

CHILDHOOD IN A NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT:
THE SOCIALIZATION OF TWO RIVERS FARM SCHOOL CHILDREN

by

HELEN STOCKLIN-ENRIGHT

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Political Science
and the R.D. Clark Honors College of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

May 2001

APPROVAL PAGE

APPROVED: _____

Professor Irene Diamond

No Abstract of the Thesis of
 Helen Thelma Knight
 By the approval of _____
 in the Department of Political Science as in Office _____
 Title: CHILDREN IN A NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT
 THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL FORMATION OF CHILDREN
 Approved: _____
 Professor Irene Diamond

Current theories on new religious movements and their effects on our children
 that grew up in these areas reflect only one side of the picture of personal experience. The
 experience of children in new religious movements rather widely depending upon the
 group in which they are involved. If children are raised in a two-parenting family a
 charismatic leader and an effective structure for socialization, they can act in the group as
 we find through the influence of group ideas into the wider society. A case study of the
 Two Rivers Farm Institute, which has produced from the Farm School and public
 school teaches the movement from within. The Two Rivers Farm Institute is a
 school that attended from 1963 and 1991 annually, mostly from
 two children in their first or young adults.

ABSTRACT

Helen Stocklin-Enright An Abstract of the Thesis of Bachelor of Arts
for the degree of
in the Department of Political Science to be taken June 2001
Title: CHILDHOOD IN A NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT:

THE SOCIALIZATION OF TWO RIVERS FARM SCHOOL CHILDREN

Approved: _____
Helen Stocklin-Enright

Current literature on new religious movements and their effects on the children that grow up in them lacks objectivity and the depth of personal experience. The experience of children in new religious movements varies widely depending upon the group in which they are involved. If children are raised in a movement that has a charismatic leader and an effective structure for socialization, they can aid in the group's success through the diffusion of group ideas into the wider society. A case study of the Two Rivers Farm includes subjects that graduated from the Farm School and public school teachers that instructed these students. The Two Rivers Farm proves successful as children that attended school there between 1985 and 1991 currently employ Farm philosophies in their lives as young adults.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Diamond for her patience and time in the past year. Thank you to Professor Goldman for sharing her immense knowledge of new religious movements with me. Also, thank you to Professor McCartney for her time and consideration with the presentation of this paper. I would like to thank the Two Rivers Farm School for providing me with the academic foundation that led to this thesis. Thank you to Anna Jones for her brilliant remarks and dedication to the completion of our theses. Also, special thanks to Pieter Vanderbeek, without whose suggestion I might be writing on a topic of far less personal interest. My gratitude extends to Annie, Susannah, Molly, Bethany, and Abby for their encouraging words and interest in my dissection of our childhood. I would finally like to thank the members of my family for helping me, or not helping me, as necessary.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

v

Chapter	Page
I. Introduction	1
II. Methodology	4
III. Review of Literature on New Religious Movements	10
IV. Charismatic Leadership	16
V. Structure of Socialization	29
VI. Diffusion of Gurdjieffian and Farm Philosophies	38
VII. Conclusion	54

APPENDIX

A. Interview questions for former Farm School students	56
B. Interview questions for teachers of former Farm School students . .	58
C. Two Rivers Farm School schedule for twelve-year old girls	59
D. Current Activities of Two Rivers Farm School Graduates	60

BIBLIOGRAPHY	61
------------------------	----

Section I: Introduction

The metal skates against concrete give out a scraping sound as several young girls turn around the corner of a covered play area. Their long hair flows in waves behind them as they tip forward to gain their balance. The sound of their laughter bounces off the cement and fills the surrounding schoolyard. This same carefree happiness appears in the children playing on a dirt mound next to the covered play area. Laughter emanates from two other children as they jump down from the swings and land in a tangled heap on the soft, green grass. Above the noise of recess, some older children slide down a pole that extends from the top of the schoolhouse. One lands at the bottom of the pole with a thud and four small children look up from their game in a sandbox. Just beyond the gate of the schoolyard, there are filbert trees, apple trees, and a grape arbor. A beautiful stone garden has a winding path that leads over a bridge and into a land of intricately laid stones and herbs. Fields stretch out beyond the herb garden holding crops for next season. This scene describes rural schools everywhere, but this particular place consists of more than just a school. The Two Rivers Farm School exists as a product of the cooperative efforts of members of the Two Rivers Farm.

The Two Rivers Farm, also called the Farm, embraces a spiritually conscious approach to life as its members involve themselves in introspective questioning, physical labor, and the application of spiritual principles to everyday life. Annie Lou Staveley founded the Farm in the early 1970's as new religious movements became more visible. New religious movements are spiritual or religious followings that are not included in mainstream churches or denominations. Many new religious movements follow the teachings of a specific philosopher. The members of the Farm study the work of

Gurdjieff, an Eastern philosopher. Soon after the group's formation, they collectively bought approximately 60 acres of land in Aurora, Oregon, the current location of the Two Rivers Farm.

The group slowly expanded and with this expansion came an increasing number of children that required attention and care. During the late 1970's, the parents formed the Two Rivers Farm School. Parents and members of the Farm served as teachers, offering their time and skills to provide an education for their children. While children learned about a wide array of subjects, their parents involved themselves in the pursuit of a higher consciousness. Children grew up in a close-knit environment that emphasized the importance of the deeper meaning in all areas of life. After these students transferred to public middle and high schools, their world changed from a classroom of nature to a four-walled classroom with florescent lighting. This physical alteration was likely to be the least of the changes that these students experienced. Their education no longer contained a spiritual component. Instead of the religious homogeneity of the old school, the students saw spiritual and religious diversity within the student body of their new one. How did they adjust to the transition from a small community school to a larger public school? After an initial adjustment period, what bearing did an early education at the Farm have on the lives of these young adults? These questions can be answered through an investigation of the current educational achievements, spiritual philosophies, and approach to interpersonal relationships of these young adults. A group of the young adults that attended the Farm School between 1985 and 1991 will serve as the basis for this study. This thesis will illustrate how the presence of a strong charismatic leader and an effective system for socialization of young children contribute to the successful

Section II: Methodology

"The Farm School gave us all a certain amount of confidence in ourselves. When I am with other students from the Farm, everyone has an awareness about themselves that others don't have."

A little girl with long brown pigtails smiled up at me from her game on a wooden deck. My own experience at the Two Rivers Farm School began when I was five and a half years old. In this chance encounter with a girl whom I still know, I was introduced to the Farm. My father heard about the Farm from a teacher at my preschool in Portland, Oregon. We went out to visit the Farm and my father was immediately drawn to it. We made the move to Aurora soon after. My mother never went to the Farm for more than a visit. I often wonder about how my life would be if I had never attended this preschool. I would not know my life as it is now. There would be no childhood spent on a farm. Perhaps there would be fewer negative memories. Yet, without this seemingly random encounter, I would not be writing this thesis. And I would most certainly not be the person that I am today. I spent six years at the Farm School and received exposure to all facets of life there.

My own childhood consisted of days at the Two Rivers Farm. I occasionally attended the children's movements' class on Saturday mornings. As my attendance was irregular, I found little interest in continuing. In contrast, I spent most Sundays at the Farm. These were wonderful days! We worked alongside the adults in the morning. The works tasks ranged from gardening and harvesting fruit to cooking and canning food for the winter. The most popular job amongst the younger girls was helping with baby care.

In the afternoon, the children scampered off to participate in organized activities. Some days we went swimming in nearby rivers or made paper dolls.

Though I did gain valuable life skills and lifelong friends at the Farm, I had a negative experience. At first, I was unable to discern precisely what made my experience so negative. I went to a school where, for the first several years, I endured taunting from the children, as I was a newcomer, an outsider, and an outcast. One day, a teacher addressed about ten of us, mostly eight and nine years old girls. As we sat on the floor in a circle, giggling amongst ourselves unsuspectingly, he turned around sharply and yelled several sharp phrases at us. I snapped to attention and looked up at him with fright. My face turned crimson. Wondering what I had done wrong, I soon realized that I had done nothing. Some other girls in our group had been teasing one boy rather cruelly. I did not participate in this incident. Not only did I feel degraded unjustly, I remembered how people used to tease me. One of my current friends used to treat me rather cruelly. This occurred in part because I was a new student and because children can be so unkind. Students in most classes had been acquainted since birth. They even nursed from the same mothers. This shared history, often talked about by parents, allowed these children one more reason to feel special and separate from the outside world from which I came. The feeling of constantly being excluded is the primary reason that I classify my experience as negative. Even after inclusion in social events and the formation of close friendships, I never subscribed to the teachings that the Farm offered. Nor did I desire to. So, the feelings of exclusion, either voluntary or not, led to my negative experience at the Farm. As I was a new student and a child, my social status at the Farm was the lowest possible, or at least that is how it felt at the time.

Many would disagree that there was a power structure at the Farm. How could an organization with over one hundred members last for over two decades without some type of power structure? Similar to the power structures that hold governments and families together, cults must also maintain these structures to ensure their survival. Indeed, this power structure reared its head in everyday life at the Farm. Below Mrs. Staveley, a smaller circle of adults, usually long-time students of Gurdjieffian practices, held positions as movements' instructors or schoolteachers. Occasionally, people without apparent reason for elevated status held these positions. On the individual level, some members valued the essence and simplicity of life. At times, the collective actions of these members placed an emphasis on superficial values. A seemingly desperate clawing for position and power occurred. This power structure had immense ramifications on my childhood. Though my father attended the Farm, he was new and held no positions of particular power. Some children received intangible social benefits because their parents held positions of power. They got baby-sitting jobs for most of the children. Other children were teased and tormented because their parents were of a lower economic class or had not been at the Farm for a long period of time. I despised this power structure, but still respected people in the uppermost positions.

In 1997, six years after I stopped attending school at the Farm, I began to appreciate my experience there. Before, I did not remember much about the Farm with fondness. Often referring to it as "that place" with disgust, I refused to acknowledge that such a bizarre place had shaped my early life. In addition, I did not appreciate being called a "farmie," the label used by locals for people who went to the Farm. I wanted to leave my childhood behind me and move on as though I had never been associated with

the organization. And the cruel treatment that I received from my peers at the Farm certainly did not leave me with favorable memories. On the other hand, the Farm left me with an ability to know myself. Without being able to articulate it at the time, I learned to question what lies beneath the surface that people are trained to portray to the outside world. Though some of my negative memories may come as a result of life in general, there are still those that relate solely to the Farm.

