Chapter 2 -- Communal Landscapes

Terms like “intentional,” “communal,” “communist,” “utopian,” and “counterculture” have been used to describe the views and behaviors of groups that were or are different from the dominant U.S. and Canadian societies. All these labels are in some ways inaccurate, inadequate, or incomplete but they also capture the sense of “alternative” groups. Although utopia means nowhere, for intentional communities it meant everything, and would eventually be everywhere! By definition all cultures are communities and therefore have communal characteristics, but these alternative groups stress(ed) communal values and behaviors, and indeed, even landscapes, more intensely and thoroughly than the rest of the society.

The broad communal ideals of the United States and Canada are reflected in their respective constitutional mottos: “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” versus “peace, order, and good government.”

Regardless of official ideals, immigrant groups and assimilated groups in North America had very specific religious, social, and economic ideals of their own which they often could not pursue in Europe. All these groups, whether native- or foreign-born, wanted afterall to “do their own thing,” and not “to fit in.” The fundamental choice was and continues to be between the degree of individualism and communalism to achieve “the good life.”

Individualism versus Communalism

As social creatures, humans form many kinds of communities to meet their complex needs and desires. Starting with the Industrial Revolution in Europe and particularly since World War II in the United States, individuals and families have become members of many different kinds of communities. For example, individuals might belong and be active in a local Lutheran Church and the Green Party, bowl with co-workers, participate in block parties with immediate neighbors, be active in the PTA at their children’s school, and be part of numerous blogs, or virtual communities. In contrast, all the individuals and families in intentional societies belong to the same community with its many forms (Figure 2-1). All members of a Shaker village, for example, shared everything with the other members of the community, following a strict and standard set of beliefs and behaviors in religion, education, work, politics, and social activities in similar outdoor and indoor physical settings. Their neighbors were their fellow villagers.

Fundamentally, whereas individualism invariably means diversity of communities in many places, communalism means uniformity of community within one place, sharing beliefs, behaviors, gender roles, religion, and the material and landscape manifestations of these cultural forms. Ultimately, we all live in communal societies, but the degree of diversity versus uniformity of communities differentiates the conventional societies from communal groups.

Wilbur Zelinsky (1992) identifies four pervasive themes for the United States, which are also relevant to Canada, another settler colony cum nation, but not for Mexico which was never informed by these settler ideals. These themes are 1) intense, anarchistic individualism, 2) high value on mobility and change, 3) mechanistic vision, and 4) messianic perfectionism. The early U.S. settlers brought a Protestant religious philosophy with them that was grounded in the assumption that humans were fundamentally evil
(after the Fall in the Garden of Eden) and deserved punishments for their sinful behaviors. The Protestant Ethnic justified the accumulation of wealth by individuals in order to prove to God that they were worthy of salvation.

Figure 2-1. Dimensional differences between individualism and communalism. Source: Ingolf Vogeler.

Individual political and legal rights are paramount in societies that champion individualism. An international study of 56 countries showed the highest scores for individualism were in the USA (91), Australia (90), United Kingdom (89), Canada (80), and Netherlands (80). Officially, individualism is espoused and championed much more in the United States than in Canada; hence, the different scores. As former European family settler colonies, Canada and the United States share more traits of individualism than they do with Mexico, a former European (Spanish) administrative continental colony. A low degree of individualism typifies societies, like Mexico with a score of 30, with strong ties between individuals and extended families and the importance of religion and/or the state (Hofstede 2006). While Zelisky’s four themes are critical to understanding mainstream U.S. culture, two of these ideals -- mechanistic vision and messianic perfectionism -- are also relevant to understanding utopian communities. Despite the dominant individualism of Canada and the United States, experimental utopian communities were and are very much part of North American history and geography.

