

Inclusive Association of Intentional Communities

Community Network Histories Related to the Fellowship: 1940s-1990s

A. Allen Butcher, 1996, revised 1999

FOREWORD

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 written accounts are often biased. For these reasons this writing may best be considered as a work in progress, with changes, inclusions and edits yet to be made.

In an email transmission to Allen 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 individuals finding their own inspiration and motivation to network. It is to honor each individual's contributions that names are included in this history.

Since communities and networking organizations often provide no monetary reward for the work done by members, it is often recognized that the primary motivation for contributing to the group is the self-esteem derived from doing good work, whether or not that contribution is recognized. The issue that Laird suggests is how much should we recognize and express appreciation for what individuals do for the community or network? 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 of 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 the hero culture of valuing people differently, and thereby 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 such a balance 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. 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. Certainly, writing this history of community networking in a manner which respects the importance of the whole group of communities, while respecting individual accomplishments in networking, is an aspect of this work that will likely require additional changes, inclusions and edits.

INTRODUCTION: To BUILD a NETWORK

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, 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 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 foreign or alien. The result is a focus upon the differences among communities rather than upon their 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. Exactly how to do this among any particular set of communities is the challenge presented to those who hold the ideal of a world order of peace, social justice and 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. Over the span of fifty years this dream of building peace through cooperation ran a range of human experience 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, organizational hijacking 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. Learning from these experiences and preparing others and ourselves for the challenges ahead are important aspects of the mission of the Fellowship. Understanding how the Fellowship grew, its origins and the many paths that led to, through and around it, can help us to map our next steps, showing a way for those who desire to work together to build a lifestyle of cooperation and harmony.

INTERCOMMUNITIES of VIRGINIA, the FEDERATION of EGALITARIAN COMMUNITIES, and THE FARM

The origin of the network of communities now known as the Federation of Egalitarian Communities (FEC) goes back to the 1940s and B. F. Skinner's creation of the concept of behavioral analysis. His fictional utopia presented the labor credit economy and planner/manager form of government which were incorporated into the original design of Twin Oaks Community. (Note: in an email message of April 23, 1997, Deborah Altus states that John Watson founded behaviorism, while Skinner focused upon "operant" or voluntary behavior rather than reflexive behavior. Also note that Joshua Warren seems to have been the first person to use a "labor notes" concept in his 1827 to 1829 "Time Store" in Cincinnati, Ohio. He later founded a succession of communities based upon the labor exchange model. Benjamin Franklin also reportedly wrote about similar ideas. It is unknown to this author whether Skinner or the founders of Twin Oaks were familiar with this history.)

B. F. Skinner wrote a book about a fictional utopian community he called *Walden II*, which inspired a few people to move into a house in Washington D.C. in 1965 to work toward creating a community based upon the *Walden II* model. This small group joined with another from Atlanta to found Twin Oaks Community in 1967, just as the "new wave" communities movement was beginning. Many of the people attracted to Twin Oaks (TO) did not have the commitment shared by the founders to behaviorism, and so the community began a long process of evolution. The founding of the Federation in 1976 marked the end of the general reference to TO as a "Walden II community," and in the late '80s Twin Oaks formally gave up its communal child care ideals in favor of the shared parenting model of child/adult residences. Issues involving private property and income are reoccurring topics of discussion, providing opportunities for the community to review its ideals of sharing and of fairness.

Several years after the community was founded, Twin Oaks began holding annual communities conferences. A number of other communities were formed by conference participants, and in 1972 three different community journals, *Communitas*, *Communitarian* and *Alternatives* merged to form *Communities* magazine. A nation-wide collective formed, meeting at the annual Twin Oaks conferences, and maintained the magazine as a voice of the new wave communities movement. However, after a few years TO stopped hosting communities conferences, and gradually the community took on more and more work for and financing of the magazine. By the early 1980s the community wanted to give it up, finally transferring the journal to Charles Betterton at Stelle Community in Illinois in 1984. 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 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. But this was just a respite; new energies would eventually arise to bring Twin Oaks back into larger-movement networking in the 1990s.

