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## **Brother Ricardo Belden Revisited<sup>1</sup>**

*By Magda Gabor-Hotchkiss*

In a recent issue of this journal, Darryl Charles Thompson provided an account of a “spirit song” presented in the Meeting House at Canterbury Shaker Village during the mid-1980s by his father, Charles “Bud” Thompson.<sup>2</sup> The elder Mr. Thompson learned this song directly from Brother Ricardo Belden, then a resident of the Hancock Shakers’ Church Family. We acknowledge with pleasure the opportunity that his essay provided to share some treasured images from the collections of the Hancock Shaker Village Library, as well as to present additional information about Brother Ricardo’s life, his influence on musicologists and dance designers, and his role in attracting future Shakers.

According to the Cathcart Membership File of Shakers, Ricardo Belden was born December 22, 1868, and died December 2, 1958, just shy of his ninetieth birthday.<sup>3</sup> His date of birth has been the subject of some disagreement over the years, however, due to various small discrepancies among written records and his own statements. Among the different U.S. censuses listing Ricardo Belden, the 1900 census is the only one that asks for a specific month and year of birth. There his birth is given as December 1868 and his age as thirty-one. In the 1880, 1910, and 1930 censuses, his age is given as ten, forty, and sixty respectively. Those censuses reflect his age as of his last birthday, however, which would mean he was born in 1869. A cursory look at the 1880, 1910, and 1930 censuses might lead one to believe that Belden was born in 1870 (subtracting his age from the year of the census), but this would be a mistake. In 1926, he gave his age as fifty-seven,<sup>4</sup> which, if he were born in December, would make his birth year 1868 (presuming it was not late December 1926 when he made this statement). In an interview given at Hancock in 1950, he stated that he was four years old when brought to the Enfield, Connecticut, community in 1873.<sup>5</sup> Again, if he were born in December, this would indicate a birth year of 1868. And in 1952 he stated: “I was brought to the Shakers in Enfield, Connecticut, when I was four years old—an orphan.”<sup>6</sup> In his more detailed statement in 1952 to Jerome Count, as quoted in Darryl

Thompson's article, Brother Ricardo stated that he was four years old when he was brought to the Shakers on July 30, 1874.<sup>7</sup> If he were brought to the Shakers in 1874 rather than 1873, this would mean that he was born in 1869; two years later, however, the *Hartford Times* quotes Brother Ricardo as stating "I was born in the vicinity of New London, Dec. 22, 1868."<sup>8</sup> There is no evidence that his birth year was 1870 other than a misreading of some of the census records. Although a recent publication has given the dates of Brother Ricardo's birth and death as 1870-1958,<sup>9</sup> it seems most likely that the Cathcart File is correct, and that he was born December 22, 1868. There is no dispute about his death date—December 2, 1958.

Establishing the precise chronology of Brother Ricardo's life inside and outside the communities of Enfield, Connecticut, and Hancock, Massachusetts, has also been a challenge. In the 1952 interview at Hancock he stated:

In my younger days I worked on the farm and attended the herd of cows, most of the time. And also did work in the fields, with the other boys and Brothers in that place. At that time when I came [unintelligible] there were about 75 people in that [Enfield Church] Family. And two other Families, the North and South Families, may have had fifty people, in the two. I worked at farm work, some mechanical work, for many years, and then I was put in [charge as] farmer and manager of the farm, and the hired men for a number of years, until the Shakers finished their work there, and not quite as long as they lived well. Afterwards ... I came to Hancock, Massachusetts, about 24 years ago now [actually in 1926, not 1928]; and have been in the business of repairing old clocks, mostly ever since, especially the wooden [unintelligible] variety, that I've had great many to work on, time to time.<sup>10</sup>

Data gleaned from various sources establish an approximate time line of Brother Ricardo's life. A July 11, 1886, list of "Names of Brethren at Church Family, Enfield, Conn.," identifies him as the boys' caretaker there<sup>11</sup>. He signed the covenant at the Church Family on November 13, 1893.<sup>12</sup> The 1910 U.S. Census shows him residing with the North Family. Steve Paterwic comments, "He went there to live because they needed someone to manage the farm operations. Levi Shaw died in 1908 and Elder George Clark was very sick, so Ricardo went there to live between 1908 and 1910."<sup>13</sup>

