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WRITINGS ABOUT THE SHAKERS, 1774-1799.

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VALUES IN CONFLICT
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF WRITINGS ABOUT THE SHAKERS
1774-1799

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

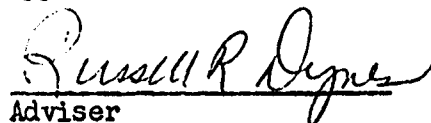
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1970

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PREFACE

I wish to acknowledge the assistance given to me in the preparation of this dissertation by the Members of my committee, Dr. Russell R. Dynes, Dr. Enrico L. Quarantelli, Dr. Alfred C. Clarke, and Dr. Erika Bourguignon. To my advisor, Dr. Dynes, a special word of gratitude for the time that he has taken to read and constructively discuss the manuscript in its various stages of preparation, before it was submitted to my committee.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- B Bentley, William. Diary of William Bentley....
- B. M. Barbe-Marbois, Francois. Our Revolutionary Forefathers....
- D. Dwight, Timothy. Travels; In New-England And New York....
- D. R. V. Rathbun, Valentine. "Preface," in Daniel Rathbun's
A Letter...to James Whittacor....
- F. M. Miranda, Francisco De. The Diary of Francisco De Miranda....
- L. "London Mob," in Valentine Rathbun's A Brief Account of a
Religious Scheme, Taught and Propagated by a Number of
Europeans....
- N. Y. Paltsits, V. H., ed. Minutes of the Commissioners for
Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New
York....
- R. La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, F. Travels Through the United
States....
- T. "Short (A) Account of the People Known by the Name of
Shakers....," in The Theological Magazine.
- TA. Taylor, Amos. A Narrative of the...People Known by the
Name of Shakers....
- TI. Philo. Letter to the Editor, The Theological Magazine.

- V. R. Rathbun, Valentine. A Brief Account of a Religious Scheme....
- W. Watson, Winslow, ed. Men And Times Of The Revolution; Or,
Memoirs Of Elkanah Watson....
- WH. Whitney, Peter. History Of The County Of Worcester....
- WT. West, Benjamin. Scriptural Cautions Against Embracing a
Religious Scheme....

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The objective of this inquiry is to determine what effect socio-historical circumstances have upon the participants' definition of conflict. The context for the study is the relationship that existed between the religious communal society called Shakers and their non-Shakers "host" society from 1774 through 1799 in northeastern United States. The central focus is upon how non-Shakers meaningfully interpreted Shaker action and ideas. This is done to discover whether the non-Shakers' identification of Shaker actions and ideas as endangering their group were affected by the processes of situation definition and selective perception. This will be studied by observing value conflicts* in sixteen, non-Shaker, eighteenth-century documents.

In order to determine the effect socio-historical circumstances have upon the participants' definition of conflict, six themes will be examined. Four themes deal with characteristics ascribed to the Shakers.

*A value conflict occurs when two groups hold opposing beliefs in what is desirable, and when one or both groups perceive the other as endangering their value or value system.

The themes and their indicators* reflect the non-Shakers' value judgments about (a) Shaker property, facilities, and products; (b) the Shakers as a group, such as the nature of their interaction, their physical appearance, etc.; (c) the Shaker leaders, such as their behavioral traits, their leadership capabilities, etc.; and (d) the Shaker religion: doctrine and practice. The frequency and use of positive and negative characterizations over twenty-five years, 1774-1799, will point to areas of value conflict which can, then, be interpreted by observing their contexts. The other two themes are concerned (e) with the awareness of anti-American characteristics, such as, the Shakers' foreign origin, and (f) with their system of belief that stressed personal obedience to the leadership rather than a personal determination of The Truth. The presence or absence of these six themes will show how certain characteristics are selected in accordance with the perceiver's values and "felt" concerns.

The data, the non-Shaker documents, will be analyzed by the method of content analysis.** This method will be used to examine the documents for conflict themes and to indicate the regularity of their symbolic expressions. An analysis and interpretation of the findings will indicate what relationship the themes and their expression have to their socio-historical settings. The results are to lead to the formulation of more specific hypotheses and theories.

*See Infra., Chapters III and IV, pp. 50-122, and Appendix A, pp. 136-148 for a full discussion of the themes and their trait indicators.

**Content analysis is a technique used 'for assessing the relative extent to which specified references, attitudes, or themes permeate a given communication.' (Holsti, 1968: 597; also see Riley and Stoll, 1968: 371-372).

B. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE SHAKERS.

Since the objective of this study is to examine conflict, this section of the introduction gives information about the Shakers which is needed in order to understand the nature of the conflict that developed between the Shakers and the non-Shakers. This will be discussed in two parts: (1) beliefs and (2) history. The purpose is to present the socio-historical context for understanding the conflicts that did occur. While the purpose of this study is to consider the Shakers from 1774 through 1799, events beyond this period will also be briefly considered. In addition, events occurring simultaneously within the colonies will be included for perspective.

A few initial statements about the Shakers are necessary. The Shakers developed in England around the middle of the eighteenth century. The group of Shakers at Manchester, England, was under the leadership of James and Jane Wardley when Ann Lee joined them in 1757. Ann Lee's spiritual experiences led to her recognition as the leader of the group in England and as the founder of the Shaker Society in America. Because of the perfection of her spiritual state of being, Ann Lee was called "Mother Ann." She was to instruct "her children," her followers, in The Faith. The parental titles "Mother" and "Father" were applied also to those closest to her in establishing The Faith in America.* In addition to this paternal leadership structure, the Shakers were also characterized by a set of unique beliefs.

*In subsequent years the titles of "Mother" and "Father" were seldom used to identify the ultimate leadership in The Church. However that leadership is corporately referred to as "The Parent Ministry."

1. Beliefs.

(a) Immanent Second Coming. The Shakers from their inception believed in the immanent Second Coming of Christ. Their expectation was fulfilled by the revelations of Ann Lee. She was declared to be the expected Second Coming. As such, her teachings and revelations were accepted as God's present and final dispensation. The Shakers considered all other dispensations as "back dispensations." Thus the teachings of Ann Lee superseded the Bible. Consequently the believer's full reliance was placed upon her and those she appointed. This belief led to a religious autocracy.

(b) Virgin Purity. Since Jesus and Ann, according to these beliefs were the perfect manifestations of The Christ Spirit in human form, had redeemed fallen man, they had founded again the state of virgin purity. There was no longer any reason for carnal knowledge and the reproduction of the race. It was the time of the spiritual order. The natural order of Adam and Eve had ended. Consequently the Shakers accepted the ideal of celibacy.

(c) Continuous Spiritual Revelation. The Shakers believed in a continuous spiritual revelation. They held that such revelations had not ceased with those related in the Bible. Furthermore, these spiritual revelations had an effect upon the body, causing a trembling, shaking, speaking in tongues, etc. This characteristic was common to "enthusiastic" religions.

(d) Re-establish Apostolic Era. In their belief that they were re-establishing the Apostolic Era* of the Christian Faith, it was accepted in 1787 that communes should be established as a way of life for all Shakers. The principle, set forth in The Book of Acts, had been practiced at Niskeyuna** by Mother Ann and those Believers that had come with her from England but did not become a general principle of organization until 1787.

(e) Pacifism. A fifth tenet was pacifism. The Shakers considered peaceful coexistence with all men to be a divine precept. To the Shakers this meant abstaining from war and bloodshed; "from all party contentions and politics of the world, and from all the pursuits of pride and worldly ambition." (Green, 1895: 5) This

*The Apostolic Era is "that period of Church history which covers the time between the day of Pentecost and the death of John, the last apostle. The apostolic age lasted as long as the churches were under the immediate guidance of an apostle." (Barnes, 1924: 71) The Shakers believe that under the apostles the primitive church was established. "Here was manifested that degree of purity, love, disinterested benevolence and peace never before known on earth; and here the members with one accord, forsook the lust of the flesh and all its carnal ties and relations...." (Green, 1848: 197) The Believers had all things in common. "They took no part in civil government, bore no arms of war,...." (Ibid, 198)

According to the records of ecclesiastical history, after the decease of the apostles and those faithful ministers who were their immediate successors, and who maintained in a good degree, amid scenes of opposition and persecution, the primitive purity of those principles by which Christianity was first planted, little room remained for the pure gospel. But afterwards in consequence of a relaxation of these first principles by members, the Church began to decline towards the world. (Ibid., 201)

**Niskeyuna was the Shaker's first settlement in America. It was located seven miles northwest of Albany, New York. The spelling of this word varies. The name is also spelled Niskenuna and Nyskayuna. Except where quotations are taken from original sources, the "Niskeyuna" spelling will be used here.

belief was at the base of two important considerations in interpreting much of the conflict the Shakers had with non-Shakers in the eighteenth century. (1) They refused the legitimacy of violence in human interaction. This refusal was interpreted as a denial of their assistance to the colonists' fight against the British. (2) They denied the authority of civil powers; or, powers of the world. This attitude had the earmarks of anarchy. Together these ideas made the Shakers appear to others as being anti-American.

2. A Narrative of Events.

(a) English Beginnings. As an enthusiastic religion, Shakerism was by its nature incompatible with traditional religions. The past was less binding upon the individual than his present spiritual experiences. For the Shakers, that incompatibility may be described as follows. By accepting the authority of immediate revelation, Shakerism did not subject itself to formal theology or to those who claimed their authority by reason of it. In this sense they were spiritual anarchists. One of the early accounts of Ann Lee concerned her appearance and interrogation before "four clergymen of the Church of England, all noted as linguistic scholars," concerning her pretensions to speak many languages.

The power of God fell upon her, the gift of tongues was imparted and she discoursed to these clergymen, speaking, as they testified, in seventy-two different languages, speaking many of them, as they declared, better than they had ever heard them spoken before. They advised her persecutors to let her alone. (White, 1904: 26)

The four clergymen by vindicating her claims established, at least to her followers, the principle of her authority, as well as opening the way to the denial of authority over her. In the broadest sense, it challenged the foundation of the established religious institution.

(b) The American Milieu of the Shakers. The American social milieu of the Shakers before and after their arrival in New York was turbulent. American Colonial relations with England were severely strained. In December of 1773 the Colonists protested the tea tax and what it symbolized in an event euphemistically termed "the Boston Tea Party." England in 1774 took immediate retaliatory actions, such as the closing of Boston harbor. And in September, just after the Shakers arrived, there was a Colonial Congressional meeting in Philadelphia which proceeded to declare the rights and grievances of the colonists against taxation without representation. After demanding repeal of unjust legislation, this congressional body sought to put "teeth" into their declaration by framing a "Continental Association" whose designated purpose was to establish an embargo against English products. Popularly elected local committees, committees of safety and inspection, were to enforce this measure. The local associations which sprang up used violent means when deemed necessary to enforce non-importation agreements. (Hicks, 1956: 74; Todd, 1950: 128) These committees continued after The Revolution began but were structurally altered to fit the legal framework of the colonial revolutionary governments. In New York State, charges of sympathizing with

the enemy were handled by the "Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies." Events such as these were polarizing colonial society into Tory and anti-Tory "camps." The uncommitted or wavering colonist was being pressed to decide his allegiance. This demand was incompatible with the Shaker beliefs about non-involvement in worldly affairs and pacifism.

In April 1775, British troops confronted Colonial patriots in battle at Lexington and Concord. A month later the Second Continental Congress met.

By mid-June 1776, British troops had again encountered and defeated armed Colonial resistance at Bunker Hill. The unsuccessful effort had been taken to prevent the British from assuming control of the heights surrounding Boston. The culmination of the antagonism soon followed. On July 4, 1776, independence was declared. The Revolution was officially begun.

(c) The Shakers at the Outbreak of the Revolution.

During the years after their arrival in America, the Shakers acquired land seven miles northwest of Albany. Here Ann and her followers gathered in 1776. Concerning their settlement, Edward Andrews wrote:

Settlement was probably speeded by the political excitement and unrest then prevalent in New York, the town to which George Washington had shifted his troops when the British, after their evacuation of Boston in March 1776, embarked on plans to gain control of the Hudson-Champlain route to Canada. Before the Howes appeared off the strategic post, however, Ann had joined her companions at Niskeyuna. (Andrews, 1963: 16)

(d) The Shakers are Affected by the War.

In spite of their move to the wilderness where they planned to prepare for the opening of Mother Ann's testimony in America, the Shakers were to feel the effects of the war. Albany had been chosen as the meeting place of three segments of the British forces in America who had been ordered to isolate New England from the other colonies. They came from the north, south, and west. But the plan failed. Not far from Albany, at Saratoga, the campaign was decisively terminated. On October 17, 1777, General Burgoyne, commander of the British forces coming from the north, surrendered his force of five thousand men.

(e) The Shakers and the Revival Movements.

The war was not the only concern of the regional inhabitants around Albany. Many of them had observed a decline in moral and religious values. Some people believed that the time was approaching for Christ's Second Coming. In response to these concerns, a revival began in New Lebanon, New York, in 1779. The four years of wilderness preparation by the Shakers were to find their culmination in this event and in the participants' beliefs.

The opening of the testimony of Christ's Second Appearing is described by Thomas Brown.

In the year 1779, at New Lebanon and adjacent parts there was much of a religious awakening; and many believed the millennium, or Christ's second coming, was near. They had various operations, and professed to have visions and revelations of the glory of that day. Hence the minds of many were somewhat prepared to receive the faith of these people. In

the winter of 1780, Talmage Bishop, of that place, by some means became acquainted with them, and received a measure of faith. Elated with joy he returned to Lebanon, bearing tidings of a strange people* at Niskenuna, having the power of God. (Brown, 1812: 316)

Participants in that revival sent delegates to visit the Shakers and to bring to them an account. They reported that Shakerism was the work of God.

Various and vague reports began to be spread abroad concerning them; multitudes soon flocked from Lebanon and thereabout to see them, and many joined them; in consequence of which there soon became a settlement in that place, which for some time past has been the residence of the ministration. (Brown, 1812: 317)

Many people came and went from the Shaker village. This caused some patriots to suspect the Shakers of providing aid to the enemy. The suspicion was reinforced by their pacifism.

Despite their problems with irate patriots, unsympathetic tribunals, and imprisonment for not swearing allegiance to the civil laws and authorities, the Shakers decided to further the public testimony of Christ's Second Appearing by conducting a missionary journey into New England. The year was 1781. It was the year of Cornwallis' defeat at Yorktown and the virtual assurance of independence for the colonies.

*When they came to America, they bore the name of 'a strange people,' which name in four or five years after, on account of their plain dress and address and their refusing to bear arms, was changed to the name of Shaking Quakers; but for some years past they have been called only Shakers." (Brown, 1812: 316)

Along with the Shaker message went rumors about their British sympathies. Mobbing was not infrequent occurrences. Rumors, however, had not prevented many from believing the Shakers. By 1786, three thousand persons had embraced the Shaker faith.

Both The Revolution and the religious awakening that had begun at New Lebanon ended in the mid-eighties. In the midst of a declining emphasis on religion, the Shakers were able to make few additional converts. To secure the converts that they had made, the Shaker leadership decided in 1787 that the Believers would find it spiritually and temporally advantageous to live together in communities. By 1795, eleven of these communities were formed. With the establishment of these communities came the need to establish means of producing the goods needed for economic survival. They developed craft industries and extensive farms. As the communities became established the Shakers again waited for a religious revival and the opportunity to preach their essential doctrines.

This static phase began to change in 1800 with the opening of The Kentucky Revival. News of its religious fervor, which was to last almost a decade, spread eastward. Hearing these reports, the Shakers sent three missionaries to Kentucky and Ohio in 1805. They found the inhabitants of the frontier believing in direct revelation and expecting the immanent Second Coming. In this new context the Shakers made new converts. While the focus of this study is on this early phase of Shaker history, the history of the Shakers after 1800 is continued here as background for those unfamiliar with their continued course of development.

(f) Renewed Shaker Growth and Conflict.

For the second time, a period of conflict ensued. Aside from charges of heresy, the Shakers were severely attacked for disrupting family life. The latter conflict refers to the problem that developed when one or the other person in a marriage was converted to Shakerism. Whether husband or wife, it was not always easy to determine whether the converted or the unconverted member of the marriage would have custody of the children. If the unconverted spouse was the woman, and if she retained the children, her problem was how to support her family. Part of the problem, at least in some cases, could be mitigated if the wife could retain the family's economic assets. This issue led to conflicts over property rights. In Ohio, the legislature passed a law which automatically gave a married couple's property to the spouse that was not converted. The trouble over child custody and property rights in this period caused much popular concern. This concern for the family structure was conceived as a social problem that had to be dealt with by state laws. Such matters and the public concern associated with them were not only found in the West. These problems also developed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century among Shakers and non-Shakers in eastern United States.*

*An example of such conflicts and the social implications for Shaker and non-Shaker interaction are demonstrated in the cases of Col. James Smith of Kentucky and Eunice Chapman of New York. A summary of the Chapman case can be found in Nelson M. Blake's article, "Eunice Against the Shakers," in New York History (Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 359-378). The James Smith case is presented in two pamphlets by the author: "Shakerism Detected...., 1810," and "Remarkable Occurrences...., (1810?)." The Shaker view can be found in Benjamin Young's pamphlet, "Transactions Of The Ohio Mob,...., 1810."

Another charge was that of aiding the enemy, this time the Indians.* The Shakers had developed a good relationship with the Indians.** The public mistrust of the Indians subsequently was transferred to the Shakers. Such charges reached their height about the time of the War of 1812, which maximized the fears of the pioneers of a British and Indian assault on the frontier. Again, Shaker pacifism increased the suspicion of the non-Shakers against the Shakers.

Despite the charges of heresy, family disruption, and aiding America's enemies, the Shaker's reputation was becoming increasingly positive. This was especially true in relation to the economic aspects of the Shakers. The superior quality of their produce and their reputed honesty in business dealings was acknowledged by the non-Shakers. The image was less and less obscured by religious conflict. Their religious beliefs and practices, as previously observed, went unnoticed as revivalism lost its force. It is perhaps ironic that Shakerism which thrived on enthusiasm found it of dwindling assistance as American religion lost interest in emotional manifestations and doctrinal considerations. Believing and experiencing The Divine as pure immediacy became more significant in itself than when the experience was associated with particular doctrines.

Nonetheless, business success and the extensive and prosperous farms brought a new area of conflict. Between the 1830's and 1850's,

*During the Revolution, the Indians had frequently aided the British. The frequency of Indian-British association with that of the Indian-Shaker association has not been discovered by this writer.

**In Ohio the Shakers sent missionaries among the Shawnee Indians. From this contact friendly relations developed between the Shawnees and the Shakers.

the issue of the holding of land by the Shakers came to the fore. In New York State, the Shakers were required to itemize their holdings and facilities. To end the believed threat of Shaker land expansion, the State was considering a land limitation act. By the '60's this issue had disappeared.

The first half of the nineteenth century found Shaker industry flourishing and this made the advantages of a communal life attractive to many. These economic and social advantages were slowly eroded away by a developing industrialism and the system of mass production in the larger society. The economic and social advantages of other types of cooperative effort were becoming more diffused. This process was hastened by the Civil War, the needs of which had to be met by a more efficient means of supplying the demands. From the existing archival statistics, there were between five and six thousand Shakers prior to the War. From then, throughout the rest of the century and continuing until the present, the society has been in decline.

(g) Contemporary Shakerism.

Today, two communities exist. Canterbury Village in New Hampshire has six remaining members. Their numbers are too few to carry on the economic professions that made them so well known. The second community is Sabbathday Lake, Maine. This community of nine members continues to produce a few "fancy goods" (aprons, knitted mittens, etc.) for sale in their store but all other industries have ceased.

At present, the Shakers are not accepting requests for membership. The leadership has questioned the advisability of changing their rural and communal life-style, which they believe would be required to accommodate the professional skills of some who have indicated an interest in recent years. Other factors have also influenced the present situation. Adoption laws in some areas did not favor the Shakers. Should such a favorable policy exist today, the general age of the members and the concentration of more household work on fewer shoulders would preclude accepting young persons into the community. And for some applicants, the life rather than the faith itself have seemed to motivate their interest. These people are not considered for membership.

Recent interest in their crafts has brought them a fame that would not have been envisioned in the eighteenth century. Although removed from their surrounding communities, modern means of communication and the need for commercial products have brought them into greater contact with the public. However, for many years now the Shakers have been respected members of the larger communities to which they are tied. The behavior once so repugnant to the general public had for the most part ceased to exist by the beginning of the twentieth century. Few of the present Shakers have anything but the vaguest recollections about practices, such as the often complained about dances and spiritual manifestations.

This narration of Shaker beliefs and history has established that conflicts were common and recurrent. The determination of what

factors underlie these recorded conflicts between the Shakers and the non-Shakers depends upon how conflict is conceptualized. The next section presents a working-definition and attempts to relate a theoretical perspective to this definition.

C. CONFLICT: DEFINITION AND RELATION TO THE STUDY.

1. Definition.

Conflict as it will be used here is contingent upon the analyst's perspective. Conflict is the actor's state of being whenever he defines his present self-interests* as threatened. The threat can come from military force, a supernatural agent, or his own imagination. It persists until resolved by the actor's re-definition of the situation as being non-threatening.

