
Community on the American Frontier:
Separate but not Alone

ROBERT V. HINE

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980; xii, 292pp., bibliography, illustrations, index, \$14.50, hardcover.

For a considerable portion of his productive professional career, historian Robert V. Hine of the University of California (Riverside) has researched, lectured, and written about America's frontier communities. His seminal *California's Utopian Colonies* appeared thirty years ago and a revised edition has just recently been published by the University of California (Berkeley, 1983, \$6.95 paperback). Despite its lean scale, *Community on the American Frontier* may well be Hine's *magnum opus*; unquestionably it is imperative reading for social/intellectual historians probing the birth and formation of towns.

Chapter One considers the "what, where, and why" of American communities. Thereafter follow chapters on Puritan communes, nomadic communities on the overland trails, "the frustrated community of camp and claim," farm cooperatives, Mexican and Anglo ranches, the ethnic colonies, and finally cooperative colonies.

A humane and modest man, notwithstanding national awards for both his teaching and his scholarship, Robert Hine's deep-seated compassion for his fellow humans repeatedly peeks out from these pages. How earnestly the author wants *civitas* to triumph over selfish aggrandizement. Like John Stuart Mill, Hine would prefer that a decorous melding of social responsibility and self-dependence be substituted for America's unbridled individualism. The final words of Hine's epilogue are not reassuring. We may, he concludes, "have to wait until the full effect of the westward movement is spent. Meanwhile, those who

cherish the common good and persevere in the cultivation of an integrated society should be thoughtfully aware of the so loosely tied, so quickly unbound communities on the American frontier" (p. 258).

If some historians find Hine's loosely tied generalizations rather discomforting—that is until they appreciate the prodigious labor the author has expended—sociologists and not a few psychologists and philosophers will applaud his brave reflective flights.

Community on the American Frontier invites adoption by any lay or academic discussion leader seeking fresh and inclusive reading for a divergent group of contemporaries. Certainly Hine's splendid summary is a hub study to which every spoke in the social sciences can find attachment. At the outset his prologue weighs what some of the past and present sages have speculated about the nature of community. Martin Buber, for example, believed "The primary aspiration of all history is a genuine community of human beings" (p. 3). Sociologist Robert A. Nisbet "identifies the dominant theme of our day as a pathetic quest of the uprooted individual's struggling for revelations of meaning ... seeking fellowship in some kind of moral community" (p. 3). For Frederick Jackson Turner "the propellant of American history, was individualism, not community" (p. 7). Should such opinions as these fail to awaken discussion, Hine's narrative conveniently sets up controversy: Josiah Royce describing America as disintegration and fragmentation is emphatically contradicted by Daniel Boorstin who applauds these "creative experiments in the building of community, unimpeded by obsession with values or theory" (p. 14). And for teacher and students alike, there is a Well-packed bibliography; and pathos aplenty in the diverse historic photos generously scattered throughout the text.

Congratulations to Professor Hine for his magnificent summation, a scholarly contribution which explores one of man's most fundamental quests: how to be separate but not alone.

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Gift Drawing and Gift Song: A Study of two forms of Shaker Inspiration

DANIEL W. PATTERSON

Sabbathday Lake, Maine: The United Society of Shakers, 1983; xiii, 112 pp., notes, 6 plates, 32 figures, index, \$34.95 hardcover; \$24.95 paperback.

I am not aware that the world recognizes gentle writing as a literary genre, particularly in academic circles. But perhaps it should, because

Daniel Patterson's book on Shaker art is a lesson in quiet scholarly passion. His passion is no less for careful, diligent, and thorough research than for the Shakers themselves, Patterson's scholarship does honor to the Shakers by its insistence on accuracy and its refusal to grant even the appearance of any reductionistic theorizing; he is speaking about, to, and for particular Shakers.

Perhaps one should always write or speak as if true believers are present. Certainly the guardians of the faith have found a fitting voice to lead the latest "revival" of Shaker life. Although this revival is academic, and therefore potentially dangerous and destructive, the cautious model established by Edward and Faith Andrews, insisted upon by Patterson, and now continuing in younger scholars such as Stephen Marini and Diane Sasson is neither biased nor blinded but is made more sensitive and perhaps more precise by the presence of active Shakers.

