

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE ROLE OF THEOLOGY
IN THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE
IN SHAKER SOCIETIES

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Social space is produced by societies according to the spatial practices that exist within the society. The produced space is a set of relations between objects within the space. The set of economic relations, for example, corresponds to space in which manufacturing and trade can take place while the set of political relations characterizes the space in which governments operate. Theology is also a relation that exists within a society's space, but the space it defines is not well studied and the nature of theological space is not well understood. In some cases, theology is the dominant factor in the production of the space within which a community interacts. The relative importance of theology to its concomitant space is expressed by the architecture, icons, and symbols produced by the society. This research studies the nature of theological space and its production by examining the spatial practices of the religious sect known as the Shakers. This 19th century millennial sect worked to establish heaven on earth, building

communities across the northeastern and Midwestern United States. These early planned communities were built according to the precepts of the Shaker theology. Their theology was centered in their belief that the Shaker villages would be the locus of God's kingdom on earth.

The Shakers produced their space by regulating the appearance of their villages—by conforming the village layout and architecture to the precepts of their theology and by reinforcing the tenets of their theology by restricting contact between the sect's members and citizens of the world at large—and through the way they drew and used maps and religious art.

THE ROLE OF THEOLOGY IN THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE
IN SHAKER SOCIETIES

by

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Dedication

To Steve, with love and profound gratitude.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

I cannot imagine not knowing the world visually—the shapes of continents, countries, cities, or mountain ranges or the courses of rivers. Life would be impoverished if one did not know and understand the spatial variations in architectural styles of European medieval cities or the tribal makeup of Afghanistan. How much one would miss by not knowing the forces that shape our air, waters, and the land! –Edmund Bunkse

The spatial variations of which Bunkse (2004) speaks are created because the people that occupy the earth live and work with great variety in likes, needs, and desires. Much of this variety is encompassed in the physical surroundings within which each human being lives. But an even greater influence is the socially produced space that is created by societal groups. Different groups produce different spaces according to the way they use space. These spaces are not mutually exclusive and usually overlap. Manufacturing and trade groups, for example, produce economic space in which business can take place. Political entities produce political space in which negotiation and lawmaking can occur. Theological groups may also produce space. This research will examine the ways in which this can occur and will examine a sample community in which theological space appears to be the dominant space.

Basis for the research

Much of the research for this study will be historical. The goal is an understanding of how theological beliefs impacted the ways in which people produced and represented their space. This will involve examining their landscapes as living records and interpreting their written records in context, that is, reading the records within the events of the time. The particular people to be studied are the members of a nearly extinct

religious sect called The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, more commonly known as the Shakers. A nineteenth century communitarian society, this group built villages that allowed them to be separate from the world.

The research completed in this work touches upon two of the three branches of Geography: Human Geography, in particular Cultural Geography, and Geographic Information Systems, the practical application of Geographic Information Science.

This research fits closely with other research pursued in Cultural Geography. Scholars study where and how human societies organize themselves and why they do so in particular places and ways. The Shakers were a cultural group that separated from the world and organized their societies according to their theological beliefs. Understanding why and how they did this was the primary goal of this research. The study of the impact of theology upon spatial expressions is not often approached outside of the Geography of Religion and seldom in conjunction with theoretical approaches as was accomplished here. The research demonstrates a practical implementation of a theoretical methodology defined by Henri Lefebvre. The production of space is a broad category of study that describes and explains the ways that societies produce and sustain space. This methodology is studied in its theoretical form, applying it to the history and philosophy of geography.

The research includes Geographic Information Science with the development of the historical geographic information system (GIS). Geographic Information Science provides an opportunity to display visually the spatial arrangements of cultures. The GIS developed here is a foundation upon which other researchers can build by adding more information to the databases of the system and by clarifying the information already in the system.

The information recovered through the historical review will be analyzed in the context of the work of Henri Lefebvre. A French social theorist, Lefebvre showed that space is socially produced according to a relation that underlies the space. The relation is established according to nodes of activity and connections between the nodes. Any given society may have multiple spaces, each produced by a different relation. In normal activity, a person may interact with any number of different spaces. Lefebvre developed a model that recovers the relation that established a particular space. The information obtained from the historical study will be used in the model to see if theology was the relation that produced the space in Shaker villages.

The focus here is upon the Shakers from their beginnings in the 1700s until the middle of the 1800s. The Era of Manifestations, discussed in the Chapter 4, is the last major period included, although later periods will be mentioned. The decade following this era was the one leading up to the Civil War. As Brother Arnold Hadd, one of the few remaining Shakers, said, the Civil War was “the end of it all” (2004). The post-Civil War years saw a dramatic decline in Shaker membership. Between 1800 and 1900, the Society lost fifty-four percent of its members (Stein). All of the villages were closing; Pleasant Hill closed in 1910 when the last twelve Shakers sold the land with the proviso that they would be cared for through the remaining years of their lives. Sister Mary Settles was the last Shaker at Pleasant Hill; she died in 1923.

Organization of chapters

This research encompasses the story of the early Shakers and their struggle—and for a time, their utter success—in producing a space they deemed necessary to fulfill the charge of God. In order to evaluate the impact of theology upon the production of space one must understand the linkages between concepts of space and place and the

relationship of one to the other. The nature of space and place has been the topic of a substantial number of theorists. Chapter 2 of this thesis expands on the idea of space and its various definitions, from the ideas of the ancients like Aristotle to those of the moderns such as Einstein and Lobachevsky. It is especially concerned with describing Lefebvre's ideas of space and the model that will be used to analyze the Shaker village. The conceptions of space range from static and concrete to relational. High school mathematics classes teach that space is a flat grid that provides a foundation for postulates and theorems; moving from this idea to the concept that space is socially produced is not an easy transition from linear thought, but when complete, one's view of the world is greatly expanded.

Chapter 3 contains a full introduction to the Shakers. It examines the philosophical and religious climate within which they arose and describes other millennial societies that exhibited similar characteristics. It provides a history of the origin of the Shakers and an explanation of their theology. The eighteenth century in England was one of religious turmoil as the repercussions of the Reformation spread from the European continent to the Church of England. For all of their oddities, the Shakers were not that unusual. The people of England were searching for their faith centers and the search necessarily produced experimentation. The various groups that sprang up during that time ranged from the inward-looking and serious Quakers to the ecstatic French Prophets and the millennialists of all varieties. The points of similarity between these groups are highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter 4 contains the analysis of Pleasant Hill and other Shaker villages in the light of Lefebvre's Triad. The Shaker villages are shown to be among the first planned communities in America by identifying the four primary characteristics of a planned community and then demonstrating how the Shaker villages, in particular Pleasant

Hill, fits the definition of a planned community. The production of space in a planned community is pointed toward a particular end; this goal is unique within the Shaker world and clearly demonstrates one of the points of Lefebvre's Triad, the aspect called spatial practice. The chapter also details a study of Shaker-drawn village maps within the context of Lefebvre's second point, the representation of space. Finally, the Shaker religious art is examined through a visual content analysis and is shown to be the producer of representational space, Lefebvre's third point. Separately, the three points of the Triad demonstrate the total priority of theology within the Shaker community. But these three points are even more powerful when they are considered together. Each point reveals space that is intentionally produced by the Shakers, space that is entirely theological in nature. Considered together, the points of the Triad reveals a picture of life in the village, a life that is entirely suffused by God and their religion. Everywhere they turned, everything they saw, everyone to whom they spoke was immersed in theology. The space of the village was theological space.

Chapters 5 and 6 are reports of practical projects associated with the study. Chapter 5 details the production of a historical geographic information system (GIS). The GIS is an interactive representation of the main part of the village of Pleasant Hill. It allows the user to display interactively the buildings that were present in the village during a selected year. The GIS will be useful for researchers as they seek to assess the day-to-day history of the village.

Chapter 6 reports on the creation of a multimedia project that provides a visual display of Pleasant Hill Shaker Village. Some of the findings in this research are presented visually in the project. The chapter also contains an overview of the advantages and disadvantages of using multimedia in geographic research.

The Shakers were a strange and wonderful people, with idealistic visions for the possibility of the future. Heaven on earth was their consistent goal, pursued without wavering for more than one hundred years. Their villages reflect this single-minded purpose and the effort with which they pursued their goal.

CHAPTER 2. THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

Concepts Of Space

Concepts of space in geography vary from the idea that space is static, absolute, and explainable by scientific methods to the view that space is formed by capitalist production and Marxist machinations. In fact, there is a core of about two dozen concepts of space within Human Geography alone (Earle, Mathewson et al. 1996). Careful examination of these concepts reveals that there are actually four primary ideas about space in Western thought (Curry 1996). These four ideas undergird contemporary research categories in Human Geography.

First, some see space as static, hierarchical, and concrete. This is an Aristotelian concept and it has played a major role in shaping Western thoughts about space (Curry 1996). Aristotle (c. 273-c. 192 BC) believed that the fact that objects change location is the chief characteristic of earth. For him, everything about the earth has its own place and each thing on earth tends naturally to move toward its own place. That place exists is confirmed by his principle of mutual replacement. “Where water now is, there in turn, when the water has gone out as from a vessel, air is present” (Aristotle 350 B.C.E.). Further, that place where it exists is different from the thing itself. “What now contains air formerly contained water, so that clearly the place or space into which and out of which they passed was something different from both” (Aristotle 350 B.C.E.). This notion of each thing in its own place is what creates the hierarchical aspect of his view of space. He understood that objects made of earth fall to the earth because that is their natural place, not because of a force that later came to be called gravity (Curry 1996). Aristotle’s view of space is ingrained in geography today. Aristotle saw four elements—

earth, air, fire and water—as the building blocks of life and each of these had their natural place. “... for the contemporary geographer the list is rather different; women, ethnic groups, economic activity, trees, and rocks all have their own natural places today. Indeed, to be out of place is to be a possible subject of research and to be comfortably where we belong is to be rendered invisible” (Curry 1996).

Secondly, space may be thought of as a grid on which objects are located and events occur. This idea of space as unchanging and unmoving was conceived by Isaac Newton (1642-1727). It is independent and absolute. “Absolute space, in its own nature, without regard to anything external, remains always similar and immovable” (Newton 1687). Absolute space, therefore, is the empty container of modern-day concepts of space (Akhundov 1986). Newton does admit to a role for relativism in space. “Relative space is some movable dimension or measure of the absolute spaces” (Newton 1687). Newton’s view of space as being “infinite, absolute, and eternal” (Curry 1996), quantifiable and scientifically stable, continues today, although its limitations became apparent with more advanced scientific discoveries (Akhundov 1986).

Leibniz challenged Newton’s ideas of space through a series of letters with Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), a theologian-philosopher in England and a supporter of Newtonian physics. The conflict between the two men concerned the ontological nature of space rather than its physical nature. Essentially, Leibniz considered space to be ideal and to exist only in the human mind (Malzkorn n.d.). Absolute space is understood to exist because it appears that some objects move while others are stationary. Motion and position of objects, therefore, are detected only in relation to other objects and not in relation to space itself, since space represents no object (Ross 2001).

Finally, “space is a form imposed on the world by humans” (Curry 1996). This idea is credited to Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), who changed the way space is thought

about by moving the question from object to subject. Instead of “what is space,” the question became “how do people understand space?”; instead of focusing on the nature of the world, Kant focused on the nature of the observer and the nature of knowledge (Curry 1996). Kant changed the question concerning understandings of space by observing that people do not actually perceive space and time themselves, but rather that they perceive small instants of time or see objects in terms of their distance from other objects. Kant accepted Newton’s theory of space as absolute; as a result his cosmological system includes the concept of empty space (Akhundov 1986). The empty space is not an object or a substance in itself, but a backdrop that reveals the relative positions of other objects. Kant also accepted Euclid’s work in geometry, itself a system that explains space. Kant’s theories were based at least in part on the idea that the way human beings perceive space is necessarily Euclidean.

Even though Kant was firmly fixed in Euclidean space, his work on metaphysics opened the possibility that scholars might rethink generally accepted notions of space and the forces that create it. Euclid and his flat, infinite planes, for example, may provide useful models but do not exist in nature except in very small samples of the curved space. Mathematicians like Carl Friedrich Gauss and Nicolai Lobachevsky realized that Euclid’s geometry could be transformed into something entirely new merely by negating Euclid’s parallel postulate. The new geometries that developed from this discovery are called non-Euclidean geometries and they define space in entirely new ways. In Lobachevsky’s system, for example, many of the spatial ideas that are ingrained from childhood are turned upside down. These include the new concepts that parallel lines diverge rather than remaining the same distance apart, that triangles have sums less than 180 degrees, and that the Pythagorean Theorem is not true. “This was the beginning of the revolution in thinking that, for example, allowed Einstein to think of curved space and

general relativity” (Berlinghoff, Grant et al. 1996). The image by M.C. Escher (Figure 1) illustrates Lobachevskian space. In this drawing, fish that are the same color are the same size and shape; the boundary of the circle is at infinity. The lines that appear on the surface are geodesic straight lines¹ that intersect the boundary at right angles.

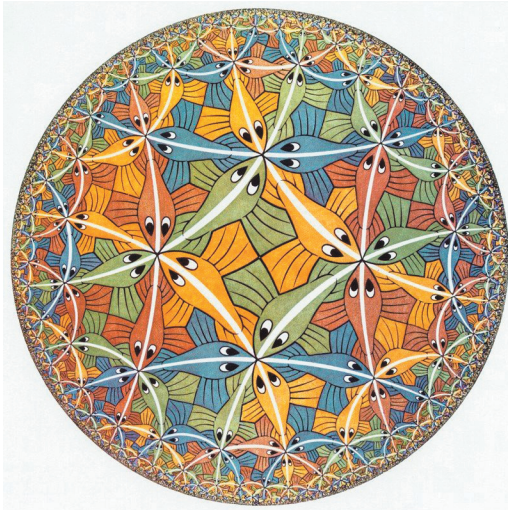


Figure 1. Circle Limit III (woodcut, 1958) by M. C. Escher. This woodcut is an example of Lobachevskian space. www.MathAcademy.com

Ross raises two questions in connection with Euclidean versus non-Euclidean space; first, “what can be spatially visualized?” and second, “what can exist in reality?” (1999). The best we humans can do is to visualize two-dimensional Lobachevskian spaces and three-dimensional Euclidean space; fortunately, mathematical formulas do not require human visualization and thus can explain space in ways that human sensibilities cannot.

The philosophers and scientists discussed here focused on explaining the natural world and how it can be understood. Other theorists, hearkening back to Kant, have concentrated on understanding space as a mental construct. The work of one of these, Henri Lefebvre, provides the basic theory for this research. Lefebvre was a French social

¹ A geodesic straight line is the shortest line between two points on a mathematically defined surface. An example would be an arc of a great circle on a sphere.

theorist who thought extensively about space. In his work, *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre developed a theory for the creation of social space (1974).

The Social Production Of Space

Lefebvre's theoretical foundation is the idea that space is more than a container that one fills up with objects. In fact, Lefebvre points out that imagining space to be just such a container is the basic flaw in most theories about space; further, it is the illusions of transparency and reality that keep societal members from seeing space in any but the most elemental way. The illusion of transparency casts a view of space as innocent and open, with no hiding places or secret cubbyholes. There is nothing inherently complicated or hidden within space that is viewed through this illusion. The illusion of reality, which Lefebvre also calls the "illusion of natural simplicity," fosters the idea that things in a particular space are of more substance than the space itself (1974). These two illusions combine to prevent full comprehension of the far-reaching nature of space. They restrict one's view so that all that can be comprehended is what is perceived through one's senses; in actuality, Lefebvre believes that space is much more complex than this.

Lefebvre understands space to be multifaceted, produced and maintained by the relations that govern the interactions of the society that exists within the bounds of the space. This definition of space as a social product allows a society's members to look past the illusions and see the multitude of ways in which such space might be configured. Social space is thus produced and reproduced by the relationships that exist within the space itself (1974). It naturally follows from this that "every society produces a space, its own space" (Lefebvre 1974). Further, sub-societal groups manufacture spaces that are unique to the individual groups. The union of these 'group spaces' becomes the space for the society as a whole. Membership in the groups is fluid and not mutually exclusive,

causing the group spaces to overlay one another as necessary. Lefebvre describes this action as “interpenetrating” or “superimposing” one layer of space upon or into another (1974).

Since space is a product of social relationships, the reproduction of space is a similar product. The producing society and the mode of production are the same in that the resultant space is generated by relationships that function within the society. These relations may be compared to networks, with pathways between objects, both natural and social (Peet 1998). The pathways and objects define the relation that produces a particular type of space. The relations have memory; they function with reference to the history of the society within the space. This means that the study of the history of space can no longer confine itself to events but must now include the study of the way space is represented (Peet 1998). The representations of space feed back into the society and perpetuate the relation that produces the space.

Lefebvre’s Triad

Given the underlying theory, Lefebvre designed a tool for use in analyzing space. Called Lefebvre’s Triad (Figure 2), the tool makes it possible to recover the producing relation from a particular space. The three points of the Triad are Spatial Practice, Representations of Space, and Representational Space, which represent, respectively, Perceived Space, Conceived Space, and Lived Space.

A spatial practice is an activity that is characteristic of a society. The word “practice” implies repetition; a spatial practice is repeated in some way—by day, time, or season, for example. The activity takes place within a given space and the repetition associates the space with the activity. Interactions that take place between participants in the same activity demarcate the space in which that activity occurs. Lefebvre focused

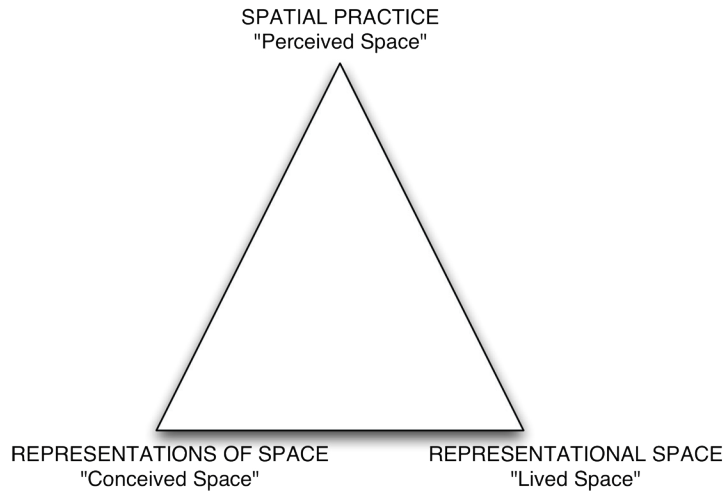


Figure 2. A representation of Lefebvre's Triad

his work on economic space, but the theory applies just as well to other activities and relationships. Relations that occur between Members of Congress and the occupants of the White House, for example, produce one kind of political space. The space consists of the Capitol, the White House, the offices of the Members of Congress and their staffs, the informal locations in which meetings occur (such as restaurants, private homes, and park benches) and the transportation and communication networks that connect these points. It also includes peripheral space established by members of the press and the public. Depending on the topical nature of the relations, other groups may also be involved and their individual spaces would be added to those listed here. From the point of view of a participant in the production of political space, the network would consist of those spaces in which the probability of participating in political interactions is relatively high. Figure 3 represents an abstraction of a possible configuration for the political space. In this model, the White House and Congress have their own nodes because they are clearly identifiable. The membership of the Peripheral Locations is fluid, but pertains to any location in which political activities relative to this relation occur.

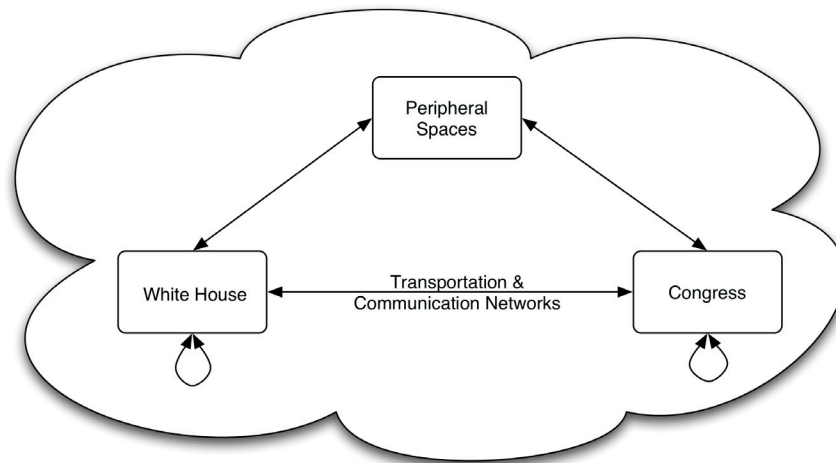


Figure 3. A representation of political space.

According to Lefebvre, the spatial practices of this group should be evident by looking at the produced space and the activities that occur within them. The major nodes of the network are connected by transportation and communication networks and are contained within an urban area. The identified spaces are used for planning, discussion, and negotiation of political issues. The spatial practice that defines the space derives from movement between the nodes.

Lefebvre refers to spatial practice as “perceived space” (1974), because the space is obvious, recognized directly through one’s senses. This is empirical space, the space examined by most spatial disciplines (Soja 1996). Perceived space is practical space that remembers the events of the past and reacts with accumulated understanding of the memory, ensuring continuity and cohesion for social activity that occurs within the space (Peet 1998).

Representations of space characterize the second point of the Triad. This is engineered, mathematical space that is understood intellectually. The space is created by verbal and graphical signs, abstract concepts of space that reveal the space through a combination of knowledge and ideology. This kind of space produces and is produced

by maps, blueprints, and other technical representations. Lefebvre calls this “conceived space” (1974) because as a result of examining the technical documents, it is possible to conceptualize the space they represent. Cartographers create maps that abstract reality onto some media; users of the maps visualize the space as it is represented. Maps reflect the way people think (Muehrcke 1996) and thus are able to spark visual responses with only basic clues. Maps may be drawn from any number of points of view; each separate viewpoint emphasizes a different aspect of the represented space. “The measure of mapping is not restricted to the mathematical; it may equally be spiritual, political or moral” (Cosgrove 1999). This is the dominant space in any society (Lefebvre 1974); the systems that produce this space bring the people within the space to a place of common understanding and practice.

The third point of the Triad is called Representational Space. This space is associated with the icons and symbols that define it. These icons exert an influence on the space in non-verbal and highly complex ways and often arise from the history of the people who live in the space (Peet 1998). This is the space of artists and philosophers who describe what exists and imagine what could be. The produced space is “lived” space (1974). Artists paint, sculpt, photograph and craft; writers author literature; composers create music. When the works of these artists describe the space in which they live and in which their work is displayed, they impact the way the viewing society lives. The people in the space look at the art, read the stories, and listen to the music and they apprehend the space that is described. Then they begin to live in the space according to the way the artists depicted it. The way they live gives meaning to the space and in turn shapes the space (Elden 1998). Rowntree agrees with this perspective. “... much can be learned by the way people depict the landscape in their art, be it written, drawn, or in other media. This perspective makes the assumption that these artistic renderings feed

back into society by elevating and privileging certain scenes or ways of looking at the environment that often become symbolic of larger cultural constellations ...” (Rowntree 1996).

The three components of the model come together as a tool that Lefebvre intends for use in analyzing space. His model is not abstract, but rather one that can be used in real time and space. Lefebvre himself points out that if the model cannot be used in a practical way then the impact and importance of the tool is “severely limited ...” (1974). Fortunately, “the three categories are a beginning from which to analyze space as an activity and to ask questions about the dialectical relations in terms of which space is formulated and functions” (Liggett 1995). The relation revealed by using the triad for analysis can be expressed graphically (See Figure 4). The point at which the three lines

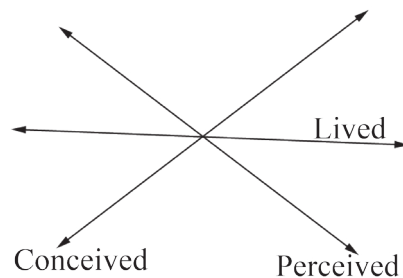


Figure 4. A representation of Lefebvre's Triad.

of production come together is group space. The lines extend beyond the group space and are available to intersect with other planes of space to create other group spaces. Another representation is the Venn-like diagram in Figure 5. This graphic illustrates that the conceived and perceived spaces contribute to lived space. Soja represents the concept by the drawing in Figure 6. Soja's representation depicts each of the three components contributing equally to the space but in reality, each of the three elements contributes

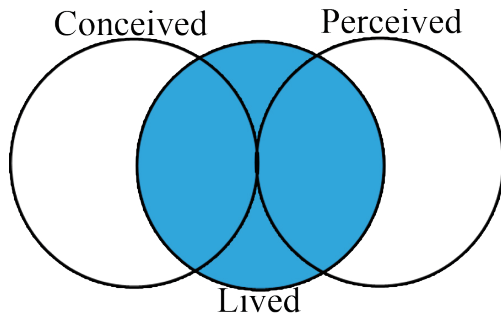


Figure 5. A representation of Lefebvre's Triad.



Figure 6. A representation of Lefebvre's Triad by Edward Soja.

to the produced space at varying levels depending upon the historical period and the particular mode of production (Peet 1998). Further, Soja's depiction does not embody the concept of reproduction of the space by the relations within the space itself.

There are multiple versions of this diagram active any one time in a given society, each of which represents a different type of produced space. Each of the diagrams represents a "group space."

Theology as a Relation In Space

For centuries Western thought concerning space was focused upon the explanation of natural space. Newton, for example, interpreted nature in the absolute terms of space, time, and mass, and defined change in terms of particles that move within an unchanging absolute space. This definition allowed change to be expressed mathematically and established a strong degree of rigor within a system that was essentially self-contained and self-perpetuating. Interestingly, this self-consistency became a problem for the Christian Newton, since he then had to find a way to include God within his absolute world (Baker 1932). Because of Newton's work, along with the work of other

philosophers, “space and time emerged as God’s attributes” (Baker 1932) and today Christians describe God with the spatial characteristic of omnipresence.

Another result of Newton’s work was the split of the social order into secularism and religion, a divide that persists today. The split shows itself in the way that the religious aspect of some topic seldom fully informs the secular side of the same issue. In particular, a connection to nature seems to be lost (McCormick 1998). The necessity of feeling connected to something secure, like nature, is variously termed a need for home (Tuan 1977), a desire for rootedness (McCormick 1998), and a longing for place (Sheldrake 2001). This lost feeling has stirred in the American soul such a need for place that the search is called a “fundamental task” of human beings (McCormick 1998) and moved one writer to say that rootlessness is a crisis among modern people (Brueggeman 2002).

Following on the discussion of Lefebvre’s theories above, the search for rootedness has sometimes resulted in the social production of space; persons who cannot find a place with which to connect in the extant world will sometimes create their own place where connectedness is possible. For some, this created space is founded upon religion, as in the case of the Shakers. It is not unusual to encounter places founded upon religion, or rather upon the theology upon which the religion is based. A large portion of Western Europe during the pre-Medieval era, for example, was called the Holy Roman Empire because the state made the Catholic religion an obligation for its citizens.

Theological space is the plane of life constructed according to the beliefs of the particular theology. Using Lefebvre’s Triad, some preliminary ideas for the identification of theological space can be identified.

Perceived Space (Spatial Practice)

Perceived space is that which is apprehended through the senses. Perhaps the most obvious theological entity that defines this space is the worship center. The building or buildings that make up the worship center are connected to the homes, other worship places, and schools of the group members by transportation and communication networks. The posted schedule for worship activities controls the time of movement between the nodes. The importance of the worship center in defining theological space has persisted through history. The placement of the worship center is often defined by theological requirements. The Hebrew Tabernacle, for example, contained the Ark of the Covenant during the forty-year desert wanderings of Hebrews. The placement of the Tabernacle during periods of rest was explicitly defined by Yahweh in the Pentateuch. Later, when the Hebrews settled in present-day Israel, Yahweh provided exact instructions on the placement and design of the Temple. The centrality of the worship center carried over into Christian history. The great cathedrals of Europe initially were the center points of the villages in which they were constructed. Further, most medieval churches, at least in England, are built in alignment with true East (Hoare and Sweet 2000). In the early United States, the Puritan villages of New England were built in concentric patterns with the meeting house at the center (Lane 1988, 2001). This spatial model came with the Pilgrims when they emigrated from Europe. The circular pattern symbolized the sphere of God's providential care of his people (Lane 1988, 2001).

Less obvious than the worship center but still a powerful force in defining space is unposted sacred space. These areas are visited on a regular basis, thus establishing a network of nodes and pathways, but because they tend to be associated with native peoples they may not have publicized worship times. The worship schedule is not undefined, however; the native people group is completely aware of the schedule. As an

example, consider the Lakota, a Native American tribe that holds the Black Hills in South Dakota to be their sacred land. There are several sites within the Black Hills that are visited on a regular basis for vision quests, sun dances, and five other sacred ceremonies. The Lakota travel between such sacred sites as Bear Butte and Devil's Tower within the Black Hills and the several reservations where they live.

Conceived Space (Representations of Space)

Conceived space is produced by technical representations such as maps, blueprints, and transportation and communication designs. Theological space is produced by the conceptualization of what the maps and other documents represent. Cathedral architecture, for example, is specifically modeled after the shape of the cross. This design is intended to focus believers' attention upon theological matters whether inside the cathedral, or outside. Other, local, churches are free to build in the design that suits the region in which they are located, but they still have a number of components that while of different design are similar in function and establish a sense of place; these elements include the altar, communion table, and choir loft. Other religions follow the same pattern in constructing their worship center. Individual religions are often specific as to where the worship center should be sited or what shape it should take. Synagogues are built according to instructions in the Torah; mosques are built according to prayer requirements. The Islamic mosque, for example, is oriented toward Mecca and "set with corners to cardinal directions" (Ardalan 1983). Mosque blueprints reveal this theological orientation.

Maps are more public representations of space and are intended to communicate some aspect about a particular space, such as direction, distance, or quantity. Maps are abstractions of reality (Robinson, Morrison et al. 1995); the medieval mappaemundi are

good examples of maps as abstractions. These theological maps were probably used to shape the understanding of the people concerning theological matters rather than to teach geography (Stone 1993). The space produced by these maps was, therefore, colored by the theology lessons that the cartographer wished to convey.

Lived Space (Representational Space)

The icons, art, and other symbolic elements present in a society produce theological space. This space overlays physical space, sometimes making symbolic use of the physical space itself. Western religious art, for example, produces space that reinforces Christian theology. Much of what is now displayed in museums and thought of as decoration was actually commissioned for churches, cathedrals, or private chapels. Altar pieces, doors, and stained glass windows along with paintings and sculptures represent the artists' understanding of God-filled space. Middle-eastern artists quarried small stones in order to create beautiful designs and landscapes for synagogue, church and mosque. Eastern artists sculpted enormous Buddhas and created beautiful temples to mark their understanding of their religious space.

Creating theological space

The following chapters will report on the study the of establishment of a nineteenth century communitarian society and on the use of Lefebvre's Triad to recover the relation that produced the society's space. Theology will be shown to be the dominant social relation in the community's space. Theology, therefore, is a space-producing relation.

CHAPTER 3. THE SHAKERS

Signs of the Times

Atmosphere of dissent

To a twenty-first century eye, the Shakers appear to have been oddities of the most extreme sort. Their worship practices included such behavior as excessive shaking (hence their nickname), trances, apparent spirit possession, and especially jumping, singing, and dancing. Strange though it might seem today, their behavior was not entirely extraordinary in Britain of the eighteenth century. The religious groups that appeared, and then disappeared, during the two centuries preceding the appearance of the Shakers left behind influences that shaped both the general populace and the sects, like the Shakers, that followed them. The English people knew these foregoing sects and they would hardly have been surprised by the appearance of the Shakers, although they would not have approved of them any more than they approved of the earlier dissenters. There was a tradition of sectarian nonconformity in England (Mullett 1994) that contributed to the rise of the Shakers but did nothing to temper persecution of the sect prior to 1689 and the Act of Toleration.

The Protestant Reformation and its aftermath caused religious turmoil in the late sixteenth century and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England. It is possible to speak of four Reformations (or segments of one Reformation)—Lutheran, Calvinist, Catholic (or Counter) and Radical (McGrath 1998). The Lutheran Reformation was mainly associated with the former German territories and brought the Protestant

(literally protest-ant, one who protests) churches into existence. John Calvin developed his theology in Geneva, Switzerland and applied it to the entire city. The Reformed Church is a direct descendent of the Calvinist Reformation; other denominations, including Baptists and Presbyterians far beyond the borders of Geneva, embraced much of Calvin's theology. The Counter-Reformation was the continent-wide attempt of the Catholic Church to combat the Protestant Reformation and restore its authority in church and state. This effort was made within the Catholic Church as the leaders tried to remove any grounds for Protestant criticism (McGrath 1998). The Radical Reformation appeared on the European continent very shortly after Luther pinned the *95 Theses* to the Wittenburg, Germany church door in 1517. It manifested itself in a group of people called Anabaptists, a derisive name given to them by their enemies. The term Anabaptist literally means re-baptizer and refers to their most distinctive characteristic—the rejection of infant baptism for believer (adult) baptism.

In England, the Reformation spawned two paths of change—one within the established church and another without. In 1534 King Henry VIII dissolved the Catholic Church in England and instituted the state Anglican Church with himself and his descendents as the head of the church. He confiscated the church lands and holdings and broke up the monasteries, displacing nearly 9,000 monks, priests, and nuns (Walker, Norris et al. 1985). Even though the Church of England was now ostensibly separate from the Roman Catholic Church, many traditions and liturgical worship styles were still practiced. England was on its way to becoming a Protestant country but the move toward Protestantism was not fast enough for some and these carried-over rites became a rallying point for those demanding faster change. During the reign of the Catholic Queen called 'Bloody Mary', a number of English Protestants had become exiles in Protestant countries where they became convinced that Protestantism was the proper nature of

the true church. Once Elizabeth I, a Protestant, took the throne, these exiles returned to England expecting that full rights for Protestants would be restored. While Elizabeth did make slow and careful progress toward “Protestantizing” the Church of England, these former exiles were not satisfied and agitated for quicker and more extensive reform. Called the Puritans, because they wanted to purify the church, they worked for reform from within the church in order to purge what they saw as “remnants of Roman superstition” (Walker, Norris et al. 1985). They put their emphasis on experiential aspects of faith rather than on the trappings of the church (McGrath 1998). The Puritans were tolerated under Elizabeth and, later, James, but when Charles I came to power he brought his belief in the divine right of kings and his Anglicanism to bear and enforced conformity among the churches. Persecution returned, forcing many Puritans to migrate to the new world of America; there they became a major force in shaping North American Christianity.

The other path of reform in England was the path of the dissenter. In England, schism was anathema to both church and state because “church secession was in itself generally regarded as disruptive, subversive and radical, for religious groups which broke away from major state-supported churches threatened to dissolve the bonds of a social and political order held together by religious sanctions and by universal membership of a single Church in each political society” (Mullett 1994). Even so, dissenters continued to try to recreate what they considered to be the New Testament Church. They were disturbed by the distance that the state church had moved from what they understood the New Testament church to be and they wished to restore it to a more pristine form. Usually this included divesting the church of most of the Roman Catholic forms. Further, they wanted to implement their beliefs that infant baptism was not valid, that each person

was justified by faith alone, and that Scripture was a sufficient authority, not needing interpretation or direction from another human being.

For Martin Luther and some of the other leaders the difference was in more than form; it was also in the theological understanding of what “church” really was. For the reformers, the true church was invisible and in heaven; it would not be established on earth until Jesus returned as promised in the Bible. The earthly churches were visible reflections of the true church; it was the visible churches that needed reforming so that they would better reflect the invisible church. Calvin drew an additional distinction between the visible and invisible church. “At one level, the church is the community of Christian believers, a visible group. It is also, however, the fellowship of saints and the company of the elect – an invisible entity” (McGrath 1998). The visible church includes everyone, believers and non-believers; the invisible church consists only of believers (Calvin 1543).

Two groups on the European continent especially influenced the dissenting groups in England even though they were at opposite ends of the religious-political scale. The Anabaptists came together over the issue of baptism, which they believed should be restricted to adults who could voice their belief in Christ; the Catholic Church advocated baptism of infants. The repercussion from attacking one of the two sacraments common to both Catholic and Protestant churches was to be singled out for severe persecution, including, with a great sense of irony, drowning. It was an intensely personal way of believing, for which the adherents were willing to die. Calvinism, on the other hand, was established within the political structure of Geneva, Switzerland. As a logical system, it transcended emotion and was integrated into society. Even though so different, both Anabaptism and Calvinism influenced the dissenting sects in England. McGrath lists the beliefs common to the various shapes of Anabaptism: “a general distrust of external

authority; the rejection of infant baptism in favor of the baptism of adult believers; the common ownership of property; an emphasis upon pacifism and non-resistance” (1998).

Calvinism emphasized the moral application of faith, that is, that Christian faith ought to be reflected in one’s life. To emphasize this, in 1541 John Calvin established religious education in Geneva, Switzerland and, at the invitation of the citizens, integrated his ideas of church order directly into the societal rules. To maintain this order, there was a council of pastors and town elders who saw to it that every aspect of life in Geneva conformed to what Calvin understood about God’s law. Disciplinary action was instigated for transgressions such as sexual immorality and other disapproved lifestyle pursuits such as dancing, gambling, and swearing. An examination of Shaker theology and life will make clear how the Shakers emphasized the integration of church and society by forming religious communities in which theology dominated civil society.

Other European movements influenced the English sects and eventually the Shakers. Pietism, variously called Chiliasm and Quietism, was less widespread but still a potent influence. Born in Germany, its intent was to counter the inclination of the German Protestant churches to establish a new orthodoxy. Just 150 years after the Lutheran Reformation, academicians were already structuring rational defenses for Christian claims in pursuit of doctrinal correctness. The Pietists believed the new church already needed reform. In Pietism, “a reformation of doctrine must always be accompanied by a reformation of life” (McGrath 1998). They worked to temper the trend toward scholasticism by putting an emphasis on the value of doctrine in everyday life and by focusing on the experiential side of Christianity. The movement spread to England where it influenced John Wesley, founder of the Methodist movement, which was developing at about the same time the Shakers were forming.

The early Shakers also emphasized a Spirit-led idea of church and emphasized the experiential in encounters with God. In later generations, however, the Shakers followed much the same path as that of other denominations when they codified their beliefs and organized them into doctrines.

There is a category of predecessors that is of particular interest to this study. The millennial and prophetic societies that developed on the European continent spread to England where they undoubtedly influenced the Shakers. The core of their beliefs centered on the Millennium, a one thousand-year interval described in the book of Revelation. The actual facts of the Millennium and the associated events are highly contested among Christians and there is no agreement as to what will actually take place. The highly symbolic language used in the Biblical description of events associated with the Millennium lends the topic its highly charged and disputed nature.

Then I saw an angel coming down from heaven, holding in his hand the key to the bottomless pit and a great chain. He seized the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and threw him into the pit, and locked and sealed it over him, so that he would deceive the nations no more, until the thousand years were ended. After that he must be let out for a little while. (Revelation 20:1-3 NRSV)

This passage goes on to describe a period of time, called the Tribulation by some, in which Satan rampages freely on earth. After that, in the final war given the name Armageddon, Satan is defeated and the final judgment of the people takes place, after which the Kingdom of God is established on earth.

Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more. And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, "See, the home of God is among mortals. He will dwell with them as their God; they will be his

peoples, and God himself will be with them; he will wipe every tear from their eyes. Death will be no more; mourning and crying and pain will be no more, for the first things have passed away.” And the one who was seated on the throne said, “See, I am making all things new.” (Revelation 21:1-5 NRSV)

Among Protestants, there are three different approaches to understanding the Millennium; each approach differs primarily in the ordering of the events. Premillennialists believe that the Tribulation comes first, followed by the return of Christ and the one thousand years of peace. Amillennialists do not believe in the literal millennium except as it currently exists on earth through the presence of the Holy Spirit and the Christian Church. At some point in the future this period will end and those who are redeemed will be taken to heaven. Postmillennialists understand that Jesus will return to earth after the one thousand year period ends.

The Pietists in Germany spawned smaller cells with more extreme beliefs. The Chapter of Perfection gathered in the late seventeenth century around German mystic Johannes Kelpius. The group added a belief in an imminent Millennium to the usual Pietist beliefs and in 1694 they migrated to America to await the second coming of Christ. They settled on the banks of the Wissahickon Creek near Philadelphia where they called themselves the Woman in the Wilderness.

The Shakers went beyond the Chapter of Perfection in the scope of their millennial beliefs. Where the Chapter of Perfection believed that the Millennium would begin at any moment, the Shakers believed that it had already arrived. Christ had returned, they believed, in the person of Ann Lee.

Of more direct influence were the French Prophets. France was always a single-mindedly Catholic country, but even it was not immune to the Reformation. Calvinism arose across the southeastern part of France in a region known as the Cévennes in the mid-sixteenth century. Known as the Huguenots, these French Prophets were mostly

poor peasants or textile and leather-working artisans. In spite of intense persecution, by the 1560s there were some two thousand congregations in southern France. As the number of churches grew and the number of adherents increased, they began to threaten the monarchy by attracting as many as one-half of the Catholic nobles to the Protestant cause (Walker, Norris et al. 1985). The conflict between Protestant and Catholic led to the French Religious Wars; the wars ended in 1598 with the Edict of Nantes, which gave the Huguenots the same privileges that French Catholics enjoyed. The Huguenots flourished as a group, establishing schools and maintaining an armed presence. The secular privileges were removed in 1629 and in 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes altogether. Persecution resumed, sending as many as three hundred thousand Huguenots into exile in the surrounding Protestant countries (Walker, Norris et al. 1985), including England. Those who did not flee went underground, meeting in clandestine groups to “hear sermons and sing psalms” (Garrett 1987). Unusual occurrences began to be experienced by these underground rebels. There were claims that these same psalms were heard coming from the sky, sung in non-human voices; groups began to assemble at night to listen for them. This was the beginning of the French prophetic movement that emerged some years later as the Camisard movement.