Erik Dammann (2006), a Norwegian environmentalist, says "that the U.S. must be the hardest country to correct [improve] in the world. Americans are always open to discussing values at a personal level, but when you mention opposition to the system, they think you are a communist." By living their own values the utopian communities, were, of course, challenging the dominant institutions and found themselves not only called communists (many of whom were small “c” communists as the Bible commanded them!) but also were threatened, economically and violently, and, sometimes even, destroyed by hostile individuals and dominant institutions. Nineteenth-century utopian communities in particular and those that have survived today were and are deeply religious. Everything in their lives -- beliefs, behaviors, clothing, occupations, and buildings -- was and is inspired by the Bible. In this chapter we are concerned with only a few of the hundreds of religious and secular intentional communities that have ever existed in the United States; Canada has had far fewer of such communities; and Mexico has had hardly any (except for some Mennonite settlements).

From the beginning of European settlements in Canada and the United States, intentional communities have existed. Although never numerically as dominant as individual and family units, strongly-knit ethnic and religious intentional groups sought similar goals: freedom of religion, freedom from persecution, and freedom to experiment socially and economically in a new land. The appeal of “freedom” in the settler empires by mainstream and intentional groups had very different expression in behavior and in the built environment. As early as 1862, William Penn used a British land grant to create the Pennsylvania Colony to assure religious freedom for himself and his fellow Quakers. English and German Quakers, Mennonites, Moravian Brethren, and various German Anabaptists settled in Penn’s colony.

In this chapter we focus on communal groups that live(d) in spatially concentrated and contiguous rural areas, not widely scattered across the countryside like majority rural individualist social groups. The residential and farm buildings of utopian groups are arranged in distinctive forms: 1) compact linear villages (Old Order Mennonites in Manitoba), 2) square villages (pioneer Mormons), 3) nucleated villages (Amana, Shakers, Oneida, Hutterites, Communes), and 4) concentrated farmsteads (Amish, Old Order Mennonites in Ontario). Pioneer Mormons in the
nineteenth century also formed intentional communities, but over time as their religion became mainstreamed, they gave up most of their distinctive communal traits and are thus discussed in chapter 3, Religious Landscapes.

Communal groups can be classified into socially weaker and stronger ones depending on the compactness and shape of their settlement patterns. The Mennonites in Manitoba share a common language, ethnicity, and religion, and live in short compact linear villages. Within these linear villages, each family lives on its own farmstead, indicating relatively weaker community ties than in nucleated intentional communities. Ironically, although the Old Order Amish in Canada and the United States live in scattered individual farmsteads, they are one of the most tightly-knit religious and social rural communities, sharing German ethnicity, language, diet, Anabaptist form of Christianity, and nineteenth-century technology. Because they use horse-and-buggies to attend Sunday church services at their (rotating) neighbors, they must live close to each other, resulting in compact and uniform cultural landscapes even though they have scattered settlement patterns.

Communal property groups have had and continue to have the most compact settlement patterns, illustrated by extinct groups such as the Shakers, Oneida, and Amana, and contemporary groups like the Hutterites and communes. Common-property groups represent the strongest communal types, based heavily on shared religious and/or secular beliefs and practices even though they do not always share common ethnic and language backgrounds. The communes from the late 1960s were the most varied in their goals, justifications, practices, and landscape forms. Communal groups are also differentiated by their housing arrangements, individual versus communal (Figures 2-).

For religious communal groups gender roles and marriage types are based on different interpretations of the Bible, arriving at an amazing variety of strikingly different results. Traditional or unequal male-female relations are commonly expressed in monogamous marriages, illustrated by the Amana, Amish, and Hutterite. Only the pioneer Mormons practiced polygamous marriages. In the Oneida community each man was married to each woman, what they called “complex marriage.” On the other extreme, the Shakers did not believe in marriage and sex but women and men lived together in shared communities (Figure 2-).

Communal societies are grouped into extinct and current ones. Only a few examples of the most distinctive intentional groups that are now extinct are discussed: Shakers, Oneida, and Amana. The cultural landscape features of these intentional communities are stressed in this chapter and their religious, economic, and social organizations are mentioned as they relate to and explain the landscape forms.