Despite the negativity that I often associate with it, the Farm School experience was unlike anything else I have ever taken part in. There were field trips to go get ice cream cones in the nearest town during math class. Perhaps that inspired me to start out college as a math major. We went on camping trips for a week at the end of every school year. Of course, we did get into some mischief. I remember having goat milk with our afternoon snack. Left to our own devices, and because goat milk was the most horrible substance known to us, we stacked our cups full of the warm milk in our crayon box. The milk, cascading down the walls of the box, covered each crayon in a layer white liquid. Hours later, two parents discovered our little "project." We had to wash off every crayon. That was the last time I ever drank goat milk. In addition to numerous little adventures in milking cows and goats, I learned skills that are not taught in public school. We changed oil in cars, started fires without matches, and prepared consume'. Public school students cannot discover little egg nest hidden in haylofts during the school day. My memories of the Farm are endless and certainly very rich.

Admittedly, writing about the Farm and my own childhood has been far more difficult than originally anticipated. At first, I sought to write an analytical paper, free of my personal experience and bias. My bias, I thought, could only be used to the detriment

of my work. However, if used correctly, my own experience can enhance the depth of my analysis. As time passes, I realize that I can only write about what I know. And I know the Farm. Or at least I used to. I could probably walk the entire property with my eyes closed in the middle of the night. However, my knowledge of this place is not merely geographical.

In light of my experiences with the Farm, I have the background necessary to conduct a case study on Two Rivers Farm School graduates. While this paper addresses the experiences of children at the Farm, it is also written from the perspective of a child on the Farm. The connections and friendships that I formed at the Farm allow me access to Farm School graduates.

My thesis examines the effects that growing up in a new religious movement, such as the Two Rivers Farm, has on young adults. In this study, I investigate the educational achievements, spiritual philosophies, and approach to interpersonal relationships of each individual involved in the study. This survey focuses on students that graduated from the Two Rivers Farm School. Of secondary importance are interviews with public school teachers of former Two Rivers Farm School students. Their experience with these students will supplement firsthand accounts of the first subject group. Each subject participated in an interview that generated answers to the appropriate questions.

The first subject group, composed of former Two Rivers Farm School students, answered questions regarding their childhood experiences. Each subject attended the Farm School for a minimum of three consecutive years between 1985 and 1991. They recalled how their educational achievements relate back to their early childhood

education at the Farm. Many of them were excited to share about how the Farm influenced them to seek spirituality in a wide range of venues. In addition, the final questions generated ideas about how these graduates relate to the other people in their lives (Appendix A). This group consisted of eleven females and four males. They range in age from eighteen to twenty-three years of age.

All subjects began attending the Farm School at age three. According to my research, subjects transferred to other schools at an average age of twelve years and ten months. All but one subject has graduated from college, currently attends school, or intends to do so. On the whole, subjects were eager to participate. They seemed to enjoy sharing their experiences about the Farm.

The second subject group consists of public school teachers that instructed graduates of the Two Rivers Farm School. Subjects were asked to recall how former Farm School students adjusted to the new environment presented by public school. They also commented on how these students learned, interacted with their peers, and became involved in their new school activities. The questions posed to them can be found in Appendix B. This group consisted of two females and two males. For both subject groups, identifying characteristics and names are not used so as to preserve the anonymity of the subjects.

Section III: Review of the Literature on New Religious Movements

"Because my parents were really involved at the Farm, I questioned my own motives for being there."

All communities offer different degrees of spiritual or religious expression. In most cities, multiple mainstream religions compete for members. In addition, new religious movements also make their presence known within the spiritual community. However, as Stark notes, "cult movements violate prevailing religious norms and are often the target of considerable hostility" (33). Thus, they must attract a sufficient number of members to ensure the survival of the group. After attracting members, the charismatic leader employs practices that entice them to remain loyal to the group. Adult members have unique individual needs. While almost every cult addresses these needs, most groups also focus some of their attention on the education of the children. It may take years for adult members to completely believe what the group teaches. However, children grow up surrounded by the group's beliefs and come to accept them as social norms. Many children stay in the group in which they grew up. They often become the most dedicated members of a group. Others leave the movement and begin to reconcile their childhood values with those of the outside world. If the process by which they have been socialized is effective, they bring the ideas of the group with them into the world.

While cult success has often been measured in terms of membership numbers, there may be other models by which to view success. The experiences of young adults educated in new religious movements may suggest that the success of the movement can be measured in different terms. These young people may not remain in the movement, but they bring the ideas of the cult into the outside world. The principles employed by the group play an integral role in how these individuals interact with the larger society.

As a result, the ideas of specific cults are spread throughout the larger society. A charismatic leader has a key role in the success of a group as he or she shapes the process by which children learn about the cult. This results in young adults that employ the ideas of this cult within their lives and, as a consequence, spread them to the outside world.

Thus far, the existing literature on children in new religious movements presents more questions than it answers. Several scholarly accounts of cults mention the effect that the groups may have on children. They do so briefly and with considerable prejudice against new religious movements in general. However, in Children in New Religious Movements, Susan Palmer poses:

If we do not take seriously their own versions of reality and realize that children are active in the construction of their own lives, how can we possibly begin to assess the well-being inside controversial communities or analyze their impact on the futures of new religious movements? (3)

This question does not receive adequate treatment in some investigations. The versions of reality that these children describe prove pivotal in the analysis of the contribution that they have on these movements. In one of the few sources that mention the Farm directly, David Kherdian, a former member of the Two Rivers Farm, depicts the Farm with poetic style. His book, entitled The Farm, does not provide an analysis of the place as a cult. Rather, he offers a description of the place from the perspective of a member. This study explores the Farm as a cult and also offers an insight into how a cult affects the children in it. In addition, it is written from the point of view of a former member of the group. Most other studies do not have this perspective that enables an in-depth exploration of the lives of young adults raised in new religious movements. This unique perspective, combined with firsthand research, offers an account that has yet to be offered by the other literature.

Many new religious movements began as a response to the turmoil and rebellion from social norms during the 1960's. Writing of these developments, sociologist Robert Bellah observes that "new religious movements . . . are best conceived as 'successor movements' to the movements of political protest and cultural experimentation that flourished briefly yet powerfully amongst the youth of the sixties" (Dawson 44). Although alternative religious groups existed long before this increase in visibility, they did not hold a secure place in the wider society. Some new religious movements still do not. Their sphere of influence depends upon the surrounding environment in each individual case. Many groups offered a new approach to life and filled the void left by social unrest. More people satisfied their previously unmet needs through involvement in these organizations. Long after the political protests subsided, cults still served a purpose to individuals on the margins of society. As the presence of alternative religious groups in society became more widely accepted, the shift in public perception of cults forged a place for them within American culture. Professor Richard Kyle notes, in reference to these new groups, that there "was an unprecedented peak in public attention, publishing, and organizational activity" (259). Facets of these groups developed in response to the outside world and, as a result, they continue to define their place within American culture. For example, "the New Age movement, one of the most popular new religions of the 1980s, can be viewed as the occult dressed in clothing acceptable to modern America" (225). As this occurred throughout the United States, the Two Rivers Farm grew in its membership.

An exploration of the characteristics that classify the Farm as a new religious movement will provide a foundation for this analysis. Though cults and sects are

included in the discussion of new religious movements, this study will focus on cults alone. Quite often, cults develop out of resistance to mainstream society. People may seek a spiritual element that is not often found in more traditional religious groups. Cults often have daily operations alien to those in surrounding communities. These operations provide group members with a support structure. According to sociologist William Bainbridge, social implosion is the process of "strengthening of in-group ties while relationships with outsiders weaken" (Zelner et al 9). The definition of a cult has evolved over time. However, several definitive aspects of cults exist. In 1936, sociologist Read Bain found that "[a cult] has a revered, almost sacred, leader-symbol; it contains mystical elements which provide escape-mechanisms for many of its followers" (Jenkins 11). Bainbridge and Stark find that religions "involve some conception of a supernatural being, world or force, and the notion that the supernatural is active, that events and conditions here on earth are influenced by the supernatural" (Dawson 24). Professor Jeffrey Hadden of the University of Virginia defines a cult as "a religious group that is the product of radical innovation, importation or invention" (<http://religiousmovements.lib.virginia.edu/cultsect/consult.htm>). A cult exists in tension with the surrounding environment, follows a charismatic leader, and subscribes to spiritual views that are deviant from mainstream denominations. Misconceptions and negative associations with cults do not leave much room for a positive interpretation of them within the framework of the dominant society. However, Bainbridge finds that "ultimately, we like the word 'cult' because it is a shorter version of culture, and surely religious cults are subcultures" (Bainbridge 24). The Two Rivers Farm features all of these characteristics. The presence of a charismatic leader is felt. They follow imported

spiritual teachings. In summation, these qualities aid in the understanding and classification of the Farm as a cult.

Some scholars appreciate the cultural significance of cults. Others attribute strongly negative images to them, associating images of ritualistic abuse with cults. In the English language, the word "cult" carries a highly negative value. Often, the American public subscribes to the horrific images that the media offers of the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, the followers of Jim Jones in Guyana, or the secluded Brethren. Accompanying these stories are portrayals of neglected children, young adults speaking in tongues, and distraught parents trying to rescue their "lost" children. Many authors and scholars, as members of American society, attribute the same negative connotations with cults, as does the American public at large. The low level of tolerance for new religious movements in the media perpetuates a cycle of stereotypes and generalizations. In a study done by Jeffrey Pfeifer "82.42 per cent of the participants described the average cult member in negative terms, the rest giving neutral descriptions" (Dawson 6). Interestingly enough, no respondents attributed positive qualities to cult members. In reference to the Manson Family, often mistaken as a cult, it "panders to our worse fears and unfounded prejudices on the basis of a few aberrant cases" (Dawson 5). In much the same way, the public bases their interpretation of cults on several of these extreme cases. Many people do not look at cults as much more than havens for abusive practices.

Indeed, many scholars also ascribe negative definitions to cults. In several studies, scholars have designed lists of criteria satisfied by cults. For example, Willa Appel includes in her list that "child abuse has been an endemic feature of cults" (107).

