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## Abstract

*This paper explores social and political events of the late 1950s and '60s that gave rise to a new wave of religious movements, and out of them, new religious communities in the United States. This paper specifically focuses on economic affluence, social activism, increasing education levels, and the Immigration Act of 1965 as the major social and political factors that sparked the development of these new religious movements. Three categories of religious communities are used as case studies representing the new wave of religious movements: Eastern religious communities, New Age religious communities, and the Jesus Movement communes. While communities of each category responded to the social and political changes of the '60s differently, this paper attempts to bring together those various responses and show them as representative of the general counterculture movement already in full swing during the 1960s. Many of the communes that resulted from these new religious movements were short-lived, often with a high turnover rate and short tenure, but they nevertheless signify a turning point in American religious thought that remains relevant today.*



# RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES OF 1960s AMERICA

by Amy Hart

Utopian communities or communes enjoy a long, diverse tenure in the United States. From isolationist and anti-technology Christian communities like the Shakers and Hutterites to primarily economic-equality-focused utopias like Oneida and Brook Farm, communes have existed and even thrived in the United States for centuries. In the late 1950s and '60s, however, the goals and motivations of these communities began to shift. The social and political events of the late 1950s and '60s produced the ideal environment for the rise of new religious movements, and out of them, new religious communities. Until this period, most religious communities shared at least some link with the Judeo-Christian tradition, but the new communes of the 1960s adopted the emerging religions of the East as well as the "New Age" spirituality made popular during this time. Many factors contributed to this new orientation in communes: the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965; timely social movements including feminism and civil rights; and the anti-war movement and resultant political disillusion. These social concerns came to the forefront for the youthful counterculture in the '60s, which ultimately helped form the new religious movements emerging during the era. In their most extreme

form, these religious movements resulted in established religious communities that were at odds with the primarily Judeo-Christian models of the past. Three of these new types of religious communities will be explored in this essay: Eastern religious communities, New Age spiritualist communities, and communes of the Jesus movement. Each of these types of communities responded to the social and political changes of the '60s differently, but their reactions all represent significant parts of the American countercultural movement, and in many ways, the continued direction of American religion today.

The “hippie movement” of the 1960s often brings to mind drugs, free love, and back-to-nature lifestyles. While all of these elements existed in the hippie-oriented intentional communities of the time, those communities actually comprised a numerical minority of the emerging communal living environments. Most emerging communes of the '60s focused on a strictly defined spiritual aim, particularly the communes based on Eastern religious practice and the communities of the new Jesus movement.<sup>1</sup> Of those who were drawn to the new religious movements of the 1960s, the most dedicated and outspoken members lived in organized religious communities. To the extent that religion signifies a foundational shift in the 1960s — as one author wrote: “Nothing changed so profoundly in the United States during the 1960s as American Religion”<sup>2</sup> — the study of religious communities provides one of the most helpful lenses into the cultural shifts of the 1960s.

The concept of an intentional community is still largely foreign in many circles. An intentional community, as referred to here, follows the guidelines given in *The Encyclopedic Guide to American Intentional Communities*, which states that intentional communities:

1. Must be gathered on the basis of some kind of purpose or vision
2. Must live together on property that has some kind of clear physical commonality to it
3. Must have some kind of financial or material sharing; some kind of economic commonality
4. Must have a membership of at least five adults, not all of whom are related by blood or marriage<sup>3</sup>

The term “commune,” as distinct from an “intentional community,” usually refers to a community that pools its resources among its members. Many communities have shifted on the issue of resource sharing over the years of their existence, however, and so for the purpose of this essay the two terms will be used interchangeably. In short, intentional communities are communities where people of a shared ideology come together to live and practice their ideals in a location separated from the rest of society, either through its physical distance or through an ideological incongruence with societal norms outside the community. The communities explored below separated themselves from society at different levels, but all expressed a general dissatisfaction with societal norms, which led them to an isolated, separate existence.

While the religious shifts of the 1960s are often overlooked in favor of an exploration of the general “hippie” cultural shifts, they represented a huge element of the shifting social customs of the era. To understand these religious shifts and the new spiritual communities they inspired, the social setting of 1960s America and the socio-political changes of the era must first be explored.