For a long time it was not clear when exactly Brother Ricardo left the Enfield, Connecticut, Shaker Society, which was dissolved in 1917. In 1992, however, Stephen Paterwic found a document in the Canterbury Shaker Village Archives that records that in exchange for a \$300 payment to Ricardo Belden on May 31, 1910, by Trustees Miriam Offord, Caroline Tate, and Walter Shepherd, of Enfield, Brother Ricardo agreed to “remise, release and forever discharge the said trustees, their successors and assigns, of and from all manner of action, dues, accounts, reckonings, contracts, promises and demands whatsoever in law or in equity, which [he has] or ever had, especially for work and labor performed to the present day.”<sup>14</sup> This payment constituted a legal act to release Ricardo Belden, and at the same time absolved the Society of any future claims. Therefore May 31, 1910, is the official and established date of his departure from Enfield. According to the 1920 census he lived alone very near the newly vacated Enfield property.<sup>15</sup>

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS  
That I, Ricardo Belden, of Shaker Station, Enfield,  
Hartford County, Connecticut, in consideration of three  
hundred dollars (\$300) to me in hand paid by Miriam Offord,  
Caroline Tait and Walter Shepherd, trustees of the Shaker  
Community, of said Enfield, the receipt whereof is  
hereby acknowledged, do hereby remise, release and forever  
discharge, and by these presents do for myself, my  
heirs, executors and administrators, remise, release and  
forever discharge the said trustees, their successors and  
assigns, of and from all manner of action, debts, dues,  
dues, accounts, reckonings, contracts, promises and  
demands whatsoever in law or in equity, which I have or  
ever had, especially for work and labor performed to  
the present day.  
IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand  
and seal this thirty-first day of May, 1910.

*Miriam Offord*  
Witness:

*Ricardo Belden*




Fig. 1. Release claim, May 31, 1910; ECN-L/L Box 4 Folder 4, #370.  
(Courtesy of Canterbury Shaker Village Archives)

Ricardo Belden joined the Hancock Church Family Shakers in 1926, where he arrived on May 1, at the recorded age of fifty-seven.<sup>16</sup> He signed the probationary covenant there on September 24, 1929.<sup>17</sup> In 1972, the chronology of his association with the Shakers became a bone of contention between a guide at Hancock Shaker Village, who claimed Brother Ricardo was a lifelong Shaker, and a then-sixteen-year-old Arnold Hadd, who believed otherwise. The urge to clarify this point led indirectly to Hadd's becoming a Shaker brother himself!

After young Hadd inquired about Brother Ricardo at the Sabbathday Lake, Maine, Shaker community, the question was resolved in his favor. A lengthy correspondence followed with Brother Ted Johnson there. In a 2010 interview, Brother Arnold Hadd, of Sabbathday Lake, Maine, said the following about Brother Ricardo's leaving the Enfield Shakers:

My family had always known about the Shakers. My grandmother used to go down to Enfield, Connecticut, from her home in Springfield, Massachusetts, for their chicken suppers on Friday nights. And when Ricardo Belden had left Enfield, he actually lived next door to my grandmother and my grandfather, until he went back to [the Shakers at] Hancock.<sup>18</sup>

Brother Arnold provided further clarification in 2011:

If the story is correct I believe that Br. Ricardo lived in Springfield [Massachusetts], on Mount Morenci [Montmorenci] Street with a William Hayden, who had also lived at Enfield. Ricardo continued to wear Shaker garb and he worked as a machinist. Mr. Hayden didn't work, but stayed at home. He was not friendly, but Ricardo was very outgoing and my grandmother thought he was very handsome.<sup>19</sup>

Brother Arnold also related that this William Hayden was actually "another former member" of the Enfield, Connecticut, Shakers.

In spite of any lingering uncertainty about Brother Ricardo's uncertain whereabouts—inside or outside of Shaker communities—it is clear that he became a general handyman, "able to fix anything that needed it"<sup>20</sup> (see figure 3). Brother Ricardo was widely known for his restoration of old clocks, especially those with wooden works, when he was still at the Enfield, Connecticut, Shaker community.<sup>21</sup> He continued to do this for customers at the Church Family at Hancock (see figure 2).



Fig. 2. Brother Ricardo Belden repairing clocks in the Brethren's Shop, Church Family, Hancock, Massachusetts. 1950s.  
(Photograph by Francis M. Spoonogle. HSV Library, ID #1986-1044)





Fig. 3. Brother Ricardo Belden in the Brethren's Shop,  
Church Family, Hancock, Massachusetts. 1950s.  
(HSV Library, ID #1986-1046. Gift of John E. Shea, 1979.)