By 1689 the Protestantism in France had transformed from a literate Calvinism to an oral prophetic representation. Garrett calls the form of worship “sacred theater” because of the public display of apparent spirit possession and preaching while in trances (Garrett 1987). Underground worship continued for several more years but gradually the adherents became emboldened and by 1701 they were holding open meetings. This public display invited renewed persecution while at the same time spreading the prophetic behavior. Armed resistance groups of French Protestants called the Camisards (after the style of shirt they wore) appeared. The conflict soon developed into a full-scale, albeit

short-lived, rebellion called the Camisard Revolt. By 1704 the rebellion was squashed by the Catholics, although some skirmishes continued until 1710. The defeat sent even more Huguenots into exile, including three men in particular who, by separate routes, ended up in London by 1706. The London press called these three the French Prophets because of the prophecies they began to make soon after their arrival.

The so-called prophets were simply continuing the kind of behavior that since 1689 had been common among the Huguenots in France. The ecstatic preaching was one of the biggest contrasts between French Catholic worship, which emphasized the Mass and the sacrament of communion, and Huguenot worship, which emphasized the spoken word. In addition to spoken prophecy and preaching while apparently in a trance, the worship included body movements that included the shaking, falling, and convulsive gasping that is “typical of spirit possession worldwide” (Garrett 1987). Their worship had evolved from the original Calvinist form that was considerably more solemn. Under Calvin’s moral code, Psalms were the only texts permitted for singing and word and song had to be clearly comprehensible and in a language understood by all present, for, as Calvin wrote, “the unlearned cannot say “amen” if the benediction is pronounced in an unknown tongue” (Calvin 1543). There was no real proscribed worship form, however, and no requirement for an ordained preacher (Schwartz 1980); in France the Huguenot churches met in homes by necessity and molded worship according to the needs of the various underground groups. The manifestation of prophets was a significant departure from Calvin’s vision for the church. There is no real explanation for the appearance of the extensive prophetic behavior (Garrett 1987) and Schwartz’s explanation may very well be correct. He points to the coincident writings of Pierre Jurieu concerning the Biblical prophecies of Daniel and Revelation as the catalyst. According to Jurieu’s interpretation, the prophecies indicated that God would restore religious freedom to

the French Protestants at that time, raising the hopes of the Huguenots and causing the exercise of prophecy to spread across the region (Schwartz 1980). The prophets rose up seemingly from nowhere; young men and girls told of visions and fell to the ground, claiming the presence of the Holy Spirit within them. They predicted a renewal of God's intervention in daily affairs and made extensive calls for repentance. Prophetic assemblies always ended with "a general feeling of emotional catharsis, often accompanied by the announcement that the angels were all around them" (Schwartz 1980).

London of the early eighteenth century was very different from southeastern France; while religious dissidence was, if not common, then at least familiar, but public exhibitions of prophecy were not. Further, Protestantism was entrenched and declarations against Catholicism were unnecessary. As a result, the prophets moved from these traditional topics and became more and more absorbed with the Millennium. They shared a belief in an imminent Millennium with the Chapter of Perfection, although the French Prophets did not turn inward to await it as Kelpius' group did.

But the prophets and their prophecies were not accepted without question. In 1706 there were twenty-four Huguenot congregations in London and by 1707 three of these had denounced the prophets as fakes. Soon, the central authority denounced them and gradually the Huguenot community turned against the Prophets as well. But even with the pressure from within and without the Huguenot community, there was a core of loyal followers. With this core, and with the surprisingly large number of English converts, "the French Prophets and their followers turned into a sect" (Garrett 1987). They attracted members from the Quakers, a number of whom saw the prophets as kindred spirits, and from the Philadelphians, who "considered them to be "a new demonstration of the outpouring of God's spirit in the world's last days" (Garrett 1987). By December, 1707, the English converts outnumbered the Huguenots (Garrett 1987).

The Prophets undertook missionary journeys around Great Britain and established centers at Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol (Schwartz 1980). Gradually their influence waned and in 1737 Thomas Dutton wrote that “the Spirit in its public Manifestations has gradually withdrawn” (Schwartz 1980).

Just one decade following Dutton’s comment, the small group that became known as the Shakers formed in a small town outside Manchester. It seems reasonable to assume that the adults who formed the first Shaker group would have been aware of the French Prophets and their spirit-led worship.

Not all of the sects that influenced the Shakers originated on the European continent. Two, in particular, began in England in the mid-1600’s—the Philadelphians and the Quakers.

The Philadelphians formed in 1650 around John Pordage, an Anglican clergyman and mystic who became interested in the writings of Jakob Boehme, a German Lutheran mystic whose beliefs presaged existentialism. The group formed after Pordage and his wife experienced a series of visions, but was not publicly active until Jane Lead joined in 1674. As the leader after Pordage died, Lead influenced the group to write a constitution that declared, among other things, that women had as much right as men to declare their experiences with God. The group was celibate and focused on the Millennium, which they believed was imminent. This belief caused Lead, who frequently published her writings, to fill them with urgent pronouncements that the Millennium was coming and that all people should prepare for it. They were called the Philadelphians because they believed literally in the prophecy of Revelation 3:7-13 NRSV, in which John writes that only the church at Philadelphia will survive the trials put before the world at the end.

A number of these characteristics were evident in other sects and would become foundational in the Shaker tenets. Celibacy, for example, was not unknown in England,

especially among Roman Catholics, but the practice was unusual in Protestant circles. The Shakers embraced celibacy, first at the urging of Jane Wardley and later by the requirement of Ann Lee. The Shakers' histories say that they adopted celibacy because of a vision given to Ann Lee by God, but it is possible that the presence of another sect in their immediate vicinity that practiced celibacy may have subtly influenced its adoption.

The most significant of the mystical sects in England was the Society of Friends, called the Quakers because they “quaked before the Lord” (Walker, Norris et al. 1985). Quaker theology is built around the idea that an inner light, which comes from God, exists within each person and if followed leads to spiritual truth. The consequence of this is the belief that revelation is not confined to Scripture but that the Spirit of God speaks to individuals directly. Revelation is thus shared among more sources than only the minister or priest and the Scripture, as in the more established denominations. The basic tenets of the sect followed from this—oaths were unnecessary to validate the word of a Christian, war and slavery were not a part of Christian life, professional ministers were rejected since God would use any man or woman that he cared to use. Like many of the other sects, Quakers believed that true Christianity expressed itself in a transformed life.

George Fox, founder of the Quakers, has been called “one of the few religious geniuses of English history” (Walker, Norris et al. 1985). Fox began a spiritual journey in 1643 when he was nineteen years old. The journey culminated in 1646 with a firm conviction concerning God's gift of inner light to every person. He began his ministry the next year. Fox was incredibly successful and within ten years, the Quakers were a powerful, although heavily persecuted, sect. Converts came to the Quakers from the Puritans as well as from other sects. Just five years from their beginning in 1647, the sect had grown large enough to establish a community in northern England. Two years after that they had spread to London, Bristol and other smaller locations in the south. Growth

of this sort would not have gone unnoticed in English society. Even society matrons were attracted to the Friends (Walker, Norris et al. 1985). The reaction from British regular society was swift and punitive. Between 1652 and 1661, more than three thousand Quakers were imprisoned, about four hundred were put to death, and still more were ruined financially after being levied steep fines. Persecution was probably inevitable, given that the Quakers made no effort to hide their meetings or their beliefs, but there is no discernible reason for the severity of the persecution. The harassment ended for them, and for all the other sects, after the Act of Toleration was signed in 1689.

Like the other sects, the Quakers had a belief in a soon-to-be-realized Millennium, although they did not predict a specific date on which it would appear. Even so, “they had a powerful sense of the approaching apocalyptic conversion of the entire world” (Schwartz 1980). Miracle and prophecy were part of the Spirit’s workings in the world. As the years went by and the Millennium did not materialize, their prophecies moved from a focus on their expectations of the Kingdom to predictions of judgment for the wicked at some future point in time. Evangelism became a major effort and they established solid churches to support their members (Schwartz 1980).

Other sects had influenced Fox; the Quakers in turn passed their influences on to the Shakers. Fox’s uncle was a member of an Anabaptist group (Jones 1903) which, in addition to the beliefs mentioned earlier also encouraged a lay ministry and provided the opportunity for women to preach. Fox mentioned other groups in his journal, indicating that he knew of them; while merely knowing about the groups does not imply influence, it does indicate that Fox searched widely for answers to spiritual questions. He did, however, directly attempt to influence the other sects. He records a specific meeting with representatives of these other groups:

...we had reasonings with all the other sects, Presbyterians, Independents, Seekers, Baptists, Episcopal men, Socinians, Brownists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Fifth-monarchy men, Familists, Muggletonians, and Ranters; none of which would affirm that they had the same power and Spirit that the Apostles had and were in; so in that power and Spirit the Lord gave us dominion over them all (Fox 1890).

Jones points out that nothing within the Quaker message was original, that one or another of the many sects each subscribed to the same beliefs (1903). But the ability to reach out into the world and see the truths among the plethora of beliefs is a mark of genius. The extent of influence of the Quakers upon the Shakers is unstated, but their presence in England was well known and knowledge of their beliefs appears to have been widespread. It is quite likely that the burgeoning Shaker group was influenced by Quaker precepts.

This review of the dissenting groups in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries has revealed a number of characteristics that, if not common to all, at least appeared in various subsets of the early sects. Each of these characteristics is also part of Shaker theology, demonstrating that the dissenting groups of the Radical Reformation probably had an effect upon the Shakers. These are the beliefs the groups held in common:

1. A desire to recreate the New Testament church – Most of the dissenting groups, including the Puritans, believed that the church in its present form did not reflect the characteristics of the church of the Scriptures. They wished to cleanse the state church of the medieval beliefs and rites left from the Roman Catholic Church. If that was not possible, and many thought it was not, they established new churches according to their beliefs.

2. Belief in an imminent Millennium – The Chapter of Perfection, the French Prophets, the Philadelphians, and the Quakers believed that the Millennium would arrive

in the immediate future and they lived their lives according to that belief. The Chapter of Perfection went so far as to immigrate to the New World where they divested themselves of their possessions and lived in a cave while they waited for the Millennium to arrive.

3. Experiential religion and a personal relationship with God – This followed directly from the understanding that a professional priesthood or ministry was not required to intercede between and God and his people.

4. Evangelism – The French Prophets and the Quakers set the model for recruiting new members. The French Prophets worked in England while the Quakers set out around the world as far as Jerusalem, the West Indies, Germany, Austria, Holland, and America (McGrath 1998).

5. Prophecy, ecstatic speech and spirit possession – The French Prophets and the Philadelphians gained fame for their prophecy and apparent spirit possession. The visions they expressed usually focused upon the coming of the Millennium.

6. Equality for women in the church – The Quakers, the Philadelphians and the French Prophets each either had women leaders or women as prophets. Jane Lead, as leader of the Philadelphians, for example, was widely published.

7. Common ownership of property – The Anabaptists developed in several strands, but this is one of common points among them.

8. Integration of church and society – Calvin set the example for such integration in Geneva, Switzerland.

9. Celibacy – The Roman Catholic priesthood practiced celibacy for hundreds of years. It should not be a surprise, then, that at least some of the dissenters would continue this practice. The Philadelphians believed that the Kingdom would come in fact only when the church on earth was purified (Lead 1697).

10. Pacifism – The Quakers followed the lead of the Anabaptists who adhered to the precepts of the Schleitheim Confession, adopted by a branch of the Anabaptists in 1527. The Confession precludes the use of the sword by Christians. The Quakers are more positive in their approach. They consider that peace is a righteous goal and that one must not kill another child of God.

Philosophical Atmosphere

The atmosphere of dissent during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries contributed directly to the development of the Shakers; curious though they may seem today, Shaker theology was not terribly different from that of other European and English sects. But the atmosphere of dissent was not the only influence upon the Shakers. The philosophical atmosphere during the time the Shakers were forming may also have contributed to the manner in which their theology developed. It was a time called the Enlightenment, an era of attitudes that at first glance appear to be contradictory to everything the dissenters proclaimed. The term “Enlightenment” embraces a loose collection of ideas that were prevalent in society during the eighteenth century (McGrath 1998). The time is often called the Age of Reason because the idea that the world can be known through one’s reason, and only by reason, was prevalent. This was a time when science and philosophy came together and produced a new way of thinking about God, the world, and his interaction with it.

First, the scientists severed the laws of nature from the laws of God. In the century before, Galileo Galilei provided an impetus for the quest to understand nature when he further developed Copernicus’ theory that the earth revolves around the sun rather than the reverse. This departure from orthodox religious thinking earned him a summons to appear before the Inquisition and death in jail (Oliver 1998). In 1687 Sir

Isaac Newton published *Principia*, in which he demonstrated that gravity explains the movement of the planets. The reaction to this new idea was considerable. No longer was the universe inexplicable; the mystery that could previously only be ascribed to God was now explained by mathematics. Newton's discovery of calculus, coincident with that of Leibniz, meant that more and more heretofore mysterious natural processes could be explained. God was no longer thought of as the day-to-day support of the universe and was shunted to the background.

Second, philosophers were challenging the notions of what knowledge is and how it is attained. Philosophers like Rene Descartes (1596-1650) and John Locke (1632-1704) emphasized an epistemology of empiricism in which human reason was declared to be preminent. The phrase known as Descartes' Cogito – 'I think, therefore I am' – in effect declares that a human being is complete within himself or herself, again without the need to reference God as the support for existence. Locke, perhaps, went the furthest in the elevation of humankind to self-determining creatures, independent of God and his control. There are no innate ideas, according to Locke; all knowledge is apprehended through the senses and the test of truth is reasonableness "judged by reason based on experience" (Walker, Norris et al. 1985).

These ideas filtered into the understandings of everyday people with the result that religious enthusiasm was dampened both in the Church of England and among dissenters. "Rationalism had penetrated all classes of religious thinkers, so that even among the orthodox, Christianity seemed little more than a system of morality supported by divine sanctions" (Walker, Norris et al. 1985). At first glance, it seems incongruous that religious groups with their basis in spirit possession and prophecy would survive and grow in this type of atmosphere. And yet, perhaps it is not so strange. Locke's basic premise is that experience is everything. Experience is also the bedrock on which

the dissenting sects were based. The Philadelphians, the Puritans, and the Pietists put emphasis on the experiential aspects of faith. The French Prophets prophesied about the reappearance of God in daily life. George Fox, founder of the Quakers, said that he knew God “experimentally” (Fox 1890).

Even among those responsible for promulgating the Enlightenment the mystery of God and his interaction with the world was not lost. The philosophers and scientists themselves were mostly Christians and they looked for ways to reconcile these new ideas with their basic belief in God. They determined that the roots of Christianity were knowable and understandable because they could be explained by reason (Walker, Norris et al. 1985). Supernatural revelation that occurred as a consequence of historical events was disregarded because history was not something that could be understood by experience, but ongoing revelation, supernatural or otherwise, was deemed possible because it could be judged by the reason of those experiencing it.

There were signs of awakening from the religious lethargy even as the Enlightenment was in progress. William Law, Isaac Watts, Samuel Wesley, and the religious societies of young men that would develop into the Methodist denomination kept the spirit of mystery and God’s presence alive. Then early in the eighteenth century revival broke out. Ebenezer and Ralph in Scotland, Whitefield and John and Charles Wesley in Britain and America preached to thousands in fields and pastures. The revival would come to be known as the Great Awakening.

Shaker Beginnings

Little is known about the Shakers during their formative period; what is known comes primarily from the Shakers’ own histories, accounts that were written between as long as fifty to one hundred years later. These histories are based largely

on reminiscences, which the Shakers call “testimonies,” handed down through the generations. The histories often had purposes beyond recounting the bare facts; frequently the purpose was to explain the meaning and value of the Shaker beliefs and the holy nature of Mother Ann Lee. This is accomplished by telling stories that may have little or no supporting evidence or that clearly have been magnified since their actual occurrence. This section recounts what is known or was testified to regarding the early days of the Shakers in England and their first days in America. Given no other materials, these theological histories are the sources behind this review.

Origin of the Society

There probably was no overt decision by the Shaker members to join together as a separate sect. It is more likely that the early members were part of some other sect, possibly the Quakers, and that they gradually moved apart, forming their own group in order to express freely their unique beliefs. Whatever the process, by 1747 the group had formed and was actively meeting.

Their first leaders were James and Jane Wardley, tailors who lived in Bolton, England, a small town near Manchester. The earliest members besides the Wardleys were John Townley, John Hocknell, and James Whittaker along with some of their family members. Townley was a prosperous mason in Manchester, the largest nearby town. At some point the Wardleys moved from Bolton to Manchester to live in Townley’s house; the residence also became one of the Shaker meeting places. Hocknell was an elderly man with a large farm in the countryside where the Shakers also met from time to time. It was the sale of this farm some years later that financed the Shakers’ move from England to America. Even though he was more than seventy years old, he migrated with the group and provided the means for them to buy their first land and to erect the first structures

in the new world. James Whittaker, a native of Oldham, England and Ann Lee's distant relative also moved with the group to America; later he stepped into the highest male leadership position as Father James. He first attended Shaker meetings with his mother and even as a young boy he was greatly influenced by the words of Ann Lee. As Father James, he continued to lead the American group after her death.

Mother Jane

Jane Wardley was the primary leader and was called Mother by the others. Jane's concern for people and their religious state began when she was a young woman. "Jane had seen about her, from her youth upwards, a careless church, a Papist gentry, a drunken and fanatical crowd" (Dixon 1867). These concerns led her to begin speaking out in public places, saying "that the end of all things was at hand, that Christ was about to reign, that his second appearance would be in a woman's form, as had long ago been prefigured in the Psalms" (Dixon 1867). She introduced the practice of confession to her followers and she led them in their meetings to "shake and make signs and speak out against sin" (Haskett 1828). She encouraged them to practice celibacy and at one point advised Ann Lee regarding how to manage intimacy with her husband by telling Ann that "James and I lodge together; but we do not touch each other any more than two babes" (Wood 1888).

Mother Ann

Ann Lee was born in 1736 in Manchester, England. Her father, John Lee, was a blacksmith, a poor man but "respectable in character, moral in principle, honest and punctual in his dealings, and industrious in business." (Testimonies 1888). Ann's mother was a pious woman and very religious. With five brothers and two sisters, Ann's family

was not of the class that educated their children; she was sent to work in the cotton factories instead of being sent to school and never learned to read or write. As a child she was very religious, possibly taking after her mother, and even then was opposed to sexual relations. At her parents' insistence, however, she married another blacksmith, Abraham Standerin, in 1762. They had four children, all of whom died in infancy (Testimonies 1888).

Ann met James and Jane Wardley in Manchester and joined their group in September, 1758, confessing her sins before them (White and Taylor 1905). She struggled with her own feelings and concerns over her salvation for some years following her union with the group. She described herself as being in "great tribulation" (Testimonies 1888; White and Taylor 1905), struggling to understand what God wanted of her. Eventually these inner conflicts were resolved and her vision concerning God and life was clarified. She later remembered that when the sufferings were over she was like a child to whom all things are new, but that within a very short time she understood the spiritual kingdom around her (White and Taylor 1905).

In 1770 Ann had a vision concerning "the source and foundation of human corruption" (White and Taylor 1905). In the vision she understood that celibacy was the key to sinless perfection and salvation (Garrett 1987). When she conveyed the vision to the members of the group, they immediately elevated her to be their leader. "The light and power of God revealed in Ann, and through her revealed to those who received her testimony, had such sensible effect in giving them power over all sin, and filling them with visions, revelations, and gifts of God, that she was received and acknowledged as the first spiritual Mother in Christ" (Testimonies 1888). Even Mother Jane recognized that Lee's spiritual gifts were greater than her own and she voluntarily relinquished the leadership position. On Ann's part, she never repudiated the Wardleys' teachings,

although she did extend them. Jane and James encouraged celibacy and the confession of sins. Mother Ann required that the members accept both practices (Garrett 1987). Although they did not accompany the group to America, both Wardleys were remembered well by the Shakers. Later members compared the Wardleys' work to the way John the Baptist prepared the way for Jesus (White and Taylor 1905). Mother Ann's leadership and high standards would later prove to cause dissension among the members, but by the beginning of the 1770s, the group had grown to about sixty members. Roughly half of these left the organization by 1773, including the Townleys (Haskett 1828). Of the nine who went to America, five departed, including Mother Ann's husband, who was never really committed and was not a Shaker; two others left to get married and two more left after Mother Ann died.

Mother Ann introduced or confirmed three tenets that all Shakers must affirm: spiritual gifts, celibacy, and confession. "Not only can all three be traced with confidence to Ann Lee herself, but all three derive more broadly from the currents of eighteenth-century European popular religion" (Garrett 1987). Mother Jane put voluntary celibacy and confession in place. Mother Ann moved these practices from voluntary customs to mandatory doctrines. Spiritual gifts were also already acknowledged, evidenced by the visions that had been received by Ann and by James Whittaker. These gifts were proof of God's presence among them and included behavior such as ecstatic song and dance, prophecy, and possession by the Holy Spirit. Mother Ann elevated the acknowledgement of gifts to a significant level, especially during their worship. In the early years of the Shakers' existence there was no one pattern for worship service. Under Mother Jane, they were learning to live in a new way, the way of complete salvation. "They professed to be resigned, to be led and governed, from time to time, as the spirit of God might dictate" (Brown 1766). Mother Ann added "a new level of spiritual experience through

the night-long ceremonies of ecstatic worship and a new assurance of salvation through the dual discipline of celibacy and confession” (Garrett 1987). Even at this early stage, their worship was peculiar enough to be noticed and described in a newspaper article in Virginia.

They ... converse in their own way about the scriptures ... until the moving of the spirit comes upon them, which is first perceived by their beginning leisurely to scratch upon their thighs or other parts of their bodies; from that the motion becomes gradually quicker, and proceeds to trembling, shaking, and screeching in the most dreadful manner; at the same time their features are not distinguishable by reason of the quick motion of their heads, which strange agitation at last ends in singing and dancing ... (Correspondent 1769)

The worship style described in the Gazette was new to the Shakers, introduced only lately by Mother Ann. It included “singing, dancing, shaking, shouting, leaping, speaking in an unknown tongue, and prophesying” (Haskett 1828). Even though the worship was highly physical and may have derived from the religious dissenting groups of the Quakers and the French Prophets, Mother Ann was different. “She did not act like the possessed prophets earlier in the century. She did not preach, nor did she deliver God’s warnings in her own voice. She described her visions, she sang and gestured with a beauty and power that compelled belief, and, most importantly, she showed considerable psychological astuteness in maintaining her position of spiritual leadership” (Garrett 1987).

Ann Lee is remembered in an almost glorified context by her spiritual descendents. She was apparently highly charismatic, with a “degree of discernment and penetration which nothing short of Divine Power and Wisdom could inspire” (Testimonies 1888). She is described as a strong woman, somewhat larger than normal, with blue eyes and a light complexion. “She was very majestic, and her countenance was

such as inspired confidence and respect” (Testimonies 1888). It is clear that if the stories of persecution, including jails and severe beatings were even partially true, then Mother Ann would have to have been a remarkable woman. She must have been physically strong to withstand the punishment and attempts to kill her through starvation that are recounted in the Shaker histories. She must also have been totally focused and completely dedicated to her goal of establishing the Shaker church.

There is much ascribed to Ann in later histories that she did not claim for herself. In particular, there is no indication that she considered herself to be the female person of the returned Christ, yet this is exactly what was credited to her by her followers. Along with the revelation about celibacy, Mother Ann is also said to have had a revelation concerning the nature of God. In that revelation, she understood that God was of two natures, not just one and that these natures corresponded to the masculine and the feminine, “each distinct in function yet one in being, Co-equals in Deity” (White and Taylor 1905). Her followers believe that Ann was endowed with the feminine nature of God in the person of the Christ. “And when the time was fully come, according to the appointment of God, Christ was again revealed, not in Judea, to the Jews, nor in the person of a male; but in England, to a Gentile nation, and in the person of a female. This extraordinary female, whom, her followers believe God had chosen, and in whom Christ did visibly make his second appearance, was Ann Lee” (Testimonies 1888).

The Move to America

It is no surprise, then, that when Mother Ann told them about a vision in which she saw herself and the others in America, they did not question her decision to migrate. In the vision, God promised Ann that in America “the Gospel would be accepted and a church built up which should never fail” (White and Taylor 1905). Mother Ann’s desire

to move was supported by another vision, this time given to James Whittaker. He told the group that in his vision he saw his soul with Mother Ann's in America (Goodrich 1888; White and Taylor 1905) and that he saw America itself along with a large tree in which "every leaf thereof shone with such brightness as made it appear like a burning torch, representing the Church of Christ which will yet be established in this land" (Testimonies 1888).

Stein does not agree that the visions were the spur for the move; he says that it is more likely that given the persecution in England and the likelihood that the group would not grow much further, a new environment would be worth the cost of such a difficult move (1992).

They sailed from Liverpool on May 19, 1774. The sale of John Hocknell's farm purchased the tickets for the first nine members to move—Ann, her husband Abraham, her brother, William Lee, and her niece, Nancy Lee, James Whittaker, John Hocknell and his son, Richard, James Shepherd, and Mary Partington (Testimonies 1888). The next year, a few more of the British group joined them; those who remained in England no longer had any leadership and probably drifted apart.

After arriving in New York on August 6, 1774, they scattered until the community could be established. Mother Ann obtained work in New York and remained there until 1776, when she joined the others.

Niskayuna

Soon after arriving, John Hocknell, James Whittaker, and William Lee made inquiries about land and were directed to Albany, New York where it was said that land was available at a nearby place called Niskayuna by the Indians, now called Watervliet.

The did acquire land there, although whether they leased or purchased it is unclear (Testimonies 1888; Garrett 1987).

Establishing the community and at the same time providing for their basic needs proved to be difficult. Their land was undeveloped and forested and they had no real tools with which to work. It took them until the fall of 1776 to clear some land and erect a log cabin in which to live (White and Taylor 1905). They were completely isolated on what was, at that time, the frontier. The Revolutionary War had begun and the country was dangerous. George Washington was attacking the British at New York City, not far to the east of the settlement. On the west, the British were recruiting Indians to raid the frontier settlements along the Mohawk River. No converts came to the Shakers and they began to be discouraged (White and Taylor 1905); only Mother Ann kept her spirits. When William Lee asked her if the Gospel would ever be opened, that is, established, in America, she replied, “Be patient, be patient, O my dear children, for I can see great numbers coming now, and you will soon see them coming in great numbers” (Testimonies 1888).

In 1779, Mother Ann began to counsel them to prepare for feeding large multitudes “for the time is at hand when many will come and obey the Gospel” (White and Taylor 1905). The next year, her visions about the Shakers in America began to be proved. People began to visit Niskayuna to find out about the Shakers and this curious new religion. Some, like Joseph Meacham and Calvin Harlow accepted the teachings, and joined, later becoming leaders in the sect. Others came who rejected the whole idea and even published warnings, urging people not to get caught up in what they saw as false teachings. Valentine Rathbun, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, was one of the latter. At first glance, he became a stout supporter, but later became disenchanted and published

at length about what he saw as a dangerous cult. “I am very sensible,” he said, “that the spirit which leads on this new scheme, is the spirit of witchcraft” (Rathbun 1781).

Rathbun was among many who first heard of the Shakers following the Dark Day, a day which never came. On May 19, 1780, it was as dark at noon as at midnight. The superstitious New Englanders saw the darkness as a portent; today it is thought that the darkness was the result of an atmospheric anomaly that allowed the smoke from forest fires to collect over the land (Yeaton 2002). A future Shaker, Issachar Bates, described what he saw on that day. “The people were out wringing their hands, and howling, ‘the Day of Judgment is come! — for darkness covered the whole face of the land of New England!’” (Bates 1961). The Shakers believed that this was God’s declaration that it was time for them to declare the Gospel message to the people around them, what they called opening the Gospel; this was the sign for which they had been waiting. “On the part of the Shakers, it was singing, dancing, shouting, shaking, speaking with tongues, turning, preaching, prophesying, & warning the world to confess their sins & turn to God; for his wrath was coming upon them” (Bates 1961).

After the Dark Day, they testified to their beliefs anywhere possible. Word of their sect spread around the countryside, igniting persecution through misconceptions. They were frequently charged with witchcraft, especially since a woman led them. The familiar accusation from Scripture was revived and leveled at Mother Ann, “She casteth out devils by Beelzebub” (Green and Wells 1823). When she was not being charged with witchcraft, she was charged with being a woman of low character. “The first founder of this wild sect was one Jane Lees [sic]: she lived in the town of Manchester, in England -- was of low parentage, and procured her living at the expense of her chastity” (Anonymous 1795). James Thacher, a military surgeon at West Point, recorded this description in his journal. It is typical of the mistaken ideas that were abroad concerning the Shakers.

We are just informed of a new order of fanatics, who have recently introduced themselves into our country, pretending to be a religious sect; but, if reports be true, they are a disgrace both to religion and to human nature. ... Their leader is a female by the name of Ann Lee, niece of General Lee, of our army. She is lately from England, and has brought over with her a few followers, and has had the address to seduce several individuals of our country to her party. ... They spend whole nights in their revels, and exhibit the most unbecoming scenes, violating all rules of propriety and decency. Both sexes, nearly divested of clothing, fall to dancing in extravagant postures, and frequently whirl themselves round on one leg with inconceivable rapidity, till they fall apparently lifeless on the floor. ... no imagination can form an adequate idea of the extravagant conduct of these infatuated people - a burlesque on all moral and religious principle. (Thacher 1776-1783)

The New Era

The opening of the gospel was a turning point for the Shakers in America. They were no longer a secluded community, odd but tolerated, on the fringes of society. They were now attracting both attention and new members. The attention drew the new members but it also drew criticism and even persecution. The combination of their peculiar religious beliefs and overt testimonies along with their pacifism in the middle of the War for Independence brought the authorities as well as the visitors. The government of New York charged them with being British sympathizers and imprisoned the leaders. Mother Ann and Mary Partington were jailed in Poughkeepsie for six months, from July until the end of 1780.

Once released, Mother Ann undertook a missionary journey across New England to spread her message. Traveling with her brother, William, and James Whittaker, they criss-crossed Massachusetts and the surrounding colonies. They attracted a wide range of people, both serious inquirers and the merely curious; they also attracted persecutors. On a number of occasions angry local residents physically attacked the trio, forcing them

to move on to the next place. In spite the dangerous environment, new converts came forward and confessed their sins to the missionaries and inroads were made into some communities. These core groups would provide the nuclei for future congregations.

The travelers returned to Niskeyuna in 1783, after twenty-eight months on the road. The trip was highly successful in spite of the persecution. If anything, the hardships served to increase the legend that would grow up around Mother Ann. The Shakers were now fully public and ready to move to the next stage in which they would gather the faithful into communities that were set apart from the world (Stein 1992). The next year, 1784, saw the death of Mother Ann. She had built the foundation, now others would lead the Shakers into the full expression of their beliefs.

Shaker Theology

Thomas Merton, a Trappist monk and one of the great twentieth-century spiritual writers, first visited Pleasant Hill Shaker Village in 1959, more than three decades after it closed and just before the restoration began. His monastery, Gethsemani, is near Pleasant Hill (also called Shakertown) and the locality probably contributed to his interest. In a letter to an acquaintance he wrote, “The Shakers and their spirituality seem to me to be extremely significant, as an authentic American form of the Monastic Life, with a Utopian and eschatological cast” (Merton 1961). It is interesting that Merton, being a devoted and mainstream Christian, would be so attracted by the Shakers, an extreme sect whose theology incorporates controversial views that were long ago resolved in the rest of the Christian world. Merton undoubtedly identified with their lifestyle and their devotion and discipline rather than their theology. In his private journal he wrote,

There is a lot of Shakertown in Gethsemani. The two contemporary communities had much in common, were born of the same Spirit. If Shakertown had survived it would probably have evolved much as we have evolved. The prim ladies in their bonnets would have been driving tractors, and the sour gents would have advertised their bread and cheese. And all would have struggled with guilt (Cunningham 1996).

Indeed, guilt played a major role in Shaker life, not from the psychological point of view, but because of the issue of sin. Like most Christian denominations, the Shakers believed that human beings commit sin on a regular basis. Unlike most other denominations, however, they believed that they could perfect themselves.

Inquirers asked the Elders, “Are you perfect? Do you live without sin?” The elders answered, “The power of God, revealed in this day, does enable souls to cease from sin; and we have received that power; we have actually left off committing sin, and we live in daily obedience to the will of God” (Testimonies 1888).

Elder Samuel Turner of Pleasant Hill told Charles Byrd that “he knew of a number [of Shakers] that had not only obtained full power over all sin, but were actually out of the flesh, though in the body, born again” (Byrd 1826). In Puritan New England, this belief ran counter to the preaching of ministers like Jonathon Edwards, who told his congregation that “the creation groans with you” and that if it were not for the goodness of God the sinner would “tend downwards with great weight and pressure towards hell” because “the earth would not bear you one moment” (Edwards 1741). In this grandly metaphorical language, Edwards was expressing the idea common to the Puritans that sinful humanity was a violation of the perfect creation and that only by the grace of God does humanity exist on a civilized plane. Mainstream Christians believe that they cannot help but sin, even after the moment of salvation, and that salvation actually means that at the time of judgment Jesus Christ will intercede for them. Modern Shakers still believe

that perfection is possible, but they also believe that the point at which perfection is achieved is a moving target and not some definable point like the endpoint of a race that once passed is forever won. Shakers today believe that as they become more informed, more knowledgeable, the point of perfection moves further into the horizon. “There is a sense that perfection is endless, that we become more perfect as we become better learners, as we gain more knowledge. So where is the end of perfection?” (Hadd 2004).

It was this kind of belief, along with others considered below, that may have invited the criticism, and even some of the persecution, that the Shakers experienced. The Shakers declared that they were “New Testament Christians” and that they patterned themselves after the model presented by Christ (Hadd 2004). Like many mainstream Christian denominations, they did not understand the Bible literally but interpreted it according to their understanding. However, the hermeneutic used in the Biblical interpretation that established their beliefs appears to have two errors, suggesting a deficiency in the way they understood the methodology for the interpretation of Scripture. The first error involves proof texting, the process by which one small segment of Scripture is taken out of a passage and used to build a theology without considering the material that comes before and after that segment and/or not taking into consideration other related passages from elsewhere in Scripture. An example was their belief that there is no resurrection of the body, a view contrary to mainstream Christians. The Shakers refer to John 11:25-26¹ NRSV to support this view (White and Taylor 1905) but there was no mention of attempts to harmonize 1 Thessalonians 4:26² NRSV, which clearly states that the dead will rise when Christ returns. This may arise because the Shakers give

¹ “I am the resurrection and the life. Those who believe in me, even though they die, will live, and everyone who lives and believes in me will never die”.

² “For the Lord himself, with a cry of command, with the archangel’s call and with the sound of God’s trumpet, will descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ will rise first”.

significantly less emphasis to the Pauline epistles than to the Gospels. They see Paul as having more narrow views than Christ, resulting in giving “pabulum to the people” (Hadd 2004).

Secondly, there is evidence that they considered the witness of the community to be an important, even final, validation in declaring a person divine or an idea to be inspired. It was the community, for example, who declared that Ann Lee had become the female Christ.

Ann Lee always acknowledged Jesus Christ as her Lord and Savior, the Head of the Church; but, when the two anointed leaders, before whom she had confessed her sins and whom she had obeyed as her spiritual guides, recognized in her a superior endowment of Divine Maternity, and with the rest of the little circle acknowledged her as now their Spiritual Mother, she did not refuse the recognition (White and Taylor 1905).

Trained interpreters in mainstream Christianity espouse the use of three methods to validate spiritual understandings; they are used together with each affirming the sense of the other two: 1) Scripture translated from the original languages, 2) personal inspiration, and 3) the witness of the church. This triangulation around any given issue prevents heretical misunderstandings from creeping into the life of the community. It should be noted, however, that the errors in Shaker hermeneutics are commonly found among other Christian groups as well.

Shaker theology is complicated and both present- and future-oriented. The “eschatological cast” of which Merton wrote may be the key to understanding the Shakers. Eschatology, the belief in or study of what will happen at the end of time or at the end of the world, has always been a popular subject among members of the Christian church. A visit to any bookstore reveals that speculation about the time of the world’s end continues unabated; occasionally a prediction of a certain time for the end takes hold of

a group and they modify their lifestyle and behavior to accommodate their belief in the prediction. Groups like this sometimes become “doomsday cults” and take drastic action to signify their belief in a coming cataclysm. The Shakers had a different take on the end times; they believed that the Kingdom of God had already come and that they were living in it. The Millennium arrived when their sect was established in 1747; at that time, they believed, the spirit of Christ returned in the person of Ann Lee. They looked for the end of the world and believed that it would come when they had perfected themselves. This, then, was the driving force in the development of their communities and their individual characters – they understood themselves to be creating heaven on earth (Hadd 2004). Their practices both derived from and contributed to this central focus.

The practice of simplicity, for example, has been called a defining Shaker characteristic (Burns and Burns; Lane 1988, 2001). The Shakers do not deny that the quest for simplicity is important.

Simplicity, I think, helps during the spiritual journey because it frees you from the other things in this life which might interrupt and get in the way. When you have something that is simple, it is like a sheet that is stretched out; you can find no grooves in it. Anything that is a defect is seen and shown. In a complex object you can make something look good even if it has a tear, if you know how to do it. So simplicity for a believer is a goal to be sought for and to be obtained (Hadd 2004).

Described like this, it is clear that “simplicity” is not the equal of “simple.” In fact, the Shakers are anything but simple. What is often thought of as simplicity may actually be called order. It is the result of a common focus upon a single purpose; their unswerving focus towards the goal of perfection defined the journey towards the accomplishment of that goal. True simplicity is only achieved when “we come down where we ought to be” (Johnson 1969); that is, simplicity is achieved when the world is ordered according to the design inherent in its creation. This search for meaning and

one's place in the world is the Holy Grail for much of humanity. Brother Theodore said that the simplicity that grows from self-understanding leads to the awareness of one's place; that place, as he understood it, was within the fellowship of the Shaker church (Johnson 1969). The Shaker decorative style may be the source of the idea that the Shakers were simple people. This style, with its clean lines and rejection of superfluous elements that have no useful purpose, is simple when compared to other twentieth and twenty-first century fashions. But the Shakers were much more than their furniture. Sister Mildred was fond of saying, "I almost expect to be remembered as a chair or a table ... but people forget that there is something behind that work – the religion that produced the good chairs and the good tables, because everything they put their hands to was well done" (Burns and Burns 1989).

Shaker christology, their belief in the nature of Jesus Christ, stood side-by-side with their eschatology. It, too, contributed to the development of their lifestyle and their communities. They adhered to the adoptionist viewpoint, the belief that Jesus was not God during his early life, but that he became God at the time of his baptism when the Spirit of God entered into him. This God/Christ spirit was previously given to the Patriarchs and to Moses. "Many times and in different races has the Christ Spirit rested upon, entered into and manifested itself through human beings, -- special witnesses" (White and Taylor 1905). The Shakers also believed that the Spirit of Christ came to Ann Lee. "As the Word was first revealed in one, who was the man Jesus, so last of all it is revealed the second time in the woman whom we call Mother" (Barker 1963). This is the point from which they date the beginning of the Millennium.

Throughout the history of Christianity there has been a multiplicity of christological views; those views that are outside the mainstream have led to accusations

of heresy and to religious persecution. It was the division of Christians over the divinity of Jesus that led in part to the early ecumenical councils.

The central focus of the Shakers was the creation of heaven on earth (Hadd 2004). To that end, they employed three practices: confession, celibacy, and community. The Wardleys first introduced confession and celibacy to the English Shakers as voluntary practices; when Ann Lee assumed leadership, she declared them to be mandatory (Garrett 1987). The practice of community was introduced in America because of the difficulty in supporting each other, separated as they were upon far-away farms; the distance between them was causing the loss of members. Father James understood this problem and took two radical steps. First he commissioned the building of the first formal meetinghouse at Mt. Lebanon, New York; prior to this time the group had been meeting in private homes. Second, he encouraged the believers to sell their distant farms and to come together in a neighborhood (Hadd 2004). The practice of coming together later developed into a fully communal life in which the Shakers shared all aspects of their lives and their possessions.

Each of these practices was intended to move both the individual and the community in the direction of perfection, thus hastening the end of the Millennium. Confession was the means by which those who sin might come to God.

... those who commit sin are bound in death, and are not able to come to God without help; and when they come to Christ's witnesses, and honestly confess their sins to them, they find some relation to these witnesses, and that gives them some relation to Christ; and in this sense, these witnesses become Mediators between Christ and lost souls (Testimonies 1888).

Celibacy, the Shakers believed, removed them from the suffering that would come to "those who live in the gratification of their lusts" (Testimonies 1888). It also enabled the creation of spiritual families; a man and a woman in each "family" was appointed

to the office of elder and filled the roles of father and mother while the other members considered themselves to be brothers and sisters.

As a communitarian group, the Shakers renounced personal possessions and held all property in common. The practice was begun by Father Joseph Meacham at Mt. Lebanon, New York and was intended to model the primitive church (Evans 1859) as it is described in the biblical book of Acts. By separating themselves from the world, they removed the temptation to be worldly and facilitated the efforts to perfect themselves.

