipate and perhaps even help to influence the future course of our society. (For more information, write to NHCSA, Indiana State University, Evansville, IN 47712).

The concept of influencing society is a dream which many utopians entertain, and there are instances of this in particular historical community movements which foreshadowed major cultural influences or changes as civilization progressed. Realizing our potential for cultural advancement through active social innovation is to experience that our ideals can be made relevant to and consistent with our lifestyle and society. Alphonse de Lamartine eloquently made this point when stating that, "utopias are often only premature truths."

Examples of aspects of community movements which became major factors in the outside culture as time and social organization progressed, can be found in the experiences of both the religious and secular community traditions. Perhaps the earliest such example is when monasticism served as a spectacle of the self-less individual working for the common good in a feudal world of men grappling for power and wealth.

The most enduring aspect of the monastic tradition is that contributed in large part by St. Benedict in his Rule, which gave a common structure to the monastic movement and encouraged its flourishing. Among many other tenets, Benedict's Rule glorified and systematized labor in community, which eventually brought a paradox upon monasteries as they thus tended to accumulate wealth. This foreshadowed the eventual drive of much of western society, the "Protestant work ethic" which holds that work and material gain thus derived are tokens of God's grace, and the sign of one's membership in the elect. Money became inbued with a new symbolic value, and therefore more important than any other value. As Starhawk wrote in *Dreaming the Dark*, work became an ascetic discipline and, "this asceticism turned with all its force against one thing: the spontaneous enjoyment of life and all it had to offer."

The Industrial Revolution developed the market economy, and the traditional form of human society divided into stable communities began to breakdown. Today even the functions of the contemporary nuclear family are being usurped by the capitalist drive to make a profit through fast-foods, child-care, entertainment, health care, and most everything we used to do for ourselves or in small extended family groups.

With the oppressions of the early Industrial Revolution came the theory of the Cooperative Commonwealth, the first secular community tradition focused upon a society of harmony and brotherly love. Many community movements were founded upon this ideal, Fourierism and the Phalanxes, New Harmony and the Owenite tradition, and others. These community movements failed, but their theory of the cooperative or community commonwealth became the predecessor of our two current mass social movements; socialism and feminism.

These two movements, socialism

"Utopias are often only premature truths."

focusing upon collective industrial production, and feminism focused upon collective domestic production, have sprouted community movements of their own, but the greatest hope of a major growth of communitarian theory in the future is the recombination of these two theories in one society. The current movements most closely following the theories of non-exploitative relationships in both industrial and domestic work areas, are the Israeli Kibbutz and the U.S. Egalitarian Communities.

Certainly the most enduring of community traditions through the ages has been the Christian community movement, and very many Christian community traditions comprise this movement. Besides the continuing monastic societies there are the Hutterite and Mennonite communities surviving since the Reformation. During this era individuals took copies of the Bible from the newly invented printing presses and, through their gathering of congregations and questioning of the spiritual status quo, transformed both religion and politics. The latter as a result of the tradition of individual thought and action moving from battle with the church to battle with the state and its laws, resulting in the new democratic tradition, and eventually the United States of America and its organizational tenets of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We can not forget that the life and teachings of Jesus Christ has been the single greatest inspiration for commercial movements over two millenia. Christianity remains a strong part of the community traditions, and there is much potential for its growth today. Besides those mentioned, other Christian community movements are the Adventist, Catholic, Evangelical, Fundamentalist, Radical Para-Military Christian, and New Age Christian of many forms.

As we may see in this quick historical survey, an analysis of both past and present social forces may present us with an understanding of our cultural direction. If we may see intentional community movements as barometers of cultural condition and trends, then what needs developing is a social science based upon how to read these cultural barometers.

Perhaps the best recent reading of the contemporary communities movement was presented in the March 1983 *Tarrytown Letter* (Tarrytown Group, P.O. Box 222, Tarrytown, NY 10591) summarizing ten elements common to today's movements:

1. A dual commitment to transformation, both personal and planetary;
2. Cooperation, based on sharing, rather than competition;
3. A deep respect for the environment;
4. A spirit of experimentalism, in both work and relationships;
5. A new economics, finding businesses and ways to manage them that put a top priority on human values and still return a profit;
6. Common sense approach to finding practical solutions that work toward conquering society's problems of pollution, inflation, violence and alienation;
7. A holistic approach to health;
8. Building a positive vision and an example for a better society;
9. Self-government by consensus;
10. A world network, cooperating with similar communities throughout the world, forming the vital nucleus of a new civilization.

These items indicate both what problems exist in modern culture and hints as to how society may be structured in order to compensate for these deficiencies. By studying individual communities which best represent novel yet effective systems addressing particular social issues, valuable insights may be gained toward establishing experience based theories applicable to other issues and situations.

A vast range of cultural issues, from addressing problems of the outside world to understanding issues within established communities, are options for research that may best be approached by communities working together and with organizations such as the National Historic Communal Societies Association. Certainly we who live in community are the real experts; we have first-hand knowledge of what community is and the dynamics involved. Yet the collection and study of the experiences of the great range of contemporary intentional communities, and the observation of their development over time, may best be achieved by a neutral, scholastically motivated organization. In addition, networking activities by communities themselves toward aiding each other's development may help strengthen our resolve and give us opportunity for celebrating our efforts, while also contributing to our understanding of what may facilitate our permanence, and what may not. Various regional and special movement networks already exist among intentional communities; The Fellowship of Intentional Communities, The Federation of Egalitarian Communities, The Earth Communities Network, The Network of Light, various Christian community networks, land trust community networks, activist, separatist, minority and other networks. We may hope that all of these will continue to develop and expand in activities and effectiveness.

As we gain experience in cooperation as a culture, we may expect that our social situation can continually be improved. If we place a specific intent upon the ideal of actively creating the best-of-all-feasible societies, we should be able to construct cultural models which clearly do represent advancements in the design of social organization. □

NATIONAL HISTORIC COMMUNAL SOCIETIES ASSOCIATION

Center for Communal Studies
University of Southern Indiana
Evansville, Indiana 47712

Founded in 1974, **The National Historic Communal Societies Association** promotes the study of intentional communities, past and present, and encourages the restoration, preservation and interpretation of the communitarian heritage. The Association facilitates communication and cooperation among academicians, preservationists and communitarians through its administrative headquarters: The Center for Communal Studies. Located at the University of Southern Indiana, the Center is the Association's clearinghouse and repository for communal information, artifacts, manuscripts, photographs, research and publications. The Center is in direct contact with sixty historic and more than two hundred contemporary communal groups in several countries. For information and access, write Dr. Donald Pitzer, Director, Center for Communal Studies, University of Southern Indiana, Evansville, Indiana 47712 (812) 464-1719.

Membership in the Association includes a subscription to the academic journal, *Communal Societies*. Published annually, the journal provides an international, interdisciplinary forum for original research and analysis of historic and current communal groups. The Association also publishes a periodic newsletter to inform members of upcoming events at historic sites, academic conferences and recent publications.

The National Historic Communal Societies Association traditionally holds its annual conference at the site of an historic community. Past conferences have met at New Harmony, the Ephrata Cloister, the Amana Colonies and the Shaker Villages of Hancock, Pleasant Hill and South Union among others. The thirteenth annual N.H.C.S.A. Conference will meet at the Shaker Community of Canterbury, New Hampshire, October 9-12, 1986. If you wish to organize a panel, chair a session, give a paper or make a presentation about your community or research, please contact our program chair: Mr. Richard Kathmann, Shaker Village, Inc., Canterbury, New Hampshire 03224.

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LESSONS from Historic Communal Societies

By Donald Pitzer

Essene site at Qumran, Israel. Dead Sea in background

THE ILLUSION OF UTOPIA

Two thousand years of experimentation have proven communal societies ineffective in the attempt to realize a general utopia. From the Jewish Essene monastic community on the shore of the Dead Sea a century and a half before Christ to the Chinese People's Communes which were abandoned in 1982, both voluntary and involuntary communitarianism have been frustrating routes to utopia. Neither anticipated divine intervention nor the idealistic designs of men has effected utopia from communal roots.

Three simple facts help explain why no government, sect or movement has brought utopia to a wide population by communal means. First, when attempted by governments through political might and ideology, communes and collectives are compulsory, destroying initiative. In the Soviet Union, agricultural production on the collective farms established in the 1930s under Stalin has been in decline. A guide at the former People's Commune in Shenzhen, China, explained recently that the communal system in effect there after 1958 was abandoned because it failed to provide individual incentives. Second, the very definition of a private commune is a reason that communal societies established by religious sects and secular reformers do not effect general utopias. A private commune is a small, voluntary social unit *partly isolated* from the general society in which members share an economic union and lifestyle while attempting to realize their ideal philosophical, governmental, social and economic systems. This often makes them ideal for small-scale experiments but powerless as foundations for large-scale reform. Escape is an inherent element in the communal

approach to social change. No communal group has solved the dilemma of being both adequately *separate from* and yet effectively *involved in* the general society. The third fact is that communal utopias are social laboratories with the limitations laboratory implies. Laboratories are controlled environments. Results that can be produced in laboratories may not and often *cannot* occur in nature or society at large. Utopian plans possible to effect in carefully prescribed circumstances with eager, selected communal volunteers, rarely, if ever, can be made feasible in the unselected and relatively uncontrolled general population. As wit Ashleigh Brilliant once wrote, "The world is a very strange community, but it's the only one we all belong to."

Nevertheless, in their quest for utopia, communal societies as social microcosms have served the broader function of providing essential lessons regarding human nature, human relations and human institutions. While awaiting world-wide utopias of phophetic promise or human construction, communes have embodied utopia and dystopia as "now here" rather than "nowhere". They have provided working models of the value of community, the danger of commitment, the fragile quality of democracy, and the economy of cooperation.

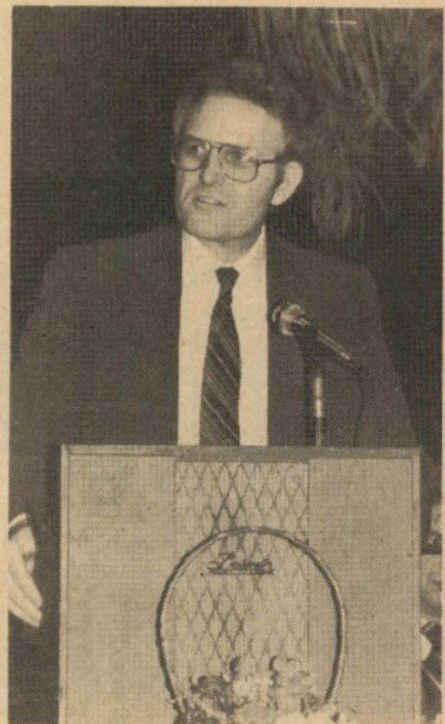
THE VALUE OF COMMUNITY

Communal societies illustrate that mutually deserved trust is the proper foundation for all interpersonal, community, national and international relations. Communitarians have consistently given priority to the qualities of community (*gemeinschaft*) over those of the marketplace (*gesellschaft*). Individual self seeking, impersonal behavior, functionalism and rationality bow to the healing and ennobling attitudes of tenderness, of caring for and respecting others. In communes, genuine, personal, family-like relationships usually predominate.

George Rapp, leader of the nineteenth-century Harmony Society, summarized this attitude in *Thoughts On The Destiny Of Man* (1824). He wrote of his millennialistic community at New Harmony, Indiana, as a place where

> "Those who occupy its peaceful dwellings, are so closely united by the endearing ties of friendship, confidence and love, that one heart beats in all. Here, the members kindly assist each other, in difficulty and in danger, and share with each other, the enjoyments, and the misfortunes of life; and one lives in the breast of another, and forgets himself; all their undertakings are influenced by a social spirit, glowing with noble energy, and generous feeling, and pressing forward to the haven of their mutual prosperity."

The secret of our survival on spaceship Earth may be contained in this simple, communal formula of community. In our urbanized, computerized, depersonalized society, we face selfishness, alienation and aggression that result in isolation, despair and destruction. Communal societies offer the alternatives of affection rather than intimidation, care rather than exploitation and understanding rather than disregard. In such stabilizing, humanizing and healing relationships, self respect can be restored, wounded egos can be repaired and individual worth and dignity regained. Relations between persons and nations are ultimately secure because of mutually deserved trust, not physical defenses. The MX Missile is not an effective



Donald Pitzer Chairing Owenite session at the 10th Annual Historic Communal Societies Conference of the National Historic Communal Societies Association held at New Harmony

"Peacekeeper." In a world in which less than one percent of the available nuclear weapons exploded upon a city could produce a nuclear winter, we desperately need to learn the communal lesson of the relationship of community and trust to survival. Responding to the decades-old proposal that a "Peace Academy" be established would be one positive sign. In this way, individuals could be trained to actively wage peace through understanding and diplomacy.

THE DANGER OF COMMITMENT

Communal societies also warn us that trust has its dark side. Commitment to authority beyond reason and independent moral judgement can be disastrous. The Jonestown, Guyana, suicide-massacre of 900 men, women and children in 1978 is just the most recent and bizarre example in a religious communal tradition that often has stressed full commitment to charismatic leaders. The rule of St. Benedict has governed Benedictine monasticism since the sixth century. It states that if a newcomer "own anything, he must either give it to the poor beforehand, or deed it to the monastary, keeping nothing for himself, for he owns nothing, not even his own body." Fifty-three young women at John Humphrey Noyes' Oneida, New York, community signed the following pledge willingly participating in his eugenic experiment in 1869: "That we do not belong to ourselves in any respect, but that we belong first to God, and second to Mr. Noyes as God's true representative. That we have no rights or personal feelings in regard to childbearing which shall in the least degree oppose or embarrass him in his choice of scientific combinations." Thirty-eight young men signed a similar pledge, and fifty-eight children were produced in the next ten years.

People's commune, Shenzhen, China

Shakers were taught to reject family members who did not adopt the faith. One of their songs reflects this.

> Of all the relations that ever I see
> My old fleshly kindred are furthest from me
> So bad and so ugly, so hateful to feel
> To see them and hate them increases my zeal.

More recently, David Berg has insisted that his Children of God become "Hookers For Jesus." The Reverend Sun Myung Moon of the Unification Church has selected the mates for thousands of his disciples. In 1982, he performed a mass marriage ceremony for more than four thousand at Madison Square Garden.

In her book *Commitment and Community* (1972), Rosabeth Moss Kanter identified continuance, cohesion and control "commitment mechanisms" at work in American communal societies. To demonstrate their commitment, communitarians have confessed problems, failures and doubts to the point of losing inner

privacy by sharing every thought. They have taken oaths and vows. They have undergone tests of loyalty. They have adopted uniforms, worn peculiar hairstyles and shaved their heads. They have abandoned their personal identities, sometimes changing their names. They have accepted the mission and morality of the leader and group as the only source of authority and meaning for their lives. They have practiced celibacy, polygamy, fornication and adultery.

In a classic psychological experiment at Yale University in the 1960s, Stanley Milgram found that sixty percent of his subjects regardless of age, sex, education or socio-economic standing would submit to the instructions of an authority figure backed by authority symbols such as science and institutions. Although under protest, most entered an "agentic state" in which they transferred all moral responsibility to the authority and the cause. We have witnessed demonstrations of this dangerous phenomenon not only in communal societies but also in Nazi Germany, Watergate and My Lai.

As individuals and as nations, we must learn our vulnerability to authority symbols which the communal experience so graphically illustrates. The challenge is to protect our right to judge all institutions, leaders, ideas and actions, regardless of the authority they claim, on the basis of our own best rational, moral and humane standards. To relinquish this right is to put our minds, our liberty and our lives in jeopardy.

THE FRAGILE QUALIFY OF DEMOCRACY

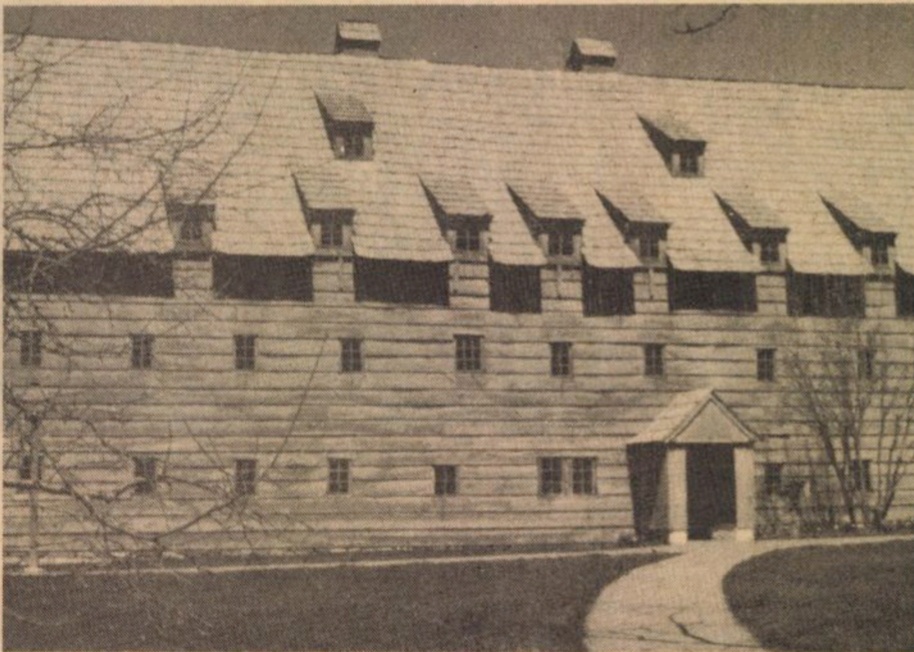
If the communal past warns against overcommitment to authority, it also cautions us to place adequate safeguards around democratic institutions. Communal groups founded upon liberal, egalitarian principles have enjoyed their blessings for a season. Then, when confronted by their intrinsic frailties, they often have experienced an early demise. Almost always nonsectarian, these are the shortest-lived communal groups, although the most numberous.

Of 600 known communes in America from colonial times to 1965, less than half lasted five years or more. Most of these were governed by religious authoritarianism, not secular liberalism. All sixteen communities inspired by Robert Owen abandoned communalism within two-and-one-half years after his New Harmony Community of Equality was begun in 1825. Only three of the more than forty Fourierist Phalanxes attempted in the 1840s and 1850s persisted more than two years. The North American Phalanx in New Jersey lasted 12 years, the Wisconsin Phalanx six and Brook Farm five, only the last two as a phalanx. The Marxist Kaweah and

Mansion House, Oneida, New York

Socialist Llano del Rio communities in California held together for seven and four years respectively.

Of the estimated 100,000 communal groups formed in the United States since 1965, perhaps a maximum of five percent have endured five years or more. Most, like Lou Gottlieb's Morning Star in California, were destined to follow the example of Fruitlands where a commodious few spent several joyous months celebrating life and freedom in 1843, then disbanded. Again, those with a religious base have been the most likely to survive. Notable among the nonsectarian exceptions have been the seven communities associated with the Federation of Egalitarian Communities, Sirius in Massachusetts, The Stelle Group in Illinois and Kerista Village in California.



Saron—sisters' house, Ephrata Baptist Cloister, Ephrata, PA

The liberal, but short-lived, communities usually strive for liberation of body, mind and spirit. They advocate the education and development of each person to the limit of his or her potential. They encourage the expression of ideas fully in open forums. They uphold civil liberties and human rights. They practice equality of sex, race, age and religion. They pursue democratic organization and consensus decision making. They prize individual freedom of choice and action.

Yet such egalitarian communes have evidenced several disturbing characteristics. They usually lack compelling, cohesive philosophies and well-defined membership requirements. Offering no eternal rewards or punishments, they sometimes forfeit mission, purpose and motivation. They often reject leadership for a "do your own thing," hippie-style blend of anarchy and antinomianism. Their management suffers inefficiency. Their meetings may be nonexistent or marathon attempts to reach consensus. Endless debate and factionalism have too often resulted. Early dissolution of the community is the rule.

This dimension of the communal past teaches us that freedom is extremely fragile if not structured carefully about responsibility. A secular society should take notice that secular communes usually have failed to generate the philosophical cement and commitment necessary to endure. If we value democratic systems, individual equality and civil liberty, we might assume the need to foster and maintain a unifying mystique based on widely accepted values, common cultural usages and a recognizable cosmological sanction capable of sustaining national vitality over a long period of time.

THE ECONOMY OF COOPERATION

Economic collectivism in communal societies has proven extremely effective when combined with knowledgable leaders and energetic

members. Religious communities, such as the Ephrata Baptist Cloister, nineteen Shaker settlements, three Harmonist towns, numerous Roman Catholic monasteries and convents and Amana of the Inspirationists, organized about the first-century Christian example expressed in Act 2:44-45. "All that believed were together and had all things common: and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need." Both religious and secular communitarians have used collective economies to insure group survival.

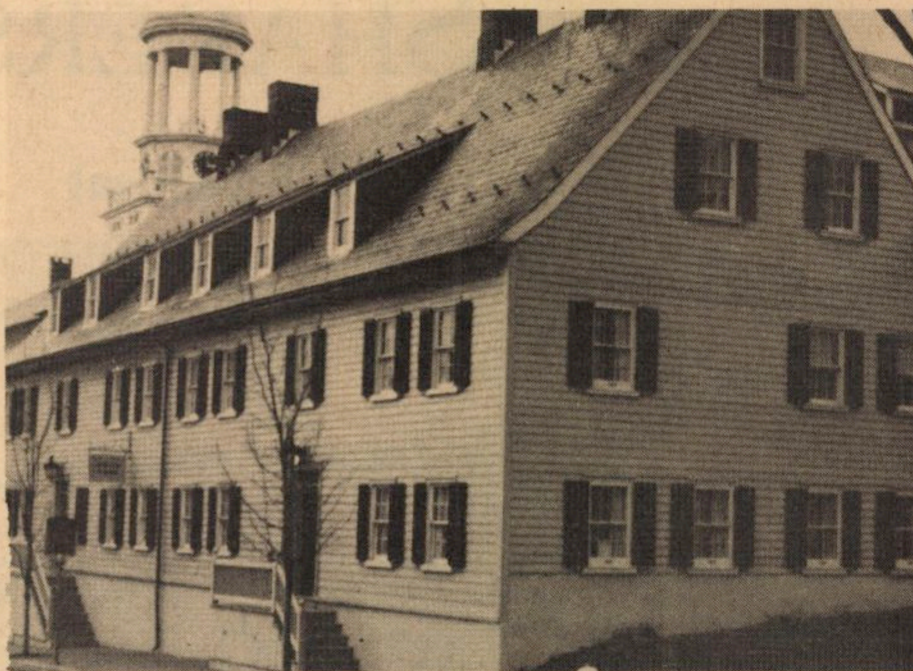
The methods of collectivism have proved economically successful. They have included community of goods, wholesale purchasing, frugal lifestyles, dormitory and apartment-like housing, hard work for long hours in the common cause, reputations for honesty in business and quality products.

From Shaker chairs to Twin Oaks hammocks, from the wool of the Harmony Society to the incense of the International Society For Krishna Consciousness, communal goods have circulated widely and profitably. While at New Harmony between 1814 and 1824, the Harmony Society traded with twenty-two states and ten foreign countries. Two hundred and fifty Israeli kibbutzim exist today in testimony to the effectiveness of their collectism and the quality of their products sold mainly in Europe.

The benefits of collective economies have included not only economic security within the group and insurance in the labor of one's brothers and sisters against illness, injury and old age. They have been full employment, work lightened by comradery, rotation in jobs to avoid boredom and to learn new skills, and involvement with technology on a human scale.

The lesson is clear. Cooperation can be as central as competition to our collective economic development within a humane context.

As we plan for the future, we are wise to apply the lessons of the communal past: the value of community, the danger of commitment, the fragile quality of democracy and the economy of cooperation. While we may acknowledge that communal societies are limited in their ability to produce general utopias, we may agree with Buckminster Fuller's assessment that we have no third choice between utopia and oblivion, words he chose to title his 1969 book. As Kenneth Rexroth expressed the idea in *Communalism* (1974), "Today we realize that social change must move toward a rather clearly envisaged future or it will move toward disaster. It is either utopia or catastrophe." □



Gemeinhaus (Community House) 1741. Originally white oak log, covered with siding in 1868.