In addition, Dr. John Clark, a psychiatrist who has experience with ex-cult members and their families, notes, "a cult's interest is very low or nonexistent in encouraging individual development toward some kind of satisfactory individual adult personality" (Stoner 333). Again, the perception that cults are organizations that thwart the moral development of their members can be detected within American literature. In fact, the presence of cults as a positive influence on anyone remains an almost unpublished idea. Indeed, "it is almost impossible to assess the phenomenon with any dispassion. A battle-camp mentality has made objective discussion impossible" (Appel 2). Until recently, objective discussion did not come easily.

Section IV: Charismatic Leadership

"Since all the adults respected her so much, the children did also. One day, we built a snowman for her on her front lawn. She smiled and waved. She was sweet, gentle, and not an intimidating person."

Hundreds of pairs of eyes lie fixated on a man speaking at the front of a large hall. He speaks with passion and a deeply rooted sense of authority. Pausing to allow applause from the audience, he smiles and continues speaking. This scene could describe members of the People's Temple listening to Jim Jones. It could depict disciples of Baba Muktananda. Or, it could be sannyasins listening to Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. All three leaders possess charismatic qualities strong enough to attract substantial spiritual followings. The success of a novel religious movement depends in part upon the charisma of the leader. When an individual has charismatic attributes, he or she has the ability to sway a group of disciples to admire his or her uniqueness and, as a consequence of this admiration, obey instructions. Charles Camie, author of Charisma: Its Varieties, Preconditions, and Consequences, states that Weber finds "charisma . . . is a generic label for attributions of specialness, or extraordinary power, to certain persons or objects" (Rabow 241). Many would argue that charisma is a trait inherent in a select number of people and cannot be obtained, even with diligence. This special characteristic plays a pivotal role in the daily functions of most new religious movements. For a group to succeed, the leader must possess charisma. Especially in the early days of a group's existence, a leader must possess enough charisma to form a cohesive group and ensure its survival. In some cases, charisma alone does not hold a group together. To enhance existing charismatic abilities and to ensure the allegiance of followers, the leader emphasizes the negative aspects of the outside world's social structure. Rabow finds

that, "the religious prophet, in order to provide solutions to problems of meaning, typically must break with (thereby subverting the legitimacy of) that order" (242). From here, the leader maintains the attention and dedication of all faithful group members. People will follow a charismatic leader more readily if this individual has illuminated the problems plaguing mainstream society.

Charisma has a rich history amongst the leaders of religious movements, both new and old. Charismatic leaders succeeded long before new religious movements increased in visibility during the 1960's and 1970's. As "the seekers of the 1970's bought books to guide their spiritual quest, they were usually rediscovering the thinkers and prophets of thirty or forty years earlier, including Theosophists like Krishnamurti, G.I. Gurdjieff (who first came to America in 1924), and P.D. Ouspensky" (Jenkins 170). The ability of charismatic individuals to infuse their teachings into their followers ensures the survival of their teachings even after their deaths.

The success of a charismatic leader is elevated by the followers' desire for an alternative to the patterns in their daily lives. Followers must be seekers and strive for some greater good in their lives. They search for a leader that offers them assurance that they can attain this greater good. The leader offers this possibility through participation in their group. In The Sociology of Religion, Weber "suggested that extraordinary human needs are the preconditions for attributions of specialness to those with the perceived capacity to satisfy such needs" (Rabow 249). As people search for "specialness" in those around them, they are introduced to the new ways of life proposed by many charismatics. Unfulfilled people seek to fill the void produced by their unmet needs. When they find a group that meets these needs, they place this group and its

leader in new positions of honor. Again, Weber notes that charisma comes as an "immediate consequence of attributions of specialness by the needy to the need-gratifying persons" (Rabow 245). Seekers place their trust in leaders and thereby enhance the overall power of these leaders over their respective groups.

Charismatic leaders monitor and control the actions, beliefs, and consequent obedience of all members, both young and old, in new religious movements. Weber finds that the aspects of charismatic leaders' authority are different from the traditional values found in authority (Bainbridge 220). These leaders often provide the philosophical basis for the movement. With the help of their charismatic abilities, they guide the spiritual direction of both the group and individual members. According to Dawson:

The charismatic leader seeks to resist the outside pressure that is constantly exerted to reduce the differences between an NRM and the rest of society . . . he or she wishes to circumvent the pressures from inside the group for the routinization of charisma. (144)

The foundation that the leader provides plays an important role in the way that the group fits into its environment. However, the leader must build support systems within the group. At the Two Rivers Farm, the charismatic leader built and maintained a power structure to monitor and ensure the success of the group. Select individuals provided support and structure to the movement through their help with a variety of tasks such as agriculture, movements instruction, or academic instruction. An organization with strong internal power structures can resist the influence of the outside world effectively.

Indeed, power distribution determines not only the success of the group, but also the social standing of individual members. Jacobs discusses the three-tier power

structure that he finds present in most religious groups. He finds that "at the base of the hierarchy are the ordinary 'followers' who have little status within the group. At the middle level are a cadre of higher-status devotees who are directly responsible to the leader, the dominant figure who maintains ultimate power over the operations and spiritual life of the religious community" (Jacobs 41). Where do the children of the followers fit into this power structure? In most cases, children do not hold power within new religious movements. However, they do experience the effects of the power held by their parents or caretakers.

Therefore, the charismatic leader serves an important, though often indirect, role in the lives of the children. Children rarely saw the Farm's leader, Mrs. Staveley. Yet they revered her. She controlled the power held by their parents. Essentially, her decisions and fulfillment of her position determined the social standing of every member of the Farm. Her efforts provided the base upon which children learned about the teachings of Gurdjieff and the work of the Farm. Without a revered authority on these topics, children would not develop the immense respect that they do for the spiritual movement to which they belong.

The product of this power manifests itself in the social standing of each child. Some groups care for the children communally. Children do not have direct or constant contact with their parents. If factored into Jacobs' power structure, children hold the lowest position of power in these groups. Their social status may also be at this low level. However, at the Two Rivers Farm, children are not completely separated from their parents. Although they do spend much of their time at the Farm with other groups of children, they also live in individual homes with their families. Children do not hold

any positions of power. With few exceptions, they do automatically obtain the social status of their parents. There are several cases in which exceptionally intelligent or devoted young people have broken out of the social standing assigned them by their parents' social status at the Farm.

The Two Rivers Farm actually follows the teachings of two charismatic leaders: Gurdjieff and Mrs. Staveley. Instead of constructing a group that followed the teachings of Gurdjieff, Mrs. Staveley took on the role as a leader as well. In many religious movements, the future seems precarious when the charismatic founder dies. What will happen to the Brethren when their leader Jim Roberts dies? In the case of Siddha Yoga, a lineage has been developed. Power is handed down to the next guru as the elder one dies. After Gurdjieff's death, his students dispersed. However, to my knowledge, he did not specifically hand his power over to any particular individual. Each of his students that felt compelled to teach did so. The Two Rivers Farm is particularly interesting because the charismatic founder based her power upon the principles of her teacher.

Though many charismatic people have had a significant impact on new religious movements, this investigation will focus on the individuals responsible for founding the Two Rivers Farm. The organization finds its roots in the teachings of Gurdjieff. Showing early signs of spiritual awareness between the ages of eight and eleven, he saw rain as a response to prayer (Moore). While he began his journey for truth before 1884, he did formulate the central question that provided a basis for his teachings. He asked, "what is the sense and significance of life on earth?" (Moore). Before asking this question, Gurdjieff spent several months studying at the Sanaine Monastery in Echmiadzin (Moore 320). He also studied the practices of the Mevlevi and Bektashi

dervishes over the course of the following summer (Moore 321). He traveled a great deal, gaining ideas and practices that he would later employ in the formation of his own spiritual philosophies.

After gaining enough information to satisfy his curiosity, Gurdjieff ceased his geographical search for truth. He set out on another journey, this time to establish institutions that employed his newly found spiritual philosophies. Initially seeking pupils individually, "he moved to Moscow on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution . . . [where] his lectures attracted an impressive assortment of philosophers, scientists and other intellectuals" (Kyle 251). In early 1916, he had just six students. Just six months later, he had thirty (Moore 324). Clearly, this man demonstrated his ability to attract and convince people to his way of thinking. This can be seen in both his early numerical success and throughout the development of his multiple institutes.

The practices and teachings of Gurdjieff have been perceived as deviant by mainstream society since their introduction. As Gurdjieff established his group in London, citizens and the media formed their own opinions of his work. E.C. Bowyer wrote about Gurdjieff in the "London Daily News." A review of his article states that Gurdjieff is "an Eastern philosopher-mystic" and the article depicts "the 'Study House' in the historic Forest of Fontainebleau, some 40 miles from Paris, where his disciples follow a course of hard work and even harder fare" (www.gurdjieff.org/bowyer1.htm). Bowyer's perception of the institute provided a glance into an organization that was, at that time, uncommon in British society. Though this group existed in a state of fairly low tension with the surrounding environment, intrigue swirled around Gurdjieff and his practices. Kyle notes that:

At the institute, life revolved around the personality of Gurdjieff. He was an authoritarian who often made unreasonable demands. One of his principle ideas was that humanity had become complacent and could advance spiritually only by having this smugness shattered, especially through menial, back-breaking tasks" (251).

These principles present a controversial view to a society that often embraces complacency. Gurdjieff embraces hard work as a means for spiritual advancement. He employed the same approach with children. As Fritz Peters describes in his Boyhood With Gurdjieff, he was responsible for mowing the lawns at the Institute in France. In one of their initial encounters, Gurdjieff informed him that "I am the only one who teaches what you ask" (Peters 6). Peters also noted that, "during the two years that I had been there, I had been aware of, and certainly subscribed to, the feeling and belief that Gurdjieff could do no wrong" (Peters 116). In all, Gurdjieff's teachings, whether received by children or adults, did receive scrutiny from the surrounding community.

Gurdjieff's charisma seeped through all he taught. Peters notes that:

His gestures, his manner of expressing himself, the incredible range of tone and dynamics in his voice, and his use of emotion, all seemed calculated to spell-bind his auditors; perhaps to mesmerize them to such an extent that they were unable to argue with him at the time. (114).