2. Relation to the Study.

Using this definition of conflict to study the relationship of non-Shakers with Shakers between 1774 - 1799, instances of conflict will be examined from two perspectives: (1) the objective and (2) the subjective. The objective perspective is that of the sociology of knowledge which states that ideas are related to their socio-historical setting. This relationship can be studied objectively, apart from the participant and his value-judgments. The participant's response is understood to be the product of social forces.

*The idea of "present self-interests" is a reference to the subject's continuous process of defining the situation. They also may be real or imaginary from some objectively defined criteria but the focus of attention here is that they are considered as real by the subject who formulates his definitions of the situation and his actions around them.

By contrast, the subjective perspective is characterized by "the definition of the situation" perspective which states that persons respond, not only to the objective criteria of a situation, but to its meaning. The participant is not a passive recipient of external forces. The actor, a person or a group, who defines the situation does it by taking into account the external conditions, events, and values, and, importantly, the latter often relates to how the participants' view their future.

The subjective and the objective aspects of conflict become apparent when the focus of attention is on values, those highly internalized beliefs in which the self finds its identity (whether individual or group). How, then, are the two aspects involved in precipitating value conflict? To determine this, it is necessary to identify the constituent factors of each aspect. The objective ones are represented by structural characterizations: the comparative strength of the value's supporting groups, the priority of the value threatened, and whether the condition of one group is already secure and has little tolerance for new ideas, etc. The subjective factor is represented by how an individual as a group member perceives his situation. In the case of conflict, does he perceive his self-interests, his values and therefore his identity, as threatened? As a symboling entity, the actor uses the objective factors in relation to his value system and past experiences to determine the potential for threat. Conflict is the result of the self or the group defining the situation as threatening to his self-interests, what is valued.

To relate the definition of conflict used here to Shaker and non-Shaker incidents of conflict, the following conditions must be present. From a subjective perspective, the actor's must be free* to perceive each other differently and who are free to alter their opinions in whole or in part. This is the basis by which the actor may assess his situation as threatening or not. This defining process is done by relating events and ideas to the actor's value system for evaluation. A second factor, the objective factor, is the socio-historical situation. This is divided according to intervals of time which are in turn divided by class and cultural variables.

Utilizing the foregoing, conflict is contingent upon the actor's definition of a threat to his value system. What is the nature of that threat? How is it related to the value system? Values are beliefs that are the most highly internalized and thereby are the most significant in meaningfully ordering, or interpreting, a situation. From this perspective, a threat to the value system is a threat to order, and thereby to meaning and to self-identity. Such a definition of the situation is not contingent upon external conditions but upon what the actor(s) make(s) of them.

*Two conditions presuppose the existence of conflict. The unit of being, an individual, a group, or society, etc. is (1) composed of a number of independent elements, or parties, that are (2) free to vary, as a condition of their nature. The consequence of these two factors for interpreting social phenomena is that value systems are relative and that man is neither solely determined by external conditions nor is he a passive recipient of externally imposed stimuli.

D. SUMMARY AND TRANSITION.

This last section has defined conflict and has suggested its use in interpreting incidents of conflict related to Shaker and non-Shaker interaction. Incidents of Shaker and non-Shaker interaction illustrate that conflict is the "struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals." (Coser, 1956: 8) In a formalistic interpretation of conflict, this struggle is an attempt to resolve "divergent dualisms." (Simmel, 1955: 13)

Chapter II describes the research design and method used in analyzing the non-Shaker documents for Shaker and non-Shaker conflict between 1774 through 1799.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design has been anticipated in the first chapter, There the problem was presented and the method, content analysis, suggested. It was further stated that such an analysis would be dependent on authentic historic documents. This chapter will elaborate and expand that plan for conducting the research.

The discussion of the research design (Section B) will focus upon two concerns. The first concern will discuss the steps taken to the selection of data sources and the means for securing them. The second concern will discuss the procedures followed in applying the method of content analysis to the selected data.

In the subsequent section (Section C) of this chapter, a brief discussion of the method will be given.

A. PRELIMINARY COMMENTS.

Since this is an exploratory inquiry into Shaker and non-Shaker group conflict in non-Shaker documents, no formal hypotheses are to be tested. Although the study is primarily qualitative, the basis of such an analysis rests upon a quantitative base, using the word in its broadest sense. Therefore some questions must be asked of the data in order to count responses.* The first set of questions to be

*See Supra., p. 2, for the initial statement of the themes to be discussed.

asked is, what is the frequency of positive and negative characterizations about (a) Shaker products and settlements, (b) their public image as a group, (c) their leadership, and (d) their religion. This set of questions is centered around the subjective, or internal, aspect of value conflict. This concern has previously been characterized as "the definition of the situation."* The second set of questions cluster on two themes: (e) the Shakers as subverters of the American national interests, and (f) the Shakers as subverters of individualism and freedom. This set of questions focuses upon the objective, or external, aspect of value conflict. This factor of the interpretive perspective has been denotated earlier as "the sociology of knowledge perspective."**

The situation considered, in relation to the second set of questions, is The Revolutionary Era which is examined to see whether it produced an awareness of the non-American origin of the Shakers and whether that awareness declined after the Revolutionary War. In addition, during this period, were Shaker beliefs and life style considered repressive by the non-Shaker "host" society which emphasized the values of individualism and personal freedom? Did such characterizations change with changes in the socio-historical context in which the two groups found themselves?

B. DATA SOURCES.

The period, 1774-1799, was chosen because it represents the initial growth period of the Shakers in America. Few previous American sentiments

*See Supra., p. 17, for the initial statement about "the definition of the situation."

**See Supra., p. 17, for the initial statement of this position. The possible inter-relationship of these two perspectives will be briefly discussed in Chapter Five, see pp. 126-129.

had been formulated about them earlier. The progress of those that developed can be traced in respect to changing socio-historical factors, such as, The American Revolution, 1774-1783; and, the religious revival of 1780 at New Lebanon, New York, and the effect of these events upon the Shakers and the larger society in relation to their own identity and their position relative to the other.

1. Data and Data Collection.

The data are documents written about the Shakers by non-Shakers between 1774 and 1799; and, which were published either immediately or at some subsequent date. The collection of documents from this time period has been done primarily on the basis of a survey of known and published documents in most of the major Shaker collections and archives and upon existing bibliographies.* In several instances,

*Of the existing bibliographies, that of John P. MacLean, A Bibliography of Shaker Literature,... (1905), is the most general and inclusive. The New York Public Library in their Bulletin (November, 1904) published a bibliography of their holdings. In 1940, Buffalo's Grosvenor Library in their Bulletin (June, 1940) published a bibliography of their holdings. After the merger of the Grosvenor Library with the Buffalo Public Library, a revised edition of that bibliography was published (1967). At the present, Mrs. Donald Richmond of Williamstown, Massachusetts, is compiling an up to date bibliography which will be more inclusive of known published Shaker documents than any of the others.

The primary collections of Shaker literature that I have surveyed include those of the Shaker Museum, Old Chatham, New York; New York State Library, Albany, New York; New York Public Library, New York, New York; the Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts; the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; the Shaker Village at Sabbathday Lake, Maine; Kentucky Museum, Bowling Green, Kentucky; the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio; the Ohio State Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio; and the University of Kentucky Library, Lexington, Kentucky.

Several significant collections that I have not had the opportunity to examine are those at Fruitlands Museum, Harvard, Massachusetts; Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky, and that of the Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, Delaware.

Space prohibits mentioning smaller collections. A listing of museums and libraries may be obtained at the Shaker Museum, Old Chatham, New York.

the reference may indicate a hitherto unknown account uncovered in the course of library research. A listing of the entire "universe" of known documents for the period of study is given in Appendix C. The items used for this exploratory study were chosen on the basis of their availability and on the basis of being less than thirty pages in length. A pragmatic concern for the time that would be necessary to complete a content analysis of a variety of writings spanning a period of twenty-five years made the decision to limit each item to thirty pages a reasonable one. Such a decision also was compatible with the "exploratory" nature of the study. Beyond pragmatic considerations, the limitation of the number of pages to be analyzed provided some uniformity between the documents. The inclusion of a lengthy treatise might significantly bias the findings by providing a disproportionate amount of information. For the period under study however, this procedure resulted in the exclusion of only one document, Daniel Rathbun's "A Letter...To James Whittacor....". This document contained one hundred twenty-eight pages. This work will be referred to in the interpretation of the findings. Except for the items noted in the following description of the documents, all of the original texts have been examined. By examining the documents in their entirety, it has not been necessary to introduce any sampling techniques.

(a) An Overall Description of the Documents. All of the documents, which later will be described individually, surveyed in this study have one element in common: the relation of non-Shakers and Shakers between 1744 through 1799. It is helpful to organize

these documents into five categories. These are based on characteristics which the documents have in common. These are: (1) legal, (2) town meeting records, (3) writings of apostates, (4) diaries of visitors or travelers, and (5) a miscellaneous type. The evidence of such a classification is illustrated as follows. The legal type is represented by the Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies in The State of New York. The second type is represented by the Tyringham, Massachusetts and the Pittsfield, Massachusetts town meeting records. The third category is represented by the writings of the apostates, V. Rathbun, B. West, A. Taylor, D. Rathbun, and T. Brown. The fourth, or visitor, type is represented by Francisco de Miranda, Jean Pierre Brissot De Warville, William Bentley, the Duke of Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and Timothy Dwight. The miscellaneous and final category is represented by writings of James Clinton, Hannah Adams, Peter Whitney, and The Theological Magazine.

(b) Document Differences. The documents (1774-1799), however, which are used in the study differ in the following ways.

(1) The length of time spent by visitors and apostates with the Shakers ranged from a few hours to four and a half years. Several did not have first hand experience. It is conjectural whether the information utilized is reflective of primary materials or of common knowledge obtained by word of mouth. The result of such temporal diversity is variability in the range of experiences and situations. The temporal factor is further influenced since those who saw the most were apostates. Thus, as indicated by their own writings, their

their views about the Shakers changed from good to bad, and with much emotional fervor. This may be accounted for by the individual's or group's original character and by some subsequent changes in one or both. In any case, the apostates wrote with a greater vested interest than did the passing traveler.

(2) A second difference concerns the date of writing and the date and place of publication. Appendices B and C state the time of the account and the date and place of publication. This is complicated by the fact that diaries published later may have been altered, excepting those published recently by historians whose only concern is with making the authentic document available to the public. Furthermore, the date of publication will affect data interpretation. A document published after 1799 may provide understanding on popular opinions and events of the period in question but they will have had little influence in shaping earlier public opinion. Among those documents published during the period, the place of publication is important in suggesting the public availability of the item. Travel accounts published in Europe may have had a limited circulation in America. This issue may be further qualified by observing the number of years in which an item was published. (Not to mention the problem of interpreting possible additions and deletions of commentary in those items). A further consideration in a publication's effect, is in the format of the publication. Does a book or a pamphlet have greater circulation? Is one taken more seriously than another? Does it

matter whether the title reads "Diary of a Journey," or "Foreign Plot Revealed?" Furthermore, pamphlets are usually short and their purpose quickly detected. By contrast, travel accounts, including a visit to the Shakers, portray "just another" event among many. Even then, it is available primarily to those who read the entire book. But single pamphlets, with a purpose of informing the public do not convey "just another" event.

(3) The documents like those of the Tyringham and Pittsfield Town Meetings were not published in their own time and have not been published in their entirety since they were written. Their influence, if any, is largely one of conjecture but such conjecture may be considered on the basis of public interest in local affairs or in certain issues of interest to the entire community. To locate and survey remaining period newspapers might be of some assistance in making such a determination about influences; but this task remains to be done. Several documents such as those by Brissot, D. Rathbun, and the Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies in The State of New York do indicate, in passing, that verbal rumors were in circulation.

(4) The fourth difference is in content. The longest pieces were by the apostates. Without exception, their principal concern was with informing the public about the Shakers, especially of their faults, and making an apology for leaving the group. This apology was primarily made on religious grounds. Travelers frequently noted major tenets and on occasion would give their opinions, but they

did not write lengthy reports. These writers stressed their opinions about external appearances, such as how the people looked, the quality of their products, and descriptions of the buildings, the rituals, and the gardens. The legal documents, and the information available on the town meeting records, are brief. Their form does not describe the Shakers in either the apostate or visitor sense, but they document instances of the Shakers' relation with the non-Shaker population.

(5) The miscellaneous category consists primarily of passing comments or encyclopedic descriptions of the Shakers. The latter may extend from one to seven pages. In short, the content of the references is diverse and must be related to the commentator's perspective and purpose in writing. The quality of the account, its insights, etc., cannot be determined on length, but relative length may affect thematic counts. Also the type of literature most frequently referred to will affect the thematic counts. In discussing the documents used in this study, (a) the method of document selection has been discussed; (b) an overall description of the documents has been stated; and (c) this section has concluded a discussion of the differences which are manifested by the documents. In the following section, a description of the non-Shaker and Shaker documents of the period from 1774-1779 will be presented.

(c) Descriptive Survey of the Individual Documents. To familiarize the reader with the documents of this period, a short description of each document and its writer, if known, will be given. The documents will be surveyed under two main headings: (1) non-Shaker

and (2) Shaker. (1) The non-Shaker documents have been divided into two categories: (a) "used," referring to those used in this study; and (b) "unused," referring to those documents excluded from this study but which are relevant to the overall picture of the period, that is, of assistance in interpreting the findings. Within each category the documents are listed chronologically. To assist in making a systematic review of each document, information about each document will follow a prescribed format: presentation of the title, the type of document in terms of the classification, the author, the date when the document was written, and general comments about the document which are considered pertinent. (2) Any objective evaluation of non-Shaker - Shaker value conflict depends on the completeness of the information available to the researcher. By noting what Shaker publications appeared during or are related to the period from 1774-1799, this consideration may be achieved. The inclusion of such a survey, however, serves a specific purpose. The number of Shaker publications, for example, may indicate the extent of the influence which the non-Shaker press had upon the growth and development of Shakerism. Furthermore, the content of such documents, both concerning events and their participant interpretation, will assist the researcher in interpreting the findings of the content analysis of the non-Shaker documents. A knowledge of Shaker documents will assist in analyzing how the differing value structures of the non-Shaker and Shaker affect the participant's definition of the situation. The discussion of the Shaker literature will follow the format used in relation to the non-Shaker documents.

(1) Descriptive Survey of Individual Non-Shaker Documents.

(a) Non-Shaker Documents Used in this Study.

(1) Minutes of the commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in The State of New York, is legal in its character. The Minutes comprise a statement of the various charges of disloyalty to the Colonists' revolutionary cause, viz., independence. As reports of legal hearings, they are not full transcripts. They state the charges and the Albany County Board's disposition of them.

The commission which authored these reports was an outgrowth of the Colonial "committees of safety." Initially formed on October 7, 1777, the commission continued until 1783. "So far as is now known, no regular minutes are extant, save only those of the Albany County board, and they extend to August 30, 1781, end abruptly and, manifestly, are incomplete." (Paltsits, 1909: 36) The Board could summon "persons to give testimony which might convict others of high treason," and required "persons to make known all treasonable acts and deeds that might come to their knowledge at any time." (Paltsits, 1909: 60) This open invitation probably has assisted in documenting some of the adverse public opinion about the Shakers. However, by the very nature of the document and the Commission itself, it selectively omits all positive comments. Seven hearing dates make reference to the Shakers. Three citations appear in 1781. The items are coded by the letters "N.Y." Separation is noted by the prefacing date.

(2) A Brief Account of a Religious Scheme Taught and Propagated by a Number of Europeans...Commonly Called, Shaking Quakers

is a document of the apostate type. It was written by Valentine Rathbun in 1781. Rathbun was a Baptist minister who was drawn to the Shakers during the 1780 revival at New Lebanon, New York. He became a member but renounced his faith after several months. After leaving them he published two widely circulated pamphlets. (The one used here is referred to under the code "V.R.") Authors like Amos Taylor and Thomas Brown make mention of it in their writings, as do others. The places of the imprintings from 1781 through 1783 give evidence of their wide circulation. Another testimony of its wide distribution is the number of extant copies. Comparatively speaking, only single copies remain of the Amos Taylor and Benjamin West pamphlets. After the original publication of Rathbun's narrative and religious polemic against the Shakers in 1781, he discovered another item published in the same year which purported to relate information about the "late" London Mob (original publication date unknown).^{*} This pamphlet leaves no doubt about the pro-English charge of the Shakers complicity in the Revolution. This item (identified by the letter "L") is without a history. The British Museum catalogue provides no help in

^{*}The English Shakers had attracted the attention of the public because of their spiritual manifestations. As with the early Christians, political allies of George III thought they could take advantage of the public irritation with the Shakers to create a better public image for The Crown. They planned to incite a riot that would appear to have been caused by the Shakers. The suppression of the riot by the King's men would bring positive public opinion to The Crown.

The record of the alleged conversation between King George III and his ministers about this matter was printed in 1781. Whether the incident took place or whether the pamphlet was simply a hoax is unknown.

identifying it. In any case, later editions of the Rathbun publication contained this item.

(3) A Narrative of the Strange Principles, Conduct and Character of the...Shakers.... is also a document of the apostate type. It was written by Amos Taylor in 1782. Little is known about the author other than the fact that he was part of the Shaker movement for ten months. This document, while not an objective account, can best be described as ethnographic. The author has guarded against the inclusion of many personal comments. His argument against the Shakers is restrained and aims to persuade the reader by reason more than by emotion. The work is identified by the letters "TA."

(4) Scriptural Cautions.... is an apostate document written by Benjamin West in 1783. Aside from being an apostate, nothing is known about West. The bulk of the pamphlet is an exercise in proof-texting. Less cogent and readable than either V. Rathbun or Amos Taylor, the attempt to fit the Shakers into the errors described by the Bible has caused a loss of clarity as to his specific charges against the Shakers.

In the year 1784, two changes occur in the type of literature. Whereas the previous accounts had been by a civil body and by apostates, this year marked the beginning of recorded visits by European travelers and of the first encyclopedic reference, a secondary report about them based not on the author's personal account but upon the accounts of others. Hannah Adams' encyclopedic reference will be discussed later.

(5) The Diary of Francisco De Miranda... is the earliest known visitor-type reference to the Shakers. Francisco de Miranda, 1749-1816, a Venezuelan, visited them in June of 1784. The report on his visit is brief, but it includes a reference to the belief that Ann Lee, founder of the Shakers, was a prostitute who came to America with the army of Burgoyne. The code for this reference is "F.M."

(6) Our Revolutionary Forefathers, The letters of Barbe-Marbois during his residence in the U.S. as secretary of the French Legation, 1770-1785. The letters make reference to the visit of the Marquis Francois Barbe-Marbois (1745-1837) to the Shakers in 1784. In the fall of that year he visited the Niskeyuna settlement in the company of "the Marquis de Lafayette, the Chevalieu de Caraman, and Mr. Madison, a delegate from the Congress...." (Barbe-Marbois, 1920: 180) The Marquis de Barbe-Marbois was a French politician who began his public career as intendent of San Domingo under the monarchy. He returned to France in 1789 where he served the revolutionary government. The letters were edited and compiled by E. P. Chase. The code reference for this work is "B.M."

(7) The...Memoirs of Elkanah Watson... is one of the visitor-type documents. Watson, 1758-1842, was a traveler, writer, and friend of such personages as Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. He visited the Shakers in 1790 at Mt. Lebanon. The relevant passages indicate that he later settled in the area around Mt. Lebanon, New York. While his comments were not very negative to begin with, he related that his opinions about the Shakers became more positive in

subsequent years. The following data related by the editor of the memoirs about the author and his writings are important in interpreting the data. "The fervor of the whig sentiment of '76 is exhibited in severe strictures upon the character and policy of England; the prejudices of his puritan birth are occasionally betrayed, --excited, however, by the abuses, as he regarded them, of some of its institutions, rather than the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church." The following quotation describes the nature of the work.

The journals of my father form a large body of manuscript, which, in connection with a multiplicity of publications on many and various subjects, and a very extensive correspondence with some of the eminent men of our annals, comprise many volumes. (Watson, 1857: 3)

The extent to which the section on the Shakers was edited cannot be determined. In any case, Watson wrote from personal experience.

The code letter for this document is "W".

(8) History of the County of Worcester, Massachusetts...

has been classified as miscellaneous. Peter Whitney wrote this book in 1793. Whitney, 1744-1816, was an American divine. His sketch of the Harvard, Massachusetts, Shakers is important because of its comparative point of view between the coming of the first Shakers and their 1793 image. It is not clear how much of the information is based on the actual experiences of the author. This item is coded "WH".

(9) The Diary of William Bentley belongs to the

visitor classification in the document typology. This travel account was written in 1795 by The Reverend William Bentley, 1759-1819. He

was a Unitarian clergyman and author. He was also a Harvard graduate, a freemason, and a Jeffersonian Republican. "Distinctly a liberal in theology and politics, he became a pioneer in Unitarianism, at a time when New England was still Calvinistic." (Robinson, 1946: 207) He was "an important factor in New England affairs...." (Ibid.)

Bentley's diary has received the following commendation:

Scattered through the mass of trivialities there is real history, and in the aggregate the diary constitutes a unique and invaluable picture of a New England seaport in the formative years of the new republic. It also reveals the sturdy qualities of mind and character, the manifold interests, and the numerous eccentricities of the author. (Ibid., 208)

The letter "B" represents this reference.

