

chapter 6

Shakers 1772-1920s



In 1747 a group of Quakers in Manchester and Bolton England became subject to a spiritualistic revival lead by the “French prophets” or Cambrieds. These exiles from France brought to the group of Quakers worship in the form of dance and movement that was lead by the spirit. Once taking on the dancing and shaking movements, the Quakers became known as the “Shaking Quakers” or simply the Shakers. Formally they were called the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Coming.

About ten years after the church was established, a young married woman, Ann Lee, joined the church. Becoming very active and outspoken about her new religion, Ann was imprisoned in 1772 for disturbing the Sabbath with loud worship and preaching the Shaker doctrine of celibacy. (Hinds, 1971) Because this doctrine denied lay people the duty of child bearing, the public at large disapproved of the church. This disapproval lead to her imprisonment in which Ann saw divine visions that brought her into a leadership role within the church. This leadership role fulfilled another main doctrine of the church. The Shakers believed that because God was both male and female, the second coming of Christ would be within a woman since the first coming of Christ was in the male Jesus. Because of her strong visions, the Shakers believed that Ann embodied the spirit of the second coming of Christ. (Burns, 1987) With more divine visions, Ann believed that God was commanding her and some followers to travel to America to start a church that could be free and pure.

In 1774, Ann and nine others left England for America. (1987) Once the group landed in New York, they traveled to a city outside of Albany called Nisayuna to start the formation of their church in the new world. At the time they were starting their church, many established religious groups in America were going through a period of religious disillusionment. One such group was the Baptists, who were going through a period of doctrinal disputes that caused a threat of separation among their church. One offspring of these disputes were the “New Light” Baptists who traveled to western Massachusetts and Eastern New York to practice their doctrine separate from the established church. Once coming to eastern New York, they came upon the newly arrived Shakers. Seeing the community and simple bonds between the Shakers, the “New

Light” Baptists felt this group was truly living the apostolic church described in the book of Acts. (Fogarty, 1971, pg 11)

With these new converts to strengthen the church, Ann Lee, known to the followers as Mother Ann, started a missionary journey to spread the word of the new church and to gather converts. Taking advantage of the revival spirit that was pervading New England and the Midwest, Mother Ann rapidly was recruiting new converts and pockets of believers in many areas of the country. However, along with these new converts came criticism and violent retaliation because of the radical form of worship as well as the requirement that believers become celibate. Eventually this mob-like violence provided physical harm to Mother Ann and lead to her death in 1784.

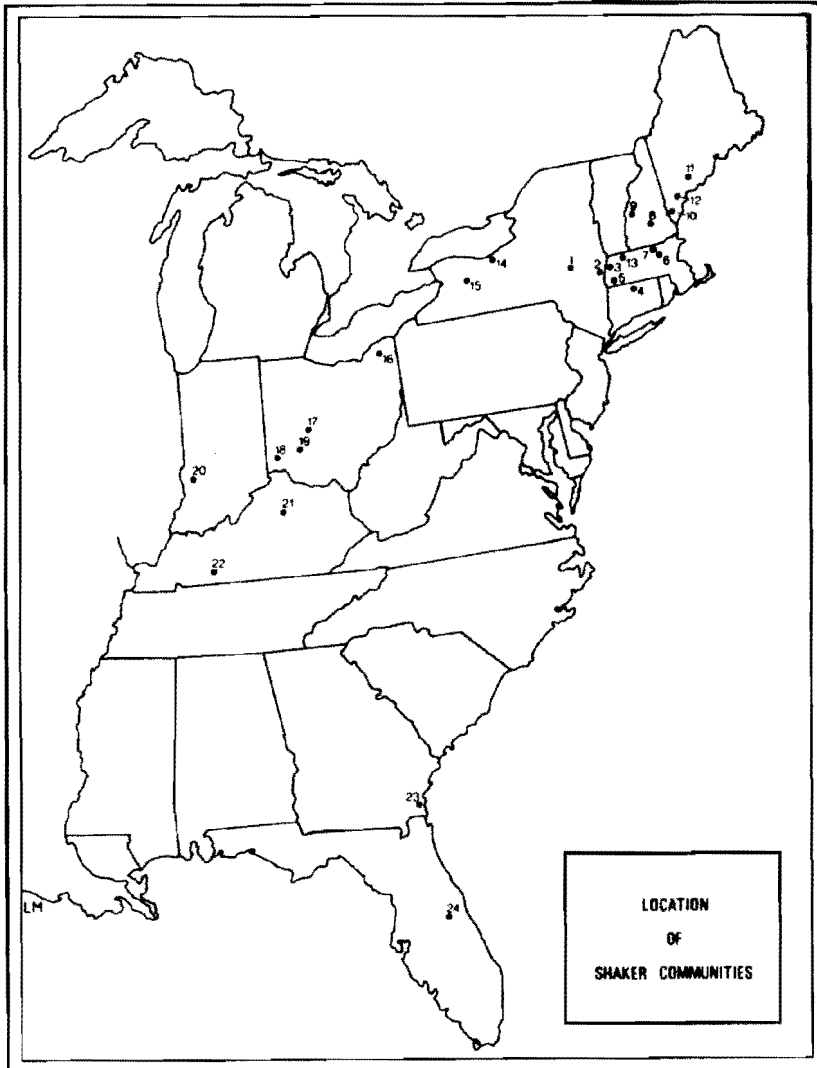
Once Mother Ann died, the leadership was handed down to Joseph Maechem, who was often referred to as Father Joseph. During his leadership, the doctrine of the Shakers was standardized and the church was organized into a communal environment. Since the Shakers descended from the Quakers, they retained the pacifist view and rejected violence and war. (Burns, 1987) Similar to other Protestant religions, the Shakers believed that it was through faith alone that they could receive salvation. However, they also had many different beliefs that were not shared by other doctrines. One of the main differences was the Shaker belief that God was both male and female. Jesus was the male version of Christ on earth and Mother Ann was the female version as well as the second coming of Christ. This second coming did not include a resurrection of the body, but was rather a progressive resurrection of the spirit. The Shakers did not believe that God returned to earth in flesh, but rather returned to Mother Ann in spirit. This return of God in spirit also started the millennial reign of God on earth as well as the final judgment for all humans. (Hinds, 1971) Because of this belief that Christ was resurrected in Mother Ann, women in Shaker communities had equal spiritual positions and were given equal leadership opportunities. (Burns, 1987)

Another difference in Shaker doctrine was the rejection of Calvinist predestination and basic human sin for a belief in universal salvation and the possibility of living a sinless life. This

salvation was accompanied by a true conversion experience in which they rejected the life of Adam and became children of God. This included giving up many things that were permitted for the Jews but were not necessarily part of Jesus' walk on earth. The Shakers literally applied the command, "you must give up all to follow me," that Jesus gave to his followers. (Hinds, 1971, pg 88) This included marriage, war, retaliation, and private property. According to Mother Ann a believer "must forsake the marriage of the flesh or (they) can not be married to the Lamb." (Burns, 1987, pg 5) This sacrifice of marriage of the flesh included taking on a celibate life, which also solved the problem of competition between love of family and love of God. Celibacy also encouraged all members to love their Christian brothers and sisters equally. Another sacrifice that each member of the Shaker church committed to was giving up all private property including land and money. This was surrendered to the group so that all members could "partake equally in their heritage on earth."(1987, pg 5)This heritage included all members being equal before God and supporting each other in Christian fellowship.

This Shaker doctrine and life was summed up in the four pillars: virgin purity, Christian communalism, confession of sins, and separation from the world. The virgin purity was the commitment to celibacy and the commitment to live a sinless life. Christian communalism was the commitment to deny oneself of private property and to commit to live in a communal environment. The third pillar confession of sins was required of members to purify their souls. This was done through going to the Elders of the community and confessing any sins. The final pillar, separation from the world was seen as necessary to live the full-fill Shaker life without interruption. The Shakers believed that they already lived at the edge of the world because they were constantly surrounded by spirits, which gave them divine messages, songs, and movement. This was further encouraged and symbolized by living at the edge of the physical society and civilization. No pillar stood alone and they needed all four to work properly to support the Shaker life and to secure salvation from sins and sorrow. Eventually in the 1920s, the pillar of communalism ended and so did the Shaker lifestyle. No new members were admitted into the community and the remaining members consolidated into a few communities in New England.

Eventually the four pillars were formalized in 1845 with the written rules called the Millennial Laws. These laws dictated a well ordered, efficient, and simple life because any decoration or excessiveness was worldly. This was reflected in the simple, plain, and unadorned clothes that the Shakers wore. Also there was a set daily schedule for communities, including



the morning rising time at 4:30am, time of silence, and the daily evening meetings. There were also extremely strict rules regarding interaction between males and females. Men and women were not allowed to interact unless it was a quick conversation about business. They slept separately, walked separately and worshiped and ate at opposite ends of the room. However, while they retained separate lives, they always remained equal. Every aspect of the Shaker life was dictated in these rules.

In the late 18th century Father Joseph formalized the communal living environment. He created a system that had economically self-sufficient

1 Watervliet, New York	(1787-1938)	13 Savoy, Massachusetts	(1817-1823)
2 New Lebanon, New York	(1787-1947)	14 Sodus Bay, New York	(1826-1836)
3 Hancock, Massachusetts	(1790-1960)	15 Groveland, New York	(1836-1895)
4 Enfield, Connecticut	(1790-1917)	16 North Union, Ohio	(1822-1889)
5 Tyringham, Massachusetts	(1792-1875)	17 Union Village, Ohio	(1806-1912)
6 Harvard, Massachusetts	(1791-1918)	18 Whitewater, Ohio	(1824-1907)
7 Shirley, Massachusetts	(1793-1908)	19 Watervliet, Ohio	(1806-1910)
8 Canterbury, New Hampshire	(1792-present)	20 West Union (Busro), Indiana	(1810-1827)
9 Enfield, New Hampshire	(1793-1923)	21 Pleasant Hill, Kentucky	(1806-1910)
10 Alfred, Maine	(1793-1931)	22 South Union, Kentucky	(1807-1922)
11 Sabbathday Lake, Maine	(1794-present)	23 White Oak, Georgia	(1898-1902)
12 Gorham, Maine	(1808-1819)	24 Narcoossee, Florida	(1896-1911)

Figure 27: Map of Shaker Communities ca 1986

the central family/community of Mount Lebanon, New York for guidance. Within these villages, he organized believers into families, which included both men and women housed in a single building. Each Shaker village could be made up of several different families. Each community was also to have two Elders and two Eldresses as well as two Deacons and two Deaconesses who were supplied from Mount Lebanon. (Rocheleau, 1994) This group, also called the Ministry, was to govern the communities both politically and spiritually

Father Joseph created an organized system to provide uniformity to the growing Shaker religion in America. By the mid 1800s the system was in full swing with 21 communities and over 6,000 members. (Hinds, 1971) (*Figure 27*) The largest of the communities was the original community of Mount Lebanon with a peak population of 550 members. After Mount Lebanon, the midwestern communities of Union Village, Ohio and Pleasant Hill, Kentucky were the second largest with peak populations between 400-500 people. (Gutek, 1998) Most other communities ranged from 75-200 believers at their peak. Within these populations, work was divided equally. All members had to do some form of manual labor. While women and men were seen as equals, women still retained the traditional female work roles of cleaning, cooking, sewing, etc. (Burns, 1998) These roles remained in order to keep males and females separate during work.

Because this constant separation of the sexes and the commitment to celibacy, the Shakers relied on recruiting new members to sustain and add to their communities. These new members had to commit freely to all the rules of the Shaker life. However, before new members had to commit, the Shakers allowed them a trial to see if they wanted to pursue this life. In order to fully integrate new members into understanding the community, they gradually brought them into the life. (Rocheleau, 1994) The first class, Novitate, was considered part of the believers and was allowed at church meetings, but they did not live in the village. Rather they bought property at the edge of the Shaker land to continue private ownership, while learning about the Shaker religion. (1994) The second class was the Junior class. This class lived in the village and participated in the communal living environment, but they were allowed to retain some personal possessions and property outside the community in case they decided not to move into the final Senior class, or

full membership. (1994) Members could only move up to leadership positions if they were in the Senior class and were also seen as truly committed Christians if they took on full membership.

All these communities were on large farms about 1,000 acres or more. This land was usually given to the community from a new convert or purchased with money given up to the community. However, even when land was given to the Shakers, they still chose ideal sites to start their village. The site needed to be near a hilltop on good farmland near water with some woodlots, while still at a distance from society. (1994) Usually ½ mile from the settlement, the Shakers started a Noviate town. Within the village, all land uses were ordered, organized and divinely inspired through visions. Buildings were placed where they were useful. Mills were located on streams, saw mills near the woodlots, and fields on fertile flat land. Workshops were placed near dwellings for convenience. Each village also had a main public road going through the middle of town. The office and general store were located on this road to provide information and market goods to travelers or passersby. In the store, the Shakers sold handmade furniture, packaged seeds, medicinal herbs and many other hand made goods.