The Millennial Laws

Following Mother Ann's evangelistic journey through New England, the Shakers retreated into seclusion in order to prepare for "deeper and deeper work" (Hadd 2004), that is, the work of evangelizing America. The large number of persons who joined the Society during Mother Ann's journeys needed to advance spiritually in order to provide a solid foundation for the newly formed communities. "... in those first days all were strangers to one another and the ways of living were new and untried" (Barker 1963) and they needed to experience the Shaker life without interference from the world's temptations. This time of introspection lasted through the death of Mother Ann in 1784 and until the death of Father James in 1787. The ground was prepared for Father Joseph to establish more firmly the Shaker vision in America.

Mother Ann was a true spiritualist. She relied exclusively on the guidance of God as she led the Shakers. At their founding, the Shakers "gave themselves up entirely to be led by the operations of the spirit of God" (Barker 1963). But the further a group is from its founders, the more likely the group is to codify its beliefs and practices. After Mother Ann's death there began to be a desire for a written declaration of Shaker beliefs. Under the shared leadership of Father Joseph and Mother Lucy, who succeeded Father

James in 1787, verbal statements of faith and practice became if not creedal then at least commonly understood (Barker 1963). After Father Joseph's death, Mother Lucy was the sole leader for another twenty-five years. Throughout her tenure, she resisted all attempts to issue written statements of Shaker theology, but the desire for such a statement proved to be irresistible and just six months after her death in 1821 the first edition of the Millennial Laws was published. These are reproduced in Appendix 1.

The laws were revised and edited over the next 2 decades. They were reissued in 1845 to all the societies with this suggestion: "... it is consequently the privilege and duty of the Lead in each Society and family to add to or diminish the number of such in this book, as their situation and circumstances require for the safety, union and protection of the people under their charge" (Barker 1963). The individual societies thus were given the right to choose which laws would be followed depending upon their local situation. The Laws continued to be adapted as needed according to the time and place of their implementation. This 1845 version, however, is seen as being peculiar to the time of writing (Johnson 1969). The decades called Mother's Work in the 1840s and 1850s were times of visionary frenzy and the Millennial Laws were altered to suit the events that occurred. More insights regarding Mother's Work are in Chapter 4.

Major revisions were made in 1860 and 1885. The 1860 revision reflected the return to the sensibilities and orders of the times preceding the era of Mother's Work (Johnson 1969). In this revision, the leaders added a section concerning the village and its appearance.

Orders Concerning Building, Painting, etc.

Beadings, mouldings and cornices, which are merely for fancy, may not be made by Believers.

2. Odd, or fanciful styles of architecture, may not be used among Believers; neither should they deviate widely from the common styles of buildings, without the union of the Ministry and Elders.

Counsels

It is advisable to paint meeting houses white, without, and of a bluish shade within for the sake of uniformity.

Dwellings should also be as near uniform in color as consistent and shops in like manner should be uniform as far as practicable, and a little darker than dwellings.

2. For uniformity, it is advised for dwelling house floors, if stained at all, to be of a reddish yellow.

3. Back buildings, as barns, wood houses, etc., if painted at all should be of a darker hue, than dwellings or shops, as Red, Brown, Umber, Lead color, Chocolate or some such modest color; but when such buildings front the streets, or command a sightly aspect, they should be painted like shops.

4. It is imprudent, and unadvisable, to paint such articles as come to ready wear, so as to wear out before they rot out.

(Johnson 1969)

The Millennial Laws were intended to regulate daily life in Shaker villages according to their religious beliefs, but in fact, the laws did more than this. First, they clearly defined the differences between Shakerism and the world (Stein 1992). Believers were under strict restrictions not to leave the village unless certain conditions were met and if they were permitted to go away, their activities were strictly regulated. Likewise, non-Shakers were permitted only in certain parts of the village and they were given access only to the few members assigned to that duty. Second, the laws set up a metaphorical tunnel for new members so that their vision did not swerve into activities for which they were not ready or onto persons who might tempt them from the Shaker path. Third, although the laws were not mandatory in the strictest sense, they did allow the Shakers to achieve a kind of uniformity so that the image they presented to the world was consistent.

CHAPTER 4. THE PRODUCTION OF THEOLOGICAL SPACE

The Founding of Pleasant Hill Shaker Village

On January 2, 1805, John Meacham, Benjamin Seth Youngs, and Issachar Bates set out from New Lebanon, NY (home of the Central Ministry and the headquarters of the Shaker church) to preach their gospel in the Western states. They went “on foot, with one horse to carry their baggage, they being the first three Messengers that brought the gospel to the western country; and taking a circuitous route from New York, through the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, landed at Turtle Creek, Ohio, March 22, 1805” (Church Record Book C 1845). Before arriving in Turtle Creek, they stopped in Paint Lick, Kentucky and spent time with Matthew Houston, a local pastor, speaking to his church and reading their letter of introduction from the ministry at New Lebanon. After a few days, they moved on to Turtle Creek. John Meacham would eventually become the senior elder for Pleasant Hill, Benjamin Youngs became the principal author of the *Testimony of Christ’s Second Appearing*, published in 1808, and Issachar Bates later became an important elder in the church.

In their evangelistic efforts, the Shakers often took advantage of local religious enthusiasms and revivals as a means to gain acceptance of their message. A revival that had begun around 1800 in Ohio and Kentucky created a volatile religious atmosphere in which large numbers of people were caught up. By 1805, camp meetings in both Ohio and Kentucky attracted thousands of people; a meeting in Bourbon County, Kentucky, reportedly hosted some 20,000 people at any one time and significantly more over the course of a week. The general belief being espoused among the participants of

this revival was that an inward light shined into the heart of believer and carried with it the will of God. Named for their new belief, the first New Lights came out of the Presbyterian Church and even included some of the Presbyterian ministry. The Shaker missionaries could not have chosen a more auspicious time for their evangelistic efforts (McNemar 1808).

The heightened emotional state of the people involved in the revival set the stage for even greater change. The Shaker evangelists made a number of converts in the Turtle Creek area; with these new members they established Union Village which would become the headquarters village for the western region (Church Record Book C 1845). Then in August 1805 Benjamin Youngs, Richard McNemar, and Malcham Worley traveled from Union Village to Kentucky to attend the churches in that area. "Here, as was usual at such meetings, the brethren were forbidden to speak with the people, and were threatened with prosecution as disturbers of the meeting if they attempted it". In the service, the two preachers, Barton Stone and Robert Marshal, "spoke many accusations against the Shakers. ... But Elisha Thomas & Henry Banta from Mercer County, who with some others were determined to hear them speak, drew them to a private house for that purpose." Thomas, Banta and several others believed the missionaries' message and accepted the new faith. "This was the beginning of the gospel being planted in Mercer County Ky., which was about the middle of Aug. 1805" (Church Record Book C 1845).

The ministry then began to gather the new believers into a communal situation that would become Pleasant Hill. They initially settled upon some land that belonged to Elisha Thomas. Thomas, who has the distinction of being the first Shaker believer in Kentucky, owned 140 acres of land along Shawnee Run, later called Shaker Creek, and it was here that the new group of believers established their first home. They later moved onto higher ground one and one-half miles east of the creek and built a complete village.

At its height, Pleasant Hill was situated on seven thousand acres although by the 1870s their holdings were reduced to four thousand two hundred acres (Neal 1982).

The setting for the new village was very beautiful. The gently rolling land was fertile and ready for crops. The Kentucky River ran nearby, with its towering palisades. Shawnee Run flowed beside the quarry from which the Shakers would obtain the stone needed for the new buildings. The setting was described in a letter sent back to Mother Lucy from the Pleasant Hill Ministry:

We live in a thick settled place. The state of Kentucky is in the center of the inhabited part of the country west of the Allegany mountains & south of Canada, having the state of Ohio on the north & Tennessee on the south. The county that we live in is the center of the state, the central point is about four miles distant from us. This state contains a great deal of beautiful land, level & rich, some of which borders very close upon us. The spot where we live is not quite so even as we could wish, yet it is not mountainous like New Lebanon. There is [sic] no mountains in sight and the soil is rich & fertile. We are situated on a river by the name of Kentucky River, which a considerable part of the year is navigable for boats for about one hundred & forty or fifty miles from its mouth where it empties into the Ohio. The believers land is bounded by it on the east. Our house stands about three quarters of a mile from it. Up this river within navigation when the water is high, there is a number of inexhaustible banks & mountains of stone coal, the same with sea coal. They bring it down in boats for blacksmithing and other uses. (Letter to Mother 1809).

Analysis of Pleasant Hill

Lefebvre's Triad is intended to be a method for recovering the relations that underlie a particular space. At Pleasant Hill Shaker Village it is possible to see each element of the Triad through the various aspects of the built environment and the way in which the residents of the village interacted within and with that environment. Shaker perceived space was produced by the construction of specialized villages. This

section will consider how Pleasant Hill was an early planned community that produced theological space by the way the community was established. The following section will demonstrate how the second aspect of socially produced space, conceived space, was produced by the maps drawn by Shakers at Pleasant Hill and in Maine. Finally, the Shaker lived space, the third point of Lefebvre's Triad, will be shown to result from the religious art created during an especially charismatic decade in the life of the Shakers.

Perceived space is produced by spatial practice

Spatial practice, as it was defined earlier, involves the repetition of one or more activities within a given space; it is this repetition that associates the space with the activities. Sometimes, the particular activities have low visibility and they may be symbolized by icons representative of the activities. The symbols may then be repeated in the target space, defining the space in a specific way. The American flag, for example, is a symbol of the activities that take place within the political space defined earlier. In Washington D.C., the flag is repeated throughout the city, on nearly every building and lamppost. There can be no mistaking the activity that takes place within the city space. On New York's Wall Street, the statue of the Bull announces the primary activity that occurs there. The motif is repeated in paintings, flags, and other building adornments. Further, the repetition of certain words in the building names – Bank, Stocks, Traders, and so on – marks the area as economic space.

The planned community as a producer of perceived space

There are other ways of symbolically marking space. In the discipline of urban geography the planned community is an identifiable entity marked by characteristics that define the space it occupies as a "new town" (George Mason University Library

n.d.). A planned community is a large-scale, mixed land-use development that conforms to a single master plan and has a built-in social structure. The residents of a planned community must abide by a covenant that defines appropriate behavior within the community.

With the exception of style, the planned community of the twenty-first century is not very different from those of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The original planned communities of England, called Garden Cities, were conceived as a reaction to the horrible conditions of the Victorian-era slums. The slums were built along narrow, sometimes squalid, and usually lightless alleyways. The buildings that blocked the sun and created perpetual twilight were nevertheless so scarce because of the burgeoning population that entire families often occupied but a single room. This was the world against which Charles Dickens railed and in which Jack the Ripper committed his dreadful killings. Slums like these were not restricted to England; they also appeared in Paris, Berlin, New York, and other major population centers (Hall 2002). Those who did not have to live there regarded the slums with horror and they considered the swelling city to be the source of the problem. “The perception of it was the source of multiple social evil, possible biological decline, and potential political insurrection” (Hall 2002).

The most immediate response to the appalling conditions arose in the vision of Ebenezer Howard. His conception of the Garden City was the foundation for the New Towns of England and America. While the design of a garden city maintained a high density to accommodate the growing population, the quality and style of life in the garden city were in another class altogether. The garden city encompassed each of the four primary characteristics listed earlier. First, a garden city was a large-scale, mixed-use development. Howard’s design consisted of two concentric spaces. The inner space, about one thousand acres, was designated as residential space and a maximum of thirty-

two thousand people would live there, about thirty two persons per acre. The outer space, called a greenbelt, was about five thousand acres and provided a location for previously primarily urban institutions that would thrive in a rural setting in addition to farms and other typically rural institutions. The selected urban institutions included reformatories and convalescent homes (Hall 2002). Second, garden cities were designed with a single master plan. The plan included architectural features, landscape design and town layout in such a way that every element of the city worked together to present a pleasing and coordinated facade. Howard's master plan went further than aesthetics, however. His main consideration, in fact, was for the social processes that occurred within the city (Hall 2002). His garden city was intended to be one of several in a region. Each of the small cities would be connected by a rapid transit system, forming a distributed urban area. Howard called his vision the "Social City" (Hall 2002), thus addressing the third characteristic of modern planned communities. The rapid transit system magnified the social opportunities available to the residents. His concern for social processes went even further into his plans. The community residents rented their land from the corporation that owned the entire development and they built their own homes on this land according to certain guidelines. As the rents were revised upwards, the mortgage on the land would be paid and a welfare fund for the people in the community would be built. The rents would thus flow back into the community eliminating the need for state financial intervention. While this particular aspect of the New Town did not translate into modern planned communities it was nevertheless a kind of covenant under which the residents abided, the fourth characteristic of planned communities.

These four characteristics produce a clearly defined space and thus they may be used to analyze Pleasant Hill Shaker Village. At issue is the question of whether or not Pleasant Hill is itself a planned community. If it is, and if the processes underlying

the four characteristics are theologically based, then the space of Pleasant Hill was theologically produced. The effects that a theologically-based planned community had upon the residents of the community are also explored.

Planned Community Characteristic 1: A large-scale, mixed land-use development

Pleasant Hill was a large-scale village, encompassing some seven thousand acres, most of which were dedicated to farming and livestock operations. Like the garden city of Ebenezer Howard, the built portion of the village was situated more or less in the center of the property with the greenbelt of farmed land surrounding it. During its existence, the Shakers built about 266 structures at Pleasant Hill, including all the barns, sheds, cisterns, and other necessities for village life. Unlike the southern U.S. plantations that imported a surprisingly large number of goods, the economic sectors in a Shaker village were complete enough to supply all the needs for the people with enough left over to sell or trade to the people of the world. Among the active industries at Pleasant Hill were (1) milling – sawmill, fulling mill, grist mill and oil mill; (2) farming and animal husbandry; (3) clothing – cobblers, wool preparation (carding), and sewing; (4) craftsmen – blacksmith, wagon maker, quarrying, masonry, builders, brick makers, and furniture makers; (5) herb growers; (6) businessmen; and (7) cooks and housekeepers.

Their total self-sufficiency was intentional. The Shakers deliberately separated themselves from the world for two reasons. First, and perhaps foremost, they were working to perfect themselves so that they could bring about heaven on earth. They believed that separation from the world was required in order to lessen temptation and to keep the individual Shaker focused on the task of perfection. Trustees were appointed to manage the temporal affairs of the village. These were senior members of the Society who, it was felt, either would not be as affected by contact with the worldly people, or

perhaps were already perfected and thus immune from potential contamination. The Millennial Laws provided guidelines to assist the other Shakers in determining just how much interaction with the world was too much (Appendix 1.) Ordinary Shakers were required to obtain permission from their Deacons and Elders before leaving the village; if permission was granted for an excursion, upon their return they had to account for their activities during the time away from the village. While they were away, they were not allowed to interact too closely with the outside people. The 1821 Laws identified specific activities that were forbidden.

No one is allowed for the sake of curiosity, to go into the world's meeting houses, prisons, or towers, nor to go on board of vessels, nor to see shoes [sic], or any such things as are calculated to attract the mind and lead it away from the love & fear of God (Johnson 1969).

This proscription was still in effect in the 1887 version of the Laws, but the language was moderated from complete prohibition to a moral concern: "It is not good order for Believers to attend theaters, or shows, to gratify an idle curiosity" (Hadd 1996).

Second, the principle of community itself was a tenet of their theology and they formed their own village in order to practice it. In their effort to model themselves after the primitive church, the Shakers focused upon Acts 2:44-45: "All who believed were together and had all things in common; they would sell their possessions and goods and distribute the proceeds to all, as any had need" (NRSV). Shaker communism was based upon the idea that the best system of government for a community is "the union between the head and the body of the people" (White and Taylor 1905). The head of the Shakers was God and they were governed by God speaking to them through their anointed leaders. The Shakers thus lived in a theocracy in which the ideal of community expressed itself as a communitarian system. In their quest for perfection, the Shakers sought to

eliminate any concern for their personal needs and to replace it with a concern for others. “The desire to die to self leads the Shaker quite naturally to the pooling of goods” (Shakerism for Today 1963). Their thinking was that if the individual had no concern for himself or herself, then that individual had no need of personal goods. Whatever he or she owned could easily be given up to the use of the entire community. Sister Frances recalled that this commonality of goods extended even to the children they took in and raised.

As children outgrew clothing, it was put in this closet, and was available for other children to wear. Many children came to the Shaker Community with only the clothes they wore. This communal closet always had dresses for the girls who needed them (Carr 1995).

Planned Community Characteristic 2: A single master plan

The architect of Pleasant Hill was himself a Shaker. Micajah Burnett was seventeen years old in 1809 when his parents brought him to live with the Shakers. Just six years later, at age twenty-three, he began to design the village. While it is clear that he both designed and oversaw the construction of the buildings themselves, it is not clear as to whether or not he was involved with the finishing of the building interiors. There are only two references to him and his work in the village records:

(Jan. 10, 1879) DEMISE Micajah Burnett at the Center Family at 9 o'clock & 20 minutes A.M. 84 years of age the 13th day of last May. And thus another bright Star has disappeared from our once glowing firmament, never again to gleam therein. Materialization to the contrary notwithstanding. He was among the worthiest, having spent his life from early youth in this Sacred Cause. He was the principal architect of this village and said by all visitors to be beautiful. An accomplished civil engineer, a masterly mathematician, a competent surveyor, a mechanic and machinist of the first order, and a good millwright. And will

all a firmly established honest -hearted Christian Shaker. Beloved, respected & honored by all who new him [sic] (Ministerial Journal 1880).

(Jan. 11, 1879) FUNERAL the funeral of Micajah Burnett came off at 2 p.m. an honorable good funeral (Ministerial Journal 1880).

The Millennial Laws discussed earlier were not yet written at the time Burnett began his work and even after the Laws were published there were few references to building design and decoration. But the verbal instructions and the spirit of the Laws would have been well known among the leadership in the new Society and this would have directed Burnett's work. The Shaker style was defined from the beginning because of their unswerving focus upon the goal of creating heaven on earth. Functionality was everything. Building designs could be both functional and beautiful, but the beauty had to be inherent in the design itself; it could not come from elements that served no other useful purpose. The Millennial Laws would later read, "Beadings, mouldings [sic] and cornices, which are merely for fancy, may not be made by Believers" (Hadd 1996). In



Figure 7. The staircases in the Trustees' Building.

spite of this prohibition, or perhaps because of his personal faith in the principle, Burnett succeeded in bringing beauty within simplicity to the village structures. The staircases in the Trustees Building (Figure 7) have been pointed out as examples of a unique design that exists “nowhere else in Shakerdom” (Nicoletta 1995). It would later be written in the Millennial Laws that the Shakers “should not deviate widely from the common styles of buildings” (Hadd 1996). Burnett was a genius at applying Shaker principles to the Federal style of architecture and design popular in Kentucky at the time.

It is often the case that later laws do not so much establish new strictures as much as they reflect what the practice has been all along; this may have been the case with the Millennial Laws concerning the exterior display of the buildings. It may be that they were repainted to match the Laws after the 1860 version of the Laws was published. It may also be that the practice of painting the buildings certain colors predated the Laws and the 1860 version merely affirmed that practice. Whatever the case, the building exteriors do follow the Millennial Laws of 1860 in their presentation.

Lefebvre’s theory says that if, in fact, the space of Pleasant Hill Shaker Village was produced according to the theology of the Shakers, then this will be evident in the design and use of the village features. The theological ideas that are clearly expressed in the overall appearance of the village, its layout, the architectural design, and the way the buildings were used; these ideas include the Shakers’ millennialism, their emphasis on community, their celibacy and gender equality, and their charism.

Overall Appearance. Shaker millennialism is inherent in the overall appearance of the village, especially in the quality of the structures and in the way they were maintained. Shaker millennialism is based on the belief that the Kingdom of God has already come and that the Millennium began in 1747 when their sect was established (Hadd 2004). Millennialism is reflected in the Shaker villages by the amount and

quality of the work that went into creating the built environment. In the northeastern United States the villages were not built from scratch, as Pleasant Hill was. Many of the buildings in these villages were preexisting and frequently were owned by a member of the congregation. That member donated his farm or his house to the new Society for their communal use. These buildings or farms were then adapted to Shaker use; in other words, the Shakers were “taking profane things for sacred use” (Hadd 2004). At Pleasant Hill, the farm of Elisha Thomas was used for a short time, but the Shakers soon moved to the present location and built the village from the ground up. In both cases, the adaptations and the new structures were constructed in such a way that the resulting workmanship went far beyond normal pride in one’s work.

... when a Shaker is put upon the soil, to beautify it by his tilth, the difference between his husbandry and that of a Gentile farmer, who is thinking solely of his profits, is likely to be great. While the Gentile is watching for his returns, the Shaker is intent upon his service (Dixon 1867).

The difference that Dixon observed between a Shaker farmer and what he calls a “Gentile” farmer is the reason behind the effort. While the worldly farmer of the rural nineteenth century West was concerned with feeding his family and putting aside extra money, the Shaker’s only concern was bringing about heaven on earth. He understood that the Kingdom of Heaven, when it was fully established on earth, would be “like a Shaker village, only better. It is built with better materials and it is built more perfectly, and it is built more grandly” (Hadd 2004). The village was essentially a copy of the spiritual archetype, the New Jerusalem that the Scriptures described. Since they believed that they were already living the Kingdom life, the work they did to produce a Kingdom village had to be of a quality above and beyond anything that would be produced by the world. Mother Ann’s constant refrain was to “put your hands to work and your hearts to

God” (Testimonies 1888). She added, “... do all your work as though you had a thousand years to live and as you would if you knew you must die tomorrow” (Testimonies 1888), meaning that work in the village should be accomplished as neatly and carefully as it would be if the workman had an infinite amount of time to perfect the job and at the same do the work as if he or she would be required to face God on the next day and account for the quality of the work.



Figure 8. The first stone house.

The excess of quality in the construction is evident throughout Pleasant Hill. Figure 8 is a picture of the First Stone House, built in 1809. Shaker stonework has been called the finest in Kentucky (Lancaster 2001) in part because of their work ethic. The raised mortar used in this building and others in the village is a design characteristic used by Burnett. The additional work to create the raised effect represents some of the extra effort made by the Shakers to create interest and beauty without introducing extraneous, non-functional elements. In addition to adding texture to the facade of the building, the raised mortar helps the stone to shed water (Nicoletta 1995).

Quality was a concern even in the laying out of the fields. The Millennial Laws describe the best way to design the farm: “It is considered good order to layout and fence all kinds of lots, fields and gardens in a square form where it is practical, but the

proportions, as to length and width may be left to the discretion of those who direct the work” (Hadd 1996), meaning that if a square field is the one that creates the greatest order and is the most practical, it is even more orderly and more practical for the person actually doing the work to define the best shape for the field.



Figure 9. Sidewalks at Pleasant Hill.

Other design features that point to Shaker millennial beliefs include the sidewalks in the village. When Charles Nordhoff visited Pleasant Hill in the years preceding 1875, he commented that the sidewalks (Figure 9) were “laid with flagging-stones – but so narrow that two persons cannot walk abreast” (Nordhoff 2003). Kirk points out that the pathways between buildings were intentionally narrow and that the long line of the sidewalks “echoed the faith that Believers were on a linear progression that would continue until the end of the world” (Kirk 1997). He is referring to their belief that God is moving the world toward the end that He has planned for it. In their doctrine, as in mainstream Christian thought, one day follows the next without repetition, from the creation of the world.

Village Layout. The Pleasant Hill village layout provides evidence of the Shakers' theological understanding of community, charism, separate but equal genders, and separateness from the world.

Their beliefs about community and communal living are clearly evident from the village layout. One of the most unusual features of a Shaker village is the total absence of private homes. In fact, privacy was not part of Shaker life. The members were divided into groups called "families". Each family had its own dwelling house and its own shops, barns and other structures to support it. "There isn't necessarily any set plan [for the layout of each family]; there has to be a large home where the members can live and everything else is pretty much up on the air" (Hadd 2004). The structures for a particular family are grouped into one location, and each family's space was laid out according to the needs and desires of the individual family. At Sabbathday Lake, the layout of each family section was designed so that the animals were kept in a specific location.

Here [Sabbathday Lake] what they did is they tried to keep the animals back, so we did things in parallel rows so the first row was living quarters, second row was shops, third row was barns, with the pastures behind. That helped to keep some of the animal stench away from the families and kept things more orderly. North Family created a courtyard, with the dwelling house way back from the road and shops on the side and they had the animals across the street trying to do the same thing, but doing it in a different pattern (Hadd 2004).

The dwelling houses, especially, mark a village as Shaker in part because of their typically large size and multiple floors and the common architectural features (Figures 10, 11, 12). Nicoletta points out that the dwelling house was the center of Shaker communal life and therefore it was "also the most important in shaping the behavior of sect members" (Nicoletta 2003). It was in the dwelling house that meals were taken, private worship took place, and religious classes were held in addition to the ordinary chores of



Figure 10. Enfield Shaker Village Dwelling.
Historic American Buildings Survey, The
Library of Congress.



Figure 11. Hancock Shaker Village Dwelling.



Figure 12. Pleasant Hill Shaker
Village, Center Family Dwelling.

daily life. The kitchens were frequently the location where fancy taste treats were baked, fruits were preserved, and vegetables were canned for sale at the trustees office.

Another contributor to the sense that theology is the underlying relation upon which the village was built is the construction of a building used for no purpose other than interfacing with the world. The Trustees' Office was a structure in every village; the



Figure 13. Pleasant Hill Shaker Village, Trustees' Building.

one in Pleasant Hill is especially beautiful (Figure 13). This building was more than just a place of business; it was a symbol of the separateness advocated by the Shaker theology. Outsiders were allowed nowhere else in the village. If they came to visit their relatives, they met them here; surplus products and produced goods were sold and traded from this building. True to Western hospitality, these buildings also provided guest quarters and sometimes a tavern.

The focal point of a Shaker village was the Meeting House. Always built in the central part of the village, the Meeting House was considered a part of the Center (or Church as it was sometimes called) Family. At Pleasant Hill, the village was originally oriented north to south with the first dwelling house on the east side of the road facing west and the first meeting house directly across the street from it, facing east. At some

point, the orientation of the village was changed to an east-west orientation (Figure 14). When, or more particularly why, the change occurred is not known. It is possible that

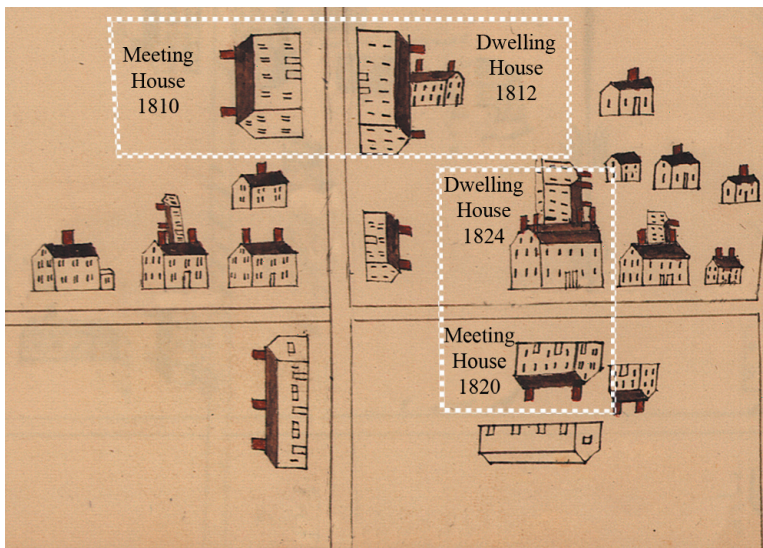


Figure 14. The village orientation changed from north-south to east-west before the new Meeting House was built.

there was more land suitable for building in the east-west direction, or perhaps some knowledge of the turnpike to be built through the village some twelve years later may have fueled the change, but neither of these is based in any fact at all. When a new dwelling house (completed in 1824) was required, it was built facing south, according to the new orientation; a new Meeting House (completed 1820) was built directly across the street facing north in a mirror configuration to the original.

Perhaps the most significant element of the village layout that points to the charism of the members is the Holy Sinai Plain. The plain was a holy and sacred place that was discovered and used during the time known variously as Mother's Work and the Era of Manifestations. This time period was known for the Shakers' return to highly impassioned visionary behavior, including apparent visitations from Mother Ann and other deceased leaders along with a variety of historical figures. While this era, which ran from the 1830s to the 1850s, was a return to the traditional spiritualistic worship, there were innovations that marked the time as new or stylistically changed. These included

the gift drawings and gift songs that represented a number of the visions that will be discussed in detail in a later section. In addition to the individual visions, the entire village was caught up in a celebration of the “feast of the Passover” as it was called at the central ministry in Mount Lebanon. As a part the increased visionary episodes, the central ministers required each village to locate, by spiritual means, an outdoor location for celebrating the feast. The feast ground would be used twice yearly for special celebrations and at which they would receive the visitations of important figures from world history and especially from the Shaker past.

David Lamson, a cleric who took his young family to live with the Shakers, described the feast ground at Hancock Shaker Village (Figure 15). Although they were

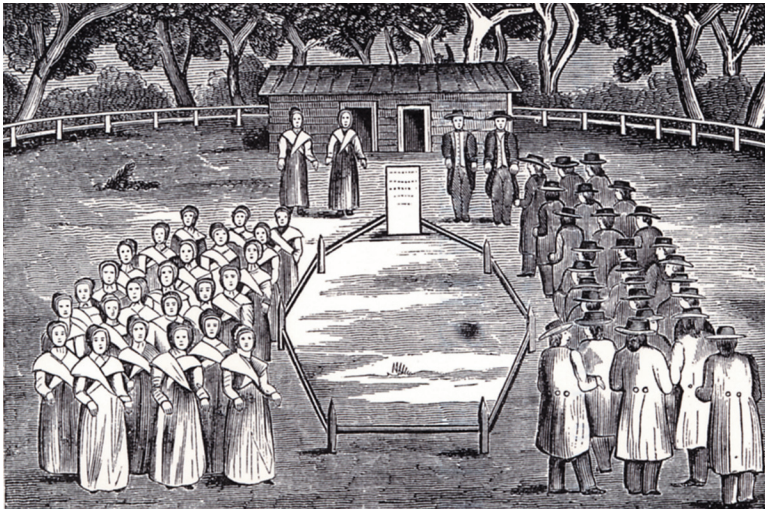


Figure 15. Mountain Meeting, Hancock, Massachusetts. Woodcut by David R. Lamson, frontpiece in *Two Years' Experience Among the Shakers* (1848).

only there for two years, his descriptions provide great detail about Shaker life (Lamson 1848, 1971). The Hancock feast ground was on a mountain that they called Mt. Sinai and was about one and one-half miles from the village. The Shakers planted grass in the designated place and built a plain white fence enclosing a square about three-eighths of an acre in size. Within the square they built a small building with two rooms, one for the sisters and the other for the brothers, presumably used for resting or for private

conversations. In the center of the square was another, smaller fence that enclosed a hexagonal shape; this smaller place was called the Fountain. The Fountain did not contain literal water, but “the water of life, and is exceedingly productive of spiritual gifts. It serves also, as a centre, around which they march, and dance, and sing, and play” (Lamson 1848). On the north side of the Fountain was a marble slab about four feet high that was engraved with the following inscription on one side:

Written and Placed Here
By the command of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.
The Lord’s Stone.
Erected upon this Mt. Sinai, May 4th, 1843.
Engraved at Hancock (Lamson 1848).

Upon the other side, the Shakers engraved a warning from God:

The Word of the Lord.
Here is my Holy Fountain,
Which I have Placed Here,
For the healing of the Nations, who shall here seek my favor.
And I command all people who shall come to this fountain,
not to step within this enclosure, nor place their hands upon this Stone,
while they are polluted with sin.
I am God the Almighty in whose hands are judgment and mercy.
And I will cause my judgments to fall upon
the willful violator of my commands in my own time
according to wisdom and truth, whether in this world, or in eternity.
For I have created all souls, and unto me they are accountable.
Fear Ye the Lord (Lamson 1848).

The feasting places of the Eastern villages tended to be located upon the highest elevation within the village, but at Pleasant Hill it was just the opposite. Found “by the inspired” (Spiritual Journal 1860) on September 21, 1844, Holy Sinai Plain is located about one-half mile from the village. It was a one-half acre oval shape that they sowed

with bluegrass and enclosed with a plank fence with a gate. The gate contained a monument called the fountain stone. Off to the side of the plain was a signpost that read:

Ye passengers who thus draw near,
Read o'er these lines with solemn fear;
For like as Eden's bowers,
This Plain does sweetly hum,
With myriads of bright Angels
Who bid you welcome come
(Spiritual Journal 1860).

The Holy Sinai Plain was used only eight times between its establishment in 1844 and its destruction in 1852. The first official use, on September 26, 1844, is recorded in the Spiritual Journal kept by the village. It is clear from the description that the Shakers were caught up in a vision of major proportions in which they visualized the entire village traveling to a sacred city, led by Father William, the brother of Mother Ann.

We assembled at the meeting house at nine o'clock A.M. and heard a communication read which had been written by inspiration, from Father William to the ministry on the subject of the Holy ground and its appertances [sic]. And being instructed on the subject, we then proceeded to the sacred spot, marching four abreast, forming two columns of brethren and two of sisters, and steping [sic] to the sound of music, Father Wm [William] going before as a protector or guide. When we came to the brink of the river we made a bow, and as Father William placed a floating bridge over the river, we crossed to the other side ... (Spiritual Journal 1860).

Upon reaching the feast ground, they visualized themselves in a lovely bower, filled with food, drink, and biblical persons.

We were then informed that there were a bower over our heads filled with heavenly fruits that we might gather and eat, and we received heavenly bread and wine from Moses and others ... And John the Divine spoke a few words through some of the inspired and said there were the waters that he had seen in vision hundreds of years ago (Spiritual Journal 1860).

After this interval they traveled to a city, probably the Heavenly Jerusalem, where they met King David, Mother Wisdom (not clearly identified) and deceased Shakers from Pleasant Hill. They then left the city and continued to the feast ground where they sang and marched and drank from the holy water in the fountain in the company of Mother Ann and the other deceased leaders of the society along with other Biblical personages like Jeremiah, Gideon, Lot, and Noah. At length, they began to march for home in the same manner as they had arrived.

The celestial company sailed around with their ships and met us at the river, playing the music & shouting. We responded with a shout & pursued on our way. Arrived at home 10 minutes past 2, P.M. Being 5 hours and 20 minutes since we left home. We took supper at four oclock after which we returned to our daily employment till the bell rung to retire to rest at 8 o'clock. And thus ended the proceedings of the day (Spiritual Journal 1860).

After the use of the site was discontinued, the Shakers plowed over it and used it as farmland to hide it; the fountain stone presumably was destroyed. Archeologists



Figure 16. Holy Sinai Plain at Pleasant Hill Shaker Village.

rediscovered the site after an extensive search and it has been restored to what is pictured in Figure 16.

Architectural Design. Shaker theology is also evident in the architectural designs used in the village. The village buildings were designed specifically to support the Shaker beliefs that the genders ought to be separate but equal and to accommodate the nature of the worship service.

Although there are a number of buildings in the village that might be used by men at one time and women at another time, there were two that experienced simultaneous common use, the dwelling house and the meetinghouse. Because both men and women used these buildings the architecture was designed so that the separation of the genders was facilitated and so that the facilities provided to the men and women were equal.

The dwelling house was the largest building in a Shaker village. In most villages, there was more than one such house; one was built for each family that was established.



Figure 17. Facade of the Center Family Dwelling at Pleasant Hill Shaker Village.

At Pleasant Hill, the current Center Family Dwelling (Figure 17) is the fourth such building, the others having been outgrown or destroyed.

A notable feature of this building is the presence of separate but identical front doors. The Shaker brothers used the left door and the sisters used the right door. Inside, the pattern continued; men used the left staircases and women used the right ones. The dormitory rooms on the upper floors were assigned so that men lived on the left side of the hall and women were given rooms on the right side. The only cross-over that occurred was at specific times of day when the assigned sisters went to the men's side to clean the rooms. The dining room of the family dwellings also reflected their theology. The room was set up so that women dined on one side of the room and men on the other side.

The meeting house (Figure 18) is the other building in village that was used by



Figure 18. The Meeting House at Pleasant Hill Shaker Village.

both men and women at the same time, therefore this building also had double front doors for entry and exit by the men and women. Inside, the meetinghouse presented a strikingly different appearance from other religious buildings. The entire first floor had to be free

from obstructions to allow the maximum room for dancing during their worship service. Even the seats had to be portable so that the floor could be entirely cleared. Instead of individual chairs, they used long benches, set at opposite ends of the room; the women sat at one end of the room and the men at the other. A completely open room, with no visible means of support required special engineering to prevent the building from collapsing. Burnett devised a unique system of struts that were built in the attic and appear in the main room only as projections in the corners.

Dance was one of the marks of Shakers that set them apart from other religious groups. As an expression of their worship, their dance was usually energetic and often frenetic. In one of the first examples of illustrated journalism, Benson John Lossing wrote and illustrated (Figure 19) an early article about the Shakers in which he described the worship service as he witnessed it.

The worshipers soon arose, and approached from opposite ends of the room, until the two front rows were within two yards of each other, the women modestly casting their eyes to the floor. The benches were then instantly removed. There they stood in silence, in serried columns like platoons in military, while two rows



Figure 19. Shakers, Their Mode of Worship, by Benson Lossing, ca. 1830.

of men and women stood along the wall, facing the audience. From these came a grave personage, and standing in the centre of the worshipers, addressed them with a few words of exhortation. All stood in silence for a few minutes at the conclusion of his remarks, when they began to sing a hymn of several verses to a lively tune, and keeping time with their feet. ... After two other brethren had given brief “testimonies,” the worshipers all turned their backs to the audience, except those of the two wall rows, and commenced a backward and forward march, or dance, in a regular springing step, keeping time to the music of their voices, while their hands hung closely to their sides. The wall rows alone kept time with their hands moving up and down, the palms turned upward. The singing appeared like a simple refrain and a chorus of too-ral-loo, too-ral-loo, while all the movements with hand, foot, and limb were extremely graceful” (Lossing 1857).

Building Use. The Shakers’ belief in celibacy and the complete separation of the genders is also reflected in the way that building use was assigned. Each family was required to provide for itself and to do so it built any necessary buildings. Typically the family erected a building called the Sisters’ Shop and another called the Brethrens’ Shop. The use that the family made of these buildings varied but was typical of the times. The sisters did sewing and weaving, providing clothing and other goods needed in the village and the brothers worked in carpentry, cobbling, broom-making or other typically male tasks.

Pleasant Hill Shaker Village meets the second requirement for a planned community – conformance to a single master plan. That plan was the theology of the Shaker Church and it expressed itself in the overall appearance of the village, in the way the village was laid out, in the architectural designs of certain buildings, and in the designation of building use.

Planned Community Characteristic 3: A Built-In Social Order

Thirdly, planned communities have a built-in social order. In twenty-first century planned communities the social order is associated with the overarching theme of the

community. If the community is one for families with young children the social structure may be focused upon the childrens' school. The adults are thrown together through the planned activities of the school and the social lives of their children. In retirement communities, the social structure is built around the activities common among retired people. Frequently the community contains physical recreation facilities and may also have a community center for planned and unplanned activities such as card playing and other indoor activities. Gated communities for more affluent families are often built around country clubs with recreation, dining, and planned social events. In Shaker villages the social order is based upon Shaker theology. There are two classes of people in the village – the ministry and the members. The term class here is not meant to infer that ministers were better people than the ordinary members, but to refer to the hierarchy of authority that existed within the village and within the greater denomination of Shakers.

The locus of authority and leadership for Shakerdom was invested in the Central Ministry, headquartered at the Mount Lebanon Shaker Village in New York. A man and/or a woman (usually both), chosen for their exceptional maturity in Shaker life and the charism in their personal lives, filled this role. The first and most revered leader was Mother Ann; her brother William followed her as Father. Other notable leaders in early Shaker life included Father James, Father Joseph and Mother Lucy. This duality in leadership followed directly from their belief in the duality of God, that is, that God is both male and female. From this they understood that men and women were equally capable of administering the Society's affairs and of interpreting and implementing instructions from God. Further, the duality of leadership and the terms of address symbolized the family into which they organized themselves. The central ministry organized the other villages into bishoprics with pairs of leaders in the same fashion; these leaders supervised the villages within their scope. Individual villages had ministers

specific to the village and within a village each family had its own ministers. The term of address for these was different, however; the terms Father and Mother were reserved for the ultimate leaders. The lower ranks of ministers serving the individual villages and the families were generally called Elders and Eldresses or Deacons and Deaconesses; Elders were usually responsible for spiritual matters while Deacons were responsible for the temporal affairs of the village.

