

American Communal Societies Quarterly

Volume 3 | Number 1

Pages 27-38

January 2009

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The Abuse of Spirit Messages during the Shaker Era of Manifestations: “A hard time of it in this hurrycane of gifts, to know what is revelation and what is not”

By Glendyne Wergland

Spiritual revelation is the foundation of western religion. Consider, for instance, the ten commandments Moses brought from Mount Sinai. Some aspects of Moses’ story must have been hard to believe. Moses said God called him up the mountain, warning him not to let others approach, lest they die in the lightning and smoke. Even so, Moses was safe on the mountaintop; Moses alone heard the word of God. Others might have been dubious, just as some were when an angel predicted a virgin birth. According to Matthew 1:19, Mary’s fiancé Joseph had doubts, as Moses’ peers probably did. Nevertheless, Moses’ and Mary’s messages from unseen beings created enduring religious traditions. Spiritual gifts are not to be taken lightly in Judeo-Christian tradition.

Christianity’s offshoot, Shakerism, is also based on spiritual messages from God and angels. Mother Ann Lee’s revelations were the foundation of Shakerism. Her spiritual gifts exposed sin; Believers had to meet her standards of virtue.¹ Ann Lee also allowed her followers to expel the unworthy. Abijah Worster recalled, when young Polly Swan came to the Shakers, “Elenor Pierce and Martha Prescott being full of zeal, and lacking both wisdom & charity, began to war at her for her lust and pride, and pushed her about.... Polly, when she got out of their hands, run.” Questioned about the fray, Ann Lee said that Pierce and Prescott had “received the power of God, and are full of zeal; but lack wisdom to know how to improve their gifts.”² By allowing them to bully Swan, she set an

An earlier versions of this talk was presented in 2008 at the Communal Studies Association conference in Estero, Florida, and to Jane Crosthwaite’s Shaker seminar at Mount Holyoke College. Material from audience suggestions has been incorporated. A more exhaustive version will appear in *Sisters in the Faith: Shaker Women, 1780-1890*, forthcoming from University of Massachusetts Press.

unfortunate precedent.

After Ann Lee's death, Shakers regulated morality in a more mundane fashion. Their domestic surveillance turned up misbehavior, which Believers were required to report to the elders, who tried to convince sinners to repent and confess. The society's leaders, a team of two brethren and two sisters known as the Ministry, institutionalized procedures for repentance and confession.³ During the Era of Manifestations, however, that system changed. Shakers tried to maintain a dynamic tension between gifts of inspiration and their need for order and union.⁴ But from 1838 through 1841, inspiration prevailed. Knowing that their followers prized spiritual gifts, the Ministry and Elders gave visionists free rein, much as Ann Lee had done with Pierce and Prescott. As a result, some instruments used spirit messages to threaten, intimidate, and expel their peers. That is what befell Sally Dean and Olive Gates.

Sally Dean's Shaker life began normally enough with her arrival as a young Believer. In 1821, Dean, then age twenty-one, followed her brother John to the New Lebanon Church Family. She settled in and established herself as a capable, responsible sister. Dean worked in the palm leaf bonnet business that deaconesses Betsy Crosman and Samantha Fairbanks began in 1835. She took her turn in kitchen, laundry, or dairy, as needed. For five years, she was the girls' caretaker. In September 1837, she was promoted to trustee (a deaconess who did business with the public).⁵ Sally Dean was evidently a good example of a Shaker sister—bright, personable, and reliable enough to interact with the world's people.

In 1834, twenty-three-year-old Olive Gates also joined the New Lebanon Shakers. Like Dean, Gates fit in. Her good voice put her at the top of the first class of singers, above Anna Dodgson and Miranda Barber. She, too, was a bonnet maker. In 1837, Gates assisted Zillah Potter, who had replaced Sally Dean as the girls' caretaker.⁶ Occupational proximity to Zillah Potter and Samantha Fairbanks was something Gates and Dean had in common.

In late 1837, an outbreak of visions erupted at the Watervliet, New York Shaker village. The Ministry tested the phenomena and validated the manifestations.⁷ Disturbing reports soon trickled back to New Lebanon; visionists were exposing other Believers' sins.⁸ In early 1838, spirits revealed the errors of several Canaan, New York Shakers. One brother's sin "was such that he could not be suffered to remain, & was peaceably persuaded to go away."⁹ Thus the Era's expulsions began.