It is also well known that Brother Ricardo was the regular driver at the Church Family at Hancock. When Amy Bess Miller — later instrumental in the founding of the non-profit museum at the site — first visited there in 1933, the Shaker car was always referred to as “his” car, since Brother Ricardo was the only driver at that time.<sup>22</sup> Figure 4 shows him at the wheel, with Eldress Elizabeth Belden (no direct relation) sitting in back. In the twentieth century, the Shakers owned a wide assortment of automobiles, including a Cadillac, Dodge, REO, Hudson, Buick, and Nash.<sup>23</sup> These spacious cars became an important asset to the Shaker communities, especially for the sisters, who could be accommodated comfortably in the back seat. Among the functions of these vehicles was the transport of the Shakers and their sale items to fairs and vacation sites around New York and New England. They were traded in for newer models at least every three years.<sup>24</sup>

More importantly, Brother Ricardo made a deep impression on everyone who made his acquaintance, including Jerome and Sybil A. Count, the founders of the “Shaker Village Work Camp” (later called the



Fig. 4. "Our 'Nash' car at Forest Park, Springfield, Mass. Ricardo driving. 1931"  
(Shaker snapshot #203 in Shaker Album #6. HSV Library, ID #H-135B)



“Shaker Village Work Group” and then the “Work Education Foundation, Inc.”), their staff (Stu Jamieson, member of a folklore recording expedition to Appalachia in 1946, among them), and the campers. This summer camp was located at the South Family of the former Mount Lebanon Shaker Village.<sup>25</sup> Their logo was “A New Kind of Experience in Work, Leisure and Community Responsibility.”<sup>26</sup> The camp was represented on the map published by the group (see figure 5). Stu Jamieson was in close contact with Brother Ricardo in the years 1948-1950, the time Jamieson worked at the camp. Whether advising Jamieson on his work in the camp’s wood shop, the repair of the former chair factory, or other practical matters—like instructing Jamieson in the finer techniques of using hand tools, “gently pushing” him into making a copy of a homemade octagonal box banjo—Brother Ricardo demonstrated a deep-seated interest in workmanship. It was for all things musical, however—specifically the sharing of his knowledge of Shaker dances and songs—that Brother Ricardo elicited the great admiration of Jamieson, Jeremy Count, and especially Robert C. Opdahl and Viola E. Woodruff Opdahl.

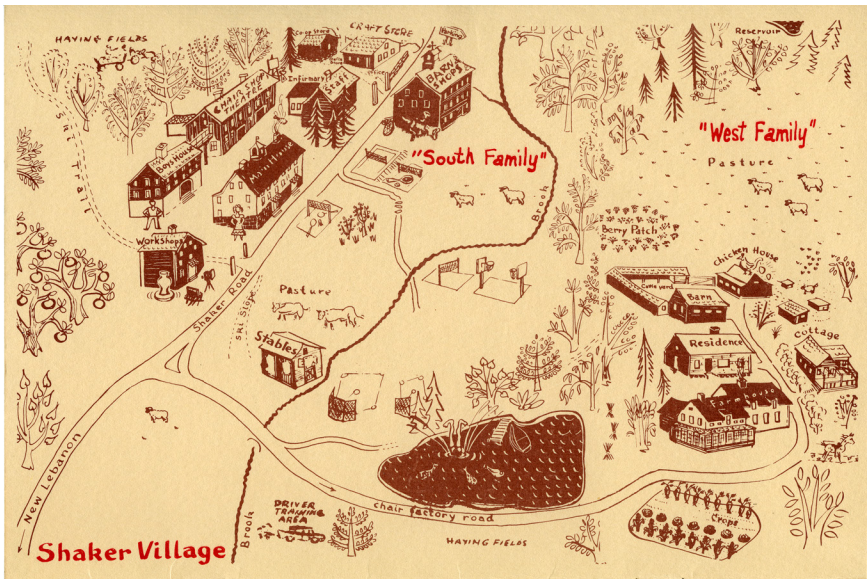


Fig. 5. Map of Shaker Village Work Camp, South Family, Mount Lebanon.  
(HSV Library, ID #1373)

According to the Opdahls:

The frequent consultations with Brother Ricardo Belden at Hancock made the project very inviting... Especially valuable for the music workshops were Brother Ricardo's firsthand accounts about *how* the Shakers, throughout his past, sang the songs, when they sang them, and how they performed the dances. He volunteered information about tempo, vocable syllables, dance patterns, and appropriate occasions for using the different songs. It was a privilege to observe Brother Ricardo, in modest attire, giving careful attention to any questions asked of him.... Sybil Count once described him as a "very active, intelligent man with a wide range of interests."<sup>27</sup>

And further:

This book also includes four songs ... that we have been unable to find in any of the nine manuscripts [given by Belden to Jerry Count]. We learned them directly from Brother Ricardo, who also taught the Shaker dance steps and motions... Stu Jamison has a clear memory of Brother Ricardo saying that the Shakers sang these songs "with vigor, celerity, and an outpouring of gladness and joy."<sup>28</sup>