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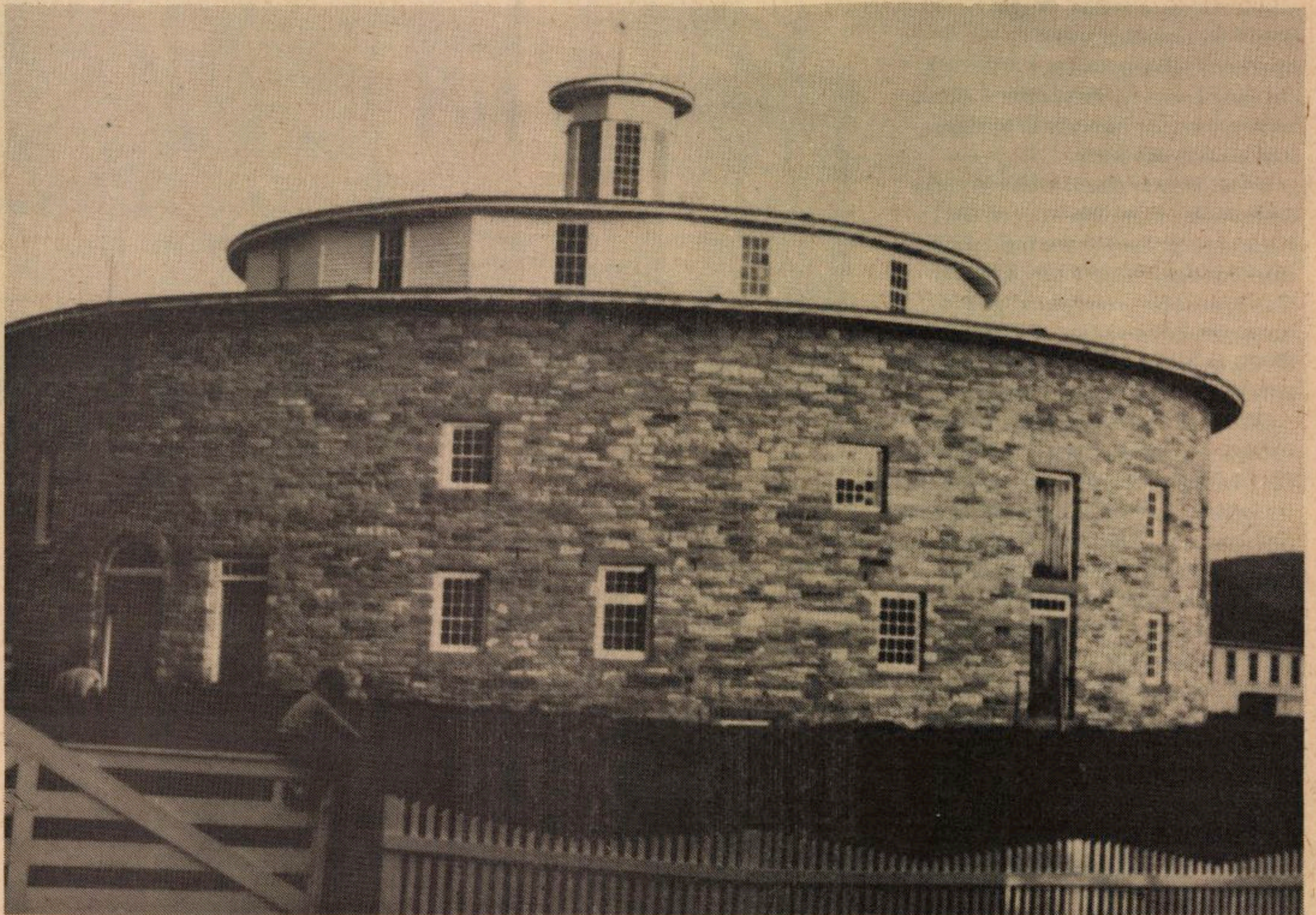
THE AMERICAN SHAKERS

by Julia Neal



Shaker round barn, Hancock Shaker Village, Pittsfield, Mass.

THE SUMMER OF 1774 was not the best of times for Ann Lee and her eight English followers to come to the American colonies where anti-British feelings were climaxing. Known first as the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, the members kept a low profile as they went about seeking ways to support themselves.

Two years later the group, along with some additional recruits from England, moved seven miles northeast of Albany, New York, to a tract of land provided by John Hocknell, the only person of means among them.

Here at Niskayuna, later to be called Watervliet, Ann further instructed her followers and carried on her missionary endeavors in the immediate area.

At the end of the Revolution, Ann and her elders went forth on an extended missionary tour throughout the Eastern colonies where a great religious awakening was being felt. But the strange new doctrines of celibacy for everyone, community ownership of property, the duality of Christ, and pacifism advocated by the recent English subjects stirred up considerable animosity resulting in severe persecution. But on the other hand, the teachings of these social and religious enthusiasts attracted numerous inquirers as well as converts.

The deaths of both Ann and her brother William in 1784, and the death of her successor, James Whittaker, two years later, gave surprisingly little pause to the increasing vigor of the Believers. Because of the "laboring or marching" of their songs, they were given the derisive name of "Shaking Quakers" or Shakers.

The leadership fell for the first time to an American convert Joseph Meacham, a former Baptist minister and revival leader. Immediately Meacham named a woman, Lucy Wright of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, as co-leader. Under their joint direction, two New York societies were formally organized by the end of 1787. These were New Lebanon and Watervliet. By 1794, only twenty years after the arrival of the English Believers, eleven communities had been established in the East. By the early 1800's seven other communities had been "ingathered" in Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky. During the 1830's and '40's Shakerism peaked.

Although many other communal societies, ranging from A(mana) to Z(oar), became commonplace throughout nineteenth century America, the Shakers have been the longest-lived. They celebrated their bi-centennial in 1974, two years before that of the Republic itself.

Although few in number today, there are Shaker sisters remaining in Canterbury, New Hampshire, and Sabbathday Lake, Maine. Since the death of Brother Delmar Wilson, December 15, 1961, there have been no covenant brothers. Today Canterbury is the head or Mother society with Eldress Bertha Lindsay being the official eldress. An incorporated Foundation now helps to administer the United Society's business.

Throughout its history the Shaker organization has shared some beliefs and practices with other communal groups, but there are also certain distinctive Shaker characteristics. The combined leadership of Lucy Wright and Joseph Meacham signaled that women were to have equal standing with the men. The official ministry of each society contained two eldresses as well as two elders. Each separate organized family had its own eldress and elder, its deaconess and deacon to direct its spiritual and material affairs. Shaker records are full of references to women keeping the official records, conducting services, and contributing their share of sales items, such as carpeting, wool and silk textiles, straw bonnets, palm leaf fans, and knitted "footings."

Also there was an interchange of work between the men and women. For example, women filled, pasted, and packed the thousands of seed papers for the men's seed industry; whereas the men helped gather and transport the fruit

. . . it is true that Shakers never have been clingers to the old ways. Instead they were among the first to get running water into their houses, to substitute steam engines for horse power, and to try out newly invented machinery.

which the women dried, canned, and preserved for the market and for home use. The extensive herbal industry was also a cooperative affair. During the heavy building program, women did much of the interior painting.

Further evidence of the Shaker democracy was the admitting of blacks as members. Slaves who came in with their Kentucky owners were given their freedom many years before the Thirteenth Amendment was written.

Nineteenth century foreign visitors to the States found the Shaker experiment to be of great interest, and their published travel accounts gave for the most part a favorable view. Most were impressed by the Shaker cleanliness and orderliness. In his 1817 journal John Palmer reported that "these eccentric people own the best farms we have seen in America." He also noted that "their cows and horses look remarkably well."[1] In 1837 a correspondent for the English *Penny Magazine* wrote that the "Shaker windows were so clear they seem to have no glass in them."[2] He also reported that the wood was "piled up in piles supported by some corner posts. Not a chip was astray, not a log awry."[3] As for the Shakers themselves he noted "the caps of the women and the collars of the men were white as snow." The English editor Hepworth Dixon agreed with the Ohio historian J.P. MacLean that travelers could tell when they had reached Shaker property because of the clean roads, trim hedges, and well kept fences. Dixon noted the buildings were of solid appearance with no ornamentation. He concluded "the men put their love into their daily life."[4]

The Shaker builders encouraged cleanliness and orderliness by placing a peg strip along the walls of all rooms and halls, where articles not in use could be placed. The light-weight straight chairs could also be hung to make for easier floor cleaning. Many rooms contained built-in cabinets with shelves and drawers of varying depths. On the top floor of some buildings the entire long hallway held built-in storage for offseason clothing, spare linens, and blankets.

Visiors found the barns and shops had unusual utilitarian features. Dixon was impressed by the large New Lebanon barn of five levels, three of which could be entered from the ground. He thought the barn was of "happy contrivance"[5] and he wrote "The granary is to the Shakers what the temple is to the Jew."[6] The large

Archway on 2nd floor, Centre Family House (1824) South Union, Kentucky. (Photographer, James L. Ballard; collection of Susan Jackson Keig)

round stone barn at Hancock near Pittsfield, Massachusetts, stands today as an architectural wonder. It exhibits many useful features, such as the small trap doors in the cow stalls, which can be opened just over the manure pits.

Society members were expected to place all objects where they could be found by night as well as by day. The precept was "A place for everything, and everything in its place." Furthermore, all tools and utensils were to be cleaned before being replaced.

The most often quoted maxim of Mother Ann was "Hands to work, hearts to God." Thus Shakers learned to equate work with worship and to understand that to do well economically was to worship God aright. The resulting work program was constant and heavy, but it was lightened now and then with corn huskings, log rollings, grubbing bees, and spinning frolics, all folk customs of the times. There were also picnics and "ride-outs" to the woods. Some evenings the ministry would announce a singing meeting or an evening of conversation between the brothers and sisters of a family.

"Hearts to God" called for honesty in all business dealings. A prospective buyer of Shaker livestock was to be told of any defect the animal might have. Once when examining some recently contracted lumber, the South Union, Kentucky, trustees found it to be of better quality than expected, so they voluntarily paid the difference in price. Eldresses Anna White and Lelia Taylor described a Shaker trustee as one who "neither cheats nor means to be cheated—keeping the top, middle, and bottom of the layer equally good in every basket or barrel of fruit and vegetables sent to market under his name."[7]

The religious teachings expounded by the ministry were based not only on Mother Ann's maxims but also on the New Testament teachings of Christ. the counterpart of the Biblical "Be not slothful in business" is "Do all your work as if you were to live forever and as if you were to die tomorrow." To live forever would give time for hides and lumber to cure properly before being used. To die tomorrow would doubtless result in workmanship that would be acceptable to the eternal judge.

Shakers learned to equate work with worship and to understand that to do well economically was to worship God aright.

The early Society work programs consisted of milling, tanning, coopering, growing crops, setting orchards, raising livestock, going on buying and selling trips, shoemaking, weaving, and tailoring, and constructing major as well as accessory buildings, and making the essential furniture.

The self-reliant Shakers who had to meet their own needs have been responsible for many inventions, few of which were ever patented. Among these are the wooden clothespin, the flat broom, the apple parer and pea sheller, the revolving oven, the double stove, a window sash balance, the metal pen point, both the one-tongued and the dumping wagon, Babbitt metal, cut nails, and the revolving harrow. Also machines were invented for packaging seeds, reeling silk, weaving palm leaf, and for splitting wood needed in basket and box making.

Sometimes the Shaker craftsmen secured the right to improve on another man's invention. An example is the improved washing machine which won an award at the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition.

Humaneness and charity were hallmarks of Shakerism. An early example of their compassion is found in the travel journal of Issachar Bates kept on the initial Shaker missionary journey to the West in 1805. Bates, along with John Meacham and Benjamin Seth Youngs, stayed one Saturday night at a Tennessee tavern. There they learned about a young man who had been traveling with a party of movers to the West when he struck his knee with an axe and developed gangrene. Left alone in a cabin, the young man had died. Going to the cabin the Shakers found "a real horrid sight, his dung that he lay in nearly covered his rump and both legs were rotten."[8] Realizing no one else was

"Do all your work as if you were to live forever and as if you were to die tomorrow."

meeting the need, the Eastern missionaries obtained a tub of water and a bed sheet from the tavern. Then they washed and wrapped the body for burial.

Charity was frequently extended by the Shakers to any poor and hurting neighbor or to a traveler in need. It is customary today for the Canterbury sisters to invite one or two lonely people to share a Christmas dinner.

Shakers also put emphasis on health. They compounded herbal elixirs and created special ventilation devices such as shafts, fans, drafts, and vents in all buildings. They built stairways as air funnels. Proper ventilation together with consumption of fresh fruit and vegetables and treatment with herbal medicine help explain the remarkable longevity enjoyed by many Shakers at a time when the average life span of Americans was short.

The gift to be simple is apparent in the lack of ornamentation on their furniture, handicrafts and buildings. However, late Victorianism did have its influence on the waning societies, decorative wooden porches were added to some dwelling houses and further "updating" is found in the use of wallpaper and floor varnish and in the replacement of the early wooden chest knobs with porcelain ones.

Although such changes seem regrettable, it is true that Shakers never have been clingers to the old ways. Instead they were among the first to get running water into their houses, to substitute steam engines for horse power, and to try out newly invented machinery. As the nation moved into the age of the automobile and the telephone, so did the Shakers. Anything that expedited the work program was looked upon with favor. Today's societies have their modern appliances and their radios, TV sets, and tape recorders.

Society records reveal that communities stayed abreast of national trends, taking an interest in spiritualism, water cures, whole grain breads, and temperance. Society subscriptions to state and national newspapers and periodicals helped keep the communal members informed. The ministry and trustees returned from trips bringing news of devices or practices which might benefit the societies.

It is a common misconception that the children living in a celibate society must be illegitimate. Such an idea is far from true. In the early years a couple joining the Society might bring with them eight to twelve children. Many of these lived out their lives as Shakers and became future leaders. Groups of children left parentless from war or nineteenth century epidemics were accepted. Widows of that period who had no ready means of support often came in with several children. Living parents might apprentice children to learn a trade and to be educated. It was made clear, however, that the society would not keep rebellious or unteachable children. There were times when a Society census showed more children than adults.

Children received a good education in all the usual school subjects. Innovative teaching techniques such as the Lancasterian system of "monitorial" education were introduced. Of course the leaders hoped the training and care of the children would lead to their becoming covenant members at age twenty-one. Many children did remain permanently, but many more left. The growth of cities with job opportunities and the opening of Western lands attracted not only the youth but many adults. Also the widespread enthusiasm of nineteenth century Utopian living was gradually fading, resulting in the closing of many of the American social and religious experiments.

It is remarkable that fifteen of the original nineteen Shaker communities lasted into the twentieth century. Of these thirteen closed between 1907 and 1960, leaving Canterbury and Sabbathday Lake as functioning societies today.

The Shaker way of life has made many significant contributions to American culture. Among these have been the first packaging and marketing of garden seeds, the early manufacturing and marketing of herbal medicines, improved methods of farming and raising of livestock, many

mechanical inventions, and the nation's only successful silk culture.

Today's architects and furniture designers who stress functionalism are merely applying an old Shaker principle. A growing awareness of Shaker gift drawings and songs is now apparent. But the most significant of all Shaker contributions has been their preserving the best virtues of the American colonizing spirit: simplicity, honesty, self-reliance, fortitude, love of industry, and the capacity for holding fast to convictions."[10] □

Footnotes

1. *Journal of Travels to the United States,* (London: Sherwood, Neeley, & James). p. 92.
2. *Penny Magazine*, p. 446.
3. Ibid.
4. *New America*, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1867). p. 302.
5. Ibid. p. 303.
6. Ibid. p. 304.
7. *Shakerism: Its Meaning and Message*, (Columbus, Ohio: Fred J. Heer, 1904). p. 312.
8. Batts Issachar, *Sketch of Life and Experience* (copy by Betsy Smith) Mss. Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University.
9. South Union House *Journal A* (1804-1836) Jan. 18, 1819. Mss. Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University.
10. Neal, Julia, *By Their Fruits,* (University of North Carolina Press). 1947. p. 269.

Newall post and handrail in Ministry's Workshop (1846) South Union, Kentucky.

George Rapp's HARMONY Society

BY KARL J.R. ARNDT

Economy.

The achievement of the Harmonists were enormous. They carved three well planned and well managed towns out of the American wilderness; Harmony, Pennsylvania (1804-1814), New Harmony, Indiana (1814-1824) and Economy, Pennsylvania (1825-1916). Their farms were models of production and maintenance. Their cattle and sheep were of the best breeds. They developed nurseries and orchards and supplied their neighbors accordingly. Their factories were constantly improved by sending their representatives to other factories and industrial exhibitions to study improvements. They supplied their textile factories with the best of wool and cotton, so that their products were in great demand down the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. The same applied to their beer, wine, and whiskey. Their silk production was famed and won prizes at national exhibitions in Philadelphia and New York. With Edwin Drake they were the first to drill for oil on their lands at Tidioute, Pennsylvania.

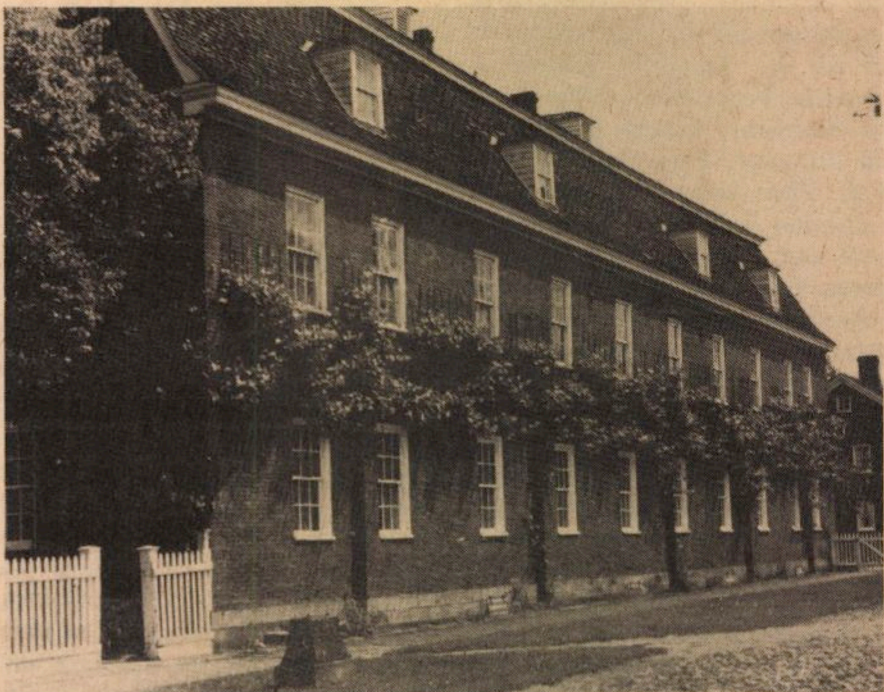
Because of the great wealth their industrious communalism produced, the Harmonists became owners of steamboats and a railroad. They became bankers who loaned money to the state of Indiana, to towns, and many individuals. They were communists only within the invisible but very effective walls of their towns, which protected the religiously, linguistically and racially segregated congregation from the degrading influences of the world. Their communism ended at their border because all their funds, inheritances from Wurttemberg and money income from their crafts or mills went into the common treasury. These funds were controlled first by Frederick Rapp and then by Father George Rapp, the Harmonist leader who had adopted him. Both were shrewd capitalists who dealt as equals with such men as the Du Ponts and

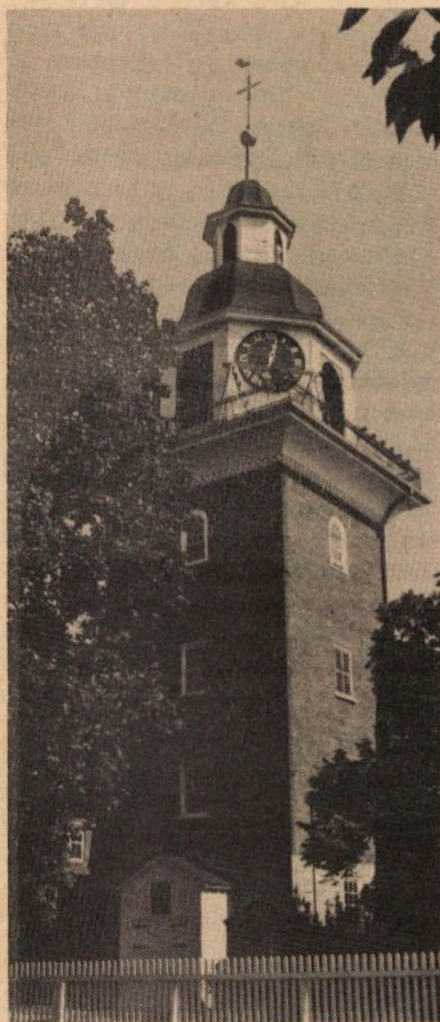
Frederick Rapp's greatest worry was to keep their wealth from the members and the public.

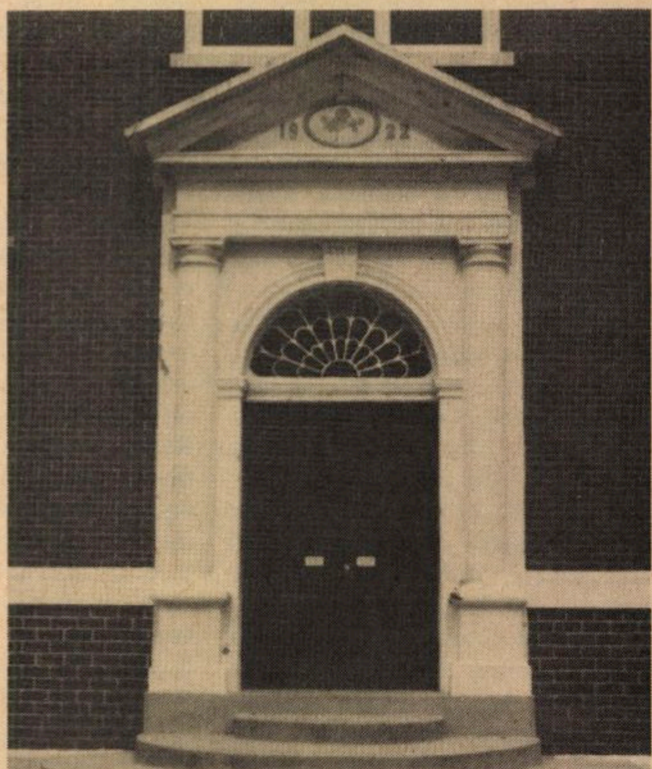
Nicholas Biddle, President of the United States Bank in Philadelphia. Their records of capitalist loans outside the Society were well kept by the Rapps and their successors. All sales of the Society were handled by agents on a commission basis, and these accounts were regularly audited by the Rapps. As the correspondence with the banker J. Solms in Philadelphia proves, Frederick Rapp's greatest worry was to keep their wealth from the members and the public. For this reason secret accounts were opened in Philadelphia. When Jacksonian Democracy greatly endangered the financial stability of the nation, the Rapps established a gold and silver buried treasury by an arrangement with the United States Bank in Philadelphia which provided them with British specie at a special rate. Thus the Harmony Society for a critical period of United States history was financially sounder than the United States government under Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren. These political developments strengthened Father Rapp's standing with his congregation because he could preach sermons on appropriately selected texts from the Bible of Martin Luther and apply them to current events.

