

Fellowship to Foundation: A History of the U.S. Intentional Community Movement

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Prologue

There have always been those who have greatly valued the communitarian lifestyle, involving the sharing of our lives in community with like-minded people. Community is a village lifestyle, something that has generally been lost in the modern world, and so for our own peace-of-mind, and in the best interests of our children, we intentionally co-create community.

Communitarianism is a marginal lifestyle, quite out of the mainstream of the dominant, competitive culture. As such, community is a counterculture and always will be. Part of the mission of community movement organizations is to broaden the understanding of the communitarian lifestyle in the mainstream world. Whether or not that is a good idea, for the alternative culture to reach out to the dominant culture rather than isolate itself from it, depends to some degree upon how relevant the cultural innovations developed in community are to the Outside World.

I began writing this history of the intentional community movement in the United States in 1996, titling it, *Inclusive Association of Intentional Communities: Community Network Histories Related to the Fellowship: 1940s-1990s*. It seems clear now that the greatest cultural innovation to come out of the communities movement occurred after 1990 with the advent of cohousing in the U.S. The innovation is the change from sharing commonly-owned property to the sharing of privately-owned property. This is counter-intuitive, as the assumption is that the furthest expression of sharing is owning property in common, yet that denies and refuses private property, while the most relevant innovation to the private property system is the sharing of private property.

The First Fellowship, called the Fellowship of Intentional Communities was started in 1949, reformed in 1986 with a name change to the Fellowship for Intentional Community, or the Second Fellowship. That second iteration of the Fellowship began at Stelle Community in Illinois, where I was one of the five organizers present.

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The second edition of this paper was completed in 1999 on the 50th anniversary of the Fellowship. For that edition I was able to incorporate suggestions from three of the early FIC board members, all three of whom have since passed away. After the second reformation of the Fellowship in 2019, resulting in the second name-change to the Foundation for Intentional Community, I wrote a history of the FIC for the online Wikipedia page titled *Foundation for Intentional Community*. That was in 2023. It is fortunate that through both name changes the organization's acronym has remained "FIC."

Writing that Wikipedia entry, I discovered that the following year, 2024, was the 75th anniversary of the FIC. It seems that no one in the organization was aware of its diamond anniversary, so I set about to alert people to the occasion. Since that was news to everyone in the FIC, it occurred to me that much of the history of the organization would likely be lost if someone did not get it written. As I had been involved in the FIC for part of its history, and had been collecting information about the intentional community movement all my adult life, it has been a pleasure to finally make good use of my collection of books, magazines, and files. This third edition of my FIC history includes for the first time many of my experiences in and perspectives on the movement.

A much more detailed, more comprehensive history of the FIC could be written than what I have in this work, yet if anyone or any artificial intelligence should ever take on that task, this paper may serve as a start. This FIC history is one of four histories of intentional community networks that I have written, available on the Intentioneers.net website. See also the histories of the Federation of Egalitarian Communities (FEC), of the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN), and of the early stories of the International Communes Network (ICN) in Europe, with mentions of the kibbutz movement Artzi in Israel, of the Diggers & Dreamers network in England, and of the Eurotopia network.

Contents:

To Build a More Inclusive Association of Intentional Communities.	3
First Fellowship • Rise & Fall of the Fellowship of Intentional Communities: 1949–1961	6
The FIC Interregnum: 1961-1986	23
Inter-Communities of Virginia • Federation of Egalitarian Communities	24
The Farm	35
The Emissary Communities	42
The Earth Communities Network	47
Second Fellowship • The Fellowship for Intentional Community: 1986-2020	50
Foundation for Intentional Community: 2020-Present	62
References	65

**A Weekend of Workshops
and Networking about
Cooperative Living**



**THE ART OF
COMMUNITY**

To Build a More Inclusive Association of Intentional Communities

Intentional community is an expression of the ideal that gifting and sharing is the root of happiness, involving cultural experimentation and innovation on the clan and village scales. All through the history of at least Western Civilization people have imagined then co-created social reforms, re-tribalizing alternatives, and countercultures of many types, intended to improve upon various aspects of the dominant culture, then disseminating the innovations originating in the small-scale, crucibles-of-culture to the Outside World, sometimes resulting in positive change.

There have been and remain many specific, affinity-based community movements involving groups with similar intentions and structures, and there have been many regional associations of communities in particular areas involving many different types of intentional community, yet there has been only one continent-wide organization in North America inclusive of a variety of different forms of intentional community. This is the story of the evolution of an intentional community movement in North America, begun in 1949 soon after the end of World War Two, existing through today.

The history of the Fellowship of Intentional Communities, renamed the Fellowship for Intentional Community in 1986, then renamed a second time the Foundation for Intentional Community in 2019, involves an evolution from a network of communities co-created by volunteers supported by donations, into a nonprofit association with self-supporting programs managed by a paid staff. Notice that all three iterations of the Fellowship/Foundation organization share the acronym “FIC.”

The transition from volunteer organization to a more-or-less professional nonprofit is a common evolution seen in many cultural movements. A similar evolution occurred in the food cooperative movement in North America. In the 1960s and ‘70s the interest in organic foods as alternatives to increasingly processed foods grown in industrial agriculture resulted in people working together, first creating nonprofit consumer cooperative food buying-clubs and then co-op stores. To take advantage of bulk purchasing, the buying clubs and stores networked to form regional warehouses managed by federations of cooperatives, increasingly selling to non-co-op, for-profit, whole-foods stores. Soon

the warehouse workers formed worker cooperatives and dissolved the federation organizations that formed them, since warehousing and trucking distribution with paid staffs are very different businesses than buying-clubs and retail stores relying partly upon volunteer labor.

The FIC has had a similar history to that of the food co-op networks. The FIC transitioned from a volunteer organization relying upon donations of money and labor from member communities for supporting programs in service to those member groups and others, into a nonprofit organization offering free and paid services to the general public, with ever less reliance upon the movement that originally formed it. During its first two iterations, the Fellowship held organizational business meetings at various intentional communities around the country, eventually adding a networking and educational function called “Art of Community.” Yet as the FIC evolved into an organization with a paid staff, the Foundation eventually gave up its traveling organizational meetings hosted by different communities, to where now in its third iteration the FIC is emphasizing regional associations of intentional communities, with support from, although not a primary reliance upon, the FIC. The third iteration of the FIC essentially signaled its transition to a professional nonprofit organization with the substitution of the term “foundation” in place of “fellowship” in its name. Now the FIC aspires to inspire people in community to network with each other in their regions through events called, “Convergence of Intentional Communities,” with its CIC acronym pronounced “kick.”

The predominately White, liberal counterculture, coming out of the dominant culture, has always existed mostly separate from the African American cooperative, self-reliant, mutual-aid movement. The history of Black utopian communities, trade unions, mutual insurance, and other collective grassroots economic organizations in the U.S.A. is presented in the 2014 book by Jessica Gordon Nembhard titled *Collective Courage: A History of African American Cooperative Economic Thought and Practice*. To help connect these two parallel movements the Foundation created in 2020 the Black, Indigenous, People of Color Intentional Communities Fund (BIPoC ICF), encouraging and supporting indigenous and other people-of-color forming intentional community. (FIC, 2020, p. 3)

While the future of the Foundation for Intentional Community is a question of vision, opportunities, and of organization, this paper presents a perspective on the organization’s history for the lessons the awareness of that history may offer. The story of community networking is a complex weave of ideologies, individuals and groups, as well as of influences from outside of the communities movement. With time, perspectives differ on how and why things transpired the way they did, and it can be difficult to avoid bias in written accounts.

In an email transmission to the present author of June 17, 1997, Laird Sandhill expressed an important point regarding how this history is written.

One of the lessons I've gleaned from my years of community and network building is that it takes a team. Emphasizing individual accomplishments obscures this important lesson ... (T)he "Big Man" theory of how things happen ... I question.

While it is true that, as has been said about cooperatives, community is not a one-person thing, the existence of community is dependent upon what individuals choose to do, say and write. Similarly in community networks, every initiative starts with an individual finding their own inspiration and motivation to network. It is to honor each individual’s contributions that names are included in this history, although in some cases those contributions are not entirely positive. In many cases only first

names are used in this writing, with the name of the community in which they are a resident or in which they hold membership substituted for their family name. This is the standard convention in the intentional communities movement. Those who are writers, however, are more likely identified in this writing by the name they use in their published works.

Since communities and networking organizations often provide no monetary reward for the work done by members, it is often recognized that the motivation for contributing to the group, besides benefiting from one's accomplishments, is the self-esteem derived from doing good work, whether or not that contribution is recognized. The issue that Laird Sandhill suggests is how much should we recognize and express appreciation for what individuals do for the community or network? Generally, living in community tends to cause people to de-emphasize the individual in favor of the group.

One of the biggest problems in community is burnout, or loss of the intention originally inspiring the individual or the group, due to the daily effort required to maintain it. Methods for providing positive reinforcement or mutual support, such as recognition of and appreciation for others, helps to nurture community, while the lack of reinforcement leads to burnout and turnover or loss of members. The paradox is that the more that intangible personal rewards are utilized as motivators in community, and as a means of avoiding a leveling of everyone to the lowest common denominator, the greater is the risk of creating a hero culture of valuing people differently, potentially creating divisiveness among the membership. The challenge therefore is in finding a balance between individuality and collectivity. Each reader of this history is encouraged to make their own judgment as to how best to respect a balance of personal initiative and of commitment to the team, in the telling of this story of community networking.

As we have seen, there is rarely more than one or two individuals in any particular community having energy for networking with other groups. As one goal of the writing of this history is to inspire individuals to take up the mission of community networking, the details of who did what, where, when, how and why must be presented.

If the idea of community is to build a lifestyle of cooperation and harmony, one would think that it would be a natural step to create a community-of-communities, as a network of people focusing upon the ideals they share in common. Many intentional communities are created with an analysis of human strengths and weaknesses and a plan for how to structure the best of all possible societies. Often supporting these plans is a belief that by their example a community can change at least part of the world for the better.

The experience of actually building a community, however, results in an inward focus and a tendency to think that what exists outside of the agreements held by the community's membership is antithetical, foreign, or alien. The result is an "us & them" focus upon the differences among communities rather than upon the commonalities. The effort to build a network of intentional communities must therefore seek a method of respecting differences while emphasizing the potential for each community to attain certain of its goals through its support for and participation in the network. Determining how to do this among any particular set of communities is the challenge accepted by those who hold the ideal of a world order of peace, social justice, and of ecological responsibility.

The histories told in this story relating to the Fellowship for Intentional Community begin with one generation reacting to their experience of seeing some of the worst that humans can do in two world wars, passing on their torch of hope and intention to the next generation committed to the avoidance of actions of potentially even greater destructiveness and tragedy. In the span of over seventy-five years this dream of building peace through cooperation ran a range of contradictory human experiences including: commitment to ideals and failures to live up to them; shortsighted economic mistakes and prudent long-term planning; poverty and sacrifice juxtaposed with wealth and influence; passionate academicians and aloof activists (and vice versa); opportunistic recruitment-raiding and experienced "serially-membershiped" communitarians; inter-organizational criticism contrasting with the patient building of alliances; communitarian and spiritual chauvinism compared with loss of faith, exodus and dissolution; and movement mistakes rued and successes celebrated.

Communitarian movements around the world have impacted the lives of hundreds of thousands of people, and historically probably millions. Learning from these experiences and preparing others and ourselves for the challenges ahead are important aspects of the mission of the Fellowship/Foundation. Understanding how the FIC grew, its origins and the many paths that led to and through it, can help those who desire to commit their lives to working together in community to build just and joyous lifestyles of cooperation and harmony.



First Fellowship • Rise & Fall of the Fellowship of Intentional Communities: 1949-86

In his 1976 book *The Communal Experience* Laurence Veysey sets the scene for the 1940s and '50s intentional community movement, especially the influences coming out of New York City. In some ways, the 1940s' New York City radical milieu was much like the 1840s' revolutionary secret societies of Paris, France.

An important intellectual influence in New York City in the 1930s was called Critical Theory, developed by the Frankfurt School at the Institute for Social Research at Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany in 1923. Psychologists, sociologists, and philosophers sought to explain how people were conditioned to accept oppression and support their own loss of freedom in autocratic systems like fascism and communism. Max Horkheimer (1895-1973), Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) and others believed that while mass media appears to be entertainment, it serves to condition people into passive consumers unlikely to question the dominant culture. When Nazism came to power in Germany the largely Jewish members of the Frankfurt School relocated to Columbia University in New York City.

Eric Fromm (1900-1980) who wrote *The Sane Society* (1955), coining the phrase “the pathology of normalcy,” and Paul Goodman (1911-1972) who in 1960 wrote *Growing Up Absurd*, argued that post-war society created a meaningless, alienating culture of stifling conformity in institutions that prioritize wealth and status over human fulfillment. Karen Horney (1885-1952) wrote that childhood environments and society shape personality, and that adult neurosis such as needs for power and prestige are irrational coping strategies resulting from childhood isolation and helplessness. In *Our Inner Conflicts* (1945) and *Neurosis and Human Growth* (1950) Horney wrote that people have inherent capacity for positive growth, and with the right conditions can realize their authentic selves, and so human society ought to be designed to balance self-determination and inter-dependence. Much of the later 1960s Baby Boom youth rebellion sought to realize both, through meaningful, creative lifestyles for the individual in the context of community.

Laurence Veysey wrote that in various publications out of New York, anarchist pacifists “produced left-wing dialogue of a high order.” For example, the journal *Resistance* anticipated the Civil Rights movement, discussed the theories of Wilhelm Reich on how sexual repression encourages authoritarianism and fascism, and published some accounts of communal societies such as Staughton Lynd’s experiences at Macedonia Cooperative Community in Georgia. Margaret Hope Bacon writes in her 1985 book *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of the Quakers in America* that Staughton Lynd was a Quaker who taught at Yale University, and was author of the first documentary history of nonviolence in America. Ralph Borsodi, founder of the School of Living (SoL), and Mildred Loomis who carried on his leadership in SoL, held educational seminars in NYC advocating a range of progressive causes, including decentralism, anti-consumerism, and the land-value theory of Henry George. Ralph Borsodi’s books include *This Ugly Civilization* (1929) and *Flight from the City* (1933). Dorothy Day wrote for NYC socialist newspapers before her conversion to Catholicism, and then founded her own journal *The Catholic Worker*, and the community movement of the same name advocating “hospitality,” which Veysey describes as “Tolstoyan and Gandhian in tone.” Consumer cooperatives of all kinds were developing, particularly credit unions and housing cooperatives. Two influential books published in the post-war era were B. F. Skinner’s 1948 utopian fiction *Walden Two*, and Martin Buber’s 1949 study of anarchist, communalist, Marxist, and kibbutz socialism titled, *Paths in Utopia*. (Bacon, pp. 197-8; Loomis, p. 71; Veysey, p. 37-8)

The 1930s New Deal, government-supported communities of the Resettlement Administration (RA) provided for recovery from the Great Depression by aiding farmers and the unemployed. The RA ended by 1937 when it was reorganized under the Farm Security Administration, part of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In *America’s Utopian Experiments* Brian Berry provides a list of the ninety-nine New Deal communities, one of them in Dayton, Ohio, called Liberty Homesteads or Dayton Homesteads, where Mildred Loomis and her husband John met. All of the RA communities were soon sold to private owners after the conservative backlash against collectivism. Greenbelt Towns were planned to be an even larger RA program, intending to build thousands of new towns each with hundreds of residents, with each to be surrounded by agricultural land. Only three greenbelt towns were actually built, in Maryland, Ohio, and Wisconsin, all of which were privatized by 1952. Good sources for information on the RA programs includes Paul Conkin’s 1959 book, *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program*, and Joseph Knapp’s 1973 book *The Advance of American Cooperative Enterprise: 1920-1945*. (Berry, pp. 181, 193-4; Loomis, p. 94)

Joseph Knapp offers lessons from the story of government-organized cooperatives, saying that they cannot be created by fiat and must be developed by people using them to meet a need, while having a voice in their management. Knapp writes that training in cooperative business principles and agreement among the resident members to use them is essential to avoid the creation of government-run farms. Problems included: the reliance upon subsidies for survival; the turnover of settlers, with new people having inadequate orientation; lack of members having a stake in the group's success; over-expectations due to over-promising; and continual change in government personnel and policies. (Knapp, pp. 298, 306, 315)

There were efforts within the communities movement for self-study and education, particularly that organized or inspired by Henrik Infield, a sociologist of intentional community. Yaacov Oved states that Infield was the director of the Group Farming Research Institute founded in 1948 in Poughkeepsie, New York, with the founding in 1949 of the journal *Cooperative Living*. This publication assessed the degrees of success of agricultural cooperatives and of communal societies in Canada, China, England, Germany, Israel, Mexico, the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R. (Ovid, 2013, pp. 3, 9, 280-1)

Confusingly, Laurence Veysey states that the Group Farming Research Institute was “headed by the wealthy Harvard graduate and Zionist Edward A. Norman.” Perhaps that was at a different time than when Infield was at the Institute. However, Timothy Miller states that another organization named the Research Center for Community and Cooperation, founded in 1956, issued a newsletter in the 1950s also titled *Cooperative Living*, inspired by Henrik Infield, published by the Libertarian Press out of the Glen Gardner community, later changing its name to St. Francis Acres, near Glen Gardner, New Jersey. In his 2015 reference work *The Encyclopedic Guide to American Intentional Communities* Miller lists several publications by Infield, including: *The American Intentional Communities* (1955); *Cooperative Communities at Work* (1945); *Utopia and Experiment: Essays in the Sociology of Cooperation* (1956); and edited with Joseph Maier, *Cooperative Group Living* (1950). (Miller, 1998, pp. 170-1; Miller, 2015, p. 564; Veysey, p. 40)



Ralph Borsodi (1886-1977) and Arthur Morgan (1878-1975) were associates and friends, as one of Borsodi's early School of Living centers was at the Lane's End Homestead near Dayton, Ohio, which John and Mildred J. Loomis (1900-1986) created after Liberty Homesteads ended, living at Lane's End from 1940 to 1970. The School of Living was founded by Borsodi in 1934, and incorporated by Loomis in 1954. (Loomis, p. 93)

Both Borsodi and Morgan advocated a form of community land ownership later named the community land trust (CLT). Arthur Morgan founded Community Service, Inc. in 1940, which then inspired the founding of the Fellowship of Intentional Communities (FIC) in 1949 near Yellow

Springs, about thirty miles east of Dayton, Ohio. While Morgan was preoccupied with other endeavors, his son Gris along with Alfred (Al) Andersen and Art Wiser took on the development of the Fellowship. (Loomis, pp. 94-7)

“A good community will not be invented, discovered, or ‘just grow’,” said [Arthur] Morgan in 1975 when he was 97 years old. “It must be forged from the purpose and quality of the lives of people living in it.” (Loomis, p. 124)

Arthur Morgan served a term as the vice president of the American Unitarian Association, was the first president of the Progressive Education Association, was President of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio from 1920 to 1936, and was invited in 1948 to help set up a system of rural universities in India. As a member of the Indian University Education Commission, Arthur Morgan helped adapt the U.S. land-grant college system to South Asia, later assisting the Mitraniketan community school in Kerala, India. Morgan spent four years in India, meeting the leaders of the Gramdan movement inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, placing donations of land from the rich under village trusteeship for access by the landless poor. Back in the U.S.: Morgan designed a flood control project involving five earthen dams protecting Dayton, Ohio in the Miami River Valley; became vice president of the American Society of Civil Engineers; then was appointed by Franklin Roosevelt as the first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority from 1933 to 1938. (Loomis, p. 126; Morgan, 1944, back cover; Miller, 1998, p. 163; Wikipedia, Arthur Ernest Morgan)

Morgan created an association for the advancement of the small village-like community through which he believed that people could best enjoy “good will and mutual confidence [as] the very life-principle of society.” Community Service, Inc. was created in 1940 to advocate for the resurgence of the idealistic small-town family life. A description of Arthur Morgan’s intention for Community Service, Inc. (CSI) is printed in a quote in Mildred Loomis’ 1980 book *Alternative Americas*, although she does not credit the source.