Shaker goods were known throughout the country to be of high quality because the Shakers believed that they needed to strive for perfection. (Burns, 1987) They felt that God dwelt in the details of their work and the quality of their craftsmanship. Part of this quality work was

the invention of many tools, such as the circular saw, to make work be more efficient. Another invention was the circular barn seen in two Shaker villages. (Figure 28) This barn made the feeding of the animals and the loading of materials more efficient. This well-organized and detailed work was a form of disciplining the flesh in order to elevate the spirit and was



Figure 28: Round barn in Hancock, MA Shaker Village. This is just one example of the inventions that the Shakers created to make work more efficient.

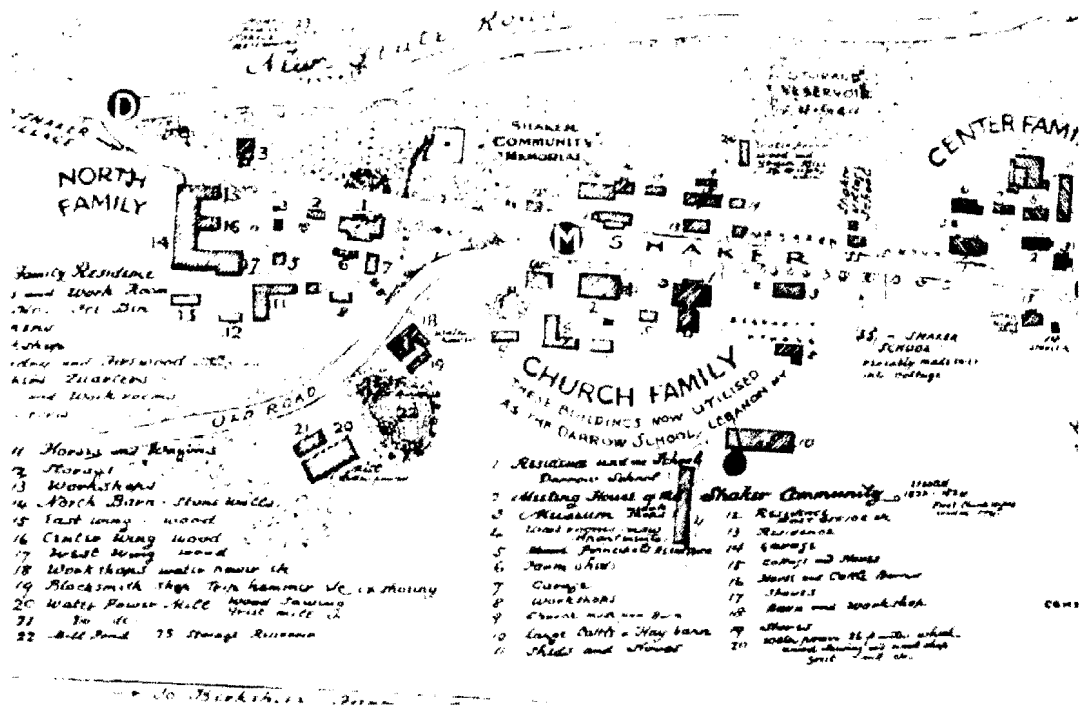


Figure 29: Mt. Lebanon, NY plan. This was the first Shaker community and it set standard for the rest of the communities.

a form of worship. (1987) However, while detail was important, decoration was not. In all their work and goods, form followed function because it was the “spirit of the usefulness that mattered not the vessel.” (Rocheleau, 1994, pg 10)

In the late 1700s, Father Joseph standardized the layout of villages to be efficient uses of space and time and based this layout on the central community at Mount Lebanon. (Figure 29) To provide visual order all the streets and walking paths were at right angles. There were often white picket fences or walks to separate building spaces. The paths were made of stone and kept narrow to make the Shakers walk in single file to prevent excessive conversation. As already noted, the buildings were placed in the village for their function. Buildings that were grouped together were dormitories, workshops, and the meetinghouse. All these buildings were typically laid out along a main road with the meetinghouse on the central square in the center of the village. These buildings were also color coded to distinguish their uses. Barns and service buildings were painted a deep red or brown, workshops were yellow or cream, and the meetinghouse was white. Eventually after the peak population in the 1840s, some villages painted all their buildings white.

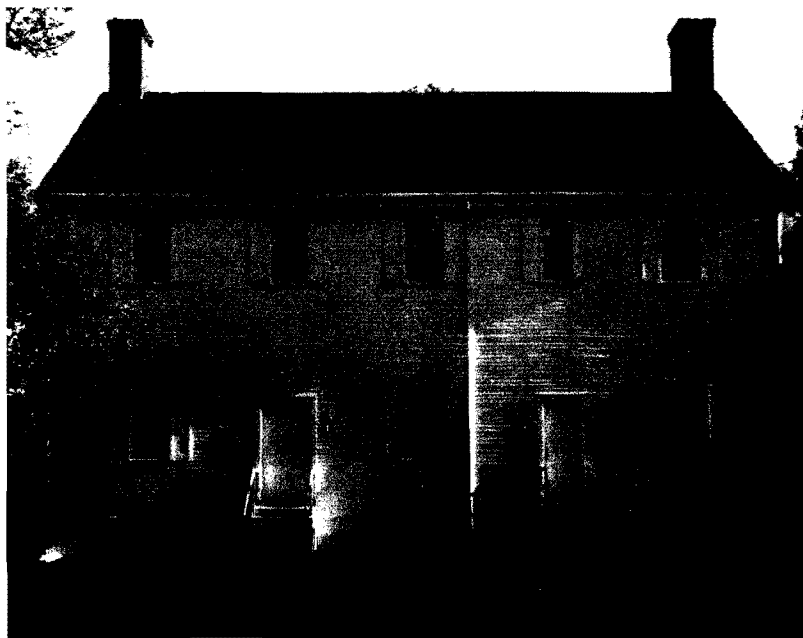


Figure 30: Meeting House in Pleasant Hill, KY. Shows the two entrances, symmetrical façade and the abundance of windows.

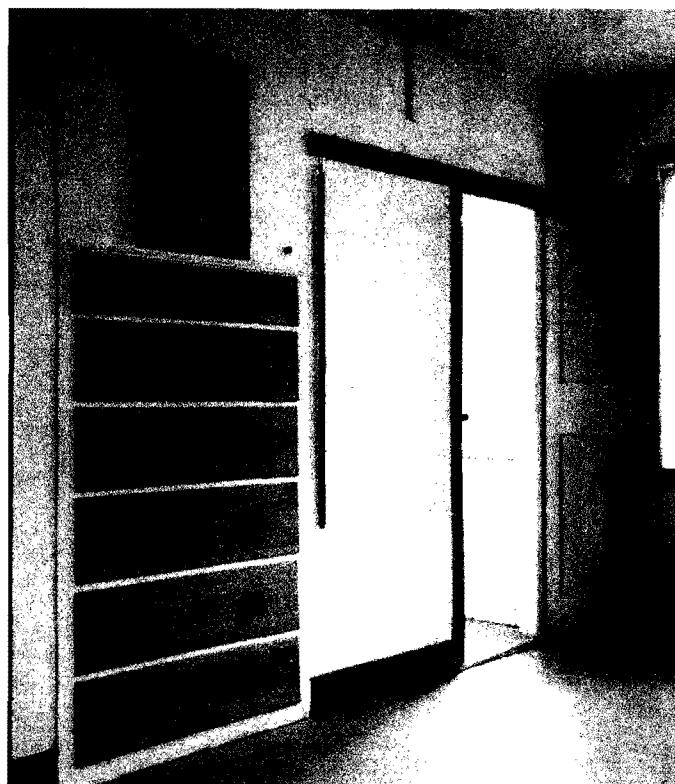


Figure 31: Typical Shaker furniture. To save space the Shakers fitted drawers into the wall and put peg racks around the room

Building materials depended on the location of the village. In the New England villages, the buildings were made of wood, and in Ohio and Kentucky the buildings were made of cut and sawn stone. With both types of material the skeleton of the building was always timber post and beam. All the buildings were simple symmetrical boxes. Each

building had two sets of doors, one for females and one for males. (Figure 30) There were lots of windows and even some skylights to provide natural light. In all the communities except Kentucky communities the windows and interior ceilings, and door were rectangular or square. In Kentucky arched windows and doors were introduced to provide better airflow in the humid heat. (Gutek, 1998)

The buildings would range in size from community to community depending on their population. However, despite the size variations the dormitory layout was always the same. The ground floor or

basement was used as a kitchen and food storage because of the natural insulation. The first floor was the dining hall and any floors above those were living quarters that housed 4-6 in a room. The meetinghouse also had a uniform look. In this room there were no columns or interruption because it would interfere with the neat lines of Shaker worship.

The interiors of the buildings were whitewashed plaster with only the meetinghouse having dark blue painted wood. All other interior wood was simply stained natural colors. Also on the interior were functional details such as peg racks to hang up the furniture when cleaning. There were also built in drawers and cupboards so they did not have to be cleaned under or moved. (*Figure 31*) All these cupboards were numbered to provide an efficient way to organize and remember where things went.

“Tis a gift to be simple,” was a line from a Shaker hymn that can describe their life. They had a strict doctrine and rules to guide their lives. While it was a different lifestyle than other Protestant religion, it was a lifestyle based on equality of love for all Christians and a superior love for God. Every detail and aspect of his or her life, from the dancing movements to the handmade furniture, was focused on worshipping God. Order and perfection was worship, and their built environment reflected this. The town layout and architecture was symmetrical with straight lines and right angles. It was this order and simplicity that defined the Shakers’ attempt at forming their Kingdom of God on earth.

The 1820s saw a strong religious revival in New England in which many different denominations sought the membership of new converts. Caught up in these revivals, a young teenager by the name of Joseph Smith could not decide which church he should join. He knelt in prayer to seek the Lord's guidance. Instead Smith claimed that a heavenly messenger told him that he should join no church because other churches had abused the true spirit of Christ. (Hill, 1972) Three years later, another angel, Moroni, visited Smith and told him that he should start a new church centered on the true Christian faith that was contained in a book of golden plates buried in the mountains. Once he translated the plates, Smith published the scriptures as the Book of Mormon, named after the father of the angel Moroni. (Hamilton, 1995) This book, which Smith and his followers considered an additional volume of Holy Scripture, was the account of Christ's dealing with ancient inhabitants of the Americas.

After the book was published and Smith started to gather followers, he officially established the Mormon Church on April 6th, 1830. Smith claimed that his church would have ecclesiastical authority through restoration of the pure Christian church as seen in the *Bible*. At first, Smith's religion looked very similar to other Protestant sects because a central belief was the rejection of Calvinist philosophy of unconditional predestination, limited atonement and total human depravity. Instead Smith preached that men could feely choose to be perfect, like God. He also aligned along with other churches with the millennialism view that the second coming of Christ would usher in a 1,000-year period of peace. (Alexander, 1980) However he started to diverge from mainstream Christian thought by rejecting original sin from birth. Rather they felt that Adam's sin was only accountable in humans from the age of 12. (1980) They also rejected the trinity, which most Christian churches freely accepted. They saw God and Christ as two separate beings that shared a common mind in the Holy Spirit. Smith claimed that these beliefs and doctrine were revealed to him through divine messages from Jesus, John the Baptist, Peter, James, and John.

Because of these claims of divine messages and the threat of a new religion, the established Protestant churches in New York became hostile toward Smith and his followers. In

1831 they fled to Kirkland in the northeast portion of Ohio. Even after starting to form a town, Smith believed that his people needed to be in a central spot to do their work as missionaries that spread the “restored gospel.” (Hill, 1972, pg 11) Again having divine revelations, Smith pronounced that the headquarters for the church would be in Jackson, County Missouri. (Reps, 1965) Smith called for the “City of Zion” to be built there and sent out a group to Independence to find land for their kingdom.

Once the group migrated to Missouri, they started to organize the church. There was a presidency, which was the leader of the group. The first president was naturally Joseph Smith. Helping the president was the council of twelve also known as the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. The council divided the grown males into two groups as well. Any male between the ages of 12-19 was in the Aaronic priesthood and was responsible for the temporal affairs of the church. The elders were put into the Melchizedek priesthood and served as spiritual leaders. With this organization, their written doctrine started to be circulated to attract more members. However, this recruitment was met with hostilities. The resentment by the locals was furthered by Smiths claim that his people were the chosen ones and that the only way to Christ was through his church. Also advocating that blacks should be free and could be equals in the Mormon Church created a strong hatred for the new inhabitants of Missouri. (Hamilton, 1995) Eventually being forced from Independence, Smith led his people to a sparsely populated area in the west of Missouri. In this area, they were able to start a couple of towns, but soon hostility broke out again and the group was forced to flee the state in 1838 after the governor issued an extermination order.