The ideas of the Harmonists were conceived and expressed in the Swabian German of their native Wurttemberg. They were based on the verbally inspired Word of God as given to the German people by Martin Luther, that is the original Martin Luther text, not the misimproved German versions published in Germany later. The King James version of the Word of God is also misleading for an understanding of the Harmonists. In each of the three towns built by the Harmonists, the Swabian dialect was the language of communication and thus provided an effective means of separation, guarding against the "corruption" of the Anglo-Americans. George Rapp was their inspired prophet and interpreter of the Word of God as based on Martin Luther's original German Bible. We must read George Rapp's letters and sermons in German and the Book of Revelation of St. John the Divine to understand that his Separatists in Wurttemberg were the incarnation of the Sunwoman whose various flights into the wilderness of America were in obedience to prophecy, and that even the establishment of the Harmony Society in 1805 was the offspring of the Sunwoman who fled into the wilderness. Even the schism which developed in the Harmony Society in 1832 due to the appearance of the false Messiah, Count de Leon, was prophesied in the lines that the dragon's tail swept the third of the stars from heaven and cast them to the earth.

The institution of celibacy which the Society adopted in 1807 is explained in Rapp's reading of Martin Luther's text describing the creation of man as a biune creature. It was the rebellion of the female element in this biune creature that disturbed the pre-established harmony of man and with the coming of the Millennium the original harmony would again be restored and all things would be renewed to the state that had first existed. Celibacy therefore was the state in which the Harmonists should live prior to the Second Coming. The coming of this Golden Age was the meaning of the Golden Rose with its inscription of Micha 4: 8 which Frederick Rapp carved into the







Above—church.
Upper right—Feast Hall
Lower left—Door to Harmonist Church with golden rose, New Harmony, Indiana.

lintel above the church door at New Harmony. The meaning of this beautiful symbol can be found only in Martin Luther's original text and not in later German or English translations.

The idea of communism was taken from the example of the first century Christian Church as described in the Acts of the Apostles. This idea of communism and its implementation in practice is outlined in their Articles of Association of 1805 reprinted in my *Harmony on the Connoquenessing*.

My interest in the Harmony Society began with the discovery and acquisition of the posthumous papers of Dr. J.G. Goentgen. Goentgen was the former Chief Librarian of the Free City of Frankfurt on the Main and then private secretary of Bernhard Muller Proli, (later named the Count de Leon, the Imperator in Chief of the Millenium and the Messiah) whom George Rapp invited to his Economy, Pennsylvania in 1831 in full expectation that he was the one promised with the beginning of the Golden Age. The importance of this discovery of Goentgen's papers might be measured by the fact that since then I have published eight books on the Harmony Society and am now preparing the ninth, in which I shall document the important influence of the Harmony Society on Friedrich Engels, co-author with Karl Marx of the Communist Manifesto. They began this Manifesto in the year of George Rapp's death, when a Pittsburgh newspaper in its obituary of the Harmonist prophet stated that "the Greatest Comminist of the Age is gone."

My first two books, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* and *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916* were a narrative history of the Society. They sketched its history from the early period of migration to America after

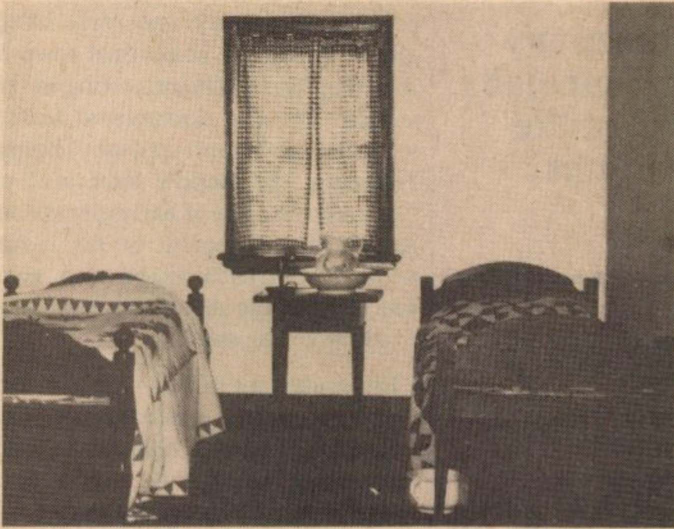
. . . the Harmony Society was financially sounder than the United States government . . .

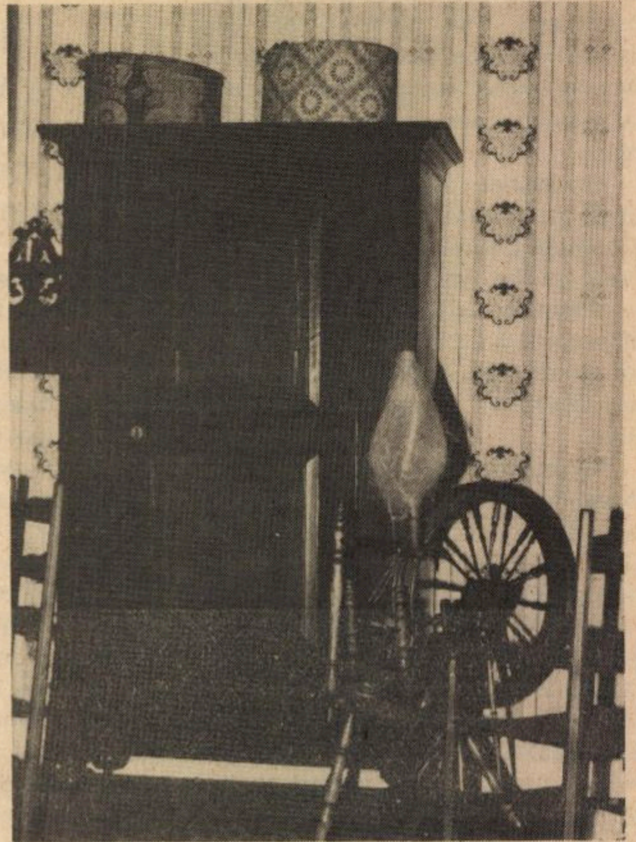
1803 to the final days of its legal existence when the last male trustee, John Duss, abandoned his trust and used the funds of the Society to take the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra on a coast to coast tour of the United States so that he could pose as its director in reflected glory in a well tailored cutaway and bask in the light of the American press which was well directed by his agent. Because from the start I had wished to publish a documentary history of the Harmony Society in which the original records and persons involved would themselves speak, I revived George Rapp's Harmony Society press and published in German and English *George Rapp's Separatists, 1700-1803, Prelude to America. Separatists* documents in depth the history of the Harmony Society from its start as a church of the brethren and thus justifies the later complaint that Rapp usurped too much authority for himself. It also documents the evolution of the idea that Rapp's group was the incarnation of the Sunwoman of the Apocalypse which was destined to flee into the wilderness. America was this wilderness, and this is documented in their emigration songs. Most American historians are averse to or ignorant of the Biblical fundamentalism in Harmonist history.

My second documentary history of the Harmony Society covered Rapp's first American settlement: *Harmony on the Connoquenessing, 1803-1815.* It documents the move to the frontier land in Butler County, Pennsylvania and the gradual evolution of the communal treasury and early struggles in building a communal town in America. Especially interesting in this volume are the documents dealing with George Rapp's call on Thomas Jefferson and Rapp's later visit to Congress. In spite of early dissension, Rapp's firm direction of his industrious Swabians brought such great success that the American economist Mathew Carey stated:

> The settlement of Harmony in the western country, was conducted on this plan. This little commonwealth depended wholly on itself for supplies. It had, to use the cogent language of Mr. Jefferson, 'placed the manufacturer beside the agriculturist.' What was the consequence? The settlement made more rapid advances in wealth and prosperity, than any equal body of men in the world at any period of time, more, in one year, than other parts of the United States, which depend on foreign markets for the sale of their produce and the supply of their wants, have done in ten."

Despite such progress, there were reasons dictated by prophecy in the Book of Revelation for the Sunwoman to move again and to leave the comforts of the newly established town of Harmony. To understand why Rapp could motivate his people to obey the words of Revelation, one must read his German letters, sermons and poems and must understand Luther's German Bible. In Rapp's world all prophecy was interpreted in the light of current events. These were increasing upon them the pressure of conscription in Europe and America. A large number of followers in Wurttemberg therefore were coming to America and Rapp needed more land to accomodate them, so a commission was sent westward to find lands which would





Above—Baker house, family dwelling
Upper right—George Rapp's spinning wheel, Gertrude Rapp bedroom in Great House
Below—Feast Hall, where love feasts were held

make possible greater expansion. This second flight of the Sunwoman into the wilderness was explained to the world as their desire to find a better climate for the development of their viniculture. As soon as the commission of exploration for new lands had purchased the desired property on the Wabash River in the Indiana Territory, an advance group of Harmonists was sent down the Ohio on flat and keel boats. They began preparing the second settlement, New Harmony, for those Harmonists who had remained on the Connoquenessing to manage the factories and farms left to be sold later and for those who were coming from Wurttemberg. Under the direction of George and Frederick Rapp, this transfer of some eight hundred Swabians to the Indiana frontier was completed successfully. It included cattle, horses, chickens, geese, dogs, various kinds of trees, plants, and vines. Careful lists were always kept of shipments. To keep up the spirits of his divided flock or congregation, George Rapp composed in German a song to the Wabash which reminded them that they would soon again be united on that beautiful river.

During the Indiana decade the Harmonists repeated the miracle by which they had called forth the above cited praise of the American economist Matthew Carey. To begin with, Frederick Rapp served as a member of the Indiana Constitutional Convention of 1816. He later served on the commission which decided on and planned the location of Indianapolis as capital of the state. Harmony on the Wabash was soon referred to as "That Wonder of the West". This was due to the fact that in establishing their settlements the two Rapps followed the pattern of Wurttemberg villages in which all crafts were represented. Swabians lived in villages from which they tended their farms. By contrast, American farmers usually lived alone on their larger lands and thus had to provide for their many needs by making themselves masters of various crafts.

. . . the Swabian dialect was the language of communication and thus provided an effective means of separation. . .

In Indiana the Harmonists encountered the rugged individualism of the Anglo-American frontiersmen, who were jealous of their success and disapproved of their celibacy. The Harmonists were particularly offended by the fact that they could not find justice when litigation usually resulted in decisions against them because juries were composed of Anglo-Americans. Their objections to doing military service also counted against them. During the Indiana decade many of Rapp's followers who had come from Wurttemberg to join his Society were dissuaded before they could reach him in the West by unfavorable reports about his severity and celibacy. One large group under the direction of Joseph Baumler decided to accept an offer of land in Ohio from Godfrey Haga which had previously been offered to George Rapp, who did not accept it because he was told it was too far from markets and too near the Indians. Although these Wurttemberg followers of George Rapp did not join him on the Wabash, the Rapps gave them advice and help in creating their own establishment at Zoar in Ohio. The two Societies always were in close friendly contact with each other and their members frequently exchanged visits.

As the Indiana decade of the Harmonists came to a close in 1824, the time of the second flight of the Sunwoman into the wilderness was ending. As stated in the Book of Revelation, she had given birth to a child which the dragon wanted to destroy and that child was the Harmony Society, so the word of God came to George Rapp again and accordingly in obedience to it he prepared to move his faithful Harmonists to a third place which the Lord God should reveal to him. A commission of the Harmonists went forth under God's direction, who enlightened their minds and guided them. A third location was found on the Ohio north of Pittsburgh, and in this location they were to build the Divine Economy, as is revealed in George Rapp's letters and book, *Thoughts on the Destiny of Man,* an English translation of his *Gedanken uber die Bestimmung des Menschen.*

An advance group of Harmonists especially chosen for their ability to prepare the new settlement was sent ahead under the direction of George Rapp to prepare the third settlement on the Ohio for those who remained on the Wabash to keep that second settlement in production so as to provide the needed income which was needed to finance the third settlement. This time their combined industry had provided sufficient funds to place an order for the building of a steamship of their own, the *William Penn,* then the best on the Ohio and built according to the specifications of the best authority of the time, Captain Shreve. Because this period of transition was of longer duration and involved the sale of Harmony on the Wabash to Robert Owen of New Lanark, Scotland, who had great plans of outdoing the Harmonists on their well built second town, I have published a special documentary history of this period: *Harmony on the Wabash in Transition, George Rapp to Robert Owen: 1824-1826.* Previous to Robert Owen's purchase, the Harmonists

had offered their well established second town to Mordecai Noah, who at that time was trying to establish a central home for the Jews, but his choice fell upon a location in the state of New York.

George Rapp's third settlement proved to be the best of their locations. I have devoted my sixth documentary history, ***Economy on the Ohio, 1826-1834,*** to George Rapp's third American Harmony. In this period of international fame and success the time of the Sunwoman in the wilderness had ended and the millennium was to begin. Timed almost miraculously, the Messiah Bernhard Muller Proli, also named Count de Leon, through his learned private secretary, the former Chief Librarian of the Free City of Frankfurt, announced to George Rapp that he had arrived to take over as the Imperator in Chief. He had announced his advent to all the European potentates, including the Pope.

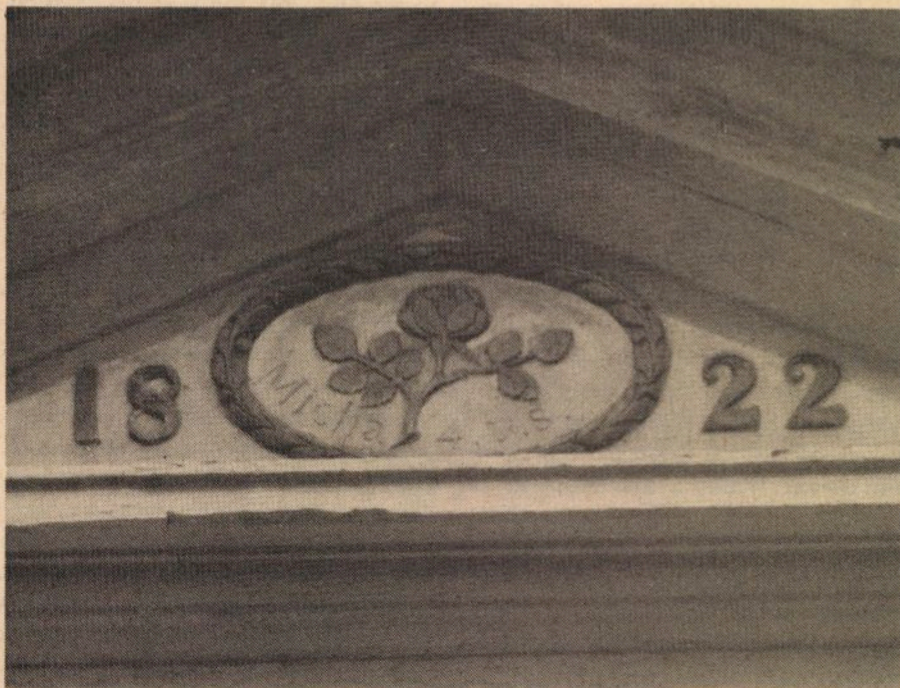
Harmony on the Wabash was soon referred to as "That Wonder of the West."

George Rapp humbly announced to his Harmonists that this was the person who was to carry on and lead his Harmonists in the future. In 1831 he invited the Messiah to Economy in good faith, and the Harmonists received him in good faith, but he soon revealed himself to be a false Messiah and instead the Dragon foretold in the Revelation of St. John the Divine who with his tail swept a third of the stars from the heavens and cast them to the earth.

A schism, in fact, followed the false Messiah's arrival. The Harmony Society actually lost a third of its members in 1832, so George Rapp, recognizing his error in inviting the Count quickly reconciled himself and his remaining faithful by citing the prophecy about the dragon and his casting a third of his Harmonists to the earth. Those who continued to believe in the Count de Leon, soon came to grief under his leadership. He and his faithful secretary as well as some of the most cultured and wealthy families of Frankfurt who had come with him fled to Louisiana to establish a town. Again according to prophecy, the town was to be located on the same latitude as Jerusalem, and became known as Germantown near Minden. There they built the log cabins in which many years later I discovered the remains of the Count's precious library and the papers of the former Chief Librarian of Frankfurt.

Those Harmonists who had remained loyal to George Rapp kept control of the Divine Economy and were well cared for and prospered as long as they remained faithful to the preaching of their unshaken leader and prophet. They continued to grow in wealth and prospered until the Society was dissolved.

What lessons can be learned from the Harmony Society? George Rapp himself gives us the answer shortly before a Pittsburgh newspaper celebrated him as "The Greatest Communist of the Age." He discouraged persons who wanted to join them because the age of faith and obedience to that faith had disappeared. At age 89 in 1847 his last words spoken to the Harmonist member who watched with him in his hour of death were: "If I did not so fully believe that the Lord has designed me to place our society before his presence in the land of Canaan, I would consider this my last." □

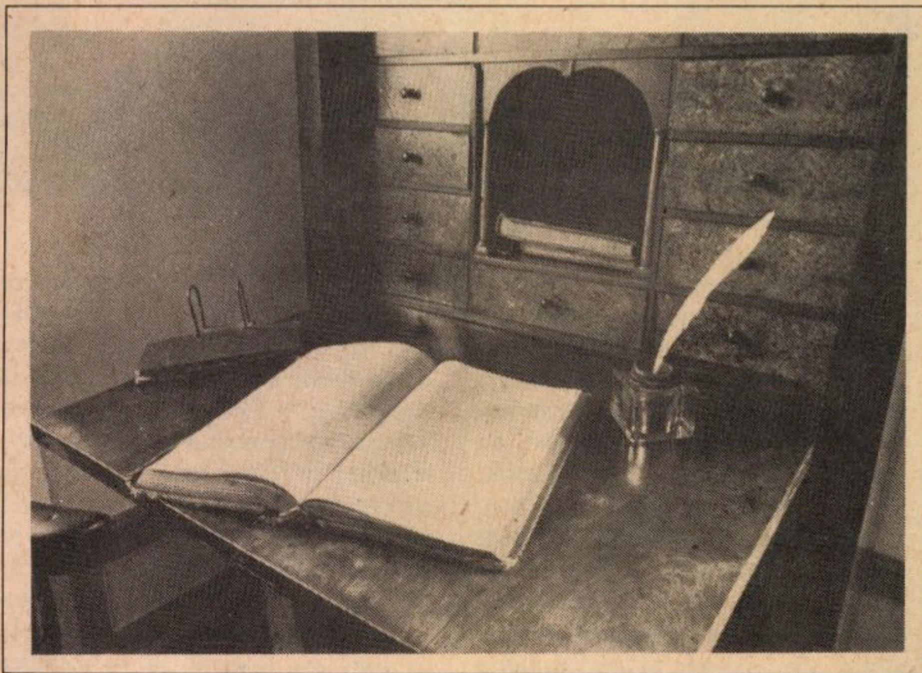


Golden rose over door of Harmonist Church, New Harmony. Sculpted by Frederick Rapp.

Karl Arndt is a leading Harmonist scholar and professor of German at Clark University.

The Separatist Society of Zoar

by Kathleen M. Fernandez



Desk of Joseph Bimeler, Zoar's founder. Made by Zoar craftsmen, this mahogany desk has applewood veneered drawers. It is on display in Bimeler's office in Number One House.

The story of Zoar has its beginnings in the German Pietist movement of the late 18th century. As the rationalism of the established Lutheran Church of Wurttemberg increased, some citizens found solace in the formation of small groups who worshipped outside the confines of the state church. Their beliefs centered on a simple church, bereft of all ceremony and emphasizing a mystical, direct relationship with God.

One of these groups was located in the many villages surrounding Stuttgart. Because they "separated" from the state church and refused to pay taxes to support it, the authorities jailed them and confiscated their lands. Because of this persecution, the group made the decision to seek religious freedom in the United States.

With the moral and financial support of the English and American Quakers, a group of 300 men, women and children arrived in Philadelphia in August, 1817. It was the goal of the Separatists and their leader, Joseph Bimeler (originally Baumeler), to establish their own community in America, and they soon contracted for a 5,500 acre tract along the Tuscarawas River in Ohio, agreeing to pay the purchase price over a 15-year period. Small groups of Separatists began leaving Philadelphia for Ohio as soon as they could afford the move, and the first log cabin in the new village was completed by December 1, 1817.

They called their new community Zoar, meaning "a place of refuge." Named for Lot's Biblical town of refuge, the village was to be their sanctuary from religious persecution. Over the next few decades it would become one of the most interesting experiments in communal living in the

Kathleen Fernandez is curator of Zoar Village State Memorial in Ohio.

. . .Zoar, meaning "a place of refuge." Named for Lot's Biblical town of refuge, the village was to be their sanctuary from religious persecution

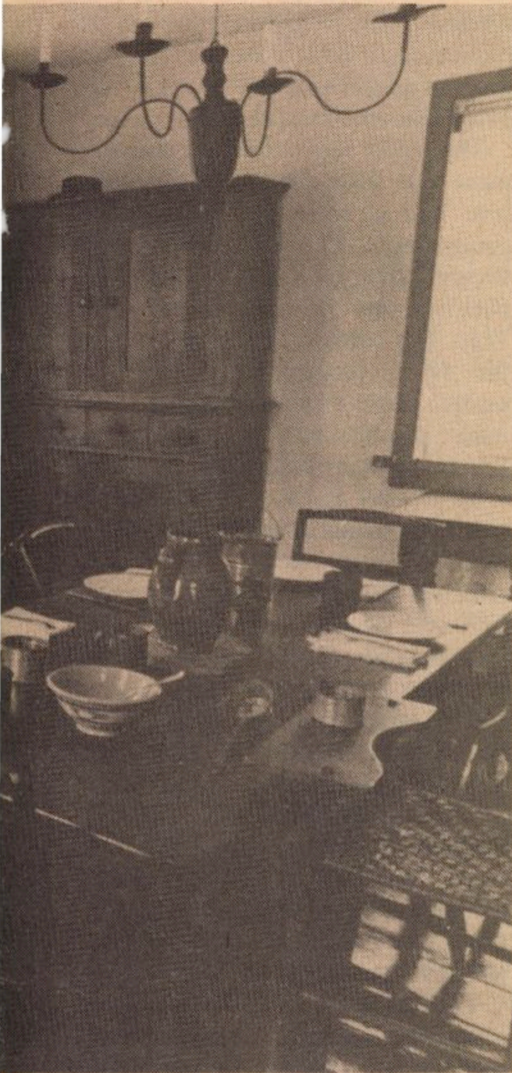
This sitting room contains furniture made or used in Zoar.

history of the United States.

The first permanent homes the Separatists built were of logs, with shingle roofs. Food was scarce that first winter, and it became necessary for some members to work on neighboring farms. The next season, each Zoar family cultivated its own acreage, but yields were insufficient to both feed themselves and pay the land debt. Thus, in 1819 the original plan of private ownership and cultivation of the land was discarded and a communal system was instituted.

Under the new system, with Bimeler remaining as leader of the community, all property and wealth were pooled and held by an organization formed for the purpose—an organization known as the Society of Separatists of Zoar. Each member was at the command of the Society, receiving in return his food, clothing and shelter. Two categories of membership were created, the First or probationary Class and the Second or permanent Class. Children of members decided at age 18 whether or not to join the Society. If a member married an outsider, they both were forced to leave.

The political organization of Zoar



was simple and democratic. Equal rights for men and women were established and continued throughout the existence of the Society. The chief ruling body was the annually-elected Board of Trustees. Most of the Zoarites had regularly assigned tasks to perform. Those who did not assembled each day to receive their assignments from the Trustees.

The new communal economy, the typical German thrift of the members and the business acumen of Joseph Bimeler enabled the Society to pay its debts and build a surplus by 1834.

The Zoar Separatists practiced celibacy from 1822-30, until the Society became financially able to care for more members. In addition to its practical economic consideration, celibacy was considered a higher estate in the Separatists' religion, although marriage was condoned after 1830 and later embraced by most members.