### **American Society in the 1960s**

With economic affluence and the rise of higher education levels in the 1950s, new cultural movements appeared that emphasized a questioning of traditional values and a turn toward wandering and self-discovery.<sup>4</sup> The American family’s new middle-class affluence meant more education and leisure time for children, all subsidized by their parents.<sup>5</sup> The baby-boomers’ desire (and ability) to put off the search for a stable job because of their affluent upbringing meant that this generation could afford a period of exploration.<sup>6</sup> The Beat movement epitomized this idea, using poetry and new Eastern philosophies to tempt primarily white, middle-class youth away from their homes and out “on the road.”<sup>7</sup> The new opportunities for critical thinking and travel, along with the popularization of television, meant that the youth of the late 1950s could engage in more aspects of American and international life than any other generation before them.<sup>8</sup>

As the possibilities unfolded before this young generation, many of its members began to question the oppressive social roles placed on past generations, particularly among minorities and women. The civil rights and feminist movements of the 1950s and ‘60s dramatically shifted American culture,

eventually changing social norms in America permanently. Betty Freidan's book, *The Feminine Mystique*, inspired feminists in the 1960s at the same time that Martin Luther King Jr.'s charisma inspired civil rights activists.<sup>9</sup> The 1960s saw the emergence of a "New Left" that actively opposed social inequality and war in Vietnam, both of which became the primary social concerns of this large, and young, demographic. Feminism, civil rights, and the Vietnam War, which represent the primary socio-political concerns of '60s counterculture, were all incorporated into the messages of emerging religious movements.

With new freedoms also came the questioning of tradition. Both young and old threw out the religious stereotypes of the past in the 1960s — Americans elected a Catholic president, and white Protestants condemned the racial segregation in their churches' pews.<sup>10</sup> The second Vatican Council produced the most significant reforms of the Catholic Church for a millennium, and new Eastern religions spread across America.<sup>11</sup> In various ways, religious norms shifted along with social customs. As one historian noted: "Between the mid-1950s and the mid-1980s, over a third of all Americans left the denomination in which they'd been raised."<sup>12</sup> Among the baby-boomer generation, two-thirds "stopped going to churches and temples as adults."<sup>13</sup> And those who did remain members of their parents' religious groups saw changes in the message being taught. Dr. King, one of the most popular Protestant ministers of the 1950s and '60s, rose to fame largely due to his "updated" Christian message of racial equality and social justice through nonviolent protest. King's message inspired pro-civil rights Protestants and many young people hoping to find consistencies between social reform and their family's religion. Billy Graham, another incredibly popular minister of the '60s, took Christian reform in a different direction by introducing a simplistic, experience-based evangelical Christianity to the public. Graham appealed to audiences by utilizing television and large musical performances (often featuring racially integrated singers) to spread his message.<sup>14</sup> Graham revamped Protestant Christianity by incorporating new forms of media and entertainment and focusing on an individual relationship with Jesus as the cornerstone of the Christian religion. Whether one joined a new religious movement or experienced the internal changes of a traditional movement, many religions and their devotees changed dramatically with the social shifts of the '60s.

Another dramatic social change of this period stemmed largely from the pas-

sage of the Immigration Act of 1965. This legislation refocused the requirements by which immigrants could be allowed to enter America, effectively changing the long-standing quota system that blatantly discriminated against non-European countries when determining immigration eligibility. The law changed the country-of-origin focus to a more egalitarian policy based on individual skill and family reunification. This change in policy resulted in the dramatic change in ethnic makeup of immigrants entering the United States after 1965. In his speech celebrating the passage of the bill, President Lyndon Johnson stated, “this is not a revolutionary bill. It does not affect the lives of millions ... This bill says simply that from this day forth those wishing to emigrate to America shall be admitted on the basis of their skills and their close relationship to those already here.”<sup>15</sup> Whether one takes that statement as a political underplaying of the bill’s importance or simple ignorance of its future effects, the Immigration Act of 1965 was, in fact, revolutionary. As one record of the Hare Krishna movement (a Hindu religious movement largely made possible by the 1965 immigration reform) reports:

Between 1871 and 1965, only 16,013 Indians had been admitted to the United States. Between 1965 and 1975, more than 96,000 were admitted...This change in the immigration [laws] also allowed a number of Hindu teachers to come to the United States and establish new groups consisting predominately of new converts from among the general population.<sup>16</sup>

President Johnson’s attempt to remove the racial quotas of the previous immigration system, and thereby pressure Congress once again to move further toward racial equality, contributed greatly (if inadvertently) to the religious movements of the 1960s.<sup>17</sup>