The Ministry's village anxiously awaited the inspiration prevalent elsewhere. In April 1838, Philemon Stewart brought New Lebanon a series of spirit messages that took the elders to task. By early May, Stewart was showing the strain. "Philemon is now almost constantly under the power of inspiration," wrote the scribe. "He hardly seems like himself any of the time."¹⁰ Becoming an instrument changed a Believer, and not necessarily for the better.

Within a month, other New Lebanon visionists began using spirit gifts to manipulate their peers. One of Stewart's messages forced Calvin Green to make a public confession. A sister, perhaps Sally Dean, tried to smooth things over with a new communication.¹¹ Using one gift to combat another was an inspired response, whether spirits were involved or not. But it was also evidence of visionists' competing agendas.

Shakers did try to police the phenomenon. A scribe noted that some gifts were "said to be real"; he thought he could tell the difference between genuine manifestations and fraudulent ones.¹² Instruments were supposed to ask for and receive the Elders' permission to manifest a gift before sharing it, but some did not. Hancock Elder Barnabas Sprague admitted, "The elders have a hard time of it in this hurlycane of gifts, to know what is revelation and what is not."¹³ The sheer number of inspired messages overwhelmed the elders, who suspected that some were false.

In June 1838, a cascade of problems began with a case of fraud at New Lebanon. The girls' caretaker, Zillah Potter, reported that ten-year-old Ann Eliza Goodwin had faked inspiration. The child was expelled — not unusual for one who misbehaved.¹⁴ In this little girl's fall from Shaker grace, however, was more than met the eye. Ann Eliza's older sister, Harriet Goodwin, remained a Shaker, and assisted Potter with the girls from 1839 until March 1840.¹⁵ In July, 1840, Harriet reported a visionary dream that charged Potter with child abuse and forcing someone out of the society by false accusations.¹⁶ Spirit gifts could be used to settle old scores. The younger Goodwin's expulsion and the older Goodwin's retaliation — if that's what it was — foreshadowed coming events.

Even so, Goodwin's exposure of Potter was a curious matter. Personal attacks were contrary to union. If Goodwin had delivered that message in her own voice, it would have shown unreconciled feelings prohibited by the society's Millennial Laws.¹⁷ But spirits did not have to follow the same rules that applied to mortal Shakers — a gap in the Elders' control of the rank and file. Some visionists took advantage of that gap.

In 1839, the spirits ousted Richard McNemar, a Shaker leader in the West. He was allowed to come to New Lebanon, so his case was well known. If a spirit could expel one of the founders of western Shakerism, though, no one was safe.¹⁸

New Lebanon's spiritual abuse escalated when Anna Dodgson began "fanning away the chaff" in mid-1840. She warned, "Woe, woe be unto you that shall now slight my manifestation[,] saith Jehovah.... I will root you out from among my people; yea, I will cast you far from me, saith the Lord."¹⁹ Some Believers' skepticism about spirit gifts must have been so obvious that Dodgson was provoked to admonish them.

In worship on October 4, 1840, Eleanor Potter (sister of Zillah) announced a spiritual "writing of excommunication." In the persona of Mother Ann Lee, Potter warned that sinners would be purged out of the church. At that point, Olive Gates stepped forward to speak, but Potter rebuked her, "Go back, go back, depart, I know you not, depart, how dare you come forward." Turning and "warring in powerful exercise," she ranted while Gates retreated into the ranks. Potter harangued, "Evil doers could not be ownd, hypocrites, liars & deceitful workers ... would be exposed by the mighty powers of God."²⁰ Potter singled out Gates when Gates made herself conspicuous. If Gates had stayed in her place, she might have been safe. Potter seized authority, and the elders let her do it.

Three days later, the Ministry, New Lebanon's ultimate authority, left on a trip, and their departure boded ill.²¹ That day, "S.F.," probably Samantha Fairbanks, delivered a spirit warning, then asked "if any one wished to speak, to seek for mercy.... [Here, erased but still legible, are the initials O.G — Olive Gates] came forward & kneeled down ... begged for mercy & forgiveness, saying she was willing to confess all her sins ... rather than lose her soul's salvation." She acknowledged that she had doubted "the gifts of God." Eleanor Potter's attack had made Gates conspicuous, and Gates broke under the pressure. Perhaps she feared that her skepticism was visible.²²

The following day, Zillah Potter finished the ouster of her former assistant Olive Gates.²³ Potter spoke as Ann Lee's spirit, saying, "And now know ye concerning that woman, her day is past, & the time is come that she must be separated ... before the going down of another sun that woman shall no longer be numbered among you." "Look ye well into your own hearts," she said, and consider "a deceitful worker now cast out." Olive Gates, sequestered at the Office, departed before the Ministry returned.²⁴

Her willing exit was taken as evidence of her guilt—but left many of her peers uneasy.