In the early 1970s Twin Oaks was attracting so many people that it had to stop accepting new members, and a long waiting list resulted. Kat Kinkade, one of the co-founders of the community, decided to found a second community, drawing upon Twin Oaks' popularity and experience, that would not limit its growth as TO was doing. She and a few others first were invited by two different New England farmers to found a new community on their land. As these plans failed, the group decided to follow the process that had successfully resulted in the founding of Twin Oaks. The group rented a house in Boston in 1973, saved money and in 1974 bought land in Ozark County, Missouri. It happened that the scouts they sent out, Chuck Reames and Jack Marxer, were partial to this area of the country, and the community trusted these two men they barely knew to spend the community's hard-earned down payment wisely. In those days, the ideal of building a new culture out of the old contributed to bonds of trust and honor that carried many people into and through sometimes difficult and often wondrous experiences of community.

This group decided to use the name that was originally proposed but rejected during the naming process in 1967 for the community that became known as "Twin Oaks." In March 1973 on one of the borrowed farms, the new community remembered and adopted the name "East Wind." The name is from the Chinese saying, "the east wind shall prevail over the west." The name was particularly popular due to an implied reference in the lyrics of a Bob Dylan song, "... don't need a weather man to tell which way the wind is blowing."

The fall of 1975, Kat was invited to travel to Kibbutz in Israel. Mordechai Bentov, who had established the International Communes Desk (ICD) in the offices of Kibbutz Artzi, one of the Israeli kibbutz federations, had read Kat's book about the first five years of Twin Oaks, titled *A Walden II Experiment*. Mordechai was trying to build an international network of communities, and he perceived that Twin Oaks would be a good U.S. connection to be made. After Kat (members used just their first names within the community, and adopted the name of their home communities as a last name for identification purposes within the movement) returned from her trip, Malon Wilkus (who did not capitalize his chosen name until he left community) and she felt that there may be an opportunity for East Wind to attract some financing from a kibbutz development fund. Together Kat and Malon decided to propose the formation of a network of North American communities like the Kibbutz federations. It was also recognized that the kibbutz federations were very successful in sponsoring the founding of new communities, although this was a secondary motivation for forming a similar organization in the U.S. to the idea of attracting financial aid from Kibbutz Artzi. Malon stated that after some thought, "egalitarian" was the best term that he could come up with to use to describe the network. People particularly liked the name's association with feminist ideals of equality, and so the new organization was to be named the Federation of Egalitarian Communities (FEC or Federation).

East Wind (EW) had only just become landed in the Missouri Ozarks May of the preceding year ('74), and was very much in a pioneering period. At the time there were about 36 people on the farm. The community had closed its outside-work houses that fall, due to Twin Oaks having acquired the Pier I account and their subsequent contract with EW to make thousands of hammocks. Yet the community had only a small five-room farmhouse for a kitchen/dining/social space of less than a thousand square feet, which was named Re'im after an Israeli Kibbutz (visited by an EW member). The first summer and fall a ten-room residence was built named Sunnyside

(after the street in Boston where the community had rented a house), and various "invented shelters" were constructed, made possible by Ozark County's lack of building codes. A second residence with twenty rooms was under construction, called Fanshen (named after a Chinese commune), but not all of it would be done until after the winter of '75. The only plumbing in the community was in Re'im and the simple concrete block showerhouse. Kat herself had a bed and dresser on the edge of the woods overlooking a pasture, with a carpet and rug laid over the grass, and clear plastic sheeting draped over saplings for walls and roof. Kat would comment in later years that it was one of the nicest summer accommodations she ever had. Other members stayed in "The Hilton," which was a canvas army tent with wooden floor, and two similar tents housed the hammock shop and stretcher or wood shop. The most innovative shelter (in later winters) was made by Hector out of warehouse pallets stuffed with rags for walls and roof, covered with tin and plastic and filled with blankets and anything else that would serve as insulation. When winter came, most members abandoned these shelters, and crowded into the residences, sometimes three or four people to a hundred-square-foot room. To manage these accommodations the community, via the Trusterty Manager (the term "trusterty" was derived from writings of the Russian anarchist Prince Petr A. Kropotkin), used a process called "temporary bed assignment" or TBA. If one didn't have a private space and wanted help to find a place to sleep, the Trusterty Manager could find one or make one. TBA and all other services provided by the community, from domestic to agricultural to business and industry, were organized via a labor credit system modeled on that practiced at Twin Oaks.