The hand of the Sabbathday Lake Shakers, in fact, is concretely and joyously seen in the quality of the publication itself. The touch of the paper, the care in the printing, the delicacy of the reproductions speak to the famous Shaker regard for deliberate care and craftsmanship. This book should linger among the chairs, the boxes, and the gift drawings themselves as an instructive artifact.

The importance of Mr. Patterson's book can hardly be overstated. He has recovered new works of art, catalogued a total of 194 pieces—according to his own identification of the artists—and offered the first fruits of a theoretical framework for assessing the work. That just over one hundred pages could contain so much information, so many years of research, is astonishing, but in this space Patterson has established the corpus of Shaker gift drawings. Patterson's work supersedes some of the information and most of the organization of Andrews' book, *Visions of the Heavenly Sphere*; unfortunately, the Andrews book is now out of print, just when many people will need to turn to its invaluable collection of illustrations.

As with any truly interesting work, Patterson's data and interpretation invite further discussion and questions. He has chosen to examine the gift drawings in the context of the gift songs, a decision which clearly helps him address the hiddenness and the mystery of the drawings, but which ultimately works to subsume their vitality and integrity. He concludes, for instance, that the music operated to bond the community, particularly through the worship services. Although he does uncover a surprising number of instances where the art may in fact have appeared in liturgical settings, he sees the art as limited in time and scope because it cannot carry the same weight as the music. But surely this is a curious comparison and one not completely helpful

in understanding the art itself. No religious tradition of which I am aware, with the exception of Eastern Orthodoxy, actually incorporates works of art into communal worship. On the one hand, then, the liturgical appearances discovered by Patterson suggest most unusual experimentation; on the other hand, the comparative framework limits the insight to apology rather than revealing its uniqueness.

The very presence of the gift drawings speaks to the complexity of believers' experience and expression, and it is this new analysis which Patterson's work makes possible. A second issue which Patterson raises will also require future assessment, and that is the fact that most of the work was produced by women in the community. Patterson suggests that, for a number of reasons, Shaker "women tended to express themselves emotively, men intellectually," and he sees the gift drawings, therefore, as affective statements. It is this assumption, I think, which prohibits him from seeing either the rationality of the drawings or their role as theological commentaries. These works were produced by mature women who had lived many years in their communities, and they are perhaps better viewed as attempts to unify ideas and feelings in a new form than as examples of traditional gender roles.

Additional areas for discussion are present in Patterson's intriguing suggestions. Beyond the fundamental issues I have mentioned, he points to the absence of a long tradition from which to evaluate the work, and he also raises interesting questions about the narrative mode, suggesting in one place that a drawing "more nearly resembles a short story" than a long work of fiction. But whatever direction future work on the gift drawings takes, every friend and scholar who is attracted to the Shakers will gladly acknowledge a debt to Dan Patterson and to this book, both for its invaluable information and for its spirit.

JANE F. CROTHWAITE
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Religion, Society, and Utopia in Nineteenth-Century America

IRA L. MANDELKER

Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984; [reviewed from proofs] bibliographical references, index, \$24.00 hardcover.

"The formation of a Utopian religious community bent on transforming the world holds out the promise of an earthly order that conforms

to an otherworldly sacred design. The cleavage between religious and secular order must be fused into a transcendent whole. . . . Utopian transcendence can only be maintained on a theoretical level. The Utopian community is still 'in the world/ alongside the outside world, and its members are only would-be and aspiring saints. Utopian institutions may very well transcend the tensions between religion and the world, but they are still worldly institutions that provide the locus for new tensions between religion and world" (p. 163).

This is the thesis which the sociologist of religion, Ira L. Mandelker, applies to the Oneida Community. Mandelker derives his argument in large part from Max Weber's underutilized essay, "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions." Prior to his extended discussion of John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community, in the first half of his book, Mandelker discusses Puritanism and the First and Second Great Awakenings in their religious, social, political, and economic settings.

Both parts of the book are based entirely on printed sources, many of them secondary. Very little manuscript material is available on Oneida, as all students of Noyes know, and the sources Mandelker uses and the topics he discusses, such as complex marriage and industrial production, will be familiar to specialists. Though heavily dependent on the dubious scholarship of Constance Noyes Robertson, *Oneida Community: The Breakup, 1876-1881* (1972), Mandelker's analyses of the tensions between religion and science in the beliefs of second-generation Oneida members, most particularly those of Dr. Theodore Noyes, are quite thoughtful. In general Mandelker is quite sensible and shrewd, and his book would make a useful introduction to Oneida for the general reader.