Brother Ricardo's use of "vocable syllables" (syllables without English meaning, and used in wordless songs by early Shakers), made a deep impression on the Opdahls. It was analyzed in great detail in their book, as it pertained to Brother Ricardo's particular presentation. It was his gift to them, as was his separate, moving gift to Charles "Bud" Thompson of a "glossolalia" song (speaking in tongues), discussed prominently in Darryl Thompson's article.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, many other special features of Shaker music were discussed in several sessions with him, such as strong opposition to song embellishment, "decorated music," the use of harmony, and instrumental accompaniment; the proper treatment of rhythmic patterns; the affirmation of clarity, unity, and shortened final notes; and the later use of standard music notation. All three writers—the Opdahls and Jamieson—made it clear that Brother Ricardo's views and experience carried great weight with them, and they regarded him as a teacher of true authenticity. It is only fitting to quote Jamieson's ending of his Foreword:

This book is a work of loving labor by the dedicated authors, and it was years in the making. It is a tribute to the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming [*sic*]—particularly to Brother Ricardo Belden.... We, all of us involved, gratefully consider the material in *Rise and Sing* to be a “spirit gift” to the “Sons of Adam” from Mother Ann and her followers—as delivered by the ever-capable Brother Ricardo.<sup>30</sup>

A recording of Brother Ricardo singing Shaker songs at the Hancock Shaker community, made by Otto Jantz on October 21, 1950, was among the first contributions to elucidating their role in Shaker life. This recording is on the CD accompanying Christian Goodwillie and Jane F. Crosthwaite's recent scholarly edition of *Millennial Praises: A Shaker Hymnal*.<sup>31</sup> The CD includes recordings of the following songs: “The Lamb's Revelation,” “My Feelings,” “Make thy Garden Grow,” “The Shakers,” “Improve each Moment.” As Goodwillie and Crosthwaite pointed out, the all-important decision by Brother Arnold Hadd and Sister Frances Carr, Shakers of Sabbathday Lake, Maine, to release the only authentic recordings of a Shaker singing these hymns is “the icing on the cake that is this book.”<sup>32</sup> This was even more important because the original 1813 publication of *Millennial Praises* did not contain music, only text. By singing the hymns included in the hymnal, Brother Ricardo started early and later musicologists, Christian Goodwillie among them, on their way to unraveling what kinds of music went with the hymns and songs the Shakers themselves sang.

We meet Brother Ricardo Belden later as a critic and educator of Shaker dance, in Richard Schechner's book, *Between Theater and Anthropology*.<sup>33</sup> In it the author quotes anthropologist Suzanne Youngerman:

One of the last two Shaker brothers, Ricardo Belden, then 87 years old, saw the 1955 reconstruction [*sic*] of *The Shakers* at Connecticut College and reportedly was “enthralled” by the performance. He later wrote to Humphrey [Doris Humphrey, dance choreographer] offering to come to New London the following summer to teach Shaker dances. What greater tribute could there be?<sup>34</sup>

According to Schechner, another choreographer, Robin Evanchuk, designed and taught an “authentic” reconstruction of Shaker dancing, using “the notes of this same Ricardo Belden.”<sup>35</sup>

In 1957, Jerome Count interviewed Brother Ricardo. During the

recorded interview the latter sang the Shaker song, “Living Souls, Let’s be Marching.”<sup>36</sup> The songs sung by the teenagers at the summer camp and introduced by Brother Ricardo himself were also recorded and saved.<sup>37</sup> In figures 6 and 7, Brother Ricardo demonstrates to the young participants of the summer camp the hand motions and steps used in Shaker worship.

It is important to note that, as already discussed, Brother Ricardo was not only a conscientious teacher, but—as evidenced by his reaction to Andrews’ book, *The People Called Shakers*—he cared deeply about the meaning, function, and form of Shaker worship, including singing and different “orders” of dance. In his letter to the editor of Oxford University Press, dated October 1953, Brother Ricardo objected to what he believed were several misrepresentations of the Shakers in that 1953 book. Of six complaints, four dealt with representations of the Believers’ worship, for example: “On page 139 the picture of the square order shuffle is in disorder and not in proper form,” and, “On the back of the jacket the picture of the singing meeting is disorderly. Brethren should not sit with knees crossed in meeting when Sisters are present.”<sup>38</sup>



Fig. 6. Brother Ricardo Belden teaching Shaker dance at the Shaker Village Work Camp at the former South Family, Mount Lebanon, New York. (Photographer unknown, [1948-1950?]. HSV Library, ID #1998-7105. Gift of Nancy McDowell.)