Community Service undertakes to increase knowledge of community life and the concern for it. Those who see the limiting and depressing qualities of small community life seldom have the vision of what a good community can be, how it can meet the fundamental needs and cravings of a human spirit. Community Service seeks to clarify a vision of community and to help many people to share it, so that work for community betterment shall not consist of patchwork efforts, but shall lead to the fulfillment of a truly great concept of community life. (Anonymous, quoted in Loomis, p. 123)

The quote above shows that Community Service has a unique orientation to the communities movement, somewhat closer to the small town or Transition Town “circumstantial community” than to the more deliberate intentional community. Richard Fairfield, who traveled among and wrote about intentional communities in the 1960s, noted the difference from reading the CSI newsletter saying, “I felt that the ideas it expressed were very much out of touch with the newly developing movement.” (Fairfield, 1971, p. 21)

In 1949 the Fellowship of Intentional Communities was created as an association of the full range of communitarian societies, including: secular and religious communities; communal societies; and co-operative communities. Yet before either Community Service or the Fellowship were begun, Arthur

Morgan had already created one large and successful community land trust, although that term was not in use at the time. (Morgan, 1942, p. 9)

Celo Community was founded on 1,250 acres of land in 1936 at Burnsville, North Carolina. A significant source of support and of members for the forming of Celo came from the Quaker social service organization called the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and anti-war pacifists including WWII conscientious objectors. This is an instance of a rich person financing the start-up of an intentional community for others, which is a fairly common story. William Regnery, a wealthy Chicago industrialist, believed in the ideal expressed in earlier times of the “Roman citizen-soldier” and of the “Jeffersonian landed yeomanry” as the foundation of a democratic republic. When he asked Arthur Morgan how he could best apply his values, Morgan suggested financing the start-up of a rural cooperative community. The community design that Celo was to take was created by Ralph Borsodi who founded the School of Living, advocating the legal model of homesteads leased from a nonprofit association holding title to the land. Because of this land tenure design, and the longevity of Celo Community, Celo is considered to be the first community land trust (CLT), although more often New Communities Inc. of Albany, Georgia founded in 1969 is called the first CLT. A World War Two conscientious objector, Robert (Bob) Swann, born in Cleveland Heights and attending Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, collaborated with Arthur Morgan, and consulted with the New Communities land trust project in Georgia. (Loomis, pp. 125-7; Miller, 1998, pp. 156-7, 231 n.100)

Both Arthur Morgan of Community Service and Mildred Loomis of the School of Living solicited and recruited World War Two conscientious objectors for their communities. Timothy Miller reports that Arthur Morgan visited many of the Civilian Public Service camps, of which there were over 150 in the U.S. interning a captive audience of nearly 12,000 men. Arthur encouraged those internees to consider joining Celo and other communities after the war. An editor of School of Living’s *Green Revolution* newsletter in 1987, George Yamada, reported that Mildred Loomis had sent to all of the Japanese Relocation Camps a series of pamphlets published by the School of Living. George was conscripted into a camp in Oregon, where he said, “I thrived on the literature of the counter culture, relishing particularly the reading that Mildred Loomis sent ...” It is unclear, yet George was probably sent to one of the ten Relocation Camps for Japanese Americans rather than to a Civilian Public Service camp. (Miller, 1998, p. 157; Yamada, p. 4)

Arthur Morgan had two sons, Ernest (1906-2001) and Griscom (1912-1993). Ernest and his wife Elizabeth moved to Celo in North Carolina for some years. Gris and his wife Jane began forming a community in 1946 on forty acres, two miles south of Yellow Springs, Ohio, near the site of the 19th century Yellow Springs Owenite community. The Vale was named in 1961, and in 1980 the land was donated to the Community Service, Inc. Land Trust, growing to about eleven families, 22 adults and 18 children, by 2005, with some residents of Quaker orientation. The Vale supported its own school, hosted Community Service, Inc. (CSI) assistants, and Antioch College students in residence. Griscom authored many articles and CSI publications, including the 1988 *Guidebook for Intentional Communities*. (Miller, 2015, p. 460)

Ernest Morgan started a printing business which he managed 40 years as a community-oriented workplace, giving staff keys so that they could use the equipment for their own projects outside of business hours. The years 1949-50 Ernest served as an unpaid volunteer on an American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) management group for the AFSC’s Arab Relief program on the Gaza Strip in Palestine. Ernest wrote that they served “200,000 hungry, desperate refugees living on scant

rations, sheltered in crowded tents. Riots were almost continuous ...” (Ernest Morgan, “Stories from a Lifetime in Community,” *Communities*, no. 85, winter 1994, p. 56)

Gris and Jane Morgan had two children, Faith and John. Faith was active on the boards of CSI, FIC, and CESCO, and commented as an adult that she remembered attending Fellowship meetings with her mother when she was a child, and so she had been attending Fellowship meetings all her life. John lives at Raven Rocks community, founded in 1970 near Beallsville, Ohio. Raven Rocks was described in the fall 2015 issue number 168 of *Communities* magazine (p. 53) as having been purchased “to protect 850 acres of Appalachian forest and ravines from strip mining,” and in the winter 1993 issue number 79 of *Communities* magazine (p. 12) as having its own concrete business for building passive solar, earth-bermed or underground houses. (Fairfield, 1971, p. 20; Miller, 1998, p. 169; Questenberry, p. 119; FIC, 2010, p. 302)

Griscom Morgan worked with his father Arthur on topics of parent-cooperative schools, Native American heritage, economics and currency reform, and located the land for Celo Community. Gris was a primary organizer, along with Alfred Andersen, of the Community Service/Inter-Communities Exchange conference that resulted in the formation of the Fellowship of Intentional Communities (FIC) in 1949. The FIC does not appear to have had many meetings until the Homer Morris Fund was begun in 1954, when the Fellowship began organizing annual meetings at different intentional communities, with Gris becoming the FIC treasurer in 1960. (Morgan, Griscom, 1994, *Passing On*)

Robert Fogarty, a professor at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, OH, was very familiar with the Morgans and CSI, although in his 1972 book *American Utopianism* he does not mention them, while describing the 1960s-’70s era communities movement as follows.

Since the mid-sixties there has been a dramatic resurgence of interest in communitarianism. A revolt against the Vietnam War and a technocratic society coupled with a widespread use of drugs combined to produce dropouts who sought an alternative culture. There is no single coherent philosophy—as with Owenism or Fourierism—but an amalgam of attitudes and ideas that are pacific and egalitarian. (Fogarty, p. 150)

While the mission of Community Service, Inc. was primarily for the promotion of family life in small towns, Timothy Miller states that, “Morgan’s interests had always included communal settlements.” This can be seen in the programs which soon grew out of CSI. While Arthur Morgan promoted small-town life in regular conferences at Yellow Springs, Alfred Andersen, associated with Tanguy Homesteads in Pennsylvania, recommended that CSI expand its scope to include communitarian settlements. (Andersen, 1997, p. 13; Miller, 1998, pp. 163)

Alfred Andersen explains in an article in the winter ‘97 issue of *Communities* magazine (#97, p. 12), titled “Fellowship Roots,” that ...

Those of us who gathered at the Community Service, Inc. organization in Yellow Springs, Ohio in the late 1940s were profoundly affected by World War II, a global tragedy that forced many of us to question the very foundations of the “civilized” world. Most of those present at those initial meetings were men who had refused to be conscripted into military service. My personal refusal had landed me in prison. Others had spent time in Civilian Public Service camps.

While Al was in prison serving eight months as a conscientious objector to military service, his wife Dorothy and their son lived at Tanguy Homesteads in Glen Mills, PA. Soon after his release the three ...

... headed for Yellow Springs, Ohio, to renew my acquaintance with Arthur Morgan ... to help Arthur and Griscom Morgan's work at Community Service, Inc. While doing research in the communities movement I had come across descriptions of the scattered and struggling "cooperative communities," so I suggested that Community Service host representatives to a gathering in Yellow Springs following its annual Small Community Conference. (Andersen, 1997, p. 13)

The implementation of Andersen's suggestion resulted in a sufficiently successful event that Community Service, Inc. then formed an association during 1946 and '47, for the barter exchanges of agricultural products and crafts between communitarian settlements called, "Inter-Community Exchange" (I-CE). Other types of exchanges and mutual-aid facilitated at least in part with the help of the I-CE are presented in CSI's 1988 *Guidebook for Intentional Communities*. These include the Highlander Folkschool (now the Highlander Research and Education Center in Tennessee) taking on Koinonia's summer camp in Georgia when the latter inter-racial community was being attacked by the Ku Klux Klan, and The Vale giving its own water supply pump system to the newly immigrated Bruderhof, when the town of Yellow Springs provided access to city water for The Vale. Miller writes that through these exchanges and through meeting representatives of other communities at CSI meetings, some members of various communities began expressing interest in visiting some of the communities in the network being created by CSI. (Andersen, 1997, p. 13; Miller, 1998, pp. 163; Morgan, Griscom, 1988, p.10)

In his 1997 *Communities* magazine article Andersen explains the vision and the contrary reality of Inter-Communities Exchange. ...

Our hope was that we could develop an entire alternative economy of trading among cooperative communities. ... It was only after a year or two that we realized the main thing we had to exchange was fellowship. (Andersen, 1997, p 12)

In the 1988 Community Service, Inc. publication titled, *Guidebook for Intentional Communities*, revised from the earlier 1978 CSI publication titled, *An Intentional Community Handbook*, Gris Morgan edited an article titled, "Some Basic Concepts for Intentional Communities," saying that at the 1949 Community Service Conference attended by sixty people from four continents, including representatives from Mitrani Ketan, India, a subgroup was delegated the task of "defining and naming the common subject of shared interest." (Morgan, Griscom, 1988, p. 9)

The term "intentional" was chosen to emphasize the basic characteristic of intent, purpose and commitment. Other words such as "cooperative," "experimental" or "utopian" lacked that connotation. (Morgan, Griscom, 1988, p. 9)

The date of the founding of the new organization is sometimes given as 1948, such as in Dan Questenberry's 1990 article, "Residential Land Trust Organizing" in the *1990/91 Directory of Intentional Communities*, although in Gris Morgan's and CSI's 1988 *Guidebook* the event that took place in '48 is referred to as a "pre-organizational meeting," with the official founding of the

Fellowship being in 1949, after a year of community networking. It was in that year that the term “intentional” was used for the new name of the repurposed Inter-Communities Exchange.

The term “exchange” had been used extensively during the Great Depression to refer to many different, and often very large urban labor exchanges, some operating production facilities and businesses without the use of money. Today, similar although usually smaller exchanges are often called “mutual-aid networks.”

At the 1949 Community Service Conference the Inter-Communities Exchange became the Fellowship of Intentional Communities. Evidently, there was little Fellowship activity until the organization began holding annual conferences in 1954 when the Homer Morris Fund began. Various early 1950s dates for the founding of the FIC are quoted by different writers, for example Yaacov Oved gives the date 1952 in his book *Globalization of Communes 1950-2010*. Yet the 1949 date is stated by the actual founders, so evidently the organization was minimally active until the mid 1950s. (Oved, p. 10)

Timothy Miller gives Art Wiser, a member of the Macedonia community in Georgia, much of the credit for evolving the Inter-Community Exchange into the FIC. (Miller, 1998, p. 163; Morgan, Griscom, 1988, p. 10)

The Macedonia Cooperative Community near Clarkesville, Georgia was founded by Morris Mitchell. Timothy Miller states that Mitchell was a liberal southern educator who believed that communitarianism could solve many social problems, founding Macedonia in 1937, while Yaacov Oved states that Mitchell was a pacifist who organized fellow conscientious objectors in an internment camp during WWII, planning to begin a community after the war, and then founding Macedonia in 1946. Both writers agree, however, that Macedonia ended when the last of the members decided in 1957 to dissolve and join the Bruderhof communities. (Miller, 1998, pp. 158-9; Oved, pp. 11-12, 17)

Gris Morgan explains in the *Guidebook* article that Fellowship of Intentional Communities meetings were held around the Mid-Western and Mid-Atlantic states, including at: Antioch College’s Outdoor Education Center called Glen Helen in Yellow Springs, Ohio; the Highlander Folkschool originally in Monteagle, Tennessee, forced to move in 1961 to New Market, Tennessee; and the Pendle Hill Quaker Center in Pennsylvania. The extent of the Fellowship can be somewhat gagged by the report in the March 1960 Fellowship newsletter that during the previous October a 250-piece mailing was sent out asking for contributions to the newsletter, with replies received from 125 individuals and five communities in twenty-eight states, Canada, Mexico, Holland, and India. (Morgan, 1960, pp. 7-8)

Also in the March 1960 FIC newsletter, Griscom Morgan explains that in 1959 he conducted an outreach effort to a number of different Native American tribes.

I visited with tribal leaders of six tribes, as well as talking among a number of others, exploring their interest in fellowship with non-Indians holding some of the same values and concerns in intentional community, land-holding, and mutual respect between cultures. Some of the Indians were keenly interested, saying that this was the kind of fellowship that would make possible the opening [of] the door of deeper contact as compared with the strained relationship with the prying, curious, or “scientific” ... Some of these were younger men who

are now deeply fired with the challenge of bearing the Indians' "testimony" in the world ... So the leading older traditionalists are not the only ones who are vigorously bearing the Indian heritage.

... [S]ome of our intentional communities ... might do well to cultivate fellowship with some of the tribal groups, to reinforce each other in our distinctive ways, to learn from each other, and to help each other from our diverse assets of competence and circumstance. For example, the Cherokee of North Carolina have a form of landholding similar to that at Celo. Each has difficulties in maintaining it and is surrounded by another culture. ... Similarly, among some tribes and Pueblos, the traditional reliance upon "sense of the meeting" as compared with voting is under attack by those who assume that the conventional reliance upon voting is the only way of conducting a meeting democratically. We could strengthen these people by our contact and fellowship with them and they could do the same to us. (Morgan, 1960, p. 8)

Mildred Loomis' and Arthur and Griscom Morgan's efforts to recruit various groups to community during the early years of the School of Living and of the First Fellowship was echoed thirty years later in the 1980s when we carried on networking activities to create the Second Fellowship. Alliance-forming is an art of diplomacy, requiring an ongoing effort in any cultural movement.

A list of nineteen communities in the U.S. associated with the Fellowship of Intentional Communities in its first decade includes: Bruderhof, Rifton, NY; Bryn Gweled, Clarksville, PA (inspired by Ralph Borsodi, in Loomis, p. 118); Canterbury, Concord, NH (a Quaker group that acquired land from the Canterbury Shakers); Celo, Burnsville, NC; Gould Farm, Great Barrington, MA; Hidden Springs, Neshanic Station, NJ; Kingwood, Frenchtown, NJ; Koinonia Farm, Americus, GA; Macedonia, Clarksville, GA; May Valley (later Teramanto), Renton, WA; Parishfield, Brighton, MI; Pendle Hill, Wallingford, PA; Powelton Village (location of one of the MOVE houses in University City), Philadelphia, PA; Quest, Royal Oak, MI; Skyview Acres, Pomona, NY; Glen Gardner Cooperative Community/St. Francis Acres, Glen Gardner, NJ; Tanguy Homesteads, West Chester, PA; The Vale, Yellow Springs, OH; and Tuolumne Co-operative Farms, Modesto, CA. Other intentional communities also attended Fellowship events over the decades. (Andersen, 11-22-1991; Miller, 1998, pp. 164-71; Morris & Kross, p. 101; Veysey, pp. 39-40)

Timothy Miller explains that this network of communitarian groups included "fully communal" societies, along with economically-diverse communities like community land trusts or homestead communities "in which family finances were largely private" while the land is owned in common. Some of the FIC-associated communities were secular, many of them were religious groups, and some were multi-faith. While some of the religious-identified communities were comprised of members with mainline or liberal Protestant backgrounds, the primary denomination represented was Quaker. (Miller, 1998, p. 164)

Along with inventing a term for describing their gifting and sharing lifestyles, the original or First Fellowship also defined what they meant by the word "community," identifying the basic aspects of communitarian theory and organization. This material was first printed by Community Service, Inc. in *The Intentional Communities 1959 Yearbook and Newsletter*, later in CSI's *An Intentional Community Handbook* printed in 1978, and then in CSI's *Guidebook for Intentional Communities* published in 1988, which Robert Fogarty then presented in his 1972 book, *American Utopianism*, quoting the 1959 source titled, *The Intentional Communities*, Yellow Springs, Ohio (pp. 2-3):

For purposes of membership in the Fellowship of Intentional Communities an intentional community shall be a group of people associated together for the purpose of working out a whole way of life in general harmony with the concepts and principles set forth as characterizing the spirit and purposes of the communities (by) present members of the Fellowship. While the practice of community should be visible in all fields, we feel it must in this age emphasize particularly the economic on the one hand and the spiritual on the other and it must include both production and use.

Size – minimum size should be three families or five adults.

Organization – The group should be sufficiently organized to be a recognizable social entity acting with responsibility and effectiveness.

Location – The group should share land and housing or be other-wise close enough together geographically to be in continuous active fellowship and be able to work out effectively the total way of life to which they are dedicated.

Basic Concepts:

1. Community means mutuality and sharing in a whole way of life, in all its values and all its responsibilities.
2. The essence of community is spiritual, that is, the feeling of mutuality, the practice of mutual respect, love and understanding. No physical forms or practices will create community, but forms, methods and practices will grow out of the spirit. ...

Principles:

1. Democratic methods. Either Rochdale principles or Friends methods of business are used to carry on business and effect community action. ...
6. Desire for fellowship with other persons and groups without regard to race, class, or religious extraction. (Fogarty, pp. 151-3; Morgan, Griscom, 1988, p. 10)

It was during the 1954 Fellowship meeting at the Quaker community at Pendle Hill in Philadelphia that a gift of \$16,000 was made by two members of the Society of Friends to the FIC for a revolving loan fund to aid intentional communities in setting up businesses. The Homer Morris Fund was named after a leading staff member of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) who aided the development of the AFSC's Depression Era unemployed resettlement colonies. (Morgan, Griscom, 1988, p. 9; Morgan & Crumrine, p. 1)

One of the most successful of the resettlement colonies was Penn-Craft near Uniontown, Pennsylvania, begun in 1937. "Craft" in the name of the colony refers to the Craft family farm which was acquired for the community. Much of the money for starting Penn-Craft was donated by the U.S. Steel Corp. which had reduced its mining operations in the area, resulting in the rising local unemployment rate. Two members of the near-by Division of Subsistence Homesteads colony, named Norvelt, left their government project to help build Penn-Craft. It had fifty home-sites on two-hundred acres, with a cooperative store, the beginnings of a business in the form of a "knitting mill," and many social service activities. Penn-Craft was so successful that adjacent land was acquired in 1946 for an additional fifteen homesteads. (Fairfield, 1971, p. 22; Miller, 1998, p. 137)

Gris Morgan coordinated the Homer Morris Fund for many years, and unfortunately the fund dwindled rather than grew. \$2,500 loaned to the *Toe Valley News*, a newspaper serving the area around Celo Community, was reported delinquent in the March 1960 FIC newsletter, after the *Toe Valley News* went out of business.

When IRS tax-exempt status was acquired in 1975, the Homer Morris Fund's name was changed to the Community Educational Service Council, Inc (CESCI), emphasizing its primary intent of education and service, with its most active board members residing at Tanguy Homesteads, most notably Rubin Close who served as its registered agent when the Fund received its tax-exemption. While a number of the Fund's loans were never repaid, Dan Questenberry reports that the fund completed its 100th "community business loan" about 1990, slowly rebuilding its assets back up to and over its original endowment. For decades the Fellowship and CESCI held combined weekend meetings, with the technical and tedious CESCI business meetings held on Sunday morning after the comparatively wild Fellowship social events held Saturday evening. The current author served a term on the CESCI board-of-directors in the late 1980s. (Andersen, 11-22-1991; Morgan, 1960, p. 8; Questenberry, p. 119)

After about ten years of mutually rewarding communitarian fellowship, the beginning of the end of the First Fellowship began with the story of the coming to America of the Bruderhof.

The story of the Bruderhof begins in Germany with the life of Eberhard Arnold (1883-1935), who as a teenager experienced an intense Christian epiphany, then became an activist in the German Christian Student's Union, which Timothy Miller describes as a, "broad-based revolt against entrenched tradition in German religious bodies and other social institutions." (Huntington, 1997, p. 343; Miller, 1998, p. 173; Oved, 361)

The youth movements in Germany before and between the two World Wars merit consideration in part because there are parallels between them and the American youth movement of the 1960s, and perhaps among some young adults of all generations. There are also general lessons regarding the dynamics between the alternative and the dominant cultures that can be understood from early 20th century German history. John de Graaf identifies some of these lessons in his article, "The Wandervogel" (meaning wondering birds or Free Birds!), appearing in the Fall 1977 issue of *The CoEvolution Quarterly*. See de Graaf's article-reprint insert in the free downloadable paper, *Collectivize: Free Birds in Murmuration* on the website: www.Intentioneers.net

John de Graaf quotes Stanley High's 1923 book *The Revolt of Youth*, stating that among German youth of his day, "Nothing is so roundly hated as the imposition of conventional authority and nothing so loved as nature." High explains that among German youth, "there is an inexplicable reaction against conventional Christianity," and that, "Always the members stood against any political alignment ..." (Stanley High, 1923, quoted in de Graaf, p. 14)

The Industrial Revolution came to Western Europe in the early 19th century, after its beginning in England, and it had much the same reaction against it in Germany as elsewhere. People left the agrarian lifestyle of the countryside for the urban lifestyle of crowded housing and polluted air and water to become part of the prosperous German middle class, or at least the comfortable working class. While industrialization was somewhat less oppressive to the workers in Germany than in

comparison with other industrializing nations, the technological and social changes it brought about were still antagonistic to the sensibilities of their children. (de Graaf, p. 15)

In 1896, the Wandervogel youth movement was formed, with the children of suburban Berlin setting off for the woods in retreat from a life which, however prosperous, had lost its meaning. These youths, many with long hair, were joined by various other groups of young Germans who sought in some way to protest the staid and boring life of their parents. (de Graaf, p. 15)

German writers like Hermann Hesse tapped into this cultural angst with popular books like *Beneath the Wheel* published in 1906, and *Steppenwolf* published between the World Wars in 1927. Expressing the sentiments of the alternative culture, Hermann Hesse wrote about his own thoughts that ...

The less able I am to believe in our epoch and the more arid and depraved mankind seems in my eyes, the less I look to revolution as the remedy and the more I believe in the magic of love. (Hermann Hesse, quoted in de Graaf, p. 17)

With the German defeat at the end of World War One the entire culture, and especially German youth, was fraught with despair, and many turned to mysticism in a manner similar to how the surviving Native Americans on their reservations turned to the mystical Ghost Dance after their defeat in the Plains Indian Wars.

After 1919, John de Graaf writes, communal colonies were established by German youth in the countryside as a means of escaping industrial society. Students formed cooperatives to provide housing, food, and other necessities. As in Denmark and Spain, the German youth movement advocated educational reform as in the “Folk School” movement, found in U.S. progressive schools such as Antioch College in Ohio, Goddard College in Vermont, and the Highlander Research and Education Center in Kentucky. “The German Free School Association battled the ‘Prussian spirit’ of authoritarian rote learning which prevailed in the public schools.” (de Graaf, pp. 16-7)

The paramilitary Hitler Youth organization begun in 1922 subverted all other youth organizations, oppressing their members and imprisoning their leaders, as they did even the cooperative movements and any other association that opposed control by Hitler’s Nazi Party. (De Graaf, p. 18)

John de Graaf makes the point in his “Wandervogel” article that it was the non-political orientation of the early German youth movements that resulted in their naiveté with regard to politics, setting up young women and men for manipulation by and submission to the fascist disaster of Nazism. (de Graaf, p. 18)

Into this scene came Eberhard Arnold, earning a Ph.D. in theology in 1909, while becoming a Christian socialist. He and his wife, Emmy, rented a farmhouse in Sannerz, Hesse, Germany in 1920, inviting friends to live with them to create a Christian commune. This religious orientation was contrary to the main stream of the German youth movements of the day, which is quite similar to how the Christian “Jesus Freak” communalists were a minority of the 1960s American, European, and other communitarian movements. (Miller, 1998, p. 173; Oved, p. 361)

In the book published by the Bruderhof, *Children in Community*, Emmy Arnold explained in 1963 the beginning of her and her husband's lives as Christian communarians.