(10) Travels Through The United States...is a visitor-type document. It was written by the Duke of Rochefoucault-Liancourt, 1747-1827. At the outbreak of the French Revolution, this French loyalist and social reformer left his country and traveled for several years. In 1795, he visited the Shakers at Mt. Lebanon, New York. Since his visit was on the Sabbath, he was not able to speak personally with the Shakers. He wrote: "We were now obliged to content ourselves with viewing their villages, the inside of their houses, their gardens, and their religious worship, without any guide, and to rest satisfied with what intelligence we could obtain from our landlord and another man, who said that he was well acquainted with the society." (La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, 1800: 92-93) This fact makes it difficult to detect the author's own opinion, however, it does give insight

into the popular opinion.* The Duke returned to France in 1799 and published the first edition of his Travels....

(11) The Theological Magazine is classified as a miscellaneous-type document. The author of the article, "A Short Account of the People known by the Name of Shakers, or Shaking Quakers," is unknown. In fact the article was to be continued but there is no evidence that it was. In any case, the author appears never to have visited the Shakers. The article, which was published in 1795, is a derogatory caricature of the Shakers. The Theological Magazine has an obscure history. It was published from 1795 until 1800. In his History of American Magazines, Mott states that it contained "monotonous dissertations" and "narrative of conversions, reviews, poetry, and religious intelligence with much of missionary activity. The contributors were chiefly Congregational and Presbyterian...." (Mott, 1939: 131) This document is coded "T".

In the issue (January-February 1796) following The Theological Magazine's article on the Shakers, a letter to the editor

For example he observed that the Shakers elected their Chief Elder. In another place, he noted that "in spite of the prohibition against sex, the flesh will have its way; but, in such cases, a severe, exemplary, and corporal punishment is inflicted on the offenders; and this punishment is not mitigated, if they effect their escape to join in lawful wedlock, for, on their being apprehended, they are punished with the same severity, as if they were not married." (La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, 1800: 94) Neither of the examples, however, can be supported by other documentary evidence. As a consequence, information from "well-acquainted" outsiders must be questioned by students using documents like this one.

*The method of "electing" an elder in the early years of Shakerism is described by Edward Andrews in his book, The People Called Shakers (1953, p. 55) The choice of Joseph Meacham by inspiration as revealed through a youthful member, Job Bishop.

was published. The writer, who called himself Philo, in essence complained about the one-sided portrayal of the Shakers. As evidence of the fact he included in his letter an excerpt from an item written by "A traveller." Whatever else this means, it does suggest that a broader picture of the Shakers was being conveyed to the American public, as well as the fact that the Shaker image was changing. The letter is represented by the code letters "TI".

(12) Travels: In New-England And New York... is another visitor-type document. It was written by Timothy Dwight, 1752-1817. The first section about the Shakers, and the only one that fits the time criteria of this paper, was written in 1799. Dwight was a Congregational clergyman, an author, and both a graduate and president of Yale College. "A rigid Calvinist and a staunch Federalist, Dwight exerted all his personal influence, intellectual equipment, and literary ability against the rising tide of democracy and infidelity, the two being in his mind synonymous..." (Starr, 1946: V, 575) His biographers have found him very popular, an able administrator, and influential over students; they have also found him closed and narrow-minded, ambitious for position and power, and of limited abilities.

The book under consideration here was written in the form of a series of letters. It "is an astonishingly varied collection of descriptions of natural scenery, agricultural, political, religious, and social conditions, including historical, biographical,

and statistical information, and is interlarded with shrewd practical comments." (Ibid., 576) In discussing this work, it is important to note that the section on the Shakers was written in 1799 but that the book was not published until 1822. The problem at issue is that of editing. At points there are indications of the inclusion of facts not in evidence until after 1799. This may indicate only a few editorial comments or it may indicate that the recollection was not composed until a date some years after the visit. Whatever the historical validity, the book does convey a clear picture of the author's opinion of the Shakers. The code letter "D" is used to designate this book.

With these comments on Dwight, this section of the paper describing the documents used in the research is concluded. There remains, however, two groups of documents that need to be discussed: non-Shaker documents of the period which were unused; and the Shaker documents, unused because of the paper's defined scope, which were written in the eighteenth century or which were written after 1800 but by persons recollecting their experiences with the Shakers in the eighteenth century. The inclusion of a description of the unused non-Shaker and Shaker documents is made in an attempt to prevent a possible misrepresentation of the data by obscuring the numbers and character of the documents of the research period or related to that period (1774-1799). Furthermore, the existence of these documents is relevant to the interpretation of the research findings.

(b) Non-Shaker Documents Not Used In This Study.

- (1) The letter written by General James Clinton,

1733-1812, to his brother Governor George Clinton of New York is best classified as miscellaneous. The letter was written in 1780 from Albany, where he was in command of the headquarters of the Northern Department of the American Army. During the aforementioned year, he wrote a letter to his brother which is helpful in documenting events relating to Ann Lee's imprisonment in Poughkeepsie, but it is without comment or description about the Shakers and consequently could not be coded in any of the thematic categories considered here.

(2) The Tyringham (Massachusetts) Town Records are classified here under the heading, town meeting document. My source for this document does not indicate who the secretary of the town meeting was. The two relevant references given by Eloise Myers (in A Hinterland Settlement) are for the years 1782-1783 (?) and 1796. The earlier entry perceived the Shakers as undesirable. The latter by contrast indicates that the town's animosity had subsided. This reference is concerned with the salary paid by the town to a Shaker minister. These references were not used in this study because The Town Records were published only in part. However, they are useful in aiding the interpretation of the findings.

(3) An Alphabetical Compendium of Sects... is an encyclopedic reference and is therefore typologically classified as a miscellaneous document. It was written by Hannah Adams and was published initially in 1784. The second edition appeared in 1791. As a general reference work it is doubtful that it had much effect in moulding public opinion, but the Shakers had become a matter of

sufficient public notice to be included. This document was not included because it was not available for the purposes of this study.

(4) A Letter...To James Whittacor... is an apostate-type document. It was written by Daniel Rathbun and published in 1785. Rathbun had spent five years with the Shakers before he left. The letter, which justified the author's apostasy, is basically a theological treatise. The introduction was written by Valentine Rathbun and has been coded. The identifying code is "D. R. V." Because of its length, the letter itself was disqualified. This item is the last of the existing apostate documents written in the eighteenth century.

(5) New Travels in the United States of America 1788 is one of the miscellaneous-type documents. It was written by Jean Pierre Brissot De Warville, 1754-1793, a Frenchman, who became the revolutionary leader and head of the Girondists. This travel record contained no material on the Shakers that could be coded. Brissot himself made no visit to the Shakers, but he does record the fact that public comments were being made about them. The value of this reference to the present study is the nature of the image he noted. He wrote that "...some entertaining stories have been circulated about them...." (Brissot, 1964: 370) He thought them satirical and malicious. Before or after this reference, there are no comments on how he evaluated the comments about the Shakers.

(6) The Pittsfield (Massachusetts) Town Meeting Records for 1789 are concerned with the Shakers only indirectly. In 1789 the

Shakers were observed in relation to the controversy over the right of the town to tax all citizens for the support of the established state religion. Since my only reference is of a secondary nature (see bibliographical reference for Jacob Meyer), this item was omitted from the present study.

(7) An Account Of The People Called Shakers... was one of the apostate documents. Its author, Thomas Brown, had been with the Shakers from 1798 until 1805. In 1812 he published a substantial volume containing his recollections. The book was not part of the analyzed documents because its information extended beyond the period of this study and because of its length. However, it contains a wealth of information which has proved helpful in interpreting the findings of this study.

The second part of this descriptive survey of individual documents is concerned with the Shaker documents. As stated previously, although these documents are not used in the content analysis, they provide information helpful in the interpretation of the findings from the analysis of the non-Shaker documents.

(2) Descriptive Survey of Individual Shaker Documents.

(a) A Concise Statement Of The Principles Of The Only True Church According To The Gospel Of The Present Appearance Of Christ. ...Together With A Letter From James Whittaker.... Dated October 9th, 1785 was the only document published by the Shakers in the eighteenth century. It was a theological exposition. Why it was published at this time is open to speculation. It came at a time of improving

relations with the general public, a weakening of revival interest generally, a loss of Shaker missionizing zeal. It presents no indication that it was a response to the pamphlets of the apostates. It may have appeared at that time for the simple reason that the Shakers found the time to publish it. During most of the eighties the leaders were active in traveling and preaching. In 1787 they began the communities and a more settled form of existence. Also, since there was a declining enthusiasm, perhaps it was an attempt to create a renewed interest in their movement.

In the area of printed documents relating the experience of members during the period of this study there are two primary sources. In an attempt to record the account of those who knew Mother Ann and who were with her in the beginning days of the church, and in order to refute the claims of detractors about the character of the first leaders, the Shaker leaders attempted to collect statements from such persons before they all died. How selective the recollections were in such an account is unclear. What is clear, is that they wrote to exonerate the moral charges against Mother Ann. This is not to say that they did not tell the truth, but it suggests that a great deal was left unsaid.

(b) The Testimonies Of The Life and Character, Revelations And Doctrines Of Our Blessed Mother Ann Lee, And The Elders... is a narration of eighteenth century events based on the recollections of those who participated in them. The Testimonies are attributed to the authorship of Rufus Bishop with subsequent revisions by Seth Wells

and Giles Avery. They were first published in 1816. J. P. MacLean in his A Bibliography of Shaker Literature... states that the book was "solely used by the elders, and was sometimes called the "Secret book of the elders." (MacLean, 1905: 32) Because of the rarity of the first edition it was necessary to use the second and revised edition (1888) of this book in interpreting some of the findings. The book is particularly helpful because it states the other side of the issues studied. In short, it is helpful in dealing with the issue of selective perception and misperception.

(c) Testimonies Concerning The Character And Ministry Of Mother Ann Lee And The First Witnesses... (1827) is a compilation of the testimonies of those who experienced the events surrounding the founding of Shakerism in America. The book was edited by Seth Wells, but this work has a distinct advantage over the previous one. The testimonies are given in their entirety and no attempt is made to integrate them into a chronological history of the Shakers. This reference work also indicates the effect of the Lebanon revival on making converts. From the standpoint of the sociology of knowledge, it shows how ideas present in society, like the immanent coming of Christ, made the acceptance of the faith possible in this era; whereas in other periods little attention would be given to its message of the second coming.

These comments on the documents of the eighteenth century, or related to that period conclude the discussion on the data. How these documents will be used in this paper will be discussed in the next section.

(3) Steps in the Analysis of the Used Non-Shaker Documents.

(a) The Code. To insure objectivity, data for analysis were selected on the basis of a code. The code was derived from early readings of the documents. At first an attempt was made to record the individual positive and negative words used to describe the Shakers. This attempt proved unsatisfactory. For the limited number of documents surveyed, there was a great diversity in word expressions and little repetition. Furthermore, a comparative enumeration of positive and negative word references did not do justice to the opinion of the writers. The writers, for the most part, did not simply reject or accept the Shakers. Their attention was focused on particular concerns which appeared to change over the period from 1774-1799.

The code that was finally accepted was able to cope with these two criticisms. To make the word tabulations meaningful (not only were single words coded but the various combinations of words that had positive or negative connotations were coded (See Appendix C) they were oriented to specific themes. The themes (which are stated in the next paragraph) also were derived from early readings of the documents. They represent the non-Shaker's object of concern. The positive and negative words now became the indicators of the themes. Because of the variety of such words, and the limited use of the themes, the word indicators were grouped according to their general meaning. A single word was used to represent this meaning. To conclude this discussion about the formation of the code, it may be said that the original emphasis upon the appearance of positive

and negative word evaluations about the Shakers by non-Shakers shifted to an emphasis upon the appearance or lack of appearance of certain themes that reflected the non-Shakers evaluation of the Shakers. The indicators of these themes are the word characterizations used by the non-Shaker writers.

The code is based on six themes: traits about (a) Shaker property, facilities, and products; (b) the Shakers as a group; (c) the Shaker leaders; (d) the Shaker religion; doctrine and practice. Two other themes are concerned with the awareness of (e) the Shaker's subversive character toward the American national interests and with (f) the Shaker's subversion of the American values of individualism and freedom. Each theme is delimited by several "sub-themes" or characterizing word categories. These indicators are discussed in Chapter III and IV. The nature of the code may be illustrated in the following examples. The word category labeled "kind" is one of seventeen word indicators of the theme "Positive Character Traits About The Shakers As A Group." The word "kind" subsumes the following words under its head: kind, charitable, hospitable, obliging, good natured, and friendly. By doing this the range of descriptive words is not only made manageable but the underlying theme is not obscured by a diversity of expression. Furthermore, word diversity is not itself important in this study as it might be in analyzing the writings of a single writer. Using a word category recognizes that a difference in verbal pattern and expression may exist between the authors but it is not important in recognizing how they corporately demonstrate a change in the non-Shaker conceptualization of the Shakers. In cases

where the theme focuses on an issue and whose change is indicated by the termination of all related references, the thematic indicators are references to Shaker actions as well as the non-Shaker's interpretations of the various Shaker practices. The theme (e) "The Shakers Are Subversive Of The American National Interests," is indicated when the following ideas appear in the documents: the Shakers refuse to bear arms, they reject civil authority, the Shakers are enemy agents, etc. Under the heading "Enemy Agents," the following charges are placed: disaffection, in relation to the American revolutionary cause; sympathizing with the enemy; our, meaning English, agents; and, late recruits for Britain. These sub-themes are indicators of the more inclusive "Subversive Theme."

To determine if changes occur in these thematic representations about the Shakers, the frequency with which the thematic indicators occur in a given year is tabulated and then compared with its appearance in other years. To further assist in demonstrating thematic changes those themes which are not limited by temporal considerations, such as the issue of The Revolutionary War, the theme has been divided into a positive and a negative theme. Therefore in the theme mentioned above, the character traits about the Shakers as a group are coded under the positive-negative dichotomy. This positive-negative character of the code not only seeks to detect changes in characterization but attempts to avoid misrepresenting the writers' opinions. Seldom does a person or group of writers have a uniformly negative or positive reaction to something or someone. Thus by

presenting both positive and negative images through time, a more reliable contrast may be seen.

(b) The Unit of Analysis. Since coding decisions are more easily made for the small content unit rather than for an entire communication (Riley and Stoll, 1968: 375), the unit of analysis, the recording and enumeration unit, will be themes, single assertions about an issue and/or the participants. Each recording unit will be searched in terms of a context unit, one communication, that is, a single document.

C. CONTENT ANALYSIS.

The following statements are intended (1) to provide a definition of content analysis which will insure a common base for understanding its use here, and (2) to indicate the significance of this method for the present study.

1. Definition.

Content analysis is a technique used 'for assessing the relative extent to which specified references, attitudes, or themes permeate a given communication.' (Holsti, 1968: 597); also see Riley and Stoll, 1968: 371-372) This systematic approach provides the basis for making inferences; for example, about the writer, which may be formulated later into an hypothesis. In this method, the content of a communication, rather than the observed behavior, serves as a basis for inference. (Holsti, 1968: 597)

2. Rationale for Using This Method.

(a) The methodological techniques of observation, interview, and questionnaire are not applicable for a study of historical

documents. Content analysis is applicable. Furthermore, the method can be used when the character of the data, in this case historical documents, prevents the control of variables, such as the changing meaning of words, individual experiences, and socio-historical factors. The use of qualitative content analysis permits the use of non-recurrent phenomena which may produce major clues for interpreting behavior, or in predicting it.

(b) The method provides not only a means for handling historic material, but provides a sensitizing function in handling documents by controlling elements in them that "might otherwise be hard to come by." (Schneider, 1958: viii) Holsti in writing about R. K. White's Black Boy study concludes: "...content analysis is useful whenever the problem requires precise and replicable methods for analyzing those aspects of symbolic behavior which may escape casual scrutiny." (Holsti, 1968: 602) It sensitizes the reader to themes which may be overlooked in an entire document, or in a series of documents. This function is important to a study of conflict. Charges and countercharges may obscure a common and unifying theme that exists between them. For an example, one commonly accepted value in American society of the eighteenth century was individualism. In the documents, this is not raised as an issue but using such indicators as charges of dependency or leadership domination of the membership, the analyst may systematically uncover and explore the significance of this value theme for the writers of the documents. While such a thematic examination may point to an otherwise undetected idea in one document, to conduct such an inquiry among a number of

would reveal whether one or more than one persons perceived a similar motive for conflict. Furthermore, this sensitizing function will provide indicators, when used over time, on the consistency of such conflict themes.

Although the benefits of content analysis seem particularly significant for the utilization of historic documents in sociological studies, the method also has its limitations.* These have been kept in mind throughout the study.

D. SUMMATION.

This chapter has presented this study's research design. The period of study is from 1774 through 1799. The data used, to

*Despite its advantages, content analysis does have pitfalls. Its limitations, beyond the inability to control variables and participants, are presented in an article by White and Stoll (1968: 374). They are:

- a. Loss of data representativeness through record incompleteness;
- b. "The data may lack reliability or validity," especially when dealing with a single document;
- c. "Data from differing sociotemporal contexts may not be directly comparable." This is the function of changing "reporters" and word meanings;
- d. Words used may not correspond with the researcher's definitional categories or concepts.

Each of these limitations is conditional rather than absolute; and they are not the unique problems of content analysis. However, since they are real concerns, I shall state how this study seeks to meet them.

In relation to the first (a) limitation, the most that can be done is to observe the representativeness of certain themes through a number of documents. An appended list will indicate all known published documents in chronological order for the time period considered. Beyond this, the possibility of undiscovered documents remains.

The limitation (b) that "the data may lack reliability or validity" may be considered in two ways. The first is from the perspective of the data; and, the second is from the perspective of methodology. The analyst is not concerned with the first consideration. He accepts the data as it is. Reality is of a subjective and not an objective (detached) origin. Consequently he has no objective basis for an evaluation of content. From a methodological point of view, a single

determine the effect of socio-historical factors upon the non-Shaker's definition of their situation with relation to the Shakers, are documents written about the Shakers by non-Shakers. These documents are classified into five types: the legal, the town meeting record, the apostate, the visitor, and miscellaneous. The code used to analyze the data is based on six themes and their word and concept indicators. The chapter concluded with a statement of the rationale for using content analysis in this study and how this study attempted to limit their significance.

Chapters III and IV will discuss the findings of the research and will interpret these findings in terms of their socio-historical contexts and the non-Shaker's definition of their situation.

(footnote continued from preceding page) document analysis to determine public opinion about a social happening is admittedly a potential source of distortion. To insure reliability of a group's opinion about a reported incident, it is best to increase the number of documents concerning the incident(s). Within the limits of known documents, an attempt has been made to compensate for this dilemma.

In the third (c) and fourth (d) limitations, the differing socio-temporal contexts may not be comparable. This problem plagues all respondent studies. The approach to a questionnaire, the sensitivity of the respondent, past experiences, make for a great variety of "reporters" even when the same criteria are followed. In the case of word meanings, it is important to note that the construction of categories used in this paper originated with a survey of words used in the original context. The categories were not absolutely and abstractly conjured without reference to the data. However, the question of word meaning remains problematical. Since the unit of analysis is the theme (a word in context) the variation in meaning may be noted. Although a more objective approach would be preferred, it does not exist.

CHAPTER THREE
FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE
CONTENT ANALYSIS: PART ONE

A. INTRODUCTION.

The objective of this research into the problem of value conflict is the content analysis of sixteen eighteenth-century non-Shaker documents. It is the function of this method to ascertain 'the relative extent to which specified references, attitudes, or themes permeate a given communication.' (Holsti, 1968: 597)* The themes used in this study emerged from the initial survey of the data. A close scrutiny of the non-Shaker documents made it obvious that the areas of value conflict were subsumed under the six themes stated below.

The purpose of this and the next chapter is to relate and interpret the findings of the content analysis. The interpretation will explain the findings in relation to their socio-historical contexts.** Since the emphasis of the interpretation is upon the socio-historical contexts, a chronological and comparative listing of significant events for the United States and the Shakers has been given, see Figure 1, page 51.

*See Supra., p. 46-48, for a further discussion of content analysis.

**See Infra., p. 96, for an explication of the distinguishing factors between Chapter III and IV.

Year	Shaker	United States
1774	Arrive in America	England imposed the "intolerable acts" on the colonies; the First Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia.
1775		Battle at Lexington and Concord
1776	Establish first settlement in America at Niskeyuna, northwest of Albany.	Declaration of Independence
1777		Gen. Burgoyne defeated at Saratoga.
1778		Establishment of the Commissioners for the detection and defeat of conspiracies.
1779		New Lebanon revival begins
1780	Began period of growth. Converts from New Lebanon revival.	Shaker preaching raises public ire; first legal hearing on suspicion of sympathizing with the British.
1781	Shakers conduct a missionary journey into New England	Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown, Va.; first pamphlet appears on the Shakers.
1783		Great Britain signs peace treaty. From 1783 until 1788, a period of reconstruction, formation of federal constitution, economic depression, social instability.
1784	Death of Mother Ann	
1787	Organize into communes	

Fig. 1. --A chronological listing of the significant events in Shaker and United States history from 1774 through 1799.

Year	Shaker	United States
1788		Constitution ratified
1789	Throughout the next decade the Shakers continued to develop their communal organization. It was a period of little growth or conflict. Development of farms and industries.	Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality which kept America out of the French Revolution. The policy of neutrality increased New England's export trade and shipping (carrying trade).

Fig. 1. --continued.