The Separatist religion was simple in the extreme—a personal relationship with God, eschewing all ceremony and all clergy. There were no baptisms or communion; marriages were performed in front of a Justice of the Peace before witnesses after permission to marry had been received from the Trustees; funerals consisted of a stately procession to the gravesite and a short oration in church the following Sunday. Joseph Bimeler was their religious as well as business leader and his Sunday "discourses" were published after his death. These were read as part of the Sunday services in the later years of the Society.

The Separatists' communal impulse carried into their children's lives as well. Two *Kinder Anstalts* or dormitories were created for children born after the resumption of married life in 1830. Children were separated from their parents at age 3 and remained in the dormitories until age 15. According to the accounts of former residents, they were unpleasant places to live, run by unsympathetic supervisors who cared more about the amount of work produced by the youngsters than their welfare. Because of this, the dormitories became optional in 1840 and were abandoned in 1860.

Zoar's children were educated through the 8th grade in a school building built by the Society and maintained by the township. Teaching was done in both German and English until 1888. Teachers were recruited both from within and without the Society.

From the beginning, the Society was dependent upon agriculture for its economic mainstay. Cattle and sheep were raised and much grain was grown on the plains along the Tuscarawas River. Other industries included a sawmill, flour mill, planing mill and a woolen mill, all powered by water from the Tuscarawas River. Brick and rope-making were developed as local industries.

By the mid-1830's, Zoar was virtually self-sufficient. The farms produced more than the necessary amount of food, and many products such as flour, meat, hides, poultry, eggs and butter were exported. In the tinshop and foundry, farm implements, household utensils and stoves were manufactured for general sale. Zoar had two iron furnaces which for a time produced pigiron for the foundry.

The Zoarites contracted to build the portion of the Ohio-Erie Canal which crossed their land, thus adding more to the Society's income. The Society sold supplies to other contractors along the route as well. An inn was built on the canal and a hotel in town to house Zoar's many curious visitors and the salesmen who came to Zoar to peddle their wares. By 1852, the assets of the Society were valued at more than $1 million.

Number One House was built between 1835 and 1845, the height of Zoar's prosperity. It was designed to be a home for the community's elderly residents. But, as Edgar Nixon, Zoar historian, reports, "The elders were able to voice their complaints where the children couldn't." The experiment lasted only a few years, after which the Georgian-style building became the headquarters for the Zoar Society and the home for three Trustees and their families, including Joseph Bimeler until his death.

Many homes in Zoar housed more

Number One House was made from sandstone quarried in the Society's own quarry, brick made from its own clay and iron railings made in its own furnace and foundry.

than one family and often unrelated single persons as well. For that reason, houses were numbered, which facilitated the distribution of household goods. These were stored in the Magazine, a building behind Number One House, and distributed every Friday. Women in each household held their jobs by seniority: the one with longest tenure became the housekeeper and cook, the others held jobs outside in the Woolen Mill, Sewing House, Dairy and even in the fields at harvest.

Zoar had a chronic need for more labor than its members could provide and from the beginning hired outsiders for many tasks. These laborers, many new German immigrants, lived in the village as well, but were paid wages. A special dormitory, the Bauer (Farmer) Haus, was maintained for the outsiders who were field hands.

Skill in gardening furnished Zoar with one of its most interesting exhibits—the magnificent community garden which was laid out with geometric precision. Occupying an entire village square, this garden was planted to symbolize the new Jerusalem described in the 21st chapter of Revelation. A Norway spruce stood in the center of the garden, symbolizing eternal life, and circling this spruce was an arbor vitae hedge representing heaven. Twelve juniper trees, one for each of the twelve apostles, formed a third concentric circle. A circular walk enclosed this area and from this walk twelve pathways radiated outward to symbolize the paths to heaven.

The basic religious beliefs manifested in the garden's design bound the Zoarites together, as did the leadership of Joseph Bimeler. But in 1853, Bimeler died, and the Society never fully recovered from the blow. Although they had lived and believed as a communal body, this man had been their spiritual leader and business administrator even before their arrival in America. His energy and foresight were largely responsible for the success of Zoar. After his death, a gradual decline in the initiative of the people became apparent.

The social and economic environment was also changing, and this, too, had a major impact on the community. Thirteen young men forsook their community's vow of pacifism and enlisted in the Civil War. The coming of the railroad in the 1870's brought more of the outside world to Zoar, and the rise of mass production industries made Zoar's smaller businesses obsolete. With easier access to the outside world, younger members drifted away to make their fortunes and religious orthodoxy declined. After 1870, the Zoar Hotel was host to an increasing number of wealthy tourists who provided examples of Gilded Age prosperity in stark contrast to the simple life of Zoar.

In 1898, with an increasing number of Zoarites expressing the desire to disband and divide any remaining assets, the Society was dissolved. Common property was divided among the members, each receiving about 50 acres of land and $200.

Today the village remains a quiet oasis away from the confusion of modern life. Many of the public buildings have been restored by the Ohio Historical Society and are open to the public during the summer months. Together with many privately restored homes and shops, they reflect the German love of color and symmetry. Even though most of the descendents of the last Zoar Society members have left the village, the newcomers who have purchased their houses have lovingly restored them, keeping the simplicity and charm with which Zoar was endowed by its original inhabitants.

The Ohio Historical Society maintains eight Zoar buildings as the Zoar Village State Memorial. They include:

1. Zoar Store (1833). Originally

housing the Post Office and Dairy as well, this store was a center of the community and drew customers from outside Zoar to the village. Both surplus Zoar products and goods produced outside the village were sold at the Zoar Store; today the store sells 19th century reproduction wares and tour tickets.

2. Number One House (1835). This impressive two-story Georgian-style house was once the home of Zoar's first leader, Joseph Bimeler, and two other Trustee families. Initially planned as a shelter for the aged and infirm, this home includes a cool, deep cellar where food and provisions for the entire community were stored. The Number One House now features an introductory slide presentation and examples of Zoar furniture and crafts.

3. Garden and Gardenhouse (1835). The formal garden of Zoar spreads over an entire village square in a geometric plan based upon the 19th century design of the Separatists. The Gardenhouse, with attached Gardener's Residence, borders the north edge of the garden. This greenhouse, or *orangerie,* housed rare tropical plants over the winter, including orange and lemon trees.

4. Bimeler Museum (1868). This Zoar residence was extensively remodeled after the Society's dissolution in 1898. Bequeathed to the Ohio Historical Society in 1942 by Mrs. Lillian Bimeler Sturm, a former Zoar Society member, it is furnished as it might have been during the last decade of the Society, and features restored wall stenciling in the upstairs bedrooms.

5. Bakery (1845). Members of the Zoar Society came once a day to this shop to receive, free of charge, as many loaves of bread as they needed. The Bakery's brick ovens absorbed heat from the fires built within. Ashes were then removed and loaves placed directly on the hearth. There is no baking done in these ovens today, but in the Society's time, pretzels and gingerbread were baked here as well.

Zoar coverlet made in the community's Woolen Mill, one of many Society industries. Zoar sold coverlets and blankets to outsiders.

The Zoar Store, restored 1980, was the hub of the community's activities.

6. Tinshop (1825, reconstructed 1970). The tinsmith worked in a small brick and timber building, a two-room shop in which much of the metalware used in Zoar was produced and repaired. Tin cups, buckets, pitchers and milk pails were made here, and many of these tinware items were then sold in the Zoar Store.

7. Wagon Shop (1840, reconstructed 1972). Wagons and buggies were constructed here by the wheelwright, then fitted with iron parts from the Blacksmith Shop next door. Wooden parts of farm tools were also made in the Wagon Shop.

8. Blacksmith Shop (1834, reconstructed 1972). The blacksmith once produced everything from hinges to horseshoes. The charcoal-fired forge, with its hinge bellows, stands just inside the door of this brick-paved shop. □

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by Jonathan

THE CHURCH in Middle Amana, Iowa, has changed little since it was built in the early 1860s. It is a rectangular, red-brick building with a gabled roof and rows of large windows on each of the long walls. There is no cross outside, no belfry, no spire, and no identifying sign. Inside, the large sanctuary is empty, except for plain, unpainted wood benches and a single table covered with a dark green cloth. The benches are arranged in two blocks of neat rows facing one of the room's long walls. There is no cross inside, either, and no religious icons of any kind, or musical instrument, or pulpit, or pew. The floor is unpainted and unvarnished wood, and the walls are pale blue. Men enter the church through one door and sit on one side of the center aisle, and women enter through another door and sit on the opposite side. Women wear the black cap, shawl, and apron that their ancestors wore two hundred years ago in Germany. During a church service, the presiding elder sits at the cloth-covered table and leads the congregation in prayers, hymns, recitation of the Apostle's Creed, and a Bible reading. In addition, he reads a testimony spoken over a hundred years ago by one of the group's religious leaders, who, they believe, were inspired directly by God. The church service, and the building itself, testify to the simplicity of the Amana faith, which the people take as a key feature of their worship.

Twelve hundred feet from the church, across well-manicured lawns and down a small, grassy slope, is a factory where freezers and microwave ovens are manufactured. Amana Refrigerators, Inc., is a thoroughly modern plant, complete with computer-controlled automation. Now a wholly-owned subsidiary of Raytheon Corporation, the business was founded in the 1930s by two members of the Amana Society and operated by the Society for many years. Before that, the spot where the factory now stands was the site of a large woolen mill, erected in the 1860s and modernized at regular intervals.

The close juxtaposition of traditional church and modern factory exemplifies a fundamental characteristic of Amana: the ability to find a balance between the spiritual and the practical in life, and to accomodate to change, both within itself and in the surrounding world, without abandoning tradition. The traditions being preserved in contemporary Amana took form in the early eighteenth century when Amana's forerunner, the Community of True Inspiration, was founded in Germany by two dissenters from the Lutheran Church, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock. Rock and Gruber embraced the ideas of Pietism, a reform movement which operated both within and outside of conventional Lutheranism. Searching for a less formal, more emotionally satisfying Christianity, they broke from the

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church and established their own association in 1714, their principle teaching being that God selected "instruments" (*Werkzeuge*) to announce His Will on earth in their day, just as He had in the time of the prophets. This was the phenomenon of "true inspiration."

The pattern of compromise and moderation characteristic of Amana is rooted in the group's origins. Most religious factions which separated from established churches and founded communities in America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were led by a single, powerful charismatic figure: Beissel of Ephrata, Janssen of Bishop Hill, Rapp of the Harmony Society, Baeumler of Zoar, Noyes of Oneida, Ann Lee of the Shakers, and Keil of Bethel and Aurora. Thus it was that these communities were often but the lengthening shadow of an individual, and many of them dissolved when the leader died. A single leader may dictate; two must compromise. Rock and Gruber forged the Community of True Inspiration together.

Gruber was the Inspirationists' theoretician, a thinker, and the group's heart and soul. He articulated the doctrines of Inspirationism in a number of tracts, and he developed many of the practical rules governing daily life as well. Gruber also held the unusual title of "Overseer of the *Werkzeuge*," for it was believed that he possessed the ability to discriminate between true and false inspiration, though he himself was never inspired. Rock, along with several others, did receive the power of inspiration. After the others lost their power early in the group's history, Rock continued on alone. In contrast to Gruber, he was a man of action, the sect's arms and legs. For thirty years he traveled widely in the service of the Inspired Word, speaking out wherever and whenever the Spirit of the Lord moved him. Rock undertook over a hundred journeys in Germany and to Switzerland, Alsace, and Austria, proselytizing and holding together the scattered congregations of Inspirationists. When he died in 1749 at the age of 70, the group was left without a *Werkzeug*. Nevertheless, the pattern he and Gruber established had taken hold, and the elders of the community were able to lead the Inspirationists along the "narrow path" of piety which the founders had established for another fifty years.

As the eighteenth century waned, however, so did the faith which Rock and Gruber had labored hard to instill. Many left the fold, and a few of the old congregations disappeared entirely as death claimed the remaining members. It was at this time—providentially, as modern Amanans will say—that the Lord sent new *Werkzeuge* to "reawaken" the sleeping remnant. The first was Michael Krausert, from Strassburg; he was followed by Barbara Heinemann, an illiterate Alsatian servant-girl, and

finally Christian Metz, the only one of the three to have been raised in Inspirationism, at one of the group's traditional homes, the Castel Ronneburg, outside Buedingen, 25 km. northeast of Frankfurt. It was Metz who emerged as the central figure of the reawakening. Krausert fell into contention with Barbara Heinemann and finally, admitting that his own inspiration was perhaps false, withdrew from the group. Heinemann spontaneously lost her inspiration when she fell in love with a young school-teacher, George Landmann, whom she subsequently married. Unlike Krausert, she remained with the group.

Metz was left to deal with the problems of reestablishing the bonds that had once united the membership and of pacifying the sometimes hostile church and civil officials. The Inspirationists aroused the authorities on several points of doctrine. They were pacifists who refused military service and refused to swear oaths, and they preferred to educate their own children rather than sending them to state-operated schools. In matters of religion they did not acknowledge the official state church or its representatives, followed their own *Werkzeuge* and elders (who were not ordained ministers), and did not practice baptism. The rulers in one region after another grew intolerant of the sect, and many Inspirationists left their homes and came to the more sympathetic principality of Hessen. To accomodate these refugees, Metz arranged for the group to lease four estates in Hessen, and beginning in 1833 many Inspirationists gathered on these estates. There they took the first tentative steps toward community life. Even in Hessen, though, their freedoms were not guaranteed indefinitely. When high rents and inhospitable landlords began to threaten their security, they were led by divine command to emigrate from

Christian Metz once told the members, "a door to the world is always open for those who do not wish to obey."

Germany and find a new home in America.

By pooling their money, the Inspirationists were able to pay ship passage for 700 members and to purchase a sizeable tract of land near Buffalo, New York. They established six villages, calling them Ebenezer, a place name in the first book of Samuel which means, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." It was in Ebenezer that the Inspirationists made the momentous decision to hold all of their property in common. In Europe, their dispersed living circumstances precluded such an arrangement. Now, confronted with the practical necessity of building a community, Christian Metz declared that God willed that they adopt common ownership of property. Some resistance to the idea arose from a few of the wealthy members, but so strong was Metz's charisma, and so deep the faith of his followers, that further divine remonstrances overcame the objections. Such was the beginning of a communalistic system that lasted for the next 89 years, until 1932. Theirs was the fourth longest lasting system of this kind in America, after that of the Shakers, the Rappites, and the Hutterites.

Another significant occurrence of the years in Ebenezer was the return of the power of inspiration to Barbara Heinemann, now Barbara Landmann. Metz had prophesied that she would again be favored, and in 1849, after an interval of 26 years, Landmann again became a *Werkzeug*. She outlived Metz and was the last instrument in the community. She died in 1883.

Although the Inspirationists prospered in Ebenezer, other problems arose there which determined them to migrate again. The accession of more members from Europe had swelled their ranks to over a thousand, and they needed more land. This proved difficult to obtain nearby and at reasonable prices. They also disliked their proximity to Buffalo, a growing and boisterous city which threatened to engulf the community in a "flood of sin." Young men from Ebenezer went to Buffalo to market the community's produce and were tempted by worldly fashions, worldly ways, and perhaps worldly women. Metz knew that the best hope of maintaining the community on the "narrow path" was to get as far away from the sources of temptation as possible.

The American frontier at that time had reached the Great Plains. Kansas was admitted as a territory in 1854, and Metz sent an exploratory party there the same year. They found no land in Kansas suited to their needs, however, and when they returned to Ebenezer a second expedition was sent to Iowa. On the wide alluvial plain of the Iowa River, half-way between Marengo and Iowa City, then the state capitol, they found an ideal location. The land was fertile, there was water to generate power for their mills, and timber covered much of the property. In addition, two outcroppings of sandstone could be quarried and used for construction, and there was clay suited for brick-making. The Inspirationists arranged to purchase from the government and private owners a large, contiguous tract of land on either side of the Iowa River. Eventually they acquired 26,000 acres and incorporated under

View of Amana and Mill Race ca. 1900

Iowa law as a religious association called the Amana Society, named for a hill in the Song of Solomon. Between 1855 and 1862 they built seven villages, five on the north side of the river and two on the south side. The relocation from Ebenezer took nine years, and by the time the last member arrived, the population in Amana had reached 1300.

The Inspirationists built churches, residences, two woolen mills, a calico print works, a tannery, a soap works, several flour mills and saw mills, and, in each of the seven villages, a school, a general store, bakery, meat market, small shops for the blacksmith, tinsmith, cooper, wagonmaker, broommaker, basketmaker, and other craftsmen, several community kitchens, and many barns and other agricultural buildings. When the small creek they expected to provide water for the mills proved unreliable, they dug a seven-mile long canal, or mill race, to bring water from the Iowa River. At the edge of each village they set aside land for a cemetery and planted around it evergreens, symbolizing eternal life. Members were buried in the order in which they died under uniform headstones. The cemeteries, like the churches, expressed the Inspirationists' ethos of simplicity and equality.

Amana's economy was a blend of agriculture and manufacturing. The woolen mills produced an extensive product line for wholesale, including blankets, skirting flannel, socks, gloves, and yarn. The print works purchased calico cloth and dyed it with indigo in dozens of subdued, patterned prints. Both the woolens and indigo prints were sold nationally. Other items were marketed locally: soap, lumber, shingles, laths, and laundry blueing. Agricultural production was equally diverse. The Society raised both garden crops and field crops for sale, including onions and onion sets, potatoes, celery, hay, barley, wheat flour, and corn-meal. The livestock included hogs, horses, sheep (raised almost entirely for the wool), and beef and dairy cattle. The Society raised bees and sold the honey, and kept barnyard animals as a source of meat and eggs.

All income earned by Society businesses went into the common coffer. Out of this, members were housed, fed and given an annual allowance which they could spend for clothes and personal items in the community stores. They also received free medical and dental care from the Society's physicians and dentists, who were trained at community expense. In exchange, members were expected to work for the Society according to its needs and their own interests. Boys and girls began work at the age of fourteen, when they finished eighth grade. Boys worked in one of the

agricultural, manufacturing, or craft industries, often, but not necessarily, where their fathers worked. They could change jobs subsequently if they wished, or for reasons of health, but there was no formal system of job rotation. The choices for women were more limited. Girls began work in one of the community kitchens. They cooked, served the meals, and cleaned up afterwards. Older women worked in the kitchen gardens, and a few taught sewing and other forms of handwork to children in the villages. Women were allowed a two-year maternity leave. Men and women generally did some kind of work until ill health or old age forced them to retire.

The business affairs of the Society were supervised at several levels. In charge of the overall operation was a thirteen-member Great Council, elected annually by voting members of the Society (men over 21 and single women over 30) from among the church elders. The incumbents controlled the slate of candidates and nearly always succeeded themselves. The Great Council met once a month, more often if necessary, and rendered decisions about the opening and closing of businesses, wages paid by the Society to its hired hands, construction projects, the transfer of a craftsman from one village to another, admission of new members, and kitchen operations. Day-to-day decisions about the operation of particular businesses—production quotas, product marketing, and the like—were made by the managers of the businesses in consultation with local councils in each village, comprised of three to six elders appointed by the Great Council. The local councils also assigned to members their dwelling space in the village, the kitchen house where they ate, and their spending allowance.

In the early years, at least, the Inspirationists viewed all of this

The Inspirationists' pragmatism kept them from adopting extreme postures in matters of religion, and their religiosity restrained their profit-seeking.

economic activity as secondary to their main purpose, which was to live a pious and simple Christian life. They attended church eleven times a week to hear Metz, Landmann, or the elders exhort them to put aside material concerns and "the vanity of the world," to turn their back on selfishness, arrogance, and cleverness, to repent of their past sins, "wake up" and sin no more. Transgressors against God's law or the community's code of conduct were warned and reprimanded, often publicly by the *Werkzeuge* in a church service. If a remonstrance did not suffice, they might be demoted in church to the third rank, the *Kinderversammlung*, to sit with the older children and youths for a week or a month. For some offences they could be expelled from services for a similar period, their readmission being contingent upon a public confession of wrong-doing. The most extreme immorality (theft, adultery, blasphemy against God's Word) was punished by expulsion. This was rarely necessary, for as Christian Metz once told the members, "a door to the world is always open for those who do not wish to obey."

The Amana Church held several special services during the year. Of these, the most important were the *Liebesmahl* (Holy Communion), which actually was held every other year, and the *Bundesschliessung*, an annual renewing of the covenant between each member and the community. An *Unterredung*, or Yearly Spiritual Examination, was held over several months in each village in turn. Small groups of men or women came before the elders, and each individual was questioned regarding his or her spiritual condition and admonished to lead a better life. Special services were also held at Christmas and Easter. The *Werkzeuge* or elders occasionally cancelled a church service if they felt the members were not spiritually prepared for it, and in times of drought or natural disaster extra services might be ordered.

Life in communal Amana was balanced between efforts to achieve spiritual piety and a state of divine grace on one hand, and economic solvency on the other, with a slight tilt in the early years toward religion. The Inspirationists' pragmatism kept them from adopting extreme postures in matters of religion, and their religiosity restrained their profit-seeking. They insisted on marketing only the highest quality products, on absolutely scrupulous dealings with their business partners, on paying a fair, even a generous, wage to the hired hands, and on the priority of worship over work, as shown by their eleven weekly church services.

In several aspects of community organization, and on numerous points of doctrine, the Inspirationists sought a middle ground. Their settlement pattern in seven neighborhing villages, for example, was a compromise between the single village system of Harmony or Zoar and the scattered villages of the Hutterites or the Shakers. Their pattern avoided a large aggregation of people, which they felt encouraged immorality, while keeping everyone close to the spiritual leaders. (The pattern also compromised between conflicting economic considerations; seven villages meant easier access to farmland, but introduced inefficiencies due to duplication of machinery and craft

businesses.) Their residential structures typically housed four families, a compromise between the large dormitory and single-family dwellings. Although outward displays of ornateness and finery were forbidden, members were allowed to keep fancy furniture and household items brought from Europe, and their artistic impulses found an outlet in handwork of various kinds. On the question of celibacy, the Inspirationists likewise adopted an intermediate position. They praised the single life and elevated unmarried members through the church ranks quickly, but they permitted marriage as long as it was "done in a godly way." Nor did the Inspirationists condemn all use of alcohol or tobacco; in fact, they made both themselves, but the elders repeatedly urged members to exercise moderation in their use. Finally, the community sought neither complete isolation from nor complete involvement with the world outside, but contact with it on their own terms. During World War I, for example, their pacifism prevented them from bearing arms, but they readily enlisted for service in the quartermaster corps, and the women of the Society volunteered to knit socks and mittens for the army.

Certainly this view of Amana can be pushed too far. The Inspirationists do seem to have gone to an extreme, for instance, in maintaining gender segregation. Men and women sat separately in church, walked separately in funerals, ate meals separately, and worked separately. Similarly, personal contact between most members and outsiders was strictly curtailed, especially in the early years. A member who married an outsider faced expulsion, and it was difficult for outsiders, especially non-Germans, to gain admisson to the Society, particularly after 1883. And in an unusual show of rigidity, Landmann once ordered all non-

Amana's general store

fruit-bearing trees removed from the villages. In general, though, the Inspirationists were pious pragmatists and pragmatic pietists. The balance gave the community flexibility and resiliency, which contributed to its long existence as a communal society.

Ultimately, however, communalism generated stresses in Amana which the system could not resolve. After Christian Metz died in 1867, Barbara Landmann, as the sole *Werkzeuge*, became the spiritual head of the community. As a woman, Landmann could not be an elder, and therefore she did not officially belong to the Great Council, as Metz had. This caused a partial separation between religion and business, though the separation did not proceed too far because the Great Council continued its role in religious affairs of the community. When Landmann died in 1883, and no new *Werkzeug* appeared, the spiritual leadership of Amana fell to the elders. Though pious and capable, the elders were not divinely inspired, and their word carried less weight than the word of a *Werkzeug*. With the spiritual leadership less sanctified and more diffuse, the balance between faith and commerce began to tilt toward commerce. As this happened, power in the community became increasingly consolidated in the hands of several families, whose male members were managers of the important businesses (farms, woolen mills, flour mills, and general stores) as well as members of the Great Council. The families intermarried, sons succeeded fathers, and an elite class based on kin ties gradually emerged.