Fig. 7. Brother Ricardo Belden teaching Shaker dance at the Shaker Village Work Camp at the former South Family, Mount Lebanon, New York. (Photographer unknown, [1948-1950?]. HSV Library, ID #1998-7105. Gift of Nancy McDowell.)



Brother Ricardo's interest in young people was not limited to the Shaker Village Work Group; as also noted in the Cathcart Shaker List, he "visited the boys at the farm [Shaker property that became Wethersfield Prison Farm for Boys] often, and maintained a lively interest in young people [acting] in an advisory capacity at the Shaker Village Workshop, run by the late Jerome Count, of New York City." This entry may have been provided by Eldress Fannie Estabrook (1870-1960), of Hancock's Church Family. According to Jamieson:

In 1950 someone suggested that we put on a replica of a Shaker dance worship service. Enthusiasm was universal among the staff, so Brother Ricardo was approached for permission from the Eldress. Permission came with the proviso that the service be performed reverently, with the participants acting in the stead of those Shakers who could no longer dance, and for their sakes. Brother Ricardo, still being able, would teach and participate.... The dance service was presented during parents' weekend. Eldress Fanny Estabrook and some of the Hancock Sisters came with Brother Ricardo to the camp and sat primly near the dance floor.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, Eldress Fanny Estabrook could have also known about Brother Ricardo's visits to the prison farm.<sup>40</sup> The precise circumstances, however, merit clarification. According to Steve Paterwic: "The state of Connecticut had a prison at Wethersfield until 1963 when it was basically transferred north to Enfield/Somers. Ricardo was likely visiting his childhood friend William Hayden, who lived in East Hartford, when he went to Wethersfield. This could have happened in the 1950s since we have newspaper clippings saying that he traveled to East Hartford to see Hayden during those years."<sup>41</sup> And in another communication from Paterwic: "While visiting East Hartford, Ricardo would have been very close to the Wethersfield Prison Farm for Boys."<sup>42</sup> Indeed, an article published in the *Hartford Times* in 1954, stated: "Brother Belden, whose occupation is repairing grandfather clocks, is here to visit a friend who once was a Shaker. He is William G. Hayden, now 91 years old, who lives at Bragg St., East Hartford."<sup>43</sup>

On a lighter note, other notable features of Brother Ricardo's character were his complete inability to suffer fools; a self-effacing, mocking style; and a total lack of self-importance. Brother Arnold Hadd relates the following:

There was a woman named Iona Geckler from Canton, OH and she developed sort of an obsession with the Shakers in the 1940s

through the remainder of her life. She gave talks in Ohio and evidently liked to dress as a Sister when she did it. But here is a letter from Br. Ricardo to her in response to a letter she wrote to him [which has not survived].

Jan. 2, 1954

Dear Iona Geckler.

*Your imagination has run away with your good judgement [sic] once more in your lifetime.*

*A birthday with me is just one more day for me to be crawling around on the earth, on the morning [sic] of my birthday I had for breakfast, one egg, on toast, I cup coffess [sic], some oat meal, a glass of juice, and a dish of puffed rice. This breakfast I have each morning of the year, and like it. I have forgotten what I had for the other two meals. When I was beginning my evening meal one of the Sisters came to me and said happy birth day if it is not too late, to which I replied it is not too late. I then ate my supper and twenty minutes after was in bed just like any other night in the year. the Family and myself are as well as can be expected. Yours sincerely. Ricardo Belden*

Box 88 Pittsfield R.I. Mass.<sup>44</sup>

The *Canton (Ohio) Repository* carried an article by Pat Norman, *Repository* correspondent, about this “Student of Religion” (Iona Geckler) in which he relates: “Through the years she acquired a dark red silk dress and a hand woven bonnet given to her by a Shaker Sister. She has worn these in giving more than 200 talks to clubs.... Among her mementos are a pair of shoes which belonged to the last Shaker man, Brother Ricardo Belden.”<sup>45</sup>

At eighty-six years of age, Brother Ricardo was still active in representing the Shakers in the broader Pittsfield community, being a special guest at a meeting of the Golden Age group, where he met Pittsfield College Club members at the YMCA. The group photograph was carried in the *Berkshire Eagle* in February 1956.

Last, but not least, toward the end of his life, Brother Ricardo made a most important contribution that proved crucial in the life of Theodore E. Johnson. As related by Brother Arnold:

Br. Ricardo was also the first Shaker that Br. Ted ever met. Brother [Ted] would often recount that once he learned of Shakerism, he

motored over to Hancock and although there were signs to keep out he went up to the front door of the Brick House. A window flew open and Br. Ricardo said, "Can't you read?" Brother answered that he could, but he had come to talk to someone about Shakerism.