From hearing of Malon's and Kat's plans, an outreach proposal was made by Allen Butcher to create three managerships: a Federation Managership to deal with networking among what later became referred to as "Federation Communities," a Public Relations Managership to take care of local relations, and a Networking Managership to coordinate the community's contacts with social change movement organizations like the food cooperative and area communities. Malon and Kat became the first Federation Delegates, and Allen became the Network Manager. The most significant contribution from the latter managership was the discovery at a regional food co-op meeting (The New Destiny Cooperative Federation and its Ozark Cooperative Warehouse) of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and the Southern Cooperative Development Fund (SCDF) which would give East Wind its first \$100,000 loan to start the nutbutter business. This business opportunity was found and proposed by Malon from his networking activities. A second result of the community's support for a Network Managership was Allen's attendance at a community conference in Chicago, which became the initial connection that would eventually bring the Federation into the reforming Fellowship for Intentional Community (FIC or Fellowship).

What few people realize is that the Federation was not founded primarily to develop the relationship between East Wind, Twin Oaks and the other "Walden II Communities." East Wind and Twin Oaks already had a labor exchange policy and a Joint Hammock Agreement. The joint business was soon to purchase a van to make trips back and forth between the communities, which was called "The Shuttle," a take-off on the name of the weaving tool used to make hammocks. Any other kind of collaboration the communities might want to do did not need a formal organization like the Federation. Malon himself stated that the Federation was conceived primarily as a means to attract development financing from the Israeli Kibbutz movement.

It is understandable how Kat, returning to relative poverty after a visit to the largest, richest, and most respected communal organization in the free world, would look for ways to associate her movement with theirs. People visiting Kibbutz from Europe, Japan, Australia and elsewhere were all encouraged to do the same. Malon and Kat talked about how the kibbutz federations were an important aspect of the development of the kibbutz movements, and felt that it would be easiest to work with the kibbutz federation, Kibbutz Artzi, if there was formed a North American association of communal communities. However, it would not do to use the name "Walden II" any longer, as the communities had evolved from Twin Oaks' original goal of building a community modeled after the one imagined in the book *Walden II*. East Wind and Twin Oaks still used the planner/manager form of government and the labor credit system described in the book, but the communities had dropped behavioral engineering as an organizational tenet.

The plan to found a "Federation of Egalitarian Communities" was announced in *Communities* magazine, and about eight communities attended the founding Assembly, December of 1976. Five of these communities, Aloe, North Mountain, Dandelion, Twin Oaks and East Wind, formed the Federation. Members of Frog Run Farm in Vermont happen to be in the area and observed the meeting, and another community present left when it was made clear to them that the network was not to encompass a range of different types of communities, only the "Walden II" communities. Part of this assertion came from the recent experience of the failure of the InterCommunities of Virginia (ICV) network that had recently dissolved. It had been inclusive, and had developed a formal organization, but failed to maintain itself. One of the Twin Oaks Delegates, Wayne, had been active in ICV, and agreed to limit the inclusivity of the Federation, presumably due to the failure of the inclusive ICV model.

As the Federation later failed to grow 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 East Wind the winter of 1977 or '78.

Caroline Estes of Alpha Farm in Oregon has stated that their community and the Movement for a New Society (MNS) were both founded at the same time, one group of people in Philadelphia splitting into these two different projects. MNS would later develop a group process and direct action training program, influencing many organizations around the world. The other group founded Alpha Farm near the Pacific Coast in 1972, in a valley surrounded by high ridges, chosen perhaps as a site where the community would most likely be able to survive a nuclear war. Alpha Farm declined to join the Federation perhaps due to the community's member-equity arrangement which is counter to FEC requirements, and due to Alpha's larger interest in supporting a more broad communities movement organization.

This 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.

Perhaps the difference at Sandhill was primarily due to the leadership interest and skills of Laird Schaub, one of Sandhill's founders. Sandhill joined the Federation in 1980 and Laird soon joined

the Federation's Executive Committee. Laird became a consensus process trainer, 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 an important source of funding for the Fellowship's program of taking on *Communities* magazine.

