

The Court rejected Randolph's counter-arguments and the Justices refused to hear his claims, arguing that he could not ask for a writ of mandamus *ex officio*.<sup>38</sup> Importantly, the Supreme Court prevented any discussion of the constitutional implications of the Act, perhaps with the hope that the issue would resolve itself through Congressional action. If this was indeed the hope of the Justices, then they were greatly relieved when in 1793 Congress passed a new Invalid Pensions Act that largely repealed the offending provisions of the previous one. The Court had, in effect, refused to review an act of the legislature, and yet had still managed to force Congressional revision. The Court's actions highlight the confused nature of judicial review in 1792. The Supreme Court, it seems clear, did not covet the ability to strike down an act of the legislature. In fact, for those Justices who did refuse to implement the act while circuit riding, their decisions apparently caused them great consternation. The Supreme Court, by refusing to grant the Attorney General standing, wished to avoid reliving those feelings on an even grander scale. Perhaps the Court was admitting that it was not yet ready to take on the powers that it would gain in *Marbury v. Madison*.

What can *Hayburn's Case* tell students of American history about the early years of the judiciary? First, it reveals that extra-judicial office holding was commonplace in the early republic. The circuit courts' opinions often de-emphasized the issue of whether or not the work assigned to the judges was judicial in nature. The courts allowed individual *judges* to perform extra-judicial tasks. It was only when *courts*, acting in their institutional role, were asked to behave in a non-judicial manner that constitutional objections could be sustained. This demonstrates a relatively widespread acceptance of dual office holding by members of the judiciary. Secondly, and somewhat paradoxically, the court was asserting its independence from the other branches of government. Dual office holding by judges may have been acceptable, but review of a particular court's decision by the executive or legislative branches was not. Legislative encroachment on the judiciary was not only unsound, wrote the courts in *Hayburn's Case*, it was unconstitutional. Thirdly, the controversy surrounding *Hayburn's Case* reveals the extent to which the courts, Congress, and the people were engaged in a debate regarding the nature and powers of the judiciary in the new system of government. The polemical displays in the nation's newspapers serve to highlight the transformative process that the court was undergoing. The federal judiciary during the 1790s was not weak, dependent, and unimportant. Instead, it was undergoing a shift in identity that was witnessing the courts become stronger, more independent, and increasingly concerned with questions of constitutionality. It would be another ten years until judicial review was institutionalized, but its discourse was already active in the American political landscape in the spring and early summer of 1792.

38. The legal arguments involved in the Supreme Court version of *Hayburn's Case* are outside of the scope of this paper. See Maeva Marcus and Robert Teir, "Hayburn's Case: A Misinterpretation of Precedent," *Wisconsin Law Review*, July 1988 (1988 Wis. L. Rev. 527).

## Twin Oaks Community: Women's Liberation, Generational Divide, and the Evolution of Women's Culture

ERIN PASSEHL

"Among the communes that are functioning today, each following its separate star, its extremely doubtful if any will survive. But if any one of these, or any other that may come afterward, proves a single new thing to the remainder of civilization, then the entire communal movement will have shown itself a valid alternative approach to enhancing the essential humanness of man within a society."

-William Hedgepeth, *The Alternative: Communal Life in New America* (1970)

Although communes and intentional communities remain active in the twenty-first century, both are usually associated with the 1960s counterculture movement. The 1960s generated a boom in alternative lifestyles, where small groups of people lived together and shared work, food, and earnings. By 1970, the 'commune phenomenon' included over 2,000 active rural and urban communes in the United States.<sup>1</sup> In 1967, Twin Oaks Community emerged as an intentional community in Louisa, Virginia. Author Richard Fairfield has defined intentional communities as planned utopian ideals, where the ends and the means have an advanced outline.<sup>2</sup> Unlike communes, usually formed due to economic and social reasons, the design for intentional communities included a common purpose: to work cooperatively to create a lifestyle that reflects shared core values.<sup>3</sup> Twin Oaks designed its small community to include egalitarian values (equal political, economic, social, and legal rights of all members), which in turn promoted non-traditional gender roles.