This chapter, Chapter III, will limit its considerations to those findings which relate to the following conflict themes in the historical period from 1774 through 1799: (1) evaluative traits about Shaker property, facilities, and products; (2) character traits about the Shakers as a group; (3) character traits about the Shaker leaders; (4) character traits about the Shaker religion: doctrine and practice.

Each of the four themes is divided into positive and negative characterizations. Such characterizations are determined on the logical assumption that positive and negative evaluative perceptions are made by the non-Shaker through the process of contrasting social stimuli against his accepted value scheme.

The value scheme, regardless of how primary it is in forming evaluations, is not the only basis for making evaluations. The choice of values with which stimuli are evaluated are influenced by how each person perceives his self-interests in a given situation. Positive designations are indicated by verbal expressions which others of his group perceive as having favorable connotations. Negative designations are indicated in the same way. With more frequent positive comments and more perspectives on Shaker life upon which to comment, it is reasonable to assume that the non-Shaker perceived the Shakers as being more integrated into the non-Shaker group. The reasons for this may have been a diminished awareness by the non-Shakers of the differences between the groups, whether caused by actual changes in the Shaker's life style and beliefs, or because the basis of his perception

had been changed by the socio-historic situations, or because of the changed aim of Shaker actions, or because of the frequency as well as the kind of actions. In any case, the "host" society was able to place perceived differences within the range of socially accepted differences. The latter phrase cannot be absolutely or operationally defined since it is wholly dependent upon the non-Shaker group's definition.

The recording categories found in the tables in this chapter are derived from the descriptive words which the non-Shaker writers used. The categorical headings, however, are supplied by this writer. The use of these headings is necessitated by the diversity of verbal expressions employed by the writers of the documents. Each heading, however, represents the common meaning of the various descriptive words used in the data. In order to make the reader aware of what verbal expressions are subsumed under each category, these headings are elaborated in Appendix A. The fact that the recording categories are derived from the descriptive words used by the non-Shaker writers accounts for the disparity in the numbers of categories used between the tables. It further accounts for the disparity in the intent and content of negative in contrast to positive descriptive words.* In conclusion it may be said that the irregularity of the categories used reflects the character of the sixteen eighteenth-century non-Shaker documents.

*See Infra., pp. 75-76, for an example of this disparity in word intent and content, and in the unequal number of categories used between the tables.

In a discussion of the findings of content analysis and their interpretation, the themes are of central importance. Accordingly, the format for the discussion of each theme will be to relate the purpose of the themes, and to interpret the themes in relation to the findings as displayed on the tables. Having made these preliminary statements, the discussion of the themes may be presented.

B. THE CONFLICT THEMES.

1. The Non-Shaker Evaluative Traits About the Shaker Property, Facilities, and Products.

This theme is discussed first because it portrays the idea of value conflict most clearly, that is, with the least ambiguity. The evaluative comments used in the data for this conflict theme are closely associated with a specific event, viz., the organization of Shaker communes which began in 1787 and which continued into the 1790's. Unlike the characterizations of the themes related to the Shakers as a group, the Shaker leadership, or the Shaker religion, the non-Shaker's evaluative comments on this theme are not obscured by biblical references and popular religious interpretations of scripture. There is no evidence of dual or subtle meanings about the respective writers' evaluations.

The issue of property in the eighteenth century concerns the character of its use. As the verbal categories indicate, most references reflect the non-Shaker's concern with aesthetic and or work

values. As previously mentioned,* property was a source of conflict in the nineteenth century. But, at that time the issue was not its use but the extent of the Shaker land holdings. The data under consideration here is concerned with the use of the property.

The theme about Shaker property, facilities, and products did not appear prior to 1790 (see Table I).**

The clustering or grouping of the tabulated findings displayed in Tables I and I₁ indicates that some event had precipitated comments on the theme about Shaker property, facilities, and products. The significance of this finding for the theme is discussed in the text from the interpretive perspectives mentioned previously, see p. 16. From the perspective of the sociology of knowledge, which states that ideas are relevant to specific historical contexts in which they are used, this can be explained in the context of the development of Shakerism. Aside from the village at Niskeyuna,*** the pattern of communal settlement did not begin until 1787. From 1787 to 1795, eleven villages were founded. During the period from 1790 to 1800, the

*See Supra., p. 13, for previous comments on this point.

**In the tables presented here, the non-Shaker documents are displayed in chronological sequence. When the results are tabulated for the occurrence and the frequency of the evaluative traits, the graphic form of the configuration related to the findings is significant.

***See Supra., p. 5.

documents record five negative comments (see Table I) in contrast to twenty-eight positive ones (see Table II). Four of these negative comments are limited to a single Shaker publication (see section "B", Table II). The remaining negative comment concerns an item of dress, the Shaker cap. And, in each instance the writers' overall comments are favorable (compare source reference "B" and "D" on Tables I and II). On the positive side, traits such as neat, clean, tidy, pleasant, beautiful, etc. were most frequent.

Aside from the association of the findings with the period (1787-1800) of Shaker communal organization, the principal explanation for the high ratio of positive to negative comments is that the period of Shaker missionary zeal had already passed. Being less visible to the general public, the Shakers did not elicit or necessitate many negative comments. The issue of visibility is closely related to selective perception and the non-Shakers "felt need" to be in conflict with the Shakers, as a matter of self-protection, during the late 1780's and the 1790's. Persons who did contact them were those who chose to do so. This, no doubt, may have helped to bias the descriptions in favor of the Shakers. Carried a step further, those who made such visits were travelers and not apostates, who could not comment on these points since they were not a part of their experiences with the Shakers. Therefore, the formation of Shaker communities and the various writers' motivations for visiting the settlements acted as the data and evaluative screening mechanism that inevitably affected the ratio of positive to negative evaluations.

After the presentation of Tables I and II, the discussion will continue with theme two, the character traits mentioned by the non-Shakers about the Shakers as a group.

TABLE I. POSITIVE EVALUATIVE TRAITS ABOUT SHAKER PROPERTY, FACILITIES, AND PRODUCTS.

THEME	SOURCE REFERENCES															
POSITIVE EVALUATIVE TRAITS ABOUT SHAKER PROPERTY, FACILITIES, AND PRODUCTS	1780 N. Y.	1781 N. Y.	1781 V. R.	1781 L.	1782 TA.	1783 WT.	1784 F. M.	1784 B. M.	1785 DRV.	1790 W.	1793 WH.	1795 B.	1795 R.	1795 T.	1796 TI.	1799 D.
A. Physical facilities																
1. Neat										2	1	2			2	3
2. Pretty											2	1			1	
3. Simple											1					1
4. Good quality of construction											1					1
B. Manufactures																
1. Neat																1
2. Ingenuity										1	1					
3. Simple																
4. Excellent quality												1	1		1	1
C. Literary productivity emerging from the group																
1. Grave																1
2. Remarkably abstract																1
3. Singular combination of mysticism																1

2. The Character Traits Mentioned By the Non-Shakers About the Shakers As a Group.

This theme and the subsequent themes concerning Shaker leadership (theme three) and religion (theme four), originated simultaneously. They are considered separately in order to distinguish the focus of the non-Shaker's objection to the Shakers. Hence themes three and four have been divided from the present themes for a more accurate analysis. At some periods all three themes were evident. At other periods only one and not the other two themes was dominant. The relation of the respective themes to their socio-historical context is considered in the theoretical perspective of the sociology of knowledge and is dealt with in the interpretation of each theme.

Considering the Shakers as a group may indicate not only what people thought of the group from their own personal experience but also what stereotypes developed and became generally accepted as true, regardless of the user's personal experience. Most importantly, however, is the consideration that a general characterization avoids much of the specificity of individual and highly personal conflicts which inevitably influence the quantitative results of the two remaining themes. If this is true, this general theme may be most representative of the general opinion of the non-Shakers about the Shakers.

How did the non-Shakers perceive the Shakers as a group? The initial awareness by the non-Shakers of the Shakers was primarily negative. This negative evaluation of the Shakers shifted to a more positive emphasis toward the end of the eighteenth century. Evidence

of this change is graphically illustrated in Tables III and IV. Twenty-one of the thirty-one negative comments recorded occurred prior to 1786 (See Table IV). Of the twelve which follow that date, eight are found in one reference out of seven. That one reference was The Theological Magazine (1795) which was not written from first hand experience. As a secondary source, it reasonably may be inferred that most of its information was derived from the early and extremely critical documents written prior to 1786. Of the documents written prior to 1786, only four are known to have been in circulation at that time. Three were written by apostates. The fourth, "The London Mob" item, was published by one apostate in conjunction with his own charges. Thus from what we know of the existing literature, the basis upon which a secondary piece could be written was primarily negative in outlook and not representative of the changing opinions indicated by the other primary, or first hand accounts.

A dramatic change in non-Shaker characterization of the Shakers came after 1785 (see Table III). Prior to that date there are eleven positive comments. Following it, there are fifty-six positive characterizations. Of particular note is item number eight, character change. Two writers, one in 1793, and another in 1795, specifically mention knowledge of the groups' early reputation but stipulate that the group had changed for the better.

The findings also reveal that positive comments were made by two of the apostates Rathbun and Taylor. Their comments do not show their perceptual discrimination nor are their comments points of

agreement between the apostates and the Shakers. For Valentine Rathbun, such statements portray his initial encounter. The two comments that were made by Amos Taylor represented his explanations for why the Shakers persisted. Accordingly, they are speculative in nature and not positive assertions based on his own experiences. Positive statements, like those of V. Rathbun, are not simply descriptive since they function to legitimize the apostate's one-time association.

Excepting the apostate writings and The Theological Magazine, the remaining commentaries were by travelers. Their accounts are typified by the nature of their contact with the Shakers. In all cases the visits were of short duration. It may have been a day at the most, or it may have been several separate visits of a day each. In any case, their encounters were superficial. And, as casual visitors, their comments described what they saw. They focused on the most accessible items: the Shaker property, goods, and rituals. To these were added comments respecting their personal feelings. The lack of elaboration on the latter is probably due to the observer's lack of self-involvement with the Shakers.

Unlike the apostates, characterizations that were used to discredit the Shakers by visitors served less to discredit their morals or religion than to minimize the group's importance. Their function was to make the Shakers appear ridiculous or eccentric. However, these ideas convey no feeling of public jeopardy and do not seek to arouse the public to counteract the possible or real Shaker advance.

Furthermore, the visitors negative characterizations differ from those of the apostates because they tend to focus not on actual experiences but upon their view of the group's history. Writers who are not concerned with history, appear to have found little basis for negative comments. The contrast is illustrated in the comments made by Bentley and Dwight. Bentley, who makes no negative comments, is also unconcerned with Shaker history except to note a change in their reputation. Dwight, by contrast, is concerned with the past and goes beyond merely reporting his experiences to making comments about the Shaker's enthusiastic past. The excesses of enthusiastic religion were greatly opposed by Dwight and provided him with ample information for making negative comments. To conclude this point, it is clear that (1) the writer's purpose is important and (2) consideration must be given to whether their comments were made from experience or from the comments of others, be they factual or fictitious.

The day when the visitors arrived at the village is also important in interpreting their comments. Sunday visitors had little or no opportunity to speak to the Shakers. Information beyond what they saw and heard at meetings was supplied by local citizens. This is an important factor. Ideas accumulate. The visitor cannot differentiate between past and current representations. The result is a distorted image. The account given by the Duke of Rochefoucault-Liancourt* is an example of this problem.

*See Supra., p. 35, for the previous discussion about his visit.

Before considering the third theme, the non-Shakers characterization of Shaker leadership, Tables III and IV are presented.

The categories used in these tables were derived from value judgments made by non-Shakers. The distinctive quality of these tables is the general concentration of positive and negative traits. The positive emphasis in most of the character trait categories emerged in 1790 and continued through 1799 (see Table III). By contrast, Table IV shows most of the negative characterizations as occurring prior to 1790. Although such comments did not cease, their general use declined.

TABLE III. POSITIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKERS AS A GROUP.

THEME	SOURCE REFERENCES															
POSITIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKERS AS A GROUP	1780 N. Y.	1781 N. Y.	1781 V. R.	1781 L.	1782 TA.	1783 WT.	1784 F. M.	1784 B. N.	1785 DRV.	1790 W.	1793 WH.	1795 B.	1795 R.	1795 T.	1796 TI.	1799 D.
A. Attitudes, capabilities, and practices related to work																
1. Competence								2		2		1			1	
2. Inventive															1	
3. Industrious					1					2	1				1	1
4. Precision and regularity											1					
B. Physical appearance																
1. Physical appearance								1				1				
C. Interaction with Shakers and non-Shakers																
1. Peaceful											1	1				2
2. Kind			2									2	1	1		3
3. Love					1											
4. Punctuality													1			
D. Other																
1. Serious								1								
2. Neat											2	1			2	
3. Character change from bad to good											3	2				
4. Modest												1			1	
5. Moral-Ethical								1		1			4		4	2
6. Favorable impression			1									1	1		2	
7. Sincere										1						2
8. Rational								1								

TABLE IV. NEGATIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKERS AS A GROUP.

THEME	SOURCE REFERENCES															
NEGATIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKERS AS A GROUP	1780 N. Y.	1781 N. Y.	1781 V. R.	1781 L.	1782 TA.	1783 WT.	1784 F. M.	1784 B. M.	1785 DRV.	1790 W.	1793 WH.	1795 B.	1795 R.	1795 T.	1796 TI.	1799 D.
A. Appellations																
1. Convulsioners					1									1		
2. Strange														1		1
B. Physical appearance																
1. Physical appearance				1				2					1			
C. Interaction with Shakers and non-Shakers																
1. Disturb the peace														1		
2. Spiteful, some are					1											
3. Unstable						1								1		
D. Other																
1. Misled					1	1								2		
2. Infatuated	1					1										
3. Superstitious						1										
4. False people			1		1	1			1							
5. Destitute of principles and powers of spiritual life						1										
6. Illiterate and distressed people				2								1				
7. Too severe												1				
8. Zealous														1		
9. Void of natural affections						1										

3. The Character Traits Mentioned By the Non-Shakers About Shaker Leadership.

The purpose of the theme about Shaker leadership is to determine whether the conflict theme related to Shaker leadership changed in content over time (see Tables V and VI). Particular interest is in whether such a change, if any, can be linked to the national origin of the leadership. Before considering this issue, attention will be directed to the moral issue involved.

The morals issue as represented by the non-Shakers, includes the charges that those in leadership were deceivers, wanton, drunk, and riotous (see Table VI, items 1, 2, 4, 5, 7 and 8). Of the twenty negative comments made about the Shaker leadership between 1781 and 1786, these charges account for fourteen of them.

The Shakers account of the charges of this period (1774-1799) indicate that the charges of drunk and riotous were frequently made between 1780 and 1787.* Valentine Rathbun, Benjamin West, and Amos Taylor do not use it as a charge however. Having been members of the group and then disillusioned this omission may indicate that the charge was untrue, or at least not serious. Even more interesting is Valentine Rathbun's mention of it in 1785, in his preface to Daniel Rathbun's "A Letter...." In any case it raises the question of whether his first pamphlet simply omitted mention of the matter or whether he later accepted the rumors as true.

*See Supra., pp. 40 - 42, for a description of the original Shaker documents pertaining to the charges.

In the latter item, Rathbun also mentions for the first time the matter of fleecing the followers, that is, the taking of property for the use and support of an elite group: the leadership. The apparent discrepancy in Rathbun's two writings is accounted for by the altered socio-historical conditions of the Shaker society. When Rathbun was a member of the Shakers, there was no plan for a communal organization. The need to comment on such an issue was non-existent. However in 1785, there also was no official communitarianism involving all the members. But the society was undergoing many changes. Two of the founders, including Mother Ann, had died. The period of charismatic leadership was coming to an end. Leadership was becoming a designated "class" within the movement. The disappearance of charismatic leadership and a waning of the revival spirit may have encouraged the consideration of a communal organization in 1785, two years before it was seriously and concertedly tried.

None of the apostates accused Mother Ann of prostitution in general nor with General Burgoyne in particular.* The first mention of such an accusation is by the visitor, Francisco de Miranda. The closest approximation of such an accusation is Valentine Rathbun's single assertion of "wantonness", which may or may not indicate "lewdness". The omission of this fact from the apostate writings is

*General Burgoyne had commanded the British forces in their attempt to cut off New England from the other colonies during The Revolution. He was defeated at Saratoga (see p.9). Saratoga is near Albany. The Shakers had settled seven miles northwest of Albany, toward Saratoga, just a year before Burgoyne's defeat in 1777. The non-Shaker may have accounted for this new English settlement, not having previous information about them, by identifying them with the intrusion of the British into the area. It is not difficult to imagine that the non-Shaker would associate Ann with Burgoyne.

significant considering the vituperative nature of their other accusations.

Although these accusations concerning prostitution appear in no public document before 1784, the year of Mother Ann's death, these posthumous references are insightful into the popular rumors about the Shakers. Reference to them at this post-Revolution date suggests that they were not intended to inflame the reader but were intended to discredit the movement through ridicule, moral sanction, or demonstrating the incredulity of such a group. It also would indicate a source of rumor production, independent of the apostates. Brissot's (Brissot, 1788: 370) comments add further insight into the matter of how complete the historical records are, especially in terms of general public opinion. He wrote:

From Andover we went to Woburn, where live the "Shaking Quakers," who actually shake. Some entertaining stories have been circulated about them and about a woman who plays a leading role among them. These satirical tales, which appeal to malicious minds, should be viewed with circumspection. At any rate, this sect has not made many proselytes.

Such comments bring into perspective the fact that the apostates were not the sole source of the public image. The image derived from this source is incomplete, an important recognition in making interpretations and generalizations. Such comments also show that the traveler was an active agent in rumor development and control. Brissot, whose literary style indicates that he never met the Shakers, does point to this process. Based on his subjective standard of credibility,

he dismisses the rumors because of their malicious nature and because of their intent to satirically discredit the group. Not only does one learn from this short quote that the Shakers were publically held in low esteem but that the hearer consciously screened his data.* This screening process is part of the process of selective perception, which is, in turn, part of the process of the individual's definition of a situation. Finally, such rumors are dismissed because they refer to something that appears inconsequential. "At any rate, this sect has not made many proselytes."**

Before considering the negative characterizations after 1789, thirty-two in number, it is appropriate to deal with The Theological

*George M. Foster in "Contemporary Hispanic American Culture: The Product of Acculturation" states that in the process of acculturation, there is a double screening process (1) of what the donor culture selects for presentation to the recipient culture, and (2) of what the recipient culture perceives as being compatible with its culture. Representatives of the donor culture do not reveal their entire culture: "members of a donor culture frequently consciously withhold elements of their way of life, for reasons of political control, prestige, and the like...." (p. 8) On the other hand, the recipient does not see that all of the presented culture "fits" into his culture. 'Acculturation is very much a matter of range of present and of perceptual reality....' (p. 9) Both factors are significant as far as the definition of the situation in this study is concerned.

**This observation should be noted in conjunction with contact and conflict. Brissot's dismissal is that they are no threat or of little consequence. Numbers of converts at Woburn are not known. In any case, by 1788, the missionary zeal had subsided, as well as the general revival.

Credibility is a function of the socio-historical setting. What "facts" Brissot found credible were not only colored by his personal and continental attitudes but by the context in which he heard American interpretations derived from earlier contexts and recalled in contemporary settings, such as comments about The Revolution and the 1780 revival around New Lebanon. The enthusiasm of The Revival and The Revolutionary concerns had subsided. In 1788, it may have been difficult for the foreigner in America to have understood the significance of these events to the original participants. Having not been part of the situations, he could not re-live those moments.

Magazine. Sixteen of the negative comments are made in this one reference. Previously this publication (pp. 35 and 62) was characterized as being of a secondary nature. How scattered are the citation of the charges is graphically illustrated in Table VI. Here The Theological Magazine is seen to be, with two exceptions (number A. 2. and D. 1; A. 3. a. has been omitted since the category of prostitution was considered), a total catalogue of offenses. This supports the previous contention. Of the seven documents between 1789 and 1800, only two besides The Theological Magazine characterize the leaders in negative terms. One is the account by Watson. In the context of his account, this description seems to be of limited significance. Since Watson was an educated man, the Shaker's lack of education and his manners were no doubt noticeable, and negatively perceived. In contrast to this, however, he came to speak favorably of the group, all characteristics considered. Such a negative characterization was not indicative of a more general negative attitude.

Dwight, the other commentator, broadened his negative characterization to include fleecing and irreverence, as well as, ignorance. Combined with their ignorance is their presumptiveness with regard to Mother Ann and their church. As indicated in his biographical sketch, he had no tolerance of religious ideas other than strict Calvinism.

The appearance of positive comments follows 1790. These are after the formation of the communities begun in 1787, and in some part are in consequence of this event. Such a historical context would make it possible to speak of professional abilities, abilities

necessary for the newly formed businesses and human relations management. Mention of this matter, however, is sparse. To account for this factor, one must recognize the social structure of Shaker society. The chain of command and division of labor greatly facilitated removal of public contact with the leadership. As preachers in open missionary endeavor they were accessible public figures. As noted earlier, the development of communities temporarily terminated such activities. Casual visitors may simply have missed the opportunity of forming such opinions. Bentley's references unlike the travelers who mentioned Mother Ann are not misleading interpretations based on rumors. He refers to meeting personally with Elder Rand. This and his acknowledgment of change, provide a good reference in building a picture of contrast. Where such clear and unbiased historical appraisal occurs, there is some basis for suggesting attitude change. In the same context, where character formation was made, it would largely have been from seeing and hearing the Elders at religious services. This would account for charges of ignorance being associated with irrationality and lack of cogent views. Such caricatures have limited "generalizability."