A point to be made about small communities is that in the 1980s and '90s several groups have left East Wind to found or help build new communities in Missouri. Their relative success may be due to the fact that their founders have years of egalitarian community experience and proven dedication. Evidently, experience can serve in place of extraordinary innate leadership ability, and might even be preferable, due to the fact that strong leadership personalities tend to have trouble practicing shared leadership.

It is particularly revealing of Kat's later disregard for the Federation, which she herself had helped mother into being, that she commented during a community meeting (she returned to Twin Oaks in 1982) that she would support Twin Oaks joining PEACH only if the fund's governing board would not be under the Federation Assembly. She stressed that the Federation Delegates were not the communities' "best people," and therefore could not do a good enough job. This says very clearly with how little real concern and with what minimal regard the larger communities gave the Federation at the time. Since the Federation had failed in its primary goals of attracting development funding from the Kibbutz and of saving smaller member communities, the Twin Oaks Planners sometimes questioned what value it was to their community to continue paying annual Federation taxes. 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 constant turnover of Federation Delegates over the years resulted in new people continually having to be oriented to Federation mission and history. The Kibbutz connection as the primary reason for the Federation's existence, however, has always been given less emphasis than it, in reality, deserves. Federation communities did have a number of Kibbutz visitors over the years, and Mordechai sent Avraham Yassour and his son, who were visiting in New York City, to observe the founding meeting of the Federation. Avraham commented that seeing East Wind reminded him of the beginnings of the kibbutz movement. Kibbutz Artzi paid for a number of members of the Federation communities to visit their communities in the 1970s. Including Kat, perhaps seven Federation community members made educational/working visits to Israel. Among that group only Kat and Ira Wallace still live in a Federation community. However, the development loans that malon and Kat envisioned never happened. By the mid 1980s the Kibbutzim were falling deep into crisis. They had lost a lot of money on failed investments, they were losing many of their young people to the outside world, and they were accepting greater privatization of their society, including giving up communal child care in favor of family apartments, and otherwise turning from their

communal ideals. The trend within kibbutz movements at the turn of the millennium appears to be toward greater diversity of political, economic and social systems among various kibbutzim.

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 the 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 babies born in the community, a policy which resulted in a number of members, including Allen in the summer of 1983, being caused to leave their home.

East Wind's poverty during the period of the start-up of the nutbutter business, and the resulting emphasis upon needing to work 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 managers tried a number of methods of participatory decision-making process, to various degrees of success, but there was always dissension. The annual plan set the community's labor budgets, and since certain people (especially the business, labor and membership managers) tended to participate in meetings 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, resulting in their alienation, loss of membership, and much controversy as social pressure pushed them out of the community. If the business managers had left at any of several financially difficult times, the community might well have defaulted on its loans, lost its land, and dissolved.

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 co-op 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 (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, but may not have been the original motivation 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 the same people attended or avoided community meetings after the change 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 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 a membership of 750 people. The resulting lack of selection led to conflicts which could have destroyed the community, as Kat commented on a couple occasions, if malon and Will Bayley had both left the community at financially critical times. (Will once commented to Allen 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 under-capitalized community and the work-load of a handcraft industry that caused many of 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. These problems lead to several large member "exoduses," dropping community membership by 50% to 75% in the space of a few months on several occasions. These exoduses essentially relieved the pressures that built up due to the number-of-people-versus-resources problem that lowered the standard-of-living and increased dissention. Immediately after an exodus the workload of those who remained went up and the controversies died down. Invariably, those controversies that were not resolved arose again later. Given that the community was doing all that it could to improve the financial situation, Kat is probably correct to stress that EW could have better managed its member selection process.

In general, the 1980s brought tough times for many community movements. (In an email message of October 23, 1999, Geoph Kozeny asks, "It's true that a lot of big changes happened in the '80s ... but why?" and suggests that, "One big factor, I suspect, was that a lot of folks who joined in the '70's and '80s had stuck with it, and were getting older and gaining in life experience—and their needs were shifting. This topic probably deserves a whole book.") In the 1980s many communities gave up their communal structures, including The Farm in Tennessee, leaving Twin Oaks as the largest, most successful surviving new wave, or '60s era communal society. In the early '80s The Farm experienced a major exodus, with about 80% of its population leaving out of an estimated high point of 1,300 to 1,600 members, and a total redesign of its economic agreements toward privatization, retaining some common land and other forms of collectivity, such as with "The Second Foundation."