Regardless of its intended consequences, the Immigration Act served to open American borders to floods of new immigrants, particularly from East Asia and India. These groups had previously been rejected due to strict immigration quotas keeping many immigrants ineligible for entry and doomed to placement on long, slow-moving entry waitlists. Specifically, the Immigration Act abolished the previous quota system based on the immigrant’s country of origin: “An annual ceiling of 170,000 immigrant visas (exclusive of parents, spouses and unmarried children of United States citizens) was established for all countries outside the Western Hemisphere.”<sup>18</sup> Second, “...parents of United States citizens over the age of 21 were added to the list of immigrants not

subject to numerical limitations of any sort...the order and size of preference categories was altered so that family reunification was emphasized.”<sup>19</sup> Immigrants no longer faced restrictive quotas based on their country of origin, and those with family members in America now encountered much less resistance when trying to reunite with their relatives.

While the social, demographic, and economic changes of the 1960s created the interest and opportunity for the rise of new religious communities, the passage of immigration reform was a critical factor in introducing Americans to the leaders of those new religious movements. Without it, most of the new religious movements studied in this essay could not have grown and succeeded to the extent they did.<sup>20</sup> The arrival of Eastern gurus, and the subsequent rise of succeeded to the extent they did. The arrival of Eastern gurus, and the subsequent rise of American converts and Eastern religious communities, began with immigration reform in 1965.

### **Eastern Religious Communities**

For a growing minority of young Americans, the disillusionment of the 1960s counterculture also meant a turn away from the traditional Judeo-Christian model of religion and “the commercialized, competitive, power-hungry West” that it symbolized.<sup>21</sup> Some of these cynical youth turned to the growing Eastern religious movements and their gurus for guidance. Within the movements inspired by the East, two paths emerged that the alternative religious crowd typically adopted — one was the more rigorous, devoted path of the Zen Buddhists, Hare Krishnas, and other Hindu devotees. The second merged with the drug-heavy hippie culture to form a psychedelic, “New Age” philosophy.<sup>22</sup> Those who pursued the more rigorous discipleship of these Eastern religions were primarily middle-class and educated, which allowed them to articulate their thoughts and ideas to the public in a meaningful way. But while their ability to communicate with academics and the media made their pursuits seem valid and widespread, in reality, even in diverse San Francisco only about 10 percent of the population chose to pursue the alternative religions offered outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition.<sup>23</sup> But while the young followers of Eastern religious movements remained a minority throughout the 1960s, their unique approach to religion represented a significant break from mainstream culture that reflected the social and political changes of the era.

Buddhist influence on American culture began with the writings of the Transcendentalists and early Romantics, such as Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman. These writers first familiarized the American public with their take on the Buddhist religion in the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Then in the 1950s, the Beat poets adapted Buddhism to fit American culture once again. Through their position as the countercultural representatives of their time, the Beat poets transformed Buddhism into a “hip,” revolutionary, and individualistic ideology fitting with the emerging Beat culture.<sup>25</sup> Through their representations of American Buddhists in writings such as Jack Kerouac’s *Dharma Bums*, the Beats effectively reshaped the stringent Buddhism of the East into a rebellious, youthful American spirituality. Their focus on the Zen movement meant that for many young Americans, Buddhism was first presented and portrayed as a Zen-style, free-thinking withdrawal from traditional society and family.<sup>26</sup>

Zen communities typically involved more rigorous devotee lifestyles than their New Age counterparts, though they fell short of adopting strict, monastic-level policy. These Buddhist communities gained popularity in the late 1950s, when writers like Allen Ginsberg presented them to the public as a new avenue toward simple enlightenment, absent of the materialism of Western religions.<sup>27</sup> During his stay at the Zen Center in San Francisco (a popular temple for young Buddhists through the ‘60s) Ginsberg learned the art of accepting his “thoughts and sensations” through meditation. This was a fitting goal for a disillusioned youth looking for a more basic lifestyle than the “traditional” expectations expressed by his parents.<sup>28</sup> Ginsberg’s experience of individualistic enlightenment required few stifling restrictions, while separating him from the traditional morality schemes presented in Western religion. His model inspired many in the baby-boomer generation and represents the common experience of numerous Zen converts of the era.