Following the presentation of Tables V and VI, a discussion of the fourth and final theme of this chapter will be given. The fourth theme considers the non-Shaker's characterization of Shaker religion.

In presenting the tables, the readers should observe that the leadership was most frequently credited with negative characteristics. There are fifty-two such comments in contrast to eight positive ones.

No positive comments concerning Shaker leadership appear before 1795 (see Table V). The subsequent clustering of positive traits is in sharp contrast to the dispersed negative characterizations shown on Table VI. Furthermore, the Tables are in sharp contrast from the standpoint of the comparative number of positive to negative characterizations derived from the documents. Also, only two of the sixteen documents make any reference to positive characterizations.*

*See Supra., pp. 61-62, for the comments made concerning the disparity in the number of categories.

TABLE V. POSITIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER LEADERSHIP.

THEME	SOURCE REFERENCES															
POSITIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER LEADERSHIP	1780 N. Y.	1781 N. Y.	1781 V. R.	1781 L.	1782 TA.	1783 WT.	1784 F. M.	1784 B. M.	1785 DRV.	1790 W.	1793 WH.	1795 B.	1795 R.	1795 T.	1796 TI.	1798 D.
A. <u>Personal attitudes</u>																
1. <u>Perseverent</u>												1				
2. <u>Solemn</u>																1
3. <u>Sincere</u>												1				
B. <u>Leadership capability</u>																
1. <u>Personal and professional abilities</u>												2				3

TABLE VI. NEGATIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER LEADERSHIP.

THEME	SOURCE REFERENCES															
NEGATIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER LEADERSHIP	1780 N. Y.	1781 N. Y.	1781 V. R.	1781 L.	1782 TA.	1783 WT.	1784 F. M.	1784 B. M.	1785 DRV.	1790 W.	1793 WH.	1795 B.	1795 R.	1795 T.	1796 TI.	1799 D.
A. Behavioral traits																
1. Drunk and/or riotous								2	1					2		
2. Fleece followers									2							1
3. Ann Lee, a prostitute																
a. to General Burgoyne and/or his army							1						1			
b. a general statement														1		
4. Irreverent						1								5		9
5. Wanton			1						2					1		
6. Deceivers			1	1		1			1					1		
7. Speech			2											2		
B. Educational traits																
1. Ignorant						1				1				1		3
C. Physiological traits																
1. Unpleasant personal qualities			1							1				2		
D. Miscellaneous																
1. Miscellaneous			1			1										1

4. The Character Traits Mentioned By the Non-Shakers About Shaker Religion: Doctrine and Practice.

The purpose of this theme, The Character Traits Mentioned By the Non-Shakers About Shaker Religion, is to determine what variations, if any, occurred in the non-Shaker's appraisal of Shaker religion (see Tables VII and VIII). This theme will attempt to ascertain whether the values represented in the thematic indicators are consistently used through time.

Negative characterizations most frequently represent Shaker religion (see Table VIII). The first negative characterization to be considered is related to Shaker worship, the verbal and musical expressions, including the dances, and the physical manifestations of the spirits. Prior to 1786 there are twenty-five negative opinions tabulated. Of this number, seventeen are made by Valentine Rathbun. The balance of charges are shared by three documents and range from not less than two nor more than four charges each. After 1786, there are sixteen counts. The interesting difference concerns the distribution and the number of charges for each writer under the heading of "physical manifestation." Prior to 1786 four sources comment on such expressions, after that date only two do. The earlier sources have fifteen negative charges. The later source has five.

Both notations on this subject after 1786 come from religious sources, The Theological Magazine and Timothy Dwight. Discounting The Theological Magazine's negative statement because of its second-hand nature, the importance of Dwight's statements may be considered.

Dwight, a traditional Congregationalist, disliked all enthusiastic religions which challenged reason and proper behavior. Of the Shakers he wrote that they were the most extreme "of all the mental extravagances," and he wrote further that "there never was a sillier enthusiasm." (Dwight, 1822: 161)

If The Theological Magazine is discounted in the charges about the physical manifestations, this leaves Dwight as the only writer after 1786 to mention this phenomena. This raises a number of questions. Were his accounts of this phenomena based on personal experiences or upon rumor? Did the lateness of his visit (1799) correspond with a new surge of spiritualism fostered by the Shaker desire to re-open their mission to the world? Was his observation the product of selective perception, which caused him to distinguish this aspect of the worship service; whereas other observers referred to the worship behavior in a more general characterization?

Prior to 1786, neither of the two visitors mentioned this aspect. Omitting the "London Mob" item as relating only to reports from America or to the writer's experiences in Europe, the only commentators were the apostates. From this, an analyst might conclude that such spiritual manifestations occurred only in meetings composed of Shakers.

On the matter of beliefs, three of the six visitors made no comments. This fact may be accounted for, in large part at least, by the role of the visitor. Such a role has two aspects: (1) that the visitor will be limited by what the Shakers will relate to him, and (2) that none of the visitors indicated an interest in uniting or seriously inquiring into the faith. Consequently, their lack of

comment may simply represent the Shaker's or the visitor's screening of the incoming stimuli.

For those three travelers who did comment, the selective perception perspective provides an interesting basis for evaluating their comments. First, none of the three make systematic comments thereby indicating a selectivity of those beliefs which seemed outstanding, for whatever reason. From the viewer's comments, what was outstanding was also odd. Two visitors based their opinion of the selected beliefs on a rational criteria. T. Dwight and the Duke of Rouchefoucauld-Liancourt, both educated men, considered the Shaker beliefs to be "weak," that is lacking in logical consistency.

In declaring the beliefs heretical, all the travelers but Dwight did not comment. From the previous comments about Dwight, it is not surprising that he did. In the post 1786 findings, The Theological Magazine concurs, a judgment mentioned here because the writer's opinion is a personal evaluation which is not dependent upon his sources.

Observing the category of beliefs as a whole divided by the date 1786, the earlier intensity caused by apostate writing is clearly contrasted with the following writers. There are thirty-six counts prior to 1786 and thirteen in the latter period. This shift is attributable to the change in the vested interests of the reporters. Even in the later period, twelve of the negative comments may be said to be biased by an invested interest.

Visitors and commentators alike avoided the sanction that the beliefs were delusive or false of themselves. Such charges came from the apostates. That false beliefs were responsible for misleading people followed the same pattern, except for Dwight's agreement with the apostates.

Charges related to the social consequences of Shakerism, beyond misleading both the public and its own followers, largely concerned family relationships. Here a lack of adequate historical corroboration becomes apparent. Currently only apostate corroboration exists about the destructive nature of Shakerism. This writer does not know of any documents by the then contemporary local citizens that would confirm this position. Travel accounts make no mention of such a situation. These accounts, however, followed the period of missionary zeal which produced the many conversions that could have produced a public outcry over the destruction of the family structure. With the time of conversions in the past, local residents may have selectively forgotten, or may have remembered and considered it of no current significance. Another possibility is that travelers who heard such reports and saw them to be unsupported in fact, may have chosen to omit mention of such ideas. This is also a form of data selectivity.

The dissolution of the family was a common theme to Valentine Rathbun, Benjamin West, and Daniel Rathbun. The single exception among the apostates was Amos Taylor, who unlike the other writers makes no mention of his family. The other apostates either "destroyed" their families by leaving them when they entered the Shaker group,

or when, after having joined the Shakers with their families, they decided to leave the Shakers because of their disillusionment, and discovered that the rest of their family did not share such a sentiment and chose to remain. The complaints here, however true, reflect a personal rather than a social interest, as perceived from the larger external community. As intimated previously, this does not deny that a large number of conversions within a limited geographical area might not have raised the issue to the level of a social concern.

The notation by West that mortification of the body, an extreme form of asceticism, was practiced, that is, that the Shakers attempted to subordinate bodily or lustful desires to the "spiritual nature" of man through such means as excessive work and/or limited diet, etc., is meaningful in the light of the Shaker's belief in sexual virginal purity. From the documents studied in this period, this is infrequent comment. As an effective practice, it would seem more likely to occur under the communal plan of living where the group would support each other. Some insight may be gained on West's allegation by observing that some of the travelers portrayed the Shakers, as a group, as "sickly" in appearance, as noted in Table IV, item B. 1. The visitor may not have attributed this state of being to mortification but such comments probably lend support to West's comment. Daniel Rathbun, another apostate who wrote during this period, complained that Shaker demands upon the body were responsible for breaking the health of a number of its members. The indirect comments about the appearance of the Shakers is perhaps the most direct statement of the popular value placed on

good health. It was never a part of the general Protestant tradition to mortify the flesh, and this certainly would have raised a question about such practices.

Numerically, the category of derisive appellations is the strongest. It took little provocation of effort to add invective to description. The sense of this category depends upon the other themes mentioned in this report to be clear. The category adds little content information but does suggest the intensity of the criticism received by the Shakers. Unfortunately an injustice has been done to the documents at this point by not recording the frequency of such modifiers. The variety of adjectives that added intensity to each of the four divisions of names applied to the Shakers is extensive.

Such appellations were not universally used. Only two of the seven visitors made such comments. Fifty-seven references were made prior to 1786. Only three occur after that date. The latter references appear to have served primarily as an identifying function. This is indicated by the infrequency of their use. By contrast, the variety and frequency of their appearance in the earlier literature, the writings of the apostates and "The London Mob" item, indicated that their function was to arouse the reader's attention to the threat that the Shakers posed to society. While limited here to apostate literature, the identification of other documents by local writers in areas influenced by Shakerism would help in distinguishing whether the animosity is simply indicative of apostate "hatred"; or whether

it was used also in periods of crisis when tolerance to the peculiarities of the Shakers was at a minimum.

Two words which frequently appear as appellations need special comment. They are "new" and "strange." These words appear both separately and in combination. Their meanings, and subsequently their intensity, show a great variation within the documents. Thomas Brown was quoted earlier on his understanding of the word "strange." It is interesting that he stopped to define the word. From this, it may be assumed that the continued and frequent use of the word gave it an almost innocuous meaning. Whether used to designate the Shakers from the non-Shakers does not detract from the fact that such a designation was not one of the more socially valued concepts. Like the word "Shaker," the word "strange" lost its negative connotation. At this moment, the question remains when and for whom did this change take place. In addition, for the apostates, excepting Taylor, some confusion surrounds the use of the word "new." In the sense in which Thomas Brown used it, the word is a means of distinguishing the Shakers from non-Shakers. However, as one reads the texts of the apostate literature, it is noted that the word(s) refers to the biblical idea of the diabolical foe, the Anti-Christ, that would appear before the Second Coming. In this sense, the idea is anything but neutral, or even mildly reprehensible. In this study, no distinction has been made in recording these terms although it is recognized that they are not of equal "weight" or intent. This consideration of word usage, it is hoped, makes clear this study's contention about the importance of

word context and the socio-historical setting in which the word and its represented idea are used.

The last negative characteristic to be considered is Shakerism's association with Roman Catholicism. This subject will also be referred to in the discussion of Table IX, which concerns the allegation by non-Shakers that the Shakers were in opposition to America's national interests.

The "no popery," theme in America was a continuation of Protestant England's conflict with her "principal enemies in Catholic France and Spain." Just as England had placed legal sanctions on The Roman Church and its followers, the papists, so did the colonies. Complete religious toleration came slowly in the colonies. Restrictions on Catholics remained in Connecticut and Massachusetts until 1818 and 1833, respectively. The anti-Catholic sentiment is clearly expressed in John Jay's address issued by the Continental Congress on September 5, 1774, in response to England's passage of the Quebec Act passed previously that year.

"By another act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests by civil as well as religious prejudices that by their number daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to administration so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion to be fit instruments in the hands of power to reduce the ancient free Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves." (Underlining is mine.) (Stokes, 1950: 786)

With such opposition against Catholicism in the American colonies, it was of no passing interest when detractors of Shakerism recorded its

similarity to Catholicism, especially its authoritarian government. Amos Taylor in a description of their meetings concluded by stating: "the whole of which is manifestly done to introduce popery and ecclesiastical power." (Taylor, 1782: 15) Shakerism offended the sensibilities of New England's free church tradition. Finally, Shakerism, like Catholicism, was portrayed as a system of slavery.* This trait is associated with Shakerism's dependency upon the Elders in determining religious truth. For the present, it is sufficient to observe that the practice of confession to the Elders; the spiritual superiority of the Elders, and thereby the dependence of the members; the withholding of primacy from the Bible** in matters of faith and

*See Infra., p. 121 , for a discussion of the slavery theme in relation to theme that the Shakers were subversive the Colonist's value of individualism and personal freedom.

**Denial of the centrality of the Bible, whether in Shakerism or Catholicism was perceived as a threat to Protestantism, and if to Protestantism then to the foundation of American society which rested heavily on individualism and the commonwealth ideal. Following W. I. Thomas, if such a belief is real, then it is real in its consequences. The similarity expressed here and the meaning of such charges requires some clarification. Shakerism did not rule out the Bible, it simply called it a "back dispensation." Revelation was primary. For Catholicism the issue is clouded by two forces, the role of tradition and the relative roles of Catholic laymen and clergy. The issue was not whether Protestantism and Catholicism were founded upon the Bible. The issue at point was that it alone was the Christian's source of authority. As Stokes observed:

Protestant America feared that this would mean ultimately an end to their liberties, which they believed were bound up with the Christianity of the Bible--a book the Roman Catholic Church did not encourage its lay members to read and would not indeed allow them to read in the King James or Geneva versions most common in the colonies. (Stokes, 1950: 785)

practice, all ran counter to the prevailing Protestant ideas about religion, such as the idea that every man was a priest, that he had the freedom to read and interpret the Bible, and to accept local autonomy in church government. Each of these Protestant traits emphasized the centrality of the individual rather than that of the "establishment." A rejection of these was equivalent to a lack of self-determination and increased suspicion of the Shakers, especially in relation to political loyalty.

Lay Roman Catholics in the colonies prior to The Revolution were aware of the negative association between a hierarchically organized and a non-American religious "establishment." They actively resisted the establishment of an apostolic vicar in the colonies. Consequently it was not until 1788 that an American, John Carroll, became the first American bishop. Considering the accepted ideology of the time, it is not surprising that Shakerism and Catholicism confronted similar charges.

The commendations that were given to the Shaker religion before 1800 were few. They were also quite limited in scope. A comparison of the findings revealed on Tables VII and VIII, the positive and negative characterizations of the Shaker religion respectively, shows a sustained, almost complete dislike of the religious aspect of Shakerism.

Although few positive images developed, two exceptions are evident; solemnity and precision. Both focus on the unique feature of Shaker worship, the dance. These positive characterizations came after 1790,

that is, they came in a period of increasing formalization of Shaker ritual. To interpret this break in the negative view of Shaker religion, it must be acknowledged that the writers are referring to a feeling, a quality about the service, and are making no concessions about the religion itself. Secondly, both of these qualities are congruent with positively valued aesthetic traits in America. Precision and order are also qualities that have been expressed in relation to the positive characterization given to Shaker property and goods, as seen on Table I. An American appreciation for neatness, order, and precision may explain the delay in attributing them to Shaker religion. When enthusiasm was at its height, participation in worship was highly individualistic and unpredictable. There was a minimum of order. About this earlier period, Valentine Rathbun wrote:

When they meet together for their worship, they fall to groaning and trembling, and every one acts alone for himself.... (Underlining added). (Rathbun, 1781: 13)

The varied individual expression combined until they made a "perfect Bedlam." This is evidence of both an offense to decorum and to aesthetics.

Two positive characterizations remain to be discussed. They concern the apostate statements (a) that the Shakers spoke "good" words and (b) that they had some success in turning some persons from their vices, as socially defined. Since these factors are closely related, they will be discussed together. Both Valentine Rathbun and Benjamin West mention the "good" words spoken by the Shakers.

West immediately concludes that they were to deceive. Although Rathbun is not as direct, a consideration of his entire pamphlet makes it eminently clear that these comments were to explain his involvement. Such comments are isolated to sections of his pamphlet concerning his first encounter with the Shakers. Secondly, the author re-evaluates his initial impression. The "good" words no longer have a simple and direct meaning. Instead they are deceptive and circuitous; they are the evil means by which the Anti-Christ ensnares the followers of God.

Taylor does not refer to "good" words but to their consequences. Such preaching, he observes, has turned men away from their vices. Unfortunately, the cure of Shakerism was a worse vice.

In short, the attributing of these positive qualities to the Shakers were backhanded compliments. Unless these comments are interpreted in terms of their textual context, their apparent meaning would have distorted the findings. These points do illustrate the process of selective perception and the participant's re-evaluation of his situation. For many, the process of evaluation continued to affirm the benefits of the Shakers. But, this generalization must be modified in relation to the findings which indicate that, where values are central to conflict, the socio-historical circumstances are not necessarily determinative. This fact asserts the need for the subjective quality of interpretation.* Valued ideas which are

*The following paragraph from Herbert Blumer's article, "Society as Symbolic Interaction," (p. 188) will assist the reader to understand why antecedent historical conditions are not determinative.

Insofar as sociologists or students of human society are concerned with the behavior of acting

closely associated with the ideological base of society persist whereas less valued ideas associated with a group's identity are more rapidly altered to meet newly defined conditions.

In the case of each theme, the basis for evaluating changes in the non-Shaker's characterization of the Shakers has been to observe the appearance or disappearance of positive and negative traits. These changes have been graphically presented in the tables.

Before concluding this chapter, Tables VII and VIII will be presented. The non-Shakers characterization of Shaker religion is indicated in these tables. The positive trait characterization is displayed by two small clusters of comments (see Table VII). The first falls between 1781 and 1784 and indicates the character of

(footnote continued from preceding page)

units, the position of symbolic interaction requires the student to catch the process of interpretation through which they construct their actions. This process is not to be caught merely by turning to conditions which are antecedent to the process. Such antecedent conditions are helpful in understanding the process insofar as they enter into it, but as mentioned previously they do not constitute the process. Nor can one catch the process merely by inferring its nature from the overt action which is its product. To catch the process, the student must take the role of the acting unit whose behavior he is studying. Since the interpretation is being made by the acting unit in terms of objects designated and appraised, meanings acquired, and decisions made, the process has to be seen from the standpoint of the acting unit. It is the recognition of this fact that makes the research work of such scholars as R. E. Park and W. I. Thomas so notable. To try to catch the interpretative process by remaining aloof as a so-called "objective" observer and refusing to take the role of the acting unit is to risk the worst kind of subjectivism--the objective observer is likely to fill in the process of interpretation with his own surmises in place of catching the process as it occurs in the experience of the acting unit which uses it.

of their preachments. The second cluster occurs between 1795 and 1796. Here the characterization concerns the musical and ceremonial aspect of the Shaker religion. In contrast to the twelve negative trait categories, not counting the eighteen sub-headings found under these twelve, in Table VIII, Table VII has only six positive trait categories.* A concentration of negative characterizations appears in the period from 1781 through 1783 (see Table VIII). After 1783, both the frequency of the occurrences of the charges and the similarity of the charges made by the writers decreases. The entire discussion of the disruption to family life caused by the Shaker religion ceases (see C. 2. a through f). Derisive appellations (D. 1 through 4) show a marked decline and the graphic presentation of the findings shows their incidence as becoming increasingly dispersed. To a lesser extent, the same is true for sections "A" and "B", which respectively deal with religious practices and beliefs.

These comments complete the discussion of themes that were to be considered in this chapter. Following Tables VII and VIII, a summary of the findings and interpretations will assist the reader to recall the major points of this chapter before going on to Chapter IV.

*See Supra., pp. 61-62, for a discussion of the disparity between the positive and negative traits on the tables.

TABLE VIII. NEGATIVE TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER RELIGION: DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE.

THEME	SOURCE REFERENCES															
NEGATIVE TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER RELIGION: DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE	1780 N. Y.	1781 N. Y.	1781 V. R.	1781 L.	1782 TA.	1783 WT.	1784 F. M.	1784 B. M.	1785 DRV.	1790 W.	1793 WH.	1795 B.	1795 R.	1795 T.	1796 TI.	1799 D.
A. Practices																
1. Worship																
a. Verbal expression			3		1											
b. Music			2							2		1				
c. Dance										2						
d. Physical manifestation																
(1) Strange			2		2	1										2
(2) Childish				1	1											
(3) Terrible			5	1										1		1
(4) Verbal characterizations			1		1											
(5) Insincere																1
e. General characterization			4							3			1	2		
2. Mortification of the body					2											
B. Beliefs																
1. Heretical			4		2									1		4
2. Weak			1	1	1	3		2	1				1	4		3
3. Delusive			10		8	3										
C. Consequences of beliefs and practices																
1. Mislead			6		1	10										2
2. Disruptions of the social institutions																
a. Separates husbands and wives			1		4											
b. Non-support for the wife and children in cases where only the husband was converted						1										

TABLE VIII. --continued.