The Farm's problems with under-capitalization and a relatively open-door policy was more severe than those of East Wind, with the added expense of supporting some twenty satellite communities in several states and foreign countries. Albert Bates explained in two e-mail transmissions (12/3/96 and 12/6/96) to Allen how the network of Farm Communities arose and 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 as well. It varied. 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.

In the case of the Virginia Farm, located close to Twin Oaks, the property was purchased by a few of its members who stayed and created a collective community that has survived. The change at the Tennessee Farm from a direct democracy, facilitated by Stephen, to an elected Council of Elders, happened about 1975 after Stephen went to jail for The Farm's policy of tolerance of marijuana. The abandonment of the communal economy at The Farm was explained in a 12/10/96 e-mail transmission from Albert to Allen.

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 TSF, the Foundation became of vanishingly small importance at that point.

The Farm's mushrooming and later implosion is a classic example of a number of problems of communities (and many other forms of organization). Too rapid growth, over extension, under-capitalization, and inability to transition beyond the foundation stage and modify the organization's ideals and goals to fit changing conditions. Today, members of the Tennessee Farm express a liberal, multi-faith spirituality, and the community uses a participatory form of government and a mixed economy balancing common and private property. Members of The Farm are now more active in community networking, including local, continental and international community networks, and most notably the ecovillage movement, hosting an educational center and the North American office of the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN). Geoph Kozeny reports in the 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. Based on my visit last May, I'd say they're down to maybe one tenth of its zenith population ... 1300-1600 members, depending on who's account you believe."

It is interesting how the transformation of The Farm also changed its orientation toward community networking. Harvey Baker of Dunmire Hollow community, a form of collective community 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 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 transformation members of The Farm became quite interested to learn how Dunmire Hollow was structured. Although Allen had witnessed Stephen Gaskin speaking approvingly of a Christian community he had visited, other members at times treated even communal communities like Twin Oaks disdainfully. Stories had circulated of how a few members of The Farm had laughed at the little Federation communities, joking about working for labor credits. And in 1992 a former board member of The Farm expressed to Allen during a visit his regret for his derision of Kat and her community when she visited and met him during The Farm's high point. 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 one of the reasons for the failure of many regional networks of communities.

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 or are discredited, 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 basic 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 strong commitment to training new members and to involving them in the governmental structure. In fact, at Twin Oaks it was Kat's clear stance in favor of political inclusivity that countered another long-term member, Will Stewart'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 group of people 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 nostalgic get-togethers, but few if any of the others shared a commitment to Will's ideal.

Although political participation 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 remains to coordinate 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 as is the monetary system in the larger 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. As was noted, the Federation tried a number of times to enlarge its membership, always to find that there were very few eligible communities meeting its membership criteria. When the proposal came to the Assembly to join in the reformation of the Fellowship for Intentional Community as an inclusive movement organization, the Federation was ready.

THE EARTH COMMUNITIES NETWORK and the EMISSARY COMMUNITIES

During the years that the "Walden II communities" were growing into the Federation of Egalitarian Communities, a number of other community organizations were also developing. Two which were to become important to the future development of the Fellowship for Intentional Community were the Earth Communities Network, a northwestern regional association of communities, and the Emissaries of Divine Light, an international network of closely related communities.

In the mid 1980s the Emissary network of communities included twelve major communities and 200 centers around the world, involving roughly 10,000 people. In the 1990s they have shrunk in size and have given up much of their communal structure after the loss of their spiritual leader. Most of the Emissary communities are transitioning to greater degrees of participatory governance and of private property ownership, with many of their smaller centers being dissolved.

The Emissaries were founded by Lloyd Meeker, 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 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 Emissary members.

Before his death in 1954 in a plane crash, Uranda corresponded with and then met William Martin Cecil, 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. Upon Uranda's death, Martin became the spiritual leader of the Emissaries, until his death in 1988. Martin's son then decided to end the line of spiritual leaders in the Emissaries and began the transition of the network that continues today.

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). Emissaries are also involved in many other organizations.