The authority of all ministry was absolute; Lamson called it a “perfect despotism” because any law, order, or transaction had to have the approval of the ministers (Lamson 1848). The Millennial Laws (Appendix 1) detailed the role that the ministry played in daily affairs. First, the ministers supervised the spiritual growth of the individual member by hearing the members’ confessions and admonishing or reproving sinful members (Millennial Laws 1821). They also guided the members within their charge to grow in their understanding of Shaker theology and lifestyle through daily supervision and example. Sister Frances Carr of Sabbathday Lake remembered Eldress Prudence as one of her most able guides: “Eldress Prudence was a wonderful combination of great wisdom and humility which set an example of what the word ‘ministry’ is all about” (1995). Second, the ministers were responsible for overseeing the relationships between members of the family. The Millennial Laws were strict about limiting interaction between the genders within the village and it was up to the ministry to see that the customs were observed. Brothers and sisters could not, for example, work together without the permission of the Elders (Millennial Laws 1821) nor could a sister walk out alone to the fields or barns without permission from an Elder (Millennial Laws 1821). Thirdly, the Millennial Laws listed the ministers’ responsibilities for regulating the members’ experiences with the world. The Shakers were not allowed to leave the village without permission (Millennial Laws 1821) and they were required to report the events

of their journey to an Elder upon return (Millennial Laws 1821). Further, an Elder's permission was required before any books or pamphlets of the world could be read (Millennial Laws 1821).

Lamson asked the hard question when it came to understanding how this absolute authority was maintained:

But how is their authority maintained, and how are their laws enforced? How is this despotism maintained in the midst of a republic, where every one can appeal to the laws of the land for protection against their tyranny, and can withdraw from this people at his pleasure? (Lamson 1848).

He answered his own question out of his personal experience with the Shakers:

Obedience to them [the ministry] is obedience to God. ... Industry, economy, and neatness, have the promise of great rewards in the world to come, But all is nothing without simple, childlike, and unreserved obedience to the elders. The obedient cannot fail of heaven. The disobedient cannot be saved. This is the only, 'the little straight and narrow way' (Lamson 1848).

A twentieth century Shaker echoed this understanding of the importance of obedience: "For the Shaker, obedience, or the acceptance of authority, brings the will of God into every moment of life" (Confrater 1963).

Utter obedience fueled by faith was the Shaker ideal, but they must also have understood that not everyone in a Shaker village was perfected and thus would have moments of imperfection during which association with the upper-level ministry might have become too personal, too intimate. The Elders and Eldresses who were assigned to specific families lived with the families, but the village-wide ministry was more isolated:

The Ministry may in no wise blend in common with the rest of the people; they may not work under the same roof, live in the same house, nor eat at the same

table. But their dwelling place shall be in the meeting house, even in the most holy Sanctuary (Meacham and Wright 1845).

The Ministry at Pleasant Hill obeyed these injunctions and lived in the Meetinghouse, on the second floor. A dining room for their express use was attached to the Center Family Dwelling.

If the ministry constituted the leaders in the Shaker social order, then the family members were the followers. The family is the primary unit to which each believer belongs. Families were arranged in a relative hierarchy according to length of membership and maturity in the faith. The Center family was the most senior; also called the Church family, this is the one to which the ministry belonged. At Pleasant Hill, new converts were assigned to the Gathering Order while they learned more about the Shaker beliefs and way of life. Two or more elders and eldresses, who were responsible for all parts of the lives of those in their charge, guided each family.

Father Joseph established family life in the late 1700s and by the mid-1800s it had evolved into a systematic way of life. The 1845 Millennial Laws contain extensive instructions regarding the organization of families and the behavior of the members. The family concept broke apart the normal social order and remade it Shaker-style: natural families were separated and then recombined with the members of other natural families in ways that promoted attention to God and Shaker values: children were separated from parents and sent to live in the Childrens' House, and husbands and wives were assigned to different families. The members of different families, then, were not to have extended contact with each other. This breaking of natural bonds, especially the bond between parent and child, removed distractions from the individual's quest for perfection.

No member may go out of the family wherein they live, to any other family, on an errand, or on a visit, without liberty of the Elders.

2. Visiting between parents and children or with relatives from other families, or from among the world, should be done at the Office as a general rule; and wherein it is proper to deviate from this rule, the Elders must direct according to circumstances.
3. Brethren and sisters may not go to the Office to see visitors, without liberty from the Elders for the same.
4. Common members are forbidden by the orders of God, to make know the orders, rules, regulations, or gifts of the family wherein they reside, to persons residing in other orders, or families, except by liberty, or direction of the Elders. (Millennial Laws 1845).

Sister Frances told the story of her arrival in the Shaker village. Frances was ten years old when she and her younger sister, Ruth, were sent to live with the Shakers. On their first morning, Sister Mary, who was in charge of some the children, began to help Ruth find a dress to wear that day. Frances tried to intervene, telling Sister Mary that she, Frances, would assist her sister. Sister Mary replied, "... your little sister needs a mother, and I will be that mother" (Carr 1995).

The families were named according to their geographic position relative to the meetinghouse. At Pleasant Hill, the enduring families were the Center Family, where the meetinghouse was located, and the East, West, North Lot, West Lot and Tanyard families. Eight other families also were established but were disbanded after a very short period of time (Thomas and Thomas 1973). The Center, East and West families comprised the main portion of the village, while the others were outliers. Each family had its own dwelling house. As previously discussed, both men and women lived together in the house with nothing more than a hallway to separate the sleeping quarters. "It was a very bold experiment to have men and women living in the same house who were not related and not part of a private family but rather [as] a communal family. There was no physical barrier [between the men and women]" (Hadd 2004). Hadd called it a "Christ

family,” consisting of a father and mother (the elders and eldersses) and the children (the other adult members of the family); “they have to be there together” (Hadd 2004). The Millennial Laws dictated the rules for the ordering of time and space within the dwelling house in order to minimize contact between the genders and to remove any temptation that might exist (Hadd 2004). The 1845 version of the Laws was particularly explicit about the organization of society and the interaction that Brethren and Sisters might have, or more likely, may not have:

The gospel of Christ’s Second Appearing, strictly forbids all private union between the two sexes, in any case, place, or under any circumstances, indoors or out (Millennial Laws 1845).

More specifically, the Laws dictated that brothers and sisters might not lend things to each other, give private gifts to each other, go to each others shops, or even pass each other on the stairs (Millennial Laws 1845). Time was strictly controlled in order to establish private space for the brothers and sisters:

All are required to rise in the morning at the signal given for that purpose; and when any rise before the usual time they must not be noisy.

2. Brethren should leave their rooms, within fifteen minutes after the signal time of rising in the morning, unless prevented by sickness or infirmity.

3. Sisters must not go to brethren’s rooms, to do chores, until twenty minutes after the signal time of rising in the morning. (Millennial Laws 1845)

The Shaker social order fits the definition of a planned community as one with a built-in social order. The social order of Pleasant Hill, like the other Shaker villages, imparted a unique sense of separation, that is, a sense of different-ness from the common order of the world. The differences supported the separate space, the New Jerusalem, which the Shakers were trying to create.

Planned Community Characteristic 4: A Covenant

The fourth characteristic of a planned community is the overarching covenant under which all residents must abide. The covenants of modern communities dictate what homeowners may and may not do with the exterior of their property, specify what activities may or may not take place on the property and encourage certain lifestyles while excluding others. The goal is to maintain the uniformity and overall appearance that the builders intended and at the same time to maintain the lifestyle upon which the property was marketed and sold. This prevents homeowners from so dramatically changing the appearance of their property or from engaging in such disruptive behavior that it affects property values and lifestyle for the community as a whole. Maintenance of the property is also a focus in that certain standards of upkeep must be met. Further, in some communities, standards of behavior for the residents and their guests must be observed. In many residential communities, the focus is upon paint color, basketball hoops and even the landscaping. In historic communities, the restoration of property may be strictly monitored to ensure that the original style and design is maintained. Retirement communities limit the age of the residents and the length of time younger guests may visit.

Before the Millennial Laws were issued, the Shakers lived by a covenant to which each of them agreed. Later, after the Millennial Laws were published, the Covenant continued to be used as the primary legal foundation for the communities as well as a declaration of their theology. Each community had its own covenant, one that reflected the priorities of the individual village.

Covenants are ancient tools for establishing relationships. The Old Testament describes numerous covenants between Yahweh and his people, each of which put God and Humankind into a partnership for managing the affairs of the earth. The covenants of

the Shakers also defined a partnership among the members of the community for the good of the community. The first covenant was a voluntary oral agreement among the people who first settled at New Lebanon, but by 1795 it was clear that an oral covenant was not legally binding and a written covenant (Appendix 2) replaced it (White and Taylor 1905; Hadd 1996). The next year the Shakers at Sabbathday Lake, Maine also transferred their oral covenant into written form. Other communities followed suit and as new villages were established they wrote and signed covenants that were modeled upon these first ones.

Although each village had its own covenant, the documents shared some basic elements. First, the covenant usually began with a profession of faith that declared the allegiance of the covenant signers to God and the church. The Pleasant Hill covenant, for example, begins "... whereas we profess to be of one faith, in the gospel which we believe to be the only way of salvation ..." (1807). At Sabbathday Lake they wrote that "... having received the grace of God in this day of Christ Second appearance" (1801) they were coming together to follow Christ.

Second, the covenants contained a declaration of the members' intention to live communally. The Sabbathday Lake covenant affirms their belief that without a gathered community there could be no church and that all members would have "equal right and privilege ... in things both spiritual and temporal" (1801). Sister Anna White later wrote that the Shakers were following the pattern of the first-century disciples of Christ by living a communal lifestyle and that this family relationship is a higher order than that of ordinary men and women (1905).

Third, the covenants detailed the contribution of all personal property to the commune. The incoming member was required to repay all of his or her debts and then dedicate any remaining personal property to the community for use by all. This

requirement to pay debts before joining was not initially a part of the covenants, but was added only after hard experience proved that the Society had to protect itself financially from the potential of apostasy.

Finally, the covenants contained provisions for withdrawal from the community. If a member decided to leave for any reason whatever, the value of the contributed property was returned to the departing member. Later, after there had been time for persons to join and then become apostates, the covenants were revised to contain more legal language to support its communitarianism.

The first Pleasant Hill covenant was drawn up in 1806 while the new community was still in the Shawnee Run settlement. Nineteen men and twenty-five women signed the covenant on December 3, 1806. It was revised and resigned by all members on June 2, 1812. The revision contains significantly more language concerning the theology of the group, the appointment and duties of the trustees, and the contribution of personal property to the community. It was as if they added the theology so that no signer could claim that he or she did not understand the nature of the new society. The prelude to the covenant clearly states that they were establishing the New Jerusalem:

The coming of Christ and the setting up of his kingdom on earth has been contemplated in all past dispensations as an event which would be productive of the most perfect union among the people of God. ... And hence the church of God was so much spoken of by the prophets, under the figure of a city, a house, or such buildings as are the most closely connected and compacted together. From which it is easy to conceive that the New Jerusalem or church of God in the latter day should consist of a people of one heart, one soul and one interest. ... Accordingly when the world of God began in these last days, it evidenced itself to be the very work which God promised, in gathering souls together and uniting them together in one interest in things both temporal and spiritual, according to what is written "In whom the whole building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the spirit." (First Church Covenant 1812)

In an effort to forestall legal action by the dependents of members seeking to recover property, this covenant contained the requirement that all children had to have their inheritances established according to secular laws. Underage children would be cared for by the Society; a reserve from the parents' donated property was maintained in order to establish an inheritance for each child. This reserve was administered by the Trustees and was available for Church use until the child came of age.

There were a number of lawsuits by apostates who claimed to be joint tenants of the community in order to break the covenant, close the society and divide the land among the members and themselves. Samuel Banta and James Gass, founding members of Pleasant Hill, brought suit in 1829 in an effort to dissolve the covenant. "The Court sustained the Covenant and dismissed the bill at plaintiff's cost" (Origin and Progress 1829). The case was appealed to the state Supreme Court in 1834 and they, too, sustained the covenant. Later challenges met the same fate: "Worthy of remark that their never has been a case in which the Covenant and principals of our asociation were involved that were decided againt us But those principals have withstood all the oposition, though, through many severe trials and still stand permanent and unshaken [sic]" (Origin and Progress 1829).

The Shaker covenant satisfies the fourth characteristic of a planned community in that it details for the prospective resident what is required of him or her in order to be a part of the Shaker community and to live in a particular Shaker village. The covenant also adds to the sense of separation from the world by defining a place that is committed to the theology of the settlers.

Pleasant Hill is a planned community founded upon Shaker theology

It is clear from the evidence that Pleasant Hill Shaker Village was a planned community. The geography, purpose, and social structure of the village clearly fit the definition of a planned community. The geography of the village not only reflects the Shakers' theology, it was created to shape theological understanding among the residents. Pleasant Hill was designed intentionally to meet the standards set by their beliefs. This does two things – declares to the world their beliefs and reinforces those beliefs to the individual resident on a daily basis. This daily reinforcement cements the spatial practice that generates the theological space.

Because Pleasant Hill was a restricted environment, as all planned communities are, at least in some sense, the leaders had more control in molding the residents than in most normal environments. The social structure inherent in the village accorded more than usual power to the Ministry. First, the Ministry had control over all aspects of village development and growth. Families were born, died, and rearranged at the discretion of the Ministry. Children were moved from the Children's House to an adult family when the Elders determined they were ready. Sister Frances reported that she came home from school one day to find her belongings packed and heard the news that she was moving to the dwelling house. She recounted that she was younger than most children to make the move and it was the approval of Eldress Prudence that enabled her to go to an adult family (Carr 1995). Second, the leaders are able to focus village elements upon the ideas that they wish to reinforce. Since celibacy was the key to perfection, the leaders made separation between the genders a commonplace practice. And because they believed that men and women were equal, they provided equal access to all parts of the village environment. The appearance of the buildings and the layout of the village were controlled so that specific aspects of the theology were reinforced.

In the end, the construction of Pleasant Hill was based upon the Shakers' central focus of creating heaven on earth. The use of planned community concepts in designing the village, albeit probably unconscious on their part, resulted in produced social spaces that reinforced the theology and religious purpose of the Shakers. The fact that a village was a controlled environment meant that the produced space was also controlled so that it generated an aura of heaven on earth even though the Kingdom itself was not fully realized. The aura is visible through visualization of the Shakers at work and at worship. At work, they created a fully functional self-sufficient society that required little or no interaction with the world at large. At worship, they expressed their faith and their visions in song, dance, and spoken word. They received visions of the world to come and visitors from that world.

This space is filled with the kinds of layers to which Lefebvre refers when he says that the space produced by sub-societal groups overlays each other and that participation within the various spaces is not mutually exclusive. In Shaker villages there were layers in which the families interacted among themselves. The relation that produces this sub-space consists of the buildings that comprise a particular family and the sidewalks and roads that connect the buildings. Figure 20 expresses this relation; there would have been a layer of space similar to this for each family within a village. Other layers that may be perceived include the ones that existed between the families and the meeting house, between the children's house and the school, and between the village as a whole and the Trustees Office, and between the Trustees Office and the world at large.

Because the village was entirely self-sufficient and because the leaders restricted access to the outside world, the last layer mentioned, the one between the village and the world, would be very narrow, with connectors only between the families and the ministry or the Trustees. Because the village was a planned community, the leaders had ultimate

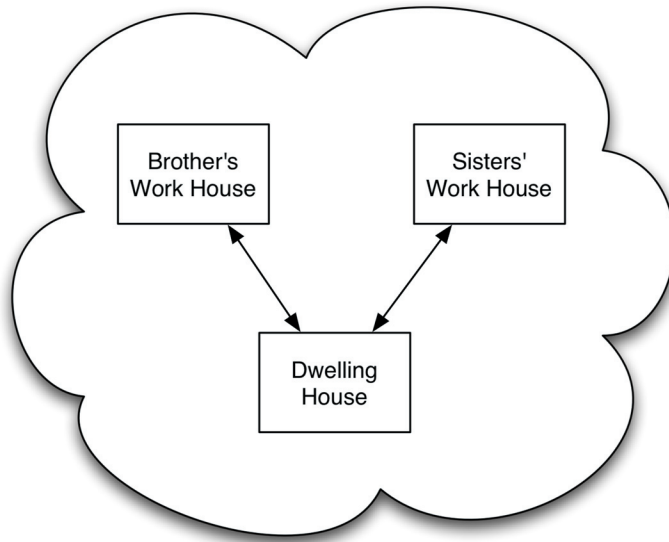


Figure 20. The underlying relation of family space in Pleasant Hill Shaker Village.

control over the comings and goings of the residents. Only members of the Ministry could approve a trip to “town” and these approvals were governed by guidelines in the Millennial Laws:

When any of the Brethren or Sisters go abroad it must be by permission of the Elders, & without such permission they ought not go off the farm. From this order the Deacons at the office are exempt, having a general liberty to go to when necessary (Millennial Laws 1821).

This meant that little or no “contamination” from the world seeped in and that the believers could work on their individual journeys to perfection without distraction. It also meant that news of current events, trends, new intellectual achievements, and current public opinion was disseminated among the village primarily through the leaders. Although private letters were received, it is difficult to conceive of any societal growth or change occurring because of this medium. Even when Brothers and Sisters were allowed to leave the village, their activities were strictly controlled, especially in the area of exposure to any source of information.

The Brethren and Sisters are not allowed to purchase nor borrow books nor pamphlets of the world nor of Believers in other families without permission of the Elders. But if the world should offer or urge any of the Believers to take some particular book or pamphlet, it would be better to accept of it than to give offence, but they must not read it until they have shown it unto the Elders (Millennial Laws 1821).

The planned community structure, therefore, enabled the Shaker Ministry to produce space that was single-focused and filtered by their goals. This meant that the leaders had to power to regulate not only behavior, but also the attitudes, knowledge, and opinions that govern individual behavior.

The model of the planned community is appropriate for these villages. It is clear that the structure of the village provides a setting that promotes the spatial practices of the Shakers. Their daily travels within the family spaces, the more periodic movement between the families and the worship space, and the rare movement between the village and the world reinforces the theology upon which the village is based.

Representations of Space

Conceived space, as Lefebvre terms it, is that space which is produced intellectually through examination and understanding of representations of reality, typically in the form of maps, blueprints, and other technical drawings. Users of the representations understand them intellectually, but through a filter of ideology that causes the viewers to interpret the maps according to notions previously developed about the represented space. Since maps themselves are abstractions of reality that emphasize the focal interest of the cartographer, the underlying focus of the map joins with the preexisting ideas of the viewer to form a space that may be true to a particular landscape without conveying the exact mathematical or locational details about the landscape. “Being ‘true to’ a landscape means conveying the sense of that landscape, its material essence; being ‘true about’ it signifies being informative of it in detailed (e.g., pictorial) fact” (Casey 2002).

What, then, is the difference between cartography and art? It is not merely in the eye of the beholder; it must also be in the intent of the artist/cartographer. Maps displayed as art are still maps. Art objects interpreted as maps may reveal aspects of landscapes not otherwise known or may evoke feelings about landscapes that could remain hidden without the emotional expression of the artist, but it is still art. In the Shaker mind, art is without merit; function is everything. “Picture books, with large flourished and extravagant pictures in them may not be used by believers” (Millennial Laws 1845). It would never have occurred to the Shakers to create art for art’s sake. The maps they created, therefore, were intended for use as reflections of the individual communities, to bring understanding and knowledge about one community to the members of another community (Emlen 1987).

This interest in shaping understanding is reflective of Lefebvre's understanding of representations of space, that is, that it brings the people to a place of common understanding. This idea of bringing knowledge about a place parallels the ideas of Michel Foucault in that it may be considered a kind of discourse, that is, "groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought and the way we act on the basis of that thinking" (Rose 2001). Where Lefebvre focuses on the social processes, Foucault is more individualistic, but the general principles behind the analysis are remarkably similar: one seeks the knowledge behind the statements and considers how that knowledge impacts views of the world. Foucault's discourses are verbal, but Rose asserts that discourse analysis is also appropriate for visual images (2001), making the Shaker maps candidates for this type of analysis. This study will reveal how the maps shape the understanding of the viewer and reveal the theological space upon which a Shaker village is founded.

The implementation of this method, called Visual Discourse Analysis in this research, is similar to that used for traditional discourse analysis. Tonkiss cites two conclusions that serve as the goals for the analysis: (1) analyze the statements (in this case, images) to determine how they are organized and how that organization produces a particular knowledge; and (2) analyze the social context of the statements (images) looking especially for how social difference is represented (2004). To accomplish this, the researcher examines every element of every selected image, considering the contribution of each element to the image as a whole and the collective contributions of the images to the discourse. Identification of recurring images and key themes give rise to clusters of elements that can be examined. Finally, the entire visual discourse is studied to determine how it produces its particular knowledge (Rose 2001).

During the examination of the elements, a systematic methodology is convenient for identification and classification of the individual elements. In the case of maps, the discipline of iconography seems most appropriate. Iconography is concerned with the subject matter and meaning of art as opposed to the form of the art. Panofsky proposed three levels of understanding for an icon – the simple identification of the image, the conventional symbolism understood of the icon, and the cultural significance carried by the icon. Panofsky called these stages pre-iconographic, iconographic, and iconological (1955). Each icon is infused with each level of significance. The pre-iconographic aspect is that of simple familiarity; an image is what it appears to be. At this level experience with the subject will vary with the identification of themes and motifs: a viewer who is more experienced in the particular subject matter will identify more themes. The iconographic level is well established in the analysis techniques of art history. Here the researcher examines the artistic motifs of an image seeking links with themes or concepts (Woodrow 1999). The deepest level, the iconological, is the one in which the meaning or the artist's purpose is revealed.

Rose points out that Panofsky's method is not Foucauldian since Foucault did not admit to any ingrained or inborn human understandings but only to constructed or produced understandings. Panofsky, on the other hand, shows how "the essential tendencies of the human mind" (Panofsky 1955) could be represented pictorially. This does not limit the usefulness of either method, however; they are both concerned with meaning and with the sharing of ideas and understandings, lending validity to the combination and interest to the produced discourse.

This research will focus only upon those maps that have been identified as having been drawn by Shakers. There are three categories of such maps. First are those that are technically based, drawn primarily for legal documentation (Figure 21). Second, there

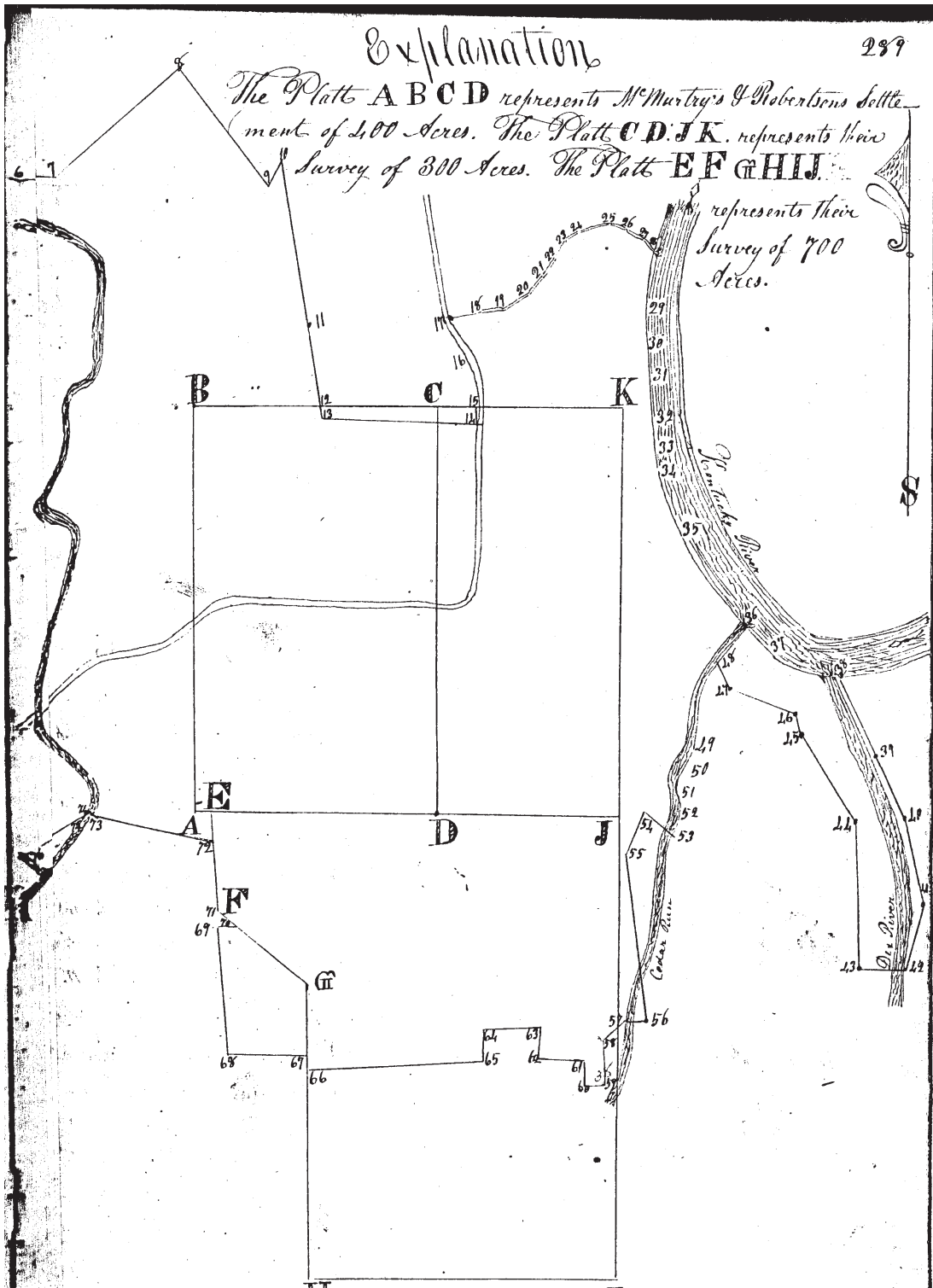


Figure 21. Stone Plat. Pleasant Hill Shaker Village, Church Record Book A, 1844.

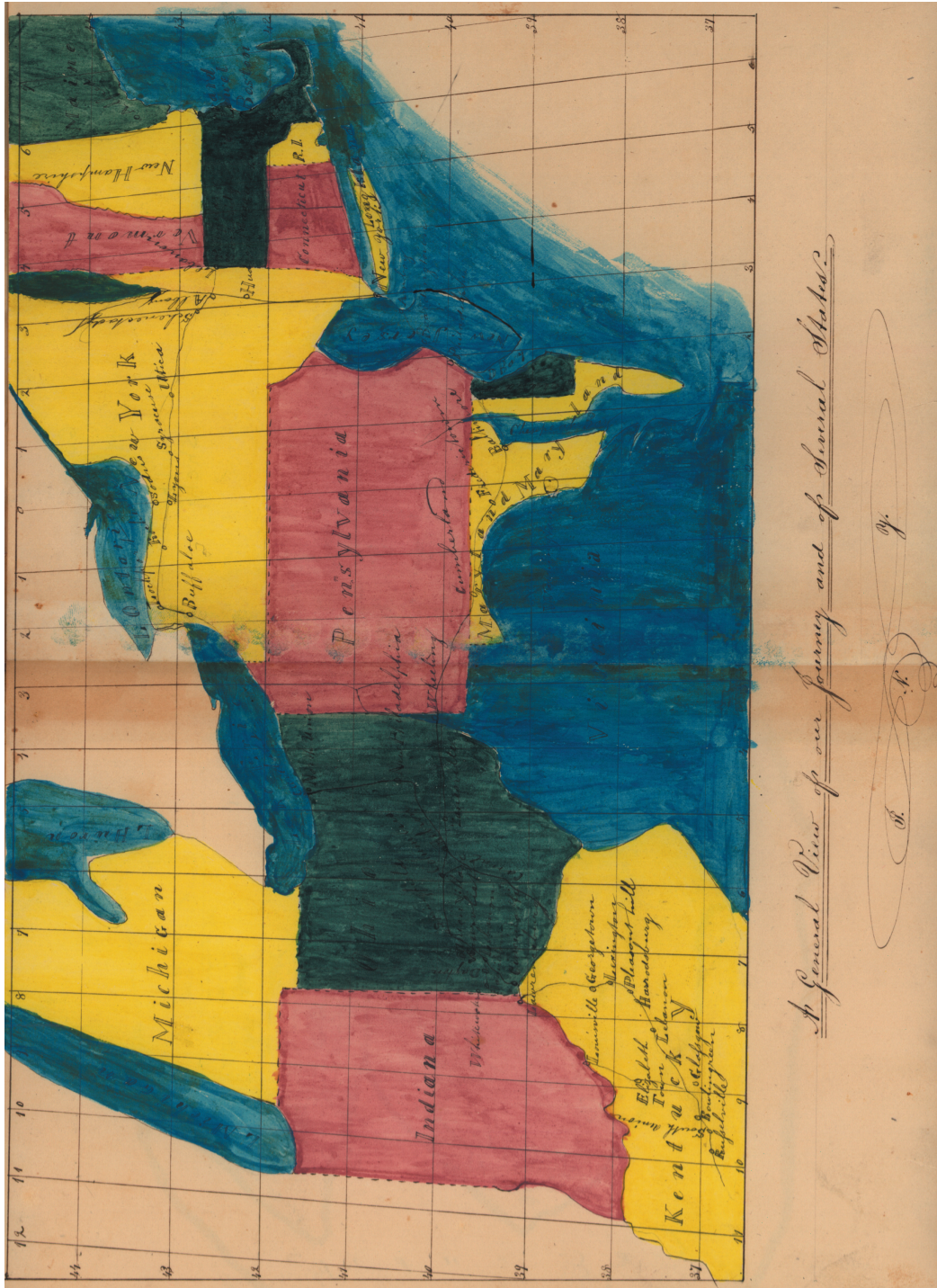


Figure 22. Map of the travels of Isaac Youngs and Rufus Bisoph. Sketches of the various Societies of Believers [i.e. Believers] in the states of Ohio & Kentucky. To which is added a slight sketch of Sodus Bay in the northern part of N. York. Also a map containing several of the states on which is laid out of the route of Bv. Rufus Bishop and Isaac N. Youngs New Lebanon while on a hour to visit these societies, in the summer and fall of 1834 / copied from Isaac N. Youngs Journal, July 1835 by George Kendall. The Library of Congress.

is a consistent body of work drawn by a visitor to the western villages from the central ministry at Mt. Lebanon. Third, there is a group of maps drawn by a later Shaker brother which reveal more advanced artistic and cartographic techniques. It is the latter two categories that will be examined.

The maps of Brother Isaac Youngs

In 1834, Brother Isaac Youngs and Brother Rufus Bishop were sent out from Mt. Lebanon to travel through the west and visit the villages that had been established. After leaving Mt. Lebanon they took a convoluted route through New England before heading west (Figure 22). At each stop, Brother Isaac made notes of the visit in a journal that he also illustrated with crude drawings.

On leaving each settlement of Believers, I drew a kind of map not from any measures but merely from a general view and comparing one thing with another. I think they will generally give a correct idea of the buildings &c (Bishop and Youngs 1834).

The maps were later copied by Brother George Kendall and bound together. Figure 23 displays two of these maps.

It is evident from looking at these examples that there is little cartographic skill in the drawings. The upside-down buildings indicate that the artist had no understanding of perspective or how to represent it. Distance is compressed unequally and size is out of proportion to expressed distance. There is, however, a certain amount of artistic skill and consistency in the drawings that make these maps a coherent body of work. At the pre-iconographic level, the buildings are recognizable, even if they are upside-down, and the roads and bodies of water are clearly evident. The size of the buildings appears to be represented by the number of chimneys. At the iconographic level it is apparent that there



Figure 23b. Map of Sodus Bay Shaker Village. Sketches of the various Societies of Belivers [i.e. Believers] in the states of Ohio & Kentucky. To which is added a slight sketch of Sodus Bay in the northern part of N. York. Also a map containing several of the states on which is laid out of the route of Br. Rufus Bishop and Isaac N. Youngs New Lebanon while on a tour to visit these societies, in the summer and fall of 1834 / copied from Isaac N. Youngs Journal, July 1835 by George Kendall. The Library of Congress.

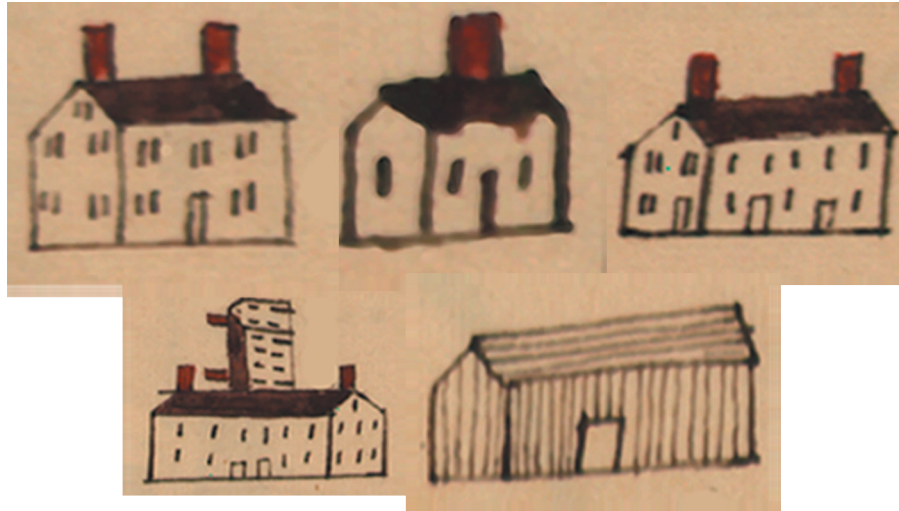


Figure 24. Details from Figure 23.

is a scheme for identifying individual types of buildings. Agricultural buildings appear to be striped, as if they were built of wooden planks, work buildings are plain, with only the roof sketched, and the t-shape of the dwelling houses is maintained. In addition, the dual-use buildings are pictured with their double doors (Figure 24).

Icons such as those displayed in Figure 24 combined with the other elements of the map to create the particular knowledge conveyed at the iconological level. It is obvious that Shaker culture is represented in this map. The concept of family is clearly displayed by the clusters of icons representing dwellings, shops and agricultural buildings and the total lack of private homes. The labels on the map leave no doubt as to the function of the buildings. Likewise, the doctrine of separate but equal is evident with the double doors clearly marked on the dual-use buildings.

The more significant knowledge generated by the maps is less obvious and requires considering the journal along with the maps in order to fully understand the information gained from the maps. It is reasonable to assume that Brother Isaac had a specific task when he set out from Mt. Lebanon – to gather information about the western

villages and return it to the Central Ministry. If this is the case, then what particular knowledge beyond the obvious did the maps convey? Considering the maps with the journal reveals some clues.

First, at every village, Brother Isaac records that he displayed the map he had carried from Mt. Lebanon and the new ones drawn of the villages visited to that point. At North Union, for example, he wrote that he “Showed them [the North Union Sisters] the map of New Lebanon, Sodus, etc.” and at Pleasant Hill he wrote that “... the map of Lebanon, [as] always, furnished a good article of discourse” (Bishop and Youngs 1834). No doubt as he sat with the Sisters and showed them the maps he related details about the village and its daily life. In the West of the early nineteenth century, travel was difficult and visitors were few and far between. Mail was slow and infrequently received. The information provided by Youngs would have had an immediate impact. No longer were the villages as isolated as they had been; now the residents had mental images of the other villages and could conceive of the lives these fellow Shakers lived. It might have

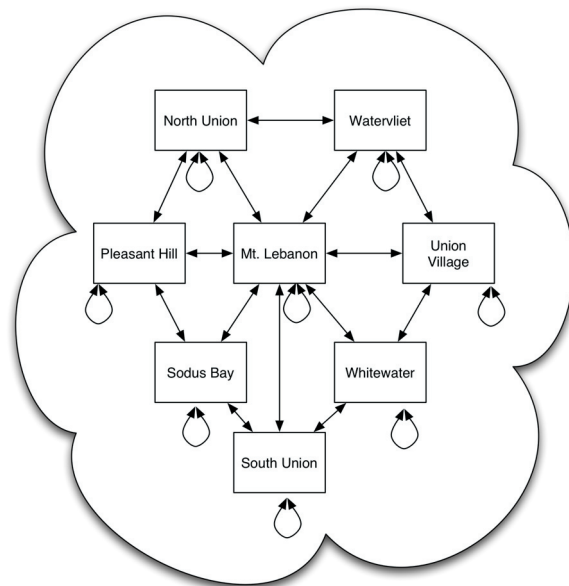


Figure 25. A model of communication and transportation routes between the western Shaker villages.

been as if they knew each other personally. The reinforcement that their own lifestyle was not so different from the lifestyles in the other villages would have been mentally and emotionally sustaining. They now had a frame of reference upon which they could draw when circular letters arrived from the Central Ministry. This more intimate knowledge of the other villages did two things: (1) it created a space for each village that was evident to the other Shakers allowing outsiders looking in to “conceive” (as Lefebvre understood it) of life in the pictured village; and (2) it produced a collective space for the denomination by drawing the villages closer together. Like the theological space within an individual village, the collective space was connected by communication and transportation routes as evidenced by the travels of Youngs and Bishop (See Figure 25). Although it was not explicitly stated in the journal, his other statements in the journal support this idea that Young wanted to inform the villages about each other. Many of the comments speak to daily life in the villages. At Pleasant Hill he remembered that they spent the day looking at the new Center Family dwelling that was under construction; later, they “went on to a watermelon patch” and sat down and ate them “without much delay or remorse” (Youngs 1834). Reports of tragedy were not avoided: “On Saturday night last, the believers sawmill was burnt; the brethren ran to it, but could save nothing but some plank & a trifle of timber.” Fortunately, it was not a great loss: “However, the mill was not worth a great deal” (Youngs 1834). The labels on the maps that identify the functions of the buildings also support the notion that Youngs was producing community space; Brother Isaac intended to be understood.

Given that the maps convey a specific knowledge about the individual villages (and thus about the western villages as a whole), what specific cultural information do they convey? There are at least four major categories of information that may be obtained from the maps and the journal.

First, Brother Isaac conveys information about the growth of the western villages. His lack of artistic and cartographic skill actually becomes an asset here because the compression of distance and the resultant crowding of the buildings makes the villages appear to be populous (Emlen 1987). The growth was not always easy and the journal records some of the difficulties they had in mastering the landscape. In this entry, he describes the innovations necessary to provide water to the village:

Distance from the pumps at the spring to the reservoir 1800 feet. The water is raised from the cistern of supply to the reservoir, thro a perpendicular height of 130 feet. These water works they consider a very valuable accommodation. As formerly, they used to have to draw all the water up from this same spring by a team (Bishop and Youngs 1834).

Travel was hazardous, requiring the residents to cut their own roads in order to reach out beyond themselves.

The country & our road now become [sic] a little rougher as we approached the Kentucky River; ... from the North eastern bank we could see across to Pleasant Hill, which appeared close by ... but in a few rods further behold we were on the brink of a mighty gulf; & the little Kentucky river several feet below us! ... This was a majestic scene. This road was formed by the believers & was made in a surprising manner—winding along up the huge ascent, cutting in some places thro solid rock one side, & built up with high wall on the other (Bishop and Youngs 1834).

Second, the maps revealed details about the features in the land itself. The Pleasant Hill map, along with most of the others, contains an icon representing water, in this case a stream (Figure 26). The circle at the extent of the stream indicates a place where the stream rises or pools. Simply drawing was not enough; the map was complemented the drawing with a journal entry in which he called Shawnee Run “a noble



Figure 26. Detail from Figure 23a.

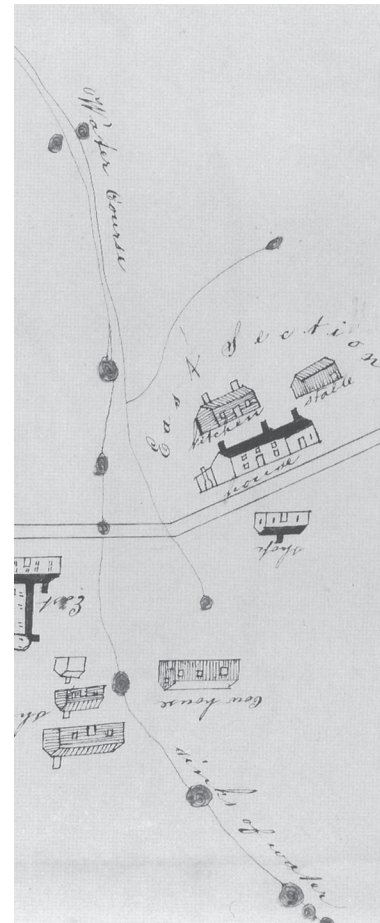


Figure 27. Detail of the map of South Union Shaker Village. Sketches of the various Societies of Believers [i.e. Believers] in the states of Ohio & Kentucky. To which is added a slight sketch of Sodus Bay in the northern part of N. York. Also a map containing several of the states on which is laid out the route of Br. Rufus Bishop and Isaac N. Youngs New Lebanon while on a tour to visit these societies, in the summer and fall of 1834 / copied from Isaac N. Youngs Journal, July 1835 by George Kendall. The Library of Congress.

spring of water which runs out of the bank” (Bishop and Youngs 1834). The land around South Union (in southern Kentucky) caught his attention:

The country seems to have something very peculiar about it. The earth seems to be very full of caves, and water courses under the ground. A stream of water will be seen running above ground, sometimes for miles, and then will disappear, running under ground a few miles, and then coming out in sight again” (Bishop and Youngs 1834).

The map in Figure 27 contains multiple versions of the water icon described above and in addition is labeled with the information that the stream is a “water course”. In addition, the icons are labeled as “sinks of water” to draw attention to the topography. He described these places as “sink holes 10, 15, or 20 feet deep shaped like a tunnel” (Youngs 1834).

The third general area of knowledge revealed by maps and journal was the great breadth of industry and activities that took place in the villages. Brother Isaac was highly interested in the technology exhibited by the Shakers and there are many journal entries that refer to the mills, the agriculture and the advanced technology developed in the villages. The number of icons representing shops, mills, and agricultural buildings far exceeds any other kind of icon, indicating a high level of industry and attention to providing enough goods to make the village self-sufficient.