Although certain communities like Twin Oaks attempted to abolish traditional gender roles found in mainstream society, a debate remains over whether alternative housing experiments actually offered equal opportunities for women. In practice, many communities continued traditional gender roles and sexist attitudes. The main problem that faced alternative communities was the inability to discard soci-

1 Bill Kovach, "Communes Spread as the Young Reject Old Values," *New York Times*, 17 December 1970, 1.

2 Richard Fairfield, *Communes USA: A Personal Tour* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972), 1.

3 Geoph Kozeny, "Intentional Communities: Lifestyles Based on Ideals," 1995, <http://www.ic.org/pnp/cdir/1995/01kozeny.html> (5 April 2004).

etal influences. There remains a generational debate over whether the second-wave of the women's liberation movement had any affect on alternative communities. More specifically, did the women's liberation movement of the late 1960s have any affect on intentional communities that claimed to practice gender equality, such as Twin Oaks? Descriptions offered by female members throughout the existence of Twin Oaks Community show that the activist element of the women's liberation movement brought awareness to a female-consciousness at Twin Oaks, as well as showcased gender inconsistencies among personal, social, and cultural norms at Twin Oaks. The women's liberation movement both directly and indirectly influenced the female members at Twin Oaks Community through the encouragement of improved female relationships, the acknowledgment of inconsistent gender policies, the short-term practice of separatist behavior, by stimulating a new awareness among women through a feminist marketing campaign, and instigating a push for a permanent women's culture.

### The Skinner Influence

The foundation for Twin Oaks Community came from a modern utopian novel, *Walden Two*, published in 1948 by B.F. Skinner. A prominent psychologist at Harvard University, Skinner studied behaviorism, or the idea that all human behavior is externally conditioned. At the time of publication, Skinner received criticism for his idea of utopia based on externally correcting behavior. *Walden Two* did not receive popular ratings until the 1960s, where it had an enormous effect at universities and community colleges. One of the original founders of Twin Oaks, Kat Kinkade, first encountered *Walden Two* while attending community college in California. Kat borrowed her professor's copy of *Walden Two* and remembered how, "*Walden Two* changed my life. I saw everything I wanted in that book. I imagined myself completely happy in this society. I imagined myself being able to find the mate of my dreams. I fell in love with *Walden Two*, and I remained so for many years. It was the passion of my life."<sup>4</sup>

After being empowered by *Walden Two*, Kat answered an advertisement in the *Saturday Evening Literature* looking for people with an interest in *Walden Two* to move to Washington, D.C. In 1966, Kat and her teenage daughter Josie moved in with these three men, who in actuality did not practice the utopian ideals found in Skinner's novel. Kat became "quite disillusioned and disgusted when [she] discovered quite early that egalitarianism was not a main principle of other communities. Equality was not what most of them were after."<sup>5</sup> For example, two of the three men expected Kat to join a group marriage arrangement. Kat instead fell in love with the third man, George, and soon left Walden House. The couple attended a conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1967 where they met six others seriously interested in creating a utopian society like that found in *Walden Two*. A farmer offered over a hundred acres of land in rural Virginia to the group. They accepted and moved to Louisa County in 1967 to embark on the path to utopia.

### 1967 - 1971: The Early Years

The founding ideology at Twin Oaks Community differed from many alternative communities, mainly in its view of technology, drug, and alcohol use. Unlike the majority of alternative communities

4 Interview with Kathleen Kinkade, 21 March 2003, Mineral, Virginia.

5 Kinkade Interview, 21 March 2003.

that viewed technology as an arm of middle-class, suburban America, Twin Oaks embraced technology for mostly economic reasons. Twin Oaks also prohibited drugs and alcohol, contrary to most other communities. Twin Oaks believed drug use was counterproductive to maintaining friendly neighbors, and therefore rejected visitors and members involved in the drug scene. Remaining differences in ideology included the labor credit system, behavior code, egalitarianism, and governance found at Twin Oaks Community.<sup>6</sup>