Mandelker skims part of the surface of an historiographically rich field. For example, his analysis of the social and political contexts of the Second Great Awakening deals quite well with Charles Grandison Finney, but ignores fifty years of careful work by many scholars concerning the abolitionists as social actors who grew from that revival. Concerning Noyes and the Oneida Community, Mandelker neither cites nor challenges the work of many historians who have already advanced the discussion of the meanings of that Utopia in quite sophisticated directions. I refer readers in particular to Robert David Thomas, *The Man Who Would Be Perfect: John Humphrey Noyes And The Utopian Impulse* (1977); Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of The Nineteenth Century* (1981); and Louis J. Kern, *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality In Victorian Utopias—The Shakers, The Mormons, and The Oneida Community* (1981).

MICHAEL FELLMAN

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A Sort of Utopia, Scarsdale, 1891-1981

CAROL A. O'CONNOR

Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983; x, 283pp., bibliography, illustrations, index, \$10.95 paperback; \$34.50, hardcover.

As Carol O'Connor points out in her introduction to this book, "the idea of acquiring a house in Scarsdale, or in a suburb like Scarsdale, is probably the most accessible version of the American dream of social mobility." She then examines how the citizens of the town created this version which has become a symbol for material success. They did not create it by accident, but by the combination of social pressures, legal prerogatives, and their own tax dollars. The title derives from a quotation by Millicent Carey McIntosh, president emeritus of Barnard College, who in 1964 described the village as "a sort of Utopia ... a place where above all others, perhaps, the problems of our times should be solved . . . especially those problems which are fundamental to our society."

The book is divided into eight chapters in which the author treats the evolution of the village from a nineteenth-century rural and agricultural community to a twentieth-century suburban haven for commuters. She deals with this evolution in a chronological manner and shows how the main issues of each era have affected that evolution. Appendix A is a very interesting break-down of the social and economic affiliations of the members of the Village Board of Trustees, 1915-1933. End matter includes notes that document and amplify the text, and a comprehensive index. Several maps give a clear picture of the location of the village in relation to New York City, as well as its subsequent zoning divisions. There is also a section of photographs and cartoons that add a graphic dimension to the text. The author has done a fine job of organizing the mass of research material and of presenting it in an interesting, readable manner. She handled the statistics and dates with ease and presents them in a clearly written format that is understandable and not overpowering.

The type of Utopia created in Scarsdale is exclusive—a feature it does not share with traditional Utopian communities. The slogan for this "sort of Utopia" dates to its late nineteenth-century beginnings as a suburban community, when the residents set a goal of "one house for one family on one lot." This is a far cry from the goals of such characteristic Utopian efforts as the Icarians, for example, who rallied round the motto "All for One, and One for All." The residents of Scarsdale sought a capitalistic Utopia in which the comforts of the society's achievers

would be augmented by the actions of a progressive local government; they were not interested in the sort of socialistic community that Thomas More envisioned.

As the author notes in her epilogue, although the ethnic makeup of the town has shifted and Scarsdale in the 1980's has been opened to fuller participation by all its residents, including women, it continues to conform to its own ideal of community: "A capitalistic Utopia, open to all of society's economic achievers with little regard to race, religion, or sex." In this respect, Scarsdale can be considered to have achieved its Utopian goal. But in spite of the author's best efforts at being fair, the reader comes away from the book with the impression that the residents of Scarsdale are unrealistically smug, insulated in a cocoon of their own making where all problems can be solved with money.

JANE DUPREE BEGOS

*The John Jay Homestead State Historic Site
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The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850

JOHN F. C. HARRISON

New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979; xvii, 277pp., notes, plates, illustrations, index, \$25.00, hardcover,

During the period 1790 to 1850, according to the historian J. F. C. Harrison, the great distress caused by the industrial revolution in the United Kingdom encouraged many people to look for some great deliverance from the jarring dislocations and changes battering the nation. There seemed to be so many injustices and so much evil in society that some people could not conceive of amelioration without divine intervention. As one Manchester citizen said, "We are on the eve of the most important event that ever occurred within the limits of creation, the destruction of Satan from the face of the earth, and the restoration of man to a state of purity and happiness equal to the one from which he fell." Using passages from Revelation and Daniel, charismatic visionaries and apocalyptic prophets tried to prove that the "cleansing of the sanctuary" would occur soon. Salvation, many of these mystics and antinomians proclaimed, would come to the faithful as a group and would be enjoyed collectively by the redeemed when the wicked world was utterly destroyed.

