collective body within this space (such as in fire dances and trance states) that distinguish Neopagan observance from other North American religious communities. The festival site is designed to be a world of "magic" separate from the world of "mundania" resulting in both positive and negative consequences as discussed in subsequent themes.

The second theme revolves around the experience of conflict within these spaces. By necessity and philosophy, Neopaganism is eclectic and rejects authoritarianism. As a result, the defining of space is often contested as individuals struggle to connect meaning to their experiences and define themselves within the festival environment. Neopagan beliefs, such as equality and conservation, are fundamentally linked to practice, and it is how this practice is observed that is often contested by participants. The author notes that at times participants are unable to transcend the mundane worlds from which they have journeyed as evidenced by the contentious interactions over defilement of ritual places, intolerance of difference, and incidents of sexual harassment.

A third theme involves the negotiation of physical and ideological boundaries including the ramifications of cultural borrowing. The author describes the dilemma festival organizers face between creating a freeing and expressive environment for festival goers while at the same time meeting the needs of surrounding neighbors. Often festival-goers balk at restrictions placed on their drumming and attire as being antithetical to the intent of the festival experience. Another boundary that must be negotiated is the appropriateness of including ritual elements from other cultural traditions. Neopaganism is an individualistic religion in that followers choose their own deities, religious traditions, and icons. Some neopagans follow Celtic or Wiccan practices while others incorporate ideas from Eastern, Native American, vodou, and Santerian traditions. Participants borrow the aspects of these religious traditions that resonate with them most profoundly, often rejecting traditional ways of doing things if they do not comply with their overarching beliefs. As a result, the groups-of-origin are angered by this co-opting of tradition. The concern is that Neopagans take from the community without having any commitment to that community. Since Neopagans often feel like outcasts from mainstream society, they feel aligned with the oppressed groups. However, this belief is often criticized because, despite their being marginalized as participants of a fringe religious movement, most Neopagans still enjoy many privileges associated with their typically white, middle-class, educated status.

A final theme revolves around the individual experience outside of the festival experience, both prior to Neopagan affiliation and after the festival experience. Neopaganism developed as a new religious movement in the1960s and reflects many of the ideas of the movements of that time. Often participants are responding to what they feel to be the authoritarianism and hypocrisy of their religious upbringings. Participants were often excluded from their peer groups and find Neopaganism as a way to define themselves and the festival a venue to explore experiences deemed inappropriate in the outside world. Fundamentally, however, the individual participant while searching for individual expression is also searching to belong and must become somehow aligned with the larger Neopagan community. While the struggle is in no way unique to the Neopagan experience, the venue of expression is.

In summary, the author's writing is clear and accessible: supportive without being apologetic. The text provides an excellent description for the novice as well as useful insights to scholars of religion and community already familiar with the Neopagan movement. The book will be especially useful to those studying new religious movements, community studies, the development of the postmodern self, and the use of ethnographic research.

Experimental Americans: Celo and Utopian Community in the Twentieth Century, by **George L. Hicks.** Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001. 280 pp. $36.95 cloth. ISBN: 0-252-02661-6.

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Anthropologist George L. Hicks begins this book with the puzzle of the exceptional persistence of utopianism in America. He attributes three centuries of communal

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experimentation to central postulates of American culture, particularly its twin pillars of individualism and egalitarianism. The main part of the book develops an ambitious case study of Celo (pronounced *see-lo*), a utopian community founded in North Carolina in 1937. As Hicks notes, Celo is a rare attempt to climb both of these pillars at once, and his account of the community's history often revisits this tension of individual freedom and social equality.

Painting a historical backdrop, Hicks describes the wave of "New Deal communities" that appeared during the Great Depression under the sponsorship and oversight of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Resettlement Administration. Hicks extends this backdrop with a biographical portrait of Celo founder, Arthur E. Morgan. Using memoirs, personal letters, and public documents, Hicks locates Celo in the context of Morgan's better-known utopian ventures, including his attempt to reinvent college education as president of Antioch College and his tumultuous role in Roosevelt's administration as the first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

This study of Celo builds on Hicks' 1969 dissertation, "Ideology and Change in an American Utopian Community." During two years of ethnographic fieldwork in 1965 to 1967, he had gathered a wealth of information through observation, interviews, and archival research. The book takes advantage of this in-depth research, supplemented by site visits and interviews over subsequent years, and Hicks liberally offers us the voices of his research subjects. An appendix also includes the crucial documents that the author cites throughout the study: membership and landholding agreements, rules and regulations, and the community charter.

Of course, a largely retrospective case study of this kind could fall prey to numerous biases. The documentary records, both communal files and published reports, surely provide incomplete and selective representations of events and relationships. The interviewees, whether current members, former members, or outsiders, may also systematically have misrepresented events in their oral reconstructions of the group history. Sensitive to such threats, Hicks carefully weaves these sources together and takes particular interest in their contradictions.