When Twin Oaks Community began in June 1967, Kat was the only female member, besides her teenage daughter Josie. Sexist ideology existed amongst members at Twin Oaks, even though the Community tried to "keep the outside world out, with all of its racist, sexist, and discriminatory actions."<sup>7</sup> Even though Twin Oaks offered and encouraged non-traditional gender role positions, the Community's newsletter, *The Leaves of Twin Oaks*, acknowledged, "generally speaking, the kitchen is still handled by women."<sup>8</sup> Female members remained the top recruits for daily kitchen duty and dishes. Even Kat, who claimed Twin Oaks did not have any looming sexist ideology, made a few inconsistent remarks during her interview. For example, Kat said non-sexist males have a downside, that, "Twin Oaks men have no muscle, and for women who see that bit of machismo as a turn-on, it is a complete letdown. Sometimes the men found at Twin Oaks are not considered sexually attractive, but their beliefs in equality redeem this. Younger people tended to think this were fine, but people my age see it as something missing, because men are supposed to be more exciting."<sup>9</sup> These two examples display how sexism still existed at Twin Oaks, regardless of its egalitarian principles.

In contrast to the beginning, the years 1969 and 1970 saw an increase in new female members. As the community increased in size, other "competent" women arrived, women who had had some exposure to the women's liberation movement.<sup>10</sup> As a community that prided itself on gender equality, members of the older generation did not believe the women's liberation movement had any effect on Twin Oaks. Other members just did not agree with female empowerment amongst members. Incoming female members continually said, "we are not free of our cultural conditioning, which is embedded in the individual...cultural change can only occur through a conscious re-orientation of our own self-images."<sup>11</sup> Female members of the older generation acknowledged that new, younger members brought radical ideas on female equality with them to Twin Oaks.

The introduction of this new focus on female sisterhood at Twin Oaks instigated feelings of resentment by at least one member. Kat remembered,

[The new female members] wanted to have a meeting about empowering women, and I thought, 'empower them about what? What's wrong with the power they have now?' One woman took the floor and wanted us to explore and talk about the resentments we all have

6 For in-depth information surrounding Twin Oaks' labor credit system, behavior code, governance, or egalitarianist principles, see Kat Kinkade's memoirs of her time at Twin Oaks with: *A Walden Two Experiment: The First Five Years of Twin Oaks Community* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1973), and *Is It Utopia Yet? An Insider's View of the Twin Oaks Community in its Twenty-sixth Year* (Louisa, VA: Twin Oaks Publishing, 1994).

7 Kinkade Interview, 21 March 2003.

8 "Equal Work for Women," *The Leaves of Twin Oaks*, November 1967, 2.

9 Kinkade Interview, 21 March 2003.

10 Marnie Oats, "Twin Oaks," *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, 2:4, 30.

11 Kit Leder, "Women in Communes," *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, Fall 1969, 1:1, 34-35.

against the domination of the male. And I said, 'does anybody here feel oppressed by Twin Oaks males?' And she said, 'some of us here feel oppressed by you.' Therefore, I got up, left, and never went back. In a way, that was my introduction and exit to the women's liberation movement within the Community.<sup>12</sup>

Kat's feelings reflected the concern of woman part of an older generation at Twin Oaks. Kat did not associate the second-wave of the women's liberation movement with Twin Oaks. Kat described how during this infiltration at Twin Oaks, incoming female members "expected me to whimper about how I repent all males! And how they did this and that to me!"<sup>13</sup> As one of the co-founders who thought gender equality had been satisfied, Kat grappled with questions of why members thought the women's liberation movement needed to play a role within the Community. Twin Oaks did make a point to incorporate equality in terms of non-traditional gender roles, jobs, and positions but did not offer any connection to female consciousness or women's culture. With the younger female generation taking up these ideals both at Twin Oaks and within mainstream American society, it looked as if there was no escaping the storm that was brewing.

#### 1972 - 1979: The "Radical" Years

The next seven years brought enormous change to Twin Oaks Community, including an increase in female membership, the introduction of children, and an activist female population base. Through each change, the Community struggled to keep a balance between male and female members. The years 1972 through 1979 saw the greatest turnover towards radical behavior and philosophies that affected Twin Oaks Community for years afterward.