Harrison traces the history and influence of these beliefs in *The Second Coming*, a study of popular millennialist thought and culture in

Britain during the age of romanticism. The prototypical millenarian leader was Richard Brothers (1757-1824), the "nephew of the Almighty." His brief prophetic mission from 1792 to 1795 demonstrated that spiritual experiences, visions, supernatural manifestations, and especially a searing belief in millennialism were deeply embedded in British folk culture and popular religion. The followers of Brothers, with their inner-light doctrines and condemnation of society's Godless values and behavior, set the stage for the extraordinary career of Joanna Southcott (1750-1814). Southcott articulated a widely held belief that there was a direct relationship between the visible and invisible worlds that special individuals like herself could explain. Through her prolific pamphlet writing and preaching, Southcott developed a committed following of almost 20,000 people by 1815. Most of the Southcottians were servants, artisans, and petty tradesmen in the northern and Midlands industrial districts. Deeply dissatisfied with themselves and their society, they idolized Southcott because she promised the coming of Christ's kingdom. After her death, however, the movement split into competing sects and their doctrines disappeared by mid-century.

Harrison argues that British millenarianism greatly affected the United Society of Believers, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the Millerites. Unfortunately, however, Harrison's lengthy discussion of these groups is, in my view, incomplete (pp. 163-206). It seems to me that he downplays the British origins of the Shakers, the critically successful Mormon mission to England from 1837 to 1851, and the Millerite movement in Nottingham and the West Country from 1841 to 1846. American millenarians were certainly influenced by their British counterparts, and thus Harrison's unwillingness to go beyond the standard secondary sources will probably disappoint some communitarian scholars.

Harrison concludes, in sprightly fashion, that millenarianism was not synonymous with mental derangement. Millenarians simply refused to accept the culturally dominant values of elite culture and instead used their folk Christianity to develop a compelling belief in the imminent arrival of the Messiah and the Last Judgment. In both its secular and evangelical manifestations this perspective undergirded nineteenth-century communitarianism.

JAYME A. SOKOLOW

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The Spirit and the Flesh: Sex in Utopian Communities

ROBERT H. and JEANETTE C. LAUER

Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1983; viii, 244pp., notes, index, \$16.50, hardcover.

As the authors so poignantly infer and so well inform, "if variety is the spice of life, the Utopian communities offer us a delectable field of study, for they are no less diverse than humankind itself in the range of sexual practices." Utopian groups make for a fascinating and fertile field of study, and undoubtedly their histories can provide insight into why people leave traditional society to seek happiness in communal living.

In researching numerous communal societies, the Lauers examined the various sexual practices, the ideologues who justified the differing arrangements, various mechanisms of control, and the experiences of the participants. Sensitively and professionally discussed are erotic versus nonerotic intimate relationships, amative versus propagative functions of sex, sex in practice versus theory, male versus female sexuality, deviant versus normal sex, and traditional versus complex marriage.

Of utmost concern in the volume are the many conflicts, both internal and external, that confronted the Utopians, from the "mutual criticism" at Oneida to the threats of "mob action" against Friendship Community (Buffalo, Missouri). As the publication so well illustrates, prudery and ignorance flourished outside the community and this made for gossip, rejection, and harassment for these "different and strange" folk. But according to the Lauer's thesis, despite the outside and even inside interference, the Utopians were able to remain remarkably faithful to their beliefs.

Many questions are asked, and we are reminded that every society confronts certain problems that must be resolved. What kind of rules will we have about sexual relationships? What were the experiences of the people in the different communities? How were those varied arrangements maintained? And what do the experiences of the Utopians teach us about the nature of sexuality? This volume is not an exhaustive account of the variations, but it does illustrate the diversity by looking at a few important aspects of human sexuality.

The reader gets a glimpse of many communal groups, both historic and modern, including Amana, Bishop Hill, Ephrata, Father Divine, Oneida, New Harmony, Shakers, Zoar, Brotherhood of New Life, Cold Mountain Farm, Friendship Community, Kerista Village,

Spirit Fruit Society, and Twin Oaks. The authors, however, rely heavily upon the Shakers, Oneida, and New Harmony. Useful insight is given into many Utopian leaders, including Thomas Lake Harris, Ann Lee, Alcander Longley, John Humphrey Noyes, Robert Owens, and Father Rapp.