Finally, the maps reveal the theology of the village through their iconological expressions. Shakers in other villages viewing the maps see villages that look like their own. The buildings are the same, grouped in similar ways and with similar functions and names. The centrality of the meeting house, the groupings into families, and the double doors on dual-use buildings have all been mentioned before, but they continue to expose the Shakers theology and their desire to create heaven on earth.

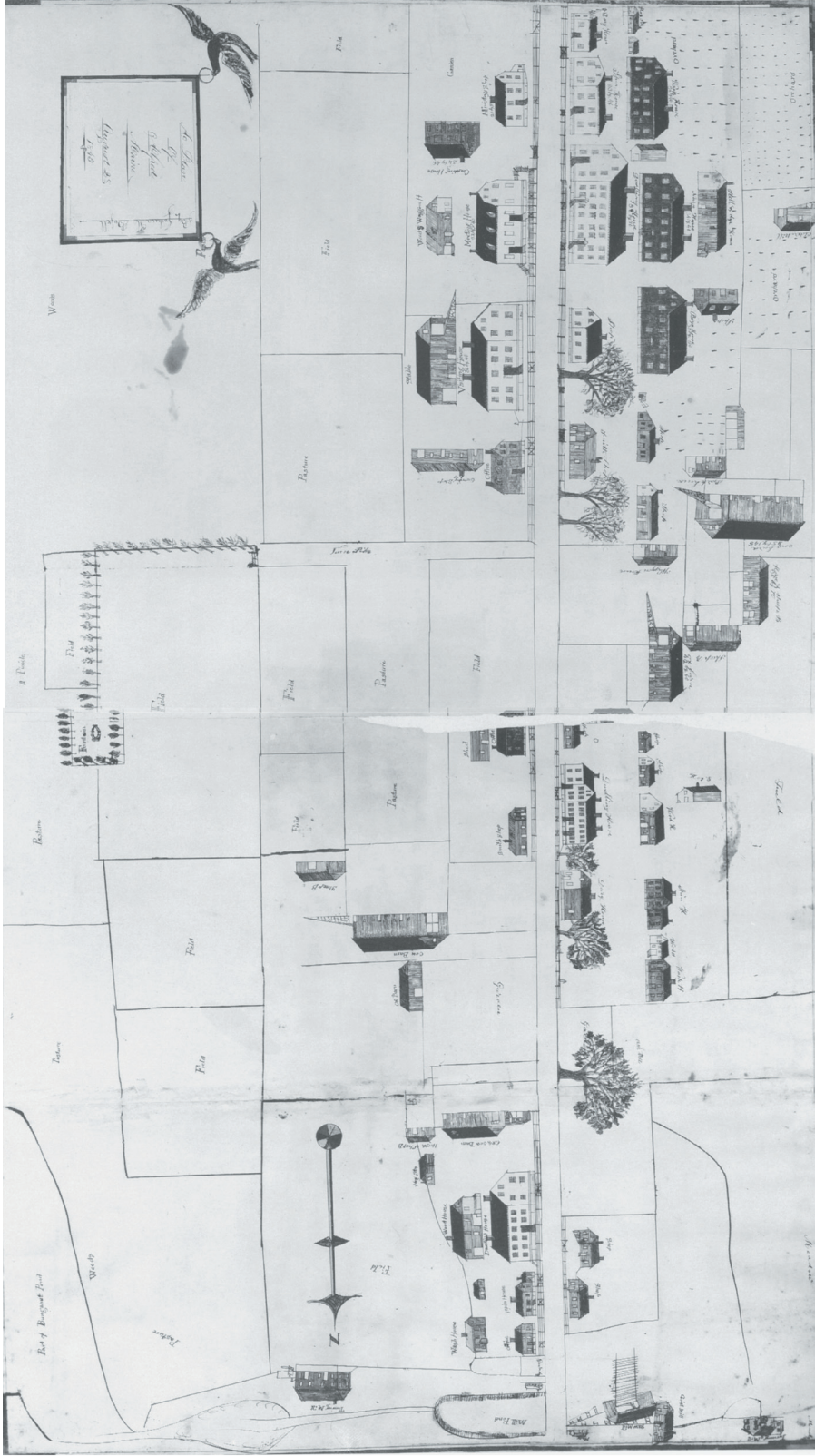


Figure 29. The Shaker Community at Alfred, Maine, by Joshua Bussell, 1845. Library of Congress.

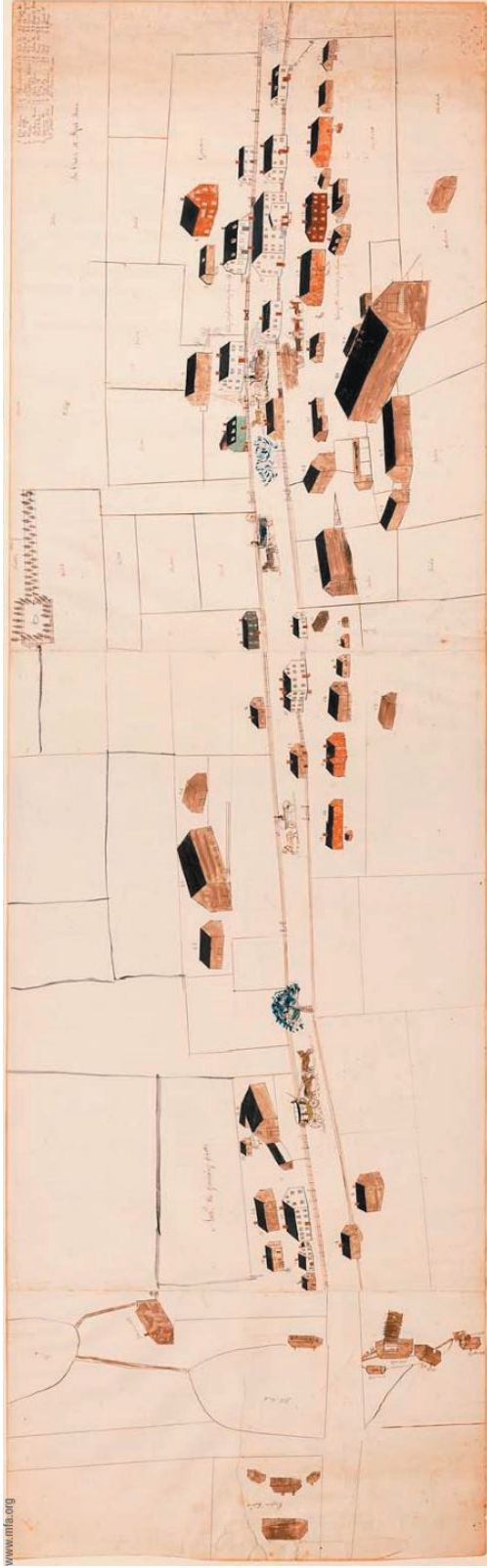


Figure 30. The Shaker Community at Alfred, Maine. Attributed to Joshua Bussell, ca. 1848. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

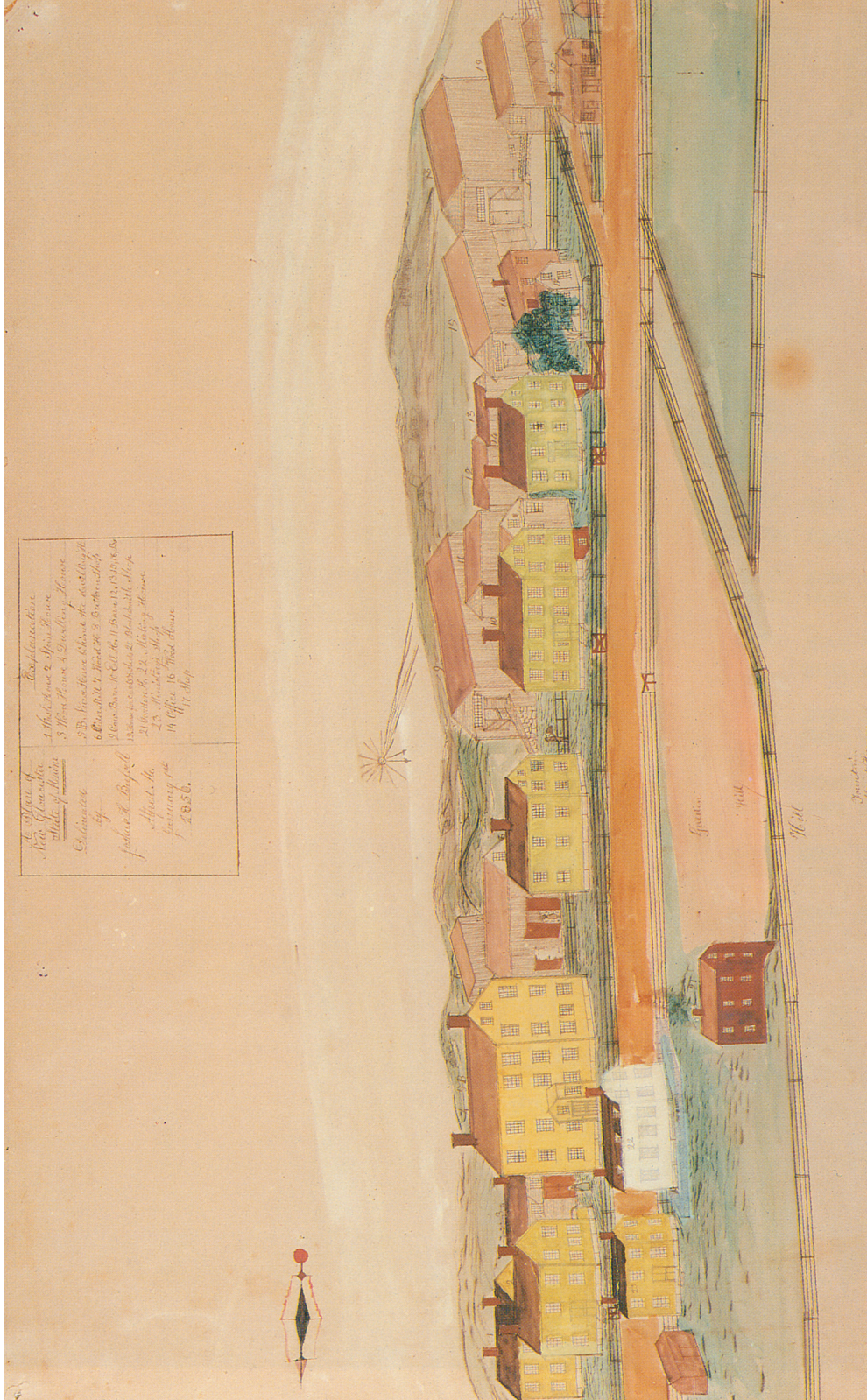


Figure 31. View of the Shaker Community at New Gloucester, Maine, by Joshua Bussell, ca. 1850. Collection of the Shaker Library, Sabbathday Lake, Maine.

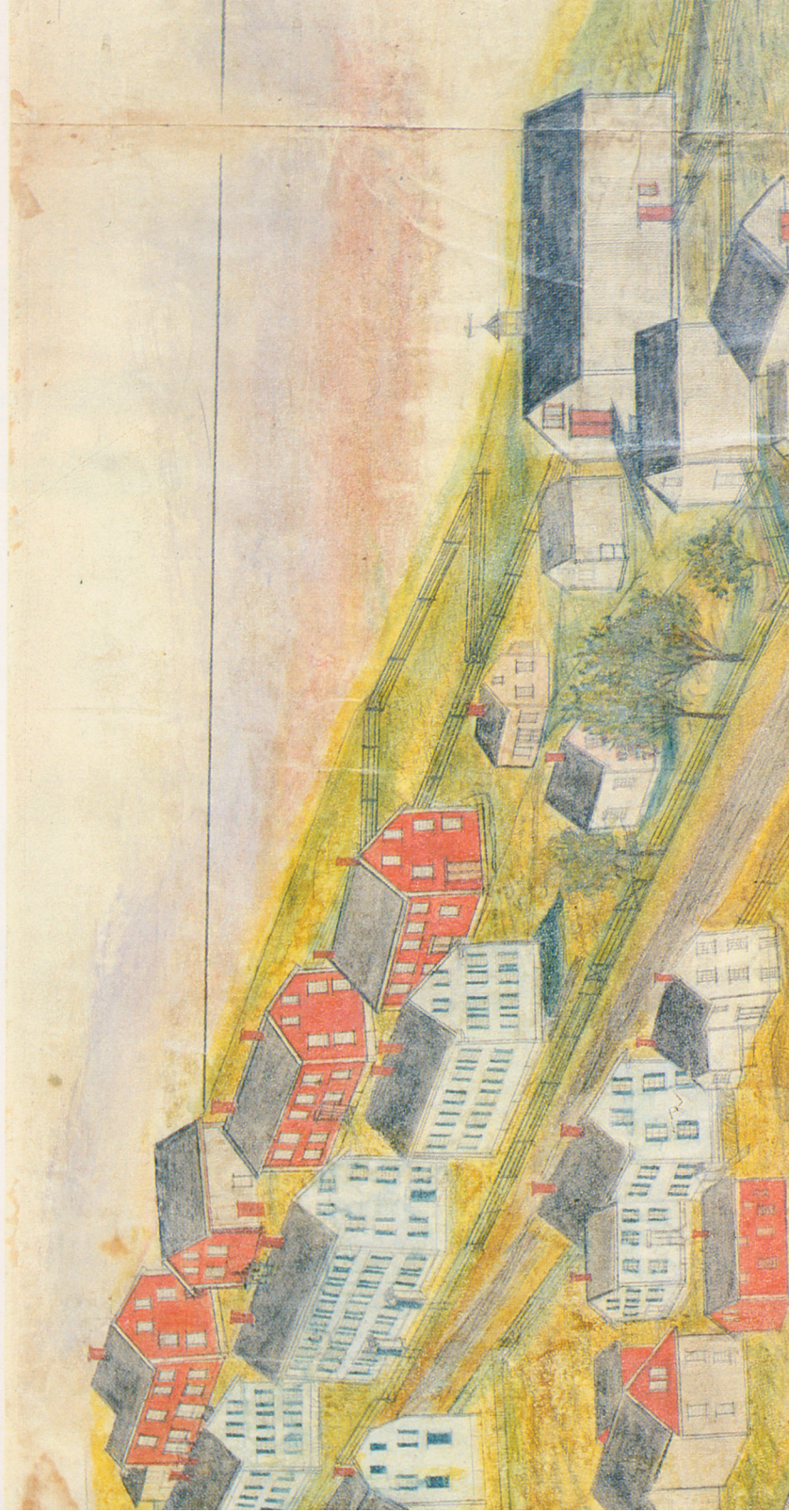


Figure 32. A Northeast View of the Church Family at Alfred, Maine. Attributed to Joshua Bussell, ca. 1880.

There is no record of the immediate results of the Young-Bishop travels or of the influence of the maps. But from the distance of one hundred seventy years the knowledge of Young's visual discourse is still available to those who wish to learn from it.

The maps of Joshua Bussell

In the spring of 1829 a young man of thirteen moved with his family from their home in Portland, Maine to the Shaker community at Alfred, Maine. Joshua Bussell became a Shaker himself when he grew to adulthood. Trained as a cobbler, Bussell eventually became influential in the community, becoming a trustee and a manager for the community's finances. He is most remembered for his maps of the Shaker villages in Maine. There are seventeen of these drawings known today (Emlen 1987), almost half of all the extant Shaker maps. Four of these maps appear in Figures 29, 30, 31 and 32. These are indicative of the advancement of general knowledge about drawing and cartography. Although some his drawings still contain upside-down buildings, the application of perspective and scaling for distance, while still out of proportion, is better. His abilities strengthened rapidly and are clearly evident in the radical improvement of his drawing methods from the 1845 map to the 1880 map. Significantly changed from the earlier Youngs' maps is the detail in the architecture and grounds that Bussell draws, including fences with slats and gates, foliage, and even people.

Although much improved in artistic skill, however, the maps added only a little information beyond that provided by Youngs. Nevertheless, the concentration of his effort in a single region provides insight into the life of the Shakers in Maine. There is no journal to validate the discourse created by the maps, but Bussell's level of authority at Alfred implies that he would have been fully cognizant of the contents of the Millennial Laws and his tenure at the village would make him thoroughly familiar with Shaker

life. The combination of these three provide adequate support to speculate about the knowledge that his maps impart.

Just as the maps of the western villages were drawn for sharing among the more isolated villages of Kentucky and Ohio, Bussell's maps were shared among some of the New England villages, with the same effect of establishing a more overarching sense of community than would otherwise be likely. Bussell was careful to be consistent within each map regarding the representation of the different types of buildings and the buildings do, in fact, resemble what they represent. The colors are appropriate, the windows are correct in number and shape, and the rooflines are correctly represented for the New England styles. A Shaker at New Lebanon, NY or Canterbury, NH looking at the map would recognize the styles and colors and understand the layout of the village and design of the buildings with little problem.



Figure 33. Detail of Figure 29.

There are three types of elements in particular that Bussell included in his maps that had not been drawn previously. First, Bussell's maps are considerably more detailed than were Youngs'. The addition of the detailed fences, mentioned earlier, is evident in the areas in which there were buildings. The occasional tree and bush represents that landscaping that would have been planted throughout the village. Bodies of water are now fully expressed rather than just being outlined. Second, the agricultural parts of the village are expressed in great detail. Bussell drew pastures, fields and orchards with the trees represented as dots. Even the farm animals themselves have icons, misshapen horses and cows with short legs and long torsos. Third, and perhaps most importantly, Bussell's maps include the representation of people. There are figures driving carriages and wagons, working with the animals, and boating on the lake. A viewer unfamiliar with the Shaker attitude toward works of art might speculate that the inclusion of people and animals is a first movement away from cartography and toward artistic expression. But this would not be the case, and the inclusion of living creatures has an impact on the knowledge conveyed by the map (Figure 33).

Comparing the maps to the Millennial Laws reveals a village that is textbook Shaker. From the square fields to the colors of the buildings and the dual doors, the village is wholly designed according to the requirements of the Millennial Laws. Further, the labels on the buildings communicate the function of each one, just as they did in Youngs' maps. The sharing of this map, like the sharing of the western village maps, establishes a denominational space for New England.

Further, daily life is truly represented in Bussell's maps. The representation of people working and talking gives the impression of a village filled with industrious residents, hard at work supplying the needs of the village. The representation of boaters on the lake, however, also provides clues that work was not all encompassing and

that relaxation was also part of life. The curious aspect about the representation of the people is that no women are represented in the maps. There is no indication as to why Bussell did not draw women and in fact, given the Shaker doctrine of separate but

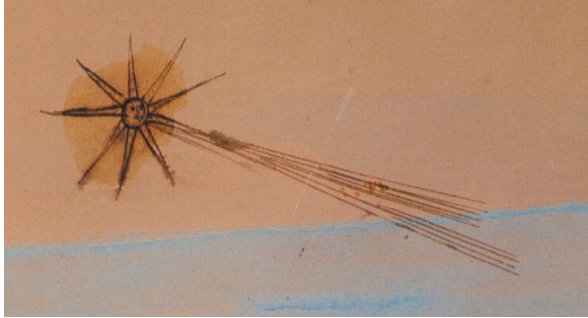


Figure 34. Detail of Figure 31.

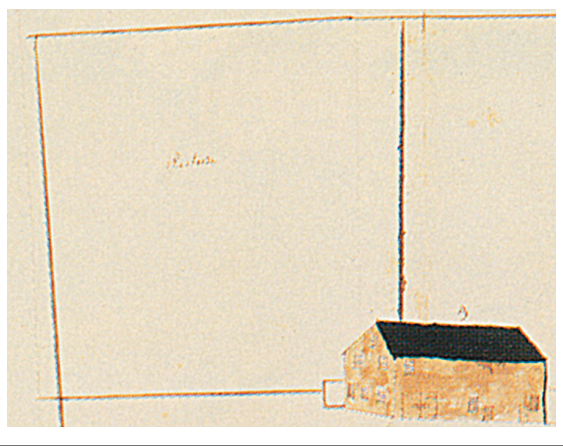
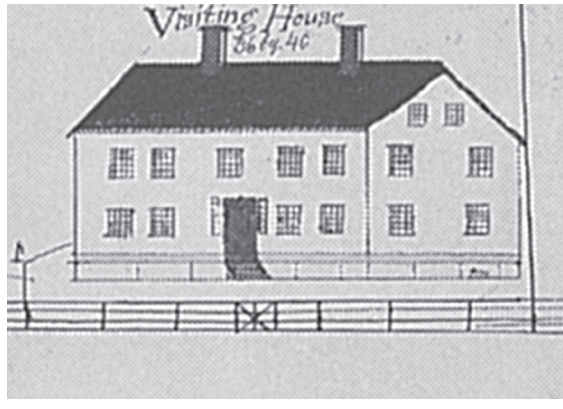
equal, this omission is odd. Most likely, women worked exclusively inside the buildings and so would not have been evident on the landscape and thus were not candidates for representation. There may also be a sense that since the interaction between men and women was so strictly controlled, Bussell would have considered it improper to represent women in any fashion.

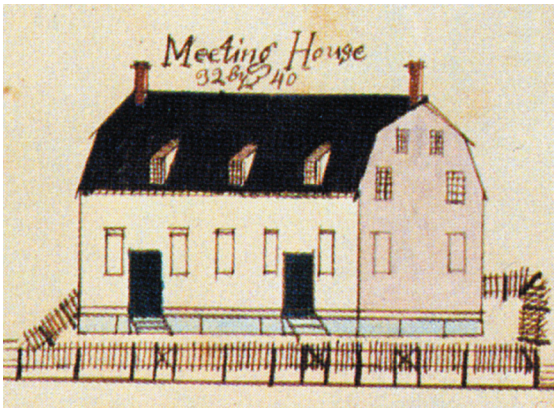

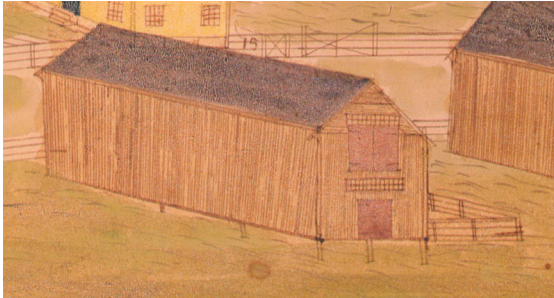
Finally, Bussell's maps express the theological space that was created by the village. Since these maps are later than Youngs' maps, the sacred feast ground is included. On the 1845 map it is illustrated as a square surrounding a hexagonal shape labeled 'Fountain'. The entire area is surrounded by individually drawn trees, as is the road leading to the feast ground. Also, these maps, like the earlier ones, clearly portray the village as divided into the spiritual families and make the double doors on the dwellings and the meetinghouse evident. There is a special element in the Bussell maps that comes radically close to art over cartography – the exaggerated sun with the smiling man's face (Figure 34). There is no indication as to where this icon originated, but given Bussell's seniority in the community he would know that art for art's sake was not allowed. The word 'sun' is a homophone for 'son', the term that Christians use for Jesus to describe

his place in relation to God the Father. Perhaps in his belief that the Shaker village was in truth heaven on earth, Bussell found a way to express more than just an earthly village, but one with a direct connection to heaven (Figure 10).

Table 1 contains some of the Millennial Laws that pertain to village appearance and the map icons that represent these laws.

Table 1. A comparison of map icons with the Millennial Laws.

<p>“It is considered good order, to lay out and fence all kinds of lots, fields and gardens, in a square form, where it is practicable” (Millennial Laws 1821).</p>	
<p>“Doors and gates must not be left swinging, but should be kept either shut, or fastened open” (Millennial Laws 1821).</p>	

<p>“The meetinghouse should be painted white without, and of a blueish shade within” (Millennial Laws 1845).</p>	
<p>“Houses and shops, should be as near uniform in color, as consistent; but it is advisable to have shops of a little darker shade than dwelling houses” (Millennial Laws 1845).</p>	
<p>“Barns and back buildings, as wood houses, etc. if painted at all, should be of a dark hue, either red, or brown, lead color, or something of the kind, unless they front the road, or command a sightly aspect, and then they should not be of a very light color” (Millennial Laws 1845).</p>	

The maps of Youngs and Bussell fulfill the role of ‘conceived space’ as defined by Lefebvre. They convey the knowledge of theological space through the discourse set up by map, journal, and Millennial Laws. There is no evidence that the maps were used outside the Shaker communities, so it must be assumed that the artist-cartographers knew their audience and targeted their work toward that audience. The sharing of the maps established a community beyond the borders of the individual villages.

Representational Space

The charismatic occurrences of the first generation of Shakers persisted throughout the spread of the denomination and during the establishment of the villages in the west (Stein 1992), but the intensity of the occurrences declined as the denomination became more established. Brother Richard McNemar described some of the visionary episodes from 1805:

In some of these rapturous scenes, the mediums professed to be carried clear out of the body, and to be favored with a particular interview with the spirits of their departed friends; and to see and learn their different allotments in the invisible world. Sometimes they mixed with great multitudes who had embraced religion in the past century, and were waiting for the New Jerusalem to appear, and the way to be opened into the Holy City. ... Some of their visions were employed, in crossing rivers, climbing mountains, finding treasures or more delightfully employed in eating the fruits of the tree of Life, bathing in clear water, casting off old garments and putting on new (McNemar 1899).

The believers had always expected Mother Ann to return so that she could continue to instruct them in the faith, even if in spiritual form (Clark and Ham 2000) and this began to happen in 1837 when a number of young girls living in Watervliet, NY, claimed that Mother Ann gave them a tour of heaven. More disembodied experiences like these began to multiply across the denomination and spiritualism reached a fever pitch in the 1840s. The occurrences were manifested in a number of ways, including whirling, shouting, singing and other apparently supernaturally evoked behaviors. From Watervliet, this return to early Shaker behavior spread throughout the sect and the next ten or so years were times of intense spirituality. At Pleasant Hill, Sarah Poole was the first to manifest a disembodied experience. At a worship service in September 1838, she began to whirl uncontrollably and then fell to the floor, where she remained in a trance for some

time. Later, she reported that, during the time of the trance, the occupants of the Pleasant Hill Shaker cemetery took her to heaven where she was taken on a tour and given songs and poems.

As the movement spread and more and more people were caught up in the manifestations of the Spirit, it became necessary to sort out the good and true from the questionable. The Shaker mediums, called instruments, received visitations from a great number of historical figures besides Mother Ann, including other early Shaker leaders and historical figures like Christopher Columbus, Saint Patrick, Mary, Queen of Scots, and George Washington (*An Associate of Said Society* 1843; McNemar 1899). The excessive spiritual manifestations continued into the early 1850s; because of Mother Ann's leadership in the visions, the time from the late 1830s until the 1850s is called Mother Ann's Work.

As the Era of Manifestations, as it was also called, continued, the Central Ministry at Mount Lebanon began to require stricter control when affirming episodes as valid. Each family already had prophets appointed to intercede for them with the spiritual world. It was considered necessary that these new instruments abide by the same standards:

... they must have such gifts and revelations as the elders can approve and sanction. If the elders approve and sanction the gift, it is a real gift, a true revelation. If it is not in accordance with the faith, and the mind of the elders, it is a delusion, and it is false. For this is to be the test of the genuineness of the gift. It must be obtained by them, in obedience to, and union with their visible Lead (Lamson 1848).

In other words, the instruction received in the vision had to conform at least somewhat to their existing understanding of the Shaker faith. This is a typical control for religions in general; doctrines evolve and change, but the growth should be consistent

with existing theology. The Shakers accepted any new instructions delivered in visions if they were more or less consistent with existing doctrine; the result was a revision of the Millennial Laws in 1845. This version of the laws has been the focus of much attention by non-Shakers because of their extraordinary strictness and attention to minute detail (Appendix 1). It is important to understand that not all of the Shakers agreed with these new laws. Brother Arnold Hadd said that they were not “universally accepted” and that “there were a lot more people who were not into parts of that revival” and that “it caused more people to leave [the denomination] than probably anything else did” (2004). Stein implies that the extensive manifestations and the radical new instructions set up a tension between supporters of the reinvigorated charismatic movement and advocates of a more structured order based upon history and doctrine. This tension would undoubtedly have been sensed by the general membership and may have contributed to the Society’s decline.

The decade of increased spirituality was significant for another reason – apostasy in general was increasing. In New Lebanon, the adult apostasy rate shot up from three percent in 1800 to fifteen percent by 1850; nearly twenty-one percent of these were young adults from ages sixteen to twenty-nine (Promey 1993).

The excitement generated by Mother Ann’s Work for a time slowed the exodus of members, but the initial excitement palled and the decline in membership began again. In looking back upon the Era of Manifestations at least one writer has speculated that the Ministry may have manipulated the manifestations in order to re-excite the remaining members as well as to recover those who had already left (Brewer 1986). In response to this idea, Brother Arnold said, “That’s pretty ridiculous. Revival was part of the church” (Hadd 2004). In fact, he believes that the response of the Ministry in accepting some of the new instructions was ...

... a breaking of the church” because “they replaced the revelations of our first parents with new revelations. It was ridiculous to think that coffee and meat and smoking and drinking [identified in some visions as evil] were a problem. If they were, why didn’t Mother Ann or Father Joseph or Mother Lucy get rid of them? And it negates everything the church is built on to get to a new revelation which was very fleeting and the revival is broken and it’s like where do we go now, what do we believe, how do we believe it, how do we show it, and then they are hit with the Civil War. And it seems to be the end of it all (Hadd 2004).

Brother Arnold is correct that the Society never recovered from the confusion fomented by the Ministry when they accepted the new instructions relayed by the instruments. The stress placed upon the entire populace by the Civil War and the events preceding it left little room for the Shakers to reinvigorate the disaffected members. The end of the Shakers was on the horizon. The Era of Manifestations thus left a legacy that clearly was unintended. The last thing that any of the committed Shakers would have wanted was the demise of their sect.

The instruments also left another kind of legacy. Although hundreds of the visions were recorded and retained in various village records the most amazing records were not written, but instead were interpreted in art and music. This departure from a long-held Shaker tradition banning all kinds of art has not been satisfactorily explained. The body of art is called the Gift Drawings of the Shakers today, but they themselves did not use the term “drawing” to describe the works. Instead, they called them sheets, rolls, notices, presents, and so on, and often preceded the term of choice with the word “sacred” (Morin 2001). The most common explanation for their acceptance by the Shakers seems to be that they did not consider the drawings to be “fanciful” and thus prohibited. Promey asserts that by setting themselves up as an iconoclastic society, the Shakers acknowledged the potential of art to influence belief (1993). In fact, the Shakers prohibited anything that might distract the members from their task of perfecting themselves and thus establishing the kingdom of heaven on earth. Unlike the art of the world, the gift drawings were not

distractions, and this may be the best explanation as to why they were not prohibited. Instead glorifying the things of the world, which would have distracted some from their course, the drawings represented the things of heaven. As a body of work, these drawings produced Lefebvre's "representational" space by creating a field of vision that was at once familiar and yet anticipated. The symbols of heaven embedded into the drawings created a visionary world for which the Shakers yearned. The drawings gave them hope that the future world would eventually arrive, as promised by Mother Ann. Even though other factors ultimately overwhelmed the villages, for a time the space produced by this visual record of visionary contact with the spiritual world enthused the Shakers and reignited their cause.

There are nearly two hundred known gift drawings, executed mostly by women either in pen and ink or in watercolors. An artistic combination of text and icons, the drawings lend themselves to an objective analysis. Content analysis is typically thought of as a methodology for analyzing textual documents, but Rose has demonstrated that it applies equally well to visual documents. It is an explicit method that allows researchers to connect the quantitative cataloging of symbolic elements with qualitative interpretation (Rose 2001).

The methodology begins with selecting the images to be examined. The focus is on eleven of the published gift drawings, selected to span a decade of time and to include a variety of styles. Rose calls this "stratified" sampling since each drawing is selected from a subgroup of drawings; in this case, one was chosen randomly from all the drawings produced in that year. The drawings appear in Figures 35-45. They are accompanied by clarifications of the text portion of the individual drawings and interpretations of the overall focus of each drawing.



Figure 35. Heart-shaped cutout...to Emma Jane Blanchard. By Polly Jane Reed, 1844, Mount Lebanon, New York. Hancock Shaker Village

The heart is a common shape in folk art, usually symbolic of love. Shaker hearts usually contained “gentle messages of encouragement and praise” (Andrews and Andrews 1969). The heart shape itself is an icon for the love of God. The Andrews’ call these heart-shaped cutouts the “valentines” of the Shakers (1969).

Front:

The Word of the Holy Heavenly Father
To a babe of his Love

Lovely art thou, O thou fair rose of Sharon! And beautiful are your notes, O ye little objects of my delight. For your praises ascend unto my Throne as the sweet-smelling incense.

Front Left:

Rejoice with exceeding great joy, O thou daughter of my love, for as the fair rose of Sharon dost thou appear in my kingdom, whose leaf fadeth not, and whose beauty dieth not away. And because of the straightness of the path thou hast traveled, the justness of thy doings, and the obedience thou

Front Right:

hast yielded, thy blessed Mother hath confessed thee before my Throne, to be an object of her peculiar delight. Her gospel thou hast honored by keeping Zion's laws. Her work thou hast acknowledged to be of the Lord. When she has mourned thou has wept when she has grieved thou hast mourned. Her joy has been thy joy, & her peace

Back Top:

thy consolation therefore she hath held thee as an innocent in whom there is found no guile and again rejoice my beloved, because of the pleasure of thy Father; for in thee doth he delight, and in thee doth he place trust. Truly thy cries have ascended to my Throne, thro' the medium of thy blessed Mother saying

In box:

O Heavenly Father thy will be done,
O take me to a happy home,
O take me from this state of grief,
That my poor soul may find relief.
O take me in thy arms of love,
That I may dwell in realms above,
Beyond times trouble'd scenes below,
Where nought but sorrow e'er does flow.

Left of box:

Then truly have I stooped from my Throne, and sent comforting Angels to administer unto thee, and lighten thy path, that thou mightst proceed on thy journey.

Right of box:

So come now & receive a seal of my holy love, resembling thy likeness, as thou shalt appear before my Throne, when thou hast gained the Victory.

Below box:

Emma Jane Blanchard

Good news

I have gained the Victory!

Well done! My good & faithful Servant.

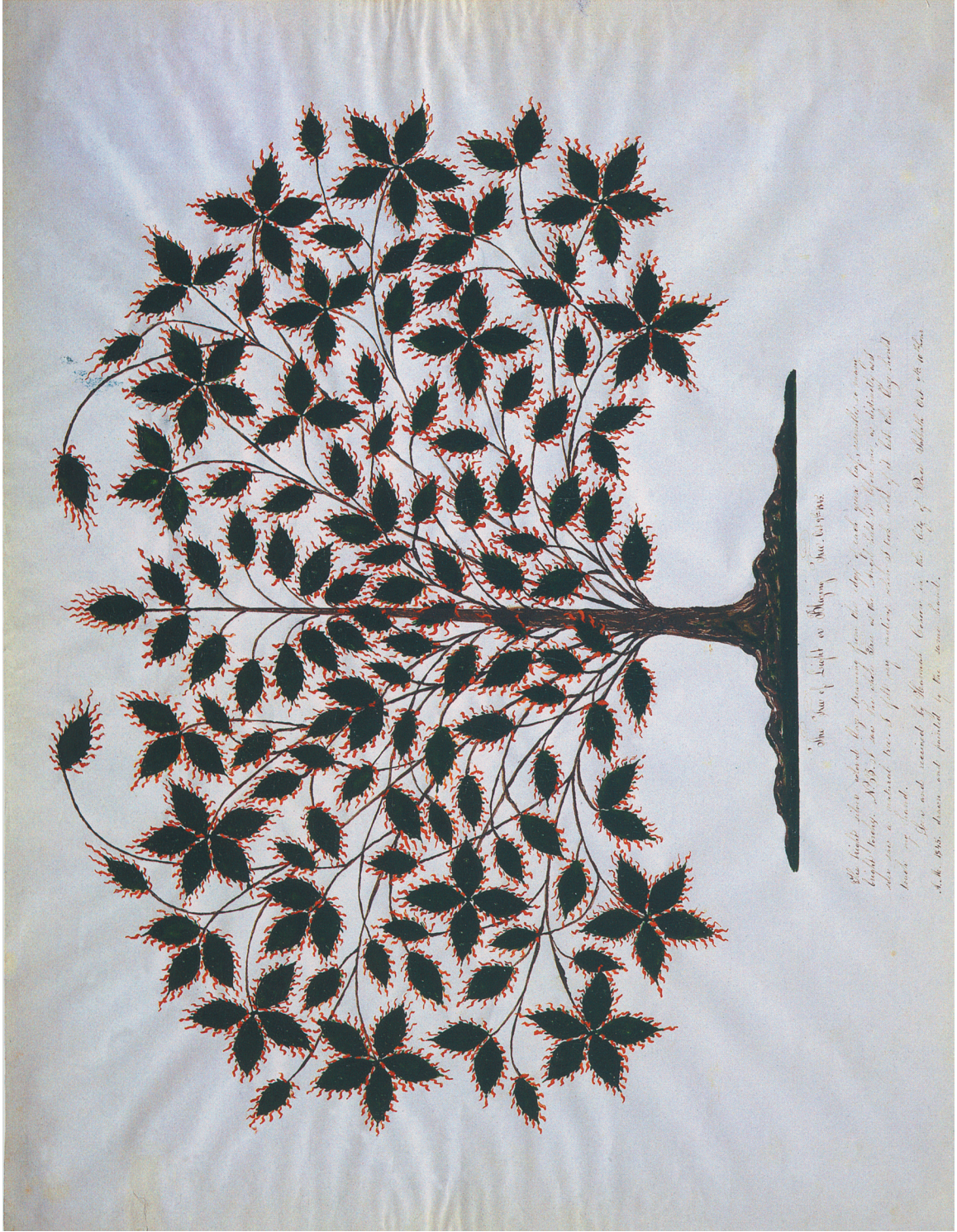


Figure 36. The Tree of Light or Blazing Tree. By Hannah Cohoon, 1845, Hancock, Massachusetts. Hancock Shaker Village.

The leaf is a symbol of God's promises while the burning leaves combine these promises with the light of Christ. This image was probably inspired by an event in the life Father James, the brother of Mother Ann (Andrews and Andrews 1969). While still in England, James had a vision that may have sparked the move to America. "I saw a vision of America, and I saw a large tree, and every leaf thereof shone with such brightness as made it appear like a burning torch, representing the Church of Christ which will yet be established in this land" (Testimonies 1888).

The Tree of Light or Blazing Tree: Oct 9th 1845

The bright silver color'd blaze streaming from the edges of each green leaf, resembles so many bright torches. N.B. I saw the whole Tree as the Angel held it before me as distinctly as I ever saw a natural tree. I felt very cautious when I took hold of it lest the blaze should touch my hand. Seen and received by Hannah Cohoon in the City of Peace Sabbath Oct 9th 10th hour A.M. 1845. drawn and painted by the same hand.



Figure 37. From Holy Mother Wisdom to Sarah Ann Standish. By Sarah Bates, Miranda Barber, Polly Jane Reed, 1847. Mount Lebanon, New York. Hancock Shaker Village.

The overall message of this drawing appears to be that God has a message to deliver. The birds bring good news while the drum and the trumpet announce messages from God. The news is that God has bountiful gifts (the basket on the table) to deliver to the Shaker Church. The pail of holy water is God's salvation of mankind through his love (the heart) and his peace and freedom (the quills).

Top, left:

Mother has sent me here to stay
To comfort you from day to day,
And sing the cheerful songs of love,
Right from the heavenly worlds above,
She says you must be merry too,
And bid past sorrows all adieu.
And join the heavenly songs with me,
Then happy happy we shall be.

Below drum:

This is the little drum I beat
To call saints & Angels to my seat,
And now it surely shall be thine,
To beat upon while here in time.

Left of heart:

A quill from the Wing Of the Heavenly Father

Inside Heart:

Words of Holy Mother Wisdom.
With delight I now behold a child of my love, one in whom I am well pleased. A child that has obeyed the call of God, and forsaken all for the gospel, and has never looked back to Sodom's dismal plains thinking to find any comfort. Yea to such my love shall never cease to roll, and my love shall continually flow, to comfort them on their journey thro' time. I well know the sorrowful path you have traveled for many years, and have often sent my holy Angels to comfort your drooping soul. And as a loving Parent I will never forsake you, nay in no wise. So take courage in bearing the cross, knowing thy reward in eternity will be great: thy mansion shall be clean and neat, ornamented with heavenly roses that

eternally bloom, and sendeth forth their sweet perfume. There you shall rest from the toilsome labours of earth, & join the heavenly songs with saints & Angels. There, dear child, if you will be faithfull, thy joys shall be Eternal, saith Holy Wisdom.

In dove's beak:

Peace on Earth, Good Will to Man

Top, right:

From Holy Wisdoms Throne so bright
I've brought a ball of heavenly light
To comfort you when troubles roll,
O thou true and faithful soul.
Be faithful in thy Mother's work,
In all you're call'd to do,
And with my arm of holy power,
I'll ever protect you.

Below trumpet:

I'll blow my trumpet thro' the land,
And Kings & Priests shall understand.
I am that God whose arm is love,
And sends forth judgements from above.