The growing emphasis on business brought prosperity to Amana, but that prosperity paradoxically led to a critical economic malaise. Despite the elders' efforts, some of the new wealth was converted into worldly items which a decade or two earlier had been forbidden; fancier cuts of clothing, baby carriages, stylish shoes, bicycles, and bathtubs. No *Werkzeug* was present to speak out against these things. The best the elders could do was to re-read old testimonies or utter the injunctions themselves. But since they, or members of their families, were among the offenders, their words accomplished little. The radio and the automobile brought news of the outside. Constricting opportunities for ordinary members, especially the young, led many to apostatize, hoping to satisfy their newfound material urges in the world. Others malingered, knowing the community would feed and house them whether they labored hard or little. Some drank. The necessary work did not get done, and the Society had to hire more outside laborers. During World War I, the indigo dye used to make calico prints could not be obtained, and the Society lost an important source of revenue; by the end of the war, fashions had changed and the print works never reopened. The woolen mills had several bad years, and in 1923 a disastrous mill fire did extensive damage which the Society, not believing in insurance, could scarcely afford. The onset of a national economic depression only hastened the inevitable crisis.

There is something in the nature of utopian communities which propels many of them to adopt extreme solutions to the problems of associational living.

In 1931, the elders presented the membership with a choice: either renounce the many new comforts they had come to enjoy and return to a more austere life, or dismantle the communal system. The only other alternative was dissolution. To most Amanans, dissolution was inconceivable; they were wrapped up too much in the land and in one another to imagine their community ceasing to exist. They also rejected a return to the past, knowing in their hearts that they were probably incapable of the sort of sacrifice and self-denial which their grandparents had endured. Amana had undoubtedly changed, but the resilience of the community ran deep. In June, the members elected to continue to operate their church as it had always been, and to create for the businesses a joint-stock corporation, to be run for profit by a Board of Directors independent of the church. Amanans call the inauguration of this new system "the Great Change," but it could more accurately be called "the Great Compromise" between the forces of change and the power of tradition.

There is something in the nature of utopian communities which propels many of them to adopt extreme solutions to the problems of associational living. It is their genius, their appeal, and the reason they attract attention out of proportion to the number of people in them. It may also be why many of them ultimately fail. Amana is now in its 142nd year as a community and its 271st year as a religious association. Much, of course, has changed. Today Amana welcomes outsiders as much as the old community avoided them; today it is as self-indulgent as much as the old community was self-denying; today it has relegated religion to one church service a week while businesses are open 48 hours or more. Amana may yet fail, but today the religion, the community, and the heritage survive, tributes to its genius for compromise. □

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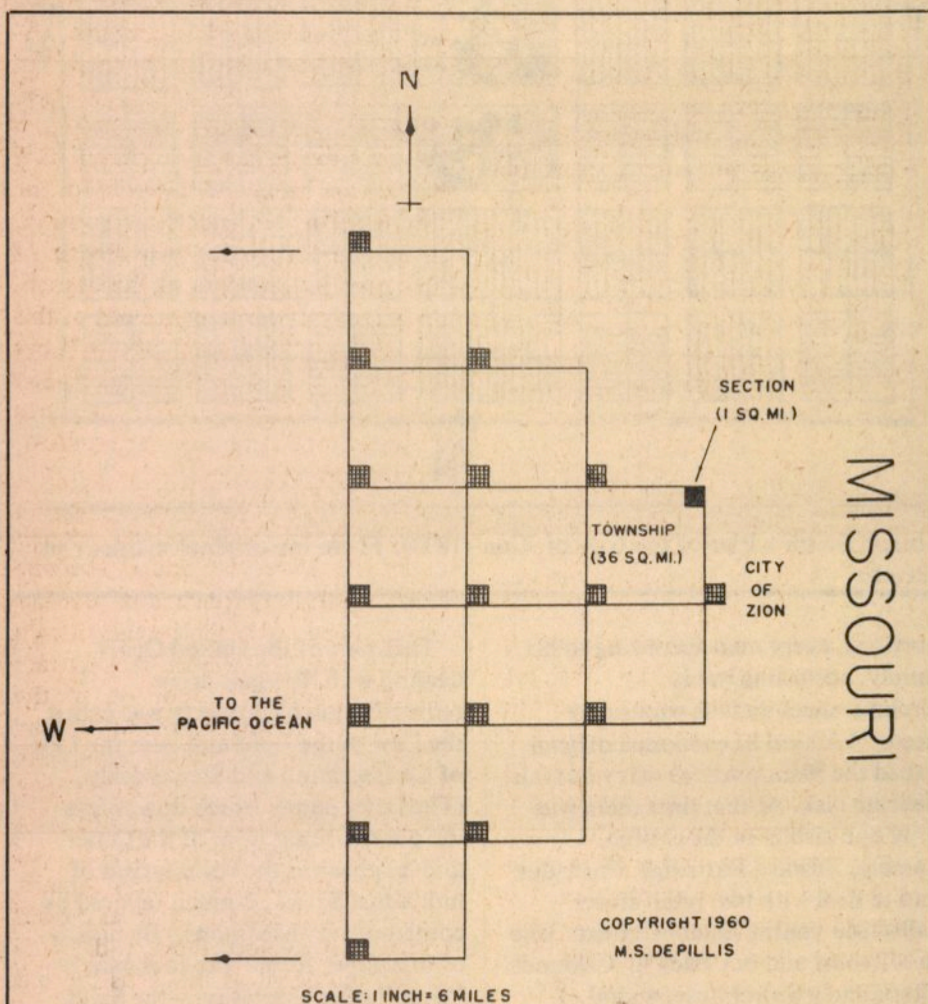
Early Mormon Communitarianism

by Mario S. de Pillis



Arrangement of the Cities of Zion

The easternmost city is the Center Place, or City of Zion, at Independence, Missouri. Additional cities of Zion modelled on the one at Independence are shown as small cross-hatched squares. Every city, including the City of Zion, is one mile square and is surrounded by farmlands and woodlots. Along the north and south sides of each city is a strip twelve perches wide and a mile long reserved for stables and other farm buildings. This strip is not shown in the above drawing.

One of the most remarkable occurrences in the recent history of American communitarianism is the gradual return of members of the Utah branch of the Church of Jesus Christ Latter-Day Saints—universally known as Mormons—to western Missouri, to Zion.

In 1831 the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints began teaching, and continues to teach, that Christ will descend to initiate the millenium in the Center Place of Zion, namely, in what is now Independence, Jackson County, Missouri. There they would build the City of Zion based on communitarian social and economic arrangements. They got a good start between 1831 and 1833, but in the latter year were driven out by the local non-Mormon settlers. And seemingly that was the end of Mormon communitarianism. But we have recently witnessed a return to Mormon polygamy, albeit underground. It is not totally unreasonable to expect that we will someday also witness a return of Mormon communitarianism.

Why "communitarianism"? Why not just say religion?

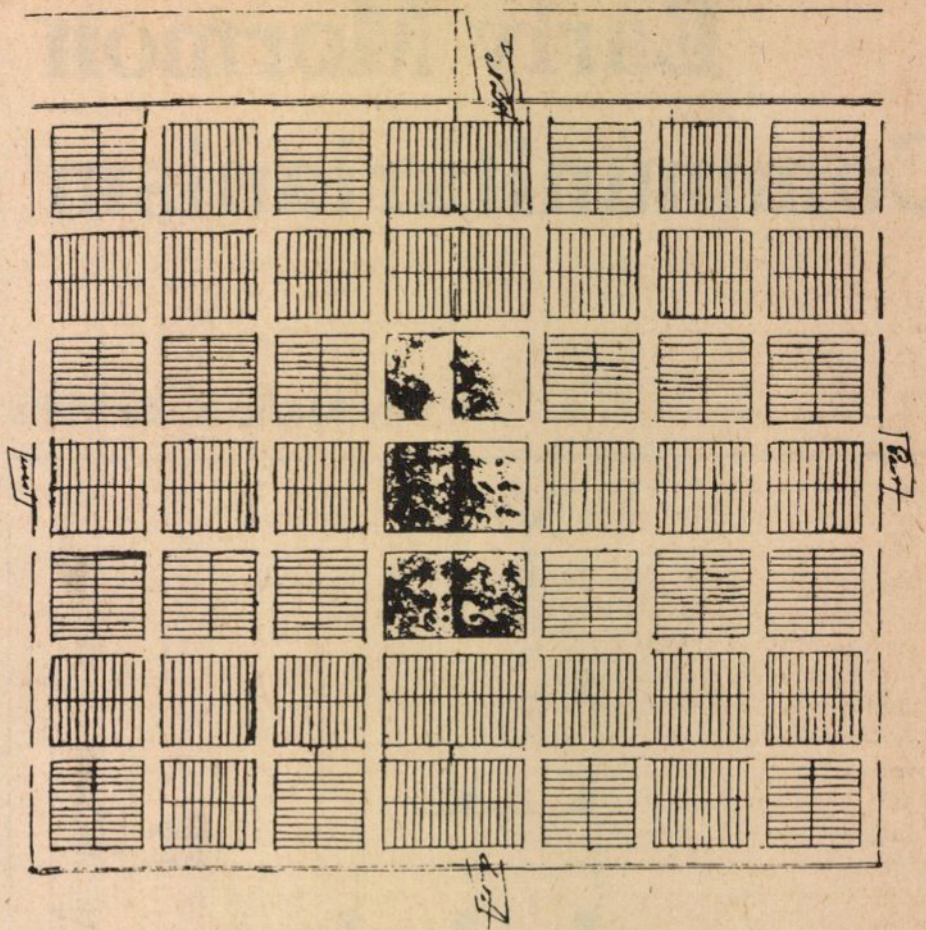
This word must be used because many scholars have forgotten, even among believing Mormons, that early Mormon was a communitarian religion. But that early history is now being recovered. In this connection it is very interesting to observe what the Mormons are doing in Missouri today. First, a short flashback.

One of the nearby Missouri counties to which they fled in 1833 was Daviess, just to the north of Jackson County. There, in May, 1838, the young Mormon leader, Joseph Smith, Jr., arrived with a party of followers to survey a new city to be called Adam-ondi-Ahman, meaning, he said, "Adam With God." The Mormons believe that

Adam sought refuge there after having been banished from the Garden of Eden. It is hardly surprising, then, that so much of western Missouri is sacred ground for the Mormons.

Since the late nineteenth century one branch of the Mormons known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, a group that had never left the midwest for Utah, started the return to Jackson County. Though tiny compared with the Utah church, the "Reorganization" bought land and built impressive buildings for their headquarters in Independence. Since before the 1960's the Utah Church has also been buying land in the vicinity of the projected City of Zion, and in 1980 began acquiring land at the projected Adam-ondi-Ahman location, one of the last places the early Mormons had settled before being driven out to Illinois in 1838-39. By 1984 the church owned over three and a half square miles of some of the best farmland in Missouri and was sending highly skilled people from Utah to develop it. The doctrine of the last days is still alive in the church, and it is not inconceivable that the construction of the City of Zion—destroyed in 1831-33 just as it was being started—will be resumed. The Mormon commune known as the City of Zion was the most ambitious project in the history of communitarianism and had every prospect of succeeding. Just how far did they get?

Wisely the Prophet set up an egalitarian, communal social and economic system in 1831 even before the actual building began. After having sent missionaries in the spring of 1831 to convert the Shakers whom he admired the Prophet received a revelation setting up the United Order of Enoch. According to this system the settlers arriving in Zion (Independence) were to "receive their portions, every man according to his family, according to his circumstances and his wants and needs." A kind of economic official called the Bishop was to carry out this delicate task. At that time there was only one bishop in the church, namely, Edward Partridge. Partridge had to deal with two retail stores called Mercantile Establishments, one in Missouri and one back in Kirkland, Ohio; and a Storehouse, a kind of central bank for both money and goods contributed by the Saints. By the spring of 1832 the Saints in Independence had completed the building housing the all-important Printing Establishment. After 1833 these and other institutions came under the increasingly centralized control of the Prophet still living in Ohio, but at first Partridge was in charge.


Joseph Smith's Plat of the City of Zion (1833). From his original manuscript sketch.

That part of the United Order dealing with the egalitarian redistribution of property was called the Law of the Lord and later the Law of Consecration and Stewardship. (The latter name, which downplays the quasi-communism of the Order and emphasizes the voluntarism of individual Saints, is much favored by contemporary Mormons.) By means of one paper form—the covenant or "deed" of consecration—the Saint formally entered the United Order by giving to the bishop all that he owned: mattresses, shirts, plows, chairs, and the like, together with any land or money he might possess. The consecrator now stood, as it were, naked before the bishop. The only way, it seemed, that he could continue living as a civilized human being was to regain the use of most of the personal items he had just

donated. Bishop Partridge then decided that the consecrator should get the items back as a "loan."

As it worked out in the money-short economy of the frontier, few candidates for admission to the Order had any cash. So surviving lists of consecrated goods show such things as bedding, furniture, livestock, farming utensils, clothing, and tools. One consecrator valued his property at $316.52; another thought all his possessions worth $84.95. Since most of the newly arrived Saints were poor these sums may be taken as typical. In effect, such men could offer their meagre possessions to the church only as evidence of good faith. A Saint who had consecrated land received in return only as much land as he needed for himself and his family. Although consecrations of money are mentioned in a few revelations, no deed of gift (consecration form) has come down to us listing cash. And since on the frontier anyone with a small accumulation of cash was almost by definition wealthy, little or no money would be returned to him. Only fragments of Bishop Partridge's records have survived, so that it is hard to say how many Saints alienated forever their surplus property. The Lord's Storehouse filled rapidly with their donations, and there were certainly enough consecrators to criticize the manner in which the common treasure of the church was spent. Consecrations of property did not proceed as smoothly and efficiently as they did among the Shakers.

After consecrating his all the new member of the Order took the second and final step for his salvation in the last days. He received back, as a steward, as much property as he needed for himself and his family; and he was assigned an inheritance of land: perhaps an acre or two for an artisan and about thirty acres for a full-time farmer. As steward over an inheritance in the land of Zion the new member was expected at the end of every year to relinquish all his surplus profits or crops to the Lord's Storehouse.

For this second step of relinquishing surplus Partridge very logically drew up a second paper form, the agreement of stewardship. By this instrument the steward agreed to "lease" his landed inheritance from the church and to "loan" (borrow back) his personal effects from the Bishop. The important part of this agreement was the "lease" of land. Since the steward could possess his land only by permission of the church, this system has rightly been compared to land tenancy. Until this second lease and loan form was done away with in 1833 it caused Bishop Partridge no end of trouble. What Partridge was trying to do was preserve the millennial community of Saints by making it impossible for lukewarm or unfaithful Saints to hold land within the bounds of the community. Unfortunately, the Mormons could not buy enough contiguous land to keep the gentiles from settling in the Land of Zion, a fact that would eventually lead to the destruction of the community.

What was the actual shape of this ideal community, the Center Place of Zion? That was to be governed by the divinely inspired Plat of the City of Zion, which dates from June of 1833. "The City of Zion spoken of by David in the one hundred and second Psalm will be built," said Smith in 1833, "upon the land of America." By that time a sufficient number of Mormons had gathered to Zion to begin building houses and streets. The Plat, an extraordinary handwritten document, contained a rough sketch of the street plan and a short descriptive text.

The Plat provided a city with a maximum population of 15,000 to 20,000 people. Each city would cover an area of 640 acres, or one square mile—a unit that seemed perfectly logical; for under its secular name of "section" one square mile formed the basic unit of the official federal square survey of all of the public domain west of Pennsylvania. When each square city was laid off and supplied, the Saints were to "lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days, and let every man live in the city for this is the city of Zion"—so went the Prophet's instructions.

Zion was only to *begin* at the "Center Place" of Independence. Zion was to consist of a series of ideal communities, all based on the plat, and all moving westward toward the Pacific Ocean. The cities would be about six miles apart and the intervening space would be occupied by farms, woods, and open land. On the north and south sides of each city a strip of land 20 perches (330 feet) wide and one mile long would provide ample space for farm buildings, "so that no barns or stables will be in the city among the houses." The land extending north and south beyond the strips, up to the next square city, would be farmland, "sufficient to supply the whole plat [city]" and presumably this farmland would be partitioned into small inheritances averaging about 30 acres in size.

Unfortunately, only preliminary buildings were erected, and no streets could be surveyed; for no sooner had the Plat of the City of Zion been delivered to Missouri than the physical assaults of the local anti-Mormons had begun. The local settlers destroyed the newly installed printing press, stopped any further activity by the retail store of the United Order of Enoch, and they assaulted the first bishop of the Order, Edward Partridge. In 1833, when all the Saints in Jackson County had to flee, it seemed that the City of

Zion and its United Order were gone forever. And, even worse, it seemed that the Mormon leaders had lost the courage to cope with repeated catastrophes and vicious persecution. Joseph continued to live in Kirtland, Ohio, until 1838. Before he died in Nauvoo in 1844 he even went so far as to state that "the law of consecration could not be kept in Illinois." Some Saints had wanted to start up the Order again in Illinois, and logically the Prophet was right: the laws of the Order were the laws of Zion, and Illinois was not Zion. Spiritually, however, he seems to have given up.

So there is no historical site commemorating the beginnings of the great Mormon communitarian enterprise—on an imperial scale—at Independence, Missouri. But that does not mean that it was a short-lived failure. Neither force nor the failure of nerve can ever do any more than temporarily frustrate so powerful a religious faith as that of the early Mormons. The continued power of that faith was quite clear under the leadership of Brigham Young, who emerged as head of the church following the assassination of Joseph Smith in June, 1844. Young, despite his ambivalence about the egalitarian philosophy of the Order, recognized its divine origin and permitted several United Order communes to be established in Utah. During the last five years of his life, that is, from about 1872 to 1877, he actually encouraged them. By 1875 he had approved the establishment of about 150 United Orders, but none of them adhered strictly to the letter of the original revelation of 1831, and few of them formed the basis of an entire city. One that did approach the original ideal of the City of Zion was Orderville, Utah, which lasted from 1875 to the federal anti-polygamy campaign of the late 1880s. At its height Orderville contained about 700 people.

It would be an easy historical generalization to conclude from this brief summary that Mormon communitarianism is dead, simply another victim of nineteenth-century American capitalism and individualism. But such large generalizations do not yield much insight into the way religious institutions work. There is not room here to analyze all the internal reasons (there were some!) for the "failure" of the United Order of Enoch and of the City of Zion. Surely, on the level of common sense, one must agree that the City and its Order never had a decent chance. Persecution had repeatedly deprived the Order of its lands, buildings, and leadership. Arson, robbery, and even murder plagued the Saints from the institution of the Order in 1831 till the emigration of the majority of the Mormons to Utah in 1847. By the Nauvoo period (1840-1847) the Prophet himself was, it seemed, ready to give up on his own work and that of the Lord.

But the ideal of the millennial, communitarian City of Zion has continued to live on long after the death of the Prophet. And some Mormons believe that it may yet be built some day. □

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The Icarian Communities in America

1848-1898

by Robert P. Sutton

"*... a second Promised Land, an Eden, a Elysium, a new Earthly Paradise.*"[1] When Etienne Cabet, the French lawyer, journalist and socialist-politician penned these words in 1839 he inaugurated a movement which created in the United States between 1848 and 1898 one of the longest-lived nonsectarian utopian experiments in American history. They called themselves "Icarians" after Cabet's romantic novel, *Travels in Icaria*, which in over 600 pages pictured the idylic details of life without property or money. Ultimately they claimed upwards of 50,000 followers in Europe by the mid 1840s.[2] Then, in 1848, they put their ideals into practice in America and founded seven separate Icarias—at New Orleans, Denton (Texas), Nauvoo (Illinois), St. Louis, two at Corning (Iowa), and Cloverdale (California)—each attempting to follow the social plan of Cabet's *Travels.*

Etienne Cabet about the time of founding of the Nauvoo Icaria

Etienne Cabet, born of a middle-class artisan family of Dijon on January 1, 1788, first practiced law but in his twenties joined a radical left-wing group known as the *Carbonari.* Cabet and his cohorts ultimately planned to overthrow the Bourbon monarchy and re-establish the French Republic. Eventually exiled for treason, Cabet spent five years in London where he came under the spell of the utopian vison of Sir Thomas More and the American community planning schemes of Robert Owen. When he returned to Paris in 1839 he had in hand the manuscript of *Travels in Icaria.*[3]

The book, first published in 1840 then republished in five editions, is the tale of a visit of a young English nobleman, Lord William Carisdall, to a fabled land of total concord. There Carisdall found a society devoid of private property, where all lived together as a common family. Each citizen enjoyed the same security and advantages. Men and women were equal in political status: every adult could vote. There was no aristocracy, no class of paupers. Marriage and family ties were sacred. Jealousy, drunkenness, and crime were unknown. All ate the same food and wore the same style of clothing. Individual needs were met by dispositions from the Community Fund. From Icaria's vast warehouses each household daily received its ration of food according to the formula: "To Each According To His Needs." Education was provided for both sexes, from childhood through the age of twenty-three. In their leisure time Icarians viewed "spectacles" in large amphitheaters, enjoyed picnics, promenades, plays and concerts. Even religion, the cause of discord in Europe, was, in Cabet's scheme, the cornerstone of social harmony. He wrote that religion had "no other objective than to lead men to love each other like brothers by giving them as a rule of conduct ... 'Love your neighbor as yourself. Do not unto others the harm that you would not have others do to you. Do to others the good that you wish for yourself.' " Cabet's vision of human relations, in the words of Professor Christopher Johnson, "is the concept of community, of an integrated, loving oneness among all individuals."[4]

At first Cabet thought of trying his new society in France but opposition by the government soon discouraged him. In May, 1847, therefore, he urged his followers to establish a "new terrestrial paradise," as he put it, in the United States. Then, to solve the practical problems of just where to locate his Utopia, Cabet revisited Robert Owen who, in turn, recommended a site in Texas, along the Red River, where Owen himself had earlier planned a colony. Impulsively acting on this advise, and failing to check out conditions there, Cabet announced in January, 1848, "Let's Go to Texas!"[5]

So it was that in the early dawn of February 3, 1848, 69 hand-picked members of the First Advanced Guard of Icarians, pledging their loyalty to Cabet and to his ideal society, embarked from Le Havre on the ship "Rome" bound for America. Four months later a Second Advanced Guard of 21 men aboard the "Hannible" set sail for New Orleans also bound for the Red River. Cabet himself, after an abortive involvement in the Revolution of 1848 in Paris, in December, set off for the United States. He was then 60 years of age.[6]

The Texas colony was a disaster. The broiling summer and a devastating epidemic of cholera decimated the first settlers. The land proved impossibly arid. Moreover, because of Cabet's poor planning, the Icarian plots had been laid out in a checker-

board fashion, a scheme which made integrated communal life impossible. When Cabet landed at New Orleans on January 19, 1849 he met with what was left of the original colonists. Dissension was rampant. Half of the then over 500 colonists quit outright and returned to France. They immediately sued Cabet for fraud. Others, about 280, agreed to stay with Cabet and, on his exhortation, voted to try a second time to construct a community in more hospitable surroundings.

The site chosen for this second effort was the Illinois town of Nauvoo. Located on the Mississippi River about 150 miles north of St. Louis, the city had been laid out by the Latter-Day Saints in 1839 and, for

Location of Icarian Colonies in the United States, 1848-1898

a time, was the largest town in Illinois, with a population of over 12,000. After the murder of their founder, Joseph Smith, in 1844, though, the Mormons abandoned Nauvoo for a New Zion farther West. In the winter of 1849, they sold part of their holdings to a commission of Icarians sent up by Cabet from New Orleans. In March the rest of the colony made the trip up-river to their new home with tools and supplies on the steamboat "American Eagle."