Because Joseph Smith was in jail at the time of the extermination order, a young member of the Council of Twelve, Brigham Young, took leadership of the group. A sympathetic group of Christians in Quincy, Illinois accepted the group into their town. (1995) In May of 1838, the group was able to buy 135 acres of land 40 miles north of Quincy in Commerce, Illinois and they renamed the town Nauvoo. The state of Illinois approved the charter for the town and allowed the group to have self-rule and the right of a standing military force. However, because Smith refused

to dictate which political party his followers would vote for, persecutions began again. The state revoked the town charter and in 1845 the group was forced again to move. (1995)

During the persecutions in Illinois, Joseph Smith was murdered and Brigham Young became the president of the church. The group traveled over 1,100 miles out west to separate themselves from society. They felt that it was necessary to start their society without contact from the rest of the world in order to perfect their cities and life. Once arriving at the basin of the Great Salt Lake, the group felt that God ordained the land since it was desert just as was the land in Jerusalem. This first area became the central area for expansion of the Mormon Church into the surrounding areas. By 1870 the group had established over 358 settlements ranging in size from a couple of families to thousands. Brigham Young organized all these settlements into the State of Deseret. However, it soon became the Utah Territory of the United States and was still governed by Brigham Young.

Throughout this persecution, some of the doctrines of the church were strengthened and altered. They felt that perfectionism on earth would lead to eternal progression as they endured more persecutions and became Christ like. Eventually as they perfected their earthly selves, they would be glorified with the ability to become gods in heaven. The Mormons also believed that their life was continued in heaven, and this included marriage. They took on the practice of polygamy in the 1830s as well. The actual reasons and justification for this practice are disputed, but it is strongly believed that they were taking on traditions from the Old Testament and were trying to provide support for all the females in the group. This continued to be doctrine until 1890 when Utah became an official territory of the nation. (1995) It was at this time that the communal lifestyle of the group ended because of the arrival of the railroad and therefore an outside market as well as the continuing expansion of the city.

Also during these persecutions and the final trip out West, Brigham Young started to advocate the United Order, also called the Order of Enoch. He believed that this was the way to perfection because it created a community of goods and cooperative life. While he saw this was biblical, he also saw it as a necessity for their survival during the migration and formation

of a permanent settlement. During each of their settlement before the migration, a communal environment was established in which the group tried to produce food, clothing and housing for all the members of the community. Once in the Great Basin, many different types of communalism were established, however the most popular was the type practiced in Salt Lake City called the cooperative enterprise. This practice established an industry for each ward, or section of the city. The products and services were traded among other wards in the city to provide a self-sufficient city. Part of the Mormon lifestyle was to provide for all their members, so all members were provided with necessitates of life: food, water, shelter, and clothing.

Part of this self-sufficient city was also established in the doctrine set by Joseph Smith. When he was in Ohio, Smith received divine messages that he was to establish the city of Zion based on the descriptions of the Levite cities in the Old Testament in order to prepare the world for the coming millennium. (Reps, 1965) This city was to be a society that would live in harmony

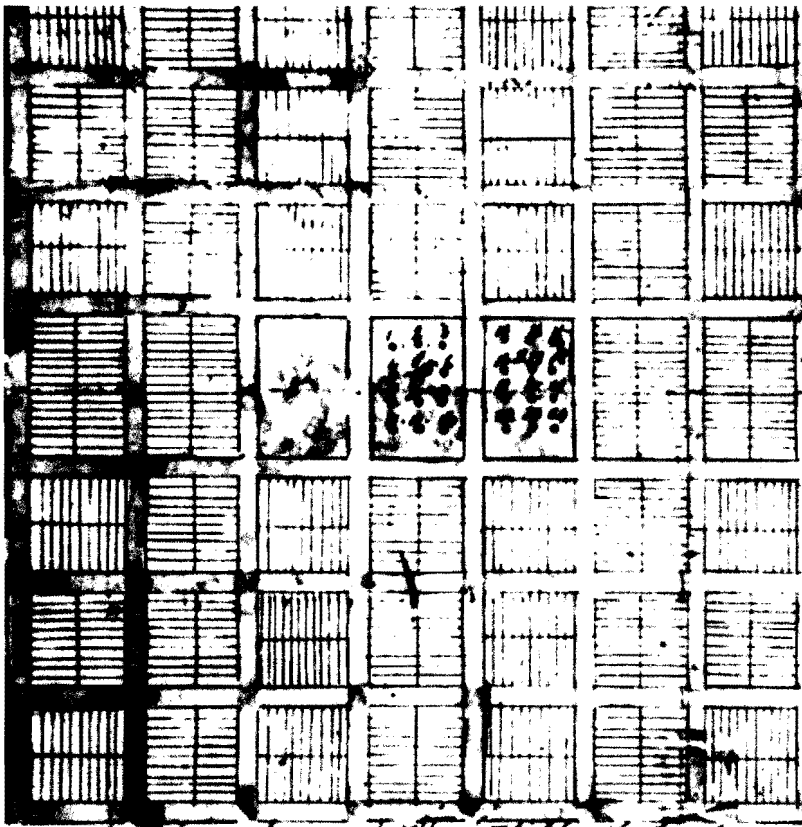


Figure 32: Plan for Zion City. Joseph Smith designed these plans after Old Testament practices. While the city's actual plans were altered, the basic principles from this original plan were still followed.

with no crime, sin, or immorality. (Hamilton, 1995) When the groups of scouts had found land, he sent his detailed grid plans for the city. (Figure 32) He intended the city to be built for 15,000-20,000 people with 1,000 house lots for families' sized 15-20 people. (Reps, 1965) However the plans were adjusted to accommodate 2,600 lots with families of 6-8 people per house. Each individual lot, also called

an inheritance, contained one house and gardens for vegetables. Each lot was to be .5 acres and there would be 20 lots per square each with a house set back 25 feet to provide for a uniform street front. All these lots and the materials for the houses were given out free to the members of the church.

Originally Smith planned for this grid city to be 1 square mile because it was biblical and it also kept with federal land survey of 1785. (Hamilton, 1995) However when revised the town actually was 1.5 square miles and it was laid out following the cardinal points of the compass. Each square within the grid alternated its lot orientation within the grid in order to provide a sense of openness, privacy, and less congestion. Smith also provided for less congestion on the streets by planning the streets to be 132 feet wide. When the plan was actually implemented, the four main streets remained at 132 feet wide and received biblical names. The rest of the streets were 82.5 feet wide and were simply numbered. (Reps, 1965) Within the grid the three central squares, the painted squares were the public areas. This was to be both the ecclesiastical and commercial center of the city. The center block of this center was reserved for the temple and religious buildings. The ring around the public squares contained the residential areas. All these areas were divided into social units called wards or neighborhoods. Around the whole city there was an agricultural belt, which provided most of the bulk food for the community. All the farmers and ranchers were to live in the city in order to remain part of the larger community. (Hamilton, 1995)

While the rest of the Mormon cities planned each had their own unique attributes, the basic elements from the plan for Zion City were used. All the cities retained the grid pattern in a square form with a central square or squares for public use. In larger cities, such as Salt Lake, wide streets and large blocks were retained, but in smaller towns the streets were narrower and the blocks were smaller. In most of the towns the temple remained in the center of the town. However in Nauvoo, the temple was built off to the side of the town along the bluff. It was put on the bluff looking over the city representing how God looked over his people. (1995) In Salt Lake City, the temple was still near the center of the city, but rather than just having a single block

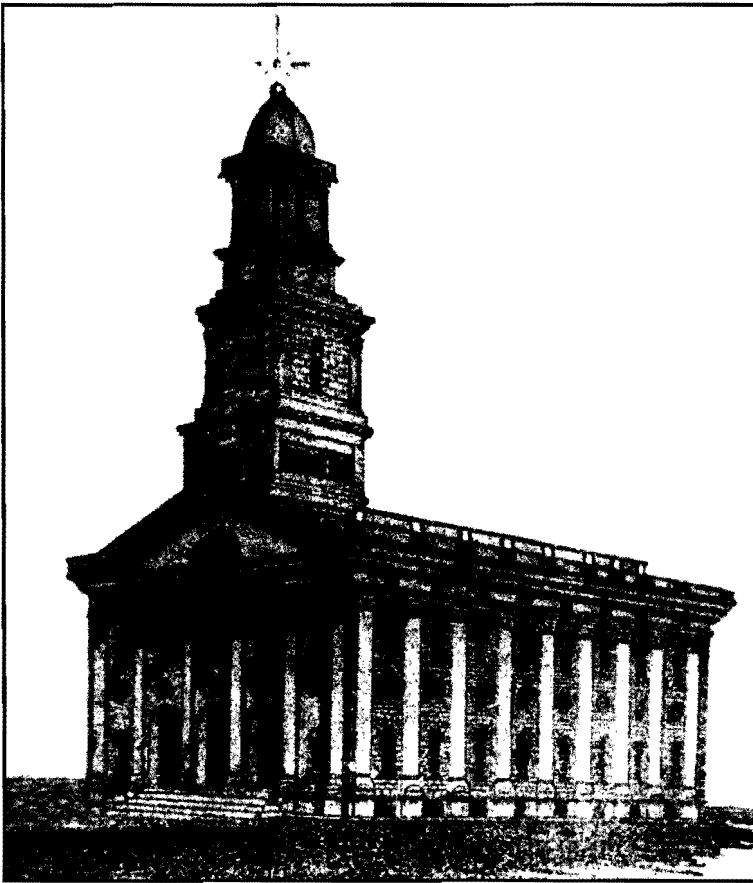


Figure 33: Nauvoo Temple with the Greek pediment and columns. The tower on top is in the traditional style of New England church towers.

for the building, a 40 acre site was reserved for a whole ecclesiastical complex. In this complex Brigham Young had plans for a great monumental temple to provide permanence for the church.

The temple was the stronghold for all the communities. It provided a visual symbol for the members of the meaning for their life. Joseph Smith designed the first temples in Zion, Missouri and in Kirkland, Ohio. Because he had no formal training in construction, the temples ended up being simple rectangles with Gothic style windows and roof. Smith specified

using Gothic architectural elements because of its association with the historic church. Both these churches were brick foundations with brick walls. By the trip to Nauvoo, some trained architects had converted to the church and Brigham Young felt that the temple deserved a professional design. The Nauvoo temple (*Figure 33*) was designed by William Weeks in the Greek revival style. The facades were reminiscent of a Greek temple with columns, however a massive tower designed in the traditional church style was erected on top. (1995) The inside of the church had a traditional design with pews and pulpits, however to accommodate the large congregations a second floor balcony area was also included in this design. Most temples retained this design on the interior and the traditional New England exterior.

The temple in Salt Lake City took on a whole new scale. (Figure 34) Built out of limestone, granite, and adobe, the temple was started in 1853 and finished in 1893. The design combined the massing of Romanesque churches with the verticality of Gothic style. There were 6 spire/ towers and octagonal corner buttresses to stress the vertical lines toward heaven. (1995) Young was influenced by these design from his trip to England and felt that traditional medieval church design made the temple exalted. Young also included crenellations in the church to provide a fortress quality

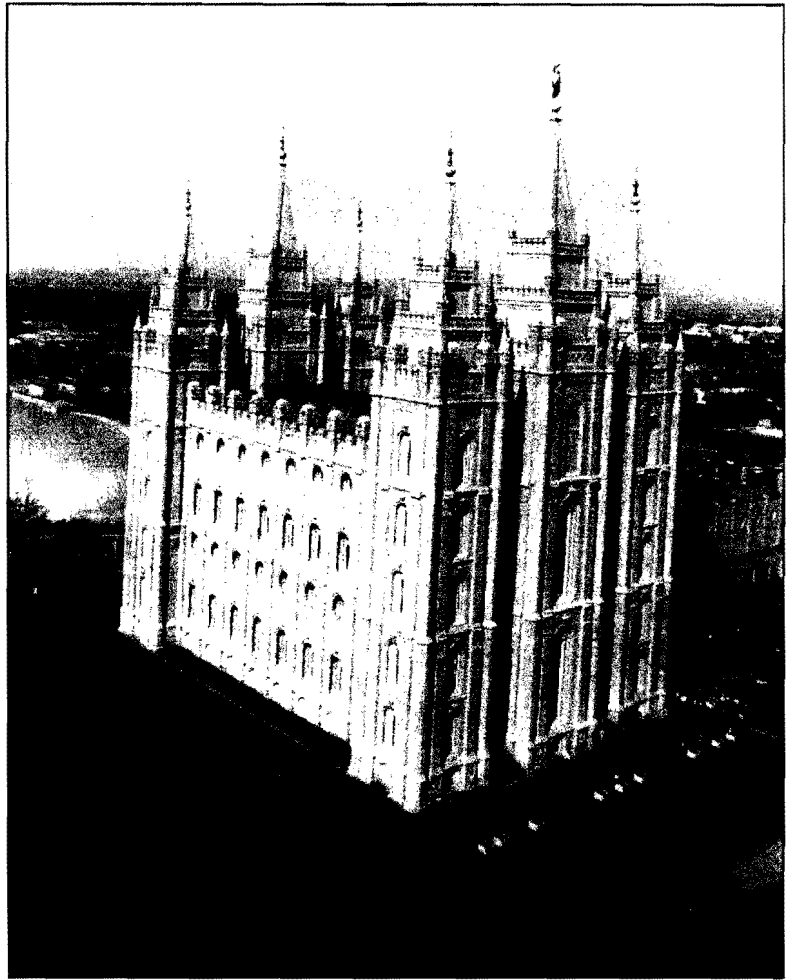


Figure 34: Salt Lake City Temple. It has Romanesque windows and massing, but Gothic Spires and vertical emphasis.

and a symbol of spiritual strength. The architect Truman Angell, another convert, was strongly influenced by the Ecole des Beaux Arts and used classically ornamental detail throughout the building to further show strength and power. (1995)

By the 1850s Salt Lake City had reached a population of over 12,000 and the region over 46,000. With a population of this size, one large temple could not serve everyone in the area; therefore other ecclesiastical buildings were built for normal use. The second most important building was the tabernacle and then the meetinghouse. In the early periods days these acted as general community buildings and schoolhouses. These buildings were typically simple wood frame structures combined with local materials of brick or adobe.