In Germany after the First World War, the Youth Movement arose and was very much alive in our Christian circles. My husband, Eberhard Arnold, and I were closely connected with this movement for many years. We were part of a group of people who often met in our home in Berlin in a search for a new, genuine way of life. A few of these people felt together the very strong urge to build up a life in truthfulness, simplicity, and poverty, as opposed to the life we saw everywhere around us.

In the year 1920 this community life came into being; a very simple life in complete sharing was begun by a little group in Sannerz, Hesse. This life in community has continued for over fifty years. We have gone through sorrow and struggle, yet we have known deep joy and enthusiasm.

A life shared in common is a miracle. People cannot remain together for the sake of traditions. Community must be given again and again as a new birth. (Society of Brothers, p. 173)

Arnold's group purchased a farm in the Rhon Mountains and adopted the name, "Rhon Bruderhof" or Rhon Society of Brothers, in 1926. Two years later Arnold and friends learned of the history of the Hutterites in Europe, founded in 16th century Germany as an Anabaptist group during the Protestant Reformation, and that they still existed in America and Canada. Appreciating the similarities between his community and the Hutterites, Arnold contacted them, and he and Emmy traveled to the Hutterite colonies in the U.S. and Canada in 1930. Some Hutterites also visited the Rhon Bruderhof. (Miller, 1998, p. 173; Oved, p. 361)

With the rise of the Nazi state in Germany in 1933 the pacifist Rhon Bruderhof saved its young men and women from conscription into the military first by relocating to Liechtenstein, creating the Alm Bruderhof. Then as the German army was invading European nations, they relocated again to England between 1936 and '38. All, that is, except Eberhard Arnold who died in 1935 after an unsuccessful surgery. In England the Bruderhof gained many converts, yet now the threat was from the English policy of interning German citizens after England's declaration of war against Germany. Now the Bruderhof requested immigration to Canada and the United States, yet were refused by both. They applied to many different countries, finding that only Paraguay in South America would accept them, perhaps due to the Paraguayan's familiarity with communal groups resulting from their Jesuit and Guarani communal history of the 17th and 18th centuries. 350 Bruderhof members moved to Paraguay in 1941, purchasing a 20,000 acre ranch they named Primavera. By 1950 there were 600 people in three separate colonies or "hofs." After WWII the Bruderhof began immigrating to the U.S., beginning with visiting various intentional communities. (Miller, 1998, pp. 173-4; Oved, p. 361)

Some of the Hutterites at the Forest River Colony in North Dakota appreciated the Bruderhof form of Christian community and invited the Bruderhof to join them. A teenager at the Forest River colony in 1955, Ruth Baer Lambach, later wrote that the Bruderhof came into Forest River "like a hurricane." They were a "patchwork community of eccentrics, intellectuals, dissident seekers of truth, and creative practitioners of radical Christianity." They ran up huge phone bills calling their other Bruderhofs, annoyed the Hutterite leadership, and caused a schism at Forest River, with those loyal to

the Hutterite leadership leaving their home to join other Hutterite colonies. Most of the Bruderhof left Paraguay, settling in 1954 in the Woodcrest Bruderhof, founded the previous year near Rifton, New York, and the remaining Forest River Hutterites left their remote North Dakota colony to purchase land nearby in Farmington, Pennsylvania, creating the Oak Lane Bruderhof. (Oved, p. 362)

Due to the demise of the Forest River Colony, relations between the Hutterites and the Bruderhof were formally ended in 1955; then reinstated in 1974 after the Bruderhof sent a mission to the Hutterites to apologize for having destroyed the latter's Forest River Colony. The Bruderhof now adopted the name, "The Hutterian Society of Brothers," although that did not smooth over all their differences. In 1990 two of the three main Hutterite branches, the Leherleut and the Dariusleut ["leut" pronounced loy-t meaning people] revoked their union with the Bruderhof. (Huntington, 1997, p. 343; Oved, p. 362)

The practice of "commune raiding" by one group carrying off members of another group to increase the population of their own society was evidently a conscious and deliberate intent upon the part of the Bruderhof, which earned them much criticism within the communities movement, not just among the Hutterites. This practice is not unique to the Bruderhof, as members have historically left one group and joined another, and such realignments of membership can be considered to be a good thing as it tends to create more inter-personal connections between members of different communities, resulting in the cross-fertilization of ideas between communities and movements. Rarely, however, does this involve the destruction of an entire community or colony as at Forest River. Yet it happened again when the Bruderhof visited the Macedonia Cooperative Community near Clarksville, Georgia.

Macedonia existed from 1937 to '58, founded by Morris Mitchell. Members of the multi-faith Macedonia Cooperative Community were mostly of liberal Protestant backgrounds, while others had a pacifist Quaker orientation. The community grew to a population of fifty adults in the early '50s, creating for themselves something that few homestead land-trust communities could build, a successful community-owned business for making themselves increasingly self-reliant, which was a cottage industry making wooden toys. (Miller, 1998, pp. 158-9)

Staughton Lynd writes about the impact of learning about the Bruderhof upon the thinking of members at Macedonia in his August 1994 letter to Ramon Sender's *Keep In Touch "or KIT Newsletter* for former Bruderhof members.

During the time [my wife and I] were at Macedonia [1954-57], the community was forever defining and redefining itself in relation to the Bruderhof. The Bruderhof had lasted much longer than our community; it seemed more experienced, more sure of itself, immune to the uncertainty, groping experimentation and catastrophes experienced at Macedonia. The Bruderhof appeared to have a direct 'hot line' to God. (Lynd, p. 2)

Initially about half of the members of Macedonia left to join the Bruderhof, and the other half joined later. Along with nearly all their members, the Macedonian's also brought to the Bruderhof their successful business of wooden children's toys, called "Community Playthings." Macedonia's cottage business was expanded by the Bruderhof to become their primary source of income, selling expensive wooden toys and children's furniture to nurseries and day-care centers, many of them funded by federal and local government 1960s era War-on-Poverty programs. By about 2010 the Bruderhof had expanded the business to focus upon building motorized wheel chairs for children with physical

disabilities, manufacturing all of the components, including metal frames, molded plastic, and upholstery, except for the wheels, batteries, and motors. (Miller, 1998, p. 174; Morgan, 2-25-1988)

The year before the Bruderhof settled at their Woodcrest colony near Rifton, New York in 1954, they had sent a delegation with a slide show of their history and colonies in Paraguay to visit communities around America, and as Timothy Miller says, “prospect for land and support.” Miller goes on to explain that the delegation was, “warmly received at several intentional communities, some of whose members joined their ranks.” Both their membership and their number of colonies increased, to about 1,500 people and nine colonies in five countries by 1956. (Miller, 1998, p. 174)

In a letter of February 25, 1988 to Dan Questenberry at Shannon Farm (VA), Ernest Morgan wrote from Celo Community (NC) about the Bruderhof’s impact upon communities in the U.S. ...

As you may know, the Bruderhof recruited the entire Macedonia Community, including their block business. This business, by the way, became one of the Bruderhof’s major economic activities.

A delegation from the Bruderhof ... did visit Celo ... in the early or middle 1950s. As a result of this meeting, several Celo families decided to move to the Bruderhof. ... It was my impression, at the time, that there was a considerable amount of unhappiness in the intentional community movement with regard to the Bruderhof.

This exodus was the direct cause of Elizabeth and myself becoming involved with the Community [moving from Yellow Springs, Ohio]. ... We felt that [Camp Celo for children] was too valuable a project to be allowed to die. ... Dave Salstrom later left the Bruderhof and returned to Celo. In balance, the exodus to the Bruderhof may actually have been, indirectly, a boost to Celo Community. (Morgan, Ernest, 2-25-1988)

In addition to raiding the Forest River Hutterite Colony, Macedonia, and Celo, Timothy Miller reports that most of the seven members of the Kingwood Community near Frenchtown, New Jersey, a “Quaker-dominated enclave,” joined the Bruderhof in 1953. (Miller, 1998, p. 167)

Alfred Andersen commented upon the Bruderhof’s FIC network affiliation and recruitment strategies in his 1997 *Communities* magazine article, explaining that it was at the Fellowship meeting at Pendle Hill in 1958 that the Bruderhof representatives, “sent word that they would no longer participate.”

A major factor in this estrangement may have been the feeling, on the part of one participant especially, that the Bruderhof was draining other communities of their leadership. ... I saw no indication that there had been any coercion involved in these moves. Basically, the Society of Brothers offered a life of deeper commitment, and people who wanted that responded. (Andersen, 1997, p. 13)

Alfred Anderson, President of the FIC in 1961, wrote the following about the Bruderhof’s ending of their association with the FIC in 1958, in his “Fellowship Roots” article in the winter 1997 issue of *Communities* magazine.

When the Society of Brothers withdrew from the FIC, there were those who felt that FIC should be allowed to quietly die. But some felt that something precious would be lost thereby. ... The sparse participation at this last conference [at Bryn Gweled, PA in 1960], plus the failure of those responsible to follow up, convinced us that FIC has reached a peaceful end. (Andersen, 1997, p.15)

Andersen explained further in a 1991Quest online-forum post that the Bruderhof announced that, “since their commitment was not to community as such, but to their particular religious way of life, centered upon the life of Jesus, that they felt they couldn’t justify putting further energy into FIC.” (Andersen, 11-22-1991)

Contradicting the above paragraph is a statement printed in the Bruderhof’s newsletter *The Plough*, reporting on a visit by six Bruderhof members, two women and four men, to the kibbutz in Israel in 1985. The article is an excerpt from a report in the *Jerusalem Post Magazine* written by Daniel Gavron, formerly a member of Kibbutz Amiad, later working as a reporter and a free-lance writer living near Jerusalem, publishing in 2000 the book *The Kibbutz: Awakening from Utopia*. Daniel refers to “Hutterans,” while addressing by name the visiting Bruderhof members, including Hans Meier. For a time the Bruderhof was a part of the Hutterite Church. Daniel quotes Hans Meier ...

The Hutterans are not in the least put off by the fact that most kibbutz members are not religious. “The spirit of God works where He wills, and He works among others who subjectively do not believe,” declares Hans Meier. “We feel nearer to people who do the will of God than to those who merely talk about it.” (Daniel Gavron, “Israeli Reporter Looks at the Conference.” *The Plough* no. 16, September, 1986, p. 32)

Twenty-seven years transpired from 1958 to 1985, between the opposite expressions of Bruderhof refusal of fellowship with the FIC and their acceptance of fellowship with the kibbutz. While the circumstances were different, most likely Hans Meier was involved in both those opposite decisions, as he joined the Bruderhof in 1933 and become an elder in Bruderhof society. How should those two opposite expressions at different times by the same person be reconciled?

The Bruderhof had taken from the Fellowship what they could, evidently draining enough of its lifeblood that the attractions of networking and fellowship no longer generated sufficient interest and energy among communitarians to host or travel to attend events. Only the need to manage the money held by the movement, in the form of the Homer Morris/CESCI revolving loan fund, sustained the Fellowship through the 1960s, ‘70s, and the first half of the ‘80s, along with personal networking by various individuals. An FIC mailing dated simply 1961 by Al Andersen states, “The fact is that the FIC has finally been laid to rest. ... The surplus funds were turned over to the Homer Morris Fund and we have the files and books in our possession [at Tanguy Homesteads in Pennsylvania].”

Beginning in 1961 there was very little Fellowship activity; the FIC being reduced to a social event accompanying the meetings of the Homer Morris Fund, incorporated as the Community Educational Service Council (CESCI) in 1975. A list of some of the communities which borrowed money from CESCI, compiled from CESCI records prior to 1990, include: Down Hill Farm, PA; East Wind, MO; Heathcote Center, MD; Plow Creek Fellowship, IL; Twin Oaks, VA; and Walden Three, RI (never repaid). CESCI also aided several community-oriented publications which evidenced its educational

aspect, including: *The Community Market Catalog*, *Source Catalog*, *Communities* magazine, Walden Three's *Communitarian*, and Mark Satin's *New Options*.

In a mailing dated August 9, 1975 distributed from Ananda Village, California, titled, "What is the Fellowship of Intentional Communities West?" Alfred Andersen attributed the Fellowship's 1961 demise and subsequent dormancy to events outside of the organization, including:

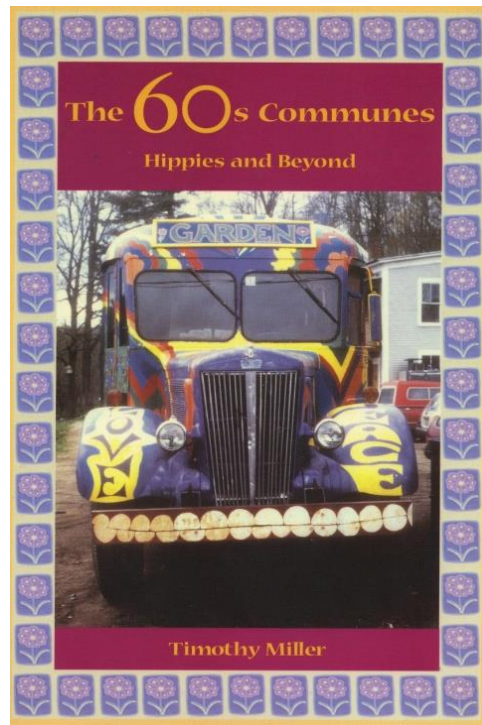
... the fact that established society seemed like it was going to survive the crisis brought on by World War II, but more specifically because of the personal charisma of John Kennedy, the new president of the United States. During the last several years ... the FIC has been revived in the East ... in an informal way. ... So I checked with Griscom Morgan, with whom I cosponsored the original conference, about starting an FIC West.

Written by hand at the top of the paper is the comment, "This never amounted to anything." Thus, for the decades of the '60s and '70s, there was only minimal Fellowship activity, serving as a social event the Saturday evening before the Sunday CESCO loan fund meetings.

In 1971 Community Service Inc. and Twin Oaks Community (TO) began working together on what appeared to be a possible opportunity of benefiting from the resolution of residual legal issues of the historic Llano del Rio Colony in Louisiana. The Colony had moved from California to Louisiana in 1914, and broke up in 1936 due to internal conflict and external challenges. At that time the community of 300 people owned 20,000 acres of land. Fraud and conspiracy on the part of local county officials resulted in the land being sold "for a trifle." Some of the remaining Llano members, being rather old in 1971 and their families, still wanted to get back either the land or a reasonable price for it. Two members of Twin Oaks traveled to Louisiana and studied the case for two weeks and thought it had possibilities, yet the only result of the excitement was that Twin Oaks named its original farmhouse "Llano." This began the tradition at TO of naming buildings after historic intentional communities, and at East Wind of naming buildings after fictional communities. ("Homer Morris Conference on Community," *Communitas*, no. 1, Spring/Summer 1972, p. 15; "Other Groups – Llano," *Journal of a Walden Two Commune: The Collected Leaves of Twin Oaks*, vol. 1, pp. 113-4)

In 1994 CESCO became a project of the Second Fellowship, with liquid assets at that time of about \$35,000 plus outstanding loans of about \$7,000. The FIC added \$2,000 to the fund's assets from profits from its 1993 Celebration of Community event. The FIC made loans to Los Angeles EcoVillage and to Walnut Street Co-op in Eugene, OR, yet the small size of the fund did not justify the labor involved in promotion and management, and so most of the fund was used to print the 1995 *Communities Directory*, paid back by sales of the *Directory*.

Around 2016 the former CESCO, then FIC loan fund was merged with the larger revolving-loan fund called PEACH, begun as a self-insurance fund by the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. (Andersen, 8-9-75; n.a., Financing Intentional Community, *Communities* no. 30, Jan/Feb 1978, pp. 9-10; Fellowship for Intentional Community Meeting Notes, Lost Valley, OR, May 19-22, 2016)



The FIC Interregnum: 1961-1986

Although the Fellowship of Intentional Communities continued to have social gatherings the Saturday afternoons and evenings before the Sunday morning Community Educational Service Committee Inc. (CESCI) loan fund meetings, the FIC was essentially in a period of dormancy from about 1960 until the 1986 reformation and name change to the Fellowship for Intentional Community. During this quarter-century the 1960s and '70s Baby Boom spawned a huge number of new intentional communities of many kinds. Some of the most successful of those new groups eventually coalesced into the rejuvenated Second Fellowship, for the same reasons that the First Fellowship was founded. (See: Timothy Miller, "A Communitarian Conundrum: Why a World That Wants and Needs Community Doesn't Get It," *Communities*, no. 151, summer 2011, pp. 60-65)

The best account of the 1960s and '70s intentional community movement is written by Timothy Miller in his 1999 book *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond*. Tim writes ...

Nothing in the American communal past ... would have led any judicious observer to predict the incredible communal explosion that began during the 1960s. In a period of just a few years communal fever gripped the alienated youth of the United States—indeed, of the developed world—and thousands upon thousands of new communities were established ...

How many communes existed during the 1960s era? Thousands, probably tens of thousands. How many people lived in them, at least briefly? Probably hundreds of thousands, conceivably a million. Could you please be more precise? No, I can't. The plain fact is that no one has a better idea of just how widespread communal living was in those days. (Miller, 1999, pp. xiii, xviii)

Tim Miller includes as an appendix to *The 60s Communes* a thirty-five page list of “American Communes Active 1960-1975,” totaling about 1,400 listings. In his 2015 *The Encyclopedic Guide to American Intentional Communities* (2nd edition) Tim presents a list of about 3,000 communities with descriptions, with another list without descriptions as an appendix of about 1,200 “Communities Nonexistent and Otherwise Unlisted.” While Tim’s *Encyclopedic Guide* lists every community he could find, the FIC’s *Communities Directories* list only those communities that give express permission for their listing, so FIC directories will always have fewer listings.

There have been directories of intentional communities published periodically by various persons and organizations beginning in the early 1970s, and in *Communities* magazine’s annual directory issues. The best of these have been produced since 1990 by the FIC. The 2016 edition 7 of the *Communities Directory* includes an international listing of 1,250 communities, most in the U.S., along with maps to locate them, and seventy-four pages of charts presenting basic information on each community from the listings. Additionally, since 1990 a directory of United Kingdom intentional communities has been produced periodically titled *Diggers & Dreamers*, and since 2000 the *Eurotopia* directory of communities in Europe has been published periodically.

The following sections present histories of some of the communities and community networks that came together in the 1980s to re-energize the FIC, which had been carrying on with a minimal energy level since 1961. Essentially, a whole new generation of community networkers had to arise with the ‘60s, ‘70s, and ‘80s New Wave communities movement before a critical mass of community networking enthusiasm could reorganize the FIC.

While many factors explain the community movement reawakening in the 1990s, one of the most important which greatly facilitated the growth of the Fellowship was the advance of communication and information technologies. As desk-top computers were superseded by lap-tops, more and more people who attended FIC meetings brought computers with them, covering whole tables with computer workstations and papers. With this meeting infrastructure, detailed meeting minutes were completed on the spot, with easy access to and creation of supporting materials. Gradually, most of the work of the Fellowship gravitated toward the creation of online resources, with online courses, seminars, and other paid services providing an ever growing source of FIC revenue, enabling more paid staff and ongoing growth of the FIC.



Federation of Egalitarian Communities

Inter-Communities of Virginia • Federation of Egalitarian Communities

The origin of the network of communities now known as the Federation of Egalitarian Communities (FEC) goes back to the post-World War Two years of the late 1940s and the Harvard psychologist B. F. Skinner's concept of behavioral analysis. His work with operant conditioning focused upon positive reinforcement for social relations rather than hierarchical, authoritarian social control, which

is consistent with the idea of egalitarian culture. Communal economics was adopted by Twin Oaks as another design aspect of egalitarian culture, and its continual existence now for over sixty years is unique in the New Age or New Wave intentional communities movement.

Behavioral psychology was built upon the psychological theory of classical conditioning developed by Ivan Pavlov (1849-1936), and upon the science of behaviorism developed by John Watson (1878-1958). Behavioral psychology has evolved into two main branches: the experimental analysis of behavior; and applied behavior analysis. B. F. Skinner (1904-1990) and others developed the idea that the new science of behavioral psychology might be able to help prevent the kind of terrible global mass conflicts seen in the World Wars of the first half of the 20th century. So far it does not seem to have turned out that way.

While behavioral psychology has been helpful in working with people with mental and developmental disabilities, is widely used in behavioral economics, in the design of public policy, and in human resources management, it does not seem to have always worked on the level of international relations in the 21st century. It might be said to have worked with American reconstruction of Germany and Japan after WWII, yet Western Europe's attempt to use positive reinforcement in relations with the Russian Federation after the fall of the Soviet Union has resulted in the Russian leader refusing the overture.

To help disseminate the ideas of behavioral science B. F. Skinner decided to apply the theory in a small-scale fictional utopia, which he wrote into a novel titled *Walden Two*. Not having ever lived in an intentional community, Skinner took ideas from the Israeli kibbutzim, particularly their children's houses, and from earlier utopian novels like the non-monetary, labor-sharing, communal economy found in Edward Bellamy's 19th century utopian fiction *Looking Backward: 2000-1887*. Skinner suggested a labor-credit economy, a planner/manager form of government, and a communal children's house, all incorporated in the original design of Twin Oaks Community in the Piedmont region of Central Virginia, co-founded by Kathleen (Kat) Kinkade and six other adults in 1967.

I have written a history of the communal society network including Twin Oaks called the Federation of Egalitarian Communities, which is celebrating its 50th anniversary in 2026. Find the document in the form of a free PDF download on the website Intentioneers.net, titled *Fifty Years of Gender Partnership in the Federation of Egalitarian Communities*. (See also: A. Allen Butcher, "50 Years of Utopian Intentioneering at Twin Oaks Community," *Communities*, no. 176, fall 2017, pp. 27-30)

In 1972 Kat published a book about the first five years of Twin Oaks titled *A Walden Two Experiment*, which attracted many people to her vision, including the present author in 1975. In 1973 Kat and a few others left Twin Oaks, which at the time had a membership of just under 50 adults, to start a second communal society, which became East Wind Community, landing in Tecumseh Township, Ozark County, Missouri in 1974. Many of us who joined Twin Oaks Community (TO), East Wind Community (EW), and the other Federation communities did not have the commitment to behaviorism shared by at least the co-founders of Twin Oaks, and so a long process of evolution ensued. The first thing that was given up, soon after Kat left Twin Oaks, was the idea that the group was a "behaviorist community," acknowledging that many influences shaped the community.