Br. Ricardo came down and took Brother to his room. Within minutes Br. Ricardo was talking about the Resurrection life. Br. Ted would go to Hancock to see Br. Ricardo after that to talk and take him out to lunch. It was Ricardo who told him to come to Sabbathday Lake if he was interested in Shakerism.<sup>46</sup>

The meeting with Brother Ricardo at Hancock, according to Brother Ted, happened in October 1957 (when he also met Sister Mary Frances Dahm). He soon followed up on Brother Ricardo's advice and became a regular visitor, librarian, and eventually a prominent Shaker at the Sabbathday Lake Shaker community.<sup>47</sup> Thus directly and indirectly, Brother Ricardo planted seeds of Shakerism in two generations, as Brother Ted later became the mentor to Brother Arnold Hadd.

Brother Ricardo died on December 2, 1958, after having lived with the Hancock Church Family Shakers for thirty-two years; and "by his own request was buried at Enfield on December 4, 1958. He chose the spot himself and wanted to be the last Shaker buried there."<sup>48</sup>

This remarkable brother, who was known to most as a quiet, unassuming mechanic, driver, and clock repairman, has proven on closer examination to be an inspiration to several generations of young people and adults: people of the World; musicologists; Shaker guides and researchers, including Charles "Bud" Thompson, and his son, Darryl Charles Thompson; Shaker dance specialists and ballet designers; and two Sabbathday Lake Shakers—brothers Ted Johnson and his assistant, Arnold Hadd.<sup>49</sup>

It is my pleasure to close the article by quoting a thoughtful observation by Steve Miller: "It is fair to say that not only does the spirit of Brother Ricardo live on in the present, but also that older generations of Shakers would readily recognize Sabbathday Lake and Brother Arnold as being fully 'in Union' with their own time."

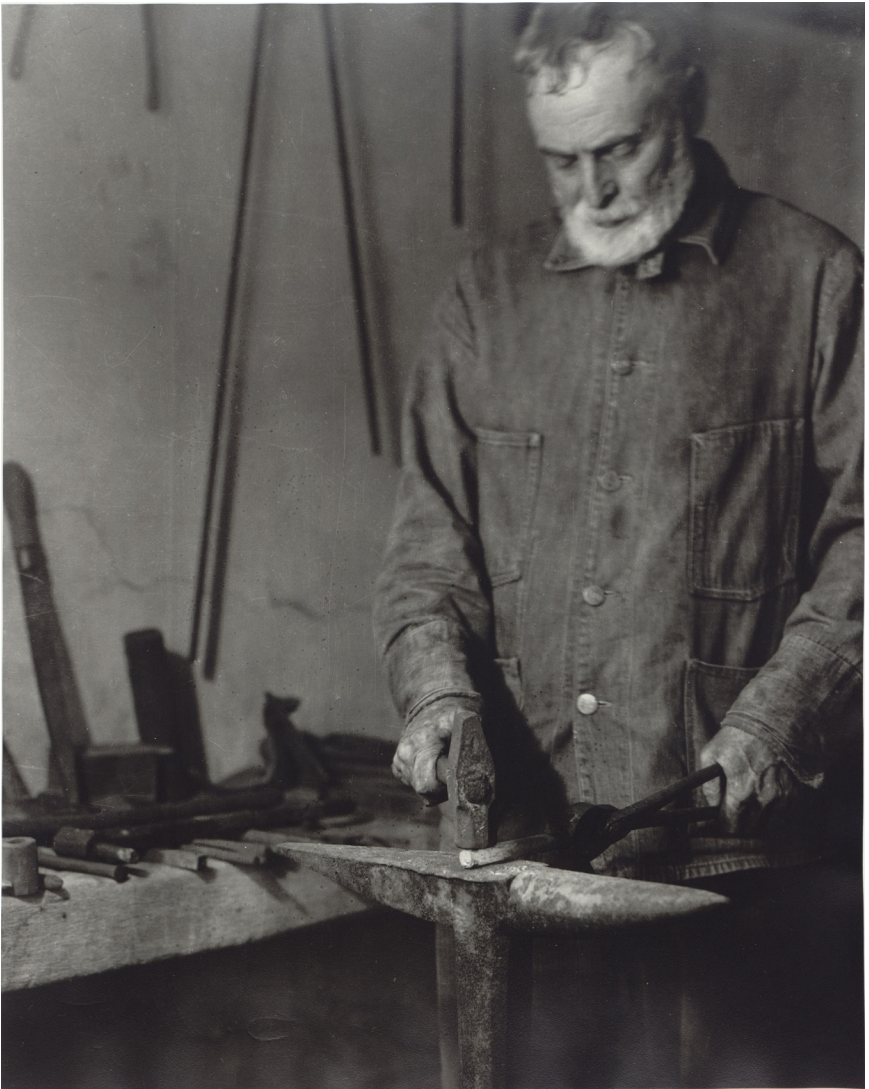


Fig. 8. Brother Ricardo, “the anvil man.”  
(Photograph by Samuel Kravitt. Courtesy of the Library of Congress,  
LC-DIG-ppmsca-07488)