By the end of 1972, the *Leaves of Twin Oaks* newsletter depicted new concerns. An article revealed that the women's movement did have an effect on the Community, and claimed that, "Women's liberation is a serious concern at Twin Oaks."<sup>14</sup> Such articles appealed to certain females both inside and outside Twin Oaks. The call for liberation aggravated members across the generational divide that thought there was no warrant for a voice of female liberation. Literature highlighted that as long as Twin Oaks embraced non-traditional gender roles, women were not "exploited economically, sexually, or socially."<sup>15</sup> Informal networks among young women demonstrating in large cities such as Washington, D.C. and Charlottesville made members returning to Twin Oaks after day trips to the cities question gender equality even at their intentional community.

Although they lived in a community that strove for equality, women recognized that, "living here [Twin Oaks] has, for many of us, stifled or made us pessimistic concerning our original utopian dream...we believe in equality, yet we are unable to face the staggering implications of total and real social equality."<sup>16</sup> Women recognized that problems of sexism and chauvinism still existed at Twin Oaks

12 Kinkade Interview, 21 March 2003.

13 Ibid.

14 Kristina Neuman and Henry Wilhelm, "A Radical Commune," *Modern Utopia*, Winter 1969-1970, 4: 1, 3-11.

15 "The Woman's Film," *The Leaves of Twin Oaks*, February 1972, 10.

16 Editorial Research Reports, "Communal Farms Become Paradise Lost," *Racine Journal Times*, 26 August 1971.

and tried to address the problem. One example included the adoption of a measure from a New York women's liberation group to change pronouns like 'he, she, him, her' to the prefix "wo." Twin Oaks Community believed that people did not immediately distinguish between sexes in written and verbal references. Since sexism continued to plague certain areas of the Community, it seems the use of the prefix "wo" did not change the way people thought about sex, only their reference to sex.

Female ideals quickly became more radical. For example, "instead of women wanting an equal or bigger slice of the pie, women wanted a separate pie. This type of feminism examined male-dominated societal underpinnings and looked for a more separatist reaction and end."<sup>17</sup> Some female members at Twin Oaks adopted this radical school of feminist thought. This happened simultaneously with,

"Women vocalizing their resentment at what seemed to be the undervaluing of their femininity. They noted that the distinction between feminine and equal seemed considerably larger than that between masculine and equal. In fact, the latter two terms are nearly interchangeable; the more masculine, the more equal."<sup>18</sup>

This attitude prevailed throughout Twin Oaks amongst the female population. Female members felt "that the challenge of equality was directed against them: to be equal meant to be able to do a 'man's job' as well as a man could do it."<sup>19</sup>

These ideals pushed Twin Oaks Community to overemphasize opportunities for women in non-traditional gender work roles. The largest effect took place within the automotive department at Twin Oaks. Normally a male-dominated role, women demanded to learn the duties of a mechanic and took charge of the auto mechanic department at the Community. Twin Oaks had three communal vehicles that called for constant upkeep and repair. Problems arose with women learning the basics on one type of vehicle without being able to transfer their skills to a different vehicle. In an attempt to emphasize the reversal of traditional gender roles, Twin Oaks purchased two cars of the exact same type and model so that women could continue to enhance their automotive skills. While women from the older generation saw this as unnecessary, this example displayed the Community's new role in promoting non-traditional gender roles.

Along with physical changes in women's work at Twin Oaks came philosophical adaptations amongst female members. During this seven-year time span, female members formed discussion groups to develop new guidelines for the Community regarding gender equality. The formation of a 'feminist philosophy discussion group' in which women read feminist theory books and discussed how the ideas shaped or affected Twin Oaks became a popular way amongst the younger generation to explore female opportunities. Another popular initiative included all-female construction crews for future developments at Twin Oaks.

Male members publicly reacted to this new feminine agenda by wearing skirts, mainly to poke fun at the changes women demanded for Twin Oaks. Not all male responses poked fun at women. Rudy Nesmith, one of the co-founders of Twin Oaks, wrote a memo that correlated the effects of the

17 Interview with Valerie Renwick-Porter, Twin Oaks Community, Louisa, Virginia.

18 Lani Wheeler Higgins, "Not Yet Utopia: A Study of Twin Oaks Community, 1967-1976," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1979, 46.