Except for some of the 1960s communes, intentional communities have been largely and continue to be deeply Christian in their justification for their particular beliefs and practices. Over 600 different communitarian groups have existed, mostly in the United States and much less so in Canada. During the middle- to late-nineteenth century, an extraordinary number and variety of such groups formed. Examples of some of the less-known groups are the Ephrata (1735-1765) in Lancaster, Pennsylvania; New
Jerusalem in Yates County, New York (1796-1819); Pilgrims in the Arkansas Territory (1817-1826); New Harmony, Indiana (1814-1824); Brook Farm (1843-1846); Columbian Phalanx in Zanesville, Ohio, and Wisconsin Phalanx in Southport, Wisconsin, two of 13 Fourierist colonies (1843-1850); and Icaria in Nauvoo, Illinois (1848-1858). As California became a destination for westward migration, utopian groups located there as well. Religious groups included Fountain Grove in Santa Rosa (1885-1934), Point Loma (1897-1942), Pisgah Grande, and Temple Grove, Icaria-Speranza in Cloverdale (1881-1886); and secular groups such as Kaweah near Visalia (1885), Altruria in San Francisco (1894), Joyful, Llano del Río in Los Angeles (1914-1935), and Army of Industry in Auburn, California (1914-1918). Elsewhere, Sunrise Community in southern Michigan (1933-1936) and Koinonia in Americus, Georgia (1942-), formed (Fogarty 1972).

During the twentieth century, in sharp contrast, only a few of the earlier intentional communities have persisted and only one new form of such groups has emerged, the communes of the late 1960s, albeit much more modest in numbers. The emphasis in communes was on self exploration and freedom in life styles; and fluidity of personal, social, and economic relations was highly valued. The communes were a revolt against mass culture, consumerism, technocratic society, and the Vietnam War; consequently, a wide range of alternative live styles were embraced. Altered consciousness was pursued with alternative religions (Tibetan Buddhism, Hinduism, and Native American) and natural and psychedelic drugs (cannabis, peyote mushrooms, and LSD). Counterculture festivals such as the famous Summer of Love in San Francisco (1967) and Woodstock (1969) publicized the arrival of a “New Era.” Rejection of prudish sexual norms ushered in the “Sexual Revolution.” Regardless of their origins, all communal groups shared with the dominant U.S. culture confidence in human progress and perfectibility. Some of the most interesting and influential intentional communities in North America are considered in this chapter.

Part I. Shaker Landscapes (1792-1962)

The United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, or The Millennial Church, were originally pejoratively called Shakers because they were a dissenting Quaker group which worshipped in ecstatic forms (by dancing, whirling, shaking, leaping, and even collapsing, see Figure 2-I). They were the largest and most widely spread of the nineteenth-century religious communalist groups in North America. Although Ann Lee, the founder, and her group of dissenting Quakers founded an intentional community in Manchester, England, in 1747, only a handful of Shakers immigrated to the British Colony. By 1786 they had established the first settlement in New Lebanon, New York. The Shakers were part of the Great Awakening (1730s and 1740s) and religious fervor in the middle of the Revolutionary War, when humanity seemed to be on the brink of judgment day and eternity. By 1861, 19 colonies from Massachusetts to Mississippi had been built, housing about 6,000 members. The South Union, Kentucky, Shaker village attracted ex-slaveholders who had freed their slaves and 40 ex-slaves. Black Shakers were integrated in northern villages too (Morse 1971). Eventually Shaker villages were scattered from Maine to Indiana and Kentucky and south to Florida (Figure 2-I-map). By 1891, the society contained 17,000 members. For nearly 200 years, a total of 70,000 Shakers lived in these villages. Only one community of four persons (in 2006) survives in Sabbathday, Maine. Despite their own strict rules, the Shakers were defenders of civil rights, tolerance, justice, and free speech. They
defended the Oneida practice of religious communistic love, even though this contradicted their own rule of celibacy.