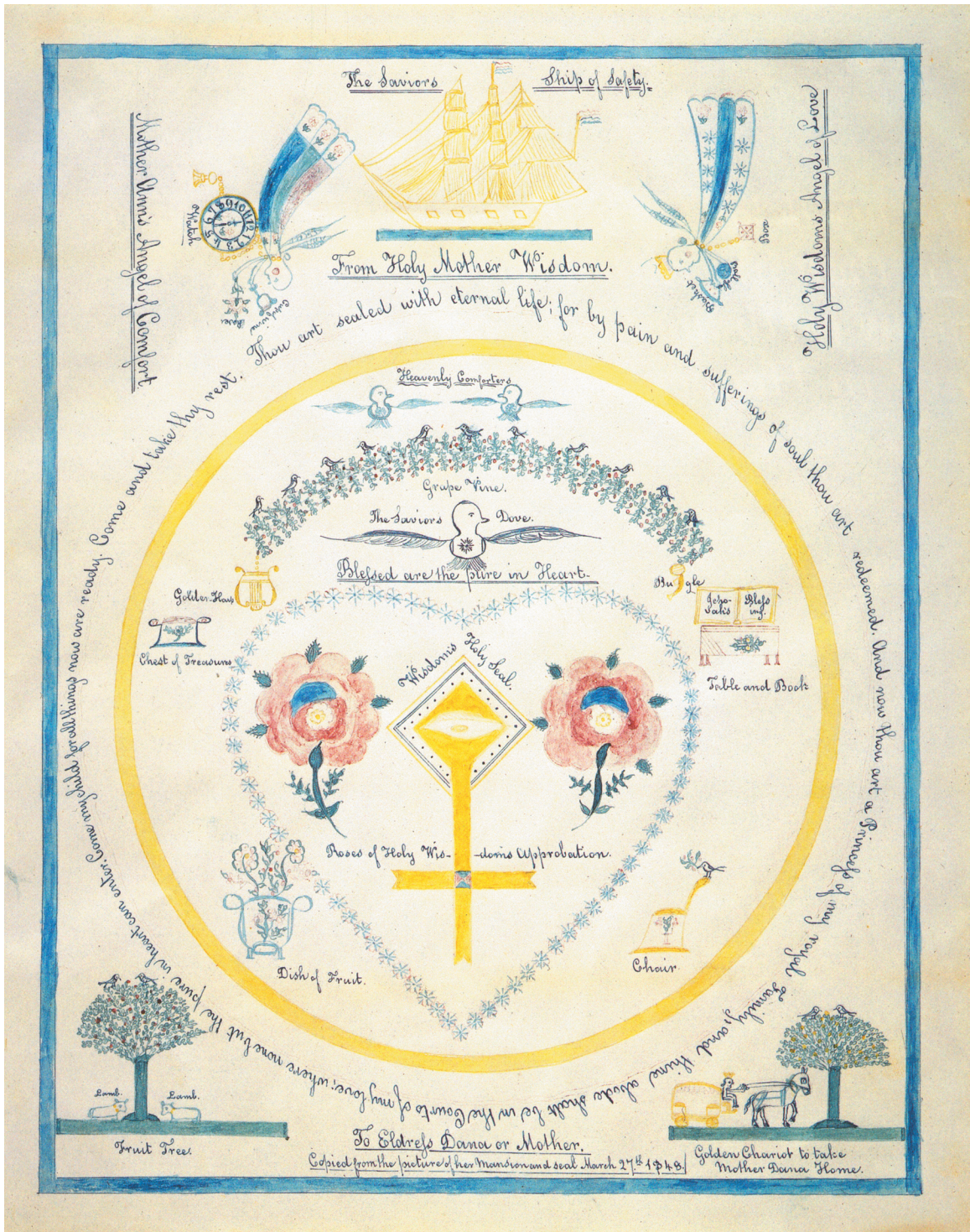


Figure 38. From Holy Mother Wisdom ... To Eldress Dana or Mother. By Miranda Barber, 1848. Mount Lebanon, New York. Hancock Shaker Village.

The angels in this drawing are the messengers of God bringing comfort and safety to earth. The ship and the golden chariot are symbols of freedom, taking the believers to heaven. Comfort and safety comes through the lamb of God, who is Jesus. The treasure chest is full of the gifts God gives to his people and the chair is the place of rest at the end of their journey.

Right of heart:

A quill from the Wing of Holy Mother Wisdom.

The angels in this drawing are the messengers of God bringing comfort and safety to earth. The ship and the golden chariot are symbols of freedom, taking the believers to heaven. The comfort and safety comes through the lamb of God, who is Jesus. The treasure chest is full of the gifts God gives to his people and the chair is the place of rest at the end of their journey.

Bottom, left to right:

From Holy Mother Wisdom to Sarah Ann Standish. A Pail of Holy Waters. July 15th 1847.

The angels in this drawing are the messengers of God bringing comfort and safety to earth. The ship and the golden chariot are symbols of freedom, taking the believers to heaven. The comfort and safety comes through the lamb of God, who is Jesus. The treasure chest is full of the gifts God gives to his people and the chair is the place of rest at the end of their journey.

Top to bottom, left to right:

Mother Ann's Angel of Comfort.

The Saviors Ship of Safety.

Holy Wisdoms Angel of Love

From Holy Mother Wisdom.

Around circle:

Thou are sealed with eternal life; for by pain and sufferings of soul thou art redeemed. And now thou are a Princess of my royal Family, and thine abode shalt be in the Curts of my love; where none but the pure in heart can enter: Come my child for all things now are ready. Come and take thy rest.

Under circle:

To Eldress Dana or Mother: Copied from the picture of her Mansion and seal
March 28th 1848.



Figure 39. A present from Mother Lucy to Eliza Ann Taylor. By Polly Jane Reed, 1849. Mount Lebanon, New York. Hancock Shaker Village.

The large house in the center of this drawing is the dwelling house prepared in heaven for the believers. The messenger brings the news of the house to the Shakers and the leaves hold the promises of God that are disclosed as they unfold.

Left side:

Sprig from the Olive Tree
Trumpet of Wisdom

In heart:

My treasure is not on the Earth, But in the heavens far away, where the cares of time cannot find them. When my work on earth is done, how gladly will I fly to the arms of the saints, who have watch'd over me in the days of my youth, for they love men & I love them & nought can separate us from each other.

In breastplate from Socrates:

My passion shall not govern nor my pride betray me; but like a bold soldier All danger I'll hazard.

In book:

Peace on Earth Good will to man

Center bottom:

Come saith Wisdom, for I have formed thee a dwelling and placed thine eye upon it. And from thee sequestered shades of death, my ministering Angels shall gather many souls, whom I shall call upon thee to feed and clothe, and give them where to lay their heads in peace. I shall call upon thee to feed them with Wisdom & understanding, and truth shall blossom in their souls, & they shall ring forth good fruits in abundance. You shall be their Shepherd & they shall be my people saith WISDOM.

Right, top to bottom:

A Messenger of glad tidings

A leaf of Promise which will unfold and become very large.

Go forth thou Angel of Peace, be thou like Noah's Dove, bearing a leaf of Peace to the last children of men. Tho they may deny thee & scornfully use thee, & cause thee to wear a crown of plaited thorns, say unto them Peace be unto thee, My Father hath sent me.

A bowl of Seed Grapes.

Thy Vineyard shall flourish & blossom like the Rose.

A present from Mother Lucy to Eliza Ann Taylor.

April 8th 1849

A Branch of Blessing.

A Garner of Precious Wheat

Thy Moon shall set bright

As my Mother has taught me So will I do, and divide my blessings with this lovely few.



Figure 40. A type of Mother Hannah's Pocket Handkerchief. By Polly Jane Reed, 1851, Mount Lebanon, New York. Hancock Shaker Village.

The many leaves on this drawing reflect the many promises of God to his people. The promises unfold through Jesus, who is the light of the world and represented by the lamps. The text explains that these gifts are for those who serve God.

Left:

A Trumpet from Moses, to reveal the word of God to the Nations.

A Necklace from the Woman of Samaria.

A type of Jephtha's lamps that lighted him thro' the wilderness of woe during his rejection, (or the time he was rejected by his brethren.) And when he was called to battle they gave him light by night, and supported him by day.

A fan of Mother Hannah's, to blow away buffetings, the cruelest of foes.

A dove of Peace.

A steadfast mind Like flowers of Peace yields fragrance pure and sublime.

Center:

Those who partake of this fruit while in time Shall be crowned in Eternity with glory bright & divine.

Above circle:

Thus saith Holy Wisdom. To a child of Her peculiar care. My dearly beloved little one, In my Wisdom I will cause to be taken from you the choicest of our treasures, for a season. And again they shall return to you greatly beautified and increased seven fold. I have noticed your industry, & the strict application of your hands to serve my children, which shall be a gain to your own soul, and a lasting gain to you in eternity. Also your reconciled mind will form your dress which will be very beautiful.

Inside circle:

Come unto Me, saith Wisdom in thy infancy. Devote thy whole heart to serve thy Creator in the morning of thy days, and of the beautiful treasures of my Kingdom thou shalt abundantly share. Come at my call thou Lamb of Innocence.

Below circle:

Upon the mountain of my pleasure saith the Lord have I placed fruits of every kind. And from thence will I cause to be planted a chosen seed in the hearts of some of every nation, kindred, tongue and people. There are none so mean but that my blessing may reach them. I will sound my Trumpet & the sound thereof shall reach their ears and I will send food to sustain their souls. A type of Mother Hannah's pocket handkerchief, Drawn by Father James for Jane Blanchard. 1851.

Right:

A Cage of Singing birds from Sarah of old

A Dove of Purity.



Figure 41. Wreath brought by Mother's little dove. By Polly Collins, 1853, Hancock, Massachusetts. Hancock Shaker Village.

In much of religious art the circle is the symbol of completeness and of unity with the world. Here it may represent the unity of the Shakers with God. The numerous flowers also represent this unity. The rose is a traditional symbol for Jesus Christ.

Border:

This wreath was brought by Mother's little Dove for the Ministry at the City of Peace, Dec 4, 1853.

There's beauty yet in heaven laid up, Beloved ones for thee
Yea many blessings there's in store For you dear Ministry.

Circle:

1st Kind Ministry within this wreath,
We place our Mother's love,
Twas her that bade us this prepare,
And sent it, by her dove.

2nd So please accept our little store,
Though small as it may seem,
Yet we do feel a glowing zeal,
The gospel's all our theme.

3rd Thy cries and tears ascend to Him,
Who can all things control;
But be ye patiently inclined,
Though waves around you roll.

4th Think how thy blessed Mother stood
Through tempest storm and flood,
Vile persecutors raging sought,
Her very heart strings blood

5th Then look ye onward now my friends
Though sorrows oft ye feel,
We will with you through trials stand,
And bid you comfort feel.

Center:

Written by an inspired Inst. Dec. 12, 1853. Farewell in love from Father James
Father Joseph Mother Lucy and Mother Dana.

Back, top:

This wreath was drawn for the Beloved Ministry at the City of Peace 1853, by
Polly Collins. The Poetry by L.J. Osborne.



Figure 42. A Bower of Mulberry Trees. By Hannah Cohoon, 1854. Hancock, Massachusetts. Hancock Shaker Village.

The tree is the symbol for the Shaker church and the table represents the bounty of God. The spring of water at the side sustains life. Here, the trees touch at the top, forming a bower that shelters the believers while they partake of God's gifts.

Sept. 13th 1854. Blessed Mother Ann came into meeting we had a very powerful meeting and I saw a beautiful great bower four square on the ground; the trees met together overhead as you will perceive by the representation; it was painted upon a large white sheet and help up over the brethrens heads, I saw it very distinctly. Afterward the spirit presented to my view three leaves painted, belonging to the bower which was shown me in meeting so that I might know how to paint them more correctly. The long white table standing under the bower stood at the left hand close by the side of the trees with cakes knives &c upon it; I saw Elder Ebenezer Bishop and Elder Nathaniel Deming take off their hats go into the bower then to the table at standing up. From thence they went to the spring just beyond the square to the right hand and drank keeping off their hats until they got fully out of the bower: N.B The ground was cover'd with beautiful short green grass; I saw the small trees bearing the fruit of Paradise very plainly, there was much ripe fruit on them which was very smooth and of a lively deep green color; the size of our largest english cherries. (They appeared to shine) The spirits said they were green when ripe, each berry appeared to grow separately close to the limbs -- Afterwards I saw many brethren sitting upon long benches in the bower: Seen and painted in the City of Peace by Hannah Cohoon.

A Bower of Mulberry Trees

See 2nd Samuel 5th 24th v. Chron. 14th and 15v.



Figure 43. The Gospel Union, fruit bearing tree. by Polly Collins, 1855, Hancock, Massachusetts. Hancock Shaker Village.

The tree is the Shaker church and the multitude of bright leaves represent the promises God made to the church. The arches represent passageways between heaven and earth, while the benches are places to rest on the journey. Perhaps more than any other drawing, this one emphasizes the Shaker understanding that life exists on two planes and that movement between the planes is possible.

Top:

This Tree was drawn in the year 1855.

The following lines were written by Elder Brother Joseph Wicker's moving the hand of the writer: Dec 2nd 1855.

Top, left of tree:

Firstly, J.W. is here he is guiding you, Secondly, there are four Angels who are guarding this tree; and it increases in beauty as ye increase in goodness. The offerings of the faithful

Bottom, left:

The four and twenty Elders many times assemble under the branches of this beautiful tree.

Bottom, right:

It is in union with the Heavenly Father that this is now brought to view; And holy holy Mother hath sent it unto you.

Left: 1st In holy love she leadeth you
Through grief and sorrows deep;
And of her beauties you will view,
From her rich store you'll reap.

2nd My dear beloved care-worn friends,
I now bring to your view;
A faint resemblance of that home
That Mother giveth you.

Right:

3rd Beloved ones when this you see,
Know ye there is a place;
When from Earth's sorrows you're set free
To join the heavenly race.

4th Receive ye now the holy love,
Of all those Angels bright;
Whose watchful eye will always keep
This fruit shall never blight.

Left:

This heavenly tree standeth in the center of the meeting room in the Church. City
of Peace.

Right:

It is called by the spirits The Gospel Union, fruit bearing Tree.

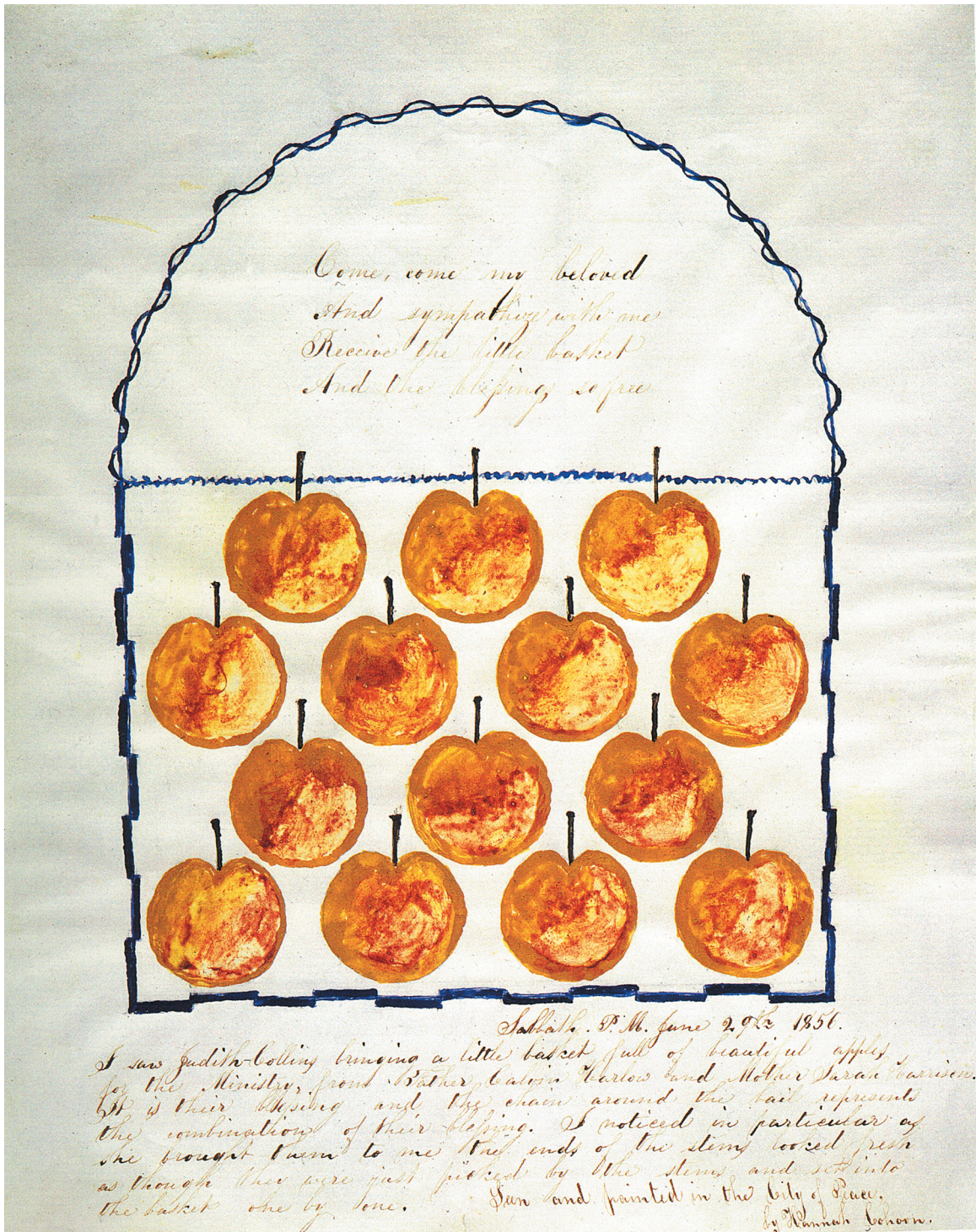


Figure 44. A little Basket full of Beautiful Apples. By Hannah Cohoon, 1956, Hancock, Massachusetts Hancock Shaker Village.

This basket of fruit echoes once more the bounty of God in the gifts he has given the believers. Everything that is necessary to sustain them has been provided. The drawing itself tells us that the chain around the handle is the blessing of the spiritual visitors.

Top:

Come, come my beloved
And sympathize with me
Receive the little basket
And the blessing so free

Bottom:

Sabbath. P.M. June 29th 1856. I saw Judith Collins bringing a little basket full of beautiful apples fro the Ministry, from Brother Calvin Harlow and Mother Sarah Harrison. It is their blessing and the chain around the bail represents the combination of their blessing. I noticed in particular as she brought them to me the ends of the stems looked fresh as though they were just picked by the stems and set into the basket one by one. Seen and painted in the City of Peace. by Hannah Cohoon.



Figure 45. A Tree of Love, a Tree of Life. By Polly Collins, 1857, Hancock, Massachusetts. Hancock Shaker Village.

The tree of life, representing the Shaker church, is given to support the believers in this world. Through the church, the believers are supported and trained in their beliefs. Even through trouble, the church will not abandon its members.

Top left: A Tree of Love, a Tree of life, By holy spirits given.

Top center:

August 1857

Top right:

To help you Thro' this world of strife, And cheer your path to heaven.

Bottom:

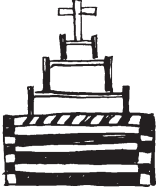



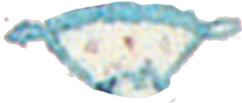
My love is increasing, My love is unceasing. Tho' tempests should beat, and
floods may descend, I'll stand by your side, be your Mother, & friend.


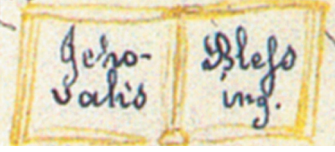





From Mother Ann, To Nancy Oaks.

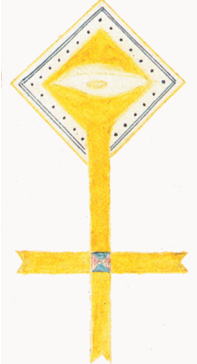






Dictated by Polly Laurence.

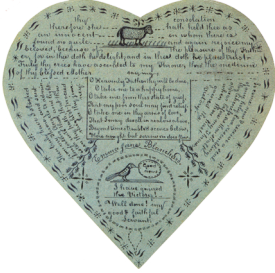





Next, the categories into which the elements in the drawings would be sorted were identified. Since there are so many repeated elements in the drawings, the categories are self-evident. The Shaker artists typically identified the meanings of their symbols within the drawings themselves, making it possible to create an iconography of the elements in the works (The Gift of Inspiration 1979). The categorization of the elements in the selected drawings was done according to this iconography. Not all elements in the iconography were present in the sample of drawings, but it was a significant enough result that the sample drawings can be said to represent the entire body of work. It should be noted that not all of the icons in a particular category were identical, but the meaning was clear enough to sort each one encountered into groups. If an icon was significantly different enough to warrant a slightly meaning, a separate category was created. For example, there are three different icons concerning water – a fountain of water, a spring of water, and a pail of water. Each of these embodies slightly different meanings and so each is listed separately. Table 2 contains the iconography and the results of the content analysis.

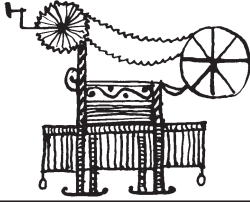
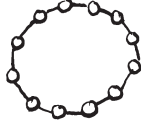




Table 2. Iconography of the Shaker Religious Art


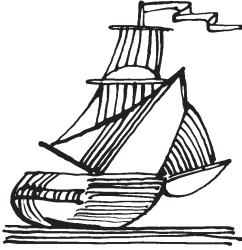
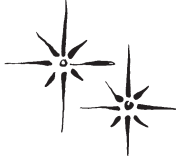


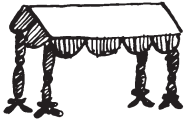

Icon	Probable Meaning	Year of the Drawing in which the element is found and the quantity in that drawing	Total number of elements found in the sample
	<p>Altar: the place of sacrifice. The Shakers disavowed their human natures in order to gain victory over sin.</p>		
	<p>Angels: Guardians, messengers, gift-bearers, and comforters.</p>	<p>1848-2</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>Arch: a passageway, here a doorway between heaven and earth;</p>	<p>1855-2</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>Ball: associated with comfort, love, trials, and blessings. Paradise was called the Heavenly Sphere.</p>	<p>1848-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Basket: like the bowl of fruit it holds the gifts of God for believers</p>	<p>1848-1 1851-1 1856-1</p>	<p>3</p>




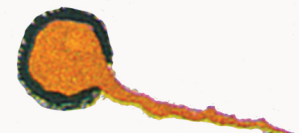


	<p>Birds (probably doves): the Spirit of Christ was represented by a dove in the New Testament; birds bring comfort and good news.</p>	<p>1844-3 1847-13 1848-19 1849-10 1851-4 1854-17</p>	<p>66</p>
	<p>Book: the Bible</p>	<p>1847-1 1848-1 1849-1</p>	<p>3</p>
	<p>Bowl of fruit or bread: the treats of heaven</p>	<p>1847-1 1848-1 1849-2 1854-8 1856-1</p>	<p>13</p>
	<p>Box or chest: filled with the treasures of heaven waiting for the believer</p>	<p>1848-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Chair: a place of rest</p>	<p>1848-1 1855-2</p>	<p>3</p>
	<p>Golden chariot: takes the Shakers "home" to heaven, either after death or after heaven is fully established on earth.</p>	<p>1848-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Clock: possibly used to give the time of the vision.</p>	<p>1847-1 1848-1 1849-1</p>	<p>3</p>

	<p>Cross: typical symbol of Christ and Christianity</p>	<p>1848-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Crown: the reward of salvation</p>	<p>1849-1 1851-1</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>Drum: a military drum associated with soldiers of God</p>	<p>1847-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Eye: God's omniscience</p>	<p>1848-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Fan: used to blow away trials</p>	<p>1849-7 1851-1</p>	<p>8</p>
	<p>Hand: God's protective hand</p>		
	<p>Harp: the joyful music of worship</p>	<p>1848-1</p>	<p>1</p>

	<p>Heart: the love of God</p>	<p>1844-1 1849-1</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>Heavenly dwelling: the home waiting for the Shakers</p>	<p>1849-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Lamb: Traditional symbol for Christ as the “Lamb of God”</p>	<p>1844-1 1848-2</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>Lamp: Jesus is called “the light of the world” in the New Testament</p>	<p>1851-2</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>Leaf: a promise that unfolds</p>	<p>1844-1 1849-1 1851-4</p>	<p>6</p>
	<p>Leaf on fire: combination of light and the leaf – the promise inherent in Christ</p>	<p>1845-177</p>	<p>177</p>

	<p>Music Machine: the Shakers were great inventors of machinery.</p>		
	<p>Necklace: jewelry was forbidden but heavenly jewels represent the rich rewards of salvation</p>	<p>1851-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Olive tree: symbol of peace and hope.</p>	<p>1849-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Pail of water: described as “holy” on the drawing, water was a common New Testament symbol for new life in Christ through salvation.</p>	<p>1847-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Pillar: the strength of faithful members</p>		
	<p>Plants and Flowers: represented union, simplicity, love, and purity. The rose, especially, was a traditional Christian symbol for Jesus.</p>	<p>1844-3 1847-5 1848-3 1849-9 1851-15 1853-42 1855-2 1857-2</p>	<p>81</p>

	<p>Quill: attributed to Holy Mother Wisdom. Symbols for God's peace and freedom.</p>	<p>1847-2</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>Ship: symbolized the kind of freedom by transporting faithful believers to heaven.</p>	<p>1848-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Stars: a traditional Christian symbol representing the light of Jesus.</p>	<p>1844-4 1847-5 1851-4 1855-5</p>	<p>18</p>
	<p>Sun and Moon: the sun is a traditional symbol for Jesus ("Son") while the moon is used to indicated the passage of time.</p>	<p>1849-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Sword: A curious symbol for worldly pacifists, Shakers were well-versed in the need for spiritual warfare.</p>		
	<p>Table: holds the bounty of gifts from God.</p>	<p>1847-1 1848-1 1854-1</p>	<p>3</p>
	<p>Table knives: provided to cut the cakes on the table of plenty</p>	<p>1854-7</p>	<p>7</p>

	<p>Tree: Mother Ann compared her faithful followers to ripened apples on the tree. The tree is also known as the symbol of the church.</p>	<p>1845-1 1847-2 1848-2 1854-4 1855-1 1857-3</p>	<p>13</p>
	<p>Trumpet: used to announce a message coming from God.</p>	<p>1847-1 1848-1</p>	<p>2</p>
	<p>Water or Fountain: the cleansing power of Christ.</p>		
	<p>Water Spring: provided to go with the heavenly meal; also the traditional meaning of water</p>	<p>1854-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Wine: spiritual wine was a traditional attribute of Jesus.</p>	<p>1848-1</p>	<p>1</p>
	<p>Wings: emblems of God's peace</p>	<p>1849-1</p>	<p>1</p>

The results of the content analysis of the sample drawings are listed in Table 2. All but six of the forty-four listed icons appear on the sample of drawings. Of the thirty-eight icons that appear in the sample, renditions of nearly half (17) of these appear on multiple drawings. It therefore seems appropriate to draw some general conclusions concerning the implications inherent in the drawings.

The themes of the drawings

Interpretation of the themes represented in the paintings permits some speculation about what the Shakers might have seen in the drawings. Each drawing represents a different vision and thus a different understanding of heaven. The icons in the drawings are traditional Christian symbols; analysis of those most frequently used reveals a picture of the Shaker perception of God and heaven. These symbols were not new to the Shakers; other visionaries had described them in early times. "... they had another species of visions, more universal in which the sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, plains, vegetables, fruits, animals and a thousand particular things and circumstances in nature were used as emblems of things in the spiritual world, or kingdom of Christ" (McNemar 1899).

There are four concepts that appear most often. First, the bowls of fruit and the tables laden with provisions represent the sustenance of God; with the table knives provided for eating the fruit, the icons represent the bounty provided by God and/or the Shakers already living in heaven. The sustenance is reflective of the many passages in the Bible in which God is pictured as a welcoming host inviting his people to a banquet¹. Second, the comfort and rest attainable with God are seen through the icons representing

¹ Examples include Matthew 22:2, 9 and Luke 14:13, 15.

birds and chairs; these symbols prefigure the time when the Shakers will be relieved of the work required of them in the present world. The fans give the power to blow away trials and troubles and foretell the time when these will be completely forgotten. Third, the light and promise of Christ are clearly evident in a number of different symbols. The leaves, both plain and on fire, and the stars reminded the Shakers of the biblical promises made by Jesus. The star, especially, is a traditional biblical symbol for the advent of Christ. God also used stars in the Old Testament as symbolic devices for the family of Abraham. The story of the great flood in the Old Testament ends with hope, as a dove carried the olive leaf to Noah as a promise of the continuation of life on earth. Images of plants and flowers abound in the drawings, symbolizing the love of Christ and the union of each Shaker with the others. In the Song of Solomon, for example, God is compared to the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valley and the love he shares with his people is pictured as the beauty and fertility of the earth. Finally, the church of the Shakers is represented as a tree. The tree of life is a recurring symbol in the Judeo-Christian tradition, from its introduction in Genesis to its interpretation as the “paradise of God” in the Revelation of St. John. In Shaker theology, Father James first compared the Shaker church to a tree with burning leaves (Testimonies 1888). Later, Elder Benjamin described the church as a tree with many branches, united at the root (Testimonies 1888). This direct comparison of the Shaker church with God’s paradise is seen in the gift drawings. The drawn trees are laden with fruit or burning with fire as one might imagine the trees in heaven. These themes echo traditional Christian beliefs. The bounty of God, the rewards of salvation, and the effort required of mankind have been manifested in art for centuries. The Bible is an unquestioned source of artistic inspiration and many of the great artists of the past created at least some of their works within the Christian tradition. While Shaker

art was conventional in its themes, it was remarkably different in its inspiration since the Shaker artists professed to be drawing from direct, personal experience.

The Produced Space

Second, it is possible to identify the ways in which the gifts drawings produced representational space and what the produced space looked like. Lefebvre defined his understanding of representational space as that space which is produced by artists and philosophers. It is space that is largely subjective and that is understood differently depending upon the filter through which the space is viewed. Artists whose works express views of the world produce representational space. Lefebvre believes that the people who live in the depicted space view the artworks and then begin to see their space as the artists have represented it; the residents begin to live in the space as if the artists' visions were in fact reality. This in turn shapes the space in a way that mirrors the artistic renditions. This circular response to a stimulus is reminiscent of the idea of structuration, in which the agent of change is itself altered as its target changes. The Shakers believed that their villages were a first step toward heaven on earth; the gift drawings were representative of the way life would be in heaven. Further, the drawings functioned as a filter by revealing the contemporary earth as it would be once the kingdom of God was fully established. The drawings shaped the way in which the Shakers understood heaven, thus, at the same time, shaping the way they understood their villages. The content of the drawings brought a number of factors into juxtaposition, creating a filter that reinforced, at least for some, the Shaker beliefs. The space revealed by the filter of drawings was real, holy, and temporally and spatially coincident with their villages.

Real space is not necessarily equivalent to physical space, but it is nevertheless tangible for the ones who live in it. The representational space shaped by the gift

drawings was real space for the Shakers. Because the Millennial Laws were so restrictive about interaction with the world's people, the Shakers seldom interacted with anyone outside their villages and the physical space of the village became the extent of their world. Spiritual space was evident in the village through its layout and architecture. When Mother Ann's work broke out and the gift drawings were created, the spiritual space was enhanced and made even more real because the future of the space now had a physical shape; the average member could look at a gift drawing and visualize what the kingdom would look like. The space functioned as a focal point that the members could point to and recognize as their future home. It was one thing to talk about the promises of heaven as they are written in the Bible but it was another thing entirely to see them drawn by someone who, the Shakers believed, had actually been there. The drawings reinforced the traditional concepts of God, heaven and salvation and created a space in which the inhabitants could once again believe that the Shaker church was the only true church and that following the Shaker tenets would enable them to perfect themselves. This perfection would lead to a promised afterlife in the kingdom of heaven. The longer that the Shakers waited for the kingdom to be established in full, the more that some of them must have despaired, thinking that perhaps they were wrong about God's plans. The gift drawings created a space in which the spirit world was clearly evident, that was as beautiful as the Bible promised, and that was waiting for Shakers who successfully completed their journey.

The space produced by the drawings was also holy space. The drawings were evidence that the Spirit of God was still active within his people even though their numbers were declining through apostasy and recruitment was low. The Shakers could view the drawings and see that the goal was ahead of them, that God had not abandoned them and that they still served as his receptacles for the kingdom. Working for perfection

was still a worthwhile effort because it would still be rewarded. Further, the repetition of traditional Christian symbols reinforced the principles upon which the denomination was founded. Even though their beliefs were not in the mainstream of Christianity, it was nevertheless a Christian sect and the traditional symbols used to express the visions populated the space with the real presence of God, Christ, and long-dead Shaker leaders like Mother Ann. This revival period, with physical evidence of the veracity of their theology, reignited their faith and their belief in the presence of the kingdom on earth. The drawings were an indication that the nature of the Shaker worship was returning to the highly gift-driven style of the early Shakers. The charisms that came from God had not been withdrawn. These charisms were the gifts that enabled them to perfect themselves and thus transform their village into an enclave of people who were directly in touch with God.

Finally, the representational space produced by the drawings was temporally and spatially coincident with the kingdom of God. The art displayed a direct connection between heaven and earth, a portal that connected the earth as it would be when the Shakers fully inhabited it with the heaven that was slowly but surely moving into position on earth. Promey calls this idea of a portal a compression, a convergence, of heaven and earth (1993). This is consistent with Shaker doctrine in which earth is being gradually transformed into heaven. Further, the drawings created “a new sense of intimacy with the founding generations” (Stein 1992). The Shakers living in villages in the 1840s and 1850s were not alive when Mother Ann founded the denomination. They did not know Father William or Father Joseph or any of the other early leaders. These drawings fashioned a sense of their history as ongoing and real. The Shakers could look at their surroundings and know that Mother Ann was present in the space. The drawings were proof that she could travel between the worlds, carrying others with her, and through whom she sent

instructions and teachings. It was not just former Shakers who could travel back and forth between the worlds, but historical figures that lived centuries before the Shakers were formed. A guest of the Watervliet community made a list of some of the people whom he observed to be manifested:

... a party of Mohawk Indians, William Penn, Tyrone Power (an Irish actor), Gen. William H. Harrison, Saint Patrick, King Charles I of England, Powhatan and Tecumseh, Cicero, Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, George Washington, Lafayette, Benjamin Franklin, Signers of the Declaration of Independence (John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, John Morton), King Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey, a number of Chinese, Gladiators and Druids, Robert Burns, Napoleon Bonaparte, King Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, William Shakespeare, and Egyptian Mummy, Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh, King George III, Major Andre, Shelley, Lord Nelson, John Wesley, George Whitefield, Pocahontas, Charles II, Lord Byron, George Fox, and Ben Johnson (the contemporary of Shakespeare) (A Guest of the Community near Watervliet 1869).

Another writer, identified only as an associate of the Society, also made a list:

George Washington, to whom we shall have circumstances, has been joyfully welcomed to an association with the people of God; which privilege he gladly accepted, and is now among the heavenly spirits who are singing eternal praises to the Almighty Father.

William Penn makes an occasional visit to the Shakers on earth, and he himself is a valuable instrument in the hands of God; being very efficient in conducting the tribes of Indians to the peaceful vale in Zion.

Saint Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, came to Watervliet, in the month of March last, but as we were not present on the occasion, we are unable to give his account of himself. We believe, however, that he was in quite a comfortable state when he came out of the deep sleep into which he had been cast after departing this life, and that he seemed much interested while listening to the remarks of the elders in relation to the subject of eternal salvation. Saint Patrick is now a good Shaker.

Mary, Queen of Scots, made her presence known in a bold and haughty manner. She maintained this proud demeanor for some time, ridiculing, in the most scornful style possible, the plainness and simplicity of every thing which met her view, affirming that she was deserving of more honour and favour than was bestowed upon her. It was with difficulty that she could be brought to entertain a knowledge of her true situation.

Being questioned as to what kind of a state she had been in, since leaving the world, she seemed unconscious of the fact that she had died, although she said she had endured much tribulation and affliction of spirit (An Associate of Said Society 1843).

These unusual visitors were manifested because the Shakers believed that salvation – and damnation – was still possible, even after death. This is one of the Shaker beliefs that sets them apart from mainstream Christianity. The traditional Christian belief about salvation is that one is saved by professing belief in Jesus as the Christ before death; at the time of death, one's fate is sealed and there is no longer a choice for heaven or hell. The Shakers, however, "believe that probation does not end with time," but that one's mental processes continue and that "souls become enlightened" or "retrograde and sink" even after death (Elkins 1868).

There is another drawing that must be mentioned even though it was not included in the sample (Figure 46). Entitled *The Holy City*, the drawing is entirely unlike any of the others. Instead of an overtly artistic rendition of environmental symbols, it is a geometric blueprint of the heavenly version of Jerusalem delivered to a medium by Adam, the first man on earth according to Genesis. The drawing was carefully done with compass and ruler (Kirk 2001) to reflect the balance and order typical of Shaker style. The plan is numbered and has an accompanying document keyed to the numbers that identifies the various buildings, roads, and rivers (Promey 1993). The heavenly city is situated directly over Mount Lebanon, easing the travels of the heavenly visitors. It is difficult to classify this gift drawing as a producer of representational space. It is art and



Figure 45. The Holy City. March 1843, New Lebanon, NY. Philadelphia Art Museum.

a representation of a vision; it is also highly technical, almost mathematical, and was given as a blueprint. In this sense, the drawing actually fits more easily into the previous discussion of representations of space. This drawing is an example of the convergence of the real and spiritual worlds in Shaker thought. Representational space and representations of space come together in the symbolic depiction of the city through the geometric design and the technical representation of the layout. The parallels identified between heaven and earth in Shaker architecture, the village layout, and the other gift drawings are also present here, even though they are represented differently. Water as the source of life is seen in the pattern of rivers running north and south; a branch of the river runs through the center of the city. The use of color represented variously good and evil and the axes represented gold-paved streets (Promey 1993). In general, the drawing produced space that the Shakers would have seen as real and holy.

The Gift Drawings of the Shakers are a unique body of work within American folk art. The works arose from an outpouring of spirituality among the Shakers and contributed to the production of theological space in Shaker life. The representational space that was produced reinforced the Shaker belief that their villages would be the site of the kingdom of God when it was established on earth. The drawings depicted the beauty of the kingdom in terms of earthly environmental symbols and the rewards that awaited the faithful Shaker in the kingdom.

Taken together, it is clear that Shaker villages exhibit culturally produced space founded upon the theology of the Shakers. Lefebvre's Triad has been effective in identifying theology as the relation that underlies the produced space.

CHAPTER 5: A HISTORICAL GIS OF PLEASANT HILL SHAKER VILLAGE

GIS and History

Time and space are two sides of the same coin. Where we are and when we are in large part defines who we are. One's cultural membership impacts personal behavior, delineates loyalties, and prescribes social opportunities. Physical location likewise affects lifestyle and relative proximity to resources. The time in which one lives at least some measure influences the opportunities that are available and the extent to which one is able to choose an individual lifestyles. The historical era likewise ordains the knowledge that is available, the opportunities for travel and education and even the theology that impacts choices.

The close relationship of time and space in defining human beings means that researchers cannot afford to ignore one in favor of the other. Historical Geography, therefore, seems to be the most natural of pairings for the study of the earth. The distance into the past is not critical; history, after all, is anything that occurred one minute, or even one second, ago. The relative unimportance of historical distance means that scholars can study the earth in all the "modern day" context that desired.

Considering the past as a landscape provides the broad view necessary for the complete study of the earth (Gaddis 2002). This broad view enables interpretation of the past more comprehensively and completely. When history is considered from a spatial point of view, new understandings concerning the distribution of people on the earth, or even in a particular village are obtained. The life and death of a culture may be shown to be a direct result of changes in the environment in which they live. Lessons from historical experiences may inform the present day use of space.

Having established the priority of incorporating both time and space into examinations of the earth and its people, the next issue becomes the methodology for implementing such a combination of foci. In geography, a natural place to begin is with the map.

“Historians have always been ... abstractionists: the literal representation of reality is not their task” (Gaddis 2002). Interestingly, neither is it the job of the geographer. Maps are ascribed numerous characteristics, including this list given by Robinson: “All geographical maps are reductions. ... All maps involve geometrical transformations. ... All maps are abstractions of reality. ... All maps use signs to stand for elements of reality” (1995). Maps are designed for specific purposes that usually do not include representations of reality. “We avoid the literal in making maps because to do otherwise would not be to represent at all but rather to replicate. We’d find ourselves drowning in detail” (Gaddis 2002).

Most maps are snapshots in time. Like photographs, maps hold time constant while expressing the spatiality of the area in question with regard to the information that is to be communicated. While this approach allows the target environment to be represented in an important way, it is still only one-dimensional, ignoring the very life of the region. Using this quasi-photographic technique, the changes to the region through time can only be expressed with a kind of flipbook technology. A better approach is to find a way to incorporate both time and space into a single map. This project attempts to achieve this.

Description of the Project

The goal of this project is to create a geographic information system (GIS) that will display the state of Pleasant Hill during its lifetime as a Shaker Village. In

the software system, the user will choose a year to examine and the GIS will deliver an abstract view of the village with the buildings that were present during that year. From this overview of the space during that time, further information will be available, including pictures of the buildings, information regarding their construction, and information regarding the people who were resident in the village during that year.