In the normal course of events, confession and repentance were enough to allow a transgressor to remain a Shaker. The New Lebanon village, according to one account, had not expelled anyone for twenty years.²⁵ In 1840 and 1841, however, during the Ministry's absences, visionists sent several Believers packing and terrified others.

Joseph Babe, a Second Order brother, wrote that the week of Gates's expulsion was "the most extraordinary" he ever witnessed.²⁶ He cut short his journal entry. He may have feared revealing his own skepticism. Later Babe said that another meeting "beggared description" with visionists "rolling and spewing" on the meeting room floor, then added, "O—I must quit." He concluded, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof, so rest, reader, in all the gospel peace you can obtain."²⁷ Joseph Babe was afraid to be candid, but he believed that evil had crept in among the Shakers.

Some Believers tried to ameliorate the situation. In November 1840, Calvin Green warned about spreading malice.²⁸ Others tried to smooth things over with benign spirit messages.²⁹ The Potter sisters and Semantha Fairbanks, on the other hand, spoke for spirits who were not humble or kind—as did Miranda Barber, soon to come into her own as the voice of Holy Mother Wisdom.

A number of Shakers were dubious. Even those who wholeheartedly believed in divine revelation could be offended by abuse of their belief. David Lamson called the Era's spirit gifts "an outrage upon common sense." He thought that sisters pretended to be inspired, and was amazed that no one else saw the absurdity of the situation. Hervey Elkins was doubtful, too, but did not show his skepticism. Apostates were not the only critics. At New Lebanon, several persisting Believers thought things had gone awry, as did Joseph Babe. Isaac Newton Youngs later concluded that the practice of "taking in the spirits" allowed evil to work through human instruments. Believers relied too much on spirit gifts, he thought, rather than relying on the elders. But during the Era of Manifestations, prudent Believers did not show skepticism. Doubts were dangerous, and fear of retribution inhibited dissent.

Sally Dean's ordeal may have begun soon after Olive Gates was expelled. Dean left her job as second Office trustee under Semantha Fairbanks in December 1840. Eleanor Potter replaced Dean. Twice a Potter had replaced Dean in temporal employment. In light of subsequent

events, one has to wonder if “spirits” were already at work. A few families formed power blocs in Shaker villages. Ethnographers and sociologists describe how toxic cliques can form around participants’ shared desire for power, often achieved through bullying, and those behaviors are not limited to youth.

During another Ministry absence on May 22, 1841, spirits said God’s judgment would “smite the hypocrite—none should be able to keep sin concealed.” At their next meeting, Isaac Newton Youngs wrote, “Indications of some soul’s being shut out for hidden sins not fit to be spoken in this place—Solemn disclosure! I must be silent. Z.P.”

Zillah Potter’s spirit persona threatened, then tried to justify her actions. Youngs was intimidated, himself—never before had he feared to describe what he saw. In meeting a few days later, “Sally Dean stepped forward asked to speak—but said but little!—went back weeping. One of the inspired sisters instantly fell to the floor, in great distress ... after this there was a solemn & powerful communication from the holy angel of God, pronouncing wrath, indignation & final separation of ... the sinner, for the hour was come & the soul of the sinner was rejected with an unalterable curse.” The instrument denounced Dean with words of cursing shocking to hear. This was only the start. The visionists employed the same methods that workplace bullies use to isolate and exclude their targets: intimidation, accusations, and public humiliation.

Dean’s weeping was unexplained. After months of warnings, she may have burst into tears of anger or frustration because her religion had become a trial rather than a comfort. At age forty-two, Dean also could have been affected by menopause, which heightened her emotional state. She had been a good Believer for more than twenty years, but was cursed nonetheless. Isaac Newton Youngs wrote, “O what a solemn and distressing scene is this for us to pass thro’.” His use of the plural “us” included the whole family. Later he noted that the spirits said Dean could not stay, “tho nothing definite [was] alleged against her.” Typically, when sinners were brought to judgment, specific allegations were made. In Sally Dean’s case, none were. She confessed nothing.