THEME	SOURCE REFERENCES															
NEGATIVE TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER RELIGION: DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE (continued)	1780 N. Y.	1781 N. Y.	1781 V. R.	1781 L.	1782 TA.	1783 WT.	1784 F. M.	1784 B. M.	1785 DRV.	1790 W.	1793 WH.	1795 B.	1795 R.	1795 T.	1796 TI.	1799 D.
c. The family that included a convert to Shakerism became tributary to Shaker leadership					1											
d. Children run, and are told to run, from parents			2													
e. Children deny, disown, are disrespectful and judgmental of parents			1		2											
f. Rejects kinship ties			1													
g. Broke up society in neighborhoods			1													
h. Fanaticism produced communal settlement plan												1				
3. Associated with Roman Catholicism				1	1	3			1					1		
D. Derisive appellations																
1. Scheme			7	5	2	8			3							2
2. False			5	1		5			1							
3. Delusion, deception, and catastrophe			4		5											
4. Other			5	2	2				2		1					

C. SUMMATION OF FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION.

Throughout this chapter, the effect of socio-historical factors upon the inter-group definitions and re-definitions of their situations has been illustrated.

The findings discussed in this chapter have shown that the character traits most frequently used by non-Shakers in relation to what the Shakers did, in most instances, fluctuated with changes in Shaker society. This finding is in contrast to the hypothesis that the characterizations would be most affected by changes in the "host" society. The interpretation of the findings thus are more dependent upon the subjective aspect of interpretation than upon the objective aspect. In other words, the non-Shaker's perceived agreement between their value structure and that of the Shakers seemed to be more important than upon the events antecedent to the non-Shakers perceptions of the Shakers within a particular historical context. For example, changes in Shaker leadership, caused by the deaths of Mother Ann and Father William, and a decline in converts necessitated the formation of communities. The establishment of these was followed by the development of the land and industries. The quality products and the neat villages that resulted were in keeping with the larger society's norms of work and neatness. To the non-Shaker, it appeared that the Shakers were moderating, that is to say, conforming or adapting to the ways of non-Shaker society. Regardless of the fact that this is how the "host" society perceived the Shakers, the Shakers did not similarly perceive their actions to be an adaptation to the

larger society. The Shakers were not seeking to appease the non-Shakers with their more settled and routinized life style but were attempting to alleviate a condition that threatened their own survival, namely, the end of the revival spirit and consequently of converts.

Although the "host" society found more to praise by virtue of this changed life style, they showed no greater agreement than they did earlier with the one theme which underwent few changes, religion. It is significant that popular opinion deviated little from the negative characterization of the Shaker religion. The praise that was directed to religion was to practices that were in keeping with the norms of non-Shaker religious behavior, e.g., well-executed ritual and solemnity associated with that ritual. Such praise selectively given leaves no place for the consideration that the caricature of the Shaker religion had significantly changed. The apparent "softening" of attitude is a result of the broader basis for evaluation, beyond religion, which the "new" Shaker organization presented.

The settlement period created many more communalities with the "host" society than did the earlier one. This and the lack of proselytizing activity seemingly assisted in the prevention of conflict in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century.

As previously stated, Chapter IV will consider, through two additional themes, how conflict is related to specific ideas and values between Shakers and non-Shakers from 1774 to 1800.

CHAPTER FOUR
FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION OF
THE CONTENT ANALYSIS: PART TWO

A. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter will relate the findings of the two additional themes comprising the scope of this study. The first of these themes derived from the non-Shaker sources characterizes the Shakers as subverters of the American national interests. The second characterizes the Shakers as subverters of the American ideal of individualism and freedom.

This chapter is distinguished from the previous chapter because of its recognition (1) of the events of concern to all of Colonial America and (2) of the ideals and values related to national events. This changes the origin of the evaluations by non-Shakers from the Shakers to avoid the common historical context of both groups.

The purpose of this part of the inquiry is to discover how value conflict is related to specific ideals and values in The Revolutionary Era and the period of incipient nationhood in the American colonies. These findings have been summarized in Tables IX and X.

The record of attitude disposition toward the Shakers in the preceding themes has revealed a striking alteration from the negative to the positive during the 1790's. If changes in attitude are to be

understood, we must consider what issues were current in America for the period under study (1774-1799). Two have been chosen for illustration.

The first theme deals with American national interests. This theme, unlike a purely ideological one, has relevance for the non-Shaker only in a particular historical context, one in which there is a perceived threat to America. The values perceived relate to the basis for national solidarity, such as the values of freedom, group loyalty, and "American-ness."

From the many values held within a society, the relative dominance of specific values is the result of the specific situation and how it has been defined by those involved in it. For example, pacifism is not a popular value when the freedom of a nation depends upon its citizens to bear arms in defense of their country against an enemy. Furthermore, some ideals and values tend to retain their priority and are found to be applicable to most situations, such as the American value of personal freedom. This value seems to have persisted through the years irrespective of any particular events in American history. The second theme will attempt to verify or reject this assumption.

The second theme, which considers the Shakers as subverters of freedom and individualism, focuses on how these values are considered from 1774 to 1800. Threats to the nation may have different intensity for a citizen's attention, perhaps because they affect him personally in a less consistent fashion than do his own immediate concerns for

survival, but the concern with freedom and individualism persists. Freedom and individualism are personal as well as civic values. The individual sees his future tied to these values.

The theme on American national interests and the Shakers considers the issue of national origin and its implied conflict, Shaker loyalty to the American revolutionary cause. The indices used in this consideration are based on non-American characteristics ascribed to the Shakers by non-Shakers and upon the nature of the charges leveled against the Shakers. The selection of traits and charges, whether founded in fact or fiction, helped the general populace to form an opinion about the Shakers. A negative or pro-British ascription would not only mark the Shakers as outsiders but as outsiders who threatened the existence of Americans loyal to the cause of freedom. And in a revolutionary situation, direct physical action was perceived as appropriate by many. Thus when Shaker preachments, such as pacifism, that the Bible was a "back dispensation," that is to say, outdated by Mother Ann's message, and that celibacy was a preferred state of life, were heard, they threatened both social goals and values: the war effort, established religion, and the family.

The theme on Shaker subversion of individualism and freedom is grounded in the fact that the eighteenth-century American was imbued with the ideal of self-determination and freedom (see Table X). Many historians have observed how English rule, as compared with French and Spanish, encouraged colonial independence. And, although this course was taken by England for political and economic reasons, it

was firmly implanted in the Reformation concept of the individual and in an increasing importance given to Arminian theology* in the second half of the eighteenth century in America. These ideas had made some elements in American society ardent anti-Catholics and more generally, anti-establishment, referring to religious organizations that were synchronized with or dominated by the nation's political organization. Such subjectivized ideals not only justified the colonial life-style but were believed to be God-ordained truths. Into such a scene came the Shakers. Their church organization was hierarchical and demanded absolute personal loyalty which led to charges of slavery, alienation of natural affections, and so on. The political revolutionary was joined by the ecclesiastical revolutionary in considering a rapidly expanding Shakerism as a threat to personal freedom and to the ideal of institutional structures amenable to the popular will.

The indices used in surveying this issue are derived from the recognition by non-Shakers of submission by members of Shakerism to their religious leaders, techniques of "enslavement," and the belief that the Shaker way was degrading to the nature of man. For comparative purposes, these issues have been stated in a positive and a negative way and have been presented in parallel fashion in Table X. In this way the contrast in recorded responses will indicate whether the sentiment was abated over the years.

*Arminianism was a reaction to Calvinism. "It manifested itself in an emphasis on the more practical aspects of religion, a disinclination toward sharp creedal definitions (particularly in relation to unconditional predestination)...." (Walker, 1959: 399) Arminius ascribed to man a freedom to choose good ends.

B. CONFLICT THEMES.

1. The Shakers Are Subversive Of the American National Interests.

The purpose of this theme is to determine if the non-Shaker's attention to the "foreign" attributes, attitudes, and ways which they ascribed to the Shakers subsided with the end of The Revolutionary Era. A termination of such themes would indicate the non-Shakers perceptual selectivity, especially if the content concerns can be correlated with the peculiar concerns of his immediate situation.

An interpretation of the findings in Table IX begins with a consideration of the non-American origin of the group, its leaders and beliefs. Were the non-Shaker writers being simply descriptive when they observed that the Shaker leaders were European, or was this factor of national origin selectively overemphasized? Repetition of specific category heading by individual writers (see Table IX, item A. 1.) is the first indication that it is more than a mere descriptive comment. More telling, however, are documentary contexts in which such comments appear. For example, Valentine Rathbun's pamphlet is entitled, "A brief account of a religious scheme taught and propagated by a number of Europeans.... The whole being a discovery of wicked machinations of the principal enemies of America." It would be hard to consider this 1781 reference to "Europeans" as value neutral. Furthermore, the theme ends in 1783, the year the The Revolutionary War officially ceased. This relationship cannot be taken at face value. Throughout the 1780's an anti-English sentiment pervaded in the former British colonies. This suggests that other social factors were also

present to influence the end of such references in the literature. Shaker history suggests a second factor, the termination of the centrality of Shakerism's English leadership. In 1784, both William Lee and Ann Lee died. And, although James Whittaker continued to lead the group, subordinate leadership roles were more frequently being filled by Americans. Aside from these three principal English leaders, the others who came to America from England never became prominent in the movement. John Hocknell "had not been much of an officiating character" (Brown, 1812: 343); John Partington left the society in 1786 or 1787, as did James Shappard, who later returned to the backsliding order. Richard Hocknell and Ann Lee, neice of the founder, also left the Shakers (Ibid., 326-7). Therefore, either through death or loss of faith, the leadership passed into the hands of American converts.

Anti-war attitudes and actions which non-Shakers attributed to the Shakers are limited to the years 1780 and 1781 (see Table IX, Section B). Although The Albany Board of the Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies continued to operate until March 27, 1783, the last Board reference to the Shakers was on May 30, 1781. These issued also disappear from apostate writings, except that of Valentine Rathbun, whose pamphlet, originally published in 1781, went through several additional printings in the following two years.

The most commonly preferred charge of the fourteen items considered was pacifism, comprising seventeen citations. Here they were viewed as anti-patriotic and as instruments of disaffection among

loyal Americans.

Of the group of charges labeled "Negative Attitudes and Actions," the item, after pacifism, comprising the largest number of citations was that of "enemy agent," with nine. Combined with the specific charges relative to aiding the enemy, the number is increased to thirteen. In reporting these figures, the reader must remember that the charges do not indicate objective truth, but what was believed to be true. However, it is such beliefs that lead to action.

Under the heading "Non-American origin," only two of the five reported items are exclusive to this chapter. Items three, four, and five are taken from Tables VI, VIII, and X. The latter items are not elaborated here but are used to indicate that the dependency of followers to European leaders led men like the writer of "The London Mob" to give credence to the idea that such people could be led to commit acts against the American revolutionary cause. Item three is a specific use of the English origin theme. In all five items the selection of the traits by the writer indicate an attempt to discredit the Shakers.

The three apostates, Valentine Rathbun, Benjamin West, and Amos Taylor, each made three references concerning the non-American origin of the Shaker leaders. Of these three, Rathbun made one further assertion in which he refers to their English origin. All such references end in 1783. As observed in Table VI, the identification of Mother Ann with General Burgoyne and his British army was a charge not mentioned by the apostates but was referred to by two post-

Revolutionary foreign visitors.

Having indicated specific findings related to the charges that the Shakers were of non-American origin and English sympathizers, it is important to provide a contextual basis for interpreting the findings. The data presented will be organized with reference to the chronology presented earlier and the concept of selective perception. This concept will be used to indicate how participants defined their wartime situation in relation to the Shakers. One structural factor affecting perception was visibility caused by the number of people who visited the Shakers at Niskeyuna and who became members of the Faith.

The earliest reports of the Shaker collusion with the enemy are those referred to in the New York (State) Commission of Conspiracies reports. The interpreter's question is, why, since the Shakers had been in the Albany area since 1776, not far from Saratoga, did the anti-British sentiment appear in 1780 through 1783? From 1780 to 1783, the war was going badly for the English. The French troops arrived in 1780 to support the Americans. And in October 1781, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. Not only was the war closing but the action had shifted from the Northern to the Southern colonies. In 1783, Great Britain signed the peace treaty and Congress disbanded the army.

Despite the removal of the major war action into the Southern colonies, minor armed confrontations continued in New York. In 1780 the Tories burned Johnstown and the Benedict Arnold affair took place. And, in 1781, New York saw its last revolutionary skirmish. The

anti-British feeling continued within the state as evidence by the legislature's passage of an act to prevent illicit trading with the enemy on April 13, 1782.

Anti-British feeling was aggravated by delays in loyalist evacuation from the colonies and by attempts to settle losses incurred by the patriots through British capture. "The state Senate (of New York) in 1784 drew up a bill of indictment against the late enemy....The king has made no compensation for the damage his troopers and their followers have done. The British were generally blamed for the frontier massacres and Indian raids from which the state suffered." (Spaulding, 1932: 117) The list of charges could be continued. For purposes of rendering a number of specific charges made against the Shakers meaningful, the following statement is particularly helpful. "The state resented celebrations of George III's birthday within its borders; and discovered magazines of stolen gunpowder, stolen mail, vile conspiracies; all of which proved the machinations of England against her lost colonies." (Spaulding, 1932: 118) The sentiment of the middle '80's is called "anglophobia," by Spaulding.

The anti-English laws of "the critical period," 1783-1789, were repealed in 1788. The Shakers appear to have found such sentiments against them on the wane before the end of the '80's.

From 1776 until 1780, the Shakers had low visibility, that is, few people took notice of them. In 1780, two issues of popular concern, aside from that of The War, converged. The War and the two concerns, an awareness of the deteriorated state of morality and of

a need for salvation, would change their status of low visibility. Interest in the twin concerns was peaked by the revival that had begun in New Lebanon, New York, in 1779. When news of the Shakers, with their ideas about The Second Coming and the eradication of lust reached this group, many went to see and to talk with them.

Such numbers resorting thither, the country being then engaged in the war with Great Britain, drew upon them a suspicion that they had some secret machinations in embryo prejudiced to the liberties and good of the public. In consequence of this jealousy, in July, 1780, David Darrow,...driving a flock of sheep...was stopped and brought back before the authority at Lebanon, by whom he was tried under suspicion of treason. ...In company with Joseph Meacham..., (he) was sent under guard to be tried by the commissioners at Albany; before whom they were both ordered to promise obedience to the laws. With this they could not conscientiously comply; as part of the laws were of a military nature and were totally repugnant to their principles. (Brown, 1812: 318)

From this quotation the importance of numbers of people associating with the Shakers created suspicion. Such a congregation of people by its very size was perceived as a potential threat to loyal Americans, who apparently did not know the reason for these visitations, or did not believe the reasons given. Furthermore, the suspicions were not alleviated since obedience to the law could not be given by the Shakers as a matter of conscience. Therefore the tenets of the Shakers became provocation for believing them to be English sympathizers.

The subsequent imprisonment of a number of Shakers further heightened their visibility and also showed the relative importance of values between various segments of the loyal American population. The segment of the population aroused by fears of sedition was countered by a segment aroused by the ideals of civil liberty. "Many

exclaimed against the persecution and imprisonment of these people, which was believed to be merely for conscience sake." (Ibid., 319) Imprisonment and persecution led, paradoxically, not only to increased visibility but to a greater following of the Shakers. The quotation, however, also indicates a difference in how segments of the population selectively perceived the Shaker "threat."

In response to a new wave of interest, Mother Ann took her message to New England in 1781. The combined success in New York and in New England in two years had swelled the numbers of a handful of Believers at Niskeyuna to two thousand Believers scattered through New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. The Shakers continued to travel and preach, but they also traveled to hear Mother Ann. This movement and the increased number of Shakers added to their visibility. The result was conflict.

The Tyringham, Massachusetts, Town Meeting Records appointed a committee to 'keep out of town all persons called Shaking Quakers'. "The following June this committee reported they 'had proceeded so far as to whip one strolling Shaker who refused to leave the town'." (Myers, n.d.: 79) Mobs gathered at Ashfield and Harvard, Massachusetts. At Harvard open hostilities broke out.

As indicated earlier, visibility was not limited simply to numbers but to the ideas they espoused. In combination the meaning placed on their activities were selectively perceived. The increased converts meant a decrease in the numbers who could be expected to take

arms in defense of the country if necessary. The Shakers themselves viewed the selectivity in perceiving the meaning of their actions in the following way:

Sometime in the latter part of July of this year (1781) a report was circulated in Harvard, that the Shakers had come to aid the British in the war against America. It was also asserted by David Whitney, a bitter persecutor, in the presence of a number of people, that a certain man had told him that he had seen a curious chest of firearms at the Square House. These reports, while they alarmed the weak and ignorant, served as a pretext for the enemies of the truth, by whom they were fabricated, to vent their malignant spleen, and urge that the people should be forcibly driven off; while those of more candor and consideration were willing, first, to inquire into the matter, and ascertain the truth of such vague and doubtful reports, before they proceeded to violent measures.
(Bishop, 1888: 69)

January, 1782.

Much had been said, and many fears excited among the multitude, concerning the Believers being enemies to the country, and having firearms secreted among them; and though public search had been made and no trace of evidence could be found to authorize such a suspicion, yet, as the Believers were, from principle, adverse to war, and as this principle had been inculcated by Mother Ann, and the Elders, it was still held up as a suspicious evidence of their hostile feelings to the country. (Bishop, 1888: 79)

And mob violence ensued.

About the 20th of May, 1782, Mother Ann and the Elders left Ashfield and returned to Harvard, and continued their labors in Harvard. Shirley and Woburn.... But, the spirit of opposition was still restless; the enemies of the Cross still thirsted for persecution. The stale (Underlining is mine) charge of enemies to the country, firearms, and implements of war, was again renewed as a pretext; nor could they be satisfied short of expelling the testimony, with all its witnesses from the country.
(Bishop, 1888: 85)

In July (1782) a committee of Harvard citizens was sent to the Shakers.

The principle object of their inquiries seemed to be, to find out the opinion of the Elders concerning the war, in order to satisfy themselves concerning the general rumor (Underlining is mine), that the people were enemies to the country. (Bishop, 1888: 87)

The only war the Shakers admitted to was that against "the enemy of all mankind, that is, the devil." (Bishop, 1888: 87)

Later, recounting the events of the August 19, 1782 mob at Harvard, the following comment is made concerning James Shapherd. "James was the only person whom they had taken of those who came from England, and against whom their enmity was the most pointedly leveled; and as they had been disappointed of taking Mother Ann and the Elders (then English), they resolved to wreak their vengeance on his back, and whip him for all the rest." (Bishop, 1888: 93)

In November of 1782, as Ann and her followers moved westward across Massachusetts, rumors of seditions and defamatory comments about Mother Ann's character, with the apparent intent of discrediting her testimony, were circulated in towns near Ashfield, where she was staying.

The result was a mob who sought the truth of the rumors. "They had heard many base and infamous reports, and concluded that Mother's pretensions were an imposition upon the people, and strongly suspected her to be a British emissary, dressed in woman's habit, for seditions purposes." (Bishop, 1888: 110)

Selective perception, whether accurate or inaccurate in its

interpretation of the "facts," did focus on the British issue.* The evidence to support this contention is as much the lack of any evidence to the contrary as it is the historical evidence cited. Of various elements that the Shakers indicated in their writings that they preached, the public in 1781 was primarily aware of the teachings of pacifism. Furthermore, it is a dominant theme in the recollections of those Shakers associated with them in the years from 1781 through 1783.

The comments on selective perception and its relation to the anti-British and anti-Shaker issue conclude the interpretation of the theme that the Shakers were subversive to American national interests.

Before considering the second, and final, theme in this chapter, Table IX, which is illustrative of the concerns of this chapter, will be presented. The data displayed on Table IX provides evidence of the following assertions: (1) that there was an apparent emphasis upon the European character of Shaker leadership, and (2) that this did affect the non-Shaker interpretation of Shaker behavior.

The tabulation of the data on this theme shows both a clustering of instances in the early years, The Revolutionary Era, from 1780-1784;

*Although the anti-British themes prompted conflict, it must be recalled that many, primarily those who joined the group, did not perceive this sentiment. This consideration and that of selective misperception have been excluded here since the present section is concerned only with substantiating the stated reasons for the conflict between the Shakers and the non-Shakers. However, selective misperception is evidence in how the Shakers recounted their position in the previously cited passages from the Testimonies (1888). Further indications of this point can be found on pages 27-8, 54-5, 78-9, 99, and 121-2 of the same source.

and, in some instances the items show a definite consensus of opinion between the writers and from the frequency of mention of certain issues, the writers show considerable agitation (notably in items A. 1 and 4. and B. 1 and 4.). From 1785 through 1795, with the exception of A. 3 through 5, references to the Shakers as subverters of American national interests is absent. Each of the remaining themes, it is interesting to observe, are items crossed referenced with other themes in this study, that is, their meaning is not confined to this particular theme. Of all those indicators confined to this theme, none appear after 1784. An interpretation of these findings is discussed in the next section.

TABLE IX. THE SHAKERS ARE SUBVERSIVE OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS.