## Notes

1. The author is deeply grateful to the following individuals: Lesley Herzberg, Hancock Shaker Village Collections Manager, for partial copy-editing and help in selecting images and providing scans; Shaker scholars M. Stephen Miller and Stephen J. Paterwic for two rounds of thoughtful preliminary copy-editing; Stephen Paterwic for his always most generous sharing of crucial information; and Brother Arnold Hadd, even when pressed for time, for contributing important facts and wonderful stories that shed light on three generations of Shaker brothers. Thanks are also due to Renee Fox, Canterbury Shaker Village Archives for the scan and permission to publish in full the "Release Claim," and Jerry Grant for locating a Shaker manuscript. Last, but not least, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the expert guidance provided by Randall L. and Mary Anne Ericson, editors.
2. Darryl Charles Thompson, "The Story of Brother Ricardo's Song," *American Communal Societies Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 2011): 78.
3. Western Reserve Historical Society, Cathcart Shaker List, Microfilm #123.
4. Eldress Elizabeth Belden. "List of Arrivals, Departures, and Deaths at Hancock, 1893-1943." Bound manuscript notebook, HSV Library Collection, # 5217.
5. Statement given to researcher Otto Jantz on October 21, 1950, at Hancock; see also note 16.
6. "Oral History of Ricardo Belden, et al.," recorded by Bleezarde (?) and Gibbons at Hancock Church Family, May 5, 1952, transcribed by Magda Gabor-Hotchkiss, Hancock Shaker Village Library, # 8834.
7. Thompson, 76; Robert C. Opdahl and Viola Woodruff Opdahl, *A Shaker Musical Legacy*. (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2004), xviii.
8. *Hartford Times*, May 22, 1954, in Otto Jantz Scrapbook, Item #15, Sabbathday Lake, Me., Library collection.
9. Jeannine Lauber, *Chosen Faith, Chosen Land: The Untold Story of America's 21st-Century Shakers* (Down East: Story Productions, 2009), 54.
10. "Oral History of Ricardo Belden, et al."
11. Paterwic, e-mail to author, July 5, 2011; Priscilla Brewer, "Membership Card File," Hancock Shaker Village Library, unpublished manuscript, revised in 1978-1979. Based on this name index, HSV is continually expanding a "List of Hancock Shakers," starting in 2006; Paterwic, e-mail to author, Sep 29, 2011: WRHS, IIIA-3, reel #14.
12. Paterwic, e-mail to author, July 5, 2011.
13. Paterwic, e-mail to author, July 5, 2011.
14. Release claim, Ricardo Belden, May 31, 1910; ECN-L/L Box 4 Folder 4, #370 by kind permission of Renee Fox, Canterbury Shaker Village Archives, who also provided a scan of this document, and a permission to publish same in full.
15. Paterwic, e-mail to author, July 5, 2011.
16. Eldress Elizabeth Belden. "List of Arrivals, Departures, and Deaths at Hancock, 1893-1943."
17. Priscilla J. Brewer, Membership Index, Shaker Museum and Library, Old Chatham, #13,361. The cover and the title page of this journal was missing; thus the museum assigned the title "Record Book of Yearly Membership Lists, 1890-1943 and Visitors,