In order to be useful to a visitor or researcher, the GIS must consider two aspects that are easy to state, but difficult to implement and therefore make the project considerably more complex: (1) the GIS should be interactive, and (2) the GIS should be “friendly” to novice and expert GIS users alike. A third consideration will be discussed in the context of future plans, specifically, making the GIS available to researchers who do not have access to the ArcView GIS system.

An interactive computer program is one in which the user and the program work together so that the user chooses the pathways by which the program executes. In the implementation of the Pleasant Hill GIS the interactivity allows the user first to choose the year to study and then to choose a particular building to examine more closely and/or to choose a particular person resident in the village during that year from a list of all the people known to reside in the village at some point in time. This interactivity allows the user to proceed with research relevant to his or her needs rather than being required to wade through information not pertinent to the task at hand.

At the same time, aspect number two has implications for interactivity. A truly “friendly” program is difficult to define or identify because the level of expertise the user brings to a specific program colors the level of friendliness that a program conveys. A complete computer novice who has never used a GIS program at all is not likely to find even a basic program to be friendly at first. With knowledge, however, comes power, and the mystery of most programs eventually fade with training and experience. The

challenge to a project that desires to combine interactivity with user-friendliness is to find the balance between the two for the typical user. In this case, the target user is an adult who may be either an academic or an amateur historian with interests in architecture or religion. It is unlikely that the user will have much familiarity with GIS software.

Difficulties

GIS is unique among software programs for its ability to draw information together from disparate sources. This is both a blessing and a curse because each of these sources may have difficult to obtain or even missing items that cause errors in the final product. This project is no exception. The difficulties here range from hardware to history.

The first step in creating this interactive GIS was to create the static map that would serve as the foundation for the system and to establish the actual locations of the extant buildings. There was no previous work of this sort done at Pleasant Hill and there were no existing shapefiles of the property. The first step, therefore, was to obtain the latitude and longitude of each extant building using a geographic positioning system (GPS). The GPS device initially used was a Garmin eTrex Vista unit. This is a typical unit for GPS work; unfortunately it was not adequate for work within the village. The satellite readings with this unit had an accuracy of twenty to forty feet. While this may be tolerable in large extents, a village environment with buildings as close as five to ten feet apart needs more precise results. The readings taken with this unit were not useful for more than general positioning of the buildings. The work was redone with another GPS unit, a Trimble Pro XRS with sub-meter accuracy. This time the readings were more useful and when combined with other resources an accurate mapping was attained.

Although there are no digital files of the village, there are two historical surveyed maps; in addition to most of the existing buildings, these maps contain buildings that no longer exist. Because these were surveyed maps, they could be georeferenced to the points recorded by the Trimble and used as the basis for the system. However, even surveyed maps contain errors and the georeferencing process was somewhat flawed, though still adequate for historical purposes.

A major difficulty in this project was finding a way to express time with the current GIS software. Current research has identified two primary and number of lesser methods for handling time. In one primary method, time is treated as an attribute of each entity on the map and features are displayed according to queries on that attribute. In the second method, pre-defined layers are used to represent the state of the system at a given point in time (Gregory 2003). With this method, the user sends a query to the system and a specific layer or layers is displayed according to the result of the query. The choice of which method to use depends upon the overall design of the system. Method one, the attribute method, is useful when the system is essentially dynamic; the user (or the program itself) can place a query to the system and the features that fit the query are displayed. Method two is similar, but instead of displaying individual features, entire layers are displayed. This method is less dynamic since the layers are set in advance, but the choice of layer can be determined “on the fly”.

The choice of software for a project like this is always a difficulty because there is no perfect software package. The state of the art in purchased software is represented by ESRI, the producer of the ArcView line of GIS software. This software is professional, stable, useable at a variety of experience levels, and extensible. However, it is very expensive, putting it out of reach for most students and many privately funded organizations. The open-source (free or low-cost) software is represented by GeoTools,

from the Open GIS Consortium, and the Geographic Resources Analysis Support System (GRASS). While both of these are quality systems, they are not extensively used in the GIS community. The other choice for a project like this is to code a custom, stand-alone program. This is possible, but given the amount of interactivity and usability that is required it would be a large and difficult project and not within the scope of this research.

Finally, historical projects are often challenged by the availability of information. In this case both spatial and temporal uncertainty develop because dates pertaining both to the construction/destruction of buildings and the presence/absence of village residents are unavailable. Further, there is a lack of extensive archaeological evidence as to precisely where the missing buildings were actually located within the village.

Design

The overall goal of the project and the difficulties listed above helped to identify the available choices for implementation of the system. The Nobel Conflict Map (Figure 46) is an example of the desired outcome (e-Museum 2004). The map in this example is static, but the information is dynamic. The time bar slides back and forth, revealing the data graphically and in a temporally contiguous manner. Clicking on one of the dynamically generated data points reveals specific information about that data point. This is an example of an interactive program that allows the user great freedom to investigate the subject while still controlling the presentation to some extent.

Database Design

The geodatabase for the system consists of four feature classes (Buildings, Land, Roads, and Rivers) and two tables (BuildingData and People). The Roads and Rivers layers are preloaded into the map as ordinary layers to provide a context for the land

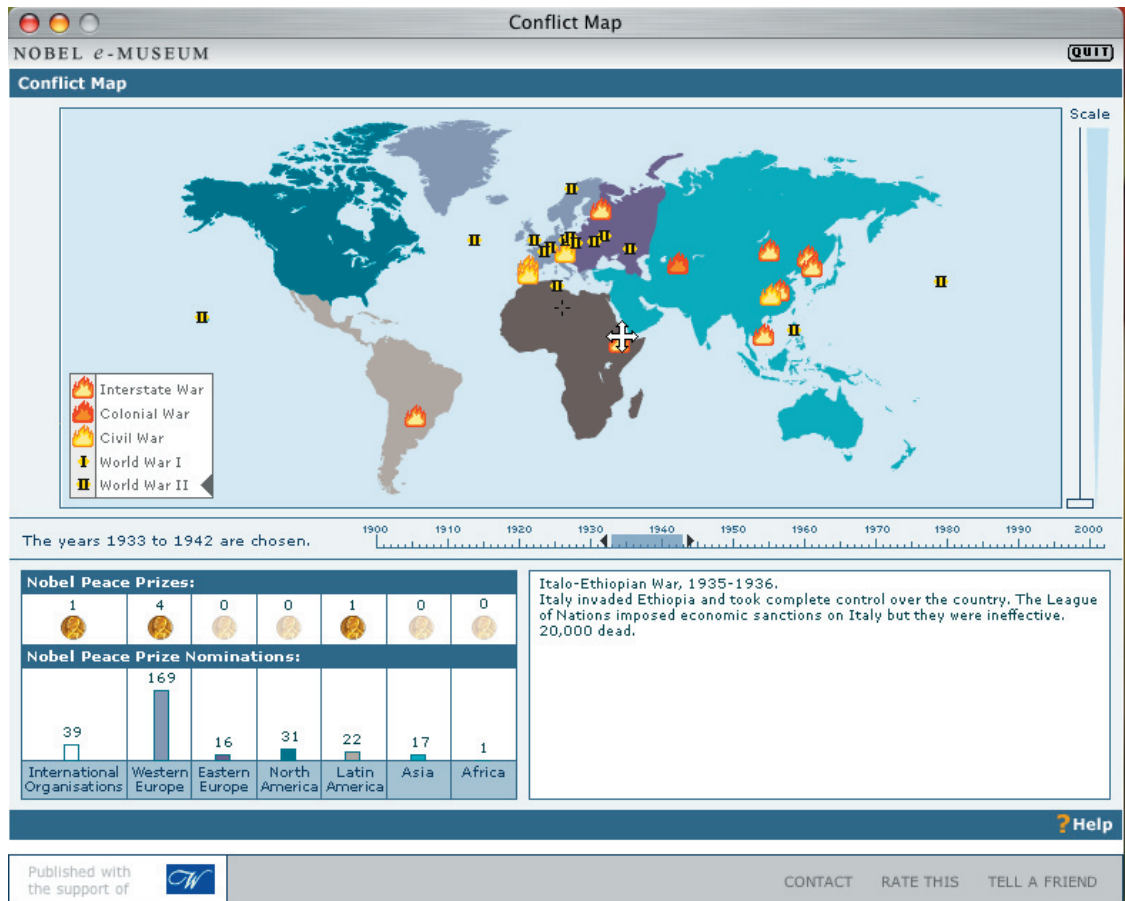


Figure 46. Nobel Conflict Map. <http://nobelprize.org/peace/educational/conflictmap/>.

and buildings. A modern-day aerial photo of the region provides a backdrop for the land layer when the system is zoomed out to a large scale; a digital elevation model adjusted to reflect the hillshade gives the wide view a sense of the terrain. The Land feature class is constructed as in Table 3. This class maintains the data for the land acquired when the village was forming.

Table 3. Land Feature class

ObjectID	The identifier for the feature. This is the index for all the tables associated with the Buildings class.
Shape	The internal representation of the polygon representing a unit of land.
FirstUsed	The year in which the land was first used by the Shakers.
DeedDate	The year in which the land was formally deeded to the Shakers.
Price	The price paid by the Shakers for the land.
Acres	The size of this unit of land.
Description	Text field with any available information concerning the unit of land and its location.

The Buildings feature class (Table 4) and the BuildingData class (Table 5) are relational tables, related by the ObjectID. The Building Table is accessed by the initial query to place the polygons representing the buildings onto the dynamic layer. The user is then able to click on a building polygon and get additional information about the building. This additional information is obtained with a query to the BuildingData table.

Table 4. Buildings Feature class

ObjectID	The identifier for the feature. This is the index for all the tables associated with the Buildings class.
Shape	The internal representation of the polygon representing a building.
Name	The name of the building
YearBuilt	The year the building was built.
YearDestroyed	The year the building was destroyed
SSno	An identifier keyed to an approximate map of all the buildings.

Table 5. BuildingData Table

ObjectID	The identifier for the feature. This is the index for all the tables associated with the Buildings class.
Family	The Shaker family to which the building belonged.
Name	The name of the building
Material	The building material

YearBuilt	The year the building was built – in some cases decided upon through research and judgment
Approximate Building Date	The approximate date of building
YearDestroyed	The year the building was destroyed – in some cases decided upon through research and judgment.
Approximate Destruction Date	The approximate date the building was destroyed
PhotoPath	The local computer path to the image
SSno	An identifier keyed to an approximate map of all the buildings.

The PeopleTable (Table 6) is the largest table in the system. It contains a feature for every person known to reside in the village during its lifetime. The table is used to generate a list of all people resident in the village for the selected year and then to provide detailed information for an individually selected person.

Table 6. People Table

ObjectID	The identifier for the person
LastName FirstName	The person's name
Born	The person's actual birthdate – used for display
YearBorn	The person's birth year – used for queries
Believed	The complete date that the person believed the Shaker's religious message – used for display
Year	The year of belief – used for queries
Died	The complete date of death for the person – used for display
YearDied	The year of death – used for queries
CountyBelieved StateBelieved CountryBelieved	The place of residence when the person believed the Shaker's religious message.

PlaceBorn StateBorn CountryBorn	The person's place of birth
ArrivedPH	The complete date when the person took up residence in the village
YearArrive	The year of residence – used for queries
Departed1	The complete date the person left the village
Dep1Year	The year of departure – used for queries
Departed2	The complete date the person left the village a second time
Dep2Year	The year of departure – used for queries
SignedCovenant	The year the person signed the covenant of membership
Remarks	General information about the person
Gender	Male or female

Race	White or Black
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Map and Software Design

Given the difficulties listed above, there were three important decisions to make during the design phase: (1) what software to use to develop the system, (2) how to represent changes in the state of the village over time, and (3) how to deal with the spatial and temporal uncertainty that exists in the data.

The decision to use ArcView GIS by ESRI was based upon the need to georeference the historical maps and aerial photo to the data points collected by the Trimble GPS unit. In addition, ArcMap, the mapping component of ArcView, is customizable, providing the ability to create a user-friendly environment while still maintaining interactivity. Finally, ArcView is a substantial program, with sophisticated tools to create a polished and professional information system, including an integrated database and powerful object-oriented programming tools.

In order to integrate time and provide as much interactivity as possible, the system uses the “time as attribute” method. Each building is a feature in the database. Time is represented as two attributes, the date the building was constructed and the date it was destroyed. During execution the user specifies which year is of interest. The program then uses these two dates to determine if the building should be displayed. The buildings selected based on this criteria are assigned to a dynamically created layer that is then displayed in the GIS. When the next query is issued, the currently displayed layer is removed and a new layer is created. This entirely dynamic method of display provides two benefits. First, program maintenance is enhanced since changes or newly discovered

information can be changed or added in the database alone instead of being forced to change one and possibly more layers. Second, the data is all in one place and thus can be used in more than one way within the program merely by querying the database.

Making these two decisions restricted the choice regarding how to handle user input. There are two sensible ways to allow the user to indicate which year is of interest. In the first method, all the years are in a list; the user scrolls through the list to choose the particular year. In the second method, the years are listed on a continuum and the user drags a slider to choose the year. This is the method used in the Nobel Conflict Map. As the slider moves, the query is automatically generated and the layer is displayed. The first method displays the village state in discrete chunks; each current display has no relation to the previous, or the next, display. The user can choose 1873, then 1806, and then 1823 and there is no sense of continuity between the displays. With the slider, however, the user is constrained to choosing the years in order and with each movement of the slide, the village scene changes, maintaining the continuity of the scene. Unfortunately, ArcView and Visual Basic for Applications does not provide for this type of user control. While it potentially could be created with ArcView and C++, the programming effort would be considerable. With an ArcView choice, the discrete presentation of years was the option that could be implemented.

The third critical decision in this project involved how to handle the missing spatial and temporal data. Uncertainty is an issue that arises in many GIS implementations. It often arises in Historical Geography because historians are dependent upon memories and records of the past. Dates, events, and relationships are imperfectly remembered or recorded. The historian-programmer must be cognizant of these inaccuracies and make wise decisions regarding how to account for the missing data. A number of goals for handling uncertainty have been identified, including the most

important – understanding why and how the uncertainty has occurred (Veregin 1989). In his model of Geo-historical uncertainty, Plewe identifies nine potential causes of error due to historical records (2002). Of these, lack of evidence plays a prominent role. This is the situation in this project.

There are a number of buildings that no longer exist in the village. Some of these buildings have either left clear evidence as to their location or have been located by the archaeologists working in the village. Others, however, exist only in journals and other records. Sometimes these journals detail where the building was placed; in other cases, the building appears in drawings or maps. But often the clues are minimal and an informed opinion as to the buildings' placement is the only solution. Since a GIS is a Cartesian system, there is no ability to represent easily any kind of relations or relational space. It is not feasible to place a building at a certain location "give or take 20 feet." The historian makes the best judgment possible and then notes the difficulties and the decision for the user. That approach was used here.

The temporal uncertainties required more dynamic decision-making. The People table in particular required a complicated set of decision structures in order to select people for the user's consideration. The database table contains seven years that could be used to select persons for display: YearBorn, YearBelieved, YearDied, YearArrived, YearDeparted1, YearDeparted2 and YearSignedCovenant. Some of these years are more valid criteria than others. YearSignedCovenant is not of as much value as the others since not everyone who lived in the village signed the covenant; it was therefore not used in the selection criteria. YearBelieved was used only as an approximator for YearArrived, if YearArrived was not available. The five remaining years were analyzed for their ability to identify village residents.

The criteria for selecting a person for display was whether or not that person was resident in the village during the year selected by the user. The most direct way to select a particular person is by checking the truth value of this relation:

$$\text{YearArrived} \leq \text{YearSelected} \leq (\text{YearDeparted1} \text{ or } \text{YearDeparted2}).$$

This equation was simplified by determining from the actual data that

$$\text{YearDeparted2} = 0 \text{ if } \text{YearDeparted1} = 0$$

and

$$\text{YearDeparted2} = 0 \text{ or } \text{YearDeparted2} > \text{YearDeparted1} \text{ if } \text{YearDeparted1} \neq 0.$$

The basic selection criteria, then, was

$$\text{YearArrived} \leq \text{YearSelected} \leq \text{YearDeparted1}.$$

The uncertainty arises if either YearArrived or YearDeparted1 is not known. The other dates are then used to inform the selection or rejection of an individual. In some cases, so many dates are missing that automatic selection is not possible. In these cases, the user is told that some number of people cannot be selected and is asked if these people should also be displayed.

The full scope of the selection criteria is made more manageable when it is seen that the important factor is not so much what the date is as whether or not a date is present. The presence or absence of a date is a boolean condition and therefore the combinations of dates can be expressed by reduction to a boolean table.

It is possible to go one step further in refining the selection of undetermined people. Rather than presenting all the people in the database for which no automatic

selection is possible, the dates we have can provide some additional intelligence to the selection process and possibly allow the program to trim names from the list of unknowns. For example, suppose the user selects 1830 as the target year. It is possible that a person departed from the village in 1840 but the arrival date is uncertain. This person is selected because the possibility exists that he or she arrived in or before 1830. However, if the person departed in 1820, then there would be no point in adding him or her to the list of unknowns.

Table 7 defines all the boolean possibilities and the conditions under which a person with a particular configuration would be selected automatically or be put on the list of unknowns. The associated chart (Figure 47) provides a visual look at how many of each combination exist in the database. It is clear that the majority of the available dates are birth and death dates, therefore the unknown list will contain a large number of people. Simply being alive during the selected year is not enough to place a person in the village.

Outcome

Goals met

The goal for the project – to create an interactive and user-friendly GIS for Pleasant Hill Shaker Village – was met. The software chosen, ESRI’s ArcView, is a full-fledged GIS production system. Using this system to produce the GIS gives the user the ability to query the system and display the people and buildings by year, and also to use other tools available in the GIS, including the measuring tool and the zoom tools.

Table 7. Boolean table to define people selections. The 0 and 1 in each place indicates the presence or absence of the data. The boolean is ordered according to this pattern: B (Birth date), D (Death date), A (Year Arrived), D1 (Year Departed), and D2 (Year Departed the second time). S is the year selected by the user. A * indicates that the combination is not present in the data.

	Automatically Choose If	Ask If
00000		Always
00001		$S \leq D2$
00010		$S \leq D1$
00011		$S \leq D1$
00100		$S \geq A$
00101*		
00111	$A \leq S \leq D1$	
01000		$S \leq D^{**}$
01001*		
01010*		
01011*		
01100		$A < S \leq D$
01010*		
01110*		
01111*		
10000	$B \leq S$	
10001		$B \leq S \leq D2$
10010		$B \leq S \leq D1$
10011		$D \leq S \leq D1$
10100	$A \leq S$	
10101		$A \leq S \leq D2$
10110		$A \leq S \leq D1$
10111		$A \leq S \leq D1$
11000	$B \leq S \leq D$	
11001		$B \leq S \leq D2$
11010		$B \leq S \leq D1$
11011		$B \leq S \leq D1$
11100	$A \leq S \leq D$	
11101		$A \leq S \leq D2$
11110		$A \leq S \leq D1$
11111	$A \leq S \leq D1$	

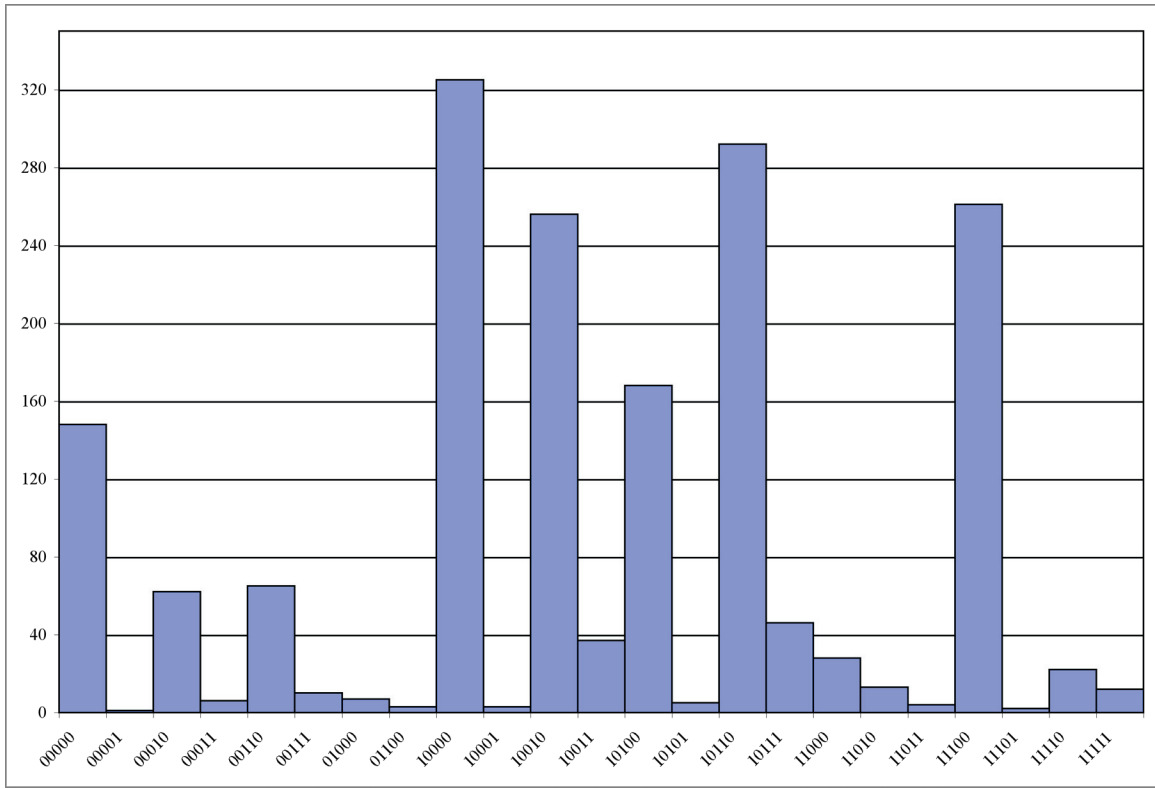


Figure 47. The actual data in the People database indicates this distribution of the dates.

Future plans

The choice of ArcView as the software meant that implementation of a time slider bar was not accomplished. The Nobel Conflict Map was produced in Macromedia Director and delivered in Shockwave format. Implementation in Macromedia Flash would also make it possible to add this feature. Flash is not a GIS and would provide only representative locations for the buildings, but this type of implementation probably would be sufficient for many researchers and the added features would create a better user experience. Further, Flash is portable to the Internet and would make the data available on a world-wide basis.

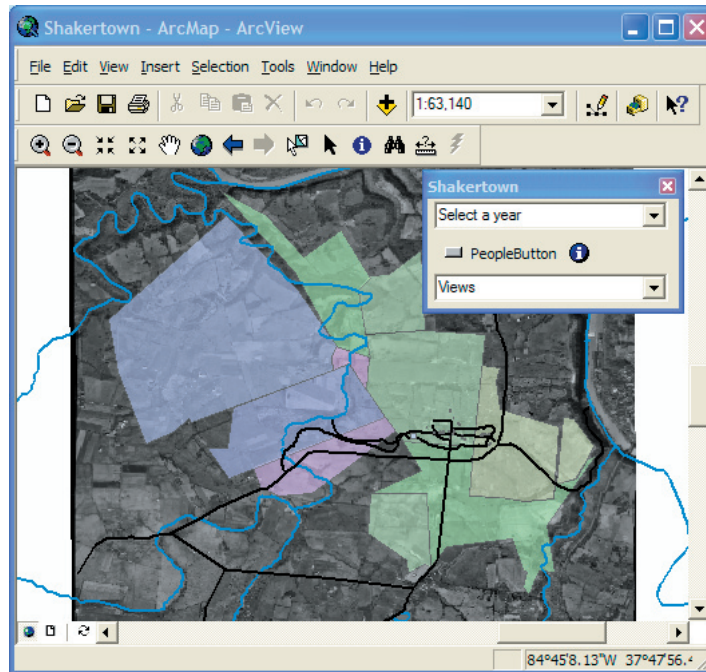
An internet-based presentation would also be possible by moving the GIS to MapObjects Java, another piece of software from ESRI. Using this software would maintain the GIS nature of the system. This software, however, is quite expensive and beyond present circumstances.

The system could also be moved to a portable data assistant (PDA) such as those produced by Palm. The ESRI software, ArcPad, is available for this purpose. The PDA version could be used during fieldwork in the village. Visitors with PDA's could "beam" the system into their unit for use as a mobile travel guide as they experience the village and its buildings.

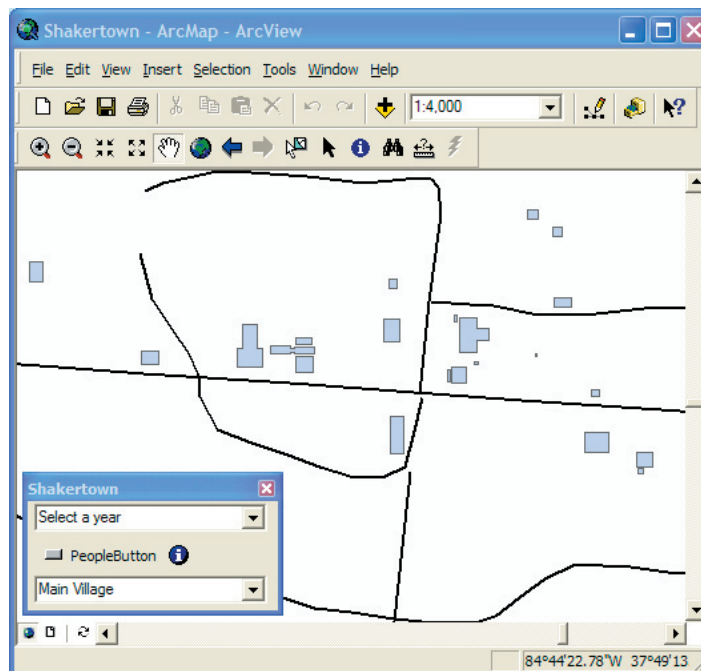
Sample images from the completed project appear in Figure 48. These images demonstrate the sequence of events as a user works with the system.

Figure 48. A typical use of the historical GIS for Pleasant Hill Shaker Village.

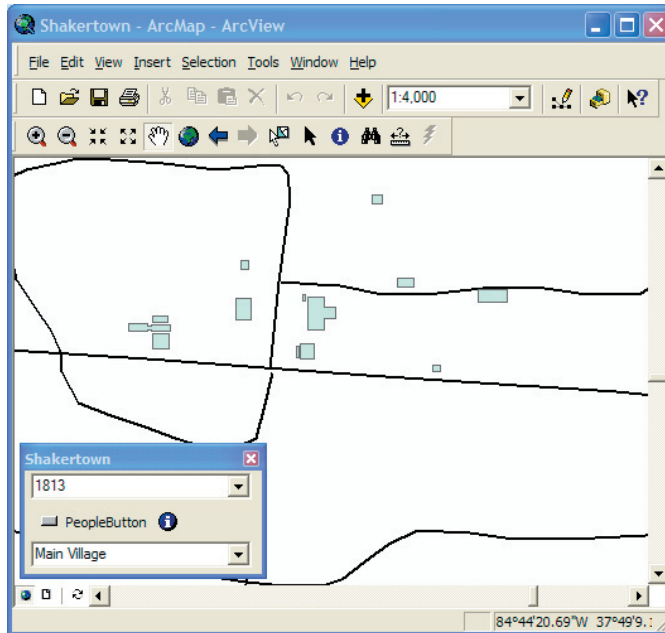
When the GIS opens, the user is presented with a dialog which allows them to select the year for examination and the view they wish to see, whether the land (as in this case) or the village.



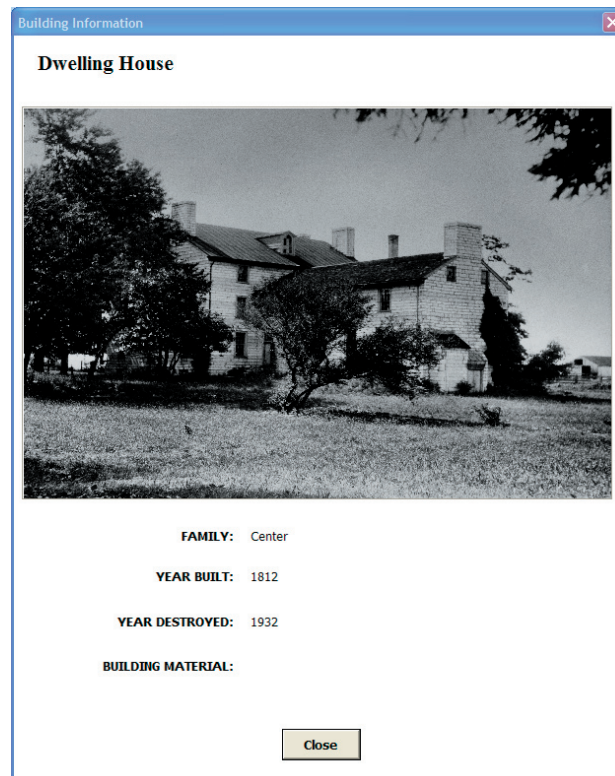
Selecting the village view moves GIS to a closeup of the buildings.



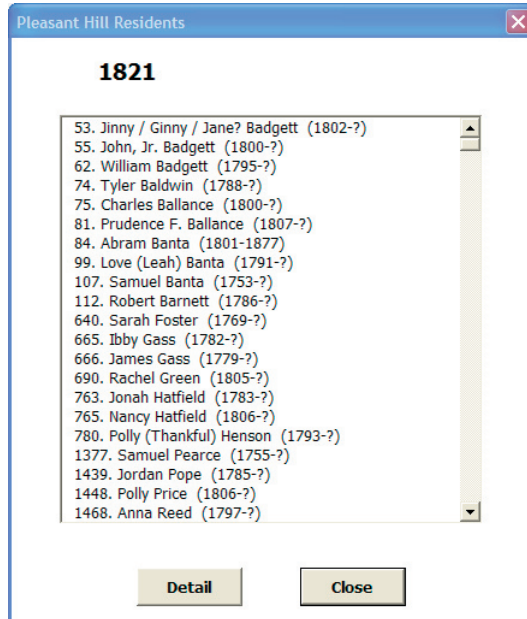
After selecting a particular year, the GIS returns the buildings that were extant during that year.



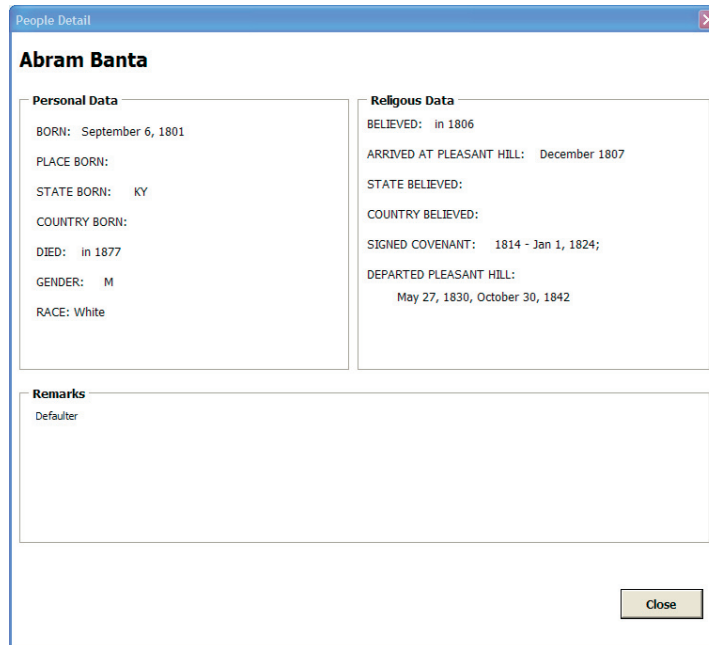
The user can get additional information about a particular building by clicking on the blue Information button on the Shakertown toolbar and then clicking on the building in question.



Clicking on the People button on the Shakertown toolbar triggers the algorithm for locating the people who lived in the village during the year in question. The high level of historical uncertainty regarding the residents required the implementation of a unique algorithm that adds a level of intelligence in choosing the residents for a particular year. The algorithm utilizes decision trees to aid the choices made by the GIS.



Once a list of residents has been generated, the user can select a particular person and receive any additional information that may available about that person.



CHAPTER 6: HUMAN GEOGRAPHY AND MULTIMEDIA

Geography is a visual discipline and it has been represented visually throughout history in both artistic renderings such as paintings and sculptures, and in technical representations, that is, maps. Human beings represent landscapes for three main reasons—to remember them, to appreciate them, and to understand them.

The memories of certain landscapes evoke emotions not only about the landscape itself, which can be a powerful remembrance, but also about events and relationships that occurred upon the landscape. Images of a particular landscape enable one to recover the feelings that he or she had at the time of a special event, even though the event is not in the photograph. Bunkse refers to the “sensory landscape” of the farm of his childhood which no longer exists in his adult eyes, but which can be recovered through his memories (Bunkse 2004). “Geographic sensibilities” are innate understandings of how to find one’s way in geographic space (Bunkse 2004). These sensibilities, Bunkse asserts, require that one’s emotions, senses, and intellect be actively used to form relationships with inhabited places (2004). Human senses are not limited to eyesight alone, but are multidimensional and enable persons to function in a multi-sensorial world. The smell of a favorite food, the sound of a creek, the feel of a fabric, the taste of the wind each draw forth the memories of landscape. But the ability to represent senses is limited and in a computer-oriented world it is so far not feasible to transmit taste, smell, or touch across the telecommunication infrastructure. The sight and sound of landscape will have to suffice for the time being.

Landscape appreciation has always been a part of both geography and art. Both disciplines represent landscapes and both have traditions that predate recorded history. Cliffs around the world are decorated with carvings and paintings that represent the

earth and its inhabitants. Some of these early paintings are thought to be maps (Smith 1987). Representing landscapes became an entire art form in England with the work of Constable and Turner. The transformation of landscapes from exact (as far as possible) representations to the sense of the landscape occurred in France with the work of the Impressionists. This difference in style echoes the difference in geographic understanding of landscapes; the scientist/cartographer wishes to represent the scene as exactly as possible, while the human/cultural geographer is more interested in the way a culture group “sees” the landscape as evidenced by the use to which the landscape is put. In both cases, appreciation of the landscape is evident in the representations they make.

As a discipline, cartography seeks to represent relationships that exist on the earth in a way that enables human beings to understand those relationships. An ordinary street map reflects the relationships of site (exact location) and situation (relative location). Topographical and climatic maps give users the opportunity to study the regions presented in various ways. In all of these cases, the understanding of the user should be paramount in the mind of the cartographer. But the understanding is not always on the part of the map user. “Acts of mapping are creative, sometimes anxious, moments in coming to knowledge of the world, and the map is both the spatial embodiment of knowledge and a stimulus to further cognitive engagements” (Cosgrove 1999). Casey agrees with this by arguing that representation is integral to the perception of a landscape (2002), that is, the very act of representing the landscape brings it into focus for the researcher.

In this early part of the twenty-first century there is more ability for representing landscapes than ever before. From the remotely-sensed images of satellites to the hand-held home video camera, the opportunity to record memories, generate moments of appreciation, and increase understanding is greater than ever before. Today, multimedia

is the catchword when talking about geographic representation. “Multimedia in the 1970s meant multiple slide projectors and screens” (Olson 1997) but today is usually produced on advanced computers with the ability to present media of all varieties. This idea of multiple media types is the foundation of multimedia. It is the combination of written text, narration, video, sound, photographs, and animation. Further, unlike the synchronized slide projectors, multimedia usually incorporates user control over the delivery of the information as well as interactivity within the presentation.

As in all technologies, there are both advantages and disadvantages to producing and using multimedia in geographic research. On the plus side, multimedia presentations match the life experiences of younger faculty and students. The Internet has been a staple of modern life since the World Wide Web was invented in 1991. Freshmen today were, for the most part, about eight years old when that happened; the Internet and its associated multimedia aspects are a part of their lives. Second, multimedia allows the researcher to take advantage of digital dissemination of research results. In the world of print journals, a lead time of up to one year is not unusual for an article to be published. In the kind of temporally-heightened modern world, this is too long. Presentation of research results at conferences is available year-round for various organizations, but each organization only meets once per year, again too long for some time-critical research. Multimedia allows a researcher to present his or her results in an almost conference-like form and then distribute these results on the Internet. This distribution can happen instantaneously, allowing other researchers to begin building upon the results almost as soon as they are published. Third, multimedia allows the presentation of difficult or specialized material to an audience unfamiliar with the material, thus enabling the user to understand content that would have been too difficult to comprehend by reading the printed report. “Explanation can be combined with illustrative examples, online

assessment with feedback and the user can be provided with opportunities to practice and experiment” (Cairncross and Mannion 2001). Fourth, the use of multimedia allows the researcher to choose the best method for communicating information. Media types can make a difference in the quality of learning depending upon the type of information to be presented (Sutcliffe and Faraday 1994).

But nothing is perfect and there are disadvantages to using multimedia. First, and perhaps foremost, the use of multimedia requires skills that many geographers do not possess. Most teachers know how to use PowerPoint or Keynote, the Apple equivalent, and they are able to make a list of points and add photos to slides. But the more advanced multimedia techniques are not a part of their repertoires. Second, multimedia is seen to be expensive, requiring costly cameras, computers, and software. Third, many would-be multimedia producers are unfamiliar with the basic principles of design (as witnessed by all the poor PowerPoint presentations). Fourth, and perhaps more serious, multimedia is a time-intensive exercise for even small presentations; large-scale movies and interactive exercises require correspondingly large amounts of time. Many professors do not see the value of spending that amount of time on one project when there are so many to be addressed. Finally, and most serious, is the truth that complex issues are not easily expressed in a multimedia presentation and even a small issue may require a large multimedia project to convey fully the nuances of the issue.

Given that the advantages are significant, is it possible to mitigate the disadvantages in such a way as to make multimedia a viable technique for use by geographers? Certainly concerns one, two, and three are easily dispensed with. The new software from Microsoft (MovieMaker) and Apple (iMovie) has turned novice computer users into movie producers with little effort or difficulty. It is now possible to shoot video on a hand-held camera in the field, plug it into the computer at home or in the office, and

create a finished movie with little effort. The expense for the software is negligible and the costs of digital cameras, both still and video, recently have been dramatically reduced. The computer requires some hardware connections, but most modern computers are ready to accept digital camera connections. Certainly more advanced multimedia techniques require more advanced skills, but training on these skills is readily available, often from the computer technology department on campus. To move beyond simple video, there are easy-to-use and inexpensive programs like Ezedia MX and Ezedia QTI which provide drag-and-drop combinations of media and result in genuine multimedia productions. The third concern, the lack of design sense, can easily be overcome by training.

The other concerns, however, are more significant. True large-scale multimedia productions require large amounts of production time even for experienced users. Time is the one commodity which cannot be increased, and so it must be allocated in the best way possible. It may be that only some research is worthy of a large-scale production. It may also be that the production can be assigned to a graduate student or other colleague. Perhaps the research schedule can be set in the beginning to account for the time needed to create a multimedia presentation of the results.

The final concern is the most significant. The use of multimedia to produce explanations of scientific processes, spatial distributions, or other physical research is straightforward, albeit possibly difficult. But the presentation of philosophical and theoretical concepts is more problematic. The decision on whether or not to use multimedia depends upon the inherently visual nature of the material to be presented. It is often the case that a written text alone is the most efficacious way to present the material. Multimedia is not the answer to all questions.

The Shaker Project

In this project, the goal of the multimedia presentation was twofold: 1) to demonstrate a variety of techniques in multimedia presentations, and 2) to show how multimedia could be used in conjunction with written text to enhance the understanding of research.

Because I was using a variety of techniques, I needed a container medium that would be able to handle the different ways of presenting material. The choice was driven by one particular focus, the need to present the maps and religious art in a way that enabled the user to see clearly the detail in the drawings. This could only be done effectively by using a software product called Zoomify (www.zoomify.com). This product is cost-effective, both in dollars, in computer display time, and in computer memory requirements. While the product produces enlargements in a variety of formats, the best choice was the Flash format. The container product, therefore, was Flash MX Professional 2004. The choice of Flash also provided the opportunity to convert the video in the project into Flash video files, a format that yields clarity and an adequate viewing size while keeping the video file size remarkably small. Since video files ordinarily occupy so much space, this meant that the entire project could be distributed on a single CD-ROM.

The project includes video, digital photos, scanned maps, and scanned copies of the religious art. The project is set up with an overall menu (See attached CD-ROM), allowing the user asynchronous access to the various sections.

The Overview is a video incorporating a number of still images and historical photographs that have been animated to give a sense of motion. The narration is taken directly from the research and gives an in-depth look at the Shakers and their production

of space. In only eight minutes, the user is introduced to the Shakers, their primary goal, and their means for achieving that goal.

The Pleasant Hill menu contains several sections that address the idea that Shaker villages were actually planned communities that enabled the leaders to manipulate and control the residents of the village. This menu is divided into several sections so that the user can focus upon those topics that are of the greatest interest. Some of these sections are presented in video format with narration and others as still photos with accompanying text or as video without narration but with accompanying text.

Both the sections of Maps and Spiritual Art are dependent upon the user to manipulate the “Zoomified” images to gain the greatest experience with the images. The accompanying text provides information about each represented image. This section represents the ultimate in user control.

While this is not an overly large project, it did require a significant amount of time to complete it; the on-site photo shoots, the planning time, and the production time totaled about ten days.