In this way, he reached his students and established his position as master. One of his students, John Lester, noted the intensity in Gurdjieff. Lester said "he turned his full attention towards me, which, I can tell you, was considerable, and said 'is more important that you say *I am*, than is that you breathe'" (<http://www.gurdjieff.org>). Having taken lessons from Lester at the Farm School myself, this is not an understatement. Gurdjieff was a man intent upon his inner work. However, as noted by Kyle, the outside world often perceives this as extreme in comparison to dominant social norms.

many sources: Sufi, Buddhist, Christian, and occult are all mixed together. Yet Sufi and occult elements seem to be the most pronounced" (250). For example, Gurdjieff saw the path to enlightenment through an exercise called "movements." Movements are performed by groups of people and involve simultaneous motions of the body in formation on the floor. They are usually practiced to live piano music and performed for sacred ceremonies and special occasions. This practice compliments Gurdjieff's belief that "those who fail to train themselves to be fully 'awake' are sleepwalking through life. Thus, the central concept in his teachings pertains to this method of arousing a person's dormant consciousness or potentiality" (Kyle 252). In the Gurdjieff work, physical practices reflect the belief system.

As Gurdjieff established his institutes in England and France, his inner circle of students grew. Many of these students traveled across the world with him and started up groups of their own. He shared his beliefs with followers from Russia to the United States, after his arrival in 1924 (Orage 2-3). On this first trip to the United States, "a group from Fontainebleau toured the country, presenting the 'sacred gymnastics'" (Kyle 251). As Americans received some exposure to the principles of Gurdjieff, he began to develop a following. The Gurdjieff movement places an emphasis on personal connections and, therefore, has never had an enormous number of followers. His followers, including many members of the Farm, are typically very devoted. They give completely of their time and energy to the movement. Even still, the followers of Gurdjieff have increased in number. According to Rowley, "by the early 1970s there were about five thousand disciples of Gurdjieff in America" (Kyle 251-252). Consistent with this modest number, Gurdjieff groups remained small and had an impact on local

cultures. After his death, students dispersed and his teachings did as well.

After Gurdjieff passed away in 1949 in Paris, his teachings continued through the leadership of his students. At the time of his death, the Gurdjieff work had spread across the world. Many of his students traveled around the world and formed Gurdjieff groups of their own. One of Gurdjieff's students, Jane Heap, taught some future leaders of Gurdjieff movements. The American groups expanded as new religious movements became more visible during the 1960's. However, "others had joined Gurdjieff groups, but found Gurdjieff's successors unimpressive or the teachings too 'dry' without the presence of Gurdjieff" (Puttick 30). Even so, those who found answers in the teachings of Gurdjieff remained students for long periods of time. At least this is the case at the Two Rivers Farm.

There are few recorded sources about Annie Lou Staveley's life. In large part, older members of the Farm can recall the details of her life. Rather than a compilation of dates, a look into her presence at the Farm will prove useful. In her lifetime, Mrs. Staveley wrote several books on the themes employed in the Gurdjieff work. She remarked "the world, the civilisation we have known, is disintegrating around us with increasing momentum. Many people, including those interested in Gurdjieff's teaching, realize that something new is urgently required for our lives, and that that "something" concerns a transformation in the inner life of Man in the first place, but can and must result also in a huge change in man's outer life" (Spring 1999, Vol. II, 3). She saw the answer to the urgency that life presented within the teachings of Gurdjieff. At the Farm, which she started, she acted as the authority on most every subject. The fact that the details about her life are rare is indicative of the elevated position in which she lived.

Mrs. Staveley's house sits on the corner of the main courtyard at the Farm. She has a large, spacious house with a library, kitchen, and beautiful art on the walls. There is also a guest wing for visiting movements' instructors or other guests. In addition, the meeting hall, where group meetings are held, is attached to her house. Her home looks over the herb garden, stone wall, and out onto the green lawn. Children fill her firewood box each day as a chore. I can remember nervously tiptoeing up her steps with an armful of wood. Struggling at the door to remove my shoes, I balanced the wood in my arms and slid across the hard wood floor of her front hall. Creaking open the door to the study, I placed the wood silently in the appropriate box. The house was completely silent. She appeared in the doorway, a tiny little woman with white hair, and smiled. I added another piece to the dwindling fire and swept up the dirt. With a nervous wave, I ran out the door. For some reason, she was always intimidating. She was a kind woman who always had something nice to say to the children. Although every adult held her in high esteem, I was petrified of her.

Every Monday afternoon, the children would run to Mrs. Staveley's house for "candy day." She passed out candy to each child. We would go to her back door, waiting eagerly for her to come and greet us with the large candy bowl. She would give us one, occasionally two, pieces of brilliantly colored hard candy. I have never tasted candy so good! At the time, this day provided an incentive for me to go to school on Mondays. It made the whole day magical somehow. In retrospect, all these magical feelings that I associated with "candy day" were easily transferred to Mrs. Staveley. In all honesty, I probably only saw her for these two minutes every week. But, I thought of her as endearing, kind, sweet, and any other number of good qualities. My argument

does not set out to prove that she did not embody all of these qualities. However, the set up of the Farm limited the contact that children had with Mrs. Staveley. We only saw her at our semi-annual school drama productions and at lunch on Sundays. I have often marvelled at the effectiveness of this practice. One former Farm School student "saw her as an important person who knew everything. If anyone had a question, she had the answer. She was really special because she had met Gurdjieff." In this way, children saw Mrs. Staveley as the wise, kind leader. She held a place of high esteem in our minds.

Her position of power stood unchallenged by the adults at the Farm. She often spoke with group leaders about the occurrences within their meetings. On several occasions, she asked people to leave the Farm. However, her authoritative power was rarely challenged. Those who challenged it were asked to leave for different reasons. The Gurdjieff work is not for everyone. As a young child, I can remember that certain people would be there one day and gone the next. There was never really an explanation. But, as a child, I understood that Mrs. Staveley's authority should not be challenged. Interestingly enough, she denied being a spiritual teacher. On one occasion, an adult member of the Farm stated that he had never thought of her as his teacher. She looked at him, shocked and appalled. Indeed, she was a teacher and a leader with absolute power. Her inner circle consisted mostly of men. They led groups, instructed movements¹ classes, and maintained certain areas of the Farm. Some women were included within this inner circle. After Mrs. Staveley died several years ago, no one took over as the new leader. Instead, the members of her carefully constructed inner circle continued on with their responsibilities. Her presence is still felt on the Farm. There are pictures of her on some walls, along with those of Gurdjieff. Her memory still holds a place of honor at the

Farm.

English: The perception of the child's world

*at the time I was in the country were small. The school
affiliated by the parents to fulfill was very interesting, but still
affiliated with a simple structure.*

As younger generations of white settlers move across, children are marginalized by the practices and beliefs of that movement and moving them as normal. They do so in a fashion similar to young children that grew up in poor great tradition. For children in a city, they have the behaviors practiced by the white world down. The example young generation of the Hmong, Hmong (Hmong) that move. Much is the traditional path were by Hmong. They grew up to find that the rest of society does not want them. However, they have culture is wrong the reality is marginal. To be assimilated does not apply only to clothing. The Hmong assimilationist are also changed. That away is of a new American culture. As a result, young people grow up and often adopt the culture, process system and religious involved. This culture, in addition to devout spiritual beliefs, may include a different use of the common language, an alternative approach to education learning, and relationships based on artistic freedom in the cultural world. Children raised in cities often find themselves social values strange and unfamiliar. However, the argument that children brought up in new religious and social culture adjust to the environment of the outside world does not recognize the religious process. Singer, an American writer of white, contends that "when a person lives in the city and takes the child out into the world is usually behind in school and does not know how to fit into a normal environment" (201). The problem with this view is that there is no typical child. Secondly, children brought up in cities do not all want the same way to an outside environment. Young children who have to handle culture are instead assimilated.

Section V: Structure of Socialization

"At the Farm School, the classes were small. The school allowed us the freedom to follow our own interests, but still offered basic academic classes."

As younger members of a new religious movement, children are surrounded by the practices and beliefs of that movement and accept them as normal. They do so in a fashion similar to young children that grow up in any given culture. For children in a cult, they learn the behaviors practiced by the adults around them. For example, young members of the Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization wear bana. Bana is the traditional garb worn by Sikhs. They grow up to find that the rest of society does not wear bana. However, they have come to accept this clothing as normal. This acceptance does not apply only to clothing. The living accommodations are often communal. Food may be of a non-American culture. As a result, young people grow up and often adopt the culture presented by their new religious movement. This culture, in addition to deviant spiritual beliefs, may include a different use of the common language, an alternative approach to academic learning, and relationship based on criteria foreign to the outside world. Children raised in cults often find dominant social values strange and unfamiliar. However, the argument that children brought up in new religious movements cannot adjust to the environment of the outside world does not incorporate the complete picture. Singer, an outward critic of cults, contends that "when a parent leaves the cult and takes the child out also, the child is usually behind in school and does not know how to fit into a normal environment" (255). The problem with this view is that there is no typical child. Secondly, children brought up in cults do not all react the same way to an outside environment. Some children who move to secular schools are behind academically.

Some children in cults excel in academics. Palmer asks:

If we do not take seriously their own versions of reality and realize that children are active in the construction and determination of their own lives, how can we possibly begin to assess the well-being inside controversial communities or analyze their impact on the futures of new religious movements? (3)

This raises the important point that new religious movements may actually provide a positive foundation for the development of children. In any case, there is little room for stereotypes in the exploration of how children adapt to the outside world after spending years in a cult.

Although the Farm operates during the week, the most concentrated work takes place on Sundays. Long before sunrise, tired men and women rise from warm beds to face the cool, misty drive to the Farm. The road from Aurora, where many members live, winds through the small town, across the river cloaked in mist, and into the countryside. As a small Volvo speeds past fields of crops, farmhouses lie still on either side of the road. The road curves around and a stone sign reads "Two Rivers Farm" on the left side of the road. The car turns off its lights as it enters the gravel driveway lined by tall trees. Strawberries, grapes, and vegetables lie still below the dark green branches of filbert trees. A small stone structure appears in the distance. Windows, though few, resemble those found in some churches. A wooden fence constructed by hand encloses a dark cow pasture cloaked in fog. The driveway feeds into a large parking lot flanked by a long two-story school building, a small vegetable garden, an incinerator, a wood shed, a recycling center, and a converted three-story barn. The faint sound of gravel under foot cuts the silent morning as the first cook enters the barn kitchen. After the fire in the stove burns brightly, she selects a bright red apron from a deep drawer to the right of the sink.