19 Higgins, 45.

women's liberation movement with new measures taken in response to the birth of children within the Community. Rudy delivered a memo that read,

"A good society would make child-bearing necessary only for those deserving it through birth control, with an emphasis on the well-being of the child ... I propose in a society like ours that is truly concerned about women's liberation and children as people two drastic departures from the conventional system. First, there would be an attitudinal shift from the maternal mystique to the child culture centered viewpoint. Secondly, the raising of children would be handled by experts, as in *Walden Two*."<sup>20</sup>

Rudy connected women's liberation with alternative forms of childcare. This memo had a direct affect on Twin Oaks Community with the introduction of the Meta Program.

The Meta Program, which began in 1972, offered an alternative ideology to childcare and parenting for members within the Community. Under the Meta Program, children became property of the Community. The majority of Community members believed kids belonged to the entire community rather than individual parents.<sup>21</sup> To implement this idea, children went to live at Degania, the house designated as children-only, immediately after the completion of nursing. Volunteers called 'metas' watched the children living in Degania while parents maintained an outside position, with little individual power or responsibility over their child. One mother named Martha explained, "it was not inappropriate to love your baby, it was inappropriate to use that attachment to make yourself the center of that baby's universe."<sup>22</sup> Under the Meta Program, many Twin Oakers believed the Meta Program liberated women from the conventional duties of child rearing, which allowed women to fulfill other parts of their lives. As Marnie Oats wrote in *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, "we will see whether our liberation is complete enough for us to raise children without the repressive limitation of sexual discrimination. Then we will know the full potential of free women and men."<sup>23</sup>

The idea of raising children without sexual discrimination appealed to many members of Twin Oaks. In a 2003 interview with Debby Bors, she argued that the women's movement definitely affected the Community. Debby pointed to changes at Twin Oaks, including the alteration of children's books at Twin Oaks. Debby described how,

"Children's books were divided as sexist and non-sexist. If sexist, books underwent changes to make them non-sexist, such as the addition of female characters if previously male. Members deliberately added words or letters to make a book non-sexist. The idea that children would grow up with sexual distinctions in books kept members working hard in order to reverse the same patriarchal thinking that women had fought against."<sup>24</sup>

Whether one is discussing the mobilization of women's groups, the push for non-traditional gender

20 Rudy Nesmith, "Women's Liberation," 1972.

21 Interview with Mala Ghoshal, 21 March 2003, Twin Oaks Community, Louisa, Virginia.

22 Ingrid Komar, *Living the Dream: A Documentary Study of the Twin Oaks Community* (Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1983), 203.

23 Oats, 30.

24 Interview with Debby Bors, 21 March 2003, Twin Oaks Community, Louisa, Virginia.

roles, or the Meta childcare program, Twin Oaks Community underwent radical changes in both its ideology and actions during the 1970s. These revolutionary changes received both widespread criticism and positive recognition. In a backlash to this new, bold female empowerment, the next twenty years brought a somewhat separatist nature to women's culture, consciousness, and liberation.

### 1980 - 1999: Separatist Overtones

The new decade experienced a shift from radical behavior towards a female separatist movement at Twin Oaks Community. Radical thoughts on women's liberation, along with female consciousness and culture, continued to influence members but challenged the rules and ideology of Twin Oaks. Challenges included an increase in new female discussion groups, a call for the formation of a women's housing development, and an annual women's gathering.

A formalized women's culture began to take shape as the type of women's groups diversified. Popular groups included women's sweats, where women participated in aerobics together; women's dinners, lunches, and teas where women discussed important issues that faced the Community; and weekly meetings.

The weekly women's meetings offered participants a feeling of acceptance. Margaret, a Twin Oaker highly involved in women's groups in 1980, confirmed that,

"One of the most reliable sources of support has been my women's group, a weekly gathering of four to seven committed women. We sympathize and strategize. We talk about what is happening in our personal and interpersonal lives. We give a stable support from which to grow and empower ourselves. We organize women's events and work on political issues."<sup>25</sup>

These meetings allowed women to discuss important issues without feeling intimidated by the presence of the opposite sex. Emotional and psychological stability within a small group of women empowered them to seek institutional change within the Community.