In sum, although it tends to be choppy and brief, *The Spirit and the Flesh* is a valuable contribution to our understanding of a unique but constant theme in American history—communitarianism. The Lauers have made a wide canvas for evidence, drawing imaginatively upon both secondary and primary sources, but especially noteworthy is the use of letters and diaries. While the story is not new, certainly social historians and sociologists will find the book most useful; however, it will also provide meaningful reading to even the generalist.

JOHN L. NETHERS

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Das Vergessene Volk: Ein Jahr bei den Deutschen Hutterern in Kanada

MICHAEL HOLZACH

Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 2nd ed., 1983; 277 pp., illustrations, photographs, hardcover.

The Hutterites received their name from Jacob Hutter, who in the sixteenth century continued the reformation of the Catholic Church introduced by Martin Luther and other reformers. In many parts of Europe any deviation from the tradition of the Catholic Church was severely punished. Executions by burning men and women at the stake or by drowning were common. Jakob Hutter, an outstanding leader, was burned at the stake in Innsbruck. His influence had been so significant that his followers became known as Hutterites.

For a while the Hutterites found shelter on large estates which needed reliable workers. Those who did find shelter with tolerant estate owners were not necessarily safe. If the estate owners were forced to discharge their workers, they fell into the hands of their enemies.

Some of the Hutterites learned about the Mennonites who had originated in the Netherlands. Many Mennonites were martyred, and some had fled to the Vistula River to till the soil in the swamps not far from Danzig (Gdansk). Later, some of them followed the invitation of

Catherine the Great to settle on the shores of the Dnieper River in the Ukraine. For many years they enjoyed freedom and many privileges because of their skill in farming. The Hutterites settled next to the Mennonites, but retained their communal living, and in some other ways deviated from the Mennonites. When Russia introduced military training for young men, Mennonites and Hutterites migrated in large numbers to the United States and Canada. Hutterites settled in North Dakota in the United States and Manitoba in Canada. They have now spread to Alberta, Canada, and elsewhere.

How did a Hamburg journalist, Michael Holzach, discover contemporary Hutterites, and how did he manage to be accepted by them so that he could live with them for an entire year? How did he fare as he adjusted to a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century communal life-style where ancient tradition prevails on all levels of life? He was an unusual journalist with a passion for understanding human development. One learns the answers to these questions by reading *Das vergessene Volk: Ein Jahr bei den deutschen Hutterern in Kanada*.

It is most unusual for a complete stranger to generate such confidence among these isolated people. They opened every facet of their past and present to help him get the full story of their life and history. All the writings from their beginning to the present were made available to him including a book of over 1000 pages by A. J. F. Ziegelschmid, devoted to the Hutterites, entitled *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder*, published in 1941. It constitutes the most complete scholarly record of the Hutterites.

For the general reader Holzach's story is very valuable. It is noteworthy that the Hutterites made available to Holzach all sources of information, be they in writing, observation, or reporting. In fact, the Hutterites were so attached to him they could not grasp why he was going to leave them after having lived with them for an entire year. Indeed, it was also hard for Holzach to bid them farewell. But he had another mission to fulfill.

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Marxists and Utopians in Texas

ERNEST C. FISCHER

Burnet, Texas: Eakin Press, 1980; x, 246pp., bibliography, illustrations, index, \$14.95, hardback.

There is a fair amount of interesting material in this book, but much of it is only vaguely related to Utopias and even more distantly concerned

with Marxism. The opening chapter on Jean Lafitte, for instance, asserts that none of the pirates owned any particular plot of ground, which would hardly be necessary since theirs was a maritime operation. The men also had a profit-sharing arrangement, but as the author himself suspects, such contracts had ancient roots among mariners. There is no connection with Marxism whatsoever, other than the repetition of the old story that Lafitte may have helped finance Karl Marx, but the author presents no evidence for this.

The chapters on French, German, and Mormon colonies also offer scant evidence of Marxism, though they are not as far from the subject as the first chapter. A later French effort, Victor Considerant's Reunion Colony, was genuinely communal, but this is an oft-told story and the author provides nothing new. The chapter on the Sanctified Sisters, a late-nineteenth-century women's commune in Bell County, bogs down on the question of whether the women would live with unsanctified husbands. Even this trivial question is not resolved, though this is probably the most engaging and original chapter in the book. Handfuls of twentieth-century Quakers and Danes are then dealt with in the author's usual meandering fashion.