At Nauvoo, the Icarians found houses constructed and land already under cultivation. Within a month they organized formally into "The Icarian Community" modeled on *Travels in Icaria*. They adopted a written constitution and chose Cabet President for a one-year term. They elected four Ministers to assist him. In charge of finance, farming, workshops, and the school, they were under the control of the President. So, in practice Cabet ran the community.[7]

Under Cabet's surveillance Icaria took shape. Its constitution prohibited private property. There was universal male suffrage exercised each Saturday in the General Assembly where the women, although disenfranchised, were given an equal voice with the men in discussion and debate. Each family was allotted space in the Phalanstery, or communal apartment, given a small amount of furniture, and allowed a garden in which they could grow whatever they wished. The children became the common property of the society and lived apart from their parents during the week at the school house. Only on Sunday could they visit their families. Cabet hoped that such separation would allow the children of Icaria to develope "an affection for the whole community," as he put it, rather than a "special love" for parents and relatives. Everyone ate together, however, three times each day in the Refectory.[8]

Cabet assigned each adult a daily task in one of the workshops or in agriculture. Among the former buildings, by early in 1850, were a flour mill, furniture shop, and a whiskey distillery. Although there was no formal religion in Icaria they began to meet on Suday afternoon to discuss questions of Christian morality and ethics, or any such matters they had pondered during the week. Recreation played an important role in Icarian life. There was an orchestra of 36 musicians under the direction of Claude Grubert which performed every Sunday evening. Extant musical scores bear such lively titles as "I Conserve It Mor My Wife," "No More Cries," "Hym of Harmony," and "The Second March of Two Days' Work." A second function of the orchestra was to accompany the community's regular repertory of theatrical productions.[9] One visitor to the colony, Francois-Marie Lacour, who spent the summer there in 1855, described their theater in some detail.

> The stage is at the end of the dining hall.... Benches used for the meals are placed in such a way that everyone can see very well. There are some complimentary passes given to a few American families. Icarian actors are doing their best in order to render some comedies and vaudevilles. I attended the performance of *The Salamander, The Hundred Piques, The Miser's*

Daughter and I myself was a member of the cast in *The Fisherman's Daughter.*[10]

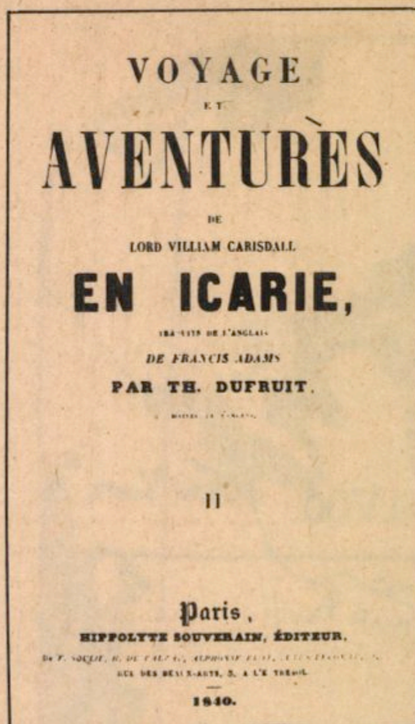
Even though Lacour was in Nauvoo for less than four months he saw four complete plays—an impressive record for the western frontier.

At Nauvoo, as in the fictional Icaria, there was a pervasive moral tone to all recreation. Pleasures had to have a higher objective than mere entertainment. Inscribed on the curtain of the Nauvoo Refectory, for instance, was the dictum: "Theater entertains, instructs, and moralizes." Emile Vallet, who lived at the Nauvoo Icaria as a child, remembered that:

> ...their recreations were moral. Nothing was allowed that would have shocked the most scrupulous nature. All songs, poems, or dramas exhibited on their stage were submitted to a commission, which did carefully eliminate all that could have a demoralizing influence.[11]

All was not well in the Nauvoo community, however. The problem was rooted in Cabet's extended absence from the colony, for almost two years. He had to return to Paris to answer in court charges of fraud brought by the disaffected Icarians who had abandoned the venture after the Texas debacle. Cabet had no difficulty in clearing himself of the charges, but while he was away many Icarians carried on like school children on vacation. Communal work stopped. Some began to hoard private property. By 1854, economic troubles surfaced: the colony could not meet its expenses. Only the money turned over by new members helped to keep the Utopia afloat.

When Cabet finally arrived back in Nauvoo in the fall of 1854 he promulgated Draconian measures which, in his eyes, were absolutely essential to the restoration of communal discipline. In a list of 48 Rules of Conduct


VOYAGE

ET

AVENTURÈS

DE

LORD VILLIAM CARISDALL

EN ICARIE,

DE FRANCIS ADAMS

PAR TH. DUFRUIT.

II

Paris,

HIPPOLYTE SOUVERAIN, ÉDITEUR.

1840.

Title page of the first edition of Cabet's *Voyage.*

he prohibited all tobacco and alcohol and, among other things, required Icarians to obey such prescriptions as:

Rule 13. Do not hide or keep anything.

Rule 26. No liking or disliking of any food served.

Rule 35. Absolute silence, no chattering in the workshops.

Rule 37. Absolute submission to the discipline of the Community.

Cabet further over-reacted. He tried to change the constitution to have himself elected President for a four-year term instead of a one-year tenure. He also wanted the President to appoint Inspectors to visit the workshops and report on who was slacking on their assignments. The majority of the adult males, led by Jean B. Gerard, revolted. They charged Cabet with planning a dictatorship. By the summer of 1856, after continuous recriminations, the situation degenerated into a name-calling melee. On one side was the group behind Gerard, calling themselves the "Majority" and on the other side the Cabet loyalists, the "Cabetists." The finale came quickly. In October, Cabet tried to force the General Assembly to grant him a lifetime appointment as President. It failed. The Majority, in turn, expelled the Cabetists from Nauvoo[12] Cabet and about 180 of his followers left the city that month for Cheltenham, a suburb of St. Louis where, once again he tried to build another Icaria. Just days after his arrival there, however, on November 8, 1856 the 69 year-old Cabet died of a stroke.

The Cheltenham colony, led by Cabet's appointed successor, a young lawyer named Mercedier, was based on a new constitution which, except for educating their children at the St. Louis public schools, was the same as that drawn up at Nauvoo. They purchased three buildings and about 28 acres adjacent to the Union Pacific Railroad line running west from the city. Icarian men found well paying jobs in town as mechanics, tailors, shoemakers, jewelers, and similar artisan crafts. The railroad provided a cheap and quick access to city markets for Icarian-made products such as cloth and brooms. At Cheltenham, cultural amenities appeared with the creation of a community orchestra and theater company and the building of a colony library.

By the time of the Civil War, though, the tide began to turn. Their property was just too small to feed the community. The area soon proved pestilential because the River des Peres, which flowed through the colony, became polluted with sewage and the foul water, combined with the summer heat, brought on cholera and dysentery. The Union army drew off the younger men. The mortgage of $17,000 was too much to cover and in 1864 the property returned to St. Louis banker Thomas Allen in default of payment. By then a political fight over the presidency surfaced and, like Nauvoo a decade before, Cheltenham divided into two fac-

tions. That same year, in March, a majority left the colony and the St. Louis Icaria legally disbanded.[13]

Back at Nauvoo, meanwhile, hard times had hit the Majority. Crops failed, debts increased, and the economic depression which followed the Panic of 1857 brought in creditors' claims from all sides. By 1859, the Icarians decided to liquidate their assets and relocate in Iowa on new Federal lands which recently had been opened for sale. They sold their real estate for $21,000 and, in 1860, moved to Adams County, some 80 miles southwest of Des Moines. Initially they constructed a log-cabin community of workshops, barns, and houses on 2,150 acres of land. On the Nodaway River, which traversed the colony, they built a flour and saw mill. The layout was essentially the same as that at Nauvoo with a central dining hall surrounded by workshops with agricultural land outside the community. But at the Corning site single-family dwellings replaced multi-family apartments and, like at Cheltenham, the children attended the public school.[14]

Civil War brought prosperity to Corning, largely because the Icarians sold their produce to federal agents at greatly inflated prices. By 1870 they had redeemed their debts. By then, frame buildings had replaced the crude log structures and the Icarians had added a kitchen, library, and storage agea to the Refectory and constructed Pharmacy/Bakery and Laundry shops. By the early 1870s more than 80 Icarians, plus visitors, lived off of 3,000 acres of land which included 400 acres of woodland and a limestone quarry.[15]

The pattern of internal dissension over politics set at Nauvoo and Cheltenham also developed at the Corning Icaria. Trouble came in the mid-1870s from newly-arrived Icarians from France. Led by Jules Leroux, they called themselves Progressives and pushed for basic changes in the community. They wanted more open admissions requirements, equal voting rights for women, and more efficient bookkeeping in business affairs. Their opponents, the former Nauvoo Icarians, led by their president Alexis Marchand and J.B. Gerard, cautioned against such departures, especially in changing the admissions requirements. In the fall of 1877 the showdown came. The Progressives took the Conservatives to court charging that they had violated the community charter by maintaining private gardens. In August, 1878, the Adams County Circuit Court agreed with the plaintiffs, ordered the charter forfeited, and the community dissolved.

Cabet's vision of human relations, "is the concept of community, of an integrated, loving oneness among all individuals."

The Progressives left Corning in 1881 for an 885 acre tract in Cloverdale, California (just north of San Francisco) which they purchased for $15,000. This colony, called Icaria Speranza (Icaria of Hope), lasted only six years. With only ten families in the community it lacked the capital and the skilled labor to run a self-contained society. There were disputes over who was in charge and quarrels over money management. By March, 1887, the community broke up and divided its property among its members.[16]

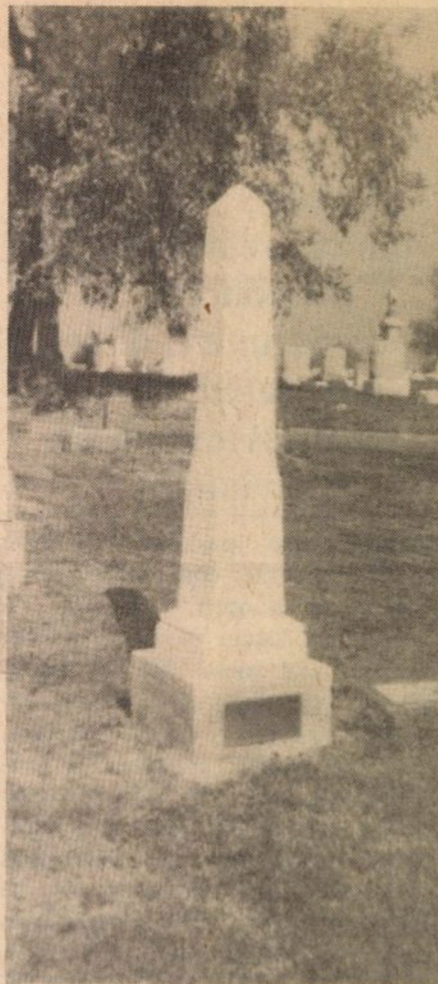
At Corning, the original Conservatives relocated about one-half mile away from the first site—literally dragging their six houses on logs across the frozen prairie. There they began, for many the fourth time, to build a "New Icaria," as they labeled their colony. It lasted, modestly, for another 20 years. In 1898, it too died for lack of new members to replace the aging original Icarians.

Overall, the Icarian movement presents a historical paradox. Some historians, such as Ralph Albertson, see it as the quintessence of nineteenth century American utopianism.[17] In this view, the European Icarians looked to the opportunities of the United States as the only place where an ideal society could be created. Moreover, the Icarian experiments, since all adhered to the same social plan first detailed in Cabet's *Travels in Icaria*, collectively were America's most enduring secular communal experiment. It ran over 50 years compared to the average life span of only 15 years for 18 other communities founded in Illinois, Missouri and Iowa in the last century.[18] The Icarians, again comparatively speaking, attracted the largest following. Albert Shaw in his book *Icaria a Chapter in the History of Communism*, for example, found that between 1848 and 1856 at Nauvoo alone there were at least 1,500 individuals connected with Icaria.[19] At Cheltenham, in the January 15, 1857, issue of its newspaper the *Nouvelle Revue Icarienne* the president of the colony, Mercedier, claimed that on the basis of signatures affixed to "addresses, subscriptions, protestations, collective letters" which he received there was at that time an "Icarian population" of at least 50,000 persons.[20]

The Icarians were unique not only for their longevity and size of their following but also for their extraordinarily high level of literacy and culture, even in the frontier environment of the American West. In the first place, to become an Icarian one had to pass an admissions test to

demonstrate a thorough knowledge of Cabet's voluminous writings, all in French. Each Icaria published its own newspaper and at Corning there were two such French-language papers put out simultaneously. Icarians at Nauvoo, Cheltenham, and Corning each maintained an extensive and well-used library. At Nauvoo, the library of over 4,000 volumes was the largest collection in Illinois at that time. Each Sunday afternoon, at the "cours Icarienne" they discussed a variety of subjects from ethics and morality to current events. They supported a varied cultural life in their regular concerts and theatrical productions. And, finally, the Icarian emphasis on mandatory education for both boys and girls was as strong as, and perhaps stronger than, any other nineteenth-century communitarian experiment in America.

Other historians, however, see the Icarian colonies, taken separately, as failures. Robert D. Bush in his article on the Nauvoo Icarians published in 1977 in *The Old Northwest* identified three serious problems which brought down the Nauvoo experiment and to a degree effected its successors. First, the members failed to solve the problem of sustaining an economically self-sufficient community. The Icarians just were not hard workers, at least at manual labor. They could not, especially at Nauvoo, get the job done without coercion. Another proplem was the failure to attract Americans into their communities. The Icarians exhibited an ethnocentrism, a Gallic haughtiness in their French culture, which discouraged any American interested in their colonies. This barrier was all but insurmountable by the language requirement—knowledge of Cabet's French writings—in the admission test. A third drawback was their vague Christian mysticism which obscured specific goals and common social values. Cabet and his followers envisioned a loving, bucolic community based on the day-to-day practice of the Golden Rule. This transcendent feeling of the need to better the human condition through mutual love was not translated, on the practical level, into objectives which forged individual commitment to communal needs.[21]



Cabet's tomb in St. Louis

There were other reasons for the failure of the Icarian colonies, individually, to make a go of it. Their residents were politically cantankerous. Given a period of a few years they would debate, then fight, then split. They could not get along with each other on community matters, not even Cabet was immune from this penchant for quarreling and bickering. Furthermore, Icaria as envisaged by Cabet and his disciples in France was irrelevant to conditions in frontier America. Initially, Icaria was conceived in European terms as an urban community with its population largely concentrated in cities and towns. Bits and pieces of life in *Travels in Icaria* could be adapted to a wilderness setting, but the dream as a whole was unrealistic.

Still another flaw which appeared in the Icarian colonies was the lack of capable direction at the top. Sociologists like Benjamin Zablocki, in his *Alienation and Charisma*, published in 1981, see the failure of communal societies largely in terms of the lack of effective leadership and the want of "periodic charismatic renewal."[22] The effect was chronic communal instability. In Icaria, even when the charismatic Cabet was present, he became a divisive force by his arbitrary and stern authoritarian personality. Indeed, he enjoyed the singular distinction among leaders of American communal experiments of being kicked out by a majority of his own followers! After Cabet, Icarians never came close to finding another such charismatic, if not distorted, leader.

Lastly, there was, I believe, an almost unnoticed condition that undermined the Icarians, the lack of sufficient isolation from influences outside the community. Most of the relatively successful nineteenth century communities were allowed the luxury to test their ideas largely unhampered by pressures of American life. With the exception of the Corning community in the 1860s, this was not the case with the Icarians. Take Nauvoo, for example. Most students of this colony feel that the Icarians came up from the Texas disaster to take over a deserted city. But data in the federal and Illinois census manuscripts provide quite a different picture of Nauvoo during the Icarian years. Far from being physically removed from distractions,

the Icarians were bombarded by them. In 1850, of the 1,131 inhabitants of the city, only 281 were Icarians, or less than 25 percent of the population. At the height of the community's development, in 1855, they still numbered only 25 percent of the residents. Moreover, census data show no Icarians living outside of the city.[23] In other words, the Icarians were in the minority in their own neighborhood. Nauvoo Icarians rubbed elbows every day with ordinary Americans who lived with their children at home and not just on Sundays, ate meals of their own choice and not in a regimented Refectory, spent their own money earned from their own work, and went about their daily lives without the slightest concern with the effect of their conduct on the brotherhood of man. Perhaps many Icarians, beset with the mounting problems hitting their Utopia, saw firsthand the alternatives of American life and decided that the demands of the author of *Travels in Icaria* were too high. If, as Vallet recalled, over 2,000 people alone visited Nauvoo with an interest in staying on as permanent Icarians, and less than 500 (at a maximum) ever remained there at one time, something was missing.

Nevertheless, in the face of repeated frustrations a handful of Icarians stuck it out. They refused to surrender their original goal of Cabet's ideal community of goods (*la communaute de biens*). Their efforts still fascinate historians almost 150 years after the First Advanced Guard put out of LeHavre all set to build a model community for the world on the mudflats of the Red River in Texas. □

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ENDNOTES

1. Etienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icaria*, 2nd edition (Paris: J. Mallet et Cie, 1842), p. 3. The work first appeared under the title *Voyage et Adventures de Lord William Carisdall en Icarie, Traduit de l'Anglais de Francis Adams.*

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3. Johnson, "Communism and the Working Class," p. 688.

4. Cabet, *Travels*, pp. 71, 82, 84, 95, 184, 217, 276.

5. Christopher Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France, Cabet and the Icarians*, 1839-1851 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 50, 221, 235.

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7. Thomas Rees, "Nauvoo, Illinois, Under Mormon and Icarian Occupation," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 21 (1929), 516.

8. Kenneth, O. Luke, "Nauvoo, Illinois, Since the Exodus of the Mormons, 1846-1973," (doctoral dissertation, Saint Louis University, 1973), p. 56.

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15. Marie Marchand Ross, *Child of Icaria* (Westport, Conn.: Hyperin Press, Inc., reprint, 1976), *passim.*

16. Robert V. Hine, *California's Utopian Colonies* (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1953), p. 76.

17. Ralph Albertson, "A survey of Mutualistic Communities in America," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 4 (1936), pp. 375-444.

18. Grant, "Utopias That Failed: the Antebellum Years," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* (Spring, 1979), pp. 38-51.

19. Shaw, *Icaria*, pp. 59, 72, 76.

20. *Nouvelle Revue Icarienne*, January 15, 1857, pp. 2-3.

21. Robert D. Bush, "Communism, Community, and Charisma: The Crisis in Icaria at Nauvoo," *The Old Northwest*, 3 (1977), pp. 409-10.

22. Bush, "Communism, Community, and Charisma," p. 421.

The Fourierist Movement in America

by Carl Guarneri

PICK UP ANY general history of socialism and you'll find that the nineteenth-century utopians—Robert Owen, Henri de Saint Simon, and Charles Fourier—are disposed of in just a few pages. This is partly because they arrived on the scene right before Karl Marx, whose system so dominated socialist thought thereafter that it reduced preceding theories to "forerunners." (It was Marx and Frederick Engels who coined the derogatory label "utopian socialism," which has stuck to the above trio ever since.) But the utopians have been relatively neglected for another reason: because the communities they founded or inspired did not last. We have been told many times, most forcefully by Rosabeth Kanter's *Commitment and Community*, that longevity is a key ingredient of communal success. By this criterion the utopian socialists clearly failed.

There are other gauges of success besides longevity, however, and other aspects of utopian movements to interest us besides their alleged success or failure. The ideas of the utopian socialists were perceptive and influential, their communities were fascinating experiments, and the insights we can derive from the movements they founded are of enduring value. All three men and the movements that took their names deserve a closer look. Of the three, I believe that Fourier had the most revealing and important theory, and it is certain the he had the most influence in America. By any reckoning the Fourierist movement was the most popular and dynamic secular community movement of the nineteenth century.

Though Charles Fourier first published his ideas in 1808 nothing was known of them in the United States until in 1832 Albert Brisbane, the pampered son of a wealthy upstate New York family, discovered the Frenchman's theory while on a grand tour of Europe. The excited Brisbane rushed to Paris, paid Fourier himself for some lessons, and spent the next two years there working with Fourier's French disciples. After returning to America he wrote *Social Destiny of Man* (1840), a fairly complete exposition of Fourier's ideas. But the big break came in 1842 when Brisbane managed to purchase a daily column in Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, which then introduced Fourierism, or the doctrine of Association, as the Americans preferred to call it, into thousands of households throughout the country.

Fourier's theory was actually a vast and eccentric universal philosophy that included ideas about the origins of the solar system, the psychological makeup of humanity and the course of human history, as well as visions—all too explicit for nineteenth-century tastes!—of a utopia of free love and harmony with nature. So Brisbane and his American colleagues carefully edited the master's ideas, paring them down to a practical communitarian program while still preserving enough of the larger theory to show that their blueprint was "scientific." Basically four main ideas were left.

First, there was the conviction that the competitive system of the present must be replaced. With uncanny foresight the Fourierists predicted that unlimited competition would lead to a new feudalism where people would either endure enslavement by corporations or lead a bloody rebellion against them. Instead of this scenario the Fourierists proposed a peaceful, voluntary revolution through model cooperative communities. In these communities, called "phalanxes," cooperation would be ensured by guaranteeing everyone a minimum wage and maintenance in sickness or old age; by adopting a complex system of dividing up the community's profits (certain fractions going to labor, capital and skill); and by having each member own part of the community through joint-stock shares.

Second, the Fourierists believed that work need not be degrading and monotonous, but could be attractive if correctly organized. Individuals in the phalanx would voluntarily form "groups" and then "series" of groups oriented around one task, such as carpentry, education, household work or gardening. Working in teams and alternating jobs about every two hours, community members would be stimulated to greater productivity and at the same time fulfill the various aptitudes of their personal makeup. (Fourier contended that such variety was necessary in sexual relations, too, but most of his disciples disagreed.)

Third, the Fourierists argued, in response to many critics, that their theory was consistent with Christianity. Coming from a variety of religious backgrounds (though mostly liberal Protestants), the Fourierists saw the phalanx as Christian love in practice, and they asserted that its adoption by all Americans would bring the millennium or kingdom of heaven on earth that so many nineteenth-century Americans thought was at hand.

Finally, Fourierists believed that their theory was *the* social science. From the Frenchman's complex analysis of the "passions" of human nature they derived a kind of social mathematics that balanced individual

"Yankee Doodle" on Association, December 19, 1846. The comment of a magazine of humor on Fourierism.

"Come along and help dig them Taters!"
"Why, you must be a new comer in this Phalanstry, or you would know that I belong to the Eating Group."

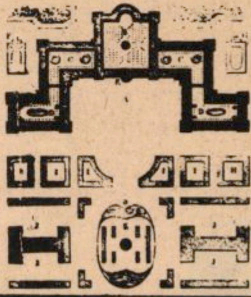
"attractions" and community needs in a detailed blueprint. Since Fourier had already deciphered the "divine social code," their phalanxes were meant to illustrate the truth rather than to arrive at it through experiment.

Fourier himself would settle for nothing less than a thriving community of 1600 persons ensconced in a Versailles-like palace. Legend has it that Fourier waited in his apartment every noon for the millionaire who would underwrite the first phalanx. But Brisbane and the Americans, impatient for success and sensing that the time was ripe, advocated stripped-down phalanxes of three or four hundred persons in the countryside not far from major cities. The time *was* ripe in the 1840s, with many middle-class Americans swept up in a wave of reform and American workers seeking to regain the independence they had lost at the workplace thanks to the cluster of changes we now call the Industrial Revolution. Amazingly, the Fourierists' propaganda succeeded beyond their wildest dreams: no less than twenty-nine miniature phalanxes sprang up on American soil between 1843 and 1858. (See Table.) At least ten thousand Americans became involved at one time or another in the Fourierist movement.