San Francisco’s Zen Center and its surrounding community offered a practice infused with countercultural social ideals. Founded in 1962 by Shunryu Suzuki, the Zen Center operated as a meditation center offering Buddhist practice and guidance to young people who congregated in apartments surrounding the Center.<sup>29</sup> Then, in 1966, the Center acquired land on a former hot springs resort, where the community/monastery called “Tassajara Hot Springs” was created. While this property was originally intended by Suzuki as a more isolated (and therefore serious) location for Buddhist practice, the counterculture followed the Buddhists there as well: “Beat poetry readings,

Buddhist workshops, and an Avalon Ballroom ‘Zenefit’” were just some of the events of Tassajara’s early years.<sup>30</sup> With Suzuki’s death in 1977, the Zen Center and its subsidiaries shifted to focus on a more rigorous Zen training purpose, and Tassajara eventually became a retreat center and monastery. The Zen Center (as well as many other Buddhist monasteries in America) continues on today with various functions and services, but it was only able to initially rise to its level of prominence due to the perfect merger of social and political factors in the 1960s.

Another well-known religious movement that formed as a result of social and legislative changes is the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, or the Hare Krishna movement.<sup>31</sup> The Hare Krishna movement appeared in America in 1965 when its leader, A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada emigrated to America. Prabhupada’s arrival symbolized the significant change in immigration policy that occurred in 1965, becoming “one of the first test cases to be granted permanent residency under the new immigration laws.”<sup>32</sup> Prabhupada taught a message of equal access to God without the traditional Hindu limitations of the caste system.<sup>33</sup> This egalitarian message, along with the practice of singing and dancing as the primary form of worship, attracted many American youths to the movement during the 1960s. After opening a temple in San Francisco, Prabhupada began attracting primarily “Anglo-Americans in their late teens and early twenties from middle- and upper-class families” who were disheartened by America’s slow reaction to civil rights issues and involvement in the Vietnam War.<sup>34</sup> Because many of the San Francisco recruits were wandering young members of the counterculture movement, a communal structure emerged at the San Francisco temple to provide living accommodations where devotees could practice ashram-style discipline together. There, Prabhupada’s message of tolerance drew those young devotees who tired of the traditional religious responses of their parents. The quick expansion of the Hare Krishna movement through the heavy recruitment of disillusioned, anti-war youths in the 1960s declined sharply soon after the end of the Vietnam war in the mid-1970s but still survives and continues to draw in new practitioners today.<sup>35</sup>

While the Zen Center and the Hare Krishna movement continue to attract members and sustain communities on a smaller scale today, it was the unique social setting and legislative changes of the 1960s that enabled their rapid growth and immense popularity at the time of their emergence in the U.S. The messages of social peace through individual enlightenment, rejection of

material goods, and communal lifestyle attracted many disillusioned youth throughout the 1960s in numbers they never could have in past eras.

### **New Age Communities**

New Age movements, as separate from Eastern religious movements, are difficult to define. While New Age movements stemmed from Eastern religious traditions — normally in the form of a blend or combination of multiple traditions' practices — they also consisted of an added, unique interpretation of those traditions. For example, through the influence of the social movements of the 1960s, Americans reinterpreted Hinduism to mean another form of anti-war protest and alternative lifestyle for many disillusioned youths. Young people found inspiration in the nonviolent activist Gandhi, particularly when Martin Luther King Jr. acknowledged him in relation to the civil rights struggle, thereby combining the Eastern and Western representatives of their social ideals.<sup>36</sup> These New Age movements, admiring Eastern thinkers and gurus but not following any one of them exclusively, represent a molding of Eastern religions into an American social context.

One of the most well known gurus of this New Age movement was Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the Indian (and Hindu) founder and promoter of a spiritual exercise known as Transcendental Meditation. This exercise focused on meditation through sound as a means of ensuring happiness within the individual and, by extension, the world. As popular American figures became drawn to Maharishi (including, most famously, the Beatles), the Transcendental Meditation movement grew and began to explore ways to reach the general population outside of the counterculture movement. It was soon advertised as a “science of creative intelligence,” meant to encompass more than a religious practice, but a holistic approach to life.<sup>37</sup> By the mid-‘60s, Maharishi had transformed his spiritual message to appeal to a more widespread American audience by heralding his meditation techniques as grounded in Western science.<sup>38</sup> By creating scientific experiments on meditation's effects on the body, as well as training techniques on how to harness those effects, Maharishi's followers have sustained a dedicated movement that continues on today. Though his movement sustained no physical religious community, his Western-style approach to Hinduism found an audience in the youth of the 1960s.