The founding of the Federation in 1976 marked the end of the general reference to TO and EW as "Walden II communities." Now we began to call ourselves "egalitarian communities." Since other

non-communal groups also used the term “egalitarian community,” focusing upon gender equality, we later changed how we referred to ourselves by developing the term “total income-sharing communities,” focusing upon what made us unique.

After a year or more of debate and planning East Wind simplified its labor-credit system in 1983, which it had adopted from Twin Oaks after its move to Missouri, by among other things ending labor budgeting, and changing its governance system from the sociocracy-like Walden Two planner/manager design to the cooperative-organization design of one-member-one-vote democracy. At that time EW had an adult membership of fewer than 50 adults, just like TO had a decade earlier. At Twin Oaks the original Walden Two economic and governance models have not changed as much as at East Wind.

The next big change from the Walden Two model was the communities’ commitment to a large-group communal childcare program. The kibbutz-like, communal children’s house design caused many members to leave East Wind and Twin Oaks when they formed couples and wanted children. Both TO and EW gave up their large-group communal children’s houses with childcare workers in the early 1990s, in favor of the shared-parenting model of small-group communal childcare in child-adult residences, called by the present author “cofamilies,” comprised of parents and unrelated “godparents.”

It took two decades for Twin Oaks, and about a dozen years at East Wind, to give up the social design of communal children’s houses, because we could not come up with any other alternative to the nuclear family. Some of us were aware that the kibbutz movement in Israel privatized their entire economies, eventually giving up communalism, after building nuclear family apartments and closing their children’s houses, and we did not want to follow the kibbutzim down that slippery-slope of privatization. Children’s houses did work well when they were managed by those who were good with children and understood early childhood development, yet many of those kibbutznics who grew up in children’s houses did not want to raise their children that way, and in our cases, we did not always have child program managers that everyone respected. (Gavron, p. 7)

The other form of large-group communal childcare which we tried off-and-on for many years was collective management of our children’s programs involving all of the parents and other adults working with the children. This child program system required good group-decision-making skills for resolving issues on everything from what foods the children ate to what toys they could play with. The biggest problem with that form of child program management was the constant turn-over of parents joining and leaving the program, as members got pregnant or new parents joined the community, requiring the whole group having to review many of the policies previously set by both those who left the community and those who remained. This often turned out to be problematic.

Typically, new mothers would leave the community when the Child Program wanted them to start leaving their young children to sleep with all the other children in the children’s house at night, usually soon after they were weaned onto solid food. If children and their parents remained members, they often left when their children grew to school age. If they stayed until the children became adults, those children typically left the communal society. Because of this, members questioned why bother with the expense of children if they would eventually leave. Communal societies do not need children at all as long as they can attract adults as new members, even if they leave once they have children. Through the decades of large-group communal childcare it was recognized that the children were

always fine, it was the adults who were stressed out by the large-group communal childcare program.

The “communal child” ideal was based upon the idea that through a prepared and controlled environment with trained care-givers communal childcare could result in a better human being than a person growing up in an isolated nuclear family. For twenty years at Twin Oaks, and a dozen years at East Wind, this was the rationale for raising children in a children’s house, as in the behaviorist fiction of *Walden Two* and the experience of Israeli kibbutzim. When the change from large-group communal childcare to small-group communal “cofamily” childcare finally happened around 1993 at both TO and EW, we essentially learned that the “prepared and controlled” environment was not what made for better individuals, it was simply growing up in a safe and nurturing village that made for well-adjusted, self-reliant, confident, and capable individuals. (Kinkade, 1994, pp. 146-8; Gavron, pp. 163-4)

The change to small-group communal childcare in child-adult residences as cofamilies of unrelated people, as opposed to extended families of relatives, happened at TO after a series of two, long, community-wide, large-group processes called Social Planning in 1979 and later the Child Program Process in 1988. (Kinkade, 1994, pp. 100, 149-52, 252-4; Komar, pp. 36, 50-1, 111-8, 247-9)

Ingrid Komar refers to the “orthodox, one-big-community” as the reasoning supporting the communal children’s house concept at Twin Oaks, adopted from both Israeli kibbutzim and *Walden Two*, which also influenced East Wind. (Komar, p. 117) Some of the resistance to change was likely due to the concern about devolving into nuclear families. The change at both TO and EW around 1993 occurred when at TO some long-term members refused to follow Child Program policies, and at EW it was new members who refused the community’s Child Program policies.

The 1993 date for the change from large-group childcare in TO’s children’s house, called “Degania” after the first Israeli kibbutz, which ironically never had a children’s house, to small-group cofamilies in child-adult residences, is recorded in the minutes of the fall 1993 Assembly of the Federation of Egalitarian Communities (p. 20), in which Valerie Twin Oaks simply states, “[Child] Care Changes: Community [child] care now happens only from 12:00 to 6:00 pm.” This simple note speaks volumes, as it marks the end of twenty years of struggle to justify and maintain a large-group communal childcare program to avoid nuclear families. It marks the change from childcare workers in children’s houses to parents and “godparents” in cofamilies nested within a larger community. I discuss this long, difficult transition at Twin Oaks, East Wind, and in the kibbutzim in more detail in the paper, *Too Much of a Good Thing*. (See also: Taran Jacob, “The Evolving State of Childcare at East Wind,” *Communities*, no. 64, fall 1994, p. 20)

In 1971 Twin Oaks began holding annual communities conferences. These have always involved attendees camping and meeting outdoors on the land. A number of other communities were formed by conference participants, and in 1972 three different community journals, *Communitas* (in Ohio), *Communitarian* (in Connecticut), and *Alternatives* (in California) merged to form *Communities* magazine. A nation-wide collective formed, called Community Publications Cooperative (CPC), meeting at the annual Twin Oaks conferences for managing the magazine as a voice of the New Wave communities movement. During the last half of the 1970s a collective based in New Haven, Connecticut including Paul Freundlich, obtained grants from Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA, a federal ACTION agency program) and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA, under the U.S. Dept. of Labor), paying CPC staff. In 1979 CPC published *A Guide to*

Cooperative Alternatives (p. 10), a perfect-bound, magazine-size book including a community directory along with resources for social change, appropriate technology, networking, and “almost anything else hopeful in America.”

Predictably, the decentralized, volunteer collective eventually centralized at Twin Oaks. TO stopped hosting communities conferences, and gradually the community took on more and more work for and financing of *Communities* magazine. By the early 1980s the community wanted to give that up, finally transferring the journal to Charles Betterton at Stelle Community in Illinois in 1984. Charles’ intention was to revitalize the intentional communities movement, and he took on a number of initiatives to grow the movement, including *Communities* magazine, and the reformation of the Fellowship. A number of people supported Charles’ plan, and five of us met at Stelle in 1986 as the founding group of the Second Fellowship, soon to be renamed the Fellowship for Intentional Community, changing the name to include those supportive of intentional community who do not live in community.

For the twelve years that *Communities* magazine was at Twin Oaks, the community was at the center of the intentional communities movement in North America, and the annual directory issue was the best listing of communities available. Several of those years, during Paul Freundlich’s leadership, the journal’s focus shifted to include more of an emphasis upon consumer and worker cooperatives, due to the surge of interest in the cooperative movement, and as a means to reach a larger audience.

The decision to send the magazine to Stelle was made with assurances that the magazine would return to its original mission of focusing upon intentional community. Now Twin Oaks’ contribution to networking the larger communities movement was winding down, and it was a relief to many members that the magazine was no longer their responsibility. Yet this was just a respite; new energies would eventually arise to bring Twin Oaks back into larger-movement networking.

The plan to found a “Federation of Egalitarian Communities” (FEC) was announced in *Communities* magazine, and five communities formed the Federation November of 1976 at East Wind: Aloe in North Carolina, Dandelion in Ontario, East Wind in Missouri, and North Mountain and Twin Oaks both in Virginia. (See: *Communities* number 25, March-April 1977, pp. 27-31)

The constant turnover of Federation Delegates over the years resulted in new people continually having to be oriented to Federation mission and history. The Israeli kibbutz connection as the primary reason for the Federation’s existence, however, has always been given less emphasis than it, in reality, deserves.

After publishing her book *A Walden Two Experiment* about Twin Oaks, Kat East Wind was invited by Mordechai Bentov of the Israeli kibbutz federation, Kibbutz Artzi, to a six-week visit the autumn of 1975. Upon her return to EW, Kat and Malon EW talked about attracting economic development loans from Kibbutz Artzi, and thought that the best way to do that would be to create a federation of Walden Two Communities like the kibbutz federations.

Federation communities had a number of kibbutz visitors over the years, and Mordechai Bentov paid for seven of our members to visit kibbutzim, including Kat Kinkade. The other six, representing Twin Oaks, Dandelion, and East Wind, attended along with communitarians from a total of fourteen different countries, the October 1981 kibbutz-sponsored Conference on World Communes and

Kibbutzim. See Brian Otto's article "International Communes Conference" in *Communities* magazine, with a photo of Joanie TO and Malon EW, which also printed my article about East Wind's new nutbutter business titled "The Good Life: East Wind Community." (*Communities* no. 52, Feb/March 1982, pp. 28-31 and 36-42)

The fall of 1976 Bentov sent Michael Frishberg to the founding FEC Assembly, who was working in New York City for the Jewish National Fund. Michael commented that seeing East Wind and observing the founding of the FEC reminded him of the beginnings of the kibbutz movement. He talked about the kibbutz federation's mutual-aid programs including their cooperative industrial development, joint marketing, research, development, and other programs. (See: *Communities* number 25, March-April 1977, p. 29)

Part of the intention for the FEC to focus upon the communal groups inspired by *Walden Two* and Twin Oaks came from the recent experience of the failure of the Inter-Communities of Virginia (I-CV) network formed at the 1973 TO Communities Conference. I-CV dissolved by 1976. It had grown to be inclusive of a large range of intentional communities on the East Coast, from Ontario to the Carolinas, yet failed to organize anything more than periodic gatherings. One of the Twin Oaks Delegates to the founding meeting of the FEC, Wayne, had been active in I-CV, and agreed to limit the inclusivity of the Federation, presumably due to the failure of the inclusive I-CV networking model. With its focus upon a closely-aligned group of communities, the FEC wrote a formal constitution detailing organization, decision-making, and taxation of money and labor to the Federation Assembly. The FEC tax structure was set at 0.5% of each community's previous year's gross income, and 6.6 hours per working member per year, matching Kibbutz Artzi's labor tax. (See: FEC Assembly VI minutes, January 27-31, 1979 at Twin Oaks, pp. 10-11)

As the Federation later failed to grow in the number of communities as was hoped, the topic of inclusivity verses exclusivity and larger-communities-movement networking would appear every couple years on Assembly agendas. Alpha Farm was one of the communities that considered FEC membership, sending two representatives to the FEC Assembly IV at East Wind, January 1978. Alpha Farm in Oregon did not join the FEC until 2026, probably in part due to the cost of travel and of Federation dues, and due to Alpha's member-equity arrangement, which ended around 2020. Equity-sharing is counter to the FEC requirement of total-income-sharing. Another reason for Alpha declining to join the FEC for 48 years from 1978 until 2026 was their decision to focus instead upon networking with the Earth Communities Network (ECN) on the West Coast, the Fellowship of Intentional Communities (FIC), and the Northwest Intentional Communities Association (NICA), all of which were more inclusive of different types of intentional community than the FEC.

Alpha Farm landed on Deadwood Creek in the Coast Range of Oregon on April 1972, originating in the Quaker activist community in Philadelphia, PA. The 2010 *Communities Directory* reported an Alpha population of 27 adults and children, which was about the community's highest membership, falling to less than ten in 2026.

In a *Communities* magazine article titled "Alpha Farm" Michael Theole writes that a small group of six-to-eight people began meeting on Sunday evenings to discuss and plan to build a small, rural intentional community of about twenty people. The group came together as a result of a national meeting in 1971 in Philadelphia of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker social action organization. Michael does not offer the topic of the national meeting, yet this was near

the height of the anti-Vietnam War and the civil rights movements. (“Alpha Farm,” *Communities*, Sept/Oct 1978, no. 34, pp. 14-19)

Andrew Cornell fills in the details in his 2011 book *Oppose and Propose: Lessons from Movement for a New Society*, explaining that an organization founded in 1966 called A Quaker Action Group (AQAG) responded to the frustration among many activists who wanted a more radical nonviolent social change organization for moving beyond simply protesting what was wrong in America. They called a national conference to consider the need for sustainable community structures that could both provide a positive vision and an alternative system for supporting ongoing activism. At least two groups grew out of the 1971 AQAG conference: the intentional community group that became Alpha Farm; and the Life Center in Philadelphia, which soon involved five collective houses with about fifty people, half of them Quaker. Eventually the Life Center grew to a dozen houses. Out of the Life Center was formed Movement for a New Society (MNS), a national organization for radical education and training for nonviolent direct action. (“Philadelphia Life Center,” *Communitas*, July 1972, p. 16; Cornell, p. 18)

Andrew Cornell explains in his wonderful handbook that the AFSC never officially sanctioned MNS. It may never have sanctioned the idea of intentional community either, even though in the 1930s the AFSC did support, or at least some of its members supported, the founding of Celo Community in North Carolina. In fact, Quakers have been involved in the intentional community movement since their founding in England in the 17th century through to today. The best known communal group that grew out of the Quaker tradition is the Shakers. I discuss the history of Quaker intentional communities in a couple chapters of my self-published, Amazon ebook *The Intentioneer's Bible*.

Caroline Estes (1928-2022) was one of the Alpha Farm cofounders. The name Alpha was from the early Deadwood Creek settlement on the land purchased by Estes and friends. Caroline became an accomplished group process trainer, consulting with corporations as well as intentional communities, presenting many consensus process trainings around North America. The present author attended two of Caroline's group-process trainings, one at Twin Oaks and another at the Highline Crossing cohousing community in the Denver Metro Area. Laird Sandhill wrote a beautiful remembrance of Caroline in the winter 2022 issue no. 197 of *Communities* titled “Remembering Lina.” (pp. 64, 62-63)

A point to be made about small communities is that in the 1980s and '90s several small groups have left East Wind to found or help build new communities in Missouri (although not in Tecumseh County), including Terra Nova, Sunnyside, and Sweetwater. Their success may be partly due to the fact that their founders or new members had years of egalitarian community experience, and partly due to their not being total-income-sharing. Evidently, experience can serve in place of extraordinary innate leadership ability, and might even be preferable.

The topic of inclusivity, or how lax the Federation membership requirements should be, was important as a growth issue since the Federation was failing in one of its primary goals, that of helping its smaller member communities to grow and survive. One after another they all folded or gave up their communal design; all but Sandhill (until 2019).

Perhaps the difference at Sandhill was primarily due to the leadership interest and skills of Laird Schaub (1949-2024), one of Sandhill's co-founders, who took for his last name the name of his community, naming his two children the same. Sandhill joined the Federation in 1980 and Laird soon

joined the Federation's Executive Committee. Laird became a consensus process trainer, working with Caroline Estes of Alpha Farm, and among other accomplishments, conceived and fathered into being in 1985 the major medical disaster self-insurance fund called PEACH, joined by most of the Federation communities. Starting in '86 each participating community pays \$10 per month per member into a fund, which is then available for loaning back to member communities and to other communities and projects, as well as providing security against the risk of major medical expenses resulting in financial ruin for member communities. It would be PEACH funds that would later become a source of funding for the Fellowship's program of taking on *Communities* magazine.

Concerning TO's support for the Federation and for PEACH, Laird writes ...

... by the time that PEACH came up for consideration in 1985, the Federation dues had finally been put on baseline in the Tradeoff Game (meaning funding assured), which was a signal of major acceptance of Twin Oaks' involvement. That was a watershed decision that signaled the end of serious questioning of that community's continued role.

The economic development loans that Malon and Kat envisioned from Kibbutz Artzi never happened. By the mid 1980s the Kibbutzim were falling into crisis. The Israeli economy was in deep recession. The Kibbutz Artzi federation had lost money on failed investments. Many individual kibbutzim were deep in debt. Most if not all kibbutzim were losing many of their young people to the Outside World, and were accepting greater privatization of their societies, including giving up communal child care in favor of family apartments, and otherwise turning from their communal ideals. The trend within the kibbutz movements was toward greater diversity of political-economic systems among various kibbutzim.

R. Abramitsky reported in a *Journal of Economic Perspectives* article (2011, no. 25) titled "Lessons from the Kibbutz on the Equality-Incentives Trade-Off" that as of 2004 eighty-five percent of the kibbutzim had given up communalism (as cited in Christakis, p. 77). Since many if not most kibbutzim were settled on land owned by the Jewish National Fund (JNF), those kibbutzim which privatized essentially became cohousing-like communities on hybrid public-private land trusts. The JNF is somewhat like a government-sponsored enterprise in the U.S., such as the Federal National Mortgage Association, called Fannie Mae, except that in Israel the JNF owns the land.

The drop in population and dissolution of many intentional communities in the 1980s, including among those in the Federation, led to advertising for members becoming a priority. Joint recruitment programs became the main function of the Federation. Malon even contracted with a New York advertising agency to come up with magazine ads like the "lifestyle quiz" used by East Wind for many years. They also recommended that East Wind make its community newsletter a higher priority; it had always been one of the first things to be cut during the reoccurring periods of austerity. Another thing to be postponed at East Wind was having children born in the community, a policy which resulted in a number of members, including the present author in 1983, being forced to leave their home.

East Wind's poverty during the period of the start-up of the nutbutter business, and the resulting emphasis upon working both harder and smarter, led to the airing of a long-standing conflict over the issues of labor and membership at East Wind. The issue boiled down to how decisions were made in the community and the perception held by some of a managerial class within an ostensibly egalitarian society. The Board of Planners and various others tried a number of methods to encourage a more

participatory decision-making process, including MNS-style consensus process training, yet that was contrary to the *Walden Two* planner-manager governance system which some members defended, so there was always a low-level sense of tension.

LIFESTYLE QUIZ



Yes
☐

No
☐

- ☐ ☐ 1. I am responsible and hard working.
- ☐ ☐ 2. I reject mainstream values of competition, status seeking and materialism.
- ☐ ☐ 3. I care about other people.
- ☐ ☐ 4. I am non-violent.
- ☐ ☐ 5. I am tolerant and flexible.
- ☐ ☐ 6. I am cooperative and practical.
- ☐ ☐ 7. I am interested in personal growth and development.
- ☐ ☐ 8. I am concerned about the environment.

If you answered "YES" to most of these questions, you may be the kind of person we're looking for at East Wind Community.

We're an economically stable, self-reliant community of 60 people who choose cooperative relationships and social equality over competition and status seeking.

To learn more about becoming a member of East Wind Community, write today!

EAST WIND COMMUNITY

P.O. Box C106 Tecumseh, MO 65760

The EW Annual Plan set the community's labor budgets, and since certain people, especially the business, labor and membership managers, tended to participate in Community Meeting more than others, it seemed to some members that they were disenfranchised. Those who did not agree with the plan tended to ignore community meetings and not participate in the labor system, such as by refusing to record their done hours or vacation time, even though everyone knew that some of them were hard workers, resulting in their alienation, loss of membership, and much controversy as social pressure pushed them out of the community, or they left from a loss of personal commitment. If the business managers had left at any of several financially difficult times, the community might well have defaulted on its nutbutter business loans, lost its land, and dissolved. They all did leave some years after the nutbutter business was started. (Kinkade, 1994, pp. 88-9)

It was the community's general agreement to grow to a large size that fueled East Wind's drive to industrialize, and it was Malon's search for funding for East Wind's industrial development that resulted in several changes in addition to the founding of the Federation. In order to maintain a good working relationship with the National Cooperative Bank (NCB), which became the second and subsequently the most important source of capital for East Wind, the community had to look more like a cooperative than a commune, and the planner-manager structure did not fit the co-op model of democratic control. Therefore, changing East Wind's government to a democratic form (i.e., a voting process) served two goals, that of attracting industrial financing and of placating the workers who would likely feel more comfortable with the power of the vote than with the participatory process that is designed into the planner-manager system. The latter reason was emphasized, yet may not have been the most important reason for the change.

Making this change of government was not difficult at East Wind as the EW Bylaws state that the community may, "... govern itself by any reasonable means which its members desire" The change to democracy happened in 1983. However, there were no significant policy changes as a result of the change in governmental form, since just like at The Farm in Tennessee, the same people attended or avoided community meetings after the change-over as before. Thus, the primary value of democracy at East Wind was the industrial and financial managers' subsequent ability to de-emphasize in contacts with funding organizations the community's communal nature and its community-owned businesses, and emphasize its similarities with the cooperative movement and worker-owned businesses.

Kat would later comment that EW's primary problem was its relatively open-door policy of accepting practically anyone as a member. This policy was based on the community's desire for fast growth, which in turn was based on the TO experience of limited growth; the rejection of which was the original reason for EW's founding, and the reason for its goal of 750 people, abandoned some years later. The enticement of fast growth of the Twin Oaks Community model was a major reason for my joining East Wind. (Kinkade, 1994, pp. 88-9)

Will once commented to me that Malon often started projects that required his expertise. Among these were electrical engineering, financial management, economic and social planning, and Will's ability to motivate and engage the skills of others. Yet it was the idea of growth that attracted these two people, and many others, so the focus upon growth itself was not the problem. It was the financial stresses of a severely undercapitalized community and the work-load of labor-intensive, handcraft industries of rope hammocks and rope sandals, then the long process of the nutbutter business start-up, that caused East Wind's social problems. These problems were aggravated by a general lack of understanding of and experience in communal interpersonal dynamics and group process, which in turn was due in part to a 25% annual membership turnover rate. Several large member "exoduses" dropped membership by nearly 50% in a few months on a couple occasions, usually in the spring. These exoduses essentially relieved the pressures that had built up, then immediately after an exodus the workload went up for those remaining and the controversies died down. Invariably, many of those controversies would arise again with new members.