Each of the phalanxes had its own history, and there were important differences among them; but from this distance we can see common patterns. In the initial excitement neighbors and strangers organized the little phalanxes far too hastily and with too little capital. Most of them compounded the problem either by not securing full title to the property or by buying far too much acreage for their needs. Added to this was the failure to screen new members carefully. In many cases a useful skill or some capital to invest was the only requirement, and the probationary period was allowed to pass without a careful look at the candidate. The result was that, as Horace Greeley lamented, "scores of the conceited ... the selfish, ...the pugnacious, ... (and) the idle" were permitted to join the new phalanxes.

All the phalanxes faced the problem of how far they should implement Fourier's plan. Because of their limited membership and capital none could of course aim to be a model phalanx along Fourier's guidelines. But most communities put into practice, to the degree they felt was possible or desirable, Fourier's system of work in groups and his idea of differential rewards for different kinds of work. Most were apparently successful in gathering together persons from diverse religious and occupational backgrounds. Far from being havens of dreamy ministers and intellectuals, as many people today still believe, the phalanxes attracted large numbers of clerks, carpenters and blacksmiths, but unfortunately not enough farmers. Most Fourierists tried living in a "phalanstery," or large apartment-like dwelling, with meals shared in a common dining hall, although there were dissenters. Unlike Fourier, however, all of the phalanxes were conservative on sexual and family relations: the traditional family and its morality predominated, and children were raised by their parents. Still, the relaxed atmosphere of some of the communities gave young people a degree of freedom they would never have had at home, and phalanx work and politics did open up some new roles for women.

In many ways Fourierism had promised everything to everybody with the idea that "social science" would harmonize any differences that resulted from full freedom. Behind this lay the naive faith that under the proper conditions Baptists would get along with freethinkers and intellectuals would make great farmers. It didn't work out that way. Disputes arose at various phalanxes over issues such as work on the Sabbath, compulsory religious services, com-



munal dining, drinking of alcohol and differential wages. Even if the phalanx was economically successful, there was always the temptation to sell one's shares at a profit and buy cheap land nearby. Faced with these kinds of pressures and disagreements, most of the phalanxes died early deaths. Only eight survived for more than three years, and the longest lived, the North American Phalanx, held out for a mere dozen years.

A brief look at the three most important phalanxes illustrates concretely some of the forces at work in the rise and fall of these communities, and some of the differences among them.

Brook Farm, the most famous, was founded in 1841 outside Boston by George Ripley and a circle of Transcendentalist ministers, reformers, and writers (among them was the young Nathaniel Hawthorne). Ripley's chief idea was to reintegrate the self by combining manual and intellectual labor in a model cooperative society. The showpiece in this endeavor was the community's school, which attracted students from around the country and gave them excellent practical as well as classical training. By 1844 the Brook Farmers wanted to broaden their community's membership as well as increase its efficiency, and the community officially joined the Fourierist movement. Ripley and his colleagues took over the Fourierist weekly *The Harbinger* and made it into a first-class organ of literary and social criticism. Throughout its life Brook Farm had a campus-like atmosphere, where unmarried men and women in their twenties predominated, social and literary discussion flourished, and room visits and moonlight walks created a casual and free social life. But its farming and shoemaking operations were never profitable enough to sustain the community, and shortly after a disastrous fire destroyed the new phalanstery in 1846 Ripley and the others reluctantly closed Brook Farm down.

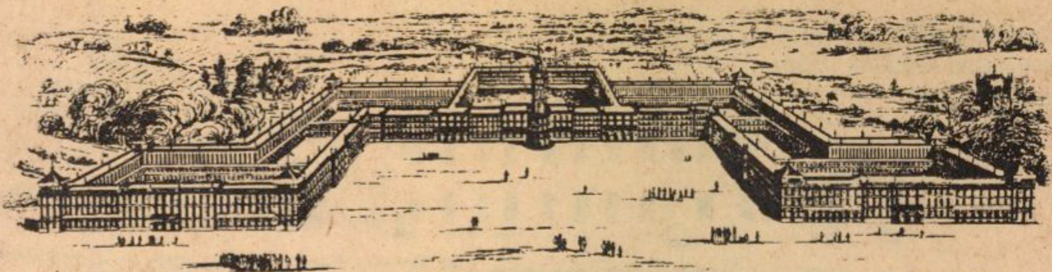
A very different sort of community, more representative of the Fourierist communities in the west, was the Wisconsin Phalanx, founded in 1844. Southport (now Kenosha), Wisconsin had been settled by migrants from upstate New York and Vermont. When business in the Lake Michigan seaport stagnated this band of artisans headed inland with their families—unlike Brook Farm, there were almost as many children as adults—and their copies of Brisbane's *Tribune* columns to try cooperative farming. As hard workers without the busy social life of the Brook Farmers, they built a solid economic base; the community ran a successful farm and whittled down its debt year by year.

Fourierist Phalanxes in America

	Name	Location	Dates	Members*
1.	Brook Farm	Mass.	1841-47	115
2.	Social Reform Unity	Pa.	1842-43	20-30
3.	Bureau County Phalanx	Ill.	1843-44	20
4.	Jefferson Co. Industrial Assn.	N.Y.	1843-44	400
5.	Sylvania Association	Pa.	1843-44	145
6.	Morehouse Union	N.Y.	1843-44	?
7.	North American Phalanx	N.J.	1843-55	112
8.	La Grange Phalanx	Ind.	1843-46 or 47	150
9.	Clarkson Association	N.Y.	1844-44	420
10.	Bloomfield Union Association	N.Y.	1844-46	148
11.	Ohio Phalanx	Ohio	1844-45	100
12.	Leraysville Phalanx	Pa.	1844-45	40
13.	Alphadelphia Phalanx	Mich.	1844-46	188
14.	Sodus Bay Phalanx	N.Y.	1844-46	260
15.	Mixville Association	N.Y.	1844-45	?
16.	Trumbull Phalanx	Ohio	1844-47	250
17.	Ontario Union	N.Y.	1844-45	150
18.	Clermont Phalanx	Ohio	1844-46	120
19.	Wisconsin Phalanx	Wisc.	1844-50	180
20.	Iowa Pioneer Phalanx	Iowa	1844-45	50
21.	Philadelphia Industrial Assn.	Ind.	1845-47	?
22.	Columbian Phalanx	Ohio	1845-45	150
23.	Canton Phalanx	Ill.	1845-?	?
24.	Integral Phalanx	Ill.	1845-47	120
25.	Spring Farm Phalanx	Wisc.	1846-49	30
26.	Pigeon River Fourier Colony	Wisc.	1846-?	20
27.	Raritan Bay Union	N.J.	1853-57	90
28.	La Reunion	Texas	1855-59	350
29.	The Fourier Phalanx	Ind.	1858-58	13

* maximum in residence at one time

The Ideal



Sketch and plan of a phalanstery. From Victor Considerant "Description du phalanstere" (Paris, 1848)

But there were underlying conflicts and pressures. While the community's leader Warren Chase was a militant freethinker, other members were Baptists and Methodists committed to a strict code of personal conduct. And whereas Chase and his followers wanted to adopt Fourier's communal system as quickly as possible, other members were interested in cooperative production but not in group living. Finally in 1850, when key members leaped at the chance to sell their property at a hefty profit, the Wisconsin Phalanx dissolved.

Begun in 1843 by a group of Albany artisans, the North American Phalanx became, according to Oneida founder John Humphrey Noyes, "the test-experiment on which Fourierism practically staked its all in this country." On the sandy soil of New Jersey a very diverse band of Associationists built the most profitable and carefully organized phalanx. As the phalanx closest to New York City the North American attracted a steady stream of visitors, received lots of publicity in the *Tribune*, and benefitted from the investment capital of sympathetic New York merchants. And eventually as the last surviving phalanx it attracted faithful veterans from failed communities. Both the surge of capital and members were mixed blessings, however. There was constant tension because Brisbane and the merchants wanted to build the North American into a full-scale model phalanx immediately, while resident members preferred to evolve slowly. In addition, some influential members, mostly non-residents, wanted to make the phalanx more religious. In 1852 they split off to form a competing phalanx, the Raritan Bay Union, a few miles away. When in September 1854 the North American Phalanx's mill burned down the remaining members voted not to rebuild it with outside capital. One year later the community disbanded.

With the breakup of the Fourierist's flagship experiment the phalanx movement was coming to an end, but not before one last valiant effort. In 1853 Albert Brisbane and Victor Considerant, the leader of the French Fourierists, had toured the American west on horseback and chosen a site near present-day Dallas for a gathering of the Fourierist remnant from two constituents. The result was the ill-fated colony of Reunion, where a few dozen Americans and three hundred Frenchmen struggled with arid land and few resources before giving up in 1859. Thus as an organized community movement Fourierism was dead in the United States by the Civil War, though its legacy continued in a few scattered experiments like Silkville in Kansas.

How, then, are we to assess this popular but short-lived utopian movement? Was it a total failure, or can it in any sense be called successful? What lessons can today's communal movement draw from the Fourierists' experience? Obviously the Fourierists failed in their grand mission to transform the whole of America into a cooperative society. They surely would have failed on this count even had their communities prospered! But in spite of their quick collapse the Fourierist phalanxes achieved some important successes. Unlike many nineteenth-century communal experiments, the phalanxes were genuine coalitions of people of different ages, classes and religious groups. A community like Brook Farm demonstrated that under the righ conditions such diversity could be harmonized into unity without an authoritarian leader or a powerful religious creed which everyone must subscribe to. Brook Farm also showed that communal life need not be stolid and dull, but could be intellectually adventurous and socially lively. Less cultured but more practical experiments like the Wisconsin and North American Phalanxes proved the economic viability of cooperation. Also, in an era of increasing specialization, many of the phalanxes were able to provide the kind of varied work that fostered whole persons and made the communal experience a "school for living." And while the phalanxes did not disrupt the monogamous family they extended its energies beyond what Brisbane called the "isolated household" into communal activity and sharing.

It is especially important, I think, to recognize that the Fourierist movement encompassed far more than the phalanxes. In dozens of towns and cities across America Fourierists formed clubs where ordinary people heard socialist lectures, read and debated Fourier's works, and supported such efforts at cooperation as mutual insurance and "combined households," or what we would call group living. In fact, the Fourierists virtually founded the cooperative movement in the United States. Through their magazines and clubs the Fourierists encouraged and sponsored consumer cooperatives, which they called Protective Unions; by the end of the 1840s over 230 such Protective Union stores were in operation in New England and New York. When Brisbane and other American Fourierists returned from a visit to France in the late 1840s they

Central Buildings, North American Phalanx (from map of 1855)

brought with them details of producer cooperatives started among French workers. Thanks to their publicity, by the early 1850s cooperative workshops were organized among tradesmen and women in Cincinnati, Boston, Pittsburgh, Providence, and New York. All these organizations expanded the reach of Fourierist ideas, and many of them lived on long after the phalanxes disappeared.

Fourierist ideas were also tremendously influential outside the movement. In the early nineteenth century, as Ralph Waldo Emerson commented, there was hardly a man on the street who didn't have a community plan in his back pocket. But while Owenism was the key centralizing force for British radicals, Americans gravitated with their ideas and concerns toward Fourier's system. Thanks to Brisbane and Greeley's publicity, in the two decades before the Civil War Fourierist ideas were at the center of the debate over the future of the Republic. In the Northern states Emerson and others developed the concepts of "self-reliance" and "free labor" in dialogue with the socialists. Abolitionists debated with utopians over the merits of the capitalist system into which the slaves were to be "liberated." Southerners like George Fitzhugh used Fourierist ideas to condemn competitive life in the developing North. And laborers turned to Fourierist communities or cooperatives in the wake of disastrous strikes by their weak unions. Later in the century a young man named Edward Bellamy borrowed some Fourierist ideas for his novel *Looking Backward*, and started a utopian movement of his own.

All these offshoots and influences should suggest that there are other indicators of "success" for communitarian movements besides the duration of their experiments. Let me suggest still another aspect worth looking at: the course of members' lives after the movement fades. It is useful, I think, to view communal experiments as educational environments which send out "graduates" to embody the community's ideals through their lives in the larger society. Here is a partial list of notable Fourierist "alumni": Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman medical doctor in America; John Dwight, the pioneer American music critic; John Orvis, who carried cooperative principles to the leadership of the labor movement after the Civil War; Stephen Pearl Andrews, one of the first American anarchists and the man who introduced shorthand to the United States; William Henry Channing, an activist minister who was conscience to a generation and at one time chaplain to the United States Congress; Henry Clapp, self-proclaimed "King" of America's first bohemia; Charles Dana, editor of the New York *Sun*; and dozens of men and women who joined the crusade against slavery that led to black emancipation. Any movement that nurtures such interesting and committed lives cannot be called a total failure.

And what about "lessons" for today? Historians are trained to pay such close attention to the specific circumstances of past events that they hesitate to find clear lessons for the present in them. In some sense, though, what the Fourierists were attempting a century and a half ago and what intentional communities are trying to do today are quite similar. In their own terms and contexts both have sought an alternative to the competitive, materialistic and technologized world around them. What can be learned from the Fourierists' experience? There are, of course, all the practical do's and don't's—mostly don't's!—that the phalanxes' brief history offers. Land mania, undercapitalization, haphazard recruitment, petty bickering, religious conflict—it is obvious that these are to be avoided if possible. Underneath these are more subtle problems, such as the Fourierists' desire to please and convert everyone to the movement, their failure to create a lifestyle different enough from the mainstream to prevent easy cooptation, and their rigid insistence that their communities demonstrate a theory rather than arrive at one through practical experience. All these could be dangerous temptations for modern communitarians in search of more members or easy solutions.

There are also positive things worth considering as legacies of the phalanxes: the conviction that community experiments should not be entirely homogenous but should embody a cross-section of ages, classes, and religions; the idea that the communal endeavor ought to be tied to a larger worldview; and the commitment to what we would call "outreach" programs. Whatever the fate of the phalanxes, the Fourierists' considerable influence upon society at large and their vivid and interesting lives show that intentional communities are worth undertaking, no matter how briefly they may last. As long as industrialism and capitalism bring harm as well as good, and as long as American life falls short of its own ideals, we *should* (and will) have community plans in our back pockets. □

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CALIFORNIA'S SOCIALIST UTOPIAS

by Michael E. Dermody and Robert V. Hine

SOCIALISM, simply defined as secular community ownership of the means of production, has had a long history as a motivation for utopian experimentation in California. Religious colonies, like the Mormons in San Bernardino (1852) or the followers of Thomas Lake Harris near Santa Rosa (1875) controlled the means of production, but only as part of an overriding theocracy. Secular, socialist colonies have been generally democratic and far less dominated by single leaders. As Benjamin Zablocki would say, they were the products of alienation, not charisma. They may have reflected minor brushes with marxism, but they were more often the offspring of American forebears like Edward Bellamy or William Dean Howells. Their colonial lives tended to be relatively short, still they generally enjoyed exciting, colorful, and humane histories.[1]

In 1883 the first of a group of French socialists arrived near Cloverdale to form Icaria Speranza. They sprang from an earlier Icarian colony in Iowa which in turn had descended from the teachings of Etienne Cabet. Some of the California members had fought on the barricades for the Paris Commune, but all of them decried competition and began raising vineyards and orchards for the new cooperative society. An island of French culture, their pool of potential membership was never large and their fraternal life gradually faded before the decade ended.

The most impressive nineteenth-century socialist colony in California was the Kaweah Cooperative Commonwealth. For

Job Harriman, founder of the Llano Del Rio Colony

half a decade in the 1880's it dominated San Francisco Bay socialist thinking like a colossus. Over three hundred laborers and intellectuals, readers of Edward Bellamy and Laurence Gronlund, eventually and at various times boarded the new railroad cars and traveled south to Visalia in the San Joaquin Valley. From there they hauled their belongings on buckboards to Kaweah in the foothills of the Sierras beneath the future Sequoia National Park. For five years they wrestled with the meaning and construction of a new society based on cooperation and socialist brotherhood. Their success was measured in orchestral concerts under summer stars, and the backbreaking work of a road built into the higher altitudes for the removal of timber. Their failure was measured in political backbiting and mounting debt. Hopes for overcoming these obstacles were dashed in 1890 by the federal government's reclaiming their land without reimbursement for a national park.

Between 1890 and 1915 socialism spawned at least three colonies, Altruria, Winters Island, and the Army of Industry. The first was the product of high-minded Unitarians who had read William Dean Howells', ***Traveler from Altruria***. In 1896 they expected to translate its socialist principles into reality along Mark West Creek in the Napa Valley. The second, Winters Island in the San Joaquin delta behind San Francisco Bay, was in the mid-1890's the outgrowth of Populist and labor unionist ideology. A similar group of radicals and IWW unionists gathered in 1915 in a colony near Auburn and called themselves the Army of Industry.

By far the most interesting and important of California's socialist experimental colonies was Llano del Rio. It began in 1914 in the rocky desert foothills of the Antelope Valley, about sixty miles east of Los Angeles and was the created dream of a prominant national socialist, Job Harriman. In 1911 he was a leading candidate for mayor of Los Angeles on the socialist ticket, and his campaign was strong enough in those Progressive days to indicate victory.

During the previous year, however, the Los Angeles *Times*, creature of the arch-conservative Harrison Gray Otis, had been bombed during a typographers' strike. Two union officials, James and John McNamara, were tried for the resulting twenty deaths. A widespread belief held that the bombing was a plant by the virulently anti-union Otis in an effort to discredit the union movement.

Labor supporters, including Harriman, flocked to the side of the McNamaras. Having staked his prestige and political future on the innocence of the brothers, Harriman was dumbfounded when the defendents changed their plea to guilty. The shift could not have come at a more inopportune moment for Harriman, just four days before the election. His defeat contributed to his growing disillusion with politics as a means of social change. Turning now to another road, the economic one, he set out to create a model community to illustrate socialism in action. The vision would be an island of cooperation in a hostile, competitive world.

The basic plan for the Llano community was first to create a California corporation which would issue stock. Initially $500 per member was set but within the first year that figure was advanced to $1,000. Possession of stock enabled the member to become a resident of the colony and conferred voting rights for the day-by-day operations. To insure equality, members were not allowed to own more or less than the established amount. Each resident would be promised work in the colony at a wage of $4.00 per day. These earnings would cover daily needs with the remainder to be credited until the colony produced a profit.

In 1914 a strip of desert land in the Antelope Valley near Palmdale was purchased from the Mescal Land and Water Company, on the site of Almondale, a former temperance colony.[2] On May 1 of that year five families moved to the sandy land and built the first houses of wood and canvas to begin the Llano experiment. Initially life was difficult. Tents provided far too little shelter from the desert sun and the extreme chill of winter nights. Farming, a prime purpose, called for diversion of water a long distance from the nearest creek, Big Rock. Yet the colony grew and prospered, promoted in the *Western Comrade*, a regional socialist periodical which moved from Los Angeles to the colony itself. In four years the membership had swelled to 900 residents plus some 100 non-residents.[3] The canvas gradually gave way to adobe walls in most of the houses, and over former jackrabbit paths rose a sturdy stone-walled hotel and dormitory. At its height activities included a ranch, dairy, apiary, and rabbitry with an industries department that supervised canning, leather work, shoemaking, laundry, and wood working.[4] The print shop published both the monthly *Western Comrade* and the weekly *Llano Colonist*.

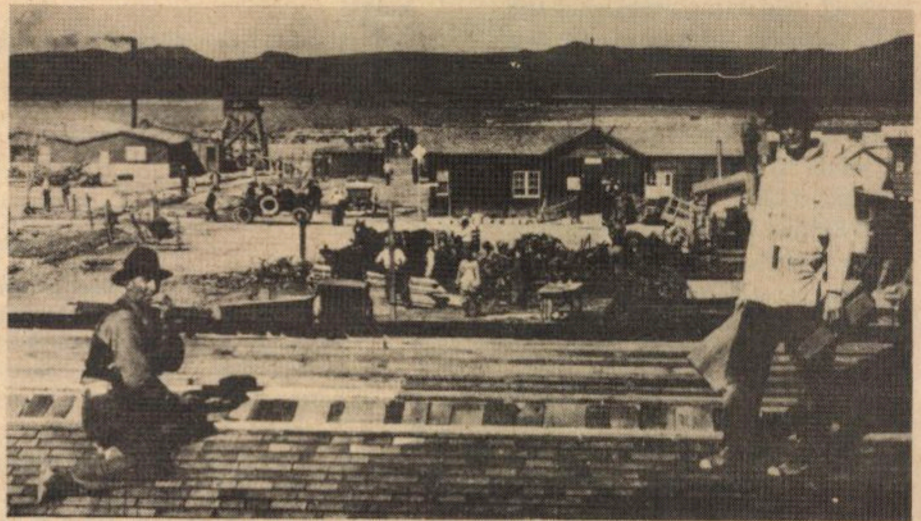
Yet this was southern California, a land where growth and prosperity have always been tied to water. Original plans called for the construction of irrigation ditches to transport water from Big Rock Creek. However, these plans were faulted by poor soil quality and inaccurate water estimates. Lack of water began to affect continued development and hopes for expansion. In 1918 the colony moved to a new site, an abandoned lumber town, which it had bought near Stables, Louisiana, and thus transplanted the entire experiment across the country. Newllano lasted from 1918 until it surrendered to the Great Depression in 1937.

Llano in California lasted four short years, but those forty-eight months were exciting. The colony was more than an escape from the evils of competition. It was a living example of socialism at work. Although legally organized as a corporation with a board of directors, the political structure was based on mass participation. Politics were injected into every daily task. The General Assembly in turn discussed and debated every detail of life. Its sessions often lasted far into the night. Reversals of decisions were commonplace. The result was a seedbed for discontented elements.

Llano was designed for more than political organization. It was to be a social laboratory, a nursery for the new society. Conceived in theory, the future of humanity was seen as developing and maturing here. Few expected overnight success; problems and growing pains were inevitable. And Llano always had its share of dissidence and dissatisfaction. The "brusher gang" accused Harriman and the board of distatorial practices. Shirkers were labeled Gibbonites after a lazy Wobbly.[5] In 1915 the California commissioner of corporations investigated allegations of mismanagement, but, though his report was harsh, he found no grounds for revocation. Throughout Llano's California existence, Otis' Los Angeles *Times* never ceased to rail against the socialist experiment. Nonetheless, the overall mood of the colonists remained optimistic. While some members sold out, others always seemed ready to buy in.[6]

In this social nursery education was a primary emphasis. A grammar school, operating under the guidelines of the state, as well as a high school were established. Before the move to Louisiana, the colony had passed bonds authorizing the construction of a substantial school building.[7] One of California's first Montessori schools

Colonists gather in front of the Llano Hotel, around 1915



House building at Llano Del Rio, about 1915

was opened at Llano. In addition the Sierra Madre School, generally referred to as the Kid Kolony, enabled high school youths to learn trades and the practical skills of building a community. Education was not confined to children. Adults gathered in Esperanto groups and reading circles.[8] A colony library was popular, and lecturers were invited from the University of California agricultural extension. Life at Llano, for all its educational and political seriousness, was a far richer experience than most members could hope to encounter in former locales.

Social events at Llano were indeed varied and exciting. Two orchestras performed and each week dances were enjoyed, one for adults and one for youngsters. The orchestras traveled to neighboring towns and the county fair. The *Western Comrade* described plays presented by both children and adults. After work there were frequent opportunities to hike into the nearby mountains or to play football, baseball, basketball, tennis or billiards.[9] One of the biggest celebrations was the annual anniversary held on May 1, coincidental with the international socialist holiday. That day was marked with a parade, speeches, plays, musicals, and a community dinner.

What type of people were drawn to this Utopia in the Angelope Valley? Although there exists no complete listing of membership, the Index of the Great Register of Voters for Los Angeles County gives a fair cross section of the community.[10] When Llano was established in 1914, it was part of the Palmdale precinct. Two years later the population had increased sufficiently to justify a separate precinct for the 310 voters. The political orientation of the colonists gave the precinct a decidedly socialist majority of 71 per cent. In the election following Llano's departure for Louisiana in 1918, the socialists accounted for only 8 per cent of the voters. At that time the precinct had lost five-sixths of its voters.