Figure 35: Gothic Revival House in Midway Utah during the

The houses were usually built of brick because of the importance of permanency after being persecuted for years. (1995) By the 1860s, houses were beginning to use Gothic Revival style with steep roofs, dormers, scrollwork, and pointed windows. (Figure 35) Using this style in the homes represented that the home was still a sacred place.

Through distancing themselves from the persecution in the east, the Mormons were finally able to realize their “Zion.” While the Mormons still retained individual households, the community as a whole operated as one. They built irrigation ditches out west for their whole region to provide water not just for their own town, but also for satellite Mormon communities. Each neighborhood, or ward in the city provided an industry and function for the common good. The church held all the land in common ownership encouraging more converts to their haven in the west. Once settled, church members were given their property and only had to pay a minimal recording fee to gain land ownership. Their leader Joseph Smith used Biblical cities for the basis of the grid design. The Mormons used medieval church architecture for their temples and homes to represent the sacred spaces throughout the city. Smith’s detailed plans for both the cities and the temples showed his aim of perfection for his followers. This perfection was anticipated by Joseph Smith from the inception of the religion in the 1830s and realized by Brigham Young in his United Order until the late 19th century in the Mormon “Cities of Zion.”

The vernacular and regional materials also were used in domestic architecture. The house was considered an important building because of the doctrine pertaining to the continuation of the family unit after death. In the early years of the Mormons, practicality of design and construction took precedence.

importance of permanency after

chapter 8

Perfectionists 1841-1879s



- Puritans
- Moravians
- ◆ Shaker
- Harmonists
- Separatists of Zoar
- △ Mormons
- ▲ Inspirationalist
- ▲ Perfectionists
- Bruderhof

New York was caught up in the revival spirit of the 1820s. During a revival a young man by the name of John Humphrey Noyes had a conversion experience. Coming from an upper middle class family from Vermont, he was able to attend the Amherst college of Divinity at Yale after this conversion. In 1833 he graduated and became a minister in the New Haven Free Church. This church was already considered radical because it questioned the orthodox teachings of the Protestant churches. Instead of the tradition liturgical service the Free Church emphasized the emotional revival services. During his time at this church, Noyes formed views that even the Free Church considered radical. His conclusions were based on the concept of perfectionism. This was a loosely defined rejection of human sinfulness and the Calvinist doctrine, which stated that humans are sinful and incapable of obtaining salvation without election. In his version of perfectionism, Noyes stressed holiness, which he defined that a person alone and without help was able to have a perfect love between himself and God. (Guttek, 1998)

Once forming these conclusions, Noyes dedicated his life to spreading the Perfectionist doctrine in New York and New England. However, because these views were considered very radical, even to the Free Church, his minister's license was revoked. This meant that Noyes had to form a new church in which to have an outlet for his doctrine. While gathering members for his new congregation, Noyes continued to develop his doctrine. Part of this evolution was Noyes conclusion to reject monogamous marriage. Devastated by a rejection from a female love interest, Noyes decided that monogamy did not glorify God because it often brought emotional pain. (1998)

Once developing this philosophy, Noyes gathered his first permanent followers from his family. These new followers all gathered in Putney, New Hampshire. On February 11, 1841 this group formally formed the Society of Inquiry to establish themselves as a legitimate group. The financial basis for the group was Noyes' and his sibling's inheritance from their father. (1998) Two years later the group had gathered 35 men, women, and children in three houses. The group saw itself as one large family and did not make distinctions between those who were related by blood and those who were not.

Part of establishing themselves as one big family was a move toward communalism. They created a Contract of Partnership, which was based on a joint stock principle of property ownership. They practiced what they considered "Bible Communalism" which encouraged members to contribute their property to the community. In 1846, they established a Declaration of Principles. In this they stated that communalism extended to property and to people and that all the ownership of the group belonged to God, who had appointed Noyes the father of the family. By accepting these principles, members were accepting support and sustenance in lieu of wages. (1998)

The group was lead by Noyes, and based its foundation on his doctrine of Perfectionism. In writing, the group established its beliefs further than just the ability to have a perfect love. They believed that God expected all Christians to have a right attitude and inner sense of assurance of salvation. Also, while they were able to form a perfect love with God, the society still believed that man could improve. However this steady development could only continue as long as one's attitude and motivation were right. Once this motivation was right, one's acts would follow a pattern acceptable to God and his/her salvation would be retained. Other than this development of the perfectionist philosophy the group also made a radical statement that they believed that the second coming of Christ had already happened in 70 AD when the temple in Jerusalem was destroyed. They believed that there would soon be a second resurrection to establish the Kingdom on Earth. The group believed that they were trying to start a society that was reflective of this Kingdom that would be established. (1998)

Part of the life that needed to be reflective of this Kingdom was the group's social theory, which was based on complex marriage. They believed that when the heavenly Kingdom was established on earth there would be no monogamous marriages, but rather there would be a divine feast at which every "dish" is free to every guest. They believed that they could start this on earth and therefore they all united in a group marriage. (Hayden, 1976) This system made it possible that there would not be special love between man and woman, but rather everyone would love each other equally before God. (DeMaria, 1978) Part of this complex marriage was

also a form of birth control called male continence that was introduced in 1846. (Guttek,, 1998) Twenty-years later, this birth control became part of an experiment called “stripculture.” This eugenics experiment was a way for Noyes to pair up couples to try and create a better race of children. Noyes believed that when a woman became impregnated in the group, that it was God’s will and that the child was a more perfect form of man. This experiment was practiced until 1879 when the community ended because of the threat of immorality laws. This threat made the group realize that their system would not be able to be replicated because the rest of society was not holy enough yet to accept Noyes’ system.

These radical beliefs that the group held about social theory and complex marriage caused the group to receive persecution in Putney, New Hampshire. Noyes was arrested on immorality and adultery charges in 1847 and his group disbanded. Shortly after the arrest, Noyes attended a perfectionist convention in Oneida County, New York. During this convention, he expressed his beliefs and gathered more followers. He started a new community at Oneida and purchased a 160-acre property that had two small farmhouses and two log cabins. The original members gathered with the new ones and started to build a larger community. By 1851 the community had stabilized at 250 members. (1998)

This new community separated themselves from society because Noyes believed that they needed to leave society to create a new one. He saw Oneida as an experiment whose existence was justified in terms of the service it would provide to society as a whole. The community saw itself as an experiment in understanding full meaning of the Perfectionist theology. (DeMaria, 1978) Noyes wanted to show that an anti-selfish principle could be established in all relations of life and that humans could be made to work in harmony. He believed that only men who reached a high degree of holiness could make the experiment a success. For this reason very few new members were accepted into the community.

By separating themselves from society, the group was able to establish a new form of informal government. This government was a theocracy with Noyes as the head. Under him as an advisory council was a group of elders. This group held sessions of mutual criticism that

were performed to help the members of the community advance in their perfectionism. Under this group of elders were committees for different economic aspects of the community. These committees oversaw the industries. While the community first thought that they would prosper in agriculture, the industries that flourished were silk, steel traps, chains, and silverware. These industries brought in much wealth to the community and even after the communal life ended in 1879 the industries still prospered as a joint stock corporation owned by the previous members. While the community was wealthy, the members still worked full days and lived a voluntary life of poverty in order to remain holy. (1978) While agriculture did not become their primary source of income, they were able to produce enough harvest to make the community self-supporting. The community also had sawmills, flour mills, and machine shops to create finished goods.

All these activities took place on the property in Oneida. Noyes felt that the group was divinely inspired to live at Oneida because he claimed that it was the center of a circle in the state

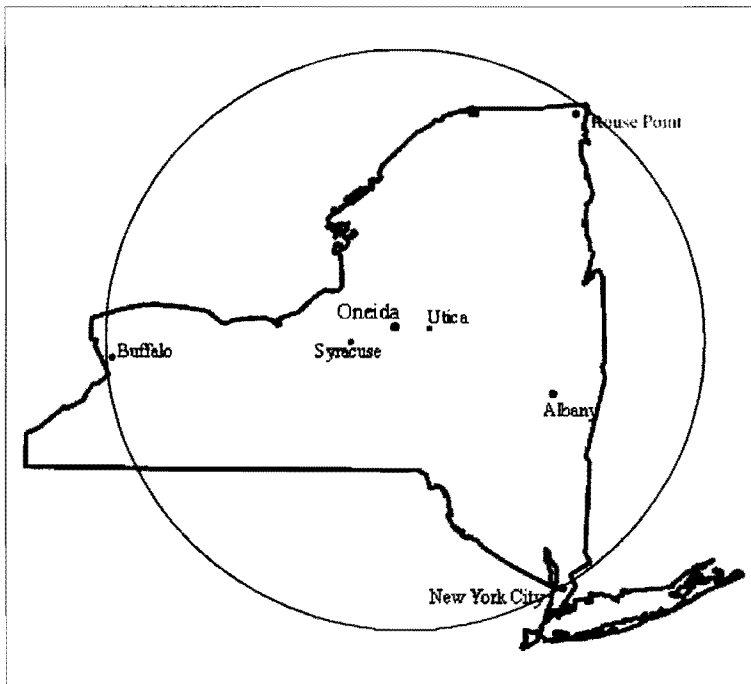


Figure 36: Map of New York showing Oneida. The circle drawn shows Oneida at the center of 3 main points in New York.

of New York. The circle was bounded by New York City, Niagara Falls, and what he considered the most northern spot of the state, Rouse Point.

(Figure 36) Noyes planned to convert the entire domain into a garden and wanted to make the Perfectionist society a horticulture subsistence society. However, New York weather was not susceptible for the fruit trees and the group was forced to switch to traditional farming techniques.

(Hayden, 1976)

In Oneida the group did not create a small town for their members, but rather built one large mansion house that contained most of their activities. The first mansion house was

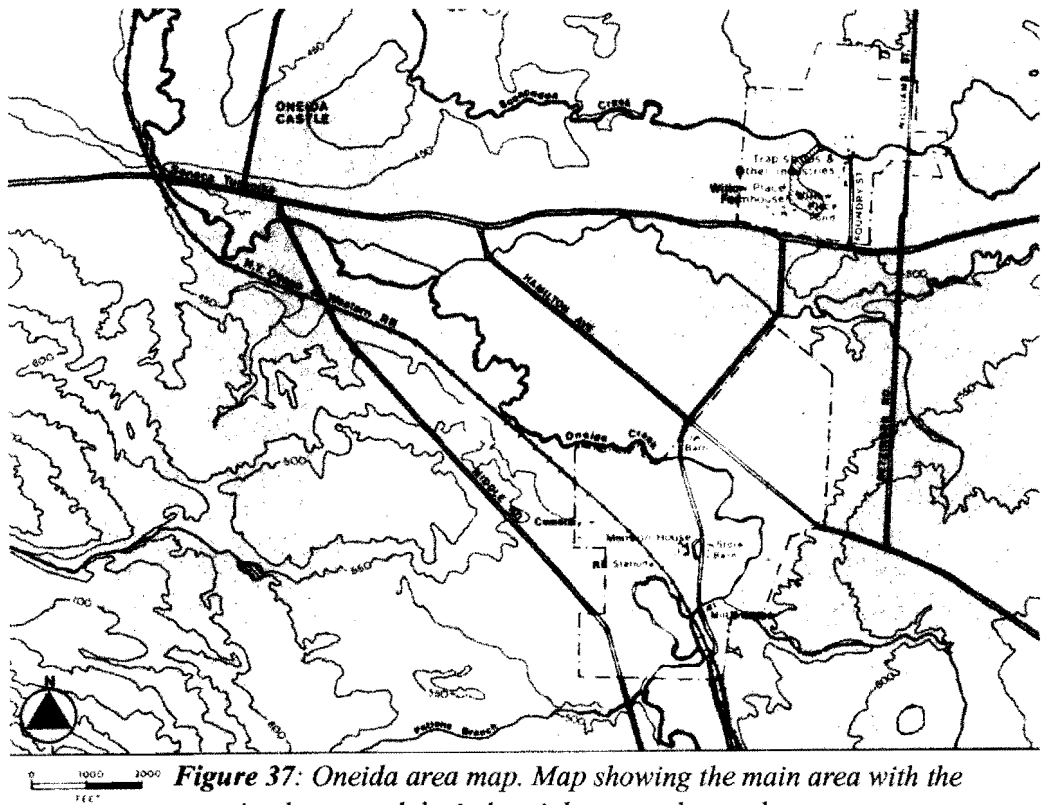


Figure 37: Oneida area map. Map showing the main area with the mansion house and the industrial area to the north.

completed in 1848. It was a 3-story frame building with a kitchen, dining room, meeting room, sitting room, and many small sleeping rooms. This mansion house exemplified the horticulture period of the group because the house was surrounded by trees and was rural in character.