Even so, Dean was suicidal—and for good reason. She stood to lose all she held dear—friends, home, livelihood, and support in old age. The elders did not countermand the spirits. Dean had to go. So her brother took her to stay with kin in Rhode Island.

Away from her attackers, Sally Dean quickly regained her emotional

equilibrium. She kept her case before the Ministry. By late October 1841, she was staying at the Church Family Office. On November 4, the Ministry decided to reinstate her—but evidently feared the visionists' response. The Elders “warned all to be wise and careful ... let our words be few and not judge the matter: each one work in his own vineyard & keep the fear of God in all they do & say.” Sally Dean moved back into the dwelling.

The visionists—or the spirits—were irate. Miranda Barber (as the holy Angel of God) defied the Ministry. “I will not hold my peace,” she thundered. “I will go forth in my fury, and will rend from before her face the vail of her covering, and she shall appear naked in the eyes of thy people. I will set upon her burning flames of fire, and she shall burn and burn in torment and vexation; —Heaven daring Mortal!” Barber vowed wrath against the “hypocrite, the liar, the vain pretender,” and added, “Woe unto her.”

The next three weeks were remarkably unpleasant. Scribes recorded a hundred and fifty pages of warnings. On November 11, Anna Dodgson joined the campaign to force Sally Dean out. On November 13, “a great commotion among the sisters,” was attributed to “the presence of evil.” On November 15, Dodgson delivered a spirit message about “that wicked woman ... among you.” On November 17, Dodgson asked, “How long are ye willing the Holy Temple should be polluted by ... the unclean?”

The Ministry and elders caved in to the pressure, and sent Dean down the road to live at the Second Order. That move did not satisfy the spirits; they went on a rampage. On November 23, Miranda Barber delivered a midnight message from God, threatening to sharpen a sword and send it among Believers to “cut and slash [them] into atoms.” She raged, “I will seek for your destruction.... I will curse your stock and herds ... your beautiful fields & pastures shall become as barren deserts; and your joy and mirth shall be gone. In all my devices I will contrive against you, and will be comforted in your afflictions.” She ordered the family to fall prostrate before her and kiss the dust—and they did. She mandated a day of fasting on bread and water.

On November 29, a scribe wrote, “We hear some reading in relation to Sally Dean. The First Order singing a song of cursing around the 2d House.” The visionists had pursued Dean down the road. The situation was untenable, not only for Sally Dean, but also for the Second Order. The visionists' bullying strategy was obvious as they humiliated and isolated their victim. Because potential allies fear becoming the next targets, victims

rarely receive support. Finally, Dean gave up. The visionists would not let her be. She returned to her kin in Rhode Island.

Fortunately, the sad exile of Sally Dean had a happier ending years later. By 1857, the Ministry was new. Samantha Fairbanks had died. The other visionists were at New Lebanon, but times had changed. The new Ministry decided Dean could return. When the elders announced it, though, opposition erupted. Polly Reed wrote:

And alas, what a conflagration it kindled. We were positively told that there was not money enough . . . to bear our expenses [to bring her back]; & then to have both of the Elder Sisters gone at once & the Ministry [away] was considered very imprudent indeed. And another thing it had fallen to my lot to be gone considerable of the summer past, while it was the privilege of others more worthy than myself to stay at home & do the hard work. The financial objection was surely made by a deaconess. The other objection tacitly admitted that things had gotten out of hand before, when the Ministry were absent. The tirade degenerated into a personal attack on Polly Reed, who was Dean's advocate. The Ministry compromised. Dean would not live at New Lebanon; she would start fresh at Watervliet. And so she did.

In 1868, however, the ailing Sally Dean returned to New Lebanon. In 1874, Anna Dodgson mentioned "Mother Sarah D." The statement was significant: one of the visionists who had expelled Sally Dean in 1841 called her "Mother." Moreover, Dodgson may have enjoyed the older woman's company, because in another entry, she wrote, "Sarah D!! and writer go south Blackberrying!!! Lucky." Whether Dodgson's luck involved the blackberries or the good time she had with Dean, we don't know—but Dodgson felt fortunate. She later called Dean "our beloved sister," a term of endearment she rarely used. Dodgson was older, wiser, and more generous than she had been thirty years earlier. And Sally Dean finally received a share of Shaker love.