In contrast to Maharishi's movement without a communal center, the Integral Yoga movement led by Swami Satchidananda represents one New Age movement that later concentrated its practices into a religious intentional community. Born in India in 1914, Satchidananda spent his early life studying under Hindu gurus and traveling across Asia to spread his message of peace and interreligious tolerance.<sup>39</sup> This message soon reached and attracted young, travelling Americans including artist Peter Max, who invited Satchidananda to America in 1966. The ability of his young, traveling host to find and finance Satchidananda, along with the timely appeal of this guru's message to the rebellious American youth, led to great success in his teaching throughout the '60s. In 1968, Satchidananda "received the first permanent visa ever issued for the entry of a 'Minister of Divine Words,'" an immigration designation referring to his ministerial career.<sup>40</sup> His religious practice, termed Integral Yoga, was taught through workshops and retreats at various ashrams across the country until 1979, when Satchidananda purchased a 750-acre property along with devotees interested in pursuing his religious teachings there. Satchidananda's community, called Yogaville, continues on as a religious intentional community today, offering retreats and yoga training workshops to the public to cover its expenses and live out its ideals.<sup>41</sup> While the Yogaville community has sustained itself by using a lucrative business model, it is the message of religious tolerance and personal enlightenment that originally appealed to the youth of the '60s and made Integral Yoga into the successful movement it is.

The Eastern religious movements of the 1960s inspired the most dedicated disciples to create new forms of community living centered around meditation, psychedelic drug use, internal reflection, and the hope for enlightenment-- all ideas that had rarely been sought out or even heard of by most Americans before the 1950s. The emerging demographic of educated and disillusioned young people, along with recently changed immigration reform, meant a unique growth of Eastern religions and the communities they inspired. Some of these youthful disciples followed a path most consistent with the stereotypical hippie lifestyle, including drug use, mixes of new and reformed religious styles, and a more lax religious regiment. Others followed a stricter interpretation of the Eastern religions and formed monastic-style communes in which to express their beliefs. Both movements represented timely Americanization of Eastern traditions that appealed to the 1960s countercultural message and found unique opportunities to spread and deliver its message in a way never before possible.

## The Jesus Movement

The religious communes of pre-1960s America largely based themselves on some form of Protestant Christianity. These communities typically emphasized an egalitarian distribution of material possessions and a morally stringent lifestyle aimed at reaching a spiritual goal. Often for these communities, that moral lifestyle included isolation from outside society and its material and social temptations, though each community differed in its approach to specific issues such as, but one emerging group stood out in the '60s as representing a break with previous Christian movements through its embodiment of the liberal, egalitarian, and free-thinking values it adopted from the counterculture movement. This group became known as the Jesus movement.

The Jesus movement arose during a period of widespread American distrust of the previous generation's religious institutions. It coincided with the cultural move toward subjective understanding and individual experience, thereby initiating a renewed understanding of Jesus, based on individual interpretation over tradition. By the 1960s, the emerging generation had established its idea of who Jesus was and what he truly represented. As Religious Studies Professor Timothy Miller puts it, "young revolutionaries refocused their rebellion around a countercultural icon, the long-haired sandal-footed son of Mary."<sup>42</sup> Their Jesus was a rebel like them; he spent time with the disillusioned and downtrodden, he congregated with the lower classes to promote equality, and he did not give in to the dominating worldview of his time. As Miller explains: "...he strode into the temple and overthrew the money changers — but you were there by his side, a countercultural revolutionary. He did not thunder at you. You and he stood together, challenging *them*."<sup>43</sup> This Jesus became a radical role model for the counterculture movement, and was enthusiastically received by those who could identify with his message.