Once the group switched to agriculture and industry, the group had a need for a new mansion house. The second mansion house was built in 1861 and was urban in character. It was a redbrick house on high ground that emphasized the picturesque landscape. By being on high ground it dominated the domain and housed both living quarters and industrial uses. (1976) There was a main access road to the mansion. This road also separated the mansion house from the barns and service buildings that were clustered across the road. A distance even further separated most of the heavy mills and machine shops from the living environment. (Figure 37) These uses were separated because of the noise that the mills produced. These mills were also not picturesque and did not architecturally match the mansion house and Noyes believed it would have distracted from the visual beauty of the house and grounds.



Figure 38: The second mansion house. This house exemplified the wealth and inventiveness of the community

While the industries were separated from the house, picturesque orchards were on the hills closest to the house. The farm fields were in the valleys of the hills in order to provide the easiest way to water the fields. Surrounding the mansion house there were over 50 acres of gardens with flowers and apple

trees. All these gardens were important to the Perfectionists because they believed that their landscaping activities reflected their life. The gardens were constantly changing because they should change as their communal requirements were constantly changing as well. (1976)

Noyes believed that beauty was not just in the landscape, but could also be expressed through the mansion house. He believed that the true beauty of his environment would result when every communal function had a corresponding physical form. The second mansion house became an architectural record of the community development. (*Figure 38*) Each new wing and addition showed expansion and a new era for the community. The original 3-story building had a Victorian façade that represented that the society understood the styles of society as a whole. They used high Victorian Italianate and second empire styles showing a conscious willingness to mix architectural styles. They included a mansard roof from the second empire style in order to add an extra useable story. There was also an open hipped central cupola and a one-story balustrade porch and balcony from the Italianate style. (Gutek, 1998)

In 1869 a second wing was added to the building. This was the children's wing and this addition showed the community's commencement of stripculture. In this wing all the children

were raised communally. There were a couple of caretakers, but the whole community raised the children. This was to make sure that no special love was formed between parents and children. (1998) In this wing was also a school for the children. Another wing was added in 1878 and this was designed by an outside architect, which showed the communities willingness to exchange with the outside world.

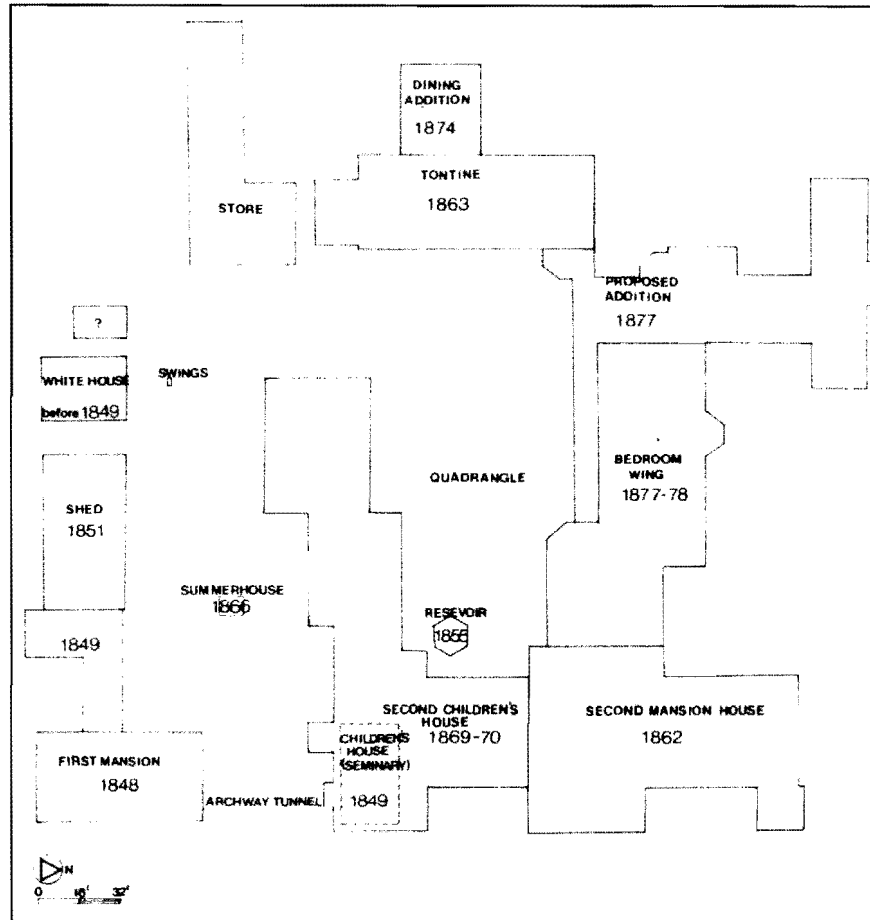


Figure 39: The floor plan for the second mansion house. This plan shows the U shape of the main building and the many wings of the house.

All the wings were similarly massed with red brick walls, white wooden trim and a patterned slate roof. Once all the wings were completed the mansion house took on a U shape (Figure 39), which enclosed an interior courtyard. This courtyard was a detailed formal garden, which contrasted with the organic nature on the other side of the building. (Hayden, 1976) Once completed the mansion had over 400 rooms and it combined large rooms, like a hall, and dining room and sitting rooms, with small intimate spaces like bedrooms.

The combination of large public spaces with private spaces exemplified the design for a group with complex marriage system. The communal facilities were placed in prominent positions on the first and second floors. Sitting rooms opened to the major circulation routes and were surrounded by small bedrooms. These areas defined neighborhoods within the building and

bedroom wings. The bedrooms were strictly for one person and were only made to be used for sleeping. At no times were two people of the opposite sex to be in a bedroom alone, except when the council ordered a pairing for stripculture. (1976) An important room in the house was the upper sitting room, which was a two-story room large enough for most of the members to be in at one time. Another important room was the hall. It was a large room that looked like a theatre, with a stage at the front and balconies on the sides. (Figure 40) The group met in this room every night to discuss business and to have a religious meeting. There was no formal church building but because the group was founded on religious principles they retained the importance of prayers and hymns in every day life. (Gutek, 1998)

Another important room was the library. It contained over 3,500 books and represented the importance of education in the community. (Hayden, 1976) Children and adults alike were educated in the classics, mathematics, and the sciences. A high level of inventiveness was held among the group. Noyes felt that the group needed to be creative and inventive to show their superiority to the rest of society. When the community had a young man who could excel with further education, they supported him through Yale in order to strengthen the education of further elders.

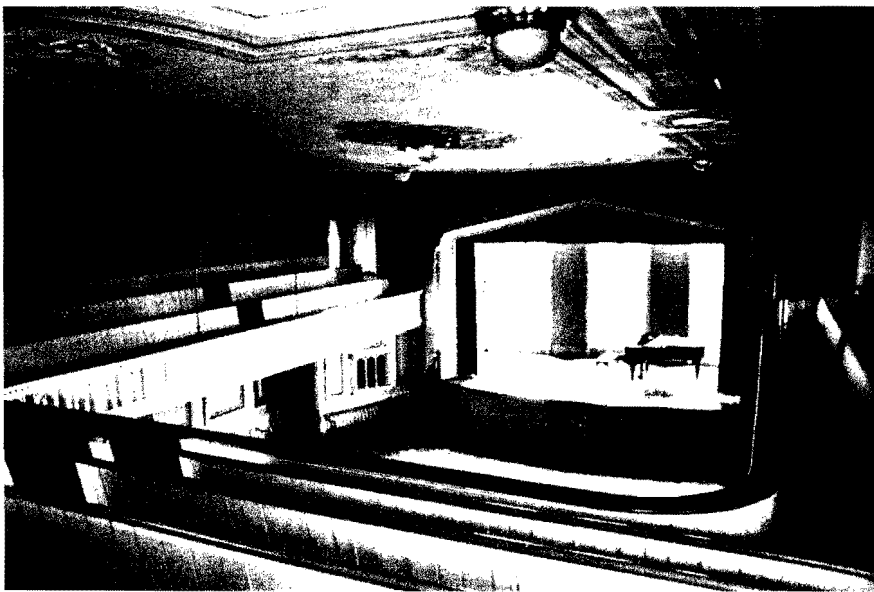


Figure 40: The main hall. This room in the mansion house was the central meeting place for the group. It has a stage and balcony.

They saw this education as essential to supporting their community as an example to the rest of society. While they separated themselves by retreating to Oneida, they stayed in contact with the world through selling their products and even sending individuals to

Yale. However, at all times they still saw themselves as a separate experiment that was showing the world what the Perfectionist theology could accomplish. They believed that they were going to prepare the world for the second resurrection and the Kingdom that would reign on earth. The example that they were setting up would be replicated and repeated once the world understood and was converted to the perfectionist philosophy. However, they never actively propagated their doctrine because they believed that once the world saw the success of the Oneida experiment, they would realize that it was the perfect society and would want to participate. It was through their example that they believed the Kingdom on Heaven would be replicated on earth.

chapter 9

Bruderhof 1920- Present



In the 1910s religious revivals were sweeping across Germany. One young man that was affected by these revivals was Eberhard Arnold. While growing up in a Lutheran home, Arnold still felt that his true conversion experience was during these revivals. After the revival, Arnold decided that his life needed to be different. Growing up in an upper middle class German academic environment, this choice was not accepted by his family. Therefore he and his fiancé, Emmy had to leave their families to start the life they felt was glorifying God. One part of this new life was creating the Student Christian Movement in Germany to encourage the young population to live a true Christian life. Many of the students who gravitated toward this group were also a part of the German Youth Movement, which was a group that was disillusioned with the political and social disorder in Germany after the war. (Zablocki, 1971) This group agreed Eberhard's idea of returning to a simple life and living as the first church did in the Acts of the Apostles. Therefore in 1920 the Arnolds and their young followers pooled their assets to buy Sannerz farm and start what became known as the Bruderhof, or dwelling place of brothers in German.

At this farm the group started to formalize their organization. They decided to work and support each other. Everyone at the farm was provided for and they all shared in the duties of running a farm and small-scale publishing company. As the group grew, they needed larger facilities and in 1926 they bought a new farm at Rhon, Germany. At this location, the group continued to gather members and continued their farming and publishing ventures. A few years later, in 1931 Arnold decided to merge with the established Hutterian Church. This merger helped the young church with finances as well as providing mentoring and guidance. Four years later in 1935, Eberhard Arnold died and without his connections and leadership the group was expelled from Germany by the Nazis. Seeking refuge in England, the group was able to gather more members and regroup from the sudden expulsion. As tensions mounted with the Nazis in Europe, the English sympathy for the group dissolved and in 1940 the group was asked to leave England. Three hundred and fifty members decided to leave Europe and traveled to Paraguay, while another small group traveled to Macedonia. While creating a community in South America,

the group decided to split with the Hutterites because the goals of the two groups had started to veer from each other. After living in Paraguay for over 14 years, the group felt that that they were being called to move to the United States. (1971)

In 1954 the group from South America traveled to New York and bought an estate of 100 acres in Rifton, New York, which they called Woodcrest. This became their central hof, or community. By the 1970s the group had started two other communities in Connecticut and Pennsylvania. (Oved, 1996) As the years went by more and more communities were started in the Mid-Atlantic States and even overseas in Europe and Africa. By 1994 the population in all these hofs was over 2,400 people. Most communities had populations around 200-300, but Woodcrest the main community, had around 400. (Zablocki, 1971) By the time the group settled in New York, they had fully developed their doctrine based on the original teachings of Eberhard Arnold. At all times the Brothers, or members of the Bruderhof, saw themselves as a social movement that was deeply concerned with world problems and that was committed to bringing about radical social change for the second coming of Christ. (Zablocki, 1971) They felt that this social change would take place with the spread of Christianity. They believed that the universe was in a death struggle between good and evil and that good must ultimately win. However, good only wins with the help of man. This help came from the ability of a man or woman to empty himself of ego and allowing himself to be filled with the Holy Spirit. (1971)

The Society of the Brothers believed that they were called to serve the world by bearing witness to the spirit of goodness, peace, love and truth in all the simple everyday acts of living. However they had to do this as a separate people. This was accomplished by separating themselves from the world and living in their own environment. At the same time the group still felt that they were to remain intimately involved with the world around them. This was accomplished by serving their greater regional community through bearing witness to them through community service and opening Woodcrest to visitors. They believed that this service would ultimately help with the triumph of good over evil.