* * * * *

We can draw several conclusions from the exiles' stories. Perhaps most important is that by allowing Sally Dean to return, the new Ministry indicated that her expulsion may have been unjust. When the dynamic tension between gift and order lost its balance during the Era of Manifestations, visionists were unfettered, and several Believers fell casualties. Ironically, Shakers recognized the problem of unsubstantiated allegations; several of

their poems, such as “The Tale Bearer,” describe Believers who would lie, and when caught, seek revenge.⁵⁹ Calvin Green, himself a target, wrote, “I’ve had many a serious tho’t / Upon a slanderous tongue. / How many evils it hath bro’t / Upon both old and young.”⁶⁰

Hindsight is always better than foresight, and Believers learned from their errors. In 1853, the Shakers published twelve tests for distinguishing between valid and spurious spirit messages. One of those tests is useful in Sally Dean’s case. Frederick Evans wrote that warriors cannot be Christ’s servants, whatever their profession, because Christ’s precepts rebuked war and bloodshed. Evans quoted Jesus, “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.”⁶¹ Applying that standard, Miranda Barber’s warlike threat to slash her peers with a sword was not divinely inspired. The Ministry finally recognized that some visionists were suspect. Henry Blinn’s comments about the “unsubdued nature” of certain instruments points to their belated understanding.⁶²

Anyone could slander, but women were the ones who expelled their peers. And why? Was it only a bid for power? The two sisters who stepped out of the ranks in meeting appear to have been “targets of opportunity.” Perhaps anyone who moved forward would have been attacked. We cannot be certain, but sometimes a clique will exercise power just because it can. Anthropologists recognize spirit possession as a path to power—and the spirits undoubtedly gave the Potters, Dodgson, and Barber authority that they otherwise lacked. Even a deaconess such as Fairbanks, already near the top of the hierarchy, might use a spirit gift for her own purposes. Moreover, these sisters appear to have been working together toward a shared goal, using criticism, ostracism, and public ridicule, just as bullying cliques do. Competition among women is often expressed by exclusion from the group—and what is expulsion if not exclusion? Maybe the visionists realized that their excesses provoked doubt, and sought to consolidate their power by eliminating skeptics who might undermine their authority.

We have to wonder, though, if something more was going on among these women. Were sisters getting rid of someone because she might have reported their misbehavior? Both Gates and Dean had worked with Zillah Potter as girls’ caretakers. What might they have known about the abuse Harriet Goodwin reported?

Perhaps competition was the issue. Cliques can promote upward mobility in the workplace.⁶³ When Sally Dean left a position of authority, that job opened up—and twice, Potters stepped into the vacancies. In a

family with about twenty women in the same age bracket, the selection of two Potters seems more than a coincidence. In another venue, when Olive Gates left the first sister's position in the choir, Dodgson and Barber moved up in the hierarchy of singers. Or perhaps someone coveted Gates's or Dean's union meeting partner. In a society where women outnumbered men, such things could happen. Jealousy is a powerful motivation. These "spirits" had remarkably human characteristics.

This is not to shortchange inspiration. Did Moses actually hear the voice of God, or did the commandments come from his own imagination? Did Anna Dodgson hear spirits speak, or did she take the initiative to resolve a conflict between visionists and their target? We cannot know for sure. Revelation, whether it originates within the human imagination, or is sent from the heavenly sphere, can be a source of religious revitalization, as the Era of Manifestations certainly was for the Shakers. But inspiration can also be misused by all-too-human instruments. With access to an unlimited source of power, someone will take advantage of it.