The Jesus movement took in many young people recovering from the prevalent drug culture who were still looking for a similar "high" to what drugs could offer. They soon found that the Jesus movement, through its appeal to emotion and its personal experience with Jesus himself, offered a replacement for the high they had previously found through drugs. This emotional approach to religion, encouraged through the Jesus movement, offered the psychological elation they were looking for and disguised it as ancient religion. As anthropologist Tanya Luhrmann explains: "The early Christian disciples, after all, were young radicals who believed in a love that their elders preached

but did not follow, and they fought against the corruption and war of Rome with a new vision of the way humans should live...<sup>44</sup> Jesus transformed into the perfect role model for the youth of the '60s. Some converts were not willing to completely give up their involvement in the drug culture, but the Jesus of the Jesus movement accepted them, too. As Religious Studies scholar Stephen Prothero wrote, this new Jesus was one who “would hold your hand, wipe your brow, and get you through a bad trip.”<sup>45</sup> This Jesus offered the forgiving acceptance of a best friend, with none of the discipline or judgment of a parent.

As the more dedicated members of the Jesus movement formed communes throughout the country, typically under the direction of a charismatic leader, young people swarmed to them. These Jesus communities offered the opportunity to construct a lifestyle outside of mainstream society and consistent with their new beliefs, while also being trained toward discipleship and missionary work. Many of these community members resembled the stereotypical hippie: long hair, ripped clothes, informal speech. Often, these Jesus movement devotees consciously fit themselves into the style of the youth culture — speaking and looking like stereotypical hippies would lead to more disillusioned youth joining the movement, as they felt comfortable among its members. Their message also spoke directly to the youth. As one movement leader, Jon Braun, announced at Sproul Hall on Berkeley's campus: “Jesus Christ [was] the world's greatest revolutionary.”<sup>46</sup> This identification with Jesus as the world's first hippie inspired some Jesus movement followers to form communes where they could live out their Jesus' example of a simple, impoverished life on their own terms.

One of the widest reaching and longest lasting of these Jesus movement communes was known as The Children of God (COG). David Berg, a former minister, acted as both its charismatic leader and missionary trainer. In 1967, he recruited young hippies in Huntington Beach, California, to be missionaries with his tailored message of salvation through Jesus. These recruits lived in his home until he began nomadically travelling with them to preach on the failure of the “System” (Western capitalism) and the need to join his movement to avoid spiritual judgment.<sup>47</sup> Berg approached potential disciples through a message appealing to the '60s counterculture: America had become “the epitome of the degenerate capitalist system” and only a radical rejection of American politics, economics and education could counteract its downward moral spiral.<sup>48</sup> The group of young dropouts eventually settled

into two communal centers, one consisting of 200 members living on a Texas ranch, and a smaller community in Los Angeles.<sup>49</sup>

In 1971, Berg directed the communes to break up into many smaller nomadic colonies to facilitate widespread proselytizing. Most of these colonies consisted of dilapidated housing where members were required to give up their personal possessions for the sake of their religious growth. The focus on proselytizing led to controversial practices, most notably the implementation of “flirty fishing,” or the practice of using sex as a recruitment tool.<sup>50</sup> While COG had a primarily oppositional relationship with society due to its unorthodox practices and rejection of traditional values, societal criticism did not discourage its group members. The community continues on today as “the Family International,” which is composed of thousands of members worldwide.<sup>51</sup>

The Children of God’s distrust in the “System” attracted the youth of the 1960s. For many members, this community offered a refuge free from judgment; the perfect haven after experiencing the whirlwind of the drug culture, and often emerging from it damaged and directionless.<sup>52</sup> The Jesus movement offered a tailored alternative to both the drug culture and traditional religion, which suited the young people of the 1960s perfectly: an experience-based, egalitarian lifestyle that promised natural highs and a religious role model who fought mainstream society. While not rejecting Western culture in its entirety, as many of the Eastern religious movements did, the Jesus movement’s new take on Christianity provides insight into the cultural values of the 1960s and the unique economic and educational opportunities that made its pursuit possible.

## **Conclusion**

While many of the communes that resulted from these new religious movements were short-lived, often with a high turnover rate and short tenure, they nevertheless signified a turning point in American religious thought. The accessibility of new religions from around the world to a generation of highly educated, affluent youths meant that new approaches to religion and social values could be examined in ways they never were before. Many of these communes fizzled out with the end of the Vietnam War and the growing acceptance of civil rights and feminism, which lessened the need for organized protest and radical nonconformity. But for a short period in American

history, the mushrooming of the religious commune movement revealed the potential for widespread reflection on social and religious norms. In the end, the 1960s conglomeration of social reform, legislative shifts, and an affluent middle class created a counterculture whose religious views would affect the furthest reaches of American religion.