The pleasant creaking sound of the door lets both another cook and a blast of cold air into the kitchen. Together, they survey the room where they will prepare food for just under a hundred people this Sunday. The long chopping block in the middle of the room lies covered in salt with several stick figures drawn in by passing children. Several other adults trickle in from the cool darkness of the Middle Bay. Within half an hour, the fire roars as plumes of flour rise from a large mixing bowl of bread dough. Dozens of eggs, brought in from the chicken coop only the day before, slide lazily down the side of a bowl of pancake batter. Though the kitchen hums with the sounds of food preparation, the cooks remain silent. One man, wiping the flour from his hands, goes into the Middle Bay to start the fire that heats the entire barn. As he closes the door to the kitchen, the sharp cold of the cement floor pierces through his socks. Lines of canning jars stretch across a long table, awaiting the next season's harvest. In the distance, a rooster crows and a beautiful sunrise casts dreamlike shadows across the back pastures and over Hester's Woods. Ascending up the stairs to the dish room, two men enter the movement's hall. One stops for a moment to survey the view. A pink and purple light radiates from behind Mt. Hood and sheds its brilliance on the polished oak floor of the mirrored room.

Three hours later, tables hold pitchers of orange juice, sausages, pancakes, eggs, and cinnamon rolls. People stand and wait for their leader, Mrs. Staveley, to enter the room. Escorted by a middle-aged man, she walks through the room and takes her place at the head table. Voices, both young and old, pray:

In the name of the Creator of all that breathes
Let us receive this gift of nature
In the devout hope that we, in gratitude,
Will strive to maintain all that has been created

The conversation over breakfast hardly reflects the early hour of the morning. Two girls sneak over to the head table to talk to the man in charge of assigning tasks for the day. They would like to work at childcare with the younger children. After they have signed up, they run out of the room, down the stairs, and into the kitchen. They speak to the cooks who have already started preparations for the noontime meal and grab some bread on their way out the door. Others pour down the staircases into the kitchen and the foyer. Another Sunday at the Farm has begun.

Surveying the list of tasks, a young woman finds that she will work in the garden for the day. Groups of people also weed the gardens, chop firewood, harvest and plant crops, pick fruit, collect walnuts and hazelnuts, press apple cider, preserve meat, take care of the children, cook for the children, work on the new property, and perform other necessary tasks. Each group has several older members of the Farm, newer members, young adults, and some children. While young children play in childcare for the entire day, older children work alongside the adults for the morning work session. They participate in planned recreational activities during the latter half of the day.

As the large iron bell brings workers in for the four o'clock break, three women cluster around a table in the movement's hall. Their hair pulled back tightly in buns, the two older women arrange teapots on bright yellow tables. A young woman with two long braids carefully places clean white teacups upside down in rows. The spoons already lie neatly to one side of the cups along with the cream and sugar. People clad in black and white movements slippers begin to drift through the double doors at the other end of the room. Within minutes, the sound of their voices and laughter fill the room. Children dash haphazardly to join their friends, almost spilling cups full milk, sugar, and a small

amount of steaming coffee. They grab handfuls of bread and slather them with butter and sugar—a treat enjoyed every Sunday. The boys race around, sliding all over the floor in their long, white socks, now dirty from a day of work and play outside. After some admonishment from an adult, they slow down long enough to slip downstairs and outside to freedom. Most of them wear jeans and sweatshirts, coated in a layer of dirt and the scent of fresh apples. The cider press kept them busy for the morning and most of the afternoon. Even still, this activity alone did not exhaust their endless energy supplies. Before leaving, a blonde-haired boy taps one of the girls on the shoulder and disappears out the door. The young girl, wearing a jade corduroy skirt and a brightly patterned turtleneck, grabs a friend and the two pursue him. The remaining girls whisper and laugh at the conversations occurring around them. To one side, two women talk quietly. They both wear long denim skirts and white movement's slippers. One has on a darkly patterned brown shirt with horses and red hats. The other one wears a bright purple turtleneck. Just beyond them, a man sits quietly by himself. He does not like children. Three men discuss what activity they will occupy the young boys with for the last hour of the day at the Farm. Perhaps they will let them have free time. Or they might allow them to go to the apartment in the hop barn to play inside. Feelings of satisfaction emanate from the room. People worked hard and accomplished a great deal. The Farm stands ready to face another week.

The next day, cars turn into the driveway and stop. Children bundled in coats, mittens, hats, and scarves tumble out and begin to walk up the long driveway. Parents, who also serve as carpool drivers, turn around and drive off to start their days. Several teachers drop off loads of children and drive slowly towards the school. Children walk

slowly and talk amongst themselves. They stomp on frozen puddles with black rubber boots. The stretch of gravel seems endless each and every morning. As they reach the stone building, some children cut through the herb garden and across the little wooden bridge. Others skip along the path between the apartments and Mrs. Staveley's house. The creaking sound of the wooden schoolyard gate echoes and slams as children stream in. A small bell signals the start of another school day at exactly 8:30 in the morning. Younger children remove their shoes and place their coats and lunches in small red cubbies lining the hallway of the schoolhouse. The older children dash up the stairs two at a time and throw their shoes by the door. The middle room holds a brightly burning fireplace and, as it sparks, children gather around to warm their feet and hands. From the next room, a teacher calls her five students in to begin English class. Today, they will share their poems with the class. Nervously, a ten-year-old girl recites: "the flower reaches, reaches, reaches." The class waits for more, but she is done. Her teacher smiles and shows wild appreciation for her simplicity through an illustration of her technique on the board. Teachers encourage activities and exercises that equip their students with a sense of their own identity.

Just downstairs, some of the "middle ones" have their morning spelling lesson. Depending on the student, the "middle ones" range in age from five to ten. In groups of two, they practice lists of words in preparation for their weekly spelling test. Next door, the "little ones," ranging in age from two and a half to four, gather in the big room. The big room is just that, the biggest room in the schoolhouse. It houses large, brightly colored building blocks, an upright piano, a shelf full of books, a corner full of dolls and dress-up clothes, and shelves of toys behind handmade curtains.

Students, many of whom enter the Farm School before they are three years old, usually have the same classmates for the entire time they are enrolled. They form close relationships with one another due in part to the size of their classes. The class size at the Two Rivers Farm School has always been small. As few as three students and as many as ten have class together. Students have academic classes with their peers on Monday through Thursday mornings. They divide by gender for the majority of afternoon classes. Males and females, though equal in number at the school, often find the rest of their age group to consist of mostly one gender or the other. The majority of students at the Two Rivers Farm School are Caucasian. With few exceptions, all of them speak English as their first language. In addition, most students have at least one parent who is a member of the Farm. An observation of the social class of members would quickly place the average student in a middle class family.

The class opportunities at the Farm School have no limits! Teachers encourage students to suggest courses that they would like to take. One young woman remembered that she and several other girls wanted to take mechanics. They brought their idea to the headmaster. He found them an instructor and made time in their schedule for mechanics. As each afternoon and entire Fridays were devoted to elective courses, there was plenty of time for adjustments of this nature. On the first day of every school year, students copy down their schedules for the year from the blackboard. They also gather in the main room in a circle to share the name that they wish to be called that year. Elective courses included cooking, sewing, fence mending, mechanics, driving, horse riding, drawing, pottery, and many others. These courses filled the afternoons of Monday through Thursday. During the mornings, students study academic subjects. These

include Reading, Italic writing, Spelling, French, Spanish, English, Anatomy, Biology, Geography, Mathematics, and History. Many of the Drawing classes are based on Waldorf ideas of simplicity and the ability to draw perfect freehand circles. Each Friday morning, the children divide into assigned groups. The groups consist of all ages of children. Their activity, entitled "Guess What?," will lead them all over the Farm on a surprise activity. They may go on a scavenger hunt, pick up filberts, or play sardines. At the end of each day, students have half an hour to perform their assigned chore. Chores include sweeping common hallways, bringing in firewood, stocking Mrs. Staveley's firewood, and tidying the schoolyard. Within the school day, children also get two recesses and time for lunch. These total about two hours each. A sample schedule for a group of twelve-year old girls can be found in Appendix C.

The level of parent participation within the school is extensive. While some parents serve as teachers, others clean the school after the day is over. Parents are required to participate in a community carpool. Each family provides about two rides per week for the three-mile drive from the town of Aurora out to the Farm. Mothers make snacks for the morning break for the younger children. Each child brings his or her own lunch. During lunchtime, teachers read from storybooks. Overall, the parent visibility and support of the Farm School makes the non-accredited school a success.

As the children practice movements, a serious, introspective-looking man observes. He watches as people fill the foyer of the barn. He looks on as children learn their lessons at school. His words, presented artistically, decorate many visible walls at the Farm. Though not alive any longer, G.I. Gurdjieff remains a presence at the Two Rivers Farm—a place that he never visited during his life. Children less than ten years of

age know few specific details about his life. However, they know his name and that he was a great man. The respect for Gurdjieff flows from the mouths of children as they state how he could ride up a steep hill on a bicycle, jump down from the terrifying hayloft, or climb to the top of a tall tree. They refer to Gurdjieff with the respect of a deity. To them, he is heroic and capable of treacherous deeds.

Though directly associated with the Farm, the school does not maintain an explicitly spiritual program. Students receive plenty of exposure to the teachings of Gurdjieff within their activities on the Farm outside of the school day. Within school, the occasional teacher may refer to Gurdjieff. Once a year, students watch a movie about Gurdjieff's life. Other than that, there are no explicit courses or references to Gurdjieffian philosophy within the school. However, the school is directly associated with the Farm. It is assumed that almost all school children will be exposed to Gurdjieff and his teachings outside of the school day.

Section VI: Diffusion of Gurdjieffian and Farm Philosophies

"As a mom, the Farm taught me to treat my children the way that we were treated. As a student, the Farm gave me a good education and prepared me to do well academically."

A young woman sits with an angry look on her face. Her arms crossed, she expresses frustration with the lack of genuine relationships she has formed at her new school. Everyone seems too busy to be genuine. Though years removed from her experience at the Farm School, she still searches for the connection that she had with her peers there. Her description of her surroundings now sounds similar to her interpretation of the social environment at the time of her first transfer to public school. Many other graduates share her disappointment with the depth of relationships with non-Farm School students. Several of them mention that there is a certain honesty and depth to their interactions with members of the Farm. The Farm emphasized this type of basic, personal interaction with other people. Though based loosely on Gurdjieff's teachings, the Farm School encouraged the core of relationships and not the superficial facades that surround them. In this way, the survival of the Farm philosophies can be seen as young adults employ them in their encounters with the outside world. The Farm School graduates' educational experiences, spiritual outlooks, and interpersonal relationship ideals demonstrate just how effective the Farm has been in adapting them to a way of living that is quite different from that of the mainstream society.