Notes

1. Rufus Bishop and Seth Youngs Wells, *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations and Doctrines of our Ever Blessed Mother Ann Lee* (Hancock, Mass.: J. Talcott and J. Deming, Junrs., 1816), 226.
2. Abijah Worster, *Sayings of Mother Ann*, Thomas Hammond, comp., 1-2, WRHS 54, VII:B-22.
3. 1821 Millennial Laws, in John T. Kirk, *Shaker World* (New York: Henry Abrams, 1997), 261.
4. Stephen Stein, "Shaker Gift and Shaker Order: A Study of Religious Tension in Nineteenth-Century America," *Communal Societies* 10 (1990): 102-13.
5. Isaac Newton Youngs, *Domestic Journal* (1834-46), March 10, 1834, March 26, 1836, and caretaker list at end, NYSL 10; [Semantha Fairbanks] journal (1835-36) at end of John DeWitt journal (1824-25), October 14, 1836, WRHS 33, V:B-92; Rufus Bishop et al., *Records Book No. 2* (1825-1929), 36, NYPL 2:6.
6. Shaker names index, WRHS 123; Betsy Bates, *Journal of Events* (1833-35), September 13, 1835, WRHS 35, V:B-128; Youngs, *Domestic Journal* March 26, 1836, September 14, 1837, January 1, 1840, NYSL 10.
7. Bishop, *Daily Journal* (1830-39), October 1 and 8, and November 5, 1837, NYPL 1:1; Glendyne Wergland, "Validation in the Shaker Era of Manifestations: A Process Analysis," *Communal Societies* 26.2 (Fall 2006): 121-40.

8. Youngs, Sketches of Visions (1838), January 1838, 7-8, WRHS 75, VIII:B-113.
9. Youngs, Sketches of Visions, n.d., 32, WRHS 75, VIII:B-113.
10. Youngs, Sketches of Visions, May 1838, 43, WRHS 75, V:B-113.
11. Youngs, Sketches of Visions, May 11, 1838, 47, WRHS 75, VIII:B-113; Bishop, Daily Journal, May 9, 1838, NYPL 1.1. Before the Era, Calvin Green was accused of “that which led to the flesh.” Youngs, Private Journal (1837-59), July 23, 1837, SM 10.509.
12. Records Kept by Order of the Church (1780-1850), January 30, 1842, 191, NYPL 2:7.
13. David R. Lamson, *Two Years’ Experience Among the Shakers* (West Boylston [Mass.]: for the author, 1848), 41, Google Books, accessed November 22, 2007.
14. Isaac Newton Youngs suspected that children’s gifts were only “childish fancies.” Youngs, Sketches of Visions, June 8 and 14, 1838, 62-63, 67, WRHS 75, V:B-113.
15. Caretakers of Children (1787-1850) list at end, Youngs, Domestic Journal, NYSL 10.
16. Jean Humez, *Mother’s First-Born Daughters: Early Shaker Writings on Women and Religion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 213, 238.
17. 1821 Millennial Laws, Kirk, 261.
18. McNemar was at New Lebanon in May 1839. Rufus Bishop, Daily Journal of Passing Events (1839-50), May 30, 1839, NYPL 1:1. Stein, “Shaker Gift and Shaker Order, 102-13; Stein, *Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 187-88. According to Jean Humez, instrument Margaret O’Brien may have ousted McNemar. Humez 215.
19. Anna Dodgson, Prophetic Warning Concerning Reprobates, June 1, 1840, 45-46, SM 12,341.
20. Derobigne Bennett and Isaac Newton Youngs, Journal of Inspirational Meetings (1840-41), October 4, 1840, WRHS 77, VIII:B-138 corroborated by Joseph W. Babe, Journal of Inspirational Meetings (1840-41), October 4, 1840, WRHS 77, VIII:B-139.
21. Rufus Bishop, Daily Journal of Passing Events (1839-50), October 7, 1840, NYPL 1.2. Such divisiveness during Ministry absences suggests that the 1840 Ministry (Ebenezer Bishop, 72, Rufus Bishop, 66, Ruth Landon, 65, and Asenath Clark, 60) influenced visionists as the Church Family’s Elders (David Meacham, 63, Daniel Boler, 36, Betsy Darrow, 63, and Betsy Bates, 42) did not.
22. Bennett and Youngs, October 7, 1840, WRHS 77, VIII:B-138. In a separatist group, doubt invites criticism. Old Order Amish teenager Ruth Garret didn’t show skepticism because she feared excommunication. “Thinking aloud too much, analyzing too much, would raise suspicions. ... The Amish are always watching to see if a person appears vulnerable to doubt.” Garrett, *Crossing Over: One Woman’s Escape from Amish Life* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2003), 43.
23. Youngs, Domestic Journal, September 14, 1837 and January 1, 1840, NYSL 10.
24. Bennett and Youngs, October 8-9, 1840, WRHS 77, VIII:B-138.
25. Archibald Montgomery Maxwell, in Wergland, *Visiting the Shakers, 1778-1849* (Clinton, N.Y.: Richard W. Couper Press, 2007), 277.
26. Babe, October 25, 1840, WRHS 77, VIII:B-139.
27. In their November 7 meeting, “l.t.” delivered a message that she would “spew out” anyone who did not accord with Ann Lee’s precepts, “spew them out of my mouth,” then gagged and vomited. Babe, November 1 and 7, 1840, WRHS 77, VIII:B-139. “Sufficient unto the day:” Matthew 6: 34. Physician Leah Taylor was the only “l.t.” over age six listed in Youngs, Domestic Journal, January 1, 1840, NYSL 10.