THEME	SOURCE REFERENCES															
THE SHAKERS ARE SUBVERSIVE OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS	1780 N. Y.	1781 N. Y.	1781 V. R.	1781 L.	1782 TA.	1783 MT.	1784 F. M.	1784 B. M.	1785 DRV.	1790 W.	1793 WH.	1795 B.	1795 R.	1795 T.	1796 TI.	1799 D.
A. Non-American origin of the group, leaders, beliefs																
1. A general reference			3		3	3										
2. English origin specified			1													
3. Ann Lee associated with Burgoyne							1						1			
4. Religion causes followers to be dependent and submissive			1		5	2			2	1	1		1			
5. Similarity to Roman Catholicism				1	1	3			1					1		
B. Negative Attitudes And Actions Of The Shakers																
1. Refuse to bear arms and dissuade others	8		6	3												
2. Shakerism is seen as a plot				1												
3. Reject external authority	2		1													
4. Disturb the peace	1			1												
5. Enemy agent	2	1	1	5												
6. Give aid to the enemy																
a. Use religion to raise armed resistance				1												
b. Suspicion of supplying commercial goods	1															
c. Suspicion of gathering military supplies		1														
d. Being submissive may lead to un-American acts				1												

2. The Shakers Are Subversive Of Individualism and Freedom.

Two of the most pervasive of Colonial America's values were those of freedom and individualism. In reality they hardly could be separated. The War of American Independence, The Revolution, would have heightened such concerns, but the question remains as to whether the socio-historical conditions structured reality or whether the participant's values and beliefs structured the socio-historical conditions. By holding the values constant, it may be observed whether this value pervades the entire period or whether it was limited to the period of The Revolution. In short, was it The War that caused the non-Shaker to focus on those aspects of Shaker life that limited the freedom of The Believers (as the followers of Shakerism were called) or was it the non-Shaker's value structure that caused the focus of attention?* If the theme persists, The War and all other events would be dominated by this predominant value in the years from 1774 through 1799. The historical context, therefore, becomes a basis for evaluating the pervasiveness of a value. If the value is more pervasive than any socio-historical context, it will be more imperative to see the importance of the perceiver and the processes of interpretation involved in his (or their, in case of a group) definition of the situation.

A more restricted purpose is also considered in this theme. The attempt will be made to discern if the non-Shaker focused on any particular characteristics in the Shaker's limitation of freedom.

*By posing the question in this way, there is no attempt to suggest that the two considerations are mutually exclusive.

In the following paragraphs, the theme, that the Shakers were subversive of individualism and freedom is discussed in relation to the findings of the content analysis.

The non-Shakers attributed the members relation to the leadership as one of slavery (see item A. 1.). Out of the sixteen sources eight of them make at least one reference to this characterization. However, this is not an equal division. The results must be interpreted in light of the nature of the remaining documents. Two references apply to The Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, one reference for each of the two years, 1780 and 1781, considered. The nature of this document is legal. It would not have been concerned with this issue. Of the remaining six sources four were visitors and two were magazine citations. Of the seven visitors, three noted the phenomenon. There is little that can suggest a reason for this. However, item A. 1. by contrast to item B. 1. may suggest some moderation after 1794. Bentley acknowledged his expectation about finding a servile group. To the contrary he did not see such an existing situation. This may simply highlight the matter of selective perception among the visitors, especially since another visitor in the same year (1795) testified in the affirmative. In conclusion then, a consideration of the nature of the documents increases the significance of the findings.

Although a consideration of the documents has focused on those not mentioning the submissive characteristic, it is also important to note that the greatest intensity (determined on the basis of frequency) of comment came from the apostates. This does not alter the

conclusion, however, that the theme was a persistent one through time.

The consideration of whether those who submitted to the authority of the Shaker leadership did it freely or were manipulated into submission by some Shaker practice, such as intimidation or miracles, is the second item to be examined (see Table X). The only recorded charges for this section are given by the apostates. These might well have followed in the wake of discovering their error. Such allegations removed them from the responsibility of their decisions to join. To the traveler, who only compared the ideas he confronted with his own, the ideas may have been unacceptable, and some stated their opinions, but they had no reason to attack on this issue. In this sense, it can be understood why the charge that dependency is attributed to the subversive methods of the Shakers (point B. 2.) ends in 1783 while the more ideological disapproval continued.

In close relationship to this finding is the idea of deception with which we previously have dealt (see Tables VI and VIII). The findings revealed in Table VIII show an almost complete correspondence in the response pattern of Table VIII with that of Table X.

The third item is a consideration of statements that convey the idea that the Shaker way of life is degrading to mankind. Affirmation of this point is found in one commission report of the "Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies" in New York, two apostates, two visitors, and The Theological Magazine. Once again

again by eliminating The Theological Magazine from consideration because of its secondary nature, such comments end abruptly in 1793. The significance of this observation is perhaps removed or at least modified by observing that only two writers outside of the apostates commented on this issue. Again the question remains as to the effect of selective perception, or perhaps the effect of chance, in interpreting this finding.

To consider the possible relationship of selective perception in interpreting this issue, the remaining portion of this section will consider several points in relation to the socio-historical background of the individualism and freedom theme. Persons who have attempted to realize the themes of individualism and freedom, particularly from the time of The Reformation, have shown an aversion to social structures which have attempted to bring the individual into a subordinate position. Protestantism encouraged a primary relationship between the individual worshiper and God. Emphasis was placed on individual salvation and on the priesthood of all believers. And, as Arminian theology became more prominent in the eighteenth century, some men believed that mankind had not "lost the faculty of self-determination nor the ability to incline his will toward good ends." (Harrison, 1960: 65) The spirit of religious individualism was paralleled and reinforced by the pioneer's frontier experience. From this perspective, some appreciation of how deeply ingrained this value was in America can be determined.

The Reformation and the frontier experience brought with them an abhorrence of any restrictive governmental or religious super-structure. The American Revolution itself was not only a reaction to England's rule but was also a reaction to political and economic interests of the coastal centers. The pioneers "made a fetish of their freedom and would brook few restraints, whether of government or society." (Hicks, 1956: 176; also, 44-5) It was this sense of self-determination in the individual that led to a congregational plan of church government in New England. The Congregationalists held a belief "in the autonomy of the local congregation, and a suspicion of all form of prelacy." (Brown, 1922: 81)

It is understandable from this historical background that the idea of dependency was thought to be personally undesirable by most persons. In conjunction with an authoritarian structure, it is reasonable to see how persons might question Shaker loyalty during the year of The Revolution and immediately following.

The negative evaluations with regard to the theme that the Shakers were subversive of individualism and freedom, are generally distributed across the years (see Table X). Although the frequency of each writer's reference to a specific negative evaluation tends to decline after 1785, the negative evaluation that the Shaker way of life was degrading to man (see ItemA. 3.) is the exception, since this item remained relatively constant. There are forty-one negative references as compared to a single positive, although qualified, reference. Table

X may be seen to be in contrast to Table IX where the negative evaluations clustered from 1780-1784 and, for the most part, subsequently ceased.

TABLE X. THE SHAKERS ARE SUBVERSIVE OF INDIVIDUALISM AND FREEDOM.

THEME	SOURCE REFERENCES															
THE SHAKERS ARE SUBVERSIVE OF INDIVIDUALISM AND FREEDOM	1780 N. Y.	1781 N. Y.	1781 V. R.	1781 L.	1782 TA.	1783 WT.	1784 F. M.	1784 B. M.	1785 DRV.	1790 W.	1793 WH.	1795 B.	1795 R.	1795 T.	1796 TI.	1799 D.
B. Negative evaluations																
1. Followers are dependent and submissive to leaders			1	1	5	2			2	1	1		1			
2. Dependency attributed to the subversive methods of the Shakers			8		5	1										
3. The Shaker way of life is degrading to Man	1				2				4	2	2			2		
A. Positive evaluations																
1. Followers are not entirely dependent and submissive to the leaders												1				
2. Dependency is not attributed to the subversive methods of the Shakers																
3. The Shaker way of life is not degrading to Man																

C. SUMMATION OF FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION.

The findings discussed in this chapter have shown that the non-Shaker characterizations of the Shakers did, in most instances, fluctuate with changes in the socio-historical conditions of the "host" society. The anti-British sentiment which was an important indicator in determining whether the Shakers were portrayed as subverting the American national interest ~~was found~~ to correspond to the period of 1780 through 1784, the years of widespread "anglophobia." It was further noted that the issue of the national origin of the Shaker leadership was almost completely terminated in 1783. Similarly, references to the Shaker preachments of pacifism in the examined documents showed that concern with such ideas also ended in 1783. Each of these findings demonstrates that the public evaluation of the Shakers fluctuated in conjunction with the socio-historical conditions.

The frequent and widely distributed opinion that the Shakers were considered as subversive to freedom and individualism was confirmed. It did not alter very much with the passage of time. This indicates that the value was deeply ingrained and that the changing conditions had not influenced this value. To a lesser extent the Shaker way of life was confirmed as being degrading to the nature of Man. Confirmation is less conclusive concerning their use of methods that entrapped the unwary. This was found to be exclusively associated with apostate writings.

The latter theme, unlike the one which considered the Shakers as subversive to American national interests, does indicate that the

ideas and values which persons in a specified socio-historical context select to define their situation are not determined wholly by the situation. Values previously learned also act to "create" a meaningful situation. This conclusion supports the dual consideration of this study's theoretical perspective.*

The next and final chapter of this paper will draw together the findings and interpretations of Chapters III and IV.

*See Supra., p. 16, for the statement of this study's theoretical perspective.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

To conclude a study is to state what has been learned from the research. Two types of conclusions will be discussed in this chapter. The first one states the research findings. Research findings reflect two considerations: the results of the content analysis and their interpretation. The second type of conclusion is concerned with the nature and scope of the study itself. Such considerations are frequently labelled as "suggestions for future research." Those which will be mentioned here are considered to be not only suggestions for the future but to point to the limitations of the present study.

The objective of this exploratory study was to determine what effect socio-historical circumstances had upon the participants' definition of conflict. The central focus was upon how the non-Shaker meaningfully interpreted Shaker action and ideas with the hope of discovering how the combined processes of defining and re-defining a situation effected the non-Shaker's identification of Shaker actions and ideas as endangering or not endangering their group. Conflict and its significance for those involved was studied by observing value conflicts in sixteen, non-Shaker, eighteenth-century documents.

A. CONCLUSIONS: BASED ON FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION.

The results of the analyses of the sixteen documents, covering the years from 1774 through 1799, showed a change in the characterizations representing specific themes and a subsequent change in the nature and perception of conflict. The six themes: (a) the non-Shaker characterization of the Shaker villages and products, (b) the Shakers as a group, (c) the Shaker leadership, (d) the Shaker religion. The other two themes considered the non-Shaker's evaluation of the Shakers as subversive to the accepted Colonial American social values. That is, the Shakers violated the ideal and behavioral patterns expected by the non-Shaker during The Revolution. These themes were: (e) the Shakers are subversive to the American national interests, and (f) the Shakers are subversive to individualism and freedom.

The first four themes were explored by noting and tabulating the positive and negative evaluations of non-Shakers toward Shaker property, facilities, and products; the Shakers as a group; Shaker leadership; and Shaker religion, beliefs and practices. The last two themes noted and tabulated non-Shaker attitudes related to two considerations about values which the writer assumed would have concerned the non-Shaker in their particular socio-historical situation. Therefore, whereas the value conflict emerged from an examination of the findings in the first four themes, the value conflict of the last two themes was anticipated. Where value conflict was anticipated,

the findings of the content analysis would either confirm or reject the assumptions underlying such anticipations.

The result of (a) the non-Shaker's positive or negative evaluation of Shaker property, facilities, and products was that the Shakers were positively perceived. No change in public attitude was detected between 1774 and 1799. The following reasons were indicated. The lateness (1790) of the appearance of such comments showed their dependence to the development of the Shaker communes, which began in 1787. Their positive character is understandable because the Shakers appeared to uphold the non-Shaker's social values of hard work and neatness.

From (b) the data concerning the comparative frequency of the non-Shaker's positive and negative evaluations of the Shaker group image, a definite change in the characterization was detected after 1785. The shift from a negative to a positive characterization was found to be less a change in the values of the Shakers than a change in the socio-historical conditions of the groups, and in the outward behavior of the Shakers. Subsequently, the non-Shaker group did not perceive itself, or its values, to be in jeopardy; thereby removing the possibility of conflict.

Examination of (c) the positive and negative character trait evaluations used by non-Shakers to describe Shaker leadership showed only negative but no positive comments before 1786. After that date, a negative, although modified, characterization persisted. By 1790 signs of moderation in that image were indicated. The most positive

sign was the lack of citations about the leadership, showing that a much more neutral position had been taken by the non-Shaker; and, a second moderating sign was the introduction of positive characterizations, in conjunction with the negative, in 1795 and later. Both moderating factors are attributable to socio-historical factors and to the type of commentators, travelers rather than apostates. Travelers had less reason to see them negatively.

Although thematic changes did occur readily when non-Shaker attention was focused upon attributes of Shaker life that were concerned with the non-Shaker society's own value scheme, the possibility of modifying negative evaluations when it came to religion proved more difficult. Shaker religion (d), as an ideology, was less subject to change than their external life-style. This may be explained, at least in part, by the Shaker view of the leadership role and of inspiration (revelation). Both temporal and spiritual authority were centered in the same persons, the Elders. The individual Shaker was subject to their decisions. This authority of the Elders was modified for most members by the fact that they had internalized the belief that the Elders were spiritually inspired. This meant that the Elders were more advanced in The Faith than the other Shakers and that it was natural that they should lead. The Shaker leadership saw a need to modify the life-style but not The Faith. The decision to form communes and to labor to satisfy their material needs coincidentally brought them into greater consistency with the non-Shaker's

common concerns, however different the underlying motives of the similar actions of the two groups were. The non-Shaker, aware that the religion, unlike the life-style, had not changed, continued to portray it in negative terms. Although the negative evaluations of the religion continued, the focus of the evaluation did change. The negative evaluation shifted from the religion's doctrinal truth to its rational inadequacy. The change in focus and a lessened missionary zeal helped to make the conflict one of an academic rather than a "real" public concern for defending traditional beliefs. This change was observed to correspond to the change in the type of writer. In later years, the writers were more frequently visitors who came from a wealthy and an educated social class. Their emphasis, like that of the period, was upon reason. The only positive characterization to emerge in relation to religion concerned its practice. Some writers began to see their religious practices as solemn and precise. Again, this indicated how conflict was related to value distinctions and the visibility of those distinctions.

The theme (e) of Shaker subversion of national interests focused attention on the value the Colonists placed on loyalty to the American revolutionary cause, a cause largely related to self-determination. The basis for drawing conclusions here was the presence or absence of two general indicators: non-American origin of the Shakers and the aid rumored to have been given by the Shakers to the enemy. It was observed that charges of enemy action ceased in 1783. It was indicated, however, that their usage had altered. After 1783, the observed comments were not used in a way that suggested subversion.

The interpretation of the findings indicated that conflict was produced by the non-Shaker's selection of meaning and also by his selection of the stimuli to be defined, with relation to Shaker teachings and actions during The Revolution. The increase in the number of persons interested in the Shakers and their constant movement to and from the settlement at Niskeyuna stimulated public awareness about the Shakers. Visibility was further enhanced by their pacifistic teachings. The combination of the numbers of persons, increased activity at the village, and pacifism were taken by some to be a sign of treasonous activity. This defined threat brought direct action, e.g. mob action, as a means of coping with that threat.

The last theme (f) discussed in this paper was that of Shaker subversion to individualism and freedom. The evidence based on the appearance or lack of appearance of the dependency charge supported the contention that conflict was closely related to meaning. Apart from the changing socio-historical context of both groups, the dependency mode of life of the Shakers, those not in leadership positions, was abhorrent to the value-ideal of self-determination of non-Shakers.

The data discussed in this paper supported the idea that perceived images change with changes in the socio-historical environment. However, these changes are as much a matter of meaning, the interpretation of values in given situations, as they are contingent upon changes in the external socio-historical conditions.

Such a statement as that in the previous paragraph, which is more suggestive than definitive, raises the question of how the

external (objective) and internal (subjective) factors effecting the definition of conflict are related to one another. The relationship is in part considered by the different orientations of Chapters III and IV. In neither chapter was one or the other factor ruled out, however, Chapter III focused on the individual writer's perception of the Shakers which was related to his personal experiences and value system, although the latter is itself reflective of external and non-individualistic considerations.* Chapter IV focused on the value system and historical events as the independent rather than as the dependent variable in the participant's formulation of the definition of a conflict situation.

The question of whether internal or external factors dominate in the determination of what is a conflict situation is improper since it assumes that such a dichotomy exists, if only for analytic purposes. The conclusion to be drawn from Chapters III and IV is that neither factor varied in a random, or "free," fashion. Similarly, neither factor was found to be determinative of the other. This is negative evidence for the inseparateness of the two aspects. Negative because no statement can be made explaining the relationship, except by speculation. This conclusion approximates that found in culture-personality studies where determination of whether culture or personality is determinative of the other.

*See Supra, pp 53-54, for the concerns of Chapter III. See also p. 17.

Aside from an unnecessary assumption about the separateness of the two factors, the problem of the relationship between the external and internal factors has been complicated by confusing questions about "reality" with those of methodology. From a methodological position, whether the nature of the relationship is two aspects of one whole or an essential dualism, the issue of relationship is secondary to the problem of discovering some objective criteria by which either can be described. Future studies may provide insight into this problem.

Furthermore, whatever relationship exists, the sociological concern is not with the nature of reality but upon how the actor perceives and defines his situation. The direction of this type of research is evidenced in studies on persons with different value positions who selectively react to commercial advertising, as in studies done on smoking (see Holsti, 1969: 88). In such studies where motivation is considered the relationship of external with internal factors revolves around the issue of whether content analysis is limited to manifest aspects of communication, e.g. tabulating the appearance of certain words in texts, or whether latent aspects* can be considered. As in the previous paragraph, the issue is essentially one about the significance and verifiability of research findings.**

*The latent aspects consider the inferences made about the author's intention in a message (encoding process) or about the actor's interpretation of messages received (decoding process).

**See Holsti, 1969, p. 13 and 27, for a discussion of this issue.

Proponents of "the latent position" have sought verification of their findings in other materials, such as historical ones. Using the historical to corroborate research findings, while important, has obscured the use of the historical in its own right, as a factor in the participant's encoding and decoding processes. That is, history tends to be subordinated to methodological considerations rather than to existential ones. It is in this sense that this study has emphasized context and meaning as part of a perceptual process rather than a simple observation of the effect of a message, which overlooks the variation in meaning. In any case, the relationship between the external and internal factors has not been finally resolved.

Having stated the conclusions of this study, the general significance of these findings and their interpretation will be considered in the next section.

B. AN OVERVIEW: SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY.

The issue of selective perception which has been referred to in this study's interpretative approach, the subjective aspect of it, needs greater elaboration. To more fully explore value conflict in terms of this process and its relation to the participants' definition of a situation, it would be necessary to deal with both non-Shaker and Shaker groups, particularly where the documents for both groups related to a common event. This clearly should demarcate the value relativity between the groups and its effect upon misperception, or perceptual distortion, attendant to the process of selective perception. In consequence, conflict as a manifestation of power

differentials between groups in concrete situations could be assessed.

Although this study has observed incidences of conflict between non-Shakers and Shakers in the northeastern United States, attention has of necessity been focused on a regional sequence of events. In order to grasp the effect of such variables as visibility, length of residence, and rate of growth upon conflict, a study that would compare the initial patterns of inter-group relationships between the eastern settlements, those of Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and eastern New York; and, the western settlements, western New York, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, should be done. This type of regional study would be possible because of the distinct break in Shaker development. The first growth period, which took place in the eastern region, followed the 1779-1780 revival that was centered around New Lebanon, New York. The second region could be formed similarly in relation to The Kentucky Revival's sphere of influence. This revival (which began in 1800), parallels the second growth period in Shakerism.

Research of this nature should clarify the relationship of conflict to social structure. It might be interesting to examine whether conflict is associated with frontier situations in contrast to situations of greater social stability, meaning, in this case, non-frontier situations.

Implied in this consideration is the importance of doing a time lapse content analysis of the documents of both groups, non-Shaker and Shaker. It had been the intent of this research to achieve this

aim for a one hundred year block of time. This projected aim was later reduced to a period of twenty-five years for a very pragmatic reason: time. Because of the narrowness of the time-base used here and its relatively undifferentiated socio-historical background, the findings of this report are suggestive rather than definitive. However, the evidence, although not conclusive, has provided adequate indication that a continuation of such research is warranted.

On the basis of literature used in this study, which included travel, apostate, and legal type accounts of the Shakers, the method of content analysis has shown itself not to be uniformly capable of dealing with the various types of literature. The problem lies not in the method but in its application. For example, it is simple to say that the recording unit is a given theme(s). It is not correspondingly easy to detect the single thematic assertion or its limits, especially in the religious literature. The writings of Benjamin West and Daniel Rathbun are complicated by their use of biblical passages to describe the Shakers. While it is easy to detect that the Anti-Christ of the Bible is personified in the Shakers, it is not always clear to what extent the biblical description exactly "fits" the Shakers. This problem was particularly noticeable in coding the leadership's character traits. Ambiguity in situations such as this one raises the issue of validity. Just as with the issue of reliability, no determination can be made until some replication of this study is done. In the final analysis, however, this method, which puts the analyst at the mercy of his data rather than in the reverse

position does perpetuate distinct boundaries between the data and the analyst, which in the end assists in doing a replication.