All subjects report that they began attending the Farm School between the ages of two and a half and three years. In addition, they all participated in movements' classes on Saturday mornings at some point during their childhood. While these characteristics are similar amongst most Farm School students, their personal interpretations of their

experiences have little in common. When asked about their first memory of the Farm, subjects recalled everything from schoolyard games to carpool rides. While most aspects of the Farm only received attention from one subject, several mentioned their memories of Work Week. This event takes place during the summer and involves a week of intensive physical labor and inner spiritual work. The children spend the night at the school together. Each day is similar to that of a Sunday on the Farm, but there are additional evening activities and children are separated from their parents. Indeed, these weeks prove to be one of the most intense experiences in the lives of young children.

While students continued through the academic program laid out by the Farm School, they faced the inevitable entrance into public school and the outside world. On the whole, their educational achievements lead many to the conclusion that the Farm School provides a strong academic background that fosters lifelong learning. One public school teacher found that "the post-secondary achievement of former Two Rivers Farm School students is higher than the majority of their peers." All but one of the subjects attends college, had graduated from college, or intends to do so.

Confronting new worlds, students transferred to different schools. Classes and friends came with new expectations and demands not previously expected from them at the Farm School. Perhaps because of their previous shelter from the world, subjects had a great deal to say about the negativity that they initially associated with their new schools. There were drugs, substances virtually unheard of at the Farm School. For the first time, the economic class of their peers became a factor in these students' lives. Their new classes were large, often with over thirty students. One subject noted that, in public school, there was "no improvisation, just lesson plans." They found the students

immature and afraid to be themselves. The teachers were "dealing with the problem students instead of the needs of all students." This drastic change in both academic and social environments presented recent Farm School graduates with an adjustment period.

However, as they explored their new environments, students found that the positive aspects of a larger school were plentiful. Most subjects participated in sports teams, a benefit that they had not enjoyed as students at the Farm School. The academic structure was more formal and challenging. At the Farm School, one subject noted, "we were under more pressure because our teachers were often our parents or our parents' friends. We wanted to keep up the good work because we cared what these people thought." A larger school allowed class variety, though not as creatively oriented, as many Farm students had grown accustomed to. Students became friends with other young people who had similar interests. At the Farm, students that had little in common became friends. The Farm was so small that they had no other choice. Many subjects preferred the anonymity of a larger school. However, most subjects found their own social ineptitude far greater than that of their public school peers.

While many subjects mark their Farm School experience as positive, one young woman did not. She expressed that "I am, perhaps understandably, loathe to claim these experiences as either defining characteristics of myself as a person or as driving forces behind my not unimpressive accomplishments after leaving the Farm School." She found problems with the lack of rules that guide students and teachers at the school. In fact, she experienced:

Teachers who were highly verbally abusive and denigrated me regarding everything from my abysmal early spelling efforts to my lack of desire to speak in class. Consequently, after being told that I was mentally substandard for years at the Farm School, I did feel a desire to prove these individuals wrong by my later

academic record.

Her experience at the Farm, similar to mine, reflects the childhood of some who attended this school. However, as her case is in the minority in this study, conclusions will be drawn from the experiences of the majority of subjects interviewed.

In many cases, the lessons that these students learned from the Farm School demonstrate the value of their experiences. Subjects attribute an overwhelmingly positive list of qualities to their lessons from the Farm. The importance of quality found its base in almost all classroom endeavors. As a respondent noted that "each activity was treated with a lot of attention. Teachers made us re-do it until it came out well. We learned to do everything well the first time." In spite of this, few of the lessons learned are scholastically based. One young woman learned "how to be a true friend and be strong in my morals and not follow everyone else." If it were possible to quantify the importance of a foundation from which to grow, most subjects did just this in their enthusiastic testimonies about the one that they received at the Farm. Simply said, "if there are people that are not helpful to my learning, I am independent enough to not conform to their standards. We were given a stable enough foundation to do whatever it is that we wanted to do." This foundation is built of independent thought, confidence, and honesty that shine clearly in most former Farm School students.

Indeed, the public school teachers that instructed these students after their time at the Farm concur. They found that these students exhibited confidence and social maturity. One teacher found that students from the Farm were not as driven by grades as their peers. They were identified as in the top five percent of each of their respective grades. Another teacher noted that:

[They] had an enthusiasm, curiosity, and love of learning that I found evident in all whom I came in contact with. In all my interactions with these students I found each to be respectful to adults, fun-loving, courteous, and considerate with their peers.

In addition to scholastic achievement, "they participated [in extracurricular activities] to a greater degree than the rest of the student body." Overall, the Two Rivers Farm School students were a welcome addition to their new schools.

As the adults at the Farm engaged themselves in their own spiritual quests, the children received a mild exposure to spirituality. For the most part, children spent their time within their own world. They played in the schoolyard. Their academic lessons did not directly revolve around Gurdjieff and his teachings. He was rarely mentioned within the context of lessons. How, then, did children learn about the spiritual enlightenment that their parents sought? They attended theme meetings for young people. These meetings, led by adult members of the Farm, presented questions to the group. These questions required careful consideration of why people are here on earth. After a morning of thought, children shared their interpretations of the theme in an afternoon discussion. The ideas presented herein were often related back to Gurdjieff. However, as young adults recall their exposure to the ideas and practices of the Farm, they do not remember much emphasis on them.

When these children grow up and encounter the outside world, they bring with them the knowledge of their own experience with the new religious movement. Consequently, the ideas of this group spread to the outside world through the influence that these children have on non-cult members. The process by which these ideas are diffused comes with some difficulty. As E. Burke Rochford, Jr mentioned, "the public school setting is sociologically and ideologically antagonistic to the socioreligious world

of persons raised in an unconventional religious community" (Palmer 32). The ideas that the children bring with them may not be liked or accepted. However, the ideas receive more exposure than they would if the children remained in the group. Even in spite of the difficulties with adjustment, students in some new religious communities enter the public school world with little difficulty. Indeed, Dawson finds that "charismatically led groups attempt to bring their beliefs and practices into greater conformity with the values and systems of authority dominant in the rest of society" (141-142). Cults with structures that are neither too similar nor too dissimilar from society provide their children with an opportunity to spread the group's ideas to the outside world.

Young people also play an important role in the changing face of new religious movements. They spread the ideas of these groups. Often, they do so inadvertently. The groups can instill a sense of lifetime learning in their children. As young adults, they apply this joy of learning to earn college degrees. They move through life with the spiritual ideas of the group. In joining other religious organizations, these former cult members spread their own ideas of spirituality. On a personal level, they relate to people in a manner instilled in them by the new religious movement. If a particular group emphasizes the importance of constant human contact, individuals may seek to create relationships outside of the group that reflect this. Consequently, new religious movements can achieve success as their ideas and beliefs diffuse into mainstream society. Specifically, the Two Rivers Farm has achieved just this type of success with the education of its younger generations.

The integration of Gurdjieffian practices and ideas was subtle in the lives of the children on the Farm. One subject stated that "we were never really introduced to them

that much . . . they were incorporated into the way we lived." So, the children saw Gurdjieff's pictures on the walls. They read the words of Gurdjieff and some of his prominent students that were artistically displayed all over the Farm. Their parents followed Gurdjieff's teachings closely. But, there were no classes devoted to the study of Gurdjieff. As a result, children learned that Gurdjieff was generally a great man. They did not, however, retain many of his specific teachings or philosophies. When asked to recall the most memorable spiritual teaching of the Farm, young adults found it difficult to articulate one specific teaching. Rather, they learned general principles that could apply to many religious or spiritual followings. This commonality, found in most subjects, was articulated by one in particular. She found that "there's not one teaching that I learned, it's almost subconscious, what a kid learns." At least in the case of learning about Gurdjieff, the Farm certainly subconsciously incorporates it into the lives of its children.

However, some subjects did express more specific spiritual teachings from their childhood at the Farm. Several individuals remembered the emphasis that was placed on the saying "I am." The concept of inner spiritual work, a central component of the Farm, remained a popular memory among subjects. Three subjects expressed not only their memories of adults working on themselves, but their own desires to continue spiritual work themselves. More generally, subjects remembered the emphasis that was placed on respect for the individual, the earth, and other spiritual followings. One respondent remembers to "take the best things from every religion because, in the end, they're all about the same." Another recalled "the earth needs to be respected in an attempt to leave it better than when you came, like when you go camping." On each school camping trip,

with their peers. One subject describes it as a "a gentle introduction to some ideas on how to pursue spirituality and growth." Each meeting lasted for approximately forty-five minutes. Most subjects mention their participation in theme as a factor in their current ability to explore spirituality and all of its components. This forum provided a guided framework by which to question not only themselves, but also the teachings that Gurdjieff laid forth. However, children often did this without directly attributing their search with Gurdjieff. The tools that they developed through this process currently help facilitate their spiritual growth as young adults.

Most Farm children learned about the life of Gurdjieff from the movie "Meetings With Remarkable Men." This movie was shown once a year on January 13, Gurdjieff's birthday. It depicted his search for truth as described in his book with the same title. Though only seen annually, young adults remember a few select moments from the film and express that the film did not influence them immensely. However, the same film was shown annually. This action alone placed importance upon Gurdjieff and the events in his life. In addition to these events, children also received exposure to some of the adult practices. For example, as children grew older, they were allowed to attend Gurdjieff's birthday dinner. This event, one of the most celebrated days at the Farm, consisted of a long night of toasts, dinner, and movements' demonstrations. One subject remembers that, at the dinner, "someone would say 'stop' and you would stop and ask 'where are my thoughts, emotions, and body?'" The whole room would fall silent and people of all ages would stop and become more aware of their physical presence. In all, the exposure to spiritual practices, however minimal, has had a significant impact on the current spiritual outlook of all subjects.

this idea was instilled in us. We were required to pick up more trash than we left so as to leave the place nicer than when we came. The Farm School certainly did not explicitly emphasize the teachings that the Farm followed. However, they put an extensive structure in place so that children received exposure to not only the ideas of Gurdjieff, but also those of other spiritual philosophers.