- 1916-1931, Church Family, Hancock, Massachusetts.” Information kindly provided by Jerry Grant, Director of Research, Shaker Museum and Library, Old Chatham, N.Y., in e-mail, September 28, 2011.
18. “Interview with Brother Arnold Hadd, conducted by Ellen Spear at Sabbathday Lake, Maine, on April 3, 2010,” in *Hancock Shaker Village: 50 years, 1960-2010* ([Pittsfield, Mass.: Hancock Shaker Village, 2010]), 49.
  19. Brother Arnold Hadd, e-mail to author, June 30, 2011.
  20. Deborah E. Burns, *Shaker Cities of Peace, Love, and Union: A History of the Hancock Bishopric* (Hanover and London: University Press, 1993), 168.
  21. Burns, 168.
  22. Amy Bess Miller, *Hancock Shaker Village, The City of Peace: An Effort to Restore a Vision 1960-1985* (Hancock, Mass.: Hancock Shaker Village, 1984), 16.
  23. Christian Goodwillie and John Harlow Ott, *Hancock Shaker Village: A Guidebook and History* (Hancock, Mass.: Hancock Shaker Village, 2011), 112; Miller, 18.
  24. Burns, 191; Goodwillie and Ott, 112; Miller, 16.
  25. Thompson, 77; Jerome Count, *A New Kind of Experience in Work, Leisure and Community Responsibility* (Pittsfield, Mass., n.d.), map on inside cover.
  26. *The Echo* (New Lebanon, N.Y.), July 11, 1972. The Summer Work Camp was founded in 1947. After Mr. Count’s death in 1968, his wife carried on the work for a year, succeeded by Andrew Pollock, who was once a “villager” himself, until at least 1972.
  27. Opdahl and Opdahl, xviii.
  28. Opdahl and Opdahl, xix.
  29. Thompson.
  30. Opdahl and Opdahl, xvi.
  31. “Brother Ricardo Belden recorded at the Hancock Shaker Community by Otto Jantz, October 21, 1950,” Collection of the United Society of Shakers, New Gloucester, Me., issued on a CD accompanying Christian Goodwillie and Jane F. Crosthwaite, eds., *Millennial Praises: A Shaker Hymnal* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009).
  32. “Brother Ricardo Belden recorded at the Hancock Shaker Community by Otto Jantz, October 21, 1950.”
  33. Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 49. *The Shakers* was choreographed to great acclaim in 1931 by Doris Humphrey, a leading pioneer of American modern dance. It was performed repeatedly, as in 1979 by the Louisville Ballet at Shakertown at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky.
  34. Suzanne Youngerman, “The Translation of Culture into Choreography,” in *Essays in Dance Research*, edited by Dianne L. Woodruff (New York: CORD, 1978). Quoted in Schechner, 49.
  35. Robin Evanchuk, “Problems in Reconstructing a Shaker Religious Dance Ritual,” *Journal of the Association of Graduate Dance Ethnologists* 1 (1977-78). Quoted in Schechner, 49.
  36. “Shaker Music in Our Time,” <http://www.americanmusicpreservation.com/shakermusic5.htm>. The song is included on the CD, *Gentle Words*.
  37. According to the Special Collections Library of the Pennsylvania State University Libraries’ “Finding Aid for the 14 Shaker Folk Songs,” this summer camp was known

- as Global-Teens.org and T.E.E.N.S. Summer Project, under the Shaker Village Educational Work Foundation, Inc. The sound disk includes a collection of Shaker folk songs, sung by a chorus of teens. It also includes an introduction by Br. Ricardo Belden and Jerome Count, then director of Shaker Work Group.
38. Edward Deming Andrews, *The People Called Shakers* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1953). For a discussion of Brother Ricardo's reaction to this book, see Mario S. De Pillis and Christian Goodwillie, *Gather Up the Fragments: The Andrews Shaker Collection* (Berkshire, Mass.: Hancock Shaker Village, 2008), 91.
  39. Stu Jamieson, "Foreword," in Opdahl and Opdahl, *A Shaker Musical Legacy*, xvi.
  40. Jamieson, xv, xvi.
  41. Stephen J. Paterwic, e-mail to author, October 6, 2011.
  42. Stephen J. Paterwic, e-mail to author, January 3, 2012.
  43. Brother Arnold Hadd, e-mail about three separate newspapers in Otto Jantz's Scrapbook # 15, in the Sabbathday Lake, Me., Library collection; see also note 6.
  44. Brother Arnold Hadd, e-mail to author, July 8, 2011.
  45. Pat Norman, "Studied Religion 20 years: N. Canton Woman Understands Shakers," in *Canton (Ohio) Repository*, Feb. 27, 1966.
  46. Brother Arnold Hadd, e-mail to author, July 3, 2011.
  47. Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 386 and 512n64 (transcript of oral history interview with Brother Theodore Johnson, May 2, 1985).
  48. Stephen J. Paterwic, e-mail to author, July 5, 2011.
  49. As of this writing, Brother Arnold Hadd is the sole Shaker brother, elder, and trustee; convener of, and contributor to Shaker conferences; author of Shaker articles in their *Shaker Quarterly*; printer; correspondent with and advisor to Shaker aficionados and scholars; bee-keeper; the one in charge of the vegetable gardens and the farm animals, while occasionally also giving tours to the former Shaker mills and still-functioning barns.