28. Calvin Green, instrument, A Prophetic Warning, November 9, 1840, 8-9, WRHS 66, VIII:A-34.
29. Babe, July 5, 1840, January-February 1841, WRHS 77, VIII:B-139.
30. David R. Lamson, *Two Years' Experience Among the Shakers* (West Boylston [Mass.]: for the author, 1848), 66-67.
31. Hervey Elkins, *Fifteen Years in the Senior Order of Shakers* (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth, 1853), 42.
32. Records Kept by Order of the Church, November 1842, NYPL 2:7.
33. Dean's reassignment may not have been significant because turnover was normal and she had served three years. Potter lasted only two. Bishop, Records Book No. 2 (1825-1929), December 17, 1840, 36-37, NYPL 2.6; Ministry Sisters' Journal, December 19, 1840, WRHS 32, V:B-60.
34. Deborah E. Burns, *Shaker Cities of Peace, Love, and Union: A History of the Hancock Bishopric* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1993), 41, 180.
35. Patricia Zavella, "Abnormal Intimacy: The Varying Work Networks of Chicana Cannery Workers," *Feminist Studies* 11.3 (1985): 541-57, JSTOR, accessed November 22, 2007; Sonia Salari, Barbara B. Brown, and Jacqueline Eaton, "Conflicts, friendship cliques and territorial displays in senior center environments," *Journal of Aging Studies* 20.3 (Sept 2006): 237-53. Adult women query advice columnists: Leslie Parrott, "How do I handle cliques at my church?" *Today's Christian Woman* 29.3 (May-June 2007): 16.
36. Bennett and Youngs, May 22, 23 and 26, 1841, WRHS 77, VIII:B-138.
37. Charlotte Rayner, "The Incidence of Workplace Bullying," *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 7 (1997): 199-208.
38. Bennett and Youngs, May 26, 1841, WRHS 77, VIII:B-138.
39. Youngs, Domestic Journal (1834-46), May 27, 1841, NYSL 10.
40. Giles Avery, Journal of Times, Rhymes, Work & Weather (1836-47), June 4, 1841, WRHS 34, V:B-107.
41. Bennett and Youngs, October 23 and November 4, 1841, WRHS 77, VIII:B-138.
42. Records Kept by Order of the Church, November 6, 1841, NYPL 2:7; Ministry Sisters' Journal, November 6, 1841, WRHS 32, V:B-60.
43. A True Record of Sacred Communications, v. VII, 163-67, November 6, 1841, WRHS 76, VIII:B-122.
44. Anna Dodgson, From Father William to the Elder Sisters, November 11, 1841, 28-29, Book of Rolls, Letters, Messages, and Communications to the Ministry and Elders (1840-43), v. 15 (hereafter Book of Rolls), SM 12.332.
45. Bennett and Youngs, November 13, 1841, WRHS 77, VIII:B-138.
46. Anna Dodgson, Mother Lucy's Word to Betsy Bates, November 15, 1841, 43-45, Book of Rolls, SM 12.332. I have not found such a message attributed to Sally Dean.
47. Anna Dodgson, Words of the Holy Angel, November 17, 1841, 45-46, Book of Rolls, SM 12.332.
48. Bennett and Youngs, November 17, 1841, WRHS 77, VIII:B-138.
49. Miranda Barber, instrument, Words of solemn and weighty truth, November 23, 1841, True Record, v. VIII, 96-103, WRHS 76, VIII:B-123; Bennett and Youngs, November 23, 1841, WRHS 77, VIII:B-138.
50. [New Lebanon] Church Order Journal (November 1841-46), November 29, 1841, WRHS 35, V:B-135.

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