Although the leadership dynamics of communities, not to mention networks, is an important factor in their survival over time, what sustains a community beyond the lifetime or beyond the tenure of their leaders, since many leave, may have more to do with the cultural design of the community than the quality of its leadership. East Wind and Twin Oaks survived and continued to grow after their

founders and strongest leaders left, with relatively little change in their design over the years. The obvious conclusion is that the basic functions of these communities do not rely upon any one person's involvement. They created, or more fundamentally, B. F. Skinner created, a political/economic/social structure that members would accept, internalize and practice, which included a commitment to involving new members in the governmental structure. In fact, at Twin Oaks it was Kat's clear stance in favor of political inclusivity that countered a long-term member, Will TO's, attempt to create in the community an "elder's council," such as what many other long-lived (and some not so long lived) communities had. This was to be a sub-group of members with ten years or more of residence in the community who would supposedly be better able to keep the faith, and presumably influence the Board of Planners to accept their views, than would the much larger number of newer members. Individuals comprising this subset of the community held a few meetings, with no noticeable result.

Although participation in governance is an important aspect of the success of Federation communities, along with the autonomy given to managers, the labor credit system must also be given credit for its flexibility and efficiency as an economic design. As a communal society has no or very little private property, then money as a medium of exchange of private property has no role within the community. There is nothing to exchange if everyone owns everything in common. Thus, what coordinates production and consumption is the structure of labor sharing. The labor credit system, and its attendant inter-community labor exchange program, therefore, must be recognized as one of the most important reasons for the survival of the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. The labor system is as much a defining characteristic of the Federation's cooperative, egalitarian culture as is the monetary system in the Outside World's competitive, hierarchical culture.

Given that the Federation was not able to fulfill one of its primary objectives of growth by seeding new communities, it sought to grow by finding other communities to join it. This is a common growth strategy seen in many community networks, such as, notoriously, the Bruderhof. As was noted, the Federation tried a number of times to enlarge its membership, always to find that there were very few eligible groups meeting its membership criteria. When the proposal came to the Federation Assembly to join in the reformation of the Fellowship for Intentional Community as an inclusive movement organization, the Federation was ready. (See: *FEC 10 Years Together, Communities*, no. 73, 1987)

It turned out that a network formed exclusively for our closely-aligned communal societies was what was needed ten years later to help expand the FIC into a more effective cross-movement networking organization. The Federation's support for the FIC included contributing both labor and \$500 annual dues for many years, along with financing for the *Communities Directories*, and labor for research, promotion, and distribution of the *Directories*. The FEC donated its mail-order Community Bookshelf business to the FIC, hosted FIC board meetings at three Federation communities, and the TO Indexing collective created an index of FIC board minutes. (See: *Communities* no 113, winter 2001, pp. 64-5)

When the FIC planned a large conference for August, 1993 in Olympia, Washington the Federation offered \$400 for Federation community members to attend, and another \$800 for general scholarships. After the Olympia Gathering the minutes for the December, 1993 Federation Assembly at East Wind reported that the FEC donated \$1,000 to support FIC administration. (FEC Executive Committee Meeting III Notes, June 1993, Tekiah Community, pp. 18-19).



The Farm

The 1980s saw groups giving up their communal structures, including The Farm in Tennessee, leaving Twin Oaks as the largest, most successful New Wave, or 1960s-era communal society. Even the Christian communities were going into a period of dissolution. David Janzen wrote of the “anti-community eighties” as a time of idealism dying in the younger, Baby Boom generation, resulting in abandonment of the communities movement in favor of career and family. (Janzen, pp. 11, 174, 177)

The Farm community in Tennessee was begun by a San Francisco college professor named Stephen Gaskin (1935-2014), who inspired a following with his Monday Night Classes on countercultural philosophy and spirituality of the late 1960s, which attracted up to 2,000 people. Stephen’s last class was February 10, 1971, and the next day he and around 300 others left the city in a caravan headed for rural Tennessee, to buy land and start a commune, growing to about 350 people by the time they arrived. Stephen had said that anyone who could get a vehicle together and support themselves on the road was welcome to join them. About a hundred vehicles hit the road, sixty of them being converted school buses. (Traugot, pp. 6-7, 12, 15)

Michael Traugot explains in his 1994 paper, titled *A Short History of the Farm*, some of Stephen’s teachings, starting with, “We Are All One. ... Each of us has a higher self, an inner self that knows what’s right and what’s wrong, what’s going on, that knows it is part of something bigger. ... People create their own karma through their own actions. ... It is ONLY through loving attention that any real healing takes place.” (Traugot, pp. 6, 10)

Being in the San Francisco Bay Area in the late ‘60s and early ‘70s it is no surprise that Stephen was part of a polyfidelity “group marriage” of four adults, with two children. Michael explains (pp. 11, 25) that the two couples, “considered themselves married in all ways, including raising and providing for all their children, and were sexually faithful to each other.” The term “polyfidelity” was coined by the Kerista Commune in San Francisco in the early 1970s, which is essentially another term for group marriage. Sylvia Anderson, editor of the 1990s newsletter *Whirling Rainbow News* networking former child members of the Farm who left to live in California, explains in her long email discussion of The Farm, written after a 1991 meeting in Oakland, California involving former children of The

Farm and others, that Stephen’s group marriage expanded into a six-marriage, or three couples, and for a while there were several group marriages at The Farm, although none of them lasted. Sex was considered a sacred act, and marriage was taken seriously, just in a different way than in the dominant culture.

Different chroniclers record different population maximums for The Farm at its height in the early 1980s, yet the general consensus is about 1,500 people, half of which, Sylvia writes, were children. Michael Traugot writes (pp. 1, 24, 59) that the maximum population figure was 1,500 in 1980, then in 1983 The Farm's population had fallen to 800, and in 1986 it was under 400, and in 1994 about 225 residents. Geoph Kozeny reported in his email message of October 23, 1999 that The Farm's population "has continued to shrink as the teens grow into adults and hit the road." Many moved to California. The 2007 *Communities Directory* reports 150 adults and 20 children, and the 2016 *Communities Directory* reports 210 members including children. What happened?

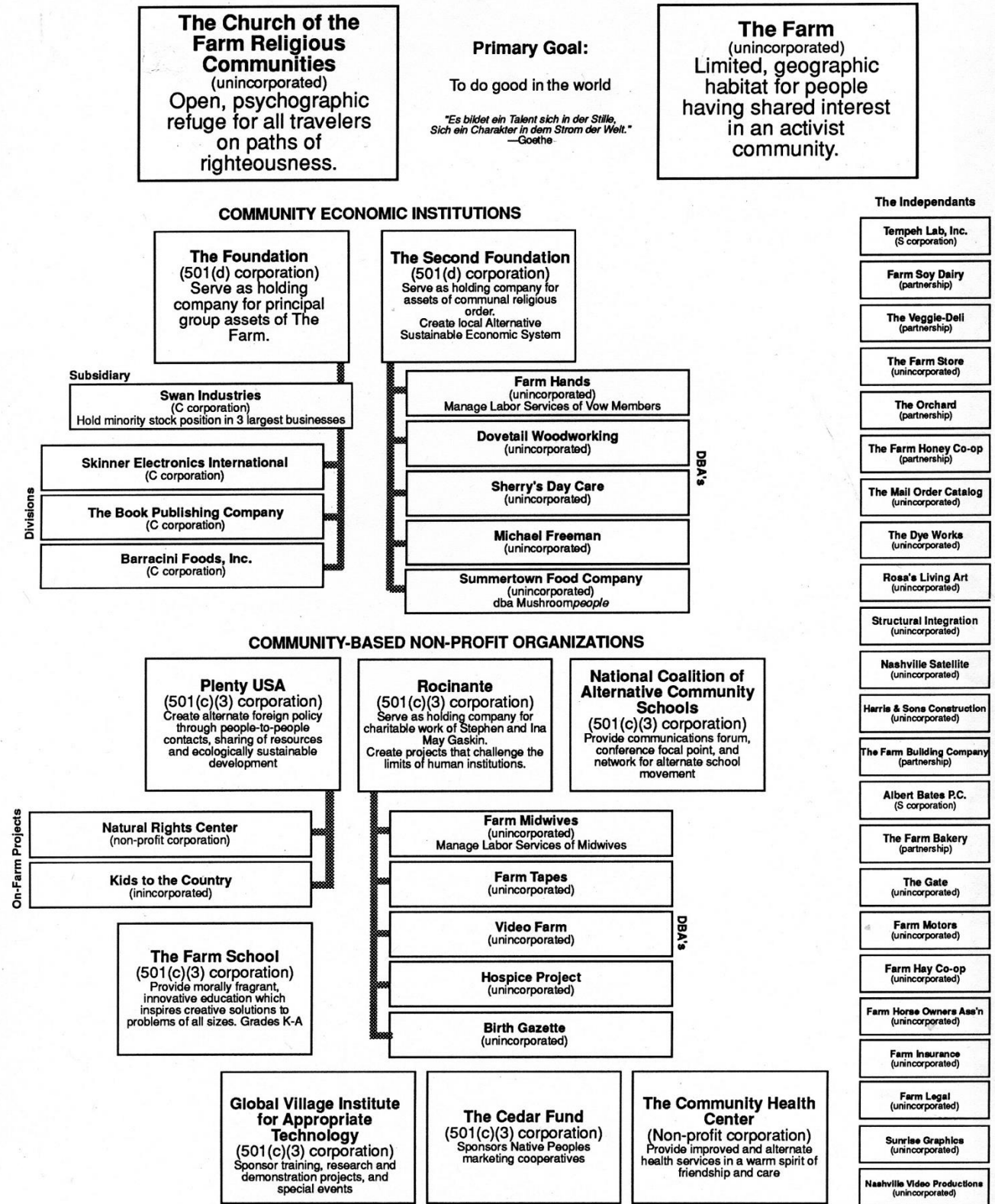
The Farm had problems with under-capitalization, the stresses of a relatively open-door policy, and the added expense of supporting some twenty satellite communities in several states and foreign countries. Albert Bates explained in two e-mail messages how other Farm communities arose then disbanded:

When we were over 1000 people, we would have 200 overnight visitors every night. Our gate policy was "2 days or the rest of your life." At the end of each week we had collected as many as 20-30 people who chose the latter option. They would meet together and we would ask, "Does anybody here have land already? If so, can you take these other people with you and we will send some 'astronauts' from among our most skilled members, and lend you a hand." In this way several of the satellites were started. Other ones began because it was deemed auspicious to have a toehold in Guatemala, or San Rafael, or the Bronx. Still others wrote and asked for the astronauts and wound up getting Houston Control. It was not a replicable model.

Some of these, like the New York or Ottawa Farms, were completely self-supporting. Others, like the 200 volunteers in camp in Guatemala, were utterly dependent on Tennessee for everything. Most, like Michigan or D.C. or Jamaica or Virginia, were between those extremes. What the Management Council (known at The Farm as the Council of Elders) recommended to the community meeting, and the meeting adopted, with Stephen (Gaskin, founder of The Farm) facilitating, and no blocks, was that support could no longer be extended under the new \$10,000/week basic budget restructuring plan and those communities which could fend for themselves could and should do that, and those that couldn't could fold and their members come to Tennessee, or whatever course they, as communities, chose to follow. I think about five folded and of their members perhaps half came to Tennessee. The rest--Canada, New York, Florida, Ireland, Jamaica, Lesotho, Spain, etc.--went their own way. Some folded later; some continue to this day as autonomous entities. None retained a communal structure, but certainly many kept it together much longer than The Farm did. (Albert Bates, e-mail 12/3/96 and 12/6/96)

In the case of the Virginia Farm, located close to Twin Oaks, the property was originally purchased to be a branch of The Farm, then over the years parcels were sold to different people, most of whom were former members of Twin Oaks, resulting in what might be called an intentional neighborhood.

Structural Chart for The Farm, 1991



The loss of population at the Tennessee Farm resulted from a number of factors, among which being the transition away from Stephen Gaskin's leadership. Among the causes, Michael Traugot includes the interesting idea of a lack of an "older generation." Most all of the adult members were of the same generation, all going through similar changes of learning to live together, having children, needing to learn agriculture, and to create ways to make money during a time when the national and local economies were in recession and struggling. Geoph Kozeny makes a similar point in his 1999 email about the learning curve of the New Wave communarians having grown up without community, subsequently having to develop the interpersonal skills to work out how to live communally. Michael Traugot explains that Stephen upheld high moral standards, such as telling the truth about what was going on. Stephen would say, "You don't have to work for a mean boss." Michael writes, "There was quite a bit of ego-bumping going on in the early days, as a large group of young adults raised in a culture of individuality tried to become an instant tribe." (pp. 9, 35)

Yet a tribe it was. Sylvia Anderson writes ...

I think most of us thought we were going to live there the rest of our lives and that our kids would live there after we were gone. ... We built a bunch of huge houses and often lived in large households—two or three couples, their kids, and several single folks (and their kids, if any). The largest one I lived in was 35 people ... in one house and a couple converted school buses in the yard. We all ate from the same kitchen at approximately the same time. We had a home-made "serial" high-chair where we could feed up to six babies at one time. Although the birth parents had primary responsibility for their kids, we also considered that all the kids were everybody's kids. ... We were a great extended family, with shared values, and our kids all feel like siblings with each other. We also had our own schools (grades K thru 12), and an apprentice program. (Sylvia Anderson, 1991, e-mail)

Sylvia Anderson writes how Stephen's leadership, and the group of influential members around him which Michael Traugot calls "Council of Elders," were replaced by the board-of-directors. Sylvia writes. "[Stephen] always insisted that he was the "spiritual teacher" of the group, not the "leader," but in actuality he always had the final say about everything, and anyone who tried to disagree with him got squelched, either by him or by his yes-men." Sylvia goes on to explain a dynamic at The Farm that I also noticed at my home at East Wind Community. When EW changed from the Walden Two planner-manager form of government to a democracy, it was the same story as what Sylvia states that, "I fought for the right of the people to elect their directors. I won, The Farm voted, and the same old same old were elected!" (Sylvia Anderson, 1991, e-mail)

Melvyn Stiriss, one of the original founders from California, wrote of an incident involving the teenagers at The Farm in the mid-1980s, explaining that the "teen population, feeling its collective power, conspired to organize and vote as a bloc, and the teens won 16 seats on the council. Our clever, rebellious teenagers hijacked the election, got some power, had their joke, and effectively shortchanged the community of a basic ingredient in any successful, sustainable society—elder power." (Melvyn Stiriss, "Why the Farm Collective Failed," *Communities* no. 176, fall 2017, p. 11)

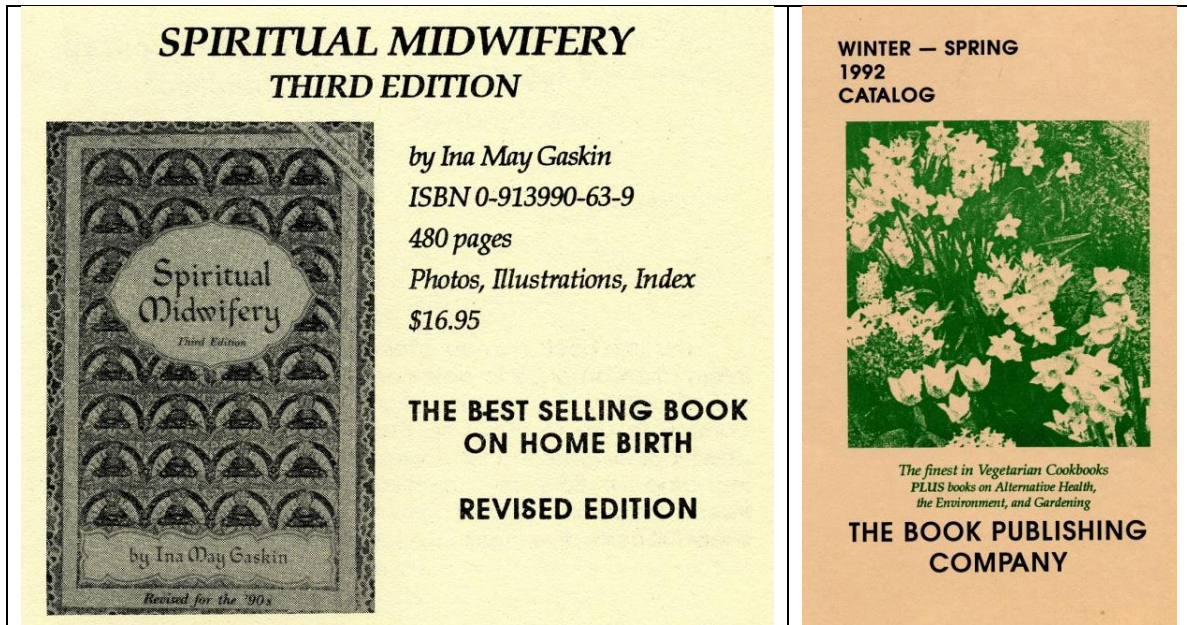
The biggest problem on The Farm, Melvyn Stiriss writes, is that while considering that the community would not have existed without Stephen Gaskin ...

The Farm could have made it financially if we were not supporting Stephen's expensive travel and celebrity habits, all done in the name of "getting the word out." ... Stephen spent thousands of dollars of community money to buy a used Greyhound Scenicruiser, retrofit it,

take 25 talented people out of our workforce, and go out on national and international tours with our band, to give free concerts and for him to speak, recruiting additional community members, overtaxing all our systems, especially housing. (Stiriss, *Communities* no. 176, fall 2017, p. 11)

Sylvia explains the tension between idealism and the standard-of-living at The Farm.

We had very high ideals, based on psychedelic vision and the desire to reflect the Oneness in every aspect of our lives ... [while] we were pretty much living a Third World lifestyle. The diet was poor, the housing greatly over-crowded, and the sanitation terrible. Many members became disillusioned and left the community. (Sylvia Anderson, 1991, e-mail)



A perspective shared by both Sylvia Anderson and Michael Traugot helps to show why members supported a change away from Stephen's leadership. The Farm prioritized communication technology over domestic needs, with its own FM radio station, a recording studio, and a closed-circuit cable TV station, running wires through the woods to most of the group residences, so that among other things those who stayed in with the children could hear Stephen's Sunday Services. Sylvia continues, "Some of the households, however, did not have running water, and none had indoor toilets. We had lots of parasites and other communicable diseases, and some of us began to wonder if we had our priorities straight." Michael says the same, that there was competition for scarce resources, between one project or another, and between households. "The cable system got priority—communication was determined to be more important than basic conveniences—and it caused some bitterness among the folks who didn't get their running water, but had to continue [using] jugs, as they had for so many years." "We were sick a lot," Sylvia writes, "especially some of the kids, ... a lot of antibiotics. I always felt that if we had spent our money on a healthier diet, we would have had lower medical bills." (Sylvia Anderson, 1991, e-mail; Traugot, p. 59)

Michael Traugot explains the process of The Farm's "changeover," involving a Constitution Committee which studied land trusts and other communal societies. Various possible scenarios were presented at a series of public meetings, and "members talked about it every day." Summer of 1983

the plan was implemented, requiring each member to “pay a certain amount per month, the amount to be worked out at budget meetings, with all qualified members voting. A good chunk of this revenue would go toward debt reduction, with the rest used to run just the basic necessities to keep the community afloat: roads, water system, taxes” The result was a member exodus. (Traugot, p. 60)

The communal services at The Farm were converted into private businesses: midwives, health clinic, mechanics shop, construction, Farm Store, soy dairy, bakery, school, Book Company. Michael explains that many of the women and some men attended a local community college nursing school to earn RN certification, all of them doing well and moving into health professions. (Traugot, p. 61)

The abandonment of the communal economy at The Farm is further explained in a 12/10/96 e-mail transmission from Albert Bates to the present author. The 501(d) organization Albert mentions is the IRS “Religious and Apostolic Association” used by the Federation of Egalitarian Communities and many other communal societies. This favorable tax status does not require the monastic “vow of poverty,” meaning that new members donate all their assets to the community and cannot get them back if they leave, yet The Farm required it anyway as Albert says, until 1989 or ’90. Note on the *Structural Chart for The Farm, 1991* above, that both The Foundation, which holds the “principal group assets” meaning land, and the Second Foundation, which holds “assets of communal religious order” use the 501(d) legal status. In a paper written in 1995 for the International Communal Studies Association (ICSA), Albert Bates states that, “At present about a third of all adult members belong to this communal segment” meaning the communal group called the Second Foundation.

Under pressure of threatened bankruptcy, ostensibly, but actually, on deeper analysis a mere loss of confidence, the vote to suspend free services and move to an internal federal money economy came in October, 1983. Implementation ensued over the following year, although the 501(d) was not dropped until the "vow members" category of membership went out in 1989 or 1990. The "vow members" still wanting to remain collective formed The Second Foundation in 1988. To those of us in The Second Foundation, the Foundation became of vanishingly small importance at that point. (Albert Bates, 12/10/96, e-mail)

Michael Traugot explains that after the Changeover The Farm managed to pay off all of its \$1,200,000 debt in a little more than three years, which questions the perceived necessity that the community had to give up communalism. The Farm's mushrooming and later implosion is a classic example of a number of problems of communities, and of many other forms of organization: too rapid growth; over extension; undercapitalization; and difficulty moving beyond the foundation stage to modify the group's goals to fit changing conditions without abandoning its ideals. (Traugot, p. 62)

I visited The Farm in the summer of 1976 before its high-point, staying a few days, then getting a ride with Stephen driving with a full crew in their very nice, split-level, Greyhound Scenicruiser bus, to St. Louis on my way home to East Wind, the nicest hitch I ever scored! I then visited The Farm again in 1992 long after the dust had settled from the Changeover exodus. The two different time periods witnessed very different forms of community, yet I agree with what Sylvia writes that at least during both of my visits, “the vibes on The Farm were incredibly high much of the time.”

I had seen Stephen and The Farm Band do a presentation and concert at a theater/bar venue in Columbus, Ohio in 1973 while I was a college student (the first time) before joining East Wind, with their Scenicruiser parked outside the door on High Street. And I briefly talked with Stephen in

Denver, Colorado at the 2000 Green Party presidential-candidate nomination convention, when he was running against Ralph Nader. It seemed to me that Stephen could barely talk coherently, sounding like a totally burned-out freak. That experience validates for me what Sylvia wrote that, “One of the spiritual traps Stephen got caught in was the desire to be famous. He had many teachings about attention—in fact, he seemed to see the desire for attention as the root of all unenlightened behavior—and I think he knew so much about it because he, himself, was a full-blown attention junkie ...”