While subjects did not recall many specific spiritual philosophies, most of them remember their own participation in the spiritual practices. Each Saturday morning, children and adults attended movements' classes at the Farm. All subjects were involved in movement's classes to some degree. For most of them, participation was voluntary. Only two young adults recall being forced to go to movements as young children. The other found the experience to be overwhelmingly positive. One subject finds that she "didn't love and [she] didn't hate it—it was just something that [she] did." Others find that movements helped them learn confidence in themselves, concentration, calming techniques, memory skills, group cooperation, coordination, and self-awareness. Several find the connection that they felt between their bodies and minds striking. Was it a spiritual experience? Most of the subjects remember movements' class as a fun activity, but did not consider it spiritual at such a young age. A respondent remembers, "we loved going. It was voluntary. I remember them specifically saying 'if you don't want to go, don't go.'" For the most part, movements' class was the most popular activity for the subject group.

With the exception of several subjects, all of them mentioned their involvement with theme meetings on Sundays. While some saw it as an opportunity to get out of work on the farm early, others did view theme as a unique opportunity to discuss spirituality

When subjects were asked to offer their definitions of religious people, most defined them as individuals who followed a specific faith that involved more than one person. Several people found fault with the placement of a restricting definition on religious people. One subject had difficulty with her strong bias against Christianity and organized religion. She expressed that she "built a wall up against Christians" and found it "hard to take all my own prejudices and not put them into the people that I am meeting now." The Farm did not encourage or discourage particular religions. They did, however, emphasize that there is truth and importance in most religious and spiritual organizations. Some subjects expressed difficulty with religious people and often defined them in terms of their limitations. Each respondent that discussed the limitations of organized religion did so by emphasizing qualities that they did not find evident at the Farm. Rather, their ideas about the Farm show up in the way that they define spiritual people.

While individual definitions of spiritual people encompass a wide variety of meanings, most young adults that grew up at the Farm School find a stronger connection with spirituality than they do with religion. Their definitions of spiritual people show this more clearly than anything else. Collectively, subjects found that a spiritual person believes in a higher power and devotes their time to pursuit of the understanding of the principles found in many religions. Seven subjects find that a spiritual person believes in a higher being. Four other respondents note that spirituality involves a fluid understanding of the themes underlying most religions. One subject finds that a religious person is "someone who believes in something, but acts more on their beliefs and feels their religion more physically and mentally than someone who is not spiritual." The

definitions of spiritual people help depict how individual subjects remember people at the Farm.

If subjects defined themselves as spiritual or religious, they either identified as a spiritual person or as both. Five respondents found difficulty with defining themselves as either spiritual or religious. However, these subjects did mention that they were more prone to become spiritual than religious. One subject stated that: "I see myself as someone who knows what I need to do spiritually, for myself and for the world, but I have not actively begun the search to know myself." In spite of the less positive reactions to religious people, two subjects identified themselves as both spiritual and religious. Another respondent stated that she is "a spiritual person in search of religion." The strength of most subjects seems to be in their ability to search spiritually and explore new religious and spiritual philosophies. All of them mentioned an interest in more than one spiritual or religious philosophy.

Due to the fact that many subjects still identify as seekers, the diversity in their religious or spiritual philosophies is immense. There are few common qualities in their responses. One young adult believes in reincarnation. Another finds that "orthodoxy is bad." There are several respondents that expressed belief in a higher power. Summarizing the beliefs of several others, one person believes that "first one must realize themselves fully and through knowing themselves, realize that they are not separate from anyone else." Two subjects find that their beliefs find a basis in Buddhism. Yet another expresses her belief in Christianity. Other than that, subjects do not identify with any spiritual or religious groups other than those of Gurdjieffian nature. The tendency of the subjects to question organized spiritual authority may stem from their early exposure to

adults who explored their own spirituality, rather than their own predispositions to spiritual exploration.

Reaching their teen years, some former Two Rivers Farm School students attended weekly theme meetings. Their leader was a member of the Farm. They met with other young people and were able to discuss many of the same themes that their parents did. In addition, some subjects still attended the Farm on occasional Sundays. They became involved in different aspects of the Farm, including the various choirs. However, after a year, the theme meetings ceased and these young adults did not participate in the Farm as regularly. Sometimes, they attended Solstice celebrations or visited the Farm with their parents. Of course, many of the grown children still maintained contact with one another.

Evidently, the emphasis on spiritual exploration and the search for truth influenced the children to seek this same knowledge as young adults. The Farm conditioned its young people to seek a deeper understanding of life on earth. All subjects involve themselves in this search to some degree. More importantly than forcing any specific beliefs on the children, the Farm created an optional foundation upon which they could build their own spiritual truths as young adults. Here, the method in which all of the subjects seek spirituality is far more important than their specific belief systems.

Specifically, subjects expressed the desire to continue their spiritual quest in venues similar to the Farm. One young adult noted that: "I believe that we are all here with a chance to further our spirituality and to find people who help us to achieve that and inspire us." At the Farm, adults meet in weekly group meetings to discuss their spiritual journeys together. Many of their children seek to develop spiritually in a group

setting.

As the spiritual awareness of the Farm School children grew, they developed individual approaches to peer interaction. These techniques became tools for survival as the students transferred from the Farm School to nearby public schools. The reality of a new social setting tested each student differently, but each was required to confront the differences between the Farm and the outside world. As they did so, some reacted positively to their new environment. Others endured torment. All students had a period of rapid adjustment to their new schools. After surviving this transition, they were asked to reflect back on how their approach to interpersonal relationships formed.

Initially, students found the social environment at their new schools anything but positive. It is important to note that any student, regardless of spiritual involvement, will most likely have a difficult time in the transfer of schools. However, the subject group's initial reactions to their new environment will continue to shape the picture of the world that contained the Farm School. One respondent found that "you needed a clique, or you were left to the dogs." Another student found it to be "overwhelming because [he] was used to having classes with five other people instead of twenty or thirty." Several others expressed the human desire to immediately fit in with their new surroundings. Still others found their new social environments welcoming. Longtime friendships were formed at the Farm School and most subjects expressed dismay at the lack of opportunities for this type of relationship with their public school peers. One subject noticed that some "people at public school know each other for a week and are best friends." This type of interaction, which the same subject later identified as "100% artificial," receives much disdain from subjects who place a great value on the honest

friendships that they still have from the Farm. Many of them found that nothing replaces a friend from birth.

Subjects found that the social environment at the Farm School fostered honest interactions but did so with limitations. Due to the structure of the school, superficiality was discouraged. As one student describes, "there wasn't any pressure to look nice, it was more just like people knew you for who you were." One young woman liked "the freedom we had. We could fist fight and it wasn't a problem. We could just be kids there." Indeed, everyone played outside together at recess. If two children wanted to fight, then they just had a fight. It didn't matter if they were male or female. They had to talk to each other and work it out afterwards, but there was no detention or pink slips waiting for them. Eventually, students worked out their problems. One student remembers, "there was a lot of garbage going on with excluding certain people." Another notes, "as we got older, the cliques started to form." The social environment began to close in around students as they grew older. Most subjects note that they reached a point at which they desired a different environment, one that offered more social opportunities.

As the Farm School children left the comfortable environment of their old school and entered the new domain of public school, they formed new relationships. What qualities did they value in their friends? Most respondents valued honesty in their new friendships. But, one subject found that "the quality that [she] valued most was that my friends knew me inside and out and knew what I wanted to eat for breakfast." Her interactions with her new peers did not meet up to these expectations. The other qualities that students valued were loyalty, respect, supportiveness, and open-mindedness.

As these same students continued through the public school system and developed relationships with people outside of the Farm, their standards changed only slightly. Most of them still value honesty above all else. But, which of these qualities came as a result of their time spent at the Farm? Many subjects concluded that their ideas of friendship came in large part from their time spent and friendships formed at the Farm School. One reflected, "I felt like the Farm School encouraged you to blossom into your own person. People would like you for the qualities you possessed." The same person noted that students were encouraged "not to put time into a relationship based on surface values." Almost all young adults involved in this case study attributed their tendency to form honest, open relationships to their experience with the Farm School. The regularity with which these young adults seek deep relationships in their lives is striking. While each value slightly different qualities in other people, they all strive to relate to others in much the same way that they may have once connected with their friends at the Farm School.

The relationships that children at the Farm School form with each other and adult members last significantly longer than those that the same children form with their public school peers. On average, respondents are still in contact with 3 of their friends from the first school that they transferred to after the Farm School. The same subjects are still in touch with an average of 7 people from their age group at the Farm. They also maintain contact with an average of 19 former or current Farm members. But, as one subject added, "its not the same kind of relationship." The bonds that some Farm School children share with one another will undoubtedly last for their entire lives.

Brought up to question surface values, this group of young adults does precisely

this in their educational endeavors, spiritual pursuits, and personal relationships. Though none of them are involved in geographical journeys for deeper knowledge as Gurdjieff was, they do question as he did. These questions have lead them to their current lives in which they seek more than appearances offer. Many of them follow the words that were said to them as they graduated from the Farm School. At the end of their final year, Mrs. Staveley talks to the graduating group. She tells them that Gurdjieff saw the importance in paving an individual path through life. Every child receives a crystal in a small black velvet bag. Then, they slowly walk down the little gravel path back to the school to collect their backpacks. This departure from the Farm School is sad for some and joyous for others. Everyone feels a bit fearful. They take with them an immense amount of knowledge of how to negotiate the situations that they will encounter in the world. But, new graduates hardly realize the gifts and burdens that have been laid upon them in their time at the Farm School. After adaptation to the outside world, some will look back fondly on the Farm. Others will still visit regularly. And still others will despise the place. Most certainly, none of them will forget the Two Rivers Farm.

Section VII: Conclusion

"The Farm kids feel safe. They're just not the ones with the scared looks on their faces. They come with a sense of themselves because their needs have always been met."

Although years will pass and Farm School memories may fade in the minds of these adults, the profound impact that this school had on them will not. In fact, this place, which was much more than a school, has shaped the lives of each subject today. Whether they first received the encouragement to follow their love of gardening at the Farm or learned how to seek for the essence of life, each of them has come away with something positive. In most cases, this positive aspect reflects an aspect of the Gurdjieff work. They take away a thirst for knowledge similar to the one that Gurdjieff exhibited. He searched the world for what he deemed "real knowledge." In much the same way, Farm School graduates form friendships that renew their commitments to the honest exploration of themselves. This also proves true in other areas of their lives. Most subjects seek after academic knowledge. Also, all of them remain aware and open to the spiritual side of life. The Farm School instills lifelong learning and the desire to seek in its graduates.