Female members attempted the formation of a women's small living group (SLG) in 1981. A number of women expressed that they wanted a separate dormitory exclusively for women. The women's SLG quickly became a controversial topic, due to the seemingly separatist principles that guided its formation, similar to arguments against the women's conference on speculums in 1978.<sup>26</sup> Twin Oaks, along with women of the older generation, did not want to condone separatist behavior because it went against the egalitarian principles that founded the Community. The younger generation of women claimed the SLG did not serve a separatist function because men could visit in the main living area during the day. The construction of the all-female SLG happened, but only after a tough fight. Current female members eluded that if not for the momentum of women's liberation at Twin Oaks during the 1970s, this living arrangement would have never taken place.

25 Komar, 186 (Margaret's surname not included in this text).

26 Ingrid Komar discusses the separatists' arguments in "Speculum '78 - A Look at Ourselves," the first women's conference held in 1978. Some Twin Oaks men and women thought the separatism of an exclusively female conference conflicted with the community's basic egalitarian core value. For more details on the conference and reactions, see Ingrid Komar, *Living the Dream: A Documentary Study of the Twin Oaks Community* (Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1983), 187.

The creation of an annual women's conference in 1983 tops the list of major changes during this twenty-year period. Female members at Twin Oaks pursued a weekend-long conference to bring together female members of Twin Oaks with women in Louisa County. Women wanted the conference to fulfill different interests and serve as a way to advance practical information about women's issues while having fun. The Women's Gathering included live music by female bands, lectures on women's health issues, and multiple small group workshops. The conference created a bridge between women at Twin Oaks and those in Louisa County.

Contrary to the positive feedback the conference received, many women of the older generation disapproved of the Women's Gathering. During her interview, Kat recalled how she tolerated the conference because it only occurred once a year; Kat, however, disliked the Gathering because it had "overtones of lesbianism...I did not (and still do not) like the feel of women who get up on stage and their breasts are hanging out and they are hanging on to each other, and they are chanting some words to a silly dance; I just feel stupid. As a woman I feel I do not belong and that I do not want to belong."<sup>27</sup> Although the Gathering offered a theater where women could connect, many female members felt turned off by what seemed like silly and abrasive behavior.

The Women's Gathering became an annual event despite deep criticism. The success of the Women's Gathering called for an increase in all-female activities. The annual Women's Gathering, the women's SLG, and new women's groups created a female-oriented culture and awareness at Twin Oaks. With the onset of dislike for activities with "overtones of lesbianism," the few lesbian and bisexual members deserted Twin Oaks and took most of the female culture with them. By the early 1990s, Twin Oaks had experienced a substantial downward trend in female membership. By 1995, Twin Oaks desperately needed a new female member base to maintain what little female activities remained.

### 2000 - 2003: Something Old, Something New

After a sharp decline in female membership in the 1990s, Twin Oaks Community experienced a sudden rise in female visitors. Valerie Renwick Porter, the current community outreach planner, remarked in her interview how the previous visitor manager had slanted community visits to include only women.<sup>28</sup> This tactic brought eleven lesbians to the Community, along with what seemed like the promise of a revitalized female culture. Once Valerie became the new visitor manager and put a stop to such an unethical practice, results included, "a lot more men, a lot less lesbians, and a completely changed culture."<sup>29</sup> Struggling to retain and attract female members, Valerie decided to "put out a feminist agenda because that was the reality I wanted to create and that was the reality we had before. So we started putting a lot more into our outreach literature that we are feminist, and as a result in the past two years the tide has shifted again."<sup>30</sup>

The feminist agenda outlined by Valerie included a new marketing campaign to "attract feminist women interested in promoting a female-friendly environment."<sup>31</sup> Twin Oaks became known as a 'fem-

27. Kinkade Interview, 21 March 2003.

28 Renwick-Porter Interview, 21 March 2003.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

inist ecovillage' on its website in the year 2001. Twin Oaks adopted this buzzword to connect with other alternative and sustainable groups with similar attributes such as the promotion of solar power and sustainable building practices. Three communities (Twin Oaks, Dancing Rabbit, and Earth Haven) came together and formed the feminist ecovillage project. All three groups displayed advertisements, posters, and maintained the web page to advertise to eco-sensitive women. Valerie believed it was important to label the communities as feminist because of the importance this new generation of women placed on gender roles.