The most striking contribution of this book results from a midstream shift in research design: Shortly after beginning his fieldwork at Celo, Hicks became even more intrigued by the culture of Celo's rural neighbors. He ultimately found himself performing two ethnographic studies in parallel, one examining Celo and the other examining the nearby North Carolina township. Adeptly navigating these two projects, Hicks published the latter study in 1992 as *Appalachian Valley*. This dual focus has given him unusual leverage in examining the reciprocal interactions, relations, and perceptions of the two communities over time.

This book follows other case studies of historical or contemporary utopian communities in exploring decision-making processes, schism and conflict resolution, and relations with former members, but the focus on changing social context takes us in some intriguing new directions. Hicks observes the effects of economic, cultural, and political change on community boundaries and membership dynamics. For example, Hicks shows that many early members who had sought refuge during the Great Depression abandoned the community when wartime industries offered employment. The group then began collecting "misfits"—largely pacifist Quakers—who saw Celo as a social refuge. During war times, outsiders suspected the Celo pacifists of harboring sympathies for the foreign enemies of the day, be they Nazis or communists. At the end of a major war, the community would receive floods of conscientious objectors who had been released from prison or Civilian Public Service camps.

In tracing the impact of external social change, Hicks pays particular attention to Celo's cooperative and competitive relations with other utopian movements. This culminates in an analytical comparison of Celo with Macedonia, a very similar utopian community also founded in 1937. The comparison aims to explain why Macedonia followed a very different trajectory and was ultimately absorbed by the Society of Brothers movement.

Sadly, Hicks died while revising this manuscript. (One of his former students, Mark Handler, compiled and edited this book from the author's drafts.) While the written voice is

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refreshingly smooth and accessible, and most parts provide important contributions to the whole, readers will wish for more connective tissue to sew up the seams in the text. These seams appear, for example, when readers are introduced to actors or events only long after their crucial role in the community's development has been described in detail, or when we come across redundant accounts or anecdotes. Some readers may be distracted by discontinuities and abrupt transitions. Also, the questions that Hicks uses to introduce the book—particularly the anomalous persistence of utopianism in America—appear to inform and motivate the field study only sporadically.

This book raises a number of intriguing theoretical questions and provides social scientists with a lot more raw material to digest. The breadth of Hicks' curiosity—ranging from fundamental questions about American culture to probing exploration of members' biographies and psyches—leaves us with many loose ends. Even so, the constellation of ideas and material proves very fruitful, and the uncommon depth of the investigation suggests that this book will be a fascinating read for a broad range of social scientists. If some of the arguments seem incomplete or some of the transitions seem unpolished, I offer that the book is even more engaging on the second reading than the first.

Jewish Hearts: A Study of Dynamic Ethnicity in the United States and the Soviet Union, by **Betty N. Hoffman.** Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001. 241 pp. $49.50 cloth. ISBN: 0-7914-4945-9. $20.95 paper. ISBN: 0-7914-4946-7.

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Although the title of this book does not fully reveal its contents, the publisher's note on the cover clarifies the volume as an effort to compare and contrast "the changing ethnic identity of those Russian Jews who settled in Hartford, Connecticut between 1881 and 1930 with that of Soviet Jews who remained in Russia after the Revolution, became Soviet citizens, and emigrated after 1975."

Hoffman provides a good review of Russian Jewish life before and after the Revolution and some reminiscences and documents that recapture some of the early immigrants' experiences, which one may keep in mind as one reads about the more recent immigrants, who are the true focus of the book. The author does return to the comparative theme briefly in her conclusion, where she informs us that ethnicity "takes on different meanings in different contexts," but always "played a major role for the Jews in the selection of behavioral strategies in Russia and later in the U.S.S.R. as well as in Hartford for both sets of newcomers" (p. 233). But, this book is really not about comparisons and contrasts. Rather, this is a book that explores and vivifies those emigrants from the former Soviet Union who, after 1970, made their lives in the greater Hartford area.

Hoffman's great strength is her capacity to capture their voice, which she offers us in page after page drawn from her in-depth interviews and conversations with them. She has taken these voices—perhaps more successfully than any other author I have read who has dealt with this population—and woven them into a narrative and analysis that allows us to comprehend their experience, understand their motivations, perceive their hopes, and sense their frustrations. For anyone who followed the extraordinary saga of the awakening of Jewish identity and the desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union after 1967, when the galvanizing events of the Israeli victory in the Six-Day War combined with the deteriorating conditions for Jews in the post-Khrushchev regimes and fostered the second great wave of Jews leaving what was once the U.S.S.R., this volume will not offer much new in the way of facts. But it does provide an articulate and engaging look at a sample of such Jews and their experiences. For those who somehow missed this entire story, this book provides a kind of review that will enable them to get the gist of it in one read.

Hoffman has organized the material neatly, and for every section she provides just the right set of statements from the people she interviewed. One has a sense that she was able to weave together her story from the things that people told her, and that she found the right people to talk to and knew just what to ask them in order to get the story right. We learn such things as how they knit religion

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