Ordinarily Fischer is solicitous in tracking down local sources, but the Danish section on Kristenstad (which was not communal) would have benefitted considerably from a reading of Vaudrene Hunt's 1978 thesis at the University of Texas at Arlington, "Toward a History of Kristendstad." The failure of the colony, for instance, was traceable not only to the lifting of the Great Depression, but also to internal dissension and to misleading newspaper publicity that lured cranks and communists to the town.

This work is a product of considerable research in the localities involved and is obviously a labor of love, but Fischer ignores a number of major secondary works on communes that would have enhanced his study and placed it in context. The book is a miscellany of stories about small communal groups and near-communal groups and the times and places in which they lived. Only rarely does the author draw conclusions or even sift evidence. Each chapter is mostly a collection of facts tossed together randomly. The author states that his purpose is only to make people think. I suppose his book does that, but it is so filled with irrelevancies and so jerkily written that it is difficult to think about it coherently.

GEORGE N. GREEN

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Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France

THOMAS A. KSELMAN

New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983; x, 283pp., bibliography, illustrations, index, \$27.50, hardcover.

Nineteenth-century French Catholicism has often been harshly criticized as reactionary and superstitious, but Thomas A. Kselman argues that the Church's fostering of miracles and prophecies, and national cults based upon them, may be understood, at least in part, as an effort to come to terms with modernity. Miracles signified to the devout that the active power of a personal God was still operative in the modern world and, further, that He took a direct interest in the French people, despite or even because of their transgressions in the Enlightenment and Revolution. For the institutional Church, however, the miracles posed a dilemma. While they undeniably strengthened popular devotion, they also raised the possibility of supernatural grace being obtained outside the sacramental system of the Church. Thus the Church's attitude was often ambivalent until it developed procedures for institutionalizing and legitimating miraculous manifestations.

Professor Kselman's main theme is accordingly the interrelationship of popular religion and the institutionalized Church in affecting the reception and acceptance of miracles. His concern is not with the miracles themselves but rather with the factors at work in shaping the attitudes of those who responded to them. "Whether it was thunder or the voice of an angel that was heard," he notes, "is a theological question. The circumstances and attitudes that led some people to believe and others to disbelieve are the proper subject matter of the historian" (pp. 8-9). He pursues his investigation in five thematic chapters which deal with the social and political anxieties against which the reception of the miracles must be interpreted, and a sixth chapter on "the institutionalization of the miraculous," which examines the Church's methods of investigating miraculous claims, organizing national cults, and handling relations with the secular state.

Ranging over a variety of visions, healings, and prophecies, with particular emphasis on the healing cult surrounding Prince Hohenlohe (1820's), the visions of the Cross at Migne (1827) and the Miraculous Medal (1830), and the Marian appearances at La Salette (1846), Lourdes (1858), and Pontmain (1871), Kselman places them in the context of the religious legacy of the Revolution, folklore, public health, party politics, nationalism, and the development of Church doctrine. These strands are deftly woven together, and often lead to

intriguing insights, into, for example, the social characteristics of those most frequently cured at miraculous shrines, which are reminiscent of those accused of witchcraft in seventeenth-century England; the millennialistic qualities of Marian devotions and pilgrimages, especially after the defeat of 1871; the use of newspaper publicity and railroad transportation by the antimodernist Church to build support for national cults. Kselman concludes that miracles and prophecies persisted in nineteenth-century France because they gave meaning to people for whom contemporary secularism was empty and because they could be used by the Church against those intellectual, social, and political changes which threatened its position.

Kselman's well-documented and clearly written study is obviously the product of a sophisticated intelligence thoroughly at home in the sources. But the prospective reader should be aware of two limitations, one of them self-imposed. The book is rigorously confined to miracles and prophecies within French Catholicism, with only the most fleeting attention given to counterparts in contemporary radicalism, utopianism, occultism, and literature. And it assumes familiarity with French Catholicism of the period. There is no overview, no chronological chart, not even a narrative history of the miracles. In short, it is not for the reader who is seeking a brief account of the happenings at Lourdes, but it is a necessary and rewarding study for those who concern themselves with the extent to which secularization and modernization adequately describe the development of modern Western history.