Not surprisingly, many members disagreed with the feminist marketing campaign. In her interview, Mala Ghoshal stated how,

"Only some Twin Oaks consider Twin Oaks an ecofeminist village. We only put that name in some of our propaganda, it is not involved in everything we say and do. As far as the definition goes, I would say we are feminist, an ecovillage evolving is more accurate...my qualm about advertising ourselves as an ecofeminist village is that we did not start out that way and that it was not the original purpose. Some people come here and expect an ecovillage, and I think they are shocked that some people eat meat and we use power from the nuclear power plant. I guess the idea is that it will push us more in that direction if we advertise our self in that direction, but I do worry about it creating false expectations on the part of people who come here."<sup>32</sup>

As outlined by Mala, Twin Oaks embraced new marketing tactics and favorable classifications to permanently boost female membership.

New female members that joined Twin Oaks after the feminist marketing campaign brought feminist ideals and relentlessly pushed for a revitalized women's culture. This pleased the younger generation of women looking for these attributes, but predictably angered the rest of the Community. Regardless, female members met in June 2002 to discuss women's culture at Twin Oaks: past, present, and future. Members agreed that female culture had been livelier in the past and it seemed there was interest in reinvigorating the women's culture scene.<sup>33</sup> Female participants acknowledged that trends of women's culture and consciousness changed with the times and that it was time to pool together both old and new resources to form a permanent women's culture at Twin Oaks Community.

Previous activities such as women's sweats and women's teas made a comeback after the meeting. New ideas for a revitalized women's culture included the celebration of full moon rituals, monthly potluck dinners, and International Women's Day. Since that meeting, potluck dinners have been extremely popular amongst both women at Twin Oaks and within Louisa County. The celebration of International Women's Day has since become a week filled with female-oriented activities that lead up to the actual day with a production of the *Vagina Monologues* performed by women at Twin Oaks. All five women interviewed distinguished the week leading up to International Women's Day as "having the most feeling of solidarity."<sup>34</sup> Valerie described how, "it really empowered me and I think it is the best

32 Ghoshal Interview, 21 March 2003.

33 Notes From the "Women's Culture at Twin Oaks," Twin Oaks Community, Discussion, 9 June 2002.

34 Interviews conducted at Twin Oaks Community, Louisa, Virginia, 2003.

thing I have done since I got here.”<sup>35</sup> Female members grew so excited with the anticipation of a future women’s culture at Twin Oaks that another idea emerged: to send a personalized letter to every female visitor. The letter currently addresses women’s issues at Twin Oaks and goes as far to say, “The women’s movement is alive here and we would like to have more woman-energy around, so we are putting out special efforts to reach women.”<sup>36</sup>

Although some members believe that the continuation of a female revival at Twin Oaks is unnecessary, recent activity shows otherwise. Three out of five women interviewed mentioned that sexism and the continuation of traditional gender roles still exists at Twin Oaks. The most recent example of sexism had occurred the week before the interviews took place. Debby overheard two men discussing the week surrounding International Women’s Day, saying they ‘could not wait until all this vagina crap was over with.’” Valerie responded by placing a 3 x 5 card on the main bulletin board (a common practice to voice complaints), which said she “could not wait for this patriarchy crap to be over with.”<sup>37</sup> Mala acknowledged that although women currently have equal access to power, most jobs remain gender traditional. Most of the maintenance jobs remain performed by men, whereas women still sew and do laundry. Although individual members choose their jobs, both sexes tend to stay within comfortable, traditional gender roles.

### Conclusion

In 1970, Twin Oaks Community aimed “to experiment with the social order on a small scale, to find out what combination of structures and norms best satisfies people and best promotes peace and harmony.”<sup>38</sup> During the past thirty-four years, members of Twin Oaks have continued with these aims despite periods of change and unrest.

Both intentional and unintentional experiments with the social order have occurred since 1967. It seems that as a result of experimenting with egalitarian principles, the Community encouraged non-traditional gender roles. With the acknowledgment that these jobs did not fill the void of an absent women’s culture, a new focus on female consciousness and sisterhood blossomed. With the introduction of this focus, it became clear that the second-wave of the women’s liberation movement helped improve female relationships at the Twin Oaks Community, contrary to what some women of the older generation thought.