# END NOTES

- 1 Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press), xiii.
- 2 Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 251.
- 3 Timothy Miller, *The Encyclopedic Guide to American Intentional Communities* (New York: Richard W. Couper Press, 2013), xii.
- 4 Miller, *The 60s Communes*, 6.
- 5 Hugh Gardner, *The children of prosperity: Thirteen Modern American Communes* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 11.
- 6 Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 154.
- 7 Miller, *The 60s Communes*, 6. "On the Road" references the famous Beat-era novel written by Jack Kerouac.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 128.
- 10 Ibid., 254.
- 11 Ibid., 258. For more on the changes implemented in Vatican II, see: Lindsay Jones ed., "Vatican Councils: Vatican II," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 14, 2nd ed. (Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 9533-9539.
- 12 Ibid., 251.
- 13 T.M. Luhrmann, *When God Talks Back: Understanding the American Evangelical Relationship With God* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 15.
- 14 Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 253.
- 15 TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S SPEECH ON IMMIGRATION, *New York Times*, October 4, 1965, accessed February 17, 2014, <http://ezproxy.lib.calpoly.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/117030173?accountid=10362>.
- 16 Graham Dwyer and Richard J. Cole, eds., *The Hare Krishna Movement: Forty Years of Chant and Change* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 16.
- 17 Nation," *Los Angeles Times* (1923-Current File), Aug 29, 1965, [Los Angeles Times \(1923-Current File\), Jan 17, 1965, <http://ezproxy.lib.calpoly.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155092826?accountid=10362>; "I Lift My Lamp," \*New York Times\* \(1923-Current File\), Jan 14, 1965, <http://ezproxy.lib.calpoly.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/116678726?accountid=10362>; "The oly.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155246333?accountid=10362">http://ezproxy.lib.calpoly.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155246333?accountid=10362](http://ezproxy.lib.calpMultiple sources specifically mention the immigration act as part of President Johnson's wider push toward racial equality. Some speculation may thus be had over Johnson's level of awareness that this legislation change would mean a significant change in the ethnic makeup of immigrants. For more mention on Johnson's push for this legislation see: ).
- 18 Charles Keely, "Effects of the Immigration Act of 1965 on Selected Population Characteristics of Immigrants to the United States" *Demography* 8, no. 4 (May 1971): 159.

- 19 Charles Keely, *Effects of the Immigration Act of 1965*, 159.
- 20 Miller, *The 60s Communes*, xxiv.
- 21 Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 265.
- 22 Ibid., 267.
- 23 Ibid., 266.
- 24 Richard Hughes Seager, *Buddhism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 34.
- 25 Ibid., 34-35.
- 26 Miller, *The 60s Communes*, 4. For more works of the Beat poets with direct references to their Buddhist interpretations, see Jack Kerouac's *Desolation Angels* and Allen Ginsberg's *Deliberate Prose: Selected Essays 1952-1995* and *Mind Breaths: Poems 1972-1977*.
- 27 Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 267.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Seager, *Buddhism in America*, 99.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Timothy Miller, ed. *America's Alternative Religions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 215.
- 32 Dwyer and Cole, *The Hare Krishna Movement*, 17.
- 33 See A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, KRSNA: *The Supreme Personality of Godhead* (Los Angeles, CA: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust), 2008; A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, *The Science of Self-Realization* (Los Angeles, CA: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust), 1994; A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, *The Journey of Self-Discovery* (Los Angeles, CA: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust), 1990.
- 34 Miller, *America's alternative religions*, 217.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid, 192.
- 37 Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 268-269.
- 38 Miller, *America's Alternative Religions*, 194.
- 39 Ibid., 199.
- 40 Ibid., 200.
- 41 The philosophy of Integral Yoga as practiced at Yogaville should not be confused with the many other types of yoga introduced to the United States both in the 1960s and years before; Integral Yoga refers to the specific ideology and physical practice introduced by Swami Satchidananda
- 42 Miller, *America's Alternative Religions*, 19.
- 43 Ibid., 20.
- 44 Luhrmann, *When God Talks Back*, 18.
- 45 Ibid., 20.
- 46 Ibid.

- 47 Miller, *America's Alternative Religions*, 131.
- 48 Ibid., 130.
- 49 Ibid., 127.
- 50 James T. Richardson, "Jesus Movement" in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Lindsay Jones (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 4852-4854.
- 51 Miller, *America's Alternative Religions*, 127.
- 52 Richardson, "Jesus Movement," 4853.

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