Because they wanted to stress the simple everyday life as the way to worship God, they de-emphasized the sacraments and rituals of traditional orthodox churches. They wanted to live as Jesus Christ and his disciples did in the New Testament and therefore believed that any ritual that was not in scripture should not be in their lives. (1971) They did share in communion because of the last supper, and they baptized those who committed their lives to Christ because they were told to do so in the New Testament. However the traditions of confirmation that many churches celebrated did not become part of the Bruderhof doctrine. They did not feel that there should be a set age when one needed to dedicate their lives to Christ because every individual had their own walk with Christ. Each person was called at a different time to commit his or her life. Some other traditions that remained a part of the Bruderhof life were the celebration of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. These days were marked with a special extended religious celebration that was followed by a large special meal. At Christmas small gifts were often exchanged between family members, but at all times these were small gifts often made during free time for adults or in craft time during school for children. (1971)

Another part of the triumph of good over evil was the breaking down of traditional barriers. They believed that when a community of individuals pledged to break barriers, the individual became less important and a true community began to emerge. One of the most important was the sacrifice of the psychological boundary around the individual ego. (1971) This sacrifice was serving God because it made a person open to God's love. They called this sacrifice "ego-renunciation." (1971, pg 29) In this transformation the Society of Brothers believed that the ego died and the person was reborn in the spirit of Christ. Once this conversion happened, every act of the person became an action for the Kingdom of God. This was what they considered bearing witness and it was in these everyday acts that the outside world would see God in them.

Another barrier that they broke was the ownership of private property. The land that the group lived on was held in common ownership. Every adult in the community worked in exchange for food, clothes, and shelter. Members were to always take what they needed from the community supplies to properly feed and clothe their families in exchange for a 48-hour

work week. They did not exalt the work that they performed; however they still considered it an important service to God. Work was done communally and no one was allowed to take glory or praise for individual work. (1971) They retained this wealth and ownership from their toy making venture as well as the donations by incoming members. When an individual or family became a full member, they gave up all their previous wealth to the community or to another Christian charity. (1971) Their membership was open to anyone who wanted to join. However they did have a lengthy novitiate period in which a prospective member's ability and willingness to give up his ego and dedicate his life were tested.

Members were usually recruited from those who visited the community. The Brothers had an open door policy. Anyone who wanted to visit was welcome into the community with having to pay for the stay. However, if a person decided to stay longer than a day they were expected to participate fully in the communal work of the community. Most of these visitors and eventual converts came from Protestant backgrounds and were individuals who were looking to do more than the traditional churches were accomplishing. (1971)

Once becoming a member, an individual did not find himself or herself ruled by a theocracy. Instead the community still obeyed the government of the country that they were in. They paid taxes and made sure that their members that emigrated from other countries took the proper process toward citizenship. However, while they obeyed the government, they still had an organized leadership system in their communities. The organization was a combination of voluntary enthusiastic commitment and an organizational control. The head of this organization was the Vorsteher, or bishop. His responsibility was to make sure that all the communities were economically and spiritually organized together. While there were multiple communities around the Mid-Atlantic States, these communities were still considered connected and they all worked and shared their resources. Under The Vorsteher there were the Servants of the Word who were spiritual leaders for the community. Other roles were Stewards who headed the different industries, the Witness Brothers who were male mentors for younger members, Housemothers

who were female mentors, married members, non-decision making members, novices, guests and children. (1971)

Married members were higher in the hierarchy because the family unit was the central unit to the community.



Figure 41: Carriage House at Woodcrest. This was the central hub for Bruderhof life.

Families lived together in their own apartments and had special times set aside to spend together. Mothers came into work an hour later than the rest of the community members because they had that time to feed their family the breakfast meal and to clean the house. Mothers also went home from work earlier than the rest because they needed to spend the afternoon with their children. During the day children were either in school or in the nursery. Once children reached high school age they went to public school in order to start interacting with the outside world. This helped them decide if they wanted to remain and marry within the community once they reached 18 years of age.

While breakfast was eaten in the individual apartments, the rest of the meals, lunch and dinner, were eaten communally often in the main building. (*Figure 1 and 2*) For the Brothers, the dining room was the hub for their communal life. In Woodcrest, the main community, the dining room was in the main building called the carriage house. This room was also used for all their meetings, dances, and celebrations. They even have their religious meetings at night and on Sunday in this room. The group did not have a separate church building because they felt that the people were the church and that a separate building was not necessary for their worship.



Figure 42: Inside the Carriage house during mealtime at Woodcrest. There was little decoration in the main room. The chairs and tables were simple design.

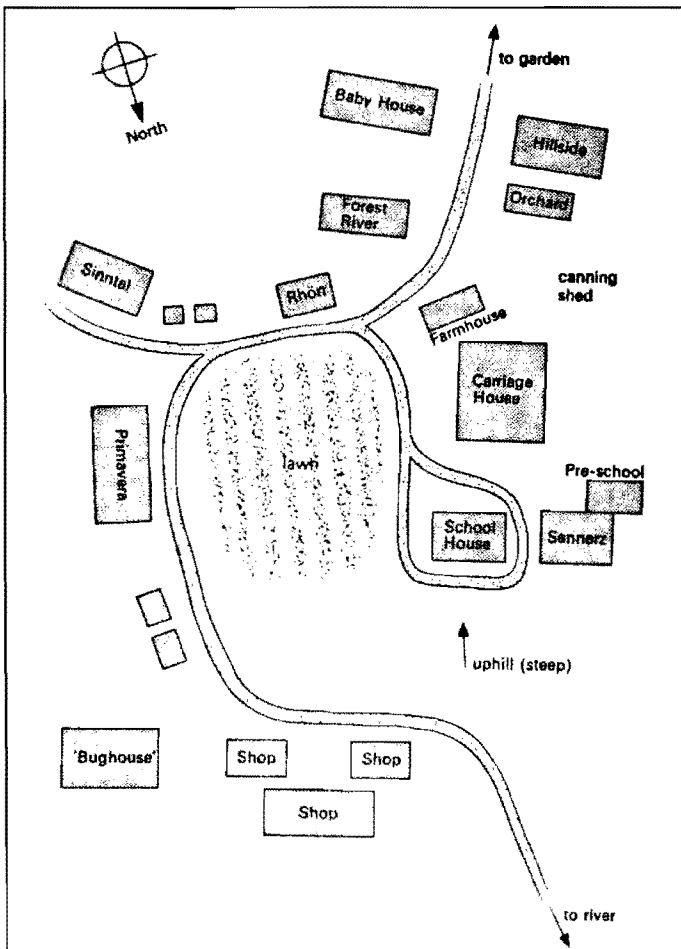


Figure 43: Map of Woodcrest. The winding road helped the community be good stewards of the environment.

Because every part of their life was worship, they could not be restricted by worshipping in one building. (1971)

The community plan was very organic and tied to nature. (Figure 3) The main building looked out toward the Catskills and the roads wound among the buildings in order to follow the topography and not disturb any natural settings. They also wanted to design a community that had the ability to grow

with its new members. They believed that by having an organic layout this growth would be natural and grow with the land. By not being restricted by a grid or strict layout, the group felt that they were able to respect the natural environment that God created by building up around trees or other elements.

Part of respecting this environment was creating a community where walking was encouraged and possible. Everything in the community was a short walking distance from everything else. Cars were only used on occasion to take the older children to school and to buy goods from nearby

towns. While the group still bought some goods, most of the food was grown in the community. There were many gardens and orchards on their land and they often had enough food to eat fresh fruit and vegetables in the summer, fall, and spring, and to eat caned food in the winter. While at first the community made their own clothes, they started buying their clothes in bulk in the 1970s in order to fit into the outside world better and to let visitors feel part of the experience more easily. (Oved, 1996)

When the group first purchased the 100-acre lot that was 2 hours north of New York City, sixty-five people moved into the area to start adapting the site to their use. There were some buildings already on the site, however within a few years of being in New York, a large fire destroyed most of the existing structures. This gave the group the ability to create a community specific to their needs. They used modern technologies and materials in order to attract new members by not appearing “backwards” or “out of date” to the outside world. While using modern materials, the group still had a German background with strong carpentry skills. This skill was shown in the well-built wooden frame buildings. However, while the carpenters were skilled, there was still no decoration on the buildings. The group believed that any excessive decoration was unnecessary and did not glorify God.

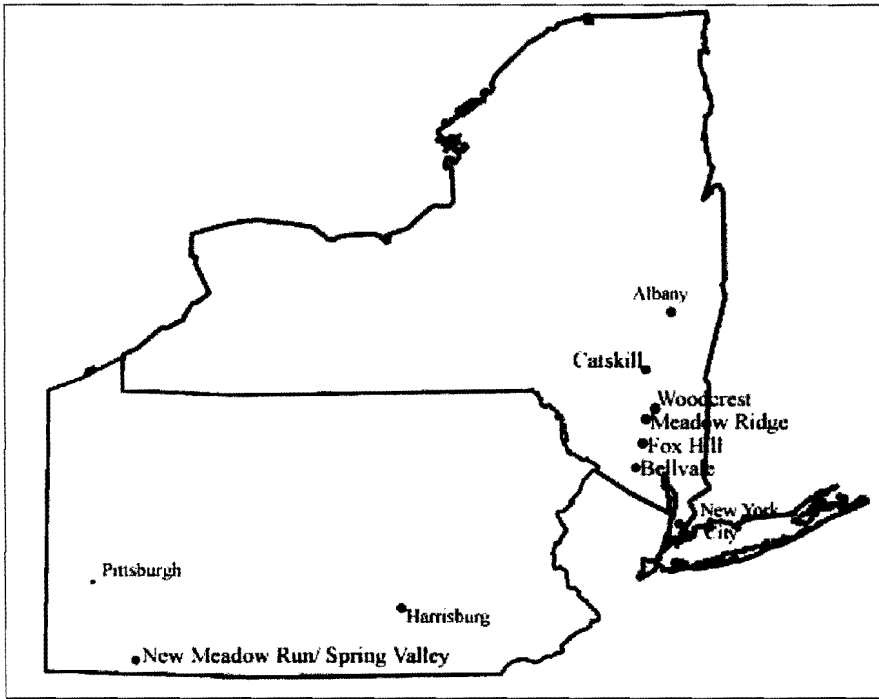


Figure 44: Sketch of a typical residential structure at Woodcrest the bottom floor was a workstation and then the upper floors were apartments

Upon arriving at the community the first buildings that a visitor would encounter were the workshops. There were three buildings grouped together that made the main work area for the community. This was called the Community of Playthings and this was where the high quality and expensive wooden toys were made. Across the street from the site was the carriage house and kitchens where the meals were prepared and eaten communally. Near this building was the Victorian Style schoolhouse, which was the only building that was not burned in the fire. While they did not care for the excessive detail in the building, they did not tear the building down because they were able to adapt the building to their use and not waste the materials.

Scattered around the community were four large residential buildings. The bottom floors all housed work departments, such as the laundry, sewing, preschool and nursery. Each of these buildings was 2-3 stories and housed 5 or more families. (Zablocki, 1971) (*Figure 4*) Each family had one large common room that acted as a kitchen, living, and dining room. It also acted as a bedroom at night. Each family also had additional bedrooms with 2-4 children per room. These rooms were plainly decorated with only a few religious decorations that were usually made by the children as gifts for their parents. There were separate areas specified for single women and men to live. The women were located on the upper floor of a residential unit in order to be close by married women to help them with domestic duties, while the men were located near the workshops. (1971)

Woodcrest was only the Brothers first community in North America. While this community was not its first attempt at a settlement, it was the first community that was able to last and prosper even into today. From this community six other communities were started in New York and Pennsylvania. (*Figure 45*) In the 1980s the group was even able to return to Germany and start new communities in England and Australia. With the addition of each new hof, the group was expanding their view on how Christians should live. Each community was designed differently, but they all contained the communal buildings, and never built separate church buildings. The manufacture of wooden products has remained the groups' main source of income and each hof has its own special product that it produces. The Bruderhof communities



aimed at being a separate people that would bear witness to the world on how Christ intended his Kingdom to reign on earth. In their 84-year history thus far, they continue to aim for that goal and continue to gather new members to try and prepare for the coming Kingdom.