It has been commented by a number of people that it is difficult to get clear information about the structure and workings of the Emissary communities and network. Allen's experience is that leaders would be willing to answer direct questions, but rarely volunteer anything beyond explaining their spiritual ideals, which often results in obscuring basic political processes and economic issues through presenting them in spiritual terms.

Monica Ward of the U.V. Family (Ultimate Vehicle) explained in a letter to Allen, then at Twin Oaks, dated December 5, 1988, 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 and the Foundation of Universal Unity.

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.

The Emissaries' recent reorganization has resulted in a number of former members becoming open about their experiences. One aspect of the Emissary communities seems to be that their teachings held that grace or spiritual awareness followed a path from God to men and from men to women. Thus, male-female relationships were sanctified, and evidently, as some former members have alleged, served as a form of gender control and even exploitation. With the rise of participatory governance in the Emissary communities, a healing and growth process now seems to be making significant changes.

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, but they later were criticized for presenting the network as an Emissary project.

In response to this misrepresentation of the ECN via the inappropriate use of its name by the Emissary representative, some of the other community representatives apparently prevented any further ECN activities from happening, sending to the Emissaries a clear message of movement disapproval of their actions. In his letter of June 17, 1997 Laird termed this experience in the communities movement an example of "well intentioned over-exuberance." Others considered it organizational hijacking. Deliberate or not, with some of the Earth Communities activists joining the Fellowship after members of the Emissaries had already been involved, the Emissaries gradually became less involved in the Fellowship.

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/ 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 (from British Columbia), and Michael Soule from Oregon set about to pick up the pieces.

Geoph Kozeny also was involved in picking up some of the 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, but in 1988 Geoph went on the road developing a slide show through the Community Catalyst Project, now including communities all over the continent. Before leaving the community he started in San Francisco, a collective house called Stardance, now 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 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 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.

Please let us know your thoughts about the ECN and the continuation of our newsletter. Is it time to re-establish our connections, to explore our common interests and needs?

Also in that 1991 newsletter, Geoph mentioned that Fred Cook was one of the four people of the Institute for the Study of Conscious Evolution that had sparked the founding of the ECN. Included among the community updates in this newsletter was 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, California has seen a few cohousing conferences, including one in October, 1996 in Sacramento, Fellowship for Intentional Community meetings or events at Christ's Church of the Golden Rule community in Willits, and Bay Area networks of collectives and communities such as CommonNest and the Communal Grapevine, and communities in Oregon and Washington developed the Northwest Intentional Communities Association (NICA), and a national cohousing conference took place in 1997 in Seattle. The ECN as an entire West 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*, and regular community gatherings were organized thereafter. August of 1993 the Fellowship for Intentional Community held its international gathering called the Communities Celebration at the Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington. 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, has been a central organizer of this network from its beginning. There is a strong cohousing presence in the network, which has organized several regional gatherings, and planned a 1997 continental cohousing conference.

STELLE COMMUNITY and the REFORMATION of the FELLOWSHIP for INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY

Stelle was started in 1973 with the vision of growing to be the second largest city in Illinois, and to facilitate the survival of the human race beyond the cultural and ecological disasters prophesied to happen around the end of the millennium. However, in the early 1980s the community's leader was discredited and its population froze at around 100 people. One member of the community, Charles Betterton, began looking beyond Stelle to the general idea that intentional community is important to the survival or growth of humanity, and thus began working for the movement. To Charles' credit, he did not try to start a new association of communities, but looked around to find existing organizations with which to work.

Around 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, Allen responded. The conference was well organized and attended (including presenters from Catholic monasteries), set in a Chicago hotel conference center, and evidently made money as the reimbursement check sent to East Wind was greater than the community's stated expenses. At this conference one of the Stelle representatives noted the similarities in the management styles at Stelle and East Wind, and a positive rapport was established.

The next time that Allen and Charles 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, in Evansville, where he managed the Center for Communal Studies. Although by this time Allen had left East Wind, his proposal to represent the Federation at this conference was accepted. One person from Twin Oaks Community had attended an earlier NHCSA conference, but had reported that he saw no value in his community continuing any engagement with the association. It was Allen's goal, however, 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. Allen and Charles talked about all of this at the conference, and recognized each other as collaborators.