They believed in a community of men and women with equality for both in worship and administration, and yet the sexes were separated from each other most of the time. At common "union" meetings men and women sat across from each other without touching to discuss religious, social, and community affairs. Although men and women lived in the same large, dormitory-like buildings, they were strictly separated by entrances, staircases, and walls. Men used doors on the east-end; women used west doors. Each residential building constituted a “family,” and each Shaker village had four or five such families. Men and women worked at separate tasks, usually in separate buildings, and ate at separate tables in silence. The paths between buildings in the villages were only one-person wide so that the men and women could not touch each other as they passed (Figure 2- ).

Mother Lee and her followers believed that she was the female incarnation of the male Christ and as such the Shakers believed in a unique set of Christian ideals: non-violence (as pacifists they never fought in the Civil War -- President Lincoln granted them exemption from the draft); common ownership of all property, equality of the sexes, simplicity, and celibacy. Because Anne Lee thought herself punished for her own sexuality because of the early deaths of her four children, sex was considered sinful, indeed, the root of all human troubles. Celibacy was required of all members. Contrary to common myths, celibacy itself did not “doom” their social experiment, after all Roman Catholic monasteries and nunneries persist today. The Shakers attracted new members by taking in widows and their children, children from families who could not feed them, orphans, and anybody who wanted to join them, including “Winter Shakers” who were housed and fed through the winter but then left in the Spring. Only about one or two children out of ten remained as Shakers.

They glorified God with simplicity and discipline. The right-side was used first in all things: getting out of bed, walking, cutting hair, harnessing horses, and so on. No diagonals were allowed: straight foot paths; slept straight in bed; cloth and food were cut straight. Lack of ornamentation and simplicity meant no pictures, music, poetry, or novels. Shaker buildings and furnishings were famous for their simple and functional designs during the Victorian era when houses and furniture were ornate. Their chairs and oval wooden boxes fetch high prices at auctions today, to the horror of the plain Shakers. Some families and many members of all families were vegetarians -- pork, alcohol, wines, smoking tobacco, and usually tea and coffee were prohibited.

The members of Shaker villages were native-born and from many different religious and ethnic backgrounds, similar to the early Mormons and communes. They lacked the ethnic-language uniformity of other intentional communities, such as the Germanic Amish, Amana, and Hutterites.

Their philosophy to ”put your hands to work, and give your hearts to God” resulted in a very creative and socially helpful behavior towards their own members and to outsiders as well. They invented numerous labor-saving devices that later benefited non-Shakers: common clothespins, water-repellent cloth, apple parers, pea shellers, round ovens, conical...
stoves, improved wood stoves, improved washing machines, circular saws, and threshing machines. The Shakers applied their technical skills designing round barns and practiced intensive agriculture (Figure 2-I-). Many Shaker communities raised high-quality seeds, breeding stock, high-quality chairs, boxes, brushes, and brooms for the market.

Figure 2-I-. The famous round dairy barn; other barns are rectangular with gable roofs. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

The Hancock Shaker village in Pittsfield, Massachusetts illustrates the layout of all Shaker villages. It is the third oldest Shaker village, having at its peak 300 people in the 1830s with six communal families. In 1961 this historic site with 20 original buildings on 1,200 acres was opened to the public. Each year about 75,000 visitors come to this village to “experience” the Shaker way of life. The village buildings and their interiors have been restored and provide insight into the material culture of Shaker life. Figure 2-I- shows the typical layout of this communal village. Farm buildings and workshops are located on north end of the village (Figure 2-I- ) and domestic buildings and land uses, including vegetable and herbal gardens, are at the south end. “Sisters” and “brethrens” workshops are clearly indicated (Figure 2-I- ). The large “brick dwelling” housed the men and women (Figure 2-I- ) and across the street are the communal gathering places: meeting house (Figure 2-I-), ministry shop, school, and cemetery. Shaker churches were plain buildings lacking spires; Ann Lee referred to conventional churches as “the devil’s steeple-houses” (Morse 1971).

Figure 2-I-. The round barn, sisters’ dairy and weave shop, and the red-brick dwelling house for sleeping. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-I-. The icehouse for milk, vegetables, and meats. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
Figure 2-I. Layout of the Hancock Shaker village. Source: Hancock Shaker Village 2003.