Previously, it was expressed that content analysis provided a methodology for theories concerned with qualitative analysis. However there is a significant benefit from the study of symbolic interaction, as evidenced in the definition of the situation approach, and the sociology of knowledge perspective in relation to the development of an underlying theory for the methodology itself. Riley and Stoll have directed attention to this need.

The fruitless character of content analysis without careful reference to adequate theory is, unfortunately, all too often overlooked. Complex techniques of measurement and analysis may be applied blindly, without questioning their theoretical relevance. (Riley and Stoll, 1968: 376-377)

Although primarily concerned with theory for interpretation, the assumptions behind the method also affect interpretation. (Holsti, 1969: 9)

Content analysis has been recognized as searching for social determinants reflected in literature. The verbal symbols are seen as mediating between stimulus and response. This has aligned content analysis with behavioristic assumptions. However, the verbal symbols being studied must also be considered as initiating change in themselves, that is they are formative as well as reflective of social interaction. The result of such a change in orientation may lead to examining literature for the purpose of predicting social behavior. However the initial idea falls short of the desired theoretical goal

since it still remains that both actor and analyst use their verbal symbols to mediate between stimulus and response. The abstract truth of the later is undeniable but does it lead to circular reasoning? The challenge is in looking for incipient themes that are infrequent in many items and which may assist in interpreting the social environment rather than the more common posture of assuming that the social environment will interpret the words used. Ideas become independent instead of dependent variables thereby reflecting their independent role in societal formation, and thus signaling that the character of Man has some independence from cultural determination. Consequently, environmental determinism and behavioral theories are conceived as secondary to Man as creative thinker, self-stimulated thinker. In this perspective selective perception is not determined by an outside "force," but hinges on a question of meaning.

In the case of Shaker studies it would be interesting to discover when such ideas as wealth assumed the aspect of "threat" to the non-Shaker society who saw their land holdings increase. Could the "clash" have been predicted from a number of infrequent but persistent comments by a number of people over the years? Again, this latter concern indicates the need for a content analysis to be used over long periods of time which is most feasible in the utilization of historical data.

Finally, it is hoped that this study and its projected scope will provide a sociological rationale for using historical materials as primary sources of data rather than as supportive background material,

which is suggestive at best. This change in emphasis will prevent studies of statistical accuracy, especially related to trend, opinion, and attitude analysis from being founded on unsubstantiated and/or meaningless assumptions with regard to the situation, man, and meaning. The direct advantage of using historical materials are: (1) that they were not produced for the investigator and therefore are not influenced by his theoretical and personal biases; (2) that they add a time dimension that permits critical evaluation of hypotheses and theories drawn from short-term studies; (3) that they expand studies of conflict beyond the controlled laboratory or artificial environment.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
SPECIFICATION AND ELABORATION
OF THE TABLES

TABLE I. POSITIVE EVALUATIVE TRAITS ABOUT SHAKER PROPERTY,
FACILITIES, AND PRODUCTS.

A. Physical Facilities

1. Neat (includes: neat, clean tidy)
2. Pretty (includes: pretty, pleasant, beautiful, handsome)
3. Simple (includes: simple, plain)
4. Good quality of construction (includes: creditable,
straight, excellent)

B. Manufactures

1. Neat
2. Ingenuity
3. Simple
4. Excellent quality

C. Literary productivity emerging from the group

1. Grave
2. Remarkably abstract
3. Singular combination of mysticism

TABLE II. NEGATIVE EVALUATIVE TRAITS ABOUT SHAKER PROPERTY,
FACILITIES, AND PRODUCTS.

A. Dress

1. Distasteful (reference: cap)

B. Literary productivity emerging from the group

1. Vain (includes: vain, arrogant, self-righteous)
2. Opinions are weak (includes: weak, silly, monstrous)

TABLE III. POSITIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKERS AS A GROUP.

A. Attitudes, capabilities, and practices related to work

1. Competence (includes: good farmers, well thought of artisans, uncommon abilities in management) See also Table V, item B. 1.
2. Inventive (includes: creative, accept improvement in business) See also Table I, item B. 2.
3. Industrious (includes: industrious, perseverance)
See also Table V, item A. 1.
4. Precision and regularity. See also Table VIII, item A. 1. and item B. 1.

B. Physical appearance

1. Physical appearance (includes: reflective, not extremely emaciated)

C. Interaction with non-Shakers and Shakers

1. Peaceful (includes: peaceful, harmonious, harmless, contented)

2. Kind (includes: kind, charitable, hospitable, obliging, good natured, friendly)
3. Love (includes: love, union, fellowship)
4. Punctuality

D. Other

1. Serious
2. Neat (includes: neat, plain, simplicity)
3. Character change from bad to good
4. Modest (includes: modest, humble)
5. Moral-Ethical (includes: good, honest, chaste, fair dealing, faithful workmen, adherence to tenets, strict in morals, constant in devotion, moderate prices, decent, righteous, perfection)
6. Favorable impression (includes: useful, excellent neighbors, strange and wonderful)
7. Sincere. See also Table V, item A. 3.
8. Rational

TABLE IV. NEGATIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKERS AS A GROUP.

A. Appellations

1. Convulsioners (includes: convulsioners, wild sect, madmen, revivalers, full of extraordinaries)
2. Strange (includes: peculiar ways, absurd and erroneous acts)

B. Physical appearance

1. Physical appearance (includes: meagre, pale, visages ghastly, stupid expression)

C. Interaction with non-Shakers and Shakers

1. Disturb the peace (includes: disturb the peace, public nuisance) See Table IX, item B. 4. The figure recorded there is included in the present number.
2. Spiteful, some are.
3. Unstable (includes the idea that the Shakers were frequently fluctuating in practice and in reason)

D. Other

1. Misled (including: misled, deluded)
2. Infatuated (including: infatuated, infatuates weak minds, foolish)
3. Superstitious
4. False people (including: false people, insincere, fawning, designing)
5. Destitute of principles and powers of spiritual life
6. Illiterate and distressed people (including: illiterate, ignorant, distressed, wretched) See also Table VI, item B. 1.
7. Too severe
8. Zealous
9. Void of natural affections. See also Table VIII, item C. 2. a.

TABLE V. POSITIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER LEADERSHIP.

A. Personal attitudes

1. Perseverent
2. Solemn (includes: distant, mysterious)
3. Sincere

B. Leadership capability

1. Personal and professional abilities (includes: shrewd)

TABLE VI. NEGATIVE CHARACTER TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER LEADERSHIP.

A. Behavioral traits

1. Drunk and/or riotous
2. Fleece followers (includes: take the material goods of their followers, live in comparative wealth and ease by contrast to the membership) See also Table X, item A. 2.
3. Ann Lee, a prostitute
 - a. to General Burgoyne. These figures are identical with those cited in Table IX, item A. 3.
 - b. a general statement
4. Irreverent (includes: irreverent, profane, pretentious, prideful, self-sufficient)
5. Wanton (includes: wanton, lewd)
6. Deceivers (includes: cunning and/or bewitching abilities of the leadership) Two other sections are related to this theme. They are Table VIII, item B. 3 and Table X, item A. 2. Table X, item A. 2. is a composite of those aspects of Table VI, item A. 6 and Table VIII, item B. 3 that are taken to mean subversion to personal freedom, as distinct

from unethical practices. Unethical practices unless specifically ascribed to the leadership are found in Table VIII, item B. 3.

7. Speech (includes: vulgar, swelling words of vanity, censorious, threatening)

B. Educational traits

1. Ignorant (includes: ignorant, irrational, that is having no coherent views) See also Table IV, item D. 6.

C. Physiological traits

1. Unpleasant personal qualities (includes: ugly, unpleasant voice)

D. Miscellaneous

1. Miscellaneous (includes: committer of improprieties, in suspicious circumstances, imperfections of teachers)

TABLE VII. POSITIVE TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER RELIGION: DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE.

A. Dance

1. Precision (includes: precision, exact, well-trained)
2. Solemn act of worship

B. Music

1. Pleasant (includes: fairly melodious, regularly conducted)
2. Solemn (includes: solemn song)

C. Preachments

1. Spoke good words

D. Effect on the lives of some persons

1. Reformation of "ordinary" vices

TABLE VIII. NEGATIVE TRAITS ABOUT THE SHAKER RELIGION: DOCTRINE
AND PRACTICE.

A. Practices

1. Worship

- a. Verbal expression (includes: a sort of prayer; unknown tongue, if one may so call it; figures of speech an orator would avoid) See also Table VI, item A. 7.
- b. Music (includes: odd, strange, melancholy, noise, mutter, confused)
- c. Dance (includes: convulsive, shocking, awkward, queer, ridiculous appearance)
- d. Physical manifestation
 - 1. strange
 - 2. childish
 - 3. terrible (includes: wild)
 - 4. verbal characterizations
 - 5. insincere
- e. General characterization (includes: disgusting, sickening, revolting, shocking, confounding, strange, solemn mockery, strange, that is, entirely new and different)

2. Mortification of the body

B. Beliefs

1. Heretical (includes: doctrines of this new dispensation are beyond the Bible, unscriptural doctrine and discipline, damnable heresies, horrible blasphemies, abominable impieties)
2. Weak (includes: weakness and folly of doctrines, doctrines are gross, glaring, flagrant, inconsistent, opposed to themselves, confused, absurdities (horrid and glaring), Shakers ashamed of doctrine of immortality)
3. Delusive (includes: false, dangerous errors, delusions (destructive, wicked, dreadful, powerful, fatal), growing evils)

C. Consequences of beliefs and practices

1. Mislead (includes: deceptive actions or a belief that has specified behavioral consequences)
2. Disruptions of the social institutions
 - a. separates husbands and wives (includes: ends natural affections)
 - b. non-support for the wife and children in cases where only the husband was converted to Shakerism
 - c. the family that included a convert to Shakerism became tributary to Shaker leadership
 - d. children run, and are told to run, from parents
 - e. children deny, disown, are disrespectful and judgmental of parents
 - f. rejects kinship ties

- g. broke up society in neighborhoods
- h. fanaticism produced communal settlement plan
- 3. Associated with Roman Catholicism (includes: anti-Catholic sentiments associated with Shaker beliefs and practices)

These figures are the same as those cited in Table IX, item

A. 5.

D. Derisive appellations

- 1. Scheme (modified by such terms as: religious, contemptible, diabolical, corrupt, purgatory, deceiving, delusive, rigid, slavish, naked, and balled)
- 2. False (includes: new, strange, foolish, false) Note:
Such terms are coded here when not used in conjunction with the word "scheme."
- 3. Delusion, deception, catastrophe. Note: Such terms are coded here when used as nouns.
- 4. Other (includes: diabolical plan)

TABLE IX. THE SHAKERS ARE SUBVERSIVE OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS.

A. Non-American origin of the group and its leaders

- 1. A general reference
- 2. English origin specified (in relation to the Shakers place of national origin)
- 3. Ann Lee associated with Burgoyne (includes: kept by an English officer) This reference is taken from Table VI, item A. 3. a.

4. Religion causes followers to be dependent and submissive (Since the dependency characteristic was associated with Catholicism and Catholicism with "foreign" it is included here. Furthermore, item B. 6. a. and d. of this table will indicate that religion could be considered as a source of subversion, especially where the individual could not think for himself.)
5. Similarity to Roman Catholicism (This association is considered here since Catholicism was associated with a "foreign power. Persons having two loyalties were subject to suspicion.) This reference is taken from Table VIII, item C. 3.

B. Negative attitudes and actions of the Shakers

1. Refuse to bear arms and dissuade others (includes: all unsympathetic preaching concerning the American revolutionary cause, e.g., it is a grave sin to take up arms, against all means of defense, it is wrong to have anything to do with war and fighting)
2. Shakerism is seen as a plot
3. Reject external authority (refers to the Shakers rejection of both civil and military authority)
4. Disturb the peace (This reference is limited to statements that reflect the non-Shaker's attitude that preaching anti-war ideas were equal to disturbing the peace) Table IV, item C. 1. enumerates all other references to the Shakers as disturbers of the peace.

5. Enemy agent (includes: the charges of political disaffection and of sympathizing with the enemy, England; references to the Shakers as "our agents;" and to the "late recruits for Britain.")
6. Give aid to the enemy
 - a. Use religion to raise armed resistance. See item A. 4. above.
 - b. Suspicion of supplying commercial goods
 - c. Suspicion of gathering military supplies
 - d. Being submissive may lead to un-American acts. See items A. 4. and B. 6. above.

TABLE X. THE SHAKERS ARE SUBVERSIVE OF INDIVIDUALISM AND FREEDOM.

A. Positive evaluations

1. Followers are dependent and submissive to leaders (This statement was taken from the literature. No additional meanings are implied in it than those stated)
2. Dependency attributed to the subversive methods of the Shakers (This statement was created by the writer for the purpose of balancing the table and in order to graphically illustrate the absence of such a positive evaluation by the non-Shakers.)*

*This attempt to balance out the categories based on the statements made by non-Shakers is attempted here because it could be done with the limited number of negative statements associated with this theme.

3. The Shaker way of life is not degrading to Man. (The inclusion of this statement is for the same reason stated in point two above.)

B. Negative evaluations

1. Followers are dependent and submissive to the Shaker leaders (Includes: the despotic power of the leaders, depend on Shaker leaders (elders) for direction, come and go by order, subjected to perfect obedience, under complete subjection, governed by Shaker leaders (elders), bound in servitude, unreserved subjection, and passive obedience.)
2. Dependency attributed to the subversive methods of the Shakers. (Includes: all negative references to the means used by Shaker leaders to overthrow the former beliefs of the converts, including the following techniques: instruction, any reference by the writer to a causal linkage between the behavior of the Shaker leader and the converts acceptance of the faith, e.g., religious practices are done to introduce popery, causing attachment to an idolatrous spirit, the manner Americans are duped makes them unfit to be freemen, and the converts are duped by their practices, such as, the Shaker leaders exertion of an uncommon and extraordinary power, the leaderships faculty to draw attention by extraordinary perfection, the leaderships control by insinuations, allurements, miracles, etc.; also the followers are bewitched (in the sense of entrapped), persuaded, and charmed (in the

sense that the convert has lost contact with reality); and the following specific references: alienation of natural affection (this is also tabulated on Table VIII, item C. 2. a.), and of converts from their neighbors and former ideals)

Note: From the point of view of the non-Shaker, especially the apostates, all successful methods of preaching, teaching, and discipline used by the Shakers were subversive. The sense in which it is used here is that the observer believes that the only accountable reason for the success of the Shakers is trickery. No attempt is made by these observers to justify their claims, except where the apostates consider it the reasons for their previous association. Furthermore, none of the observers considers that the convert made a reasonable choice or one of his own volition. The implication is that Shakerism greatly offends the American ideal of individual freedom of choice and movement.

3. The Shaker way of life is degrading to Man. (This reference was taken from one of the source references. Its implication is that the manner of obedience is degrading. Whether the author intended to include celibacy is conjectural. Should any author make such a remark it would be coded here.)

APPENDIX B
A CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS RECOUNTED
IN THE DOCUMENTS USED IN THIS STUDY*

- 1780 Proceedings of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies in New York state. References are made to July 7, 17, 24, 26, August 26, October 24, November 19.
- Letter from James Clinton to New York Governor George Clinton. Dated December 4.
- Conversation of Valentine Rathbun and Daniel Rathbun.
- 1781 Proceedings of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating conspiracies in New York state. References are made to April 11, 13, and May 30.
- Apostate, Valentine Rathbun, issues his pamphlet against the Shakers in Boston, Massachusetts; Hartford, Connecticut; Providence, Rhode Island.
- 1782 Valentine Rathbun issues his pamphlet, "A Brief Account Of A Religious Scheme....," in Worcester, Massachusetts. He also issued a pamphlet under the title of "Some brief hints of a religious scheme,....," in Boston and Salem, Massachusetts.
- Town Records of Tyringham, Massachusetts, in either 1782-1783, speak of forming a committee to keep the undesirable Shakers out of town.
- Apostate, Amos Taylor, publishes his narrative about the Shakers in Worcester, Massachusetts.
- 1783 Apostate, Benjamin West, publishes his account of the Shakers at Hartford, Connecticut.

*

Since publication dates do not accurately indicate the time of the events recorded in them, the chronology presented here places the events with which the surveyed documents are concerned into such a sequence. Also, those publications preceeding 1800, considered as events in themselves, are recorded.

The Valentine Rathbun pamphlet, "Some Brief Hints Of A Religious Scheme....," is issued in New York.

- 1784 Francisco de Miranda recounts his journey in America. Visits the Shakers in 1784.

Letter of the Marquis de Barbe-Marbois concerning his visit to the Shakers in 1784.

Reference to the Shakers is included in Hannah Adams' A Dictionary Of All Religions. This is the earliest known secondary source reference. It is a general account beginning with their origins in England.

- 1785 Apostate, Daniel Rathbun, publishes his account of the Shakers at Springfield, Massachusetts.

Elder James Whittaker wrote his letter to England this year. It would later be published in conjunction with the first Shaker publication, "A Concise Statement...."

- 1788 J. P. Brissot's travel accounts of this year record his opinions about the popular characterizations made about the Shakers at Woburn, Massachusetts.

- 1789 Question of having a general taxation of all the citizens of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, for the purpose of building a meeting house is raised. The Shakers and others are involved in this question of the rights of an established state religion.

- 1790 First Shaker publication is issued, "A Concise Statement Of The Principles Of The Only True Church.... Together With A Letter From James Whittaker...." The pamphlet was published at Bennington, Vermont.

Winslow Watson writes the memoirs of his visit to the Mt. Lebanon Shakers.

- 1793 Peter Whitney's History Of The County Of Worcester... is published. Recounts their history but contrasts the earlier with those held in the 1790's.

- 1795 The Reverend Bentley records his experiences while visiting the Shirley and Harvard, Massachusetts, Shakers.

Duke De La Rochefoucault Liancourt visits the Shakers.

The Theological Magazine published an account of the Shakers. There is no evidence of the author's personal experience.

- 1796 Letter to the Editor of The Theological Magazine in response to The Magazine's article in 1795. The writer of the letter included comments from "A Traveller."
- Tyringham, Massachusetts, Town Records mention the salary to be paid to a Shaker minister.
- 1798 From 1798 until sometime in 1805 Thomas Brown was affiliated with the Shakers. In 1812, as an apostate, he published his account of them along with a brief history of the group.
- 1799 Memoirs of Timothy Dwight relate his visit to the Shakers in this year.

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING TO SHAKER REFERENCES ACCORDING

TO THE DATE AND PLACE OF PUBLICATION

- 1781 The London Mob (see Valentine Rathbun)
- Rathbun, Valentine. A Brief Account Of A Religious Scheme...To Which Is Added A Dialogue...Giving An Account Of The Late London Mob...
- In this year, imprints were made in Boston, Massachusetts, Hartford, Connecticut, and Providence, Rhode Island.
- 1782 Rathbun, Valentine. A Brief Account Of A Religious Scheme...To Which Is Added A Dialogue...Giving An Account Of The Late London Mob...Worcester, Massachusetts.
- _____. Some Brief Hints Of A Religious Scheme...
- Imprints of this pamphlet were made in Salem and Boston, Massachusetts.
- Taylor, Amos. A Narrative Of The Strange Principles, Conduct And Character Of The People Known By The Name Of Shakers... Number I. Worcester, Massachusetts.
- 1783 Rathbun, Valentine. Some Brief Hints Of A Religious Scheme...New York
- West, Benjamin. Scriptural Cautions Against Embracing A Religious Scheme...Hartford, Connecticut.
- 1784 Adams, Hannah. An Alphabetical Compendium Of The Various Sects. Boston
- 1785 Rathbun, Daniel. A Letter From Daniel Rathbun, Of Richmond, In The County Of Berkshire, To James Whittacor, Chief Elder Of The Church, Called Shakers. Springfield, Massachusetts.
- 1793 Whitney, Peter. History Of The County Of Worcester.... Worcester, Massachusetts.

- 1795 The Theological Magazine, Vol. I, No. 2 (September and October)
- 1796 _____. Letter to the Editor, to which was appended an extract from "A Traveller."
- 1799 Duke De La Rochefoucault Liancourt. Travels Through The United States Of North America...In The Years 1795, 1796, and 1797...
- The second edition was published in 1800.
- 1822 Dwight, Timothy. Travels; In New-England And New York: New-Haven...Vol. 3.
- 1856 Watson, Winslow. Men And Times Of The Revolution... New-York.
- 1902 Public Papers Of George Clinton...Vol. 4. Albany, New York.
- 1907 Bentley, William. Diary of... Vol.2. Salem, Massachusetts.
- 1909 New York (State) Commission For Detecting And Defeating Conspiracies... Vol. 2. Albany, New York.
- 1928 Miranda, Francisco de. The Diary of Francisco De Miranda; Tour of the United States, 1783-1784. New York.
- 1929 Barbe-Marbois, Francois, Marquis de. The Letters of Barbe-Marbois During His Residence in the United States...1770-1785. New York.
- 1963 Miranda, Francisco de. ...Travels...in the United States, 1783-84. Norman, Oklahoma.
- 1964 Brissot, J.P. New Travels in the United States of America 1788. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- 1968 Meyer, Jacob. Church and State in Massachusetts from 1740 to 1833. New York.

The author makes reference on p. 135 to the Pittsfield town meeting.

n.d. Myers, Eloise. A Hinterland Settlement: Tyringham,
Massachusetts and Bordering Lands. Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

The author makes reference to the Tyringham Town
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