ROBERT GALBREATH

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Ananda—Where Yoga Lives

JOHN BALL

Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1982; 232pp., photographs, \$14.95, hardcover; \$7.95, paperback.

Ananda presents what is essentially an insider's history of Ananda, a community based on the spiritual practice of yoga. The book covers the period from the arrival of the community's guru, Paramhansa Yogananda (author of *Autobiography of a Yogi*), in the United States in 1920 through 1981. During the course of the history, we are told about the discipleship of Kriyananda (formerly Donald Walters);

about his founding of Ananda in 1968; and about the trials, tribulations and triumphs of the community through 1981.

The history, which is based entirely on documents and interviews supplied by Kriyananda and present members, is organized around major crises which the community has faced and the "miraculous" resolution of these crises. The story is conveyed primarily through biographical sketches, which tell how and why specific individuals came to the community and how their arrival helped the community survive and prosper.

Taken on its own terms, the book succeeds admirably. The aim, as stated in the foreword by Kriyananda, is to "tell the story not for our own aggrandizement, but to share our inspiration with others and, hopefully, to reach the many thousands who might like to know more about our unique way of life" (p. 1). Those who read the book will, I think, come away with a reasonably good sense of how the community views itself and its own significance. For readers who are interested in finding out more about life at Ananda, Ball supplies addresses for obtaining copies of Ananda's publications and phone numbers for scheduling visits.

This book does, however, present problems for someone who desires a more critical examination of communal life. The discussion varies from an occasional skeptical remark about the claims made by community members to an almost worshipful acceptance of (to this congenital skeptic) the most outrageous of claims. For example, Ball hints that statements about the work of Yogananda, the group's deceased guru, may be exaggerated (p. 182). Yet he accepts the statement that a yogi can accomplish in three years what it takes nature a million by saying, "The word of such an authority is not to be questioned" (p. 183). This vacillation between veiled critical examination and open credulity leaves the reader, at least this reader, wondering whether even the more factual information is to be believed.

In summary, this book provides an insider's view of Ananda's history and significance. As such, it is quite useful. A more critical reader might usefully read this book in conjunction with Rosabeth Kanter's *Communes and Commitment* and Laurence R. Veysey's *The Communal Experience*. Kanter presents a more rounded view of the commitment processes which can lead to discipleship; Veysey of the history of the particular religious movement of which this group is a part.

STEVEN CARLTON-FORD

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Cooperative Communities: How to Start Them and Why

SWAMI KRIYANANDA

Nevada City, California: Ananda Publications, [®1968] 8th edition, 1979; x, 118pp., illustrations, \$4.95, paperback.

Communities of the current communal movement have often been criticized for a lack of serious intent or planning. In the first half of this book Swami Kriyananda clearly relates the rationale and plans which he developed over a lifetime of contemplation prior to the founding of Ananda Retreat and Ananda Cooperative Village. These theories are stated in the form of instructions to any who would attempt communal living. The book's promotional description states that it is "the authoritative work. . . . A synthesis of all research into the subject." The first half of the book was completed in 1968 and represents the basis on which the Ananda experiments began.

The second half of the book presents the story of the communities' actual development up to 1971 with an update from 1979. Examples of how the group did and did not follow the precepts outlined in the first half of the book are included. This account of Ananda's beginning and growth contains examples of how actual experience forced adjustments to theory. It also illustrates the existence of a base theory strong enough to survive adjustments forced by both nature and outside institutions.

Serious readers will quickly dismiss any claim to have placed a synthesis of all existing work into a 118-page book. While doing so, they may also recognize such statements as echos of claims of any number of other past and present communal leaders. Experiments of this nature seem often to be presented as either unique or the sum of all that occurred before.

The strengths of the book will be found in uses such as a beginning source for study of Ananda Cooperative Village or as comparative study of communal preplanning and experimental adjustment. Persons preparing to visit Ananda will find the easily read volume a positive introduction to the community. Students of the general movement will find valuable information of both theory development and practical reality. The book does show an awareness of the longer tradition and includes specific examples. Explanations of crucial issues are also included, NHCSA conference participants and others who have discussed the potential conflict of individual and community interests may find the explanations here to be of interest.

Viewed as a statement of communal intent and process combined with the story of a successful communal experiment, this volume may be of use to persons interested in either Ananda Cooperative Village or the general communal movement.

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