After the women’s liberation movement pushed for women to reconsider their role in society, female members took it upon themselves to create a strong women’s culture. This took a radical form in the 1970s, which upset both male and older female members. These feelings continued into the next decade due to separatist actions taken by female members who called for an all-female small living group. After two decades of trying to create a better environment through the separation of women from men, women saw that positive change came not necessarily with their “independence,” but from working

35. Renwick-Porter Interview, 21 March 2003; Bors Interview, 21 March 2003.

36. Twin Oaks Community, “Systems and Structures: Letter to Women TO-E1,” *Federation of Egalitarian Communities* website, <http://www.thefec.org/system-structure/twin-oaks/letter-women-to-e1.htm> (27 April 2003).

37. Ghoshal Interview, 21 March 2003.

38. Oats, 30.

together with all members, regardless of sex.

In 2000, female members initiated a new marketing campaign to attract new members. At a time of low female interest, Twin Oaks redefined itself as a ‘feminist ecovillage’ in hopes of stimulating a new female awareness in both current and prospective members. This initiative has since gathered support and awareness by participating in both feminist and ecological events with other feminist ecovillages in the United States.

Even at the beginning, Twin Oaks Community quickly determined what structures satisfied its members. The unique labor credit system, behavior code, and initiation of communal childcare to benefit the mother’s personal needs have met constant membership approval since implementation. Twin Oaks has developed a strong relationship with people in the surrounding community, most notably through its annual Women’s Gathering and intolerance of drugs and alcohol. Twin Oaks continues to have improved relationships with females in the surrounding community by adding new elements to its present women’s culture. Recently, female members have taken great strides to promote the need for women’s shelters, sexual assault prevention, and counseling groups in the Charlottesville and Richmond areas. Twin Oaks Community has finally determined that although it offers an alternative to the ‘evils’ of the outside world, it is important to communicate and share with the surrounding communities. Regardless of the adversity certain female initiatives have faced, members now agree that a permanent women’s culture is necessary to promote and extend Twin Oaks Community.

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## The Tragic Components of Chinese Communism as Analyzed through Max Weber's "Politics as Vocation"

BRIAN KAUFMAN

The history of China under Communist rule has been nothing short of tragic. The Three Difficult Years (1959-61), the Cultural Revolution, the Tiananmen massacre, and years of totalitarian cultural, economic, and political oppression are the sad legacy of Maoist rule. Paradoxically, these tragic consequences arose from the loftiest of intentions—Li Ta-Chao and the Chinese Marxists' desire to build a strong, independent China free from the social, economic, and political repression of the past.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Communism succeeded in achieving Li's primary purpose: to mobilize the Chinese people. Li, however, underestimated the power of the ideology he helped unleash in China. The utopian vision built into Communism possessed a driving force of its own, which drove China into a perennial struggle for an unachievable goal. The necessities inherent in ruling through a utopian ideology—the struggle for re-legitimization under unrealistic pretenses—led to the calamitous reality of Communist rule in China. This paper will examine how Li Ta-Chao adapted the Marxist system to China, why his vision of Communism was eventually able to mobilize the people, how the very mobilization of the system led to an alienation of the system from its practitioners, and why this alienation led to calamitous ends and not to the desired future.

Through his insightful analysis of politics in the seminal essay "Politics as Vocation,"<sup>2</sup> Max Weber provides a framework by which to understand the failure of Communism in China. In "Politics as Vocation," Weber is centrally concerned not with the specificities of doctrine and ideology that preoccupied the political scientists of his time, but with the underlying elements that define and determine success in political practice. His essay penetrates to the core of leadership, prescribing the mode of thinking and personal qualities vital to sound rule. Central to Weber's analysis are his concepts of the "Ethics of Responsibility" and the "Ethics of Intention." Weber describes the "Ethics of Intention" as a misguided system, by which the central, overwhelming focus of the politician is a long-term, ideologically based, often utopian goal. The primary fault in the use of the "Ethics of Intention" as compass is its tendency to justify any short-term actions, regardless of their ill effects,

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2. Max Weber, "Politics as Vocation," in *Max Weber: Selections in Translation* ed., W.G. Runciman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978).