Multimedia provides great advantages to teachers, researchers, and students. But it is not without its problems. Research is continuing in the field of multimedia and I expect that these disadvantages will soon be overcome. The most important thing to remember about multimedia is that it works best when it is used in tandem with other presentation styles.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

All aspects of human activities are important to the overall understanding of how human beings arrange themselves in space and why certain arrangements occur. Religion is one of the most closely held aspects of human behavior and its influence upon other human activities should not be underestimated. The people of the world today experience intolerance, and even war, because of religious differences. Some religions are responsible for relegating people to predetermined levels of society while others are the source of hate, but most religions in their purest form seek peace, enlightenment, and good lives for all people.

All religions modify the landscape in some way, either through the construction of worship centers or the identification of sacred or healing space. In some cases, the underlying theology of the religion requires a conforming landscape to support the beliefs of the religion's adherents. This is true of the case study in this project. The force of the Shaker theology required them to produce villages for their believers that would reinforce and reproduce that theology. This produced space represents theological space.

Views of Space

Space has been the focus of thinkers throughout history. Modern understandings of space derive from the ideas of mathematicians and philosophers who considered the issue and based their work upon their views. The most well known early spatial analysts based their ideas of space upon the fact that objects move and that seeing movement enables one to see space. Aristotle, who believed space was static and concrete, believed that every object had its own place in space and naturally moved to that place. These objects were different than the space that contained them. Newton also thought that space

was absolute; further, it was the backdrop of life upon which events occurred and life was lived. Leibniz differed from his predecessors, but still focused on the idea that space is visible because the objects within it move in relation to other objects. For him, space was still separate from the events that occurred within it. Kant moved away from this idea when he proposed that space was neither absolute nor physical but an idea, a concept that humans impose on the world. Space as idea is necessarily variable, for each person will conceive of space differently. Instead of a view from above, movements that define space are understood in the eyes of the beholder. Kant's ideas were not immediately accepted and the Newtonian view of space prevailed.

Kant's ideas did, however, influence the idea that space could be something other than absolute and later scientists and mathematicians redefined space from the flat planes of Euclid, which do not naturally exist except in very small samples, to the curved space of Einstein. Social scientists also began to consider space as more than a backdrop for life and thought instead of how space might be socially produced and actually interact with life. Henri Lefebvre was a French theorist who gave shape to this idea while maintaining a quasi-mathematical explanation for the appearance of space.

Lefebvre's Triad

Lefebvre understood space to be much more complex than the basic formulations of Newton, Aristotle and Leibniz but he understood that people are unable to detect this complexity because of the illusions of simplicity and transparency. These cloud views of space and make it appear as though space is innocent and open and filled with objects when the space we see is in fact multifaceted and multilayered. Space, for Lefebvre is an aspect of societal interaction that is produced by the connections of nodes (i.e., objects) by edges (i.e., transportation and communication routes) that develop through

the course of daily life. Lefebvre calls this graph-like representation a “relation” that can be explained by applying a model that he calls the Triad. The three points of the Triad are Spatial Practice, Representations of Space, and Representational Space. A spatial practice is an activity that is characteristic of a society. It is repeated within a given space and associates the space with the activity. Representations of space use mathematical and engineered expressions to describe space. These include maps, signs, blueprints, and other technical representations. Representational space addresses the affective aspects of human behavior. This is the space portrayed by artists and philosophers. Representational space is described by works of art, literature, music, and philosophy.

As Lefebvre himself points out, the Triad is not an abstract theory but a tool for examining space in order to recover the relation that produced it. If the nodes of the Triad can be shown to represent a particular activity of a societal group, then space associated with that activity is said to be socially produced.

Theological Space in Shaker Villages

Of all the societal activities that produce space, religion may be the least understood. During the nineteenth century, the leader of a Christian sect called the Shakers came to a turning point in his understanding of their religious faith. The theology of the sect was based upon the millennial belief that Christ had already returned to earth as promised in the Bible. In their theology, Christ was a spirit who appeared in a variety of human beings throughout history, including the person of Jesus. This time, he chose to return in the form of the sect’s founder, a woman named Ann Lee.

To the Shakers, the return of Christ meant that the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth was imminent. It was their task to perfect both themselves and the rest of the people of the world so that the Kingdom could come in fact. To facilitate their journey

to perfection, they built villages to which they could withdraw from the world and it was within these villages that the Kingdom would be established on earth. The leaders of the individual villages were then in a position to structure the lives of the residents so that the theological principles by which they lived were reinforced at every turn. By building their own village separate from the world they produced theological space.

The theological space is easily detected by applying Lefebvre's Triad. The type of village they created symbolizes the spatial practice of the Shakers. Each of their villages is actually a planned community and clearly exhibits the characteristics of such a community. The Shaker Village at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky is a prime example. At Pleasant Hill, the village was built from scratch so that it could be designed in a way that fully reinforced the Shaker theology. The village leaders predetermined the spatial practice of the residents so that all behavior by the residents could be directed toward the target of perfection. The leaders were able to do this because the planned community was self-sufficient, segregated from the world's people, and organized around a covenant that defined the individual resident's obligation and role within the community.

The representations of space associated with the Shakers reinforce the presumption that the space in Shaker villages was produced according to their theological beliefs. The maps produced by Shaker artists depict features of the village that are present only because of tenets in their theology, including the grouping of a primary residence and work buildings into 'families' of unrelated persons who have declared allegiance to the Shaker church and the architectural features that are unique to Shaker buildings. These features include the double front doors on dual use buildings and the holy ground used for feasting and welcoming spiritual visitors.

Shaker theological space can also be identified by examining it through the third point of Lefebvre's Triad – representational space. Shaker religious art represented the

spiritual visions of some of the residents. In these visions, the recipient was shown a representation of the life would be in the Kingdom of God. When they understood what the Kingdom looked like, the Shakers were then able to shape their villages in a way that reflected their future.

The space produced at Pleasant Hill and, by extension, the other Shaker villages, therefore, was theological space. It was space that in every way reflected the tenets of their religion. Further, the individual villages formed nodes that were connected by communication and transportation networks, thus forming a more regional space that also fits Lefebvre's theories.

Theological Space

It is possible to conclude that theology is a relation that produces space according to the definition of Lefebvre. Further, theological space is real space, produced by the society that practices the beliefs. By using history as a methodology it has been possible to analyze the production of theological space from start to finish in a particular setting, in particular the physical expression of theological space in the buildings and artifacts of a village that was built from scratch to accommodate Shaker beliefs. Lefebvre's model made it possible to examine the space produced in a Shaker village as a relation with three characteristics – spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space. Each of these characteristics was shown to reinforce the other and to reinforce the notion of theological space.

Future Research

But even in the course of demonstrating the fact of theological space, the production of space was viewed in isolation, separate from other relations competing for the attention of human beings. Life is layered and human behavior is the result of influences from multiple planes. As a society moves through daily life the members of that society traverse a variety of planes, moving in and out of different spaces produced by different sub-societal groups.

The next question, therefore, is whether or not theological space can be detected in an ordinary societal setting. Possible evidence to support such a claim lies in the designation of certain spaces as sacred by the religions of the world. Further, there are numerous community institutions started or supported by churches, including secondary schools and colleges, hospitals, and retirement centers. A look at the map of the United States reveals evidence in the form of toponyms. Place names are typically given as ways of honoring a person, a physical feature, or an idea that is important to the community in that place. There are a large number of places in the U.S. named for Catholic saints, revealing the importance of that religion to the people of the various regions. The historical foundations of the U.S. and other countries provide evidence that theological space existed during at least one point in time. The network of Spanish missions in California and the existence of other nineteenth century utopian communities support this idea. Finally, the existence of an entire country dedicated to a religion provides additional evidence. The Vatican is a city-state that exists for the sole purpose of supporting the Catholic Church.

The use of this and other evidence will enable researchers to build upon this research to answer more questions concerning theological space and its production by the societies of the world.

APPENDIX 1

The Millennial Laws of 1821

Preludium

Believers, who are united in one body, possess one united and consecrated interest, and therefore must, in all things and under all circumstances, be led, governed and influenced by one spirit, which is the Spirit of God, and be subject to one general law, which is the law of Christ, in this day of his second appearing.

But as this general law comprehends all that is necessary for the moral and religious government of Believers; so it is divided into a variety of statutes and ordinances which will apply to all general cases, and teach us our duty in the various situations, circumstances and relations to which we may be called.

The first and great command enjoined upon all Believers is, "That we love the Lord our God with all our heart and with all our strength." And the second is like unto it, namely, that we love our Brethren and Sisters as ourselves.

Under the influence of the first we shall always be obedient to our Parents and Elders in the gospel; and under the influence of the second we shall always do to others as we wish others to do to us in like circumstances.

On these two important points depends all the statutes and ordinances contained in the following pages.

Chapter 1

Orders concerning the confession of sin and opening the mind

1st. No Believer can be justified in keeping any sin covered under any pretence whatever; but all must make confessions thereof to those who are appointed to hear them.

2nd. All trials must be opened according to the appointed order of God; and Believers are strictly forbidden to open their trials to those who are not set in order to hear them.

3rd. If any members not appointed to hear openings should attentively hear disorderly persons open their trials, or their disaffected and unreconciled feelings concerning the Ministry, Elders or Deacons, they would thereby partake of the same spirit; and it is solemnly enjoined, on all such members to make confessions of the matter to their Elders, as a transgression of the order of God in hearing such opening.

4th. Believers are forbidden to open matters pertaining to their own order, or to other orders of people whether believers or unbelievers.

5th. All tattling, talebearing & backbiting are forbidden among Believers, and whosoever offends in any of these things, cannot be allowed to stand in any rank in the worship of God unless confession be made.

6th. Believers are not allowed to call nick-names nor to use bye-words.

7th. All filthy stories, & all conversation which tends to excite lustful sensations, are directly contrary to the purity of the Gospel; and whosoever offends in this matter must make confession before meeting, or stand behind all in the worship of God till confession be made.

8th. If any should be overcome with anger, so as to lay a Br. or Sr. in a lie, or speak or act contrary to the gospel of Christ, or by any means try to irritate or wound the feelings of a Br. or Sister, the person so offending is thereby debarred from any place in our ranks, and must stand behind all in the worship of God till restored by confession.

9th. If any should drink so as to be disguised thereby, the person so offending is thereby debarred from the ranks and must also stand behind all until restored by confession & repentance.

10th. No member or members of the family who may be admonished, reprov'd or mortified by the Elders for any fault whatever, are also allowed to make any enquiry or take any pains to find out who it was that opened the matter to the Elders.

11th. If any member of the family should discover any violation of the law of Christ or any thing contrary to the known doctrine of the gospel, in any person or persons entrusted in any lot of care, either spiritual or temporal, however high and important their lot or calling may be, the person making the discovery is bound to make it known to the Ministry, or to some other one in whom he or she can place the greatest confidence for salvation.

12th. If any member should know of any sins or actual transgression of the law of Christ, in any one of the family or society, & have reason to believe the same is not known, or has not been confessed in order; that member to whom the matter is known is bound to reveal it to the Elders so that sin may be put away.

Chapter II.

Orders concerning the worship of God, religious duties & the Sabbath

- 1st. As it is a matter of importance for all to prepare their hearts before they go into the worship of God, it is therefore required of all to retire to their rooms in silence and labor for a sense of the gospel for the space of half an hour before meeting.
- 2nd. No one is allowed to be absent from meeting without the permission of the Elders or some other person who may be authorized to give permission.
- 3rd. There must be no unnecessary conversation after the evening meeting, and none in bed except it be something of considerable importance.
- 4th. All who sleep in the same room must kneel down together, either in ranks or facing each other, and go to bed at the same time unless prevented by other duties.
- 5th. Every Saturday evening all the shops and workrooms must be swept, the work and tools put in good order, & the shops secured from fire & thieves.
- 6th. No one is allowed to walk out on the Sabbath day for recreation, but if any have duties to do, they may go out and do them in justification.
- 7th. It is required of the Brethren & Sisters to abstain from the use of cider & distilled spirits on the Sabbath except on important occasions, such as The Brethren's fatiguing chores at the barns, & Sisters work in the kitchen with may require it; and in such cases they can be justified in using such drinks in the morning.
- 8th. Brethren and Sisters are not allowed to read newspapers on Saturday evening after supper, nor on the Sabbath day.
- 9th. No one is allowed to wear ragged or very dirty clothes into the worship of God at any time.
- 10th. No books may be read on the Sabbath, except the Bible and those books which have been published by Believers, without libery.
- 11th. Cutting the hair, shaving the beard, paring the nails, blacking or greasing boots & shoes are all forbidden to be done on the Sabbath except in cases of necessity.
- 12th. It is contrary to order to pound fresh meat on the Sabbath on any occasion.
- 13th. Brethren & Sisters are not allowed to carry their dirty clothes to the wash house on the Sabbath, before sunset.

14th. Fruit and vegetables must not be gathered on the Sabbath except in cases of necessity.

15th. Shop windows must not be left open on the Sabbath, except by special libery.

16th. When any of the Brethren or Sisters are under the operation of the power of God, or on their knees, or improving in the gift of songs, all who are present should atnd carefully, and not be talking, not smoking the pipe nor at work.

17th. When a class of Brethren, and or Sisters, or both are together no one should take a book and read loud without the request or union of the rest of the class; as some greater gift might be obstructed thereby.

18th. It is ungodly for Brethren or Sisters to talk of going to the world; or to be telling how they would do if they were to go to the world.

19th. Brethren & Sisters must not go to each others shops to learn songs, because it has a tendency to naturalize them, & opens a door for disorder.

Chapter III

Concerning intercourse between the sexes

1st. The gospel of Christ's second appearing strictly forbids all private union between the two sexes.

2nd. One brother and one Sister must not be together alone, except it be long enough to do a short and necessary errand, nor touch each other unnecessarily.

3rd. Brethren & Sisters must not work together, except on special occasions, and then it must be by the permission of the Elders.

4th. Brethren and Sisters are not allowed to make presents to each other in a private manner.

5th. It is contrary to good order for Brethren and Sisters to pass each other on the stairs.

6th. It is contrary to good order for members of the family to stop on broad stairs, or on the walks, or in the streets with those of our own order, or any other order, longer than to do some necessary errand or messages or to enquire after the welfare of our friends &c. If any longer time be necessary to talk among ourselves, or with our neighbors we are taught to do it within some of our buildings.

- 7th. Brethren & Sisters must not go to each others apartments without a just and lawful occasion.
- 8th. Brethren & Sisters must not go into each others apartments after evening meeting; except on some needful occasion.
- 9th. When Brethren have occasion ot go into Sisters apartments, or Sisters into the Brethrens apartments they must knock at the door & go in by liberty.
- 10th. The Brethren must all leave their rooms when the Sisters go in to make the bends or clean the room, unless prevented by sickness or infirmity.
- 11th. When Sisters walk out into the fields, or to the barns, or to the hen roosts, or even to the Brethrens' shops, there must be at least two in company; for it is considered unbecoming for one Sister to go alone on such occasions, unless by the special liberty of the Elders of their own sex.

Chapter IV

The order and office of deacons, and the direction of temporal concerns pertaining there unto

- 1st. As the office is the place appointed for buying & selling and transacting business with the world, and as there is an order of Deacons and Deaconesses appointed for that purpose; therefore no buying and selling can be allowed in the church excepting by and through that order.
- 2nd. All monies, book accounts, deeds, bonds, notes and the like, which belong to the church, must be kept at the office, excepting a little spending money which the family Deacons are allowed to keep for the use of the family when they ride out.
- 3rd. Believers must not run in debt to the world.
- 4th. When any of the Brethren or Sisters want any thing bought or brought in from the world, they are not to apply immediately to the office Deacons, but must apply to the Deacons & Deaconesses in the family (those of each sex in their own order) and let them apply to the office Deacons & Deaconesses for what is needed.
- 5th. When any of the family go abroad they must apply to the family Deacons for spending money; and when they return, they must give an account of their expenses to the family Deacons.
- 6th. If those who ride out wish to purchase spectacles or any kind of tools, they must

get permission of the family Deacons before they go from home.

7th. No private interest or property is, nor can be allowed of in the Church, exclusive of wearing apparel & working tools of which each member must have the particular care and charge of his own.

8th. When Sisters want chests, boxes, spools or any such things made they must apply to the Deaconesses; and they are to judge whether it is right for them to have such conveniences or not, and if they judge such request reasonable it belongs to them to apply to the family Deacons for it and see that it is obtained in order.

9th. It is contrary to Church order for Brethren and Sisters to doctor themselves, but when they need medical aid they must apply to the Physician in their own family, (those of each sex in their own order) and if they need assistance they have a right to apply for it.

10th. No one is allowed to urge or even ask, strangers nor visitors to drink distilled liquors, for it might have a bad tendency. But the order for all Believers is to be free & ask for just what they need, & that which is not worth asking for is not worth having.

11th. No one is allowed to drink cider and spirit the same morning before breakfast nor near together at any time.

Chapter V.

Rules to be observed in going abroad & in our intercourse with the world of mankind

1st. When any of the Brethren or Sisters go abroad it must be by permission of the Elders, & without such permission they ought not go off the farm. From this order the Deacons at the office are exempt, having a general liberty to go to when necessary.

2nd. Those who ride out have a general liberty to purchase such things as they need for their comfort while out, namely, such drink and eatables as are approved of at home; but they are not allowed to purchase such things to bring home with them.

3rd. When any are out they must not purchase nor receive any ardent spirits from the world to drink; but those who are weak and have need of something for their health, may get a little wine; also well people when wet and cold, may take a little wine if they can not get cider, but they must open it to their Elders when they get home.

4th. When Brethren & Sisters ride out they are not allowed to buy raisins and such like things at the stores near home, it does not look well, if they need such things at such times it is thought best for them to get them at our office.

5th. When Brethren & Sisters ride out and have occasion to stop to feed their horses or to take any refreshment, they must unhitch their horses from their carriage, so as to prevent danger, incase they should take a fright & start suddenly.

6th. No one is allowed for the sake of curiosity, to go into the world's meeting houses, prisons, or towers, nor to go on board of vessels, nor to see shows, or any such things as are calculated to attract the mind and lead it away from the love & fear of God.

7th. Whenever any of the family go out among the world, whether it be to do business, or for a ride, when they return home they must go and see the Elders, and give an account of their proceedings and other attending circumstances which have occurred in their absence.

8th. Whenever any of the family go out and stay over night, or longer, when they return they must see the Elders before they take their places in the family; and give them an account of their journey as it respects their protection and prosperity while absent; then they may take their places in the family; but they must take their places behind all in the spiritual worship of God, until the Elders think proper to let them come into their ranks again.

9th. The members of the church of God are forbidden to do any kind of work or to make any kind of tools or implements for the people of the world, the uses of which are disapproved in the church. They are also forbidden to make anything for Believers that will have a tendency to feed the pride and vanity of a fallen nature, or making anything for the world that cannot be justified among ourselves, or to purchase any of their manufactures to sell with ours for the sake of temporal gain.

10th. The Brethren and Sisters are not allowed to purchase nor borrow books nor pamphlets of the world nor of Believers in other families without permission of the Elders. But if the world should offer or urge any of the Believers to take some particular book or pamphlet, it would be better to accept of it than to give offence, but they must not read it until they have shown it unto the Elders.

11th. If any member of the family should receive a letter from any person, he or she must show it to the Elders, before it is read: also, if any member should write a letter to send abroad, it must be show to the Elders before it is sent away. But the office Deacons are allowed to receive & write letters on temporal business without showing them to the Elders.

12th. No hymns nor anthems, are allowed to go out of the family except by permission of the Elders.

13th. If strangers are here at meal-time, they must be invited to eat.

Chapter VI.

Orders of safety and caution to prevent loss by fire

1st. No one is allowed to carry fire about the door-yard or among the buildings, unless safely enclosed in a lantern or fire box or some thing that will secure it from danger.

2nd. Let no one enter a closet, or any other apartment in a building which is unoccupied with a lighted lamp or candle, unless it be enclosed in a lantern.

3rd. Lighted lamps and candles must never be carried to the barns or out buildings, unless enclosed in a lantern.

4th. Let no one go to a wood box, drawer, or chest with a lighted pipe in their mouth, lest by the dropping of a spark of fire into any such place a building might be burned.

5th. Let no one go into the first house garret or any such bye places that are not inhabited with a lighted lamp or candle, unless it be enclosed in a lantern.

6th. The Brethren & Sisters are not allowed to smoke in the kitchen, or smoke and work at one time anywhere.

7th. No shooting with guns is allowed near the barns, unless the wadding consists of the shavings of leather or something that will not take fire.

8th. Spit boxes with sawdust in them must not be under the stove hearths when there is a fire in them.

9th. The Brethren and Sisters must never knock out their pipes into spit boxes; nor drop the snuff of a lamp or candle therein where there is sawdust or any such combustible matter.

10th. The last who leaves a room should be careful to shut the stove doors & see the place is secure and safe from fire.

Chapter VII.

Concerning prudence, care, neatness and good economy

1st. Each of the Brethren & Sisters are under special injunctions to take good care of all things with which they are intrusted [sic], & to see that no loss comes through their neglect.

2nd. It is considered good order to lay out and fence all kinds of lots, fields and gardens in a square form where it is practical, but the proportions, as to length and width may be left to the discretion of those who direct the work.

3rd. Buildings in the Church, which get out of repair, through age & decay, or any other means, must be repaired soon or taken away.

4th. No kind of filthy substance may be left or remain around the dwelling houses nor shops nor in the door yards; nor in the street in front of the dwelling houses and shops.

5th. No kind of liquid matter may be emptied out of the windows of our painted buildings.

6th. No apple parings, nor the refuse of any kind of fruit may be thrown out of the windows of the dwelling houses nor shops.

7th. When a square of glass gets broken out, the window must be mended before the Sabbath.

8th. The Brethren and Sisters must not throw away their old shoes and boots; but carry them to the shoemaker, & let him mend and return them, or send them to the poor office, or rip them up, for other uses as hee in his judgment may think most prudent.

9th. The Brethren & Sisters are not allowed to give away any of their garments because they dislike them, unless they can do it in union with the Tailor or such ones as make the garments.

10th. No one is allowed to go into the water to swim or bathe where it is over his head or beyond his depth, & never go in when very warm or sweaty.

11th. It is contrary to order for any slovens or sluts to live in the Churches or even for Brethren or Sisters to wear ragged clothes about their work.

12th. Every Saturday night and Monday the street opposite the meeting house, and against the dwelling houses must be cleared of hay, straw and dung &c. and the outward yard of the meeting house must be cleaned away every Monday morning of all such filthiness.

Chapter VIII.

Concerning good order in eating & the management of provisions, attending to meals, &c.

- 1st. No one is allowed to sit down at a table to eat, either at home or abroad without kneeling before and after eating.
- 2nd. All are forbidden to throng the kitchen or go into it unnecessarily while the cooks are employed in it.
- 3rd. Let no one attempt to instruct the cooks in their duty, nor undertake to represent the feelings of others, except those trustees whose business it is to direct them in their management of kitchen concerns.
- 4th. If any are unwell and have need of a diet different from the family, they may freely go to the cooks and ask for it, and it is the duty of the cooks to prepare it for them. But none are to expect the cooks nor any other Sister to come and urge them to have something better or different from common so long as they are able to go and ask for themselves.
- 5th. No unripe fruit is allowed to be eaten in its natural state by the members of the church.
- 6th. Cucumbers are not to be eaten at any time, unless they are seasoned with salt, or pepper or both.
- 7th. No one is allowed to eat any kind of raw fruit or nuts before breakfast in the morning, or after supper, unless it is eaten early, so as to eat the fruit before 6 o'clock in the afternoon.
- 8th. No one is allowed to be absent from means unless duty requires.

Chapter IX.

Concerning Domestic Animals and Dumb beasts

- 1st. No believer is allowed to play with cats nor dogs, nor to make unnecessary freedom with any of the beasts of the field nor with any kind of fowl.
- 2nd. No beast belonging to the Church must be allowed to suffer with hunger; but all must be kept in their places and properly attended to according to their needs.
- 3rd. Neither horses, cattle, sheep nor swine, ought to be allowed to feed or graze in the door yard.
- 4th. Horses and mares must not feed or run together in one pasture. Neither is it allowed for horses and neat cattle to run together in one pasture, nor oxen or bulls with cows; nor sheep and swine.

Chapter X.

The order of the natural creation not to be violated

1st. No southern fruits, not adapted to our climate, are allowed to be propagated by Believers in those parts; such as oranges, lemons, tangerines and the like.

2nd. No fruit scions or buds are allowed to be grafted or inoculated on the stock of a different kind of tree.

3rd. No fowls are allowed to be set on the eggs of a different kind of fowls.

Chapter XI.

Concerning hunting and wandering away

1st. Boys under 15 years of age are not allowed to go out hunting with guns; and the longer they let the guns alone the better.

2nd. The Brethren and Sisters are not allowed to wander away from their companions in hand labor, without letting them know where they are going, so they may be quickly found if they are wanted.

3rd. Whoever borrows a tool must return it to the owner or to its proper place as soon as may be practical.

Chapter XII.

Concerning Funerals

1st. Children under 15 years of age are not allowed to attend any funeral, except in the family where they live, and even then they must not walk in the procession to the grave.

Chapter XIII.

The following are rules and counsels which have been given for our protection and increase

1st. Brethren & Sisters must not allow themselves to sleep in retiring times, nor gape in meeting.

- 2nd. When we get up from the table we should rise up and stand erect before we kneel down.
- 3rd. When we kneel down we should come on our right knee first, and Brethren should rise up in the same manner.
- 4th. When we clasp our hands together our right thumbs and fingers should be above our left.
- 5th. When we kneel down at a table or elsewhere it is thought improper to hold our handkerchiefs in our hands.
- 6th. It is improper for Brethren or Sisters to hold conversations in the halls, or on the door steps, or on the walks where people are passing.
- 7th. It is likewise thought improper for Brethren or Sisters to stop Brethren or Sisters of other orders in the road between the buildings. If they wish to converse together any longer than to do an errand or to inquire after the welfare of the Brethren and Sisters they may call them into some house or shop.
- 8th. Brethren are not to wash in the kitchen, except they are there to make fires, cut up meat, or to do some other kitchen chores.
- 9th. Curtains are not to be left so as to flop out of the windows.
- 10th. Doors and gates must not be left swinging, but either shut or fastened open.
- 11th. When Brethren or Sisters go up or down stairs they should not slip their feet off the carpet, but take them up & set them down plumb, so as not to wear out the carpets unnecessarily.
- 12th. Also when they turn at the head of the stairs they should not turn their feet while on the floor, lest they wear holes in the floor; but they should turn their feet while clear of the floor.
- 13th. It is not right to lean our chairs back against the wall in our dwelling houses nor any decent building; nor against any beds or furniture.
- 14th. It is also wrong to sit with our feet on the rounds of our chairs.
- 15th. When Brethren go to each others rooms or shops they should ask liberty before they go in; also, when Sisters go to each others retiring rooms or shops they should ask liberty in like manner; this is necessary in order to learn how to reverence the gift of God which is or ought to be kept in all such places.

16th. When we place ourselves for the worship of God our ranks should be straight, not only to the right and left, but also forward and backward, and always remember to keep forward ranks as long as any of the rest.

17th. It is thought imprudent to eat bread the same day it is baked.

18th. All should attend Union meeting at the hours appointed unless special duty requires them to be absent.

19th. No one should get up and go out in time of union only on some necessary occasion.

20th. If a Brother or Sister be missing in meeting or at the table the one who comes next should fill up the place, so there may be no gap left for the devil to get between.

21st. Believers, when walking or riding together, either at home or abroad, should not let an undercreature, whether human or unhuman get between them if they can consistently help it.

Selected sections of the Millennial Laws of 1845

Section I, The General Organization of Society

In societies of Believers which are sufficiently large to admit of it, the order of God requires a regular organization of families in order to accommodate and provide for the different circumstances of individuals in temporal things, and also for the advancement of spiritual travel in the work of regeneration, and the universal good of all the members, composing such society.

2. The orders, rules and regulations in each family, concerning things spiritual and temporal, should be such as are adapted to the protection, benefit and increase, of the numbers gathered therein.
3. The families should be of different classes, or grades, as to order, government and arrangement in things spiritual and temporal, adapted to the different situations and circumstances of members in society, and should be denominated – 1st or center family, generally called the Church of the society, -- 2nd. Family, 3rd, 4th, etc. – or the name of each, may be such as is adapted to local circumstances, but their respective places in point of order, should be gradual and progressive.
4. The different orders and families, should in no wise have uncontrolled access to each other, by their communications either verbal or written, but all written communications and visits with each other, should be by the liberty of the Elders therein; and without such liberty, members should never go from one, to the other of said families.
5. The Church or center family, and as far as is practicable, each family that is gathered into order, should have a lot of Elders & Eldresses and a lot of Deacons and Deaconesses or Trustees, each lot of which should contain four or more persons, two of each sex.
6. The Church or center family, should be composed of such members, as are free from any involvements with those without, and such as are prepared by a previous privilege in families that are back, (where those who come in, over the age of thirteen, should be first proved, before they advance further.
7. None should be gathered into the Church or first family, who cleave unto their natural kindred of Fathers, Mothers, brothers, sisters, husbands, or wives, houses or land; none should be gathered into this order, but such as may be obedience stand spotless before the Lord.
8. There should be a presiding Ministry in each society who should have the general

superintendence of all things of importance therein, both spiritual and temporal, and to whom the Elders and Trustees, (and through them the body of the people therein,) are accountable for all their transactions. But two or more societies may compose one Bishopric, as circumstances render it most proper.

9. Circumstances sometimes it difficult to establish four persons in lots of Elders and Deacons, of course no obligation to fill the number, will apply in such cases, but four is considered the true number, and it should never be neglected, unless driven thereto by necessity.

Section V: Orders concerning Intercourse between the Sexes

The gospel of Christ's Second Appearing, strictly forbids all private union between the two sexes, in any case, place, or under any circumstances, in doors or out.

2. One brother and one sister, must no be together, alone, at any time, longer than to do a short and necessary duty or eerrand; and must not have private talk together at all, which they desire to have unknown to the Elders. Neither should brethren and sisters touch each other unnecessarily.

3. Brethren and sisters must not work together, except on special occasions, and then by liberty from the Elders.

4. Brethren and sisters may not make presents to each other in a private manner.

5. Brethren and sisters may not write for each other nor to each other, without liberty from the Elders.

6. If brethren and sisters need instruction in reading, writing, or music, or any other branch of literature or science, they must receive it from those of their own sex, or by such persons as the Elders may appoint.

7. Brethren and sisters may not pass each other on the stairs.

8. Brethren and sisters may not shake hands together.

9. It is contrary to order for Believers to offer to shake hands with apostates; and if brethren shake hands with women of the world, or if sisters shake hands with men of the world, they must open it to their Elders before attending meeting.

10. Brethren and sisters may not go to each other's apartments, without a just and lawful occasion; but when they do go, they should rap at the door, and go in by liberty.

APPENDIX 2

The First Covenant of the Church of Christ (Shaker) in New Lebanon, N.Y. 1795

Privately printed for Edward D. Andrews, Ph.D. 1935

In the year of our Lord 1788, the year in which most of the members of the Church were Gathered, the following order and Covenant was then, and from time to time after, made known and understood, received and entered into by us, as members of the Church, agreeable to our understanding of the order and Covenant of a Church in Gospel order. For it was and is still our Faith, and confirmed by our experience, that there could be no Church in Complete order, according to the Law of Christ, without being gathered into one Joint Interest and union, that all the members might have an equal right and privilege, according to their Calling and needs, in things both Spiritual and temporal. And in which we have a greater privilege and opportunity, of doing good to each other, and the rest of mankind, and receiving according to our needs, Jointly and Equally, one with another, in one Joint union and Interest, agreeable to the following Articles of Covenant.

Firstly, The Conditions on which we were received, as members of the church, were in Substance as follows. All or as many of us as were of age to act for ourselves, Who offered ourselves as members of the Church, were to do it freely and Voluntarily as a Religious duty, and according to our own faith and desire.

Secondly, Youth and Children being under age, were not to be received as members, or as being under the immediate Care and government of the Church, But by the request or free consent of both their parents, if living, except they were left by one of their parents to the care of the other, then by the request or free Consent of that parent, and if the Child have no parents, Then by the request or free Consent of such person, or persons, as may have Just and Lawful right, in Care of the child; Together with the Child's own desire.

Thirdly, all that should be received as members, being of age, that had any substance or property that was free from debt, or any Just demand of any that were without, either as Creditors or Heirs, were allowed to bring in their Substance, being their natural and Lawful right, and give it as a part of the Joint Interest of the Church, agreeable to their own faith and desire, to be under the order and Government of the Deacons, And overseers of the Temporal Interest of the Church, for the use and Support of the church, and any other use that the Gospel requires, according to the understanding and discretion

of those members with whom it was Intrusted, and that were appointed to that office and care.

Fourthly, All the members that should be received into the Church, Should possess one Joint Interests, as a Religious right, that is, that all should have Just and Equal rights and Privileges, according to their needs, in the use of all things in the Church, without Any difference being made on account of what any of us brought in, so long as we remained in Obedience to the order and Government of the Church, and are holden in relation as members. All of the members are likewise Equally holden, according to their abilities, to maintain and support one Joint Interest in union, in Conformity to the order and Government of the Church.

Fifthly, As it was not the duty or purpose of the Church, in uniting into Church order, to gather and lay up an Interest of this World's goods; But what we become possessed of by Honest Industry, more Than for our own support, to bestow to Charitable uses, for the relief of the poor, and otherwise as the Gospel might Require. Therefore, it is our faith never to bring Debt or blame against the church, or each other, for any Interest or Services we should bestow to the Joint Interest of the Church, but Covenanted to freely give and Contribute our time and Talents, as Brethren and Sisters, for the mutual good one of another, and other Charitable uses, according to the order of the Church.

The foregoing is the true Sense of the Covenant of the Church, in relation to the order and manner of the Possession and use of a Joint Interest, understood and Supported by us the members; and we do fully and freely in the most solemn manner, acknowledge and Testify in Presence of each other, (And are free and willing to do it before all men if required) that it is that, which we have kept and supported, according to our understanding, from the time of our first gathering, and still mean to support as that which we believe to be both our privilege and duty.

And as we have received the grace of God in Christ by the Gospel, and were Called to follow him in the regeneration, we had not only a Right, as a Religious Society, to Gather into order according to our own faith, but also we believed it to be the duty of as many of us that believed, as might be for the good of the Whole, to gather into the order and covenant in which we now are. We believed we were debtors to God in relation to Each other, and all men, to improve our time and Talents in this Life, in that manner in which we might be most useful. An we have had the Experience of Seven years Travel and Labour, and Received a greater Confirmation and Establishment in our faith, That the order and Covenant in which we have gathered, and Solemnly entered into, is a greater privilege, and Enables us to be more useful to ourselves, and others, than any other State in our Knowledge, and is that, that was Required, and is accepted of God. And is that which we feel in Duty bound, according to our faith, and understanding, in the most Conscientious manner, to support and keep.

In Testimony whereof, we have, both Brethren and Sisters, hereunto Subscribed our Names, in the year of our Lord 1795.

(Signed)

David Darrow
Joseph Green
John Farrington
Eliab Harlow
Jethro Turner
Samuel Spier
Benjamin Bruce
Hezekiah Phelps
David Slosson
Joseph Bennet
Nicholas Lougee
Abiathar Babbit
William Safford
Isaac Crouch
Peter Pease
James Louge
Stephen Markham
Ebenezer Bishop
Moses Mixer
Artemas Markham
Richard Spier

Ruth Farrington
Anna Spencer
Rachel Spencer
Hannah Turner
Azubah Tiffany
Desire Sanford
Rebekah Mosely
Eunice Goodrich
Desire Turner
Mary Andrus
Jane Spier
Ruth Hammond
Mary Tiffany
Chloe Tiffany
Salome Spencer
Lucy Bruce
Lucy Spencer
Martha Sanford
Betty Mixer
Eunice Billing
Hannah Cogswell
Lucy Bennet

A COPY OF THE FIRST FAMILY COVENANT

**Entered Into on Shawnee Run (Now Pleasant Hill) on the third day of
Dec. 1806 and amended July 28th, 1807**

Whereas, we the subscribers at Shawnee Run in the County of Mercer and State of Kentucky, being members of the Community of people commonly known by the name of Shakers; And whereas we profess to be of one faith, in the gospel which we believe to be the only way of salvation, we believe it to be our duty as far as in us lies to live peaceably with all men, and especially with one another, endeavoring to build up each other in the truth; and not to do any thing that tends to discord or disunion. And whereas we are desirous to live together in one family, for the upbuilding, protection, and safety of each other, and for the right understanding of all and singular whom this may concern; We do therefore according to our own faith, and of our own free wills, and voluntary choice, covenant and agree to live together, on the plantation now owned and occupied by Elisha Thomas. And, it is hereby provided, that the said Elisha doth dedicate the use and improvements of the said plantation, and all and singular the appurtenances thereunto belonging for the above mentioned purposes.

And, we do further covenant and agree, that each of us having property exclusive of what is necessary for the payment of all our just debts, will and do, by these presents dedicate the free use of all such property for the benefit and support of each other: ___ and provided also that we (or any of us) so covenant together. And, provided also, that we jointly as a family, shall be at full liberty, to renew alter or amend this our covenants, whenever circumstances shall make it necessary; and also, that each of us as individuals, shall be at full liberty whenever we see cause, to withdraw with our property from the said family of Elisha, after duly intimating to him such our intentions; but then, it is hereby provided, that at least sixty days shall be allowed the united part of said family for the convenience of restoring such property; which shall be in the same species and value as is expressed in the inventories.

And, it is also hereby provided, that if, in case the Elisha should in process of time renounce, or change his present faith, contrary to the true intent of this our covenant, then, in such a case, a just estimation shall be made of all the real advancement of property which has risen on the said plantation from the date hereof, and that the said estimation shall be made and decided by four just and upright men, who shall be chosen by the said community, and the said advancement of property be equally divided between the said Elisha and those of the said family, who remain in their present faith.

And, we do further covenant and agree, to use and improve our strength and abilities for the mutual support and comfort of each other, without ever having any demand upon, or bringing any debt or blame against any of these of us that so covenant together, on account of any labor or service that has been or may be done by us.

And, it is hereby agreed, that a true copy of this covenant be kept in the said family, and also a copy of each inventory; and that the originals of both be deposited with Samuel Banta, to be received from him again on no occasion whatever, except by the special order in writing from some one, or more of the Elders of the said Community. In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals; and this testimony shall be a witness unto all when it may concern, of this our covenant. Signed at Shawnee Run this 3rd day of the 12th month 1806. And amended this 28th day of the 7th month 1807. In the presence of each other.

[The covenant was signed by:]

Elisha Thomas
Cornelius Banta
Isaac Dean
Joel Shields
William Shields
Henry Banta
James Gass
Lewis Wilhite
Thomas Shain
James Grimsley
Hendrick F. Banta
Jonah Hatfield
William Harris
Silas Grimsley
John Webb
Abram Wilhite
Stephen Manire
John Banta
Henry Hutton

Anne Thomas
Betsy Banta
Polly Thomas
Jenny Thomas
Sally Thomas
Rosanna Shields
Molly Shields
Sally Shields
Jean Shields
Charity Banta
Iby Gass
Polly Hutton
Sally Hardy
Nancy Shain
Rachel Hutton
Mayr Hatfield
Patsy Wilhite
Rachel Banta
Betsy McCarver
Molly Banta
Hannah Hutton
Polly Banta
Peggy Banta
Anna Thomas
Leah Banta

REGISTER OF BELIEVERS

Whereas, I, the undersigned, have this day attached myself as probationary member of the United Society of Believers at Pleasant Hill, IN THE COUNTY OF MERCER AND STATE OF KENTUCKY, and it being my desire to live with said Society according to the known faith and customs thereof, that I may receive the benefits arising from the observance of the rules, regulations, moral and religious instructions of the same.

Therefore, agreeable to the customs of said society, I hereby covenant, promise and agree, that I will never prefer any account, claim nor demand against the said Society, or any member of members thereof, for the USE of any money, or property brought into said Society, nor for any labor or service which I may perform or render while residing in the same, over and above what I may receive in food, clothing, washing and other necessary support: And, whereas, it is further mutually understood and agreed that I shall be free to withdraw from said Society whenever I am dissatisfied therewith and that after sufficient and timely notice shall be given by me, I shall receive all the money and other property which I brought into said Society, or their value at the time it was brought in.

Therefore, I further agree and promise that so long as I am permitted to enjoy the benefits and privileges of said Society, I will faithfully conform to the rules thereof, and will not find fault with said rules, requirements, regulations, worship nor teachings, by acting or speaking against the same so as to create dissatisfaction, disunion, or inharmony to the family; provided this shall not be so construed as to prevent a free and respectful inquiry of the leading authority into the reasons of said rules and regulations; and if I shall fail to comply with this agreement such failure shall be deemed sufficient cause for loss of membership with said Society, and upon being desired to do by the leading authority of the family in which I reside, I will peacefully withdraw from the same.

Witness my hand the 11th day of July, A.D. 1905.

Louisa Jenkins

Attest Eliza Carpenter

Mary C. Settles

Pleasant Hill, Mercer County, Ky. 25th Jany, 1841

INVENTORY OF PROPERTY TO MOSES HELM

Feather Bed, Bolster and two Pillows	11.67
Two Large Bed Quilts	11.00
Two Small Bed Quilts	7.00
Two Cotton Sheets	1.50
Cotton Under Bed Tick	1.00
Twill Blanket	3.00
Carriage and Harness	25.00
Colt	25.00
Cash	10.00

Appraised by B. Byram, Jacob Kulp

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