Figure 45: Location map of Bruderhofs in New York and Pennsylvania. All of the communities in New York are within 2 hours driving time of each other.

Conclusion



“We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when He shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, “may the Lord make it like that of New England.” For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us.”- John Winthrop *A Model of Christian Charity, 1630 on board the Arbella*

With this statement, John Winthrop took the command from the Sermon on the Mount and declared that his community would be an example of the perfect Christian life for the rest of the world to see. After the Puritans many groups in America took the same commandment and made the same declaration. These common declarations lead us back to our original question- Is there a trend in the social and physical environments of American Christian utopian communities?

It can be hard to image that a modern group, like the Bruderhof, would have anything in common with a group that came almost 300 years before them. While each community had their own vision of heaven and had their own ideas of how that vision would be realized, there were threads that bound all these groups together. The chart below shows many of these threads that the groups had in common. While there are many different categories, all the details can be placed into six different themes. Following are questions that can help determine how well each community fit into these themes.

1. Was social change a thrust for the formation of the community?
 2. Did all the groups have a similar belief system?
 3. Did each group have a formal governmental organization?
 4. Did each group have a strong economic organization?
 5. Did the groups plan their towns in similar ways?
 6. Did the communities have a similar architecture?
-

Matrix of characteristics of the nine American Chirsitan Utopias in this study

	Puritans 1630-1730s	Moravians 1744-1820s	Harmonists 1805-1905	Separatists of Zoar 1817-1898	Inspirationalists 1842-1932	Shakers 1772-1920s	Mormons 1830-1890s	Perfectionists 1841-1879	Bruder 1920 Preser
Social Change is an influence	Reformation	Reformation	Reformation Industrialization	Reformation	Reformation Industrialization	1805-1905 Revivalism	Revivalism	Revivalism Industrialization	Revivalis WWI
Members recruited from	Brought over	Brought over	Brought over	Brought over	Brought over	Revivals	Revivals and those without a strong church	Revivals	Students and visits
Nationality/ethnicity	English	German	German	German	German	English	American	American	German America
pure, simple church	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Celibate	No	No	Yes (just for a period)	Yes (just for a period)	Encouraged	Yes	No	No	No
Charasmatic leader	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Organized government	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Members had to prove sainthood	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (just for preisthood)	Yes	Yes
link to outside	small Trade	Trade	Trade	Trade	Trade	Trade/ Recruit	Trade/ Recruit	Trade	Trade Recru
Agriculutre important	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Industries	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Community of Goods	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shared lands	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional planning	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
More than one town at a time	100	peak 500	peak 600	peak 550	1450 all towns 250-400 town	75-550	12,000 Salt Lake City	250	Woodcr 400
Population of towns	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Plan for efficiency	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Grid	Organic	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	All in one building	Organ
Near water	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Architecture simple	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Communal housing	Individual household	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Individual household	No	Yes
Traditonal church architecture	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Church in center of town	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	All in one building	Yes

Was social change a thrust for the formation of the community?

Social change in various forms was a force behind the formation for each group. Either the Protestant Reformation or Revivalism affected all of the groups and many were also affected by Industrialization. All these social changes made inspired individuals and groups to want change in their religious environment.

In the 19th century the Protestant Reformation impacted many of the groups that originated in Europe. In England the Protestant Reformation took the form of the Anglican Church. Many have described this church as the Catholic Church without the Pope because most of the liturgical practices in the new church stayed the same. Churches were still lavishly decorated, sacraments still played a prominent role, and the organization of the service still followed the organization of the Catholic mass. The Puritans, upset with the sins of the Catholic Church, felt that the Anglican Church needed to drastically change to distance themselves from the Catholic Church. In Germany, the Lutheran Church was the main avenue for the Protestant Reformation. Unlike the Anglican Church, the Lutheran Church at first aimed at creating a noticeable division between themselves and the Catholic Church. The original goal of Luther in his *95 Theses* and in his new church was to create a pure church that was not corrupt. However, many pietistic groups in Germany, including the Moravians, Harmonists, Separatists of Zoar, and the Inspirationalists, felt that this was never accomplished and believed that the Lutheran Church had itself become corrupt. These groups ended up separating from what they believed was a church that needed to continue its Reformation.

While five of the groups thrived off of criticism of the Protestant Reformation, the other four groups were born from Revivalism, both in Europe and the United States. In England, Mother Ann was originally “inspired” by a country revival. Once in the United States her following was given new life by the frontier revivals of the Great Awakening. These frontier revivals also caused emotional conversion experiences for Joseph Smith and John Humphrey Noyes, the leaders of the Mormons and the Perfectionists respectively. Eventually when the revival spirit crossed the Atlantic to Germany, Eberhard Arnold, the leader of the Bruderhof, also

had a conversion experience. For all these leaders this conversion experience convinced them that a new church needed to be created in order to get the true experience that they had from their conversion to the rest of society. Once forming a new church the Perfectionists, Mormons, and Shakers gathered many of their initial members from people who attended the revivals and wanted something different from the traditional church. The Bruderhof gathered members from local student groups who were frustrated with the disorder in Germany after WWI and who were ready for something simple and pure. These revivals that inspired the leaders were large events with large attendances. Keeping this tradition of trying to reach large numbers of people, all the groups but the Perfectionists were keen on proselytizing and saw their recruitment efforts as a service to God.

All of the groups were spawned from the Protestant Reformation or from Revivalism, however most of the groups were shaped by Industrialization as well. In both Europe and the United States the process of Industrialization took away the simple life of the farmer and peasant. For many this new system was complicated, harsh, and unhealthy. Many of the utopian communities consisted of peasants and farmers who were threatened by this change of lifestyle. These people craved for a return to a simplistic life style based on agriculture.

This lifestyle that the Industrial Revolution created was one filled with class conflict and “unharmonious environments.” The pollution from new manufacturing methods created dirty and unhealthy cities that were full of crime and poverty. Because of these sinful environments, many felt the need to separate and therefore protect themselves from evil influences. For example the Harmonists moved away from Indiana to escape the lewd river economy that prospered with the steamboat. Similarly, Amana left New York because the industrial city of Buffalo was encroaching on their purity.

While many of these groups wanted to escape the evils of industrialization they still embraced the inventions and wanted to show how industrialization could be used in a civilized Godly manner. The Shakers and the Perfectionists held inventiveness to be a desired quality in members. Both groups were creative and were constantly trying to improve existing tools and

products or create new ones. The Harmonists and Moravians used steam power machinery to make products and goods for their communities and to sell. All the communities, except for the Puritans, used some sort of machinery or mills to finish goods for their communities use in daily life or for profit.

Social change, in the form of The Protestant Reformation, Revivalism, or Industrialization, impacted all nine communities. These changes were a driving force behind the formation of the group. These changes inspired the groups to want further change.

Did all the groups have a similar belief system?

A return to a simple, pure church was a central factor for each group. Either reacting to the Protestant Revolution or Revivalism, the groups were all reacting against what they considered an orthodox church. All the groups believed that the Church was too entangled in tradition and liturgical customs to truly live the Christian life presented in the New Testament. While some of the specifics of this life, such as celibacy, differed in each group, all of them agreed on the need to return to an Apostolic church and the need to be separated from the world.

For them the simple and pure church was the church that was described in the Acts of the Apostles. In the church that was described in the New Testament there were few to no sacraments. Baptism and communion were commanded by Jesus for his followers to declare and remember Him in their life. However, by the 1600s and beyond many churches had added sacraments, such as confirmation and forgiveness of sins by a priest. These sacraments and acts were not included in the New Testament and therefore, these groups believed, should have no place in the life of a Christian. Another act that should not be part of a Christian's life was murder and killing. Because of the 6th commandment, "You shall not murder", and the law "love thy neighbor as thyself," these groups believed that it was not right to serve in the military and murder fellow humans in war. Most of the groups also did not feel that it was right for their children to be educated in a state run school that taught them a corrupt religion. All the groups taught their own children for a portion of their education. While some groups sent their children to public high schools or to

Universities for further education, no group would send their children to a school that taught a belief system other than their own.

Because the groups wanted to return to a simple and pure church, they felt it necessary to separate from society in order to escape the evils that were in the world. However, the groups still all abided by the Sermon on the Mount and aimed at being a “city on a hill” for the world to see. These groups needed to show that their way of life was better and that it needed to be replicated and expanded. Therefore, while they decided to live amongst themselves, they still retained ties to the outside world. Some of the groups, such as the Shakers, Mormons and Bruderhof actively sought outside membership. For them this was the only way to sustain their communities and it proved successful. The Shakers lasted almost 150 years and the Mormon Church still exists today as does the Bruderhof communities. Another tie to the outside world was through trade. All of the groups had some sort of economy that was connected to the rest of society. This tie was necessary to financially provide for the group’s well being, but was also necessary to provide prosperity to the communities. The only group that for a time completely was isolated, and therefore geographically separated, from society was the Mormons when they went to establish a community in Salt Lake City. However, at all times new members were allowed to come into the community and eventually they reestablished trade with the outside world with the railroad.

While all the groups agreed on the need for a pure church that separated itself from society, they did not all agree on details of this belief system. The main issue the groups differed on was celibacy. There were only three groups that actively pursued celibacy. For the Shakers, celibacy was a defining attribute and they felt it was necessary to have pure communion with God. The Harmonists and the Separatists of Zoar both were celibate for only a portion of their history. For both groups celibacy was necessary for survival during a financially rough period. However, while both groups eventually allowed marriage and procreation, they still saw celibacy as Godly and strongly encouraged it among their members. While these groups saw celibacy as Godly, other groups felt that the traditional family unit was also Godly because it was increasing the Christian population. The family unit was present in most of the groups, such as the Puritans,

Mormons, Amana, Bruderhof, and after celibacy ended the Harmonists and Separatists of Zoar. Another group that had family units were the Moravians. However, while marriage and children were always allowed, originally men, women, and children all lived in separate dormitories. By the time the group created their second community in Salem, this practice had ended and traditional family units were in use. The only group that did not see the need for either celibacy or the traditional family unit was the Perfectionists of Oneida. Rather this group had “free love” or group marriage where they still expanded Gods population, but, as they believed, they were perfecting this population through eugenics.

All the groups saw a need to return to a pure and simple church. To accomplish this they all also saw the necessity for separation from the world. In no case was this separation absolute, but it was still necessary for them to provide a good example to the rest of society. While these major issues the groups all agreed on, there were details that the groups disagreed on. The major detail was whether to use celibacy or the family unit. So while a return to a simple, pure belief system was a central factor for each group, there were still details and organization that differed among the groups.

Did each group have a formal governmental organization?

For all the groups there was a need to be organized in order to prosper and provide a good example to the rest of society. Part of this organization was the establishment of some type of formal government with a leader, council and membership. Again, like their belief system, many details of each system differed, but each system still had some formal organization.

All the groups were ignited and often begun by one individual. This individual became the original leader of the group and often remained in leadership for a good portion of their history. All these leaders also had in common that they were very charismatic. This charisma was needed to gain a following, inspire prospective members to believe in their cause, as well as motivate the members to continue believing in the cause.

While each group had a charismatic leader, they also had a leadership council underneath this leader. In all the groups, except for the Shakers, these councils were all male because traditionally they were the leaders in society. The council was usually established to function as an advisory council for the leader, or to operate as a spiritual advisor to the community. In whatever capacity it functioned, the council was made up of the leaders and often elders of the community.

Finally, all the groups also had requirements on their membership. Some of the Pietistic groups wanted to keep the membership German in order to keep homogeneity to the group in language and ethnicity. Some, such as the Harmonists or Moravians allowed non-Germans, but the majority of members were still German. While ethnicity played a role for some groups, the most important requirement in all the groups was for prospective members to prove their loyalty and ability to be in the group. This usually came in the form of proving their "sainthood" or belief in Christ. All the groups had some form of proving their faith. The only group that did not require this of their general membership was the Mormons, however for males to enter into a priesthood they needed to establish their belief and commitment in the church. While the groups had this need to prove oneself, once a person was permitted membership they were given general equality. In some instances males still had more power than females. However, there were no economic distinctions and everyone's needs in the community were met.

Formal organization of the communities' government was important for the proper operation of their towns. These governments needed to be efficient because in most cases they were organizing populations between 400 and 600 people. These populations needed to be well structured in order to be successful.

Did each group have a strong economic organization?

Economic prosperity was a necessity to show that the operation and way of life of the community was the true example of how the rest of society should operate. Two of the most important parts of this economic prosperity were to keep trade and contact with the outside world

and to create a self-sufficient environment. For each group this self-sufficiency came in the form of communalism.