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. In 1989, when Allen began studying at the University of Southern Indiana at Don's invitation, Don explained that his negotiations with Charles had inexplicably ended. However, this 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 Allen Butcher. Ed Olson and Al Barberg were two other early Fellowship supporters recruited from Charles' contacts at Stelle.

Charles Betterton also worked with the Fellowship of Intentional Communities (FIC or Fellowship) to develop it into a more potent networking organization. The Fellowship was organized in 1948 by Community Service, Inc., which was earlier founded in 1940 in Yellow Springs, Ohio by Arthur Morgan, the first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority and President of Antioch College. In a letter to Charles from Griscom Morgan (Arthur had two sons, Griscom and Earnest) of The Vale near Yellow Springs, dated May 24, 1985, Griscom stated in response to Charles' proposal of changing the name of the FIC that:

The original name was developed after careful consideration by a committee appointed by a 1953 conference on intentional communities in which communities on four continents were represented and about sixty people attended. From that decision the term Intentional Communities has become widely accepted in lieu of the term communes.

Prior to the 1953 conference Alfred Anderson states (in a letter to the Fellowship meeting at Lost Valley, dated November 22, 1991) that the organization's original name was "Inter-Community Exchange." The second change of name, which would become formal when the Fellowship was incorporated in 1986, was 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 more of a recognition of the supporting role of organizations and individuals not part of any intentional community.

The early Fellowship has a long and interesting history of early activity, then a period of dormancy beginning in 1961. Some of the many different intentional communities and networks which sent representatives to various Fellowship meetings over the years were the Society of Brothers, various Quaker communities, Powelton Village and Macedonia (GA). The August 1, 1960 FIC newsletter listed the following member communities: The Vale (OH), Tanguy (PA), May Valley Co-op Community (WA), Koinonia Community (GA), St. Francis Acres (NJ), and Celo Community (NC).

Alfred Anderson, president of the FIC in 1961, wrote the following in a letter to the FIC mailing list presenting a significant event in the organization's history:

When the Society of Brothers withdrew from the FIC, there were those who felt that FIC should be allowed to quietly die. ... (T)he sparse participation in the last FIC national conference at Bryn Gweled (PA) in 1960 ... convinced us that FIC has reached a peaceful end.

The Society of Brothers or Bruderhof had recently moved from Paraguay to the U.S., and from England and Germany before that, being refugees from Nazi Germany. In a letter of February 25, 1988 to Dan Christenberry (later to change his name to Questenberry) at Shannon Farm (VA), Earnest 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. ... 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.

Al explained in his 1991 letter that "around 1957 or '58 (the Bruderhof) announced that since their commitment was not to community as such, but to their particular religious way of life, centered in the life of Jesus, they felt that they couldn't justify putting further energy into FIC." In a mailing dated August 9, 1975 and distributed from Ananda Village, titled, "What is the Fellowship of Intentional Communities West?" Al attributed the Fellowship's 1961 demise 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 at least the decade of the '60s, there was no Fellowship activity. The early '70s then saw the beginning of a networking revival among the "old wave" Fellowship communities. Communities involved in this era of the Fellowship included the Camphill Village network.

Dan Questenberry wrote in an article in the 1990 *Directory of Intentional Communities* that it was during the 1954 Fellowship meeting at the Quaker community called Pendle Hill near Philadelphia that a gift (\$30,000 donated by Homer Morris) was made to the organization to set up a revolving loan fund, subsequently named the Homer Morris Fund. When tax-exempt status was acquired, the fund's name was changed to the Community Educational Service Council, Inc (CESCI). The Fellowship and CESCI held combined meetings, not always on a regular basis.

The third time that Charles and Allen were to meet was at the FIC/CESCI meeting at Tanguy Homesteads in Pennsylvania, the spring of 1986. It had been nine years since Tanguy last hosted a Fellowship meeting, and Al Anderson characterized Tanguy as the home of several Fellowship and CESCI activists. Allen had joined Twin Oaks the summer of 1985, and joined with Charles at the Tanguy meeting in presenting the vision of developing the FIC as a larger community networking organization. Also at this meeting was Herb Goldstein of the School of Living (SoL) Land Trust and on the CESCI board, and Harvey of Dunmire Hollow community in Tennessee. Harvey would

begin regular attendance at FIC meetings with the Sept. '87 meeting at East Wind. At the Tanguy meeting, Charles announced that he would host a meeting at Stelle four months later (Aug. '86) to incorporate the Fellowship. Allen reported on the Tanguy meeting and the networking vision to Laird, suggesting that the Federation might help build the Fellowship into a movement-wide organization.