In doing so, the Two Rivers Farm demonstrates the success that a new religious movement can have through the effective socialization of its younger members. Children grew up under the leadership of Mrs. Staveley. As their parents respected both Mrs. Staveley and Gurdjieff, they also did. Their admiration proved pivotal in further participation in the Farm. They practiced movements, learned about Gurdjieff, and received full immersion in the subculture that formed this small cult. After an entire childhood of exposure to these practices, these students emerged as teen-agers, ready to face the outside world. They did so with teenage awkwardness, but this soon dissolved,

revealing the solid sense of self that lies in each of them. The Farm follows a simple model for success. The charismatic leader provided a power structure by which to socialize members and children. As the children left the group, they maintained contact within the group and also outside of it. In doing so, they adapted the way of life from the Farm to the larger society.

Research on children in cults lacks depth and specificity. The studies that must be done in order to fully understand what these individuals experience must also occur on a psychological and emotional level. A multi-disciplinary approach to cult research will enable a more complete understanding of how children grow up in cults. Even so, analyses on the basis of individual cases remain necessary. Generalizations, especially in terms of cults, often prove to be problematic.

The picture of a self-assured college graduate is a far cry from the dreary portrait that current literature paints of abused cult children. The entire subject regarding children raised in cults has yet to be explored thoroughly. For every negative example cited in current literature, there are dozens of positive images that receive no attention. This oversight proves detrimental to the full understanding of cults as a prominent factor in today's society. Cults raise many intelligent individuals that contribute to the good of the greater society. However, little is known about these cases, as they remain hidden by extensive negative literature on cults. The Two Rivers Farm presents a case for how religious movements can succeed when they socialize their young children effectively and allow them to diffuse the ideas of the group into the wider society. Indeed, Two Rivers Farm School graduates demonstrate this through their educational achievements and their desire to seek truth in their own lives and within the world around them.

Appendix A: Questions posed to former Two Rivers Farm School students

Introductory Questions

1. How old were you when you began attending the Two Rivers Farm School?
2. Did you attend any activities outside of the school day?
3. If so, what activities did you participate in?
4. What is your earliest memory of the Farm?
5. How old were you when you stopped attending school at the Farm?
6. What do you think about the segregation of males and females during the several of the classes at the Farm School?

Educational/Career

1. Where did you attend school after you left the Farm School?
2. What were the positive and negative aspects of your new school in comparison to the Farm School?
3. How was the classroom environment different from that of the Farm School?
4. What did you find most challenging in transferring schools?
5. If you had to choose one lesson that you learned from the Farm School that helped you most in the classroom at your new school, what would it be? What lesson helps you most today in your academic or work environment?
6. What is your current occupation?
7. What aspects of the Farm, if any, effected your choice to pursue this occupation?
8. Are you still attending school? (If answer is "yes," proceed to question #9. Otherwise, skip to question #13.)
9. If so, where?
10. If so, what are your year and major?
11. If so, why did you decide to pursue this course of study?
12. What aspects of the Farm, if any, effected your choice to pursue this course of study?
13. How do you feel that an early education at the Farm School has affected your educational or career path or goals?

Spiritual Philosophy

1. What is your definition of a religious person?
2. What is your definition of a spiritual person?
3. Where do you see yourself within the framework of these definitions?
4. What spiritual concept or idea do you remember most clearly from the Farm?
5. If you were to condense your religious/spiritual philosophy into several sentences, what would they be?
6. Were you involved in or exposed to the spiritual concepts of the Farm during your time at school there? Was your involvement or lack of involvement voluntary?
7. Were you involved in or exposed to the spiritual practices of the Farm during your time at school there? (If answer is "yes," proceed to question #8. Otherwise, skip to question #12.)
8. If so, what practices did you participate in?
9. Was your involvement in these practices voluntary?
10. What did you learn from these practices?

11. Can you name one aspect that you liked and another aspect that you disliked about your involvement in the practices of the Farm?
12. Were you involved with the Farm after you stopped attending school there? If so, in what capacity?
13. Did you like or dislike the exposure that you received? Why?

Interpersonal Relationships

1. When you first transferred from the Farm School, how did you find the social environment at your new school?
2. What did you like about the social environment at the Farm School? What did you dislike?
3. How many people from the Two Rivers Farm School are you still in contact with, of your own age? Of all ages?
4. How many people from (insert name of school transferred to here) are you still in contact with?
5. How do you feel that your interaction with any one of these people has changed over the time period that you have known them?
6. When you changed schools, what three qualities did you look for in your friends?
7. What three qualities do you currently value in your relationships?
8. Of the qualities mentioned, which do you feel come as a result of your time spent at the Farm? Why?
9. How do you think the close-knit environment of the Farm School has enabled you to negotiate the relationships you are currently involved in/will be involved in your life?
10. Do you have anything else to add?

Appendix B: Questions posed to teachers of former Two Rivers Farm School students

Introductory Questions

1. How long have you been teaching at (name of school here)?
2. What subjects do you teach?
3. Approximately how many students have you taught that previously attended the Two Rivers Farm School in Aurora, Oregon?
4. What do you know about the Two Rivers Farm School?

Educational/Career

1. Did you teach any of these students directly after they graduated from the Two Rivers Farm School? If not, what grade did you teach them in? Please do not specify names of students.
2. In comparison to other students in your classroom, how did these students approach the material given them?
3. Overall, how did their performance on homework compare to that on tests?
4. How did their academic achievement compare to that of other students in your classes?
5. Did you find that students from the Two Rivers Farm School found a certain learning style to be easier? Is so, what was this style and how did you employ it in the classroom?
6. If you had any of these students in your classes after they had been at (name of school here) for over one year, what do you feel they valued most from their educational experience in the classroom? Can please provide examples of this?
7. What did these students offer to your classroom environment?
8. Did these students hinder your classroom environment in any way?
9. Were Two Rivers Farm School graduates involved in extracurricular activities? If so, to what degree were they involved compared to the rest of the student body?
10. Do you have any further observations about their educational achievement?

Social Interaction

1. How transfer students from the Two Rivers Farm School interact with their peers during their initial year at (name of school here)?
2. How would you compare the social skills of these students at the beginning of the year to their ability to interact socially at the end of the year?
3. Did former Two Rivers Farm School graduates seem to have a great number of friends or only a few? Please cite specific cases without using names.
4. If you had any of these students in your classes after they had been at (name of school here) for over one year, how do you feel they interacted with other students in the class when asked to work on group projects?
5. From your experience with students, what one social skill would you say the Two Rivers Farm School imbues in its students?
6. If you had to name one social inadequacy that the Two Rivers Farm School imbues in its students, what would it be?
7. Do you anything else to add?

Appendix C: Two Rivers Farm School Schedule for Twelve-Year Old Girls

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:30	Folk Singing	History of Religion	Handwriting	Story time	Guess What?
9:00	French	French	French	French	Art
9:45	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Art
10:30	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Art
11:00	English	English	English	English	Art
11:45	Geography & Science	Geography & Science	Geography & Science	Geography & Science	11:30 Sewing
12:20	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
12:30	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess
1:00	Cooking	Drama 1:45 Choir	Anatomy 2:00 Anything!	History 1:45 Choir	Physical Education
2:30	Chores	Chores	Chores	Chores	Chores
2:45	Reading	Reading	Reading	Reading	Reading
3:00	Dismissal	Dismissal	Dismissal	Dismissal	Dismissal

Appendix D: Current Activities of Two Rivers Farm School Graduates

Subject	Occupation	Primary residence in Oregon?
1	Student	Yes
2	Student	Yes
3	Student	No
4	Student	Yes
5	Student; Mother	Yes
6	Student	Yes
7	Laborer; Mother	Yes
8	Research	Yes
9	Student	Yes
10	Student	No
11	Student	Yes
12	Manager	Yes
13	Student	Yes
14	Student	Yes
15	Student	Yes

Bibliography

- Appel, Willa. Cults in America. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1983.
- Bainbridge, William Sims. The Sociology of Religious Movements. London: Routledge, Inc., 1997.
- Bowyer, E.C. "New Cult: Forest Temple of Hard Work and Rough Food." Gurdjieff International Review. 20 December 2000. Summer 1998.
<<http://www.gurdjieff.org/bowyer1.htm>>.
- Collins, John J. The Cult Experience. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1991.
- Dawson, Lorne L. Comprehending Cults. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Hadden, Jeffrey K. "The Religious Movements Page: Conceptualizing 'Cult' And 'Sect.'" 20 December 2000.
<http://religiousmovements.lib.virginia.edu/cultsect/concult.htm>.
- Jacobs, Janet Liebman. Divine Disenchantment. Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Jenkins, Phillip. Mystics and Messiahs. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Kangas, David. "Dr. John Ritchie Lester: 1919-1999." Gurdjieff International Review. 20 December 2000. Spring 2000. <http://www.gurdjieff.org>.
- Kherdian, David. The Farm. Aurora, Oregon: Two Rivers Press, 1981.
- Kyle, Richard. The Religious Fringe. Downer's Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1993.
- Moore, James. "Gurdjieff Chronology." Gurdjieff International Review. 20 December 2000. Fall 1997. <http://www.gurdjieff.org>.
- Palmer, Susan J. and Charlotte E. Hardman, ed. Children in New Religions. London: Rutgers University Press, 1999.
- Peters, Fritz. Boyhood With Gurdjieff. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1964.
- Puttick, Elizabeth. Women in New Religions. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Rabow, Jerome and Gerald M. Platt and Marion S. Goldman. Advances in Psychoanalytic Sociology. Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1987.

Singer, Margaret Thaler and Janja Lalich. Cults in Our Midst. San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers, 1995.

Staveley, Annie Lou. "Beelzebub's Tales to His Grandson." Gurdjieff International Review. 20 December 2000. Spring 1999. <<http://www.gurdjieff.org/staveley2.Htm>>.

----- Themes. Aurora, Oregon: Two Rivers Press, 1981.

Stoner, Carroll and Jo Anne Parker. All God's Children. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1977.

Welch, Louise. Orage with Gurdjieff in America. Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1982.

Zellner, William and Marc Petrowsky, ed. Sects, Cults, and Spiritual Communities. London: Praeger Publishers, 1998.