The listing in the 2016, volume seven, of the *Communities Directory* states that The Farm is a spiritual community with no specific doctrine, affirming that all world religions share essential truths. The Farm has a diverse economy balancing common and private property, and a participatory governance process sometimes with non-elected influential leaders, with various entities within The Farm having different decision-making processes. All of these characteristics of The Farm evolve over time. Members of The Farm are now more active in community networking, including local, continental, and international community networks, most notably the ecovillage movement, hosting an educational center and the North American office of the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN). The Farm hosted at least one FIC board meeting, November, 1996.

It is interesting how the transformation of The Farm also changed its orientation toward community networking. Harvey Baker of Dunmire Hollow, a community sharing private property not far from The Farm, explained to Yaacov Oved of Kibbutz Palmachim at the conference of the International Communal Studies Association (ICSA) in Elizabethtown, PA in 1991, witnessed by the current author, how members of The Farm treated them with a lack of respect and even disdain because they were not part of The Farm's network, and were neither spiritual nor communal. Then, Harvey explained, during The Farm's Changeover, members of The Farm became quite interested to learn how Dunmire Hollow was structured. Although I had witnessed, when I hitched a ride with The Farm crew in their Greyhound Scenicruiser, Stephen Gaskin speaking approvingly of a Christian community he had visited, other members at times treated even communal communities like Twin Oaks disdainfully.

Although Albert Bates emphasizes that most members of The Farm respect other forms of community, a story circulated of how some members of The Farm laughed at the little Federation communities, joking about working for labor credits. In 1992 a former board member of The Farm expressed to me during my visit his regret for his derision of Kat Kinkade and her community when she visited and met him before The Farm's high point. Sylvia Anderson confirms what others have said that, “There was a subtle message being put out that anyone who wasn't living on The Farm just didn't know where it was at, was somehow less enlightened than those of us living there.”

This kind of communitarian chauvinism was common in the communities movement, especially on the part of the larger communities formed around charismatic leaders, and is one explanation for why an inclusive movement-wide intentional community network failed to develop in the 1970s, and may be one of the reasons for the failure of some regional networks of communities. A case in point is the Earth Communities Network.

The Farm has 1,750 acres, much of it in a nature preserve. The Farm Education/Conference Center includes an elementary and high school welcoming both resident's and neighbor's children, and an adult education program, which since the late 1990s has served as an Ecovillage Training Center,

teaching among other things permaculture, natural building and renewable energy. Spiritual Midwifery education is offered throughout the year.

Articles about The Farm in *Communities* magazine:

- Sylvia Anderson, “I Wouldn’t Trade it for Anything!—Growing Up on The Farm,” *Communities*, no. 84, fall 1994, pp. 32-34.
- Martin Holsinger, “A Generation Betrayed: The Spoiled Legacy of the Farm,” *Communities*, no. 205, winter 2024, pp. 26-34.
- Melvyn Stiriss, “Voluntary Peasants,” *Communities*, no. 152, fall, 2011, p. 43.
- Melvyn Stiriss, “Why The Farm Collective Failed,” *Communities*, no. 176, fall, 2017, pp. 10-11.
- Michael Traugot, “Re-Sacralizing Marriage and Fertility at The Farm,” *Communities*, no. 87, summer, 1995, pp. 36-37;
- Michael Traugot, “The Great Changeover at The Farm,” *Communities*, no. 94, spring, 1997, pp. 56-60;
- Michael Traugot, “Halloween at The Farm: Honoring Our Dead at the Burial Ground,” *Communities*, no. 96, fall, 1997, pp. 25-27;
- Michael Traugot, “The Farm’s Legacy Continues: A Response to Martin Holsinger,” *Communities*, no. 208, fall, 2025, pp. 51-54.



Emissaries of Divine Light, 100 Mile House, B.C., Canada, c. late 1980s
Photo: *Communities* magazine no. 105, winter, 1999, p. 49

The Emissary Communities

While many intentional communities had a haphazard, trial-and-error experience learning the communitarian way of life, the Emissaries of Divine Light (EDL) made the focus upon and teaching of inter-personal communication skills in community a central part of their mission, and of their income stream. Except during the economic recession of the 1980s, many Emissary communities have made an industry of offering seminars and publications teaching their orientation to human communication and spirituality, which may be described as practical, pragmatic processes presented in a spiritual context. The ‘80s recession, however, mostly dried up that income stream, and with the

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death of one of their original leaders in 1988, the Emissaries went through a major restructuring and retrenchment.

Many people did in the past and do today find value in Emissary spiritual philosophy. I was never able to understand the “inspirational philosophy” of the Emissary processes of “personal purification and renewal,” as Anne Blaney described the work of the Emissaries in an article titled “The Hard Road to Accountability,” and I never felt attracted to experience any of their seminars. (Blaney, *Communities no. 105*, winter 1999, p. 50)

I visited an Emissary house about 1982 in Lombard, Illinois, where Hugh St. Onge offered to conduct for me their “attunement” process. I sat in a comfortable, stuffed chair, in a quiet room with low lighting, and Hugh stood behind me, hovering his hands over and behind me, not touching me, while remaining mostly out of range of my peripheral vision. I understood this to be like the Reiki healing technique where supposedly the practitioner channels “universal life force energy” into a recipient. After some period of time Hugh completed the process and asked me what I felt. I answered that I felt nothing. That seemed to perplex Hugh, and I wondered if it meant that maybe my life energy was blocking the “universal life force.” I have never really resonated with metaphysical concepts, although I have had some inexplicable experiences and realize that others have as well, so I do not disparage nor deny metaphysics, I simply cannot see a use in it.

The Emissaries were founded in 1932 by Lloyd Arthur Meeker (1907-1954), the son of a preacher, who took the spiritual name “Uranda.” He traveled throughout the Midwest and Canada in the 1930s and '40s before settling on a dryland farm in Loveland, Colorado in 1945, later to be called Sunrise Ranch. The ranch was fortunate to be in the path of a new aqueduct bringing water out of the mountains to the growing communities on the High Plains, and so the community's agricultural programs prospered. This became the center of the Emissary network, which adopted Lloyd's purpose to, “assist in the spiritual regeneration of the human race.” Over the years, many different communities joined the Emissary network in addition to the communities founded by Emissaries.

Before his death in 1954 in a plane crash, Uranda corresponded with and then met William Martin Cecil (1909-1988), the 7th Marquess of Exeter who controlled a large cattle ranch in 100 Mile House, British Columbia. Martin had moved to his family's holdings in Canada to escape the life of the British aristocracy, and so was open to Uranda's message. In his 2011 book *Secret Religions* David Barrett explains that Martin Cecil “took Meeker’s mass of ideas and developed them in to a more systematic and comprehensible system—in a similar way to Ouspensky clarifying Gurdjieff’s teachings.” Besides the name “Emissaries” the movement has also been called the Foundation of Universal Unity, the Ontological Society, and the Integrity Society. The Emissaries have used many other names as well as they have related their teachings in the context of various industries and professions, such as “Stewardship Community” for their involvement in the community supported agriculture (CSA) movement, bio-dynamic farming, and children’s farm-to-school programs, and “Global Service Corps” involving international sustainable development. (Barrett, pp. 82-3)

To clarify any possible confusion, it will be helpful to present that the name "Emissaries of Divine Light" (EDL) refers to their tax-exempt churches. Their state non-profit organizations, which provide services for local centers and projects, are referred to as the "Society of Emissaries." They also have a tax-exempt educational organization called the "Emissary Foundation International" (EFI).

It has been commented that it is difficult to get clear information about the structure and workings of the Emissary communities and network. My experience is that Emissary leaders are willing to answer direct questions, but rarely volunteer anything beyond explaining their spiritual ideals. This results in the obscuring of the basic political processes and economic structures in their communities through presenting them in spiritual terms. Even trying to understand Emissary spirituality is a challenge. David Barrett writes ... “It is difficult to pin down the Emissaries on exactly what they believe.” one scholar wrote in evident frustration. “Trying to describe Emissary spirituality with any kind of precision is like trying to nail Jello to the wall.” In this quote Barrett is quoting Ronald Hubbard in his 2007 book *The Druids*. Barrett goes on to explain that ...

Emissary teachings perhaps could be described as a combination of Gurdjieffian self-awareness and the Christian ideal of loving one another, with a Gnostic sense of the immanence of the Divine. According to Tessa Maskell, a former UK director of the Emissaries, “... we human beings forgot that we are divine and that is the truth of us. We began to create a complex and confusing world. The opportunity is now available to experience the reality of ourselves and create another world as we remember these simple truths.” (Barrett, p. 83)

To explain the “divine” Barrett quotes Andy Worthington in his 2004 book *Stonehenge: Celebration and Subversion* ...

Divine Action, as it appears through the actions and interactions of the individual, is anything that springs from the desire to bring unity rather than separation, to participate rather than isolate, to create rather than destroy, to understand with the heart rather than attack with the mind. (Barrett, p. 84)

In the mid 1980s the Emissary network of communities included twelve major communities and 200 centers in six countries, involving roughly anywhere from 4,000 to 10,000 people, depending upon the source. By the 1990s they had shrunk in size and had given up much of their communal structure after the loss of their spiritual leader. Most of the Emissary communities transitioned to greater degrees of participatory governance and of private property ownership, with many of their smaller centers being dissolved. (Barrett, p. 86)

Upon Uranda's death, Martin Cecil became the spiritual leader of the Emissaries, until his death in 1988. Martin's son, Michael Cecil, then decided to end the line of spiritual leaders in the Emissaries and began a transition of the network to involve more outside influences and speakers at their Sunday presentations. Michael decentralized Emissary leadership by instituting an eight-member board of trustees with locally-selected representatives from regional Emissary networks. In 1996 Michael Cecil left the Emissaries. (Barrett, pp. 87, 91)

Rarely do movement leaders leave their movement, although Kat Kinkade would be another example of a founder of a community movement, the FEC, who became so disillusioned with it that she wanted to separate herself from it.

FIC board meetings have been hosted by several Emissary communities, including Green Pastures Estate in New Hampshire in 1988, Sunrise Ranch in Colorado in 1995, and Edenvale in British Columbia, Canada in 1997. Emissaries who were the most active in the Fellowship were Bill Becker of Sunrise Ranch in Colorado, and David Thatcher of 100 Mile Lodge in B.C., Canada. David Barrett

reports that among the Emissary communities that closed during the 1990s were 100 Mile House in Canada, Green Pastures in the U.S., Mickleton House in England, and La Vigne in France. Barrett reports in 2011 that the Emissaries have remade themselves and now have eight main centers, each with 20 to 150 people, the largest being Sunrise Ranch in Colorado. Other Emissary centers include: Glen Ivy Hot Springs in Southern California; Oakwood Farm in Indiana; Oregon, and New York.

Anne Blaney has an article in the *Communities* magazine issue titled “More Change ... 100 Mile House & the Emissaries Today” explaining that all the communities are much smaller, now using a “market system” of residents paying rent, while a few people are EDL employees. 100 Mile House operates a retreat and conference center in EDL facilities. (Blaney, *Communities* no. 105, winter 1999, pp. 54-5)

While I was attending the FIC meeting at Green Pastures in 1988 Nancy Roman gave to me a copy of Lord Martin Cecil’s small 1977 book *On Eagle’s Wings*. The title of the book comes from a teaching that Martin used from the controversial writer Hyemeyohsts Storm’s book *Seven Arrows*, contrasting the consciousness of an earth-bound mouse with that of a far-sighted eagle flying high above. Martin Cecil wrote ...

Holding sacred the things which keep a person earthbound is no blessing; it is a curse. What I have offered over the years has been the open door to freedom from the state of being earthbound. ... Here is the way, the truth and the life so beautifully exemplified by the One who was called Jesus on earth. Let us exemplify this truth in our own living now, in this present moment, not looking to the future, ungoverned by the past, and revealing the beauty of the truth of being now. (Cecil, pp. 147-8)

The EDL teachings attracted, and presumably continue to attract, many people who “resonate” with that form of spirituality, much the same way that people are attracted to other spiritual philosophies, such as those of Religious Science, Theosophy, Church of All Worlds, the Great White Brotherhood, and others that David Barrett profiles in his book *Secret Religions*. Some of these, like the Emissaries, encourage the faithful to form residential communities to live with others of like mind. In the 20th century many of the Emissary communities were communal, although that is evidently not the case in the 21st century.

Anne Blaney explains the dynamic in her article “More Change ... 100 Mile House & the Emissaries Today,” in *Communities* magazine saying ...

I’ve learned that it is best to live in spiritual intentional community only for the highest of reasons. Community is empty when there is no passionate purpose or active vision—the overriding reason for community in the first place. There must be a reason that offers inspiration when living in community feels futile. When that purpose is present, and it involves offering service, community may then offer many gifts in return for the gifts we each offer community. (Blaney, “More change ...,” *Communities* no. 105, winter, 1999, p. 55)

It was reported that when the Emissary changeover happened, involving the loss of communalism through privatization of the communities, members had to get jobs, yet many of the women who had been drawn to EDL communities when they were younger had neither the education nor the work experience to earn a living wage. Anne wrote, “Each month brought a new wave of departures, while

our elected governing body was repeatedly demoralized by further loss. ... It was a rocky time!” (Blaney, “The Hard Road to Accountability,” *Communities* no. 105, winter 1999, p. 53)

Emissary culture had been very patriarchal, from Lord Martin Cecil on down the hierarchy. Anne Blaney explains further ...

In Emissary leadership culture, women played important roles, but almost always as supportive to male “points of focus,” as we called them. Martin was always accompanied by two powerful women, his wife and his secretary. These women provided leadership to women, but women always deferred to the males’ positions. Likewise, work roles were based on the traditional male/female roles, with some exceptions: A few men cooked or cared for the children. ... Martin was so respected and influential that few ever questioned his directives ... The unconscious extension of this pattern throughout the organization made it difficult to develop healthy channels for constructive criticism. (Blaney, p. 51)

During the Emissary spiritual changeover and economic privatization, I read articles in local newspapers about the Sunrise Ranch Emissary community in Loveland, Colorado in which former members criticized the sexism of Emissary culture. Male-female relationships were sanctified, and evidently, as some former members have alleged, served as a form of gender control and even exploitation. David Barrett wrote about it, too.

The main criticisms leveled by former members, before the changes ... were that the organization was strongly hierarchical and could be authoritarian or even abusive; that members were allowed very little free time outside their assigned work in the community; they also had to spend hours each week listening to tapes or reading transcripts of sermons by Meeker or Martin Cecil, both alone and in services and classes; it has also been alleged that many of the male leaders would have both a wife and a “concubine” who took the public role of secretary. (Barrett, pp. 86-7)

There were also complaints about how some Emissary men interacted with the larger communities movement. Personally, I felt slighted when David Thatcher approached me at an FIC meeting, handing to me a copy of his new book published in 1987 titled, *Earthrise: A Personal Responsibility*, showing me pages 18 through 21 where he copied in detail much of my *Timeline of Communitarianism*, in which I arranged on a timeline the major communitarian movements in Western history since the Jewish Essenes in Palestine. David provided no attribution anywhere in his book to my original work, making it look like it was his creation. Neither did he give me credit for his article in *Communities* titled “Paradise Lost Paradise Nearly Remembered” in which he included a two-page version of my *Timeline*. (See Dave Thatcher” “The International Emissary Community,” *Communities* no. 63, summer 1984, pp. 19-20; see also *Communities* no. 74, summer 1987, pp. 41-4; Note: for my full, revised, four-page *Timeline of Communitarianism* find the PDF download link at Intentioneers.net)

Monica Wood of the U.V. Family (i.e., Ultimate Vehicle) bus collective explained in a letter dated December 5, 1988 to me then at Twin Oaks, their experience working with the Emissary organization. Later in the 1990s, Vicki Robin and Joe Dominquez of the U.V. Family would become active in the voluntary simplicity movement with their book, *Your Money or Your Life*. The U.V. Family worked with the Emissaries in 1981 and '82 to help create the 8th International Human Unity

Conference, then using the name Foundation of Universal Unity. Monica's story is an example of the communitarian chauvinism that Sylvia Anderson explained also afflicted The Farm in Tennessee.

As we worked with them, we became increasingly and uncomfortably aware of an attitude that is perhaps best expressed by a quote from Martin Cecil's (Lord Exeter) service of November 22, 1981: "If it wasn't for the fact that there are at least two Units (their two centers, Sunrise Ranch and 100-Mile House) in which potent spiritual people handle their responsibilities, there wouldn't be anything else of any value happening on earth." This quote, incidentally, was the final catalyst that caused us to break our connection with the Emissaries.

David Barrett reported that the Emissary changeover, due to the loss of a spiritual leader requiring each community having to develop their own spiritual expression, and due to the loss of their patriarchal leader resulting in decentralization of the organization, along with the need for each community member to learn participatory decision-making, and the loss of communalism due to privatization, all resulted in a two-thirds drop in EDL membership.

Less Kerr of King View Farm in Ontario, Canada commented in his 1994 article, "The Transition of King View Farm" ...

In hindsight I see that many of us gave over our power to Martin [Cecil] and his representatives. As a result of always giving priority to Martin's view of the larger picture, the Emissaries built many communities and achieved important connections around the world. However, a pool of resentment began to grow as this "parent-child" relationship continued between Marin and the rest of us. We must learn to hold our own power and yet still be able to be open to another who has something to teach. (*Communities no. 85*, winter 1994, p. 38)

Less stated that although previously Emissary men played the dominant role in their communities, now along with other changes, the "leadership has shifted from hierarchical to collaborative, with men and women learning to work together." Anne Blaney states that since the change, the arrival of new members, mostly families, and the increased use of communications technology between Emissary communities, has led to a sense of rejuvenation and revitalization of the whole EDL organization. (Barrett, p. 87; Blaney, "More Change ...", *Communities no. 105*, winter 1999, pp. 56; Kerr, *Communities no. 85*, winter 1994, p. 58)

The Earth Communities Network

Understanding the general criticisms made of the Emissaries helps in the understanding of the history of the Earth Communities Network (ECN) of the Pacific Northwest, an inclusive regional association of intentional communities. Initially the Emissaries were supportive, yet they were later criticized for presenting the network as an Emissary project. In response to this misrepresentation of the ECN, some of the other community representatives apparently prevented any further ECN activities from occurring, perhaps intending to send to the Emissaries a message of movement disapproval of their actions.

The involvement of the Emissaries, however, was not the only problem in the ECN. The early history of the network was explained in a letter dated January 17, 1983 from Rick Craycraft of Alpha Farm to Estraven East Wind, a Federation Delegate at the time.

The Earth Community Network was the brainchild of four people who collectively called themselves the Institute for the Study of Conscious Evolution (ISCE). There was a meeting spearheaded by these four people in Mill Valley, California in November 1981 at which 34 or so communities were represented. A newsletter soon followed, extensive community surveys were sent out, and community clearinghouse information [and] networking activities seemed like they were on the roll. Suddenly things just kind of stopped. That's when you came in. We had gotten vague word that things had been taken over by someone in British Columbia. Then sometime in like August, 1982, poof! We get this invitation to ECN's annual conference. When I got there I tracked down who had organized and got the whole story. Shoshona Tembeck, one of the original four, seemed to know the most. She said that Barry McWaters and Susan Campbell, two others in the ISCE, had just walked away, were planning to use the survey material in a book (which should be out soon), and that things had just sort of unraveled. Shoshona, according to her, had seen this as too valuable a thing to let slip away. So she, Betty Didcoct (British Columbia), and Michael Soule (Oregon) set about to pick up the pieces. [Note: the "someone in British Columbia" was likely David Thatcher of 100 Mile House, one of the few Emissary people who was involved in community networking.]

Fred Cook was the fourth member of the Institute for the Study of Conscious Evolution. He wrote a short *Communities* magazine article (in the Grapevine section) titled "West Coast Network" in which he mentions the ISCE's plans for an info packet, conferences, and a book. He states that the ECN was a project of ISCE in San Francisco, CA. (*Communities* no. 52, Feb/March 1982, p. 47)

Geoph Kozeny also was involved in picking up some of the ECN pieces. The June 1984 issue of *The Earth Community Network Family Newsletter* presented a plan to develop an ECN slide show presentation, and a regional directory or "Visitor's Pamphlet." Neither project was completed. In 1988 Geoph went on the road developing a slide show through the Community Catalyst Project, soon including communities all over the continent. Before leaving the community he co-founded in San Francisco, a collective house first called Stardance, then the Purple Rose Collective, Geoph contributed for many years to the Bay Area community newsletter called *The Collective Networker*. It was a natural step to take these interests beyond the regional focus to the continental level when the opportunity arose.

In April 1991 Geoph co-produced another *The Earth Community Network Family Newsletter*, which presented more of the history of the network.

The Northern California region held a conference at Mariposa School [Ukiah, CA] in June of '84, and the last "real" family newsletter was published the following September. Most of our collective efforts at that point, including the Sept. '84 newsletter, had been geared toward our annual conference -- slated for that November on the Oregon coast. Then the bottom fell out.

Up to that point we had relied upon our annual gatherings for checking in, organizing projects, coordinating the newsletter volunteers, and recharging our psychic batteries. The ECN conference scheduled for November didn't happen, and the network lost its momentum.

...

Our major conflict was with the upcoming election. Many network members are politically active ... 1984 was also a year of tremendous turnover and turmoil in the communities movement in general, and several ECN communities were overwhelmed by just the challenge of keeping things afloat at home.

In June of '88, after a four-year interlude, an ad-hoc committee (Betty Didcoct, Caroline Estes, Patricia Hogan, Serious Israel, and Geoph Kozeny) met at Skysong to consider the state of the network, to brainstorm next steps, and to allocate funds to support outreach and networking efforts. Betty and Geoph produced a mini-newsletter later that month, seeking updates from each ECN community, and promising a "real" newsletter later that summer.

Also in that 1991 *The Earth Community Network Family Newsletter* were updates including information contributed by David Thatcher of 100 Mile House, British Columbia, who had been active in the early ECN, about the transformation of the Emissary network.