As already mentioned, economic prosperity was a necessity for the groups survival. However it was also needed to prove to society that their way of life worked. Part of this economic prosperity came from trade with the outside society. The money that they made with selling goods helped them get any supplies that they could not, produce as well as expand their community. The goods that these communities sold were considered high quality to the outside world. The products were handmade and manufactured goods. For example, the Shakers had handmade furniture and the Society of the Brothers sold handmade wooden toys. While trade was important, for most of the groups, some groups had limited trade because of their decision to be pioneers. The Puritans were some of the first in the new land and therefore had limited trading with their neighbors, the Indians. They also had limited trading with England because of the time delay from shipping. Similarly, once the Mormons moved to Utah, they had limited trading with the Eastern states because of the lack of transportation. However, once the railroad came to the territory, trade with the outside society boomed.

When the Puritans and Mormons had limited trading, they had to be self-sufficient to survive. While many of the groups kept trading ties with the outside world, they also aimed at being self-sufficient so that they did not have to depend at all on a secular world. One of the most important aspects of this self-sufficiency was communalism. The most common form of communalism was having a community of goods. All the communities displayed some form of this communalism. The Puritans and Mormons had some land in common, but they also allowed individuals to own property. However at no time during their communal periods did members have to pay for their land and when building in the community, whether it was an individual household or community building, the whole community participated. Everyone in these communities was responsible for the upkeep of the common land. All the other communities had communal ownership of their land. These communities that held common ownership worked in various jobs in lieu of wages and in return received housing, food, clothing, and other needs. The

Mormons had a degree of this working in lieu of wages as well. They created a trading system among wards. This trading system provided necessitates of life for all the members in their community.

Another important part in communalism was communal housing. Not all communities lived in communal housing, but rather some decided that families could have their own houses. As stated, the Mormons and Puritans were allowed to have their own property and houses. However the entire community built these individual households, often with materials provided by other members of the community. All the other communities had communal housing. While some, like the Shakers, Moravians, and Harmonists had dormitories, others like the Separatists of Zoar, Inspirationalists, and Bruderhof had apartments.

Part of the communalism and self-sufficiency for the communities was providing food. For all the communities this came in the form of agriculture. In all the communities large agricultural fields, gardens, and orchards were present. In some of the communities individual households were allowed to have gardens to cultivate their own produce, but in all the communities there were communal agricultural fields. Another area that provided goods for the communities was industry. Industries were present in various forms: sewing, mills, manufacturing. These produced other goods and necessities for the communities as well as providing products to be sold to the outside world for profit.

To be a city on a hill for the world to see, the communities had to be successful. To be successful these communities needed to be economically prosperous. To accomplish this, the groups maintained trading ties with the outside world, but also created a self-sufficient environment in which they were not dependent on the secular world.

Did the groups plan their towns in similar ways?

When any of the communities came to America, they separated themselves from the established society. In order to have this separation, the groups often had to move into the frontier

and areas untouched by the sinful, secular society. In these areas, each group carved out and built their own towns.

When the communities first started in America, they all started to shape their physical environment into a town. However, as some groups expanded with additional members and grew with the success of their economy, they formed other communities. The Shakers had the most towns, which spread from Maine to Kentucky. All these towns were connected to the original town, Mount Lebanon, because the leaders of each town often came from Mount Lebanon. Other groups also had multiple communities, often planned at a regional level. The Puritan communities were all grouped in the Boston area. They traded with each other and often new communities were started with the help and support of already established towns. The Moravians and Mormons also had multiple towns centralized in one area. Both groups had a central community with satellite towns that supported the main community. Another type of regional planning was seen in Amana. This group had seven towns, each with their own industry, that all worked together to make one large successful community. While there were many groups that created multiple towns at one time, two groups consciously decided to reserve all their efforts for one town. Both the Harmonists and the Separatists of Zoar decided to keep all their members in one community and in the case of the Harmonists; they even moved an entire population of 600 from a second town to make this happen.

To carve out their environment, each community created an organized system of designing and planning their town. All the communities justified their organization and plan as the most efficient design for their way of life. For them this efficient design was necessary to support a simple lifestyle while also creating an environment that sustained their economic pursuits. As already stated, the need for an efficient, prosperous, and successful economy was necessary for the groups to prove to the rest of the world that their way of life was healthier, more prosperous, and more comfortable. Since they achieved a better way of life through their dedication to Christ, they were showing the world that their form of Christianity worked and was the example of how life should operate. For most of the communities, this efficient design was in the form of the grid.

In the 19th century, the grid system was used in industrial American cities because it was quick and easy to lay out as well as operate. These utopian communities formed during the 19th century used the grid for the same reason, however, they justified the grid by saying that by being efficient they were being good stewards of their time and serving God. Only the Mormons justified using the grid with scripture from the Old Testament.

Of the three communities that did not use grid, two were communities outside the period in the 19th century when utopian communities flourished. The Puritans came before the Industrial Revolution and the excessive use of the grid. While the grid was not a foreign concept during the 17th century, the Puritans were not accustomed to using the grid. They came from rural villages in England that used an organic one street plan. This plan usually contained one main street in the community that everything was built around. When the Puritans came to American they used this same plan because it was what they knew. This plan also helped the towns follow the law set forth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter that made it mandatory that all houses be within 1/2 mile of the meetinghouse. The other group that used the organic plan was the Bruderhof who came after the Industrial Revolution. They used the organic plan because for them it was easier keep everything within walking distance. Also, being affected by growing societal concern for the environment, they believed that it was Godly to be good stewards of their natural environment. This made them conscious of keeping natural features and building around them rather than over them. The only group that did not use a grid or organic plan was the Perfectionists. At Oneida this group put most of their activities in one building. However, while they did not have formal town, for them one building was still an efficient way to live.

All the communities were conscious of the design that they used to plan their communities, but they were also conscious of the placement of their towns in relation to natural features. All the towns were located near water and in the case of the Mormons; they even brought water to their town via canals when they lived in the desert. In all of the communities, except the Bruderhofs who had access to modern plumbing, the proximity to water meant both physical survival as well as economic survival. Water kept the members alive, but was also used

for trade and industry. Many of the communities, such as the Shakers, the Mormons, and the brothers of the Bruderhof, also consciously used hills because of the spiritual symbolism of going up toward heaven.

These Christian utopias consciously planned their communities. While all the groups did not have multiple communities or the same design for their plan, they all used a plan that was efficient for their way of life. They all justified this efficiency with their simple belief system including the need to not waste time. They also justified the need for efficient planning with the need to be the successful example of Christianity.

Did the communities have a similar architecture?

While the architectural style in all the communities was not the same, the view that architecture should be fairly simple was seen in all the communities. Part of this view was influenced and justified by their belief in a simple church. However they also justified this with the need to have efficiency in building up a community.

The simplistic architecture was best exemplified in each community with this domestic architecture, which included both housing and industrial uses. These buildings were all built with local materials and very little detail. While there was little detail, the buildings were built with skill and were built to last. Many of the groups came with a strong carpentry background and they used this skill to create well-crafted environments. This was best exemplified with the Shakers, who believed that any activity they performed was glorifying God, therefore all their work, including furniture and construction was performed with the utmost care and craft. All the communities justified using little detail because of their belief system in returning to a simple church. Any ornate or lavish decoration was unnecessary and took the focus away from God. They also justified it with their need to be efficient. Spending time on detail that was not necessary for the operation of the community was not an efficient use of time. This time was better used to expand their community both physically and economically.

One important building or room that all the towns had was a place to worship and have religious service. While not all the communities used traditional church architecture or even had a separate church building, they all placed this function in the center of town or their environment. This showed the importance of the function in each town. In most cases, the church carried on the tradition of simple architecture. However, some groups used decoration in their church or religious room. The Moravians, the Mormons, and the Perfectionists all used decoration and they justified using this decoration because they were using spiritual gifts to appreciate and produce art and this also glorified God. However, all these groups only started to use detail on these buildings once their communities were already established and successful.

All the communities did have a similar view on architecture. They all believed at some point that architecture needed to be simple in order to keep the focus on God and to not waste time with unnecessary detail. All the groups also put special focus on their church or religious building, not necessarily through its detail, but through the central placement of the building within the town.

Answering the Question

Because none of the environments that the communities entered were exactly the same, we cannot expect the communities to be exactly the same. Even different towns within the same group looked different. However, when we consider the above questions and see that the answer to each question is the same for all nine communities, the defining aspects of American Christian Utopian communities becomes clear. A charismatic individual who was ignited by a social change started all the communities and he/she responded to these changes by creating a church that was founded on the principle of returning to simple and pure principles. In order to accomplish these principles they all separated themselves from society in some degree, but they continued to trade in order to economically survive. This need to economically survive was key to the desire for self-sufficiency. This is what led most of the communities to use the grid plan as well as a simple architecture. While economics was an underlying thrust for an efficient plan, the

the groups still justified using the plan because for them efficiency was a way to glorify God. So we ask ourselves again- Is there a trend in the social and physical environments of American Christian Utopian communities? The answer is a resounding yes.

Final Thoughts

However is this answer surprising? To do a study on communities that all use the same text, the *Bible*, as their guide to life, one would expect to find similarities in their environments. I did not expect to find six major themes that connected all these groups together, but given their common histories of reacting to major social changes that fueled their desire to return to a simple, pure church it is not surprising.

Upon starting this study, I knew little about most of the communities except that they were Christian based. I assumed that because they were Christian that everything in the communities would be centered on religion. However, what I discovered was that economic survival of their community was a strong driving force behind many actions. The actions were justified and supported by the groups' beliefs and doctrine since a central focus was to provide a good Christian example for the world. Therefore economic survival was necessary to provide an example that society would relate to.

Also one would also expect that since many of the communities emerged during the 19th century; they would all have many similarities. However, simply using a time period does not explain why the two communities, the Puritans and Bruderhof, who were outside the 19th century also have the same themes. Rather these communities show that this Christian utopian ideal is present in all ages, even today. The Bruderhof show that this Christian utopian ideal presented by Jesus and his Apostles is not something that just has to be contained in the past but rather is relevant and alive in today's society.

There are many other groups in today's world that are trying to live the true Christian life. While most of these groups are not living in communal environments like the utopias in this study, they are trying to fit the words of Christ into the modern world. One alternative that takes

some lessons from utopian societies is the co-housing movement. While this movement has been associated more with environmental groups, the concepts of sharing responsibilities, such as cooking and childcare, can be carried over into a Christian co-housing environment. The younger generations of the Christian church in America are moving towards a more radical experience and are trying to return to basic teachings of the apostolic church. I feel that with this direction these utopian type environments, such as co-housing, are going to become more popular alternatives. While the modern world is constantly changing and becoming more complex with new technologies, this desire among Christians to return to a simple and pure life exemplified in the *Bible* will never change.

Bibliography

- Alexander, Thomas. (1980) *The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology*. Sunstone Magazine, July-August.
- Barthel, Diane. (1984) *Amana: From Pietist sect to American Community*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Burns, Amy. (1987) *The Shakers: Hands to Work Hearts to God*. New York: Aperture.
- DeMaria, Richard. (1978) *Communal Love at Oneida: A Perfectionist Vision of Authority, Property, and Sexual Order*. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Duss, John. (1943) *The Harmonists*. Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Book Service.
- Fogarty, Robert S. (1972) *American Utopianism*. Itasca IL: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc.
- Garrett, Wendell. (1995) *American Colonial Puritan Simplicity to Georgian Grace*. New York: Monacelli Press.
- Gelernter, Mark. (1999) *A History of American Architecture*. London: University Press of New England.
- Gollin, Gillian Lindt. (1967) *Moravians in Two Worlds*. New York: Columbia Press.
- Gutek, Patricia and Gerald. (1998) *Visiting Utopian Communities*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Haller, William. (1951) *The Puritan Frontier Town-Planting in New England Colonial Development 1630-1660*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hamilton, C Mark. (1995) *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*. New York: Oxford University press.
- Hayden, Dolores. (1976) *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism 1790-1975*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Hinds, William Alfred. (1971) *American Communities*. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith Press.
- Hill, Marvin ed. (1972) *Mormonism and American Culture*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Holloway, Mark. (1966) *Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America 1680-1880*. New York: Dover Publications.
-

- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. (1972) *Commitment and Community*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kring, Hilda Adam. (1973) *The Harmonists: A Folk Culture Approach*. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press.
- Moment, Gairdner ed. (1980) *Utopias: The American Experience*. London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Murtagh, William. (1967) *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Oved, Yaacov. (1996) *The Witness of the Brothers: A History of the Bruderhof*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Randall, E.O. (1904) *History of the Zoar Society*. New York: AMS Press
- Reps, John. (1965) *The Making of Urban America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rocheleau, Paul. (1994) *Shaker Built*. New York: Monacelli Press.
- Waller, George M. (1973) *Puritanism in Early America*. Toronto: D.C Heath and Company
- Yates, W Ross. (1968) *Bethlehem of Pennsylvania: The First One-Hundred Years*.
- Zablocki, Benjamin. (1971) *The Joyful Community*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books.
-