Within the colony itself the socialists held a majority of 83.5 per cent, followed by Republicans, Prohibitionists, Democrats, and one Progressive. Curiously for a colony with such a political orientation, 7.4 per cent of the registrants declined to state their party preference. The gender breakdown showed 65.5 per cent male and 34.5 per cent female. At least 43 per cent and perhaps as many as 57 per cent were married. In 1916 of those registered 30.8 per cent called themselves housewives, 25.2 per cent laborers (including 10.4 per cent construction workers, plumbers, weavers, shoemakers, and repairmen), 22.4 per cent ranchers, 12 per cent farmers, 5.2 per cent professionals (doctors and lawyers), 2.8 per cent clerical, and 1.6 per cent teachers.[11]

The numbers fail to convey the bonds that held Llano together. Political organization, unsettled and uncertain, was insufficient to bind the group. For Ernest Wooster, a Llano member and later commentator on American communitarianism, secular communities lacked a common strong base found in religious colonies. He felt Llano overcame that hurdle by gradually developing among its members a "new ethical foundation."[12]

Yet there was more than a new ethical understanding, more than Harriman's "equal ownership, equal wages, and equal social

opportunities." It was an elusive spirit, a shared belief among the members that they were part of a grand experiment. Participating in the birth of a new order for humanity, they were optimistically buoyed over the turbulent world of internal dissidents, hostile newspapers, and suspicious commissions. The colony, as one visitor observed, "possessed a charm which held its members when the hardships of subjugating the desert nearly overwhelmed them."[13]

This driving spirit illuminated the life of one of the colony's key members, Walter Millsap. Before he came to Llano, Millsap was a bicycle repairman and motion picture projectionist at Woodland in the Sierra Nevada foothills. As an active member of the local socialist party, Millsap became aware of Job Harriman's plans for a colony. While recovering from a bout of "sexual neurasthenia," he decided to join the colony in an attempt to escape from the competitive world. He arrived at Llano in July, 1915, and rapidly became an ardent community promoter. He played in the orchestra and worked to raise the level of musical talent. One of his closest friends came to be Alice Constance Austin, the socialist architect who was developing the master plan for "the future socialist city."

Throughout all of Millsap's voluminous correspondence he expounded on the glories of Llano. To his parents and his aunts he constantly referred to his joys at finding Llano. to his friends and acquaintances he urged membership. Millsap himself progressed upward in the Llano hierarchy, eventually being elected to the board of directors. He assisted the colony in its move to Louisiana. However, the humid climate there forced him to return to southern California. Although he thereafter no longer resided at the colony, he remained a member, and as late as 1969 he was treasurer of an organization of the former members of Llano. Concurrently he worked with the Upton Sinclair EPIC program and established the United Cooperative Industries. The latter, part of the larger self-help cooperative movement, deliberately tried to recapture the enthusiasm of those early days in the Antelope Valley.

Even when Llano ceased to exist as a colony, its spirit remained with its people. Until the end of his life, Millsap viewed Llano as the high point of his experience. He and the former colonists joined in picnics annually for many years. Carey McWilliams, the southern California historian, in the 1940's met Llano returnees and remarked that, in spite of disillusion, "the enthusiasm of most of them has not abated. They still speak of those early days at Llano-on-the-desert with an elation which has survived through the years."[14] Once again the excitement of a short-lived socialist colony had been clearly demonstrated at Llano in the California desert. □

FOOTNOTES

[1] Benjamin Zablocki, *Alienation And Charisma* (New York: Free Press, 1980). For bibliography on Icaria Speranza, Kaweah, Altruria, Winters Island and the Army of Industry, see Robert V. Hine, *California's Utopian Colonies,* revised edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). These and other colonies are also discussed in Paul Kagan, *New World Utopias* (New York: Penguin Books, 1975).

[2] Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1976), p. 293; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York: Duel, Sloan, Pearce, 1946), p. 284.

[3] Archie Roy Clifton, "History of the Communistic Colony Llano Del Rio", *Annual Publications,* Historical Society of Southern California 9(1918):82.

[4] Ernest Wooster, *Communities of the Past and Present* (Newllano, La: Llano Colonist, 1924), p. 122; Wooster, "Bread and Hyacinths", *Sunset* 53(August, 1924): 21.

[5] Wooster, "Bread and Hyacinths", p. 23.

[6] An example can be found in the correspondence between Walter Millsap and A.J. Hooper, July 1915. Walter Millsap Papers, Special Collections, Tomas Rivera Library, University of California, Riverside.

[7] Clifton, pp. 85-86.

[8] Clifton, p. 82.

[9] Clifton, p. 85.

[10] Index to Register of Voters, Los Angeles County, Llano Precinct, 1916. California State Library.

[11] The Voter Register lists members' present occupations. In 1917 Clifton made a survey of the members' former occupations. Of those who responded to Clifton's survey, 41.26% were working in farming, 28.97% were in business, 7.14% were in manufacturing, 5.95% in professions, 3.97% clerical, 3.17% mining, 2.38% transportaion, 1.98% printing, and 5.16% building. Clifton, p. 90.

[12] Wooster, *Communities,* pp. 117, 132.

[13] McWilliams, p. 286.

[14] McWilliams, p. 287.

continued from pg. 4

At the Crossroads

supporters is evident: this list includes a bishop, a taxi driver, a Chicana feminist, a corporate president, a socialist, an Air Force officer, a solar activist, and two members of Congress. If *At the Crossroads* continues to garner support among such a wide range of people, it may succeed in helping to redefine the basic terms of public debate about our society's future."

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—A Review from *Rain* Magazine—
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People Looking

☆I need to correspond with and work with Light Workers, people who love the earth and work in light and peace, concerning my desire to manifest the "Sanctuary of Light" on the 10 acres of farm that I own in Brooksville, Florida (60 miles NW of Tampa).

Contact:

Pat O'Connell
207 Birch St. SE
Topeka, KS 66609-1841
(913) 235-3473

☆Do You? Appreciate humor, equality, liberation from jealousy, anger, insecurity? Have a heart large enough to LOVE more than one? Imagine a UTOPIA with abundant material wealth, sound ecology, full development of all humans' intellectual and social abilities? Pursue socila change through education, research, and culture which is spontaneously adopted because of intrinsic usefulness with no use of coercion, attempt to benefit any person at the expense of another, modification of anyone's desires, attachment of righteousness to special tastes? Apply design and experimentation to your personal life? Seek sharing, communication, intimacy, commitment with many others; platonic, same-sex friendships? Write enthusiastic, hedonistic, intellectual heterosexual single male.

Randy Burns
635 Old County Road, Apt. 4
Lysle Leach Hall,
University of California
Davis, CA 95616

☆I am looking for (a) serious individual(s) who are interested in joining me in locating and purchasing rural country acreage, preferably in the Southeast but location is flexible, to homestead and inhabit non-commercially and as self-sufficiently as possible. Must be willing to contribute time and energy, or funds, or both. Open to suggestions. If interested please contact:

Pam Johnson
134 Second St., #2
Wmbq., VA 23185

☆We are Jaime (30), Margoth (27), and Paulo Andres (5y 5m). Optimist, experimental, liberal, responsible, sensitive and direct. We enjoy camping, hiking, music, dancing, swimming, travel and reading.

We want to form a meaningful lifetime polyfidelitous family of best friends. We propose: Love, true, Equality, Freedom, Commitment, Shared Parenthood and Cleanness as the base of our relationship.

We are looking for one couple with one or two children. Later, if we all decide so, we can expand to a bigger family or perhaps join an Intentional Community.

Please write to:

Jaime & Margoth Vallejo
P.O. Box 19-1022
Miami Beach, FL 33119-1022

Groups Looking

☆East Wind is a twelve year old intentional community of about 50 adults and 5 children. We are located on 160 acres of land in the Missouri Ozarks. Believing in equality and cooperation, we hold our land, labor and other resources in common.

About 50% of our labor goes into our businesses; we produce and distribute Twin Oaks hammocks, rope chairs, Utopian rope sandals and East Wind peanut, tahini, cashew and almond butters.

The rest of our work is in agriculture (we produce much of our own food). child care, accounting and planning, maintenance, food preparation and other domestic areas.

We are looking for people to join us in building a society free of sexism and violence, a society where everyone can grow and find their own happiness.

For more information or to arrange a visit, contact us at:

East Wind Community
Box C5
Tecumseh, Missouri 65760
(417) 679-4682

☆We are deeply involved in a most interesting and demanding adventure—creating a whole village! It is located on a 1000 acre property in south-central Washington State. The concepts behind the village are self-reliance, freedom, voluntary cooperation, personal growth, a satisfying place to live now that can be a place of security in case of serious problems—economic, war, whatever. Land, homes, gardens are individually owned. Living and gardening *with* nature encouraged. 42 people live here now—all ages, backgrounds. Started five years ago. We are looking for more 'pioneers' with a variety of skills, knowledge, and resources to move here and take part in the creation of our community. Those visitors are welcome who consider that they are able to buy a homesite, build their shelter (with shared help between themselves and other villagers), provide the utilities they want, and realize the value of voluntary cooperation and interaction with those around them. A call or note in advance of visit is appreciated. There is ample camping space here, motels in Goldendale. If a self-reliant life among knowledgeable, capable individuals is for you, come see us. You may like what you find.

Ponderosa Village
195 (30) Golden Pine
Goldendale, WA 98620
(509) 773-3902

☆We are a transformational group in which all members are co-leaders, committed to spiritual growth, self-awareness, work, humor, and joy. We are also deeply committed to one another as individuals.

To us, fulfillment lies in expanding our positivity, integrity, trust and acceptance on all levels. To challenge our limits in these areas, we regularly use Senoi/Gestalt dreamwork, Neuro-Linguistic Programming, and our own group process, as well as physical processes such as the ropes course. All these continue to gather power as we become better attuned to our needs and capabilities.

We are looking for people who are consciously on their spiritual paths, as we are. Your philosophy and teachings are as valid as ours. A solid grounding in the basics of life (i.e., consistently employed, responsible, reliable) is also very important to us.

We are not "stuck" on any particular format of group. The definition of the community, along with everything else of consequence, is open for discussion.

Help us make this the community you have been looking for. Call us at 818/760-3195 or write:

The Inner-Space Connection
10875 Kling St. #306
Toluca Lake, CA 91602

☆Phoenix—Community and Network

Our lives are expanding in joy and love as we combine intentional community and intense personal growth. Call us if that's your focus too. Perhaps we can meet at heart level, and share an hour or a lifetime transforming ourselves and then extending our energies in the world.

In Phoenix we use meditation, energy awareness, affirmations, heart-level processes, NLP and play, to facilitate our rapid growth toward openness, synergy and spirituality. We are now a stable and highly energized group marriage with ever-increasing creativity, cooperation, humor and loving intimacy. We are ready to network and grow, as we begin to plan our own business, based on our vision for vastly improved lifelong learning that will facilitate human transformation (and survival).

We have no fixed "program", since we are evolving as equals. We are located in Beverly Hills, California, and can be reached at (213) 275-3730, days and evenings.

Phoenix Community and Network
Beverly Hills, California

☆We are a startup urban commune, currently two adults (Gini, 43, and Denny, 40) and one teenage child. We would like to expand to a family group of six to eight adults based on the following principles:

—*Absolute equality between all adults.* Regardless of sex, age, social class, experience, etc. Shared leadership.

—*Commitment to personal growth.* Elimination of behaviors which are self-defeating, manipulative, or in contradiction with stated ideals. Attempt to align day-to-day behavior with behavior of the idealized person you would like to be. Willingness to freely accept and give feedback to help yourself and others move toward this goal.

—*Use of social contract.* Well-defined written standards, ideals, and principles which all group members agree on. This provides guidelines for life within the group and minimizes conflicts due to differing expectations or standards.

—*Polyfidelity.* Committed heterosexual non-monogamous relationships between all adults within the group. All relationships are considered primary and of equal value. Members practice absolute sexual fidelity to the group and have a current intention of lifetime involvement with each other.

If you would like to explore these ideals with us and are in a position to make a change to a lifestyle based on them, contact us at:

Clan Gather
16527 Meridian Ave. N.
Seattle, WA 98133
(206) 542-4715

☆ARE YOU ATTRACTED BY THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNAL LIVING? — Six federated rural communities invite requests for information, tours, or longer visits and membership procedures: Appletree in Oregon, Chrysalis in Indiana, Dandelion in Ontario (Canada), East Wind and Sandhill in Missouri, Twin Oaks in Virginia. Nonsexist, nonracist, gentle cultures based on equality, cooperation and environmental concerns.

Each community integrates progressive political, economic and social values with a rural lifestyle.

Enjoy clean country air and water, co-operative work based on collective consent, and "Sharing-and-caring" relationships—as daily realities.

Write for informative booklet (free, or donation appreciated) on these six egalitarian communities.

Federation of Egalitarian Communities
c/o Twin Oaks — Box FC510
Louisa, VA 23093

Help Wanted

☆Mariposa School/Community has opportunities for a teacher (lower elemen-

tary grades), bus driver, maintenance person, secretary, and coworkers in our sprout business. Our small, rural community is located three miles west of Ukiah in Northern California. Eight of us live together on 61 wooded acres providing each other (to the best of our ability) the support and nurturing of family life. We operate a small alternative school (50 students) and sprout farm, sharing the income and living expenses from these endeavors. If this sounds appealing to you, write:

Mariposa School
P.O. Box 387
Ukiah, CA 95482
(707) 462-1016

☆Invest your skill and dedicate your spirit.

New Hope Community is a lifetime of meaningful enterprise and perpetual security. Your character counts when pooled with other people.

New Hope has 344 innovations, from womb to tomb, which are revolutionary in fellowship and finance. THINK — we just poole our $75,000 at 0% interest for 10 years, to buy our 74 acres. THINK — our skilled nurse head a home clinic to keep us all well. THINK — our noon gatherings include fellowship of food, worship, crew reports and fun.

New Hope Community
111 Bobolink
Berea, KY 40403
(606) 986-8000

Education

☆The U.S. Federation of Cooperative Education/Strategy Centers has been organized "as a response to the long-acknowledged need for places where experienced cooperators and others concerned for social and economic change might go for "graduate" study. In the next several years, the Federation plans to stretch a network of these "Centers" across the nation. In a "Folk School" context, participants will study, learn and map out strategies for social and economic change through presentations, group discussion, reading, field trips and the experience of cooperative living. There are presently three centers in operation. For more information, write:

The Federation
3689 Berea Road
Richmond, KY 40475

Publications

☆Kids Unlimited is a brand new venture offering quality literature for young people. A sample of the authors included are: C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, A.A. Milne, Beatrix Potter, Beverly Cleary. Their promise: To offer quality food for the intellect, the heart, the imagination, the best in books, computer programs, audio-tapes and video-tapes for children. Write for free catalog:

Kids Unlimited
Rt. 1, Box 84
Centuria, WI 54824

☆Rodale Press has just created a new newsletter called *The Regeneration Project*. "The goal of *Regeneration* is to create within a region of thriving economy that is both self-generating and self-improving." To subscribe to this quarterly newsletter, send $12 to:

Regeneration
Subscriptions, Rodale Press
33 E. Minor St.
Emmaus, PA 18049

☆A timely resource publication entitled *The NASCO Guide to Cooperative Careers* is being published by the North American Students of Cooperation. This book offers an up-to-date overview of the many career opportunities available in co-ops, accenting those with growth potential. Targeted to college and high school-aged readers, the *Guide* is an important educational tool for cooperatives, youth programs, career guidance centers, and those seeking to make a career with cooperatives. The Guide is available from NASCO for $4 plus $1 shipping.

NASCO
Box 7715
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

☆What It Is— A cooperative project exploring and clarifying just what is involved in a humane and sustainable society—and how we can get there; 64 pages of delightfully balanced text and graphics; a forum where cultural pioneers from many occupations and lifestyles speak from their experience about positive alternatives that work; careful research and innovative synthesis with a human face and a twinkel in the eye; a growing library of positive tools and models to share with friends, co-workers and neighbors; and essential reading for you, if you are concerned about building a positive future.

In Context
Subscriptions P.O. Box 2107
Sequim, WA 98382

Late Arriving Entries

☆Phoenix Intentional Community— Meet Phoenix, an established group marriage. We are "about" intense personal growth with cooperation, humor and joy. We envision expanding Phoenix, creating a co-living network and larger community, and evolving a project to radically improve human learning, growth and transformation.

We seek people who are grounded, competent and spiritually aware. We are physically active (joggers, skiers, backpackers), very intimate and loving, committed to spiritual growth, are non-smokers, and are 33 to 46 years old. We have no guru, but evolve our path by consensus. Call us days and evenings:

Phoenix Intentional Community
Beverly Hills, CA
(213) 275-3730

☆I'm starting a rap group/party circuit in the Davis/Sacramento area for intelligent, responsible, people interested in multiple adult households in which there is a high degree of communication, intimacy and commitment. I value humor, common sense, equality, democracy, the desire to get more out of life, constructive non-alienated attitudes and willingness to communicate. Those who do not share these values will be screened

out or referred to scenes more appropriate for their tastes. We will place an emphasis on networking and shared outreach to help each other find partners, in the lifestyle best suited to each of us. I'm part of a nationwide network of people interested in these ideas. My own special interests include lively conversation, parenting, utopianism, building financial security, sci-fi, computers, futurism, polyfidelity, swimming, social change through art, ideas and techniques.

R. Burns
113 Leach Hall, UCD
Davis, CA 95616

☆The Onoway Center is an eclectic community, offering a wide range of experiential and didactic seminars in the humanities and social sciences, depth psychology and transpersonal psychology, body work, the healing and performing arts, maps of consciousness and global issues.

We are offering a series of month-long residential programs, loosely modeled on Esalen Institute's work/study program. Dates for the program are: May 4-June 1, June 1-June 29, July 6-August 3, August 3-August 31. This will be an intensive submersion program, an opportunity for people to concentrate on their personal growth, relationships with people and the earth.

For more information write to:
The Onoway Center
Box 46, Onoway
Alberta, Canada T0E 1V0
(403) 967-5256

☆I am a non-monogamous lesbian living in the Kerista Philanthropic Collective in San Francisco (est. 1971). I am interested in meeting other lesbian women and gay men who are searching for an alternative to romantic loss of ego boundary, jealousy, and possessiveness. I wish to meet egalitarian idealists who value excellent communication and desire adventure on a lifestyle frontier. My goal is to find 17 other such women and 18 other such men who want to be part of an intentional polyfidelitous household. Free ongoing rap group. Free literature. Geo.

Friendship First Commune
P.O. Box 1174
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 753-1314

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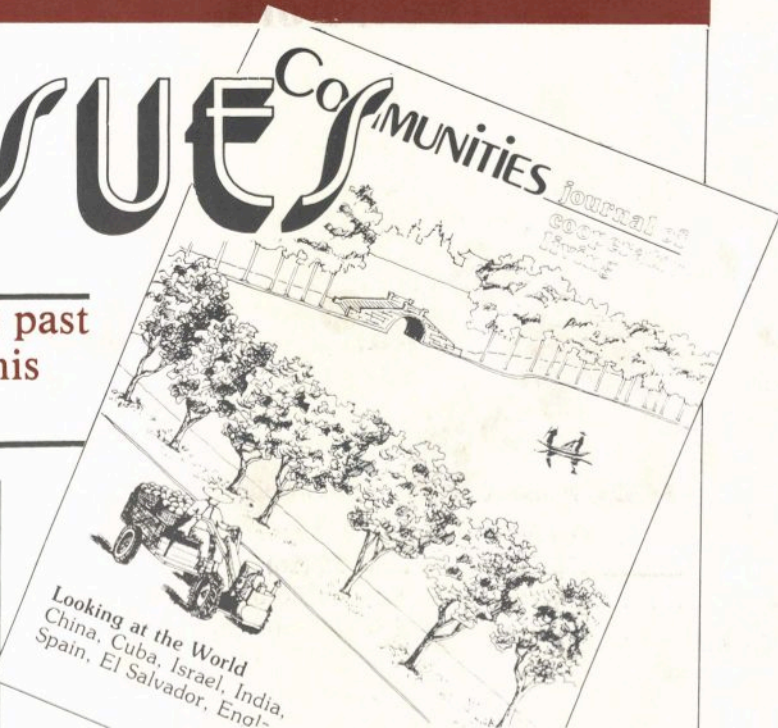

Highlights of some of the thirty-one past issues currently available through this SPECIAL BACK ISSUE OFFER!

64. Social notes on the Great Alternative Life Group in the Sky; a story of old folks in a future world; Kerista on Kerista;the case against consensus; and kibbutz education.

63. Living in community: at Stelle, Twin Oaks, International Emissary Community; peace efforts in Nicaragua and the women's peace camp in Comiso Italy; and democratic management

62. Progressive economics and politics; co-op housing; new ideas for your community and kibbutz society.

61. Parenting, childcare and education; co-op housing; working for peace—Syracuse Cultural Workers Project; and planning in community.

60. Reviews of gatherings in '83; alternative economics; school co-ops.

57. Feminist Therapy; Women's Resources Distribution Company; designing your food coop; a report on the National Audubon Society's Expedition Institute; the cooperative vision in science fiction; and George Lakey's thoughts about abolishing war.

55. National Consumer Coop Bank, Worker's Tust, C.U.G., Coop America; Computers in the Coop; CCA Institute; and workplace democracy.

54. Interviews with Bright Morning Star and Meg Christian; peace work in Europe; a discussion with 5 social activists; community land trust; kibbutz society; and neighborhood development

53. Spiritual Communities— The Farm, Dromenon, The Planetary Network of Light, Sirius Community, The Abode of the Message, Ananda Lama Foundation, The Renaissance Community and Shambhala

52. The barter system; networking; Santa Cruz Women's Health Collective; International Commune Conference; worker ownership; East Wind Community; and leaving community.

51. Political paradigms for the eighties— Citizens party, Santa Monica, CA., Center for Community Change; feminist political strategies; coops in El Salvador; Dandelion Community

50. Death and Dying: George Lakey on cancer; Conn. Hospice; grieving, and a death at Twin Oaks

48. International— Cuba, China, India, El Salvador, England, Israel, Spain, and the U.S.A.

47. Stories— excerpts from a Twin Oaks story; Barwick; Bay Area Collective; Berkeley Collectives

43. Health and community business— tofu making; Heartland; Radical Psychiatry; neighborhood health clinic

41. Friendship, family and sexuality; Synergy, Renaissance Community and Kerista Village

40. Community development; women and money; trusteeship; and an interview with a woman builder

39. Women sharing; the Hutterites of 350 years ago; housewife to activist; Healing Waters gathering; and workplace democracy.

36. Community in British Columbia; kibbutz child rearing; Kerista Village; and a readers' survey.

35. The Consumer Cooperative Bank—the institute, the movement and the bank; income and resource sharing; new communities; Consumer and Cooperative Alliance; and the utopian heritage.

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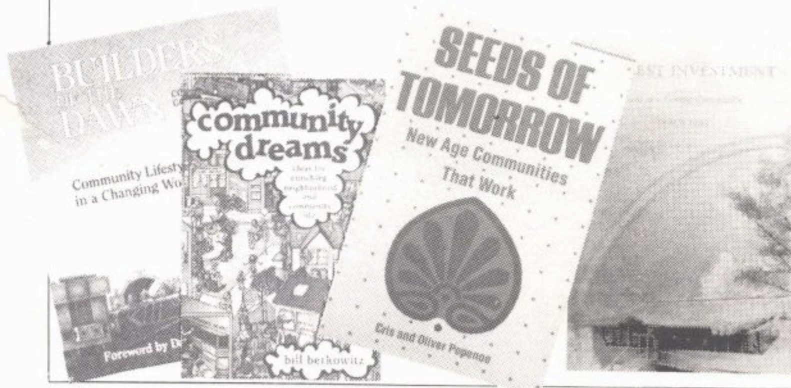

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