... (F)ounded at least in part upon the deeper communion we've shared following Martin's death, we've seen our processes of governance evolving. The Shift has been from hierarchical, perhaps even patriarchal, with a multitude of committees overseeing various departments—to a more straight forward shoulder-to-shoulder type of peer relationship with our fellows. We're now getting on more with our personal initiative, while being very aware of working as part of a team. A very healthy and dynamic shift.

...

Until this shift, with few exceptions, residents of 100 Mile Lodge chose to place their earnings into our collective community pot—but with Martin's passing, a foundation seemed to have been laid for our program globally and for our community here. Greater individuation was more in this cycle of expression, an experience common throughout our program. Some are finding the metamorphosis an easier transition than others, but very central to the processes of change is the maintenance of love and respect for one another, and for what has been. ...

Since the 1991 ECN newsletter, the Left Coast has seen: a few cohousing conferences, including one in October 1996 in Sacramento and a national cohousing conference in 1997 in Seattle; two Fellowship for Intentional Community meetings and Art of Community events at Christ's Church of the Golden Rule community in Willits; Bay Area networks of collectives and communities such as the CommonNest network of shared houses in SF; the *Communal Grapevine* of SF Bay Area communities; former child members of The Farm in Tennessee with their own network in the Bay Area and its *Whirling Rainbow Network* newsletter edited by Sylvia Anderson; communities in Oregon and Washington which developed the Northwest Intentional Communities Association (NICA); and permaculture, bioregional and protest gatherings such as the Headwaters actions. The ECN as an entire Left Coast network seems to have faded away in favor of these smaller regional community associations and affinity networks.

In August of 1992 the Northwest Sustainable Communities Association (NSCA) organized a conference held in Seattle, with a newsletter being produced the next month called *The NSCA Newsletter*, with regular community gatherings organized thereafter. In 1993 the NSCA changed its name to the Northwest Intentional Communities Association (NICA), and its newsletter became *Community Resources*. Rob Sandelin of Sharingwood, a cohousing community, was a central

organizer of this network from its beginning. There is a strong cohousing presence in the network, which has organized several regional gatherings. NICA has gone through periods of different levels of activity, now participating in a coalition with the FIC, the New Economy Coalition, and other groups for a 2026 Convergence of Intentional Communities (CIC, pronounced “kick”) event, called the Northwest FIC CIC.

In 1993 the Fellowship for Intentional Community held its international gathering called the Communities Celebration at the Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, attracting 800 people from thirteen countries, estimated to be comprised of about 60% seekers and 40% current or former members of intentional communities. (See: n.a., “FIC News,” *Communities* no. 82, spring 1994, pp. 19-21; Betty Didcoct, Ed., “Celebration of Community Aug 16-31, 1993,” *Communities*, no. 83, summer 1994, pp. 18-47)



Second Fellowship • The Fellowship for Intentional Community: 1986-2020

Upon sharing the first version or edition of this FIC history, I received feedback from Laird Sandhill in 1997 about my disparaging of various communities and individuals. Laird agreed that communitarian chauvinism is a problem in the movement, pointing out especially that the Federation has been criticized for that due to its exclusivity, and that I could be charged with that failing as well. Laird suggested that communitarian chauvinism is most often the result of “well-intentioned over-exuberance.” With that clarification I will continue this history of the FIC by relating the connection the FIC has to the world of esoteric beliefs and of elitist organizations. This tradition has its own cosmology which of course, as with the Emissaries, includes aspects of the Christian tradition.

The re-awakening of the Fellowship in the early 1980s after its 25-year interregnum was due to one person, Charles Betterton at Stelle Community, who wanted to see the intentional communities network coalesce into a dynamic, influential cultural movement. To Charles' credit, he did not try to start a new association of communities, instead he looked around to find existing organizations with which to work. Charles decided that the Fellowship of Intentional Communities had a mission close enough to his vision, with no strong extant leadership group, and so all he had to do was release the breaks, re-engage the gears, and start driving. Charles was successful partly because other people in the communities movement, like me, wanted to see the same kind of dynamic movement organization, yet also because he was able to attract to his vision several individuals involved in the esoteric tradition that he had become part of when he joined Stelle Community.

Stelle Community was started in 1973 in Illinois with the vision of growing to be the second largest city in Illinois. Stelle Community's mission was to aid the survival of the human race beyond the cultural and ecological disasters prophesied for the end of the millennium. However, in the mid-1970s the community's leader was discredited and Stelle's population plateaued at around 100 people. (See: Charles Betterton and Linda Guinn, “Stelle: Dawn of a New Age City,” *Communities*,

no. 63, summer 1984, pp. 9-13; and Mark Wilkerson, “Sustainable in the Cornfields: How Stelle is Becoming the Solar Capital of North America,” *Communities*, no. 113, winter 2001, pp. 19-22.)

Stelle Community’s founder was the metaphysical teacher Richard Kieninger, who predicted social and environmental upheavals around the year 2000. To prepare for the prophesied catastrophes, Richard and friends wanted to build a supportive environment for spiritual development and self-reliant living, which became Stelle Community. In 1976 Richard Kieninger was deposed from leadership at Stelle, leaving with about one-third of the membership to found a community of the more devoted followers called Adelphi near Dallas, Texas. Stelle incorporated as a homeowners association, and in 1982 membership in Stelle was opened to the public. (Miller, 2015, pp. 3, 422)

Richard Kieninger published in 1970 the book *The Ultimate Frontier*, using the pen name, Eklal Kueshana, for relating a story about a boy of twelve years who was contacted by a mysterious being, called “Dr. White,” who then checked in with him periodically through his life as he grew in understanding. Reading the teachings the character receives from the Dr. White entity has been very inspirational and influential for many people, resulting in an esoteric tradition that evidently drew Charles Betterton and others to Kieninger’s Illinois community, some of whom then joined Charles’ idea of developing an intentional community movement.

The name “Stelle” is from Robert Stelle who co-founded along with Howard Zitko the Lemurian Fellowship in Chicago, Illinois in 1936, as a religious and philosophical organization. The concept of Lemuria is of a sunken civilization, separate from although similar to the Atlantis myth. The British zoologist Philip Sclater proposed in his 1864 book, *The Mammals of Madagascar*, a sunken land bridge in the Indian Ocean between Madagascar and India to explain lemur fossils found at the two distant locations. Thus, the fictional place-name Lemuria was invented.

The myth of Lemuria grew among occultists along with the ideas of ancient human civilizations on Earth, influenced by aliens from other worlds, and influenced by celestial beings visiting Earth. The Lemurian Fellowship moved its headquarters from Chicago to California in 1941. In 1963 Richard Kieninger left the Lemurian Fellowship and moved to Illinois, a little over an hour drive south of Chicago, where he founded Stelle Community.

Among the people who took up the myth of Lemuria was Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891), a Russian mystic who wrote *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*. She and two others, Henry Olcott and William Judge, co-founded the Theosophical Society in New York City in 1875, adopting a term that had long been used by medieval and classical philosophers meaning “divine wisdom.”

Blavatsky made Theosophy a very influential American esoteric tradition, by combining parts of Eastern philosophies and religions like Buddhism and Hinduism, along with Western mystical and esoteric concepts including Lemuria and the Great White Brotherhood. The latter is sometimes simply called “The Brotherhood,” leaving “White” out of the name as its meaning is often misunderstood. In this case, “White” does not refer to a person or a race; instead it refers to the white light that surrounds the Celestial Beings, Ascended Masters, or Great Brotherhood, said to include the Christian Jesus.

The elitism of Theosophy, the Lemurian Fellowship, the Great White Brotherhood, and The Stelle Group is spelled out in the 1982 booklet titled: *An Introduction to The Stelle Group*.

These are scientist-philosophers who have gathered together into organizations for the purpose of helping others achieve a similar state of advancement. The cosmology of these organizations, which are simply referred to as the Brotherhoods, is presented in the book, *The Ultimate Frontier*. The Brotherhoods, which were established by Christ, are referred to as The Holy Spirit by the traditional church. ... The Brotherhoods are composed of the finest men and women of every race, and for thousands of years these individuals have cooperated closely among themselves in perfect harmony.

While the term “brotherhood” suggests a male-dominated tradition, several women were leaders in the movement, including besides Blavatsky, Annie Besant, and Alice Bailey. It would be hard to over-estimate the influence of Theosophy upon the intentional community movements of the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries, as it is a precursor of much of New Age thought. For example, the simple phrase “Love and Light” was popularized from Alice Bailey’s *The Great Invocation*, written in 1945.

As influential as is Theosophy, there are other American esoteric traditions as well with different origins, including: Eckankar started by Paul Twitchell in Chicago in 1965 from the Eastern Sant Mat tradition; the Urantia Foundation also of Chicago printing the Urantia book in 1955 about extra-terrestrial civilizations communicating with humans on Earth; and the many New Thought traditions which grew out of American New England Transcendentalism in the 1830s. Transcendentalism earlier grew out of Unitarianism, which originally developed separate from Catholic Trinitarianism during the Early Christian Church. Unitarianism reformed in the 1560s during the Protestant Reformation, then was brought to New England. Transcendentalism inspired one of the most famous 19th century American intentional communities, Brook Farm near Boston, MA, which later joined the Associationist communities movement.

In 1982, Hugh St. Onge of the Emissary house in Lombard, Illinois was helping to organize a conference in Chicago about intentional community. The organizing group sent an invitation to communities in the region to plan presentations for the conference, and advertised for a paying audience. Prior to this, East Wind Community had already been receiving information from both Stelle and the Emissary network, and when the invitation arrived, I responded since I was the Network Manager at East Wind. The conference was well organized and attended, including presenters from Catholic monasteries, set in a Chicago hotel conference center, evidently making money as the reimbursement check sent to me was greater than my stated expenses. At this conference one of the Stelle representatives, Charles Betterton, noted in my presentation the similarities in the management styles at Stelle and East Wind, and a positive rapport was established.

The next time that Charles and I met was at the 10th Anniversary Conference of the National Historic Communal Societies Association (NHCSA) at New Harmony, Indiana, autumn of 1983. This was an organization founded by Donald Pitzer, professor of history at the University of Southern Indiana, Evansville, where he managed the Center for Communal Studies.

Although by this time my partner and I had been forced out of East Wind for getting pregnant without Child Board permission, my proposal to represent the Federation at the NHCSA conference in Indiana was accepted by the Federation Assembly. Living in Columbia, Missouri at the time, Indiana was a reasonable drive.

One person from Twin Oaks Community who had earlier attended a NHCSA conference reported that he saw no value in Federation groups continuing any engagement with the association, which at that time was focused upon historic communal societies. Yet it was my goal to encourage the Federation to become actively engaged with the NHCSA in order to get more of an academic appreciation for the contemporary communities movement in general, and for the Federation communities in particular. This was a dubious proposition, as in general, academicians either seemed to hold contemporary New Wave communities in very low regard, or preferred to study well-documented historic groups rather than research the New Wave communities. Charles and I talked about all of this at the conference, and recognized each other as collaborators. After the New Harmony NHCSA meeting I drove to Sandhill in NE Missouri to report on the meeting and the community networking vision to Laird, suggesting that the Federation might help build the Fellowship into a movement-wide organization.

The NHCSA connection was fruitful in that it brought into Charles' vision of a movement organization several people, including Suzanne Riordan, Kathey Sutter, Don Pitzer and myself. Ed Olson and Al Barberg were two other early Fellowship supporters recruited from Charles' contacts at Stelle. There is a photo of Charles and Ed in an article in which Charles mentions my name and our NHCSA connection in *Communities* magazine. In that same issue is my report on the FIC incorporation meeting at Stelle. In his article you can get an idea of Charles' grandiose vision. In "Model Cities, An Idea Whose Time Has Come" Charles wrote ...

To the extent that we are able to demonstrate our service orientation, and the applicability of our experiences and research and development activities to the larger society, the success of the intentional communities movement will be enhanced, and the dream of Model Cities will become reality. (*Communities* no. 71/72, summer/fall 1986, pp. 2-4, 44-45)

My family and I later joined Twin Oaks Community in Louisa County Virginia the summer of 1985, just as the community was moving its kitchen out of the original farmhouse named Llano and into its grand new kitchen-dining-complex (KDC) named "Zhankoye," after an historic Jewish community in Ukraine.

Autumn of 1985 Dan Questenberry of Shannon Farm and I met at the second annual regional gathering of communities at Seven Oaks Pathworks Center in northern Virginia, attended by a van-load of Twin Oaks members. I suggested to Dan at the Seven Oaks meeting that he might join the effort to create a continental intentional community movement organization out of the existing Fellowship of Intentional Communities. Laird's and Dan's first FIC meeting was the incorporation meeting at Stelle, August of 1986.

At the Seven Oaks meeting, I suggested to the group that we form a regional association of communities, using the name of the '70s era Inter-Communities of Virginia (I-CV). Dan Shannon Farm and I then helped I-CV get organized enough to meet for several years before the network went dormant again. Since then the I-CV has been partially reawakened with Twin Oaks' resumed hosting of communities conferences in the mid 1990s.

During the years 1983 to 1986, Charles took a number of initiatives to build an inclusive community networking organization. He negotiated with Dr. Donald Pitzer about relocating to Evansville to help him build a center or foundation for communitarian study, and he negotiated with Twin Oaks to take over *Communities* magazine, making the transfer in 1984.

The third time that Charles and I were to meet was at the Fellowship/CESCI meeting at Tanguy Homesteads in Pennsylvania, the spring of 1986. Al Anderson stated that it had been nine years since Tanguy last hosted an FIC meeting, and that it was the home of several FIC and CESCO activists.

Spring of 1986, I drove from TO up the East Coast to join with Charles at the Tanguy Fellowship/CESCI meeting in presenting the vision of developing the Fellowship into a larger community networking organization. Also at this meeting was Herb Goldstein of Common Ground, VA, one of the School of Living (SoL) Land Trust communities, who was a member of the CESCO board, and Harvey Bishop of Dunmire Hollow community in Tennessee. Harvey would begin regular attendance at FIC meetings with the Sept. '87 meeting at East Wind. At the spring '86 Tanguy meeting, Charles announced that he would host a meeting at Stelle four months later in August to incorporate the Fellowship.

Soon after attending the Fellowship meeting at Tanguy, I was invited to join the board of the School of Living (SoL), and I later encouraged Dan Shannon Farm to join this organization as well. The School of Living Regional Community Land Trust (SoL RCLT) had received a substantial amount of money after the sale of the property of the failed Deep Run Community in Pennsylvania, so Dan and I talked about accessing some of those funds to build communities in Virginia, eventually resulting in the School of Living's help in financing the Deer Rock Community. Later, I successfully proposed that The School of Living join the FIC, making the SoL the second organizational member of the Fellowship, after the Federation of Egalitarian Communities.

The meeting to incorporate the Fellowship was held at Stelle in August of 1986. Five people attended the meeting and signed as incorporators of the renewed FIC: Charles Betterton of Stelle Community; Allen Butcher of Twin Oaks Community, the I-CV, and the School of Living; Laird Schaub of Sandhill Community and the FEC; Dan Questenberry of Shannon Farm in Virginia and I-CV; and Donald Pitzer of NHCSA and the Center for Communal Studies (CCS) at the University of Southern Indiana. One more FIC meeting was held at Stelle (spring 1987) before the Fellowship board was to go on the road, scheduling meetings to be hosted by different intentional communities. Charles soon dropped out of the FIC, later explaining that he divided his time between Stelle and Oakwood Farm, the Emissary community in Indiana. A four-person FIC executive committee was created in his place.

Along with incorporation in 1986 came the name change from "Fellowship of Intentional Communities" to "Fellowship for Intentional Community." The change reflected the structural differences between the old and the new organization, where the former was comprised of representatives of communities, and the later included a recognition of the supporting role of organizations and individuals not part of any intentional community.

After learning about the FIC vision, Laird Sandhill contacted Charles, and then after the second FIC meeting at Stelle Laird contacted Caroline Estes of Alpha Farm (first FIC meeting Green Pastures, April '88) and Betty Didcoct of Linnaea (first FIC meeting Alpha, Sept. '88), who were two of the Earth Communities Network organizers, bringing them into the FIC vision. Geoph Kozeny (first FIC meeting Alpha, Sept. '88) became the coordinator of the listings in the community directory project, and Laird the project manager. Laird explained how these connections were made in an email message dated June 17, 1997.

I knew of ECN through Appletree's (a Federation community in Oregon) involvement in that network during the early 80s. The ECN newsletters afforded my first knowledge of Betty, and this was reinforced through Caroline, who strongly advocated involving both Betty & Geoph once she got into it. Backing up, I knew of Caroline because Alpha already had a history with FEC (before my time), and I arranged to meet her immediately after the first FIC board meeting in May 1987 (at Stelle). We had FEC meetings at Appletree that spring, and I stopped in at Alpha between FIC and FEC. That contact eventually led to her coming to the fall 1988 [FIC] board meeting at Green Pastures.

I first met Geoph at Sandhill, when he came out to visit Craig Green in 1986, and he subsequently came up from the Bay Area to attend and write about (in *The Collective Networker*) the above-mentioned Federation meetings at Appletree the next year. The idea here was to get the people with the skill and motivation together, more than to develop regional balance.

The West Coast intentional communities had little contact with those in the Mountain States, Central States, Midwest, and East Coast, yet there was a desire to connect all in a continental organization.

Geoph Kozeny became the lead organizer for the *1990/91 Communities Directory*, and created a two-DVD set of videos about intentional communities he had visited, titled *Visions of Utopia*. The first volume published in 2004 presents an historical overview of intentional communities with profiles of seven contemporary groups, and the second volume published posthumously in 2009 by the FIC presents eleven more contemporary intentional communities.

At the 1988 Green Pastures, NH meeting a set of “Community Visit Report Guidelines” was created for FIC board members to make written reports of communities they visited as representatives of the FIC, with the intent of writing the report to be communicated to the group prior to the visit, assuring their right to review and respond.

Through Charles' Emissary connections, a representative from Oakwood Community in Indiana, Rick Lathrop, and another from 100 Mile House in British Columbia, David Thatcher, would begin the Emissary representation in the Fellowship. Charles Betterton's last FIC meeting was September, 1987 at East Wind. In 1989, when I began studying to complete my undergraduate degree at the University of Southern Indiana at Don Pitzer's invitation, Don explained that his negotiations with Charles had inexplicably ended. Charles reported in *Communities* magazine in 1998 that he had been dividing his time between Stelle Community and the Emissary community at Oakwood Farm in Indiana. (Charles Betterton, “Community Economic Development,” *Communities* no. 99, summer 1998, pp. 56-7)

One particularly notable event had its origin in Charles Betterton's borrowing of money from CESC for his effort to take on *Communities* magazine. In 1989 Charles was in default since the publication could not obtain a sufficient circulation of paid subscriptions to pay for a new directory issue. By then there were more people in the Fellowship, and the group wanted to begin to work on a 1990 directory of intentional communities, yet didn't have the money. At the CESC board meeting I proposed that CESC make a loan to the FIC to print a directory. Herb Common Ground accepted the idea, whereupon Dan Shannon Farm exploded with an incredulous expression of the group's total lack of respect for orthodox business sense in our pouring of more money into something that had

already lost a couple thousand dollars! Herb's smile at Dan's exaggerated protest expressed the sentiment that the group was doing absolutely what needed to be done with the resource we had available. The FIC printed a succession of directories: 1990/91, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2010, and 2016, all of which generated a positive cash-flow.

Early in 1989 I sponsored a successful proposal to the board of The School of Living that the SoL host the Fellowship office at its headquarters at Birthright Leasehold in Pennsylvania. This offer was reported in the minutes of the April 1989 FIC meeting at Shannon Farm, but was refused in favor of Don Pitzer's offer of hosting the FIC office at the Center for Communal Studies (CCS), at the University of Southern Indiana. The debate was between the general merits and opportunities of a close association with the academic community versus the FIC's support for networking offices being established in different communities. Although I preferred supporting networking offices at communities, I thought it was worth a try to work with the academic world, so I stood aside on that decision. After about four years at CCS the Fellowship moved its office out due to a disagreement over finances, and distributed FIC functions to various board members' homes and to various communities where support for FIC work was found.

At the spring 1989 Shannon Farm, VA meeting it was decided to move the FIC headquarters to the University of Southern Indiana, accepting Dr. Donald Pitzer's offer. The FIC's corporate IRS registered agent office was moved from Stelle, IL to Gina Walker, archivist of the Center for Communal Studies at the University of Southern Indiana (USI) in Evansville, IN. Autumn of 1989, I followed the FIC office to Evansville to help Don Pitzer manage it, and enrolled at the USI to complete my undergraduate degree.

Dan Shannon Farm compiled a list of nineteen Fellowship member communities in 1990, printed as a side-bar to Laird Sandhill's article "Building Together: The Fellowship for Intentional Community" in the *1990/91 Directory of Intentional Communities* (p. 127): Abode of the Message, NY; Alpha Farm, OR; Celo, NC; Common Ground, VA; Dunmire Hollow, TN; East Wind, MO; The Farm, TN; Ganas, N.Y.C.; The Gathering, VA; High Wind, WI; Harbin Hot Springs, CA; Innisfree Village, VA; Oakwood Farm, IN; 100 Mile Lodge, B.C.; Rudolf Steiner Fellowship, NY; Sandhill Farm, MO; Shannon Farm, VA; Sirius Community, MA; Twin Oaks, VA.