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

At the Seven Oaks meeting, Allen suggested to the group that they form a regional association of communities, using the name of the '70s era InterCommunities of Virginia (ICV). Dan and Allen then helped ICV get organized enough to meet for about five years before the network went dormant again. Since then the ICV has been partially reawakened with Twin Oaks' resumed hosting of communities conferences in the mid 1990s.

Soon after attending the Fellowship meeting at Tanguy, Allen was invited to join the board of the School of Living (SoL) and later encouraged Dan to join this organization as well. The School of Living, a regional land trust, had received a substantial amount of money after the sale of the property of the failed Deep Run Community in Pennsylvania, and Allen and Dan 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, Allen 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.

Early in 1989 Allen 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 at 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. 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.

The meeting to incorporate the Fellowship was held at Stelle in August of 1986. The five incorporators were: Charles, Allen, Laird, Dan and Don. One more meeting was to be held at Stelle (May 1987) before the Fellowship board was to go on the road, resuming the tradition of community network meetings being hosted by different communities.

After leaning about the FIC vision, Laird had contacted Charles, and then 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 Bd mtg in May 1987 (at Stelle). We had FEC mtgs 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 Bd mtg 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.

Through Charles' Emissary connections, a representative from Oakwood Community in Indiana, Rick Lathrop, and from 100 Mile House in British Columbia, David Thatcher, would begin the Emissary representation in, and financial contributions to the Fellowship.

Among its 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 Allen left Twin Oaks. Ira lived at Aloe (NC) and Dandelion (Ontario), two 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. 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. ... (S)he was a staunch supporter of using FEC dollars to underpin the Fellowship right from the start.

One particularly notable event in the financing of Fellowship projects had its origin in Charles' borrowing of money from CESCO for his effort to take on *Communities* magazine. A couple years later Charles was in default, but by then there were more people in the Fellowship. The organization wanted to begin to work on a 1990 directory of communities, but didn't have the money. At the CESCO board meeting Allen proposed that CESCO make a loan to the FIC to print a directory. Herb accepted the idea, whereupon Dan 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 fained protest expressed the sentiment that the group was doing absolutely what needed to be done.

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, that brought the people together who would realize the dream long held by many of a vital, inclusive intentional community networking organization. In those 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 continue today, with sound structures that should serve to see them into the next generation.

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. One example was the arrival in North America of the cohousing design from Europe. This community design provides a form of intentional community appropriate to middle-class American communitarians, many of whom were uncomfortable with acknowledging any affinity with the indigenous forms of communitarianism, and some expressed this by saying that cohousing was not a form of intentional community. Relationships between some people in the Fellowship and some in the cohousing movement were sometimes strained, but there is today a significant amount of interaction between the two networks.

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. The statement made by Allen expressed a preference that the Fellowship board adopt the kind of process used by Alpha Farm and the Federation communities over that used by Padanaram Village and the Emissary communities. As a result, Allen became estranged from the board, and Padanaram community withdrew to focus upon building a separate 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 Padanaram were compromised by a member or friend of Padanaram reporting to the community their discovery that Twin Oaks' school had a lesbian teacher, and that members of the Fellowship board believed in gay rights and tolerance for nontraditional lifestyles.

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. 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 (see *Communities*

number 53, April/May 1982). The 1984 Summer Festival: A Gathering of Christian Communities produced a list of 60 Christian communities in America and 10 elsewhere. A few of which have been members of the Fellowship.

Gradually, the Fellowship has grown, and now manages *Communities* magazine, printing the *Communities Directory*, and sponsoring the www.ic.org intentional communities Website. The FIC is effectively utilizing the World Wide Web for outreach, networking and community product sales. The Fellowship has now also taken on and renamed the CESCO revolving loan fund, and cosponsors the Twin Oaks communities conferences as well as organizing its own "Art of Community" conferences. The North American communities movement has never been stronger!

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