Organizations associated with the FIC in 1990: Center for Communal Studies, IN; Community Catalyst Project, CA; Community Educational Service Council, Inc., VA; Community Service, Inc., OH; Federation of Egalitarian Communities, MO; National Historic Communal Societies Assoc., IN; School of Living, PA; and Turtle Island Earth Stewards, WA. Additionally, there were over 50 individual FIC members, most of them from other communities and support organizations. (*1990/91 Directory of Intentional Communities*, p. 127)

Among the FIC's various constituents, it was the Federation of Egalitarian Communities that contributed substantial financial and labor resources to the Fellowship. It was Laird and Ira Twin Oaks (first FIC meeting The Vale, 1991) who actively encouraged FEC support for the FIC after I left Twin Oaks in 1989, dropping out of a rural commune to return to college. Ira lived at Aloe (NC) and Dandelion (Ontario), two of the original FEC communities, before joining TO, and Laird credits her with stepping up TO support for the Federation prior to the recreation of the Fellowship. Ira visited communities in Mexico, Europe, and Israel, and attended one of the international conferences sponsored by the kibbutzim. With Ira's support the first ongoing Fellowship work at Twin Oaks

started with Logan doing *Directory* order filling in 1992. McCune TO got on board later as a long-term FIC staff person. Laird writes in the June 19, 1997 email that:

When you talk about Federation influence on Fellowship, you're really talking about Laird and Ira. ... we two have been the senior Delegates in the FEC Assembly, and we have had a shared agenda to bring our egalitarian communities into regular contact with other groups. ... She was a staunch supporter of using FEC dollars to underpin the Fellowship from the start.

It was these connections made during the decade of the 1980s, utilizing a number of preexisting resources and relationships from different networks, and encouraging cooperation among various movement organizations by forging interlocking directorates, which brought the people together who would realize the dream long held by many of a vital, inclusive, intentional community networking organization. In the years of the mid '80s the transfer of several community networking organizations from the older generation of communitarian activists to a new generation was effectively completed. The FIC, SoL, and CESCO all transitioned successfully. Community Service, Inc. made this transition in the late '90s. The organizations that had been started with such great hopes by dedicated activists in decades past continued with sound structures serving to see them into the next generation, the next century, and the next millennium.

Through all the risks taken and difficulties overcome, there were also opportunities lost and mistakes made. Resolving the conflicts that arose between people with differing beliefs and lifestyles sometimes proved to be a challenge.

An example of friction in the Second Fellowship was the arrival in North America of the cohousing design from Europe in the late 1980s. This community design provides a form of intentional community appropriate to middle-class communitarians, many of whom were uncomfortable with acknowledging any affinity with the existing communities, particularly refusing association with working-class hippie communes. Some cohousers expressed their concern by saying that cohousing was not a form of intentional community; instead they used the term “intentional neighborhood” in their publications and advertisements. Relationships between some people in the Fellowship and some in the cohousing movement were strained. The cohousing model of the sharing of privately-owned property was just as novel a concept for American as it was for European communitarians. The majority of intentional communities at that time used forms of the sharing of commonly-owned property. The acceptance today between the two forms of community divided by economic class can be measured by noting that since the children of cohousing usually cannot afford to live in cohousing as adults, their parents wanted to help them find some other kind of less-expensive community, thus a new-found appreciation for land trusts, housing co-ops, and other forms of working-class community.

Another conflict arose at the FIC board meeting at New Harmony in 1989. The discussion was on the form of governance to be used at board meetings. Around the group each community or network represented stated how their tradition used a form of participatory process. I expressed a preference that the Fellowship board adopt the kind of decision-making process used by Alpha Farm and the Federation communities over that used by Padanaram Village in Indiana and the Emissary communities. This was seen as inappropriate criticizing of communities, contradicting the intent of affirming a common sense of participatory management, so I became estranged from the board, with my board membership soon terminated. For the next ten years I focused upon volunteering for the cohousing movement, serving as the board treasurer during the expansion in 1996 of the regional

Rocky Mountain Cohousing Association to the national organization, Cohousing U.S.A.

Padanaram Village never became a member of the Fellowship. Its founding patriarch, Daniel Wright (1918-2001), focused for some period of time upon building a Christian community network called, "Kingdomism," using the concept of Melchisedek (defined as "justice" in Hebrews 7 in the *Bible*). Efforts to continue to build a relationship with patriarchal Padanaram were further compromised by a member or friend of Padanaram reporting to the community their discovery that Twin Oaks' Oakley School had a lesbian elementary teacher, and that members of the Fellowship board believed in gay rights and tolerance for nontraditional lifestyles. Geoph Kozeny was confronted with the question about communities in the Fellowship being friendly toward gay and lesbian people when he visited Padanaram with his Community Catalyst slideshow and presentation. Padanaram Village, also called God's Valley, was founded in 1966, creating a major regional lumber mill for its main business, continuing today with about 200 residents. One thing I noticed about Padanaram on my two visits to the community is that unlike most of the rest of the New Wave communities movement, the women at Padanaram, like those in the Emissaries and in cohousing, dressed more in the usual American style, wearing high-heels and make-up, rather than the earthy hippie style of most rural communities. One man wore a tuxedo to every Sunday Service led by Daniel.

Although the Fellowship has sought to be inclusive of communities of all religious traditions, many religious and spiritual communities have restricted their involvement to listings in the Fellowship's directory, if even that, while most of them are involved in their own networks. While a few Christian communities have paid membership dues and attended or hosted FIC events, the primary interface between the Fellowship and Christian community networks, such as the Catholic monasteries, Hutterian Colonies, Bruderhof, and Kingdomism communities, is the academic conferences sponsored by the Communal Societies Association (CSA, formerly NHCSA) and the International Communal Societies Association (ICSA). Other Christian community networks include the Shalom Covenant, and the Community of Communities. The 1984 Summer Festival: A Gathering of Christian Communities, produced a list of 60 Christian communities in America and 10 elsewhere. A few of these groups have been members of the Fellowship. (See: Dave Jackson, "Coming Together," *Communities* no. 53, April/May 1982, pp. 42-43; David Janzen, "Shalom Connections Conference," *Communities* no. 82, spring 1994, p. 16)

Gradually, the Fellowship grew, publishing *Communities* magazine and the *Communities Directory*, and sponsoring the www.ic.org intentional communities Website with its online searchable database. The FIC effectively utilized the World Wide Web for outreach, networking, and for the distribution of free publications and books for sale. The Fellowship took on and renamed the CESCO revolving loan fund, and cosponsored the Twin Oaks communities conferences, as well as organizing its own "Art of Community" events.

The fall of 1988 Laird, Betty, Caroline, Dan and later Geoph and Harvey, constituted the FIC executive committee, later renamed the Administrative Committee, managing the Fellowship through the period of restructuring at the board meeting at Eden Vale in 1997. By about 1990, Charles, Suzanne, Kathey, Rick, David, Don, myself, and others would become inactive. It was the Administrative Committee that would oversee the building of the Fellowship for Intentional Community's ideal of an inclusive, continental association of intentional communities.

While the First Fellowship was begun by and largely sustained by Community Service and members of The Vale community, the Second Fellowship was largely sustained by the Federation of Egalitarian Communities, especially its largest member groups: Twin Oaks and East Wind. Both Community Service and the Federation devoted money and personnel to network the larger communities movement, for one decade in the case of Community Service, and for three decades in the case of the FEC.

It was good timing that Charles Betterton undertook to reorganize the Fellowship ten years after the founding of the Federation, as by that time the Federation was well established and organized, and had been considering how to engage with the larger communities movement. The FEC was always and remains a small network of communities, with from 200 to maybe 250 people at the most. With successful community-owned businesses and gender-equal domestic programs, all integrated in a communal, vacation-credit, labor-sharing, time-based economy in each community, the FEC was ready and able to contribute significant resources of time, money, and skills on a stable, long-term basis to the revitalized continental community organization, the Second Fellowship.

Gradually the FIC took on more and more movement activities. The 1990 board meeting at Lost Valley, OR decided to begin planning a national communities conference and celebration. The FIC also decided to publish *Communities* magazine. Charles Betterton and staff at Stelle and elsewhere produced the magazine for eight years, until the FIC agreed to take it on, with Laird Sandhill serving as the Managing Editor, beginning with the fall/winter 1992 issue number 79.



The FIC organized a six-day, national conference called the “Celebration of Community” at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington in August of 1993, attended by about 800 people. The Celebration offered 160 workshops, and panel discussions on: large and small rural communities, urban communities, spiritual communities, and a community founders panel discussion. Nine plenary presenters included: Caroline Estes, Kirkpatrick Sale, Dorothy Maclean, Debra Lynn Dadd-Redalia, Corine McLaughlin, Gordon Davidson, Dr. Noel Brown, Patch Adams MD, and Catherine Burton. The event did a little better than break even. (Didcoct, *Communities* no. 83, pp. 5, 18-32)

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In 1994 Elph Morgan (unrelated to the CSI Morgans) acquired an Internet domain name, at IC.org, when it was still possible to get a two-letter domain. The FIC Web-Weavers collective began at the fall '94 Miccosukee FIC board meeting. Along with *Communities Directory* book sales, the FIC created in 2004 an online, free, searchable database of intentional communities, supported by selling advertising on the website. (Didcoct, ed., pp. 18-47; FIC 2020, p. 7; Schaub, 1992, p. 2; Schaub, 2015, p. 6)

The FIC also took on management of the CESCO revolving loan fund, and took on the Community Bookstore, selling books online and at conferences of various community organizations. In 1997 the FIC began conducting a series of “Art of Community” weekend educational and networking gatherings.

Over the years there were many people who were part of the FIC’s Administrative Committee, the Executive Committee, the Oversight Committee, the Restructuring Committee, the Board-of-Directors, and so many workgroups. In fact the Fellowship had grown so much in ten years that fifty people attended the March/April 1995 FIC Strategic Planning Retreat at Oakwood Farm in Indiana. Seventy-five people attended the June 1995 FIC board meeting at Sunrise Ranch in Colorado. Fall 1995 over a hundred people attended the Golden Rule FIC meeting in California, and another hundred people attended the spring 1996 meeting at the Ganas Community’s Upstate New York conference location.

At the spring 1995 FIC Strategic Planning Retreat Marilyn Oyler of the Institute for Cultural Affairs facilitated a review of the FIC’s organizational design and what it wanted to accomplish. At the following summer 1995, Sunrise Ranch FIC board meeting the difficulties and inefficiencies of coordinating the FIC from different board members’ homes was discussed, and although there was concern about the major role that the FEC played in the FIC, it was decided to support Laird Sandhill by making his Federation community the headquarters of the Fellowship. \$3,000 was budgeted for Laird to buy a mobile home to serve as the FIC office at Sandhill, with a computer to be purchased for Laird’s work. (FIC Later Committee Minutes, Sunrise Ranch, June 20-22, 1995, p. 7)

Since the spring 1995 Planning Retreat several concerns about the FIC organization had been noted, including: the meeting structure was no longer appropriate for the large number of people attending board meetings; the concentration of power and authority in the Administrative Committee was making it difficult to engage new people; the long-term board members were being overloaded by taking on too much project implementation; the long FIC meetings creates a cultural roadblock for some people; and the mechanism for starting and supporting new FIC projects by new people is obscure and difficult. An FIC organizational restructuring committee was begun. (FIC Board Meeting Minutes, Nov 1996, The Farm, Tennessee, p. 5)

At the spring 1996 Ganas Upstate New York meeting the first FIC Restructuring Committee proposal was presented. In October 1996 the FIC Restructuring Committee completed its proposal. The decisions made at the following November FIC board meeting at The Farm involved the change to a smaller board-of-directors focused upon policy-setting and planning, with an oversight and communication role for board members as liaisons between those implementing program priorities and the board, with the implementation being the responsibility of the various committees, called “clusters.” (FIC Board Meeting Minutes, Nov 1996, The Farm, Tennessee, p. 7)

The Federation communities originated a steady stream of people serving the Fellowship, both current and former members. Among them the person with the longest and most involved contribution, besides the Community Service folks, was Laird Sandhill, who wrote, “After a long run (28 years before the masthead [note: since 1987]) I stepped down as FIC’s main administrator at the end of 2015, and retired from active involvement in the organization ...” The FIC then accepted Sky Blue into the position of executive director, serving until 2020. (Schaub, 2015, p. 53)

Around 1990 a growing trend emerged of communities sharing privately-owned property rather than commonly-owned property, especially cohousing communities using the condominium legal structure. Another form of community sharing private property is those in which the land is owned by one person, a couple, or a small group of members with others as renters. Data analysis of the 2010 *Communities Directory* shows that twenty-percent of the listings were of this type, with the largest example being Ganas Community on Staten Island, New York. A name in use for this type of community is “class-harmony community,” indicating that the group has both an owner class and a renter class. Many Catholic Worker communities are class-harmony groups.

During the last half of the twenty-teens there was a controversy within the Fellowship of whether or not a transition town organization is an intentional community. The concept of transition towns came out of the permaculture movement in England, with the idea of expanding permaculture ideals from the farm to the village and the larger town level. The transition town movement focused upon increasing local self-reliance and resilience in response to such problems as Peak Oil and global warming. It is unknown to the present writer whether anyone was included by the Executive Director in the decision to add transition towns to the list of types of intentional communities on the FIC’s website and in the *Communities Directory*. The 2016 *Directory* includes “The Transition Headquarters” in its forming community list, reporting its type of community as being a “commune.”

The FIC Director justified calling transition towns a form of intentional community by saying that community is “an experience, not a place.” In my view, joining a church congregation, enlisting in the military, being on a sports team are all experiences, yet we do not call any of those intentional communities. Intentional community has a specific definition set in 1949, part of which is presented in the following paragraph. It clearly states that an intentional community “should share land and housing ... in a continuous active fellowship ...” Transition towns do not fit this definition because they are circumstantial communities in which people happen to live in proximity by chance, not by intention. (*Communities Directory 2016*, pp. 543-4; see “Transition Town” in wikipedia.org)

The definition of “intentional community” was first established in 1949 and is presented in the section on the First Fellowship as:

Location – The group should share land and housing or be other-wise close enough together geographically to be in continuous active fellowship and be able to work out effectively the total way of life to which they are dedicated.

To include transition towns as a form of intentional community was to end a 68-year consensus on the definition of intentional community. The FIC Director seems to have made that decision unilaterally, with no process requesting input from anyone else. It took a few years, yet the Fellowship eventually decided to refuse to include transition towns as a form of intentional community.

Since at least the 2014 meeting at Dancing Rabbit Ecovillage in Missouri people involved in both the newly arising ecovillage movement and the FIC made various efforts to form an alliance, or some kind of formal working relationship. In May 2018 six organizations formed the GENNA Alliance. The name comes from the Global Ecovillage Network – North America (GENNA) begun in 1995 at Findhorn Community in Scotland. The six-group GENNA network involved an ongoing crew of about twenty networkers representing: FIC; VillageLab; NuMundo; NextGENNA; GEN-US; and GEN-Canada. (Tina, 2018, pp. 14-15)

We envision a world of interdependent cooperative communities stewarding the conditions of regeneration, justice, peace, and abundance, in order to realize the full potential of flourishing for all life, for all generations to come. – GENNA Alliance (Tina, 2018, p. 15)

Cynthia Tina reported in her *Communities* magazine article “Leading Edges of Collaboration: GENNA Alliance” that the meeting earlier in May 2018 involved much excitement around the idea of a “regenerative communities movement.” Other organizations Cynthia reported with similar regenerative intent include: Permaculture CoLab, the Permaculture Collaborative Laboratory resulting from the 12th International Permaculture Convergence in London in 2015; ECOLISE, the European coalition of community-led initiatives on climate change and sustainability; and Post Growth Alliance, a marketing association using a social media platform advocating cooperative sustainability. (*Communities* no. 180, fall 2018, pp. 14-16)



Foundation for Intentional Community: 2019–Present

At its fall 2018 meeting at Twin Oaks, the FIC made its second name change to the “Foundation for Intentional Community.” A new logo was created, an executive group of four co-directors was instituted, and the FIC agreed to transfer *Communities* magazine to the Global Ecovillage Network – United States (GEN-US), a fellow GENNA Alliance member organization. With the Covid-19 pandemic beginning the next year, most in-person community networking meetings ceased. (FIC, 2020, p. 1; Tina, 2019, pp. 4-5)

The Covid pandemic years resulted in very significant changes for the FIC. Not only did the organization change its name and get new leadership, yet also the FIC ended its in-person regular board meetings, changing to online conferencing. The sense of the large FIC board meetings being a form of community itself ended; replaced with a more professional nonprofit-organization identity.

In her 2019 *Communities* article Cynthia Tina wrote, “We loved the kindred spirit of “Fellowship,” but we didn’t care for the old-school masculine connotations.” I say that the staid and stuffy ol’-boys-club term “Foundation” also has masculine connotations. Since the term “Fellowship” is now

available I am using it in my School of Intentioneering for the allegorical Fellowship of Intentioneers. (Cynthia Tina, “Introducing the New FIC,” *Communities no. 183*, summer 2019, p. 4)

While the First Fellowship relied upon Community Service, and the Second Fellowship relied upon the Federation of Egalitarian Communities, the Foundation soon grew to be self-supporting through income from its own programs, especially the registrations for its online workshops, seminars, and trainings. The Second Fellowship had paid some staff members, yet with increasing income from online services the Foundation has been able to increase its staffing, providing improved and additional movement services.

Online community movement networking continued through the pandemic and after. The new FIC began a series of virtual events, connecting people in community with each other, and connecting with those not in community who were interested in the lifestyle. The FIC 2020 Annual Report stated that the FIC’s online workshops and trainings attracted over 3,500 people paying sliding-scale registrations. Nearly a half-million people visited the FIC’s free online directory at IC.org, which presented over 1,000 intentional communities. 10,000 copies of free FIC e-books and guides were downloaded, and 1,500 print books were distributed worldwide. (FIC, 2020, p. 2)

In 2020 the FIC created the Black, Indigenous, People of Color Intentional Communities Fund (BIPOC ICF) to encourage and support minorities in joining or forming intentional community. Ten-percent of unrestricted donations to the FIC have been contributed to the fund. A BIPOC Council of interested persons was created to carry on outreach, and to set criteria for managing the fund and for granting awards. The Council began its first funding round in July, 2021. (FIC, 2020, p. 3; FIC, 2021, p. 9)

The 2021 FIC Annual Report states the organization’s mission as, “We uplift, connect, and empower all those venturing to join, grow, and learn from intentional communities.” And its vision as, “We envision a just, resilient, and cooperative world where everyone has the opportunity to thrive in community.” That year the FIC began a series of five-week courses on intentional community, which provides the largest amount of revenue of all the FIC programs, accounting for half of the organization’s income. (FIC 2021, pp. 4, 8)

2021 FIC Annual Report presents new FIC projects, including: “Inside Community Podcast;” an online “Intentional Community Discussion Forum;” and a “Starter Guide to Intentional Communities” as a short free e-book (see: www.ic.org/starterguide). In other activities, 100 online webinars, workshops, trainings, and courses served 10k+ attendees, while 2k books and videos were sold, and the BIPOC ICF began awarding grants to groups that had land or were ready to purchase land.

2022 FIC Annual Report stated that: 109 new listings were added to the online Communities Directory; participation in FIC online events totaled 6.5k people; books on community sold 7k units; participation on the IC Discussion Forum involved 1k people; the Inside Community Podcast created 15 episodes, and played 20k times for listeners in 51 countries. The BIPOC IC Fund granted \$15,000 to three BIPOC community projects.

2023 FIC Annual Report:

- Website visitors for the year: 500k

- Newsletter subscribers: 40k+
- Number of Communities Directory listings: 900+
- Participation in FIC online events: 4.5k+
- Social media followers: 21k
- Books on community sold: 4k+
- Participation on IC Discussion Forum: 1.2k
- Inside Community Podcast listeners: 37k
- BIPOC IC Fund: \$15,000 granted to three BIPOC community projects

2024 FIC Annual Report – This year was the 75th anniversary of the FIC. It seems that no one in the Foundation was aware of this occasion; since FIC publications and online notices only stated that the FIC was only 35 years old, evidently dating from the beginning of the Second Fellowship. I had revised the Wikipedia listing for the FIC to add a much better history of the FIC, going back to the 1949 founding, so I noticed the FIC’s 75th anniversary, placing an article about it in *Communities*, no. 205, winter 2024 titled “On the Occasion of the FIC’s 75th Anniversary” (pp. 40-42).

- The first Convergence of Intentional Communities (CIC) event at the TO Communities Conference
- FIC writes *Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, Justice* (DEIJ) statement
- FIC team is 9 part-time workers or 2.5 full-time equivalents, with 475 active FIC members
- Website visitors for the year: 440k
- Number of *Communities Directory* listings: 1k+
- Participation in FIC online events: 7.6k
- Inside Community Podcast listeners: 52k
- BIPOC IC Council is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization supporting land-back, reparations, etc.

2025 FIC Annual Report – The FIC website was updated with new features including personal profiles of FIC board and staff, community-matching tools to help people find the right community for them, direct messaging, and chat space communication tools. The second Convergence of Intentional Communities (CIC) event took place at the TO Communities Conference, with more in-person CICs planned for other locations around the country. The new FIC mission states: “The FIC champions social, ecological, and economic justice and resiliency through the support and growth of cooperative culture and intentional communities.”

- Website visitors for the year: 445k;
- Number of Communities Directory listings: 1,100;
- 100 online workshops and courses were offered.

2026 – The Foundation is sponsoring two CICs this year in the following regions: Northwest at Sahale Community, and Northeast at Sirius Community. The Convergence of Communities events recognize the value of communarians meeting each other and visiting different communities, lost with the professionalization of the Foundation for Intentional Community, now restarting in a different format.

Hosting regional community events was a reoccurring FIC board meeting topic, which everyone recognized as valuable yet which always had a difficult time getting organized. Considering the on-and-off history of the Inter-Communities of Virginia (I-CV), and of the similar off-and-on intermittent history of the Northwest Intentional Communities Association (NICA), the pattern seems to be that people get excited about visiting communities and meeting people living in community,

then after a series of meetings in different communities, people's curiosity is satisfied, until the next generation of communitarians gets excited about networking again a decade or two later.

The Twin Oaks Communities Conferences is an exception to that rule, which may be due to its over a half-century history of annual conferences. Regional community gatherings may be able to sustain ongoing activities in the future by engaging with related organizations at CICs, as the 2026 Northwest CIC is cosponsored by the New Economy Coalition, a network of nonprofit organizations, social enterprises, grassroots community organizations, benefit corporations (B Corporations), and other organizations comprising the solidarity economy. As a cross-sector or inter-sectional movement-making activity, the FIC's CICs may be the beginning of a much better integration of intentional communities with other forms of the gifting and sharing, solidarity culture.

As it seems to be that the 2020s are becoming a decade of significant intentional community enthusiasm, the programs of the Foundation for Intentional Community are serving to incite movement growth and our further contributions to social change.

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