Figure 2-I. The brethren’s workshop. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-I. The shared but separately accessed sleeping quarters for men and women. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
Figure 2-1 . The meeting house, separate doors for men and women. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Many people in the dominant society are curious about utopian groups, but mostly from afar, often tempered by fear and even hatred. Outsiders were intrigued by the Shaker way of life, particularly their religious practices. Many were interested enough to visit them when they existed and later as historic sites. The Shakers have had profound influences on other intentional communities. John Noyes credited the Shakers for inspiring the Oneida community. Shakers were forerunners of the Owenites. Robert Owen, a British industrialist, bought the Rappites’ community at Harmony, Indiana (consisting of 30,000 acres, 19 farms, and a village), to create a workers’ paradise -- the first non-religious utopia in the United States (Fogarty 1972). And yet, they and other utopian groups suffered from verbal and physical attacks by their neighborhoods, other religious groups, and even political figures, despite expecting acceptance and tolerance for the ways of the dominant society.

Part II. Perfectionist Landscapes (1848-1880)

Many intentional communities formed in the religious revival movements set in the “burned-over district” of western New York, among them were the Shakers, Owenites, Fourierists, Mormons, Millerites, and the Perfectionists.

The Perfectionists practiced what John Humphrey Noyes, its founder, called Bible Communism, a return to the primitive apostolic Christian church. Since selfishness was undesirable, all claims of “mine and thine” were renounced, in both property and persons. In 1848 Noyes and 87 other members purchased 40 acres and house near Oneida in northern New York. In the next couple of years they established branches in Brooklyn and Wallingford, Connecticut. In 1874 the Oneida and Wallingford communities (members at Brooklyn had moved to Oneida) consisted of 219 adults, about 20 percent more women than men, and 64 children; about 270 hired farm laborers, fruit pickers, and workers in the shops, including 35 women and girls in the silk mill at Wallingford; and a considerable number of domestic servants.

The Community made steel chains, traps, canned fruits, and vegetables; and manufactured sewing thread and embroidery silk. The invention of animal traps for the fur trade eventually became the most profitable of their manufacturing enterprises, before they took up silver-plated tableware which continues as a private corporation today. They also sold farm crops and cattle, fruits, vegetables, jellies and jams; made furniture; raised and wove silk and wool; made traveling bags and matchboxes; ran a saw mill and blacksmith shop. In 1873 they sold over $300,000 worth of produce and manufactured goods; they had become a prosperous community for the times.

The Oneida utopian community was and still is best known for its revolutionary rights and roles for women, manifested in several profoundly unique beliefs and practices.

1) To avoid the “selfish ownership” of love and marriage, single marriage was replaced by complex marriage. Based on deeply held Christian beliefs, they pooled their affections and property under God. All material property -- land, buildings, furnishings, livestock, tools, and savings -- were owned in common and available for all. Emotionally and sexually, every man was the husband of every woman; every woman was the wife of every man. Really wicked behavior was romantic attachment to one person: “selfish love.” In complex marriage, sex between men and women was scheduled and recorded to assure that no
favoritism occurred. Sexual intercourse had several functions: social cohesion, pleasure, and procreation. The idea that sexual intercourse should be separated from reproduction is still foreign to many Christians today. The outside world called it "free love" while ignoring the religious basis for their behavior. Noyes said that two very good ideas, freedom and love, were cited in terrible combination. In fact, celibacy had been practiced in the beginning because the community could not support a growing number of members.

2) **Male continence** was also practiced, for the benefit of women to prevent unwanted pregnancies. Men were expected to control themselves in sexual intercourse until woman had one or more orgasms; then withdraw without ejaculation. Men were trained by post-menstrual women to satisfy women without ejaculating. Masturbation was also prohibited. The community practiced birth control and was committed to the sexual pleasure of women -- most extraordinary for the mid-nineteenth century and even today.

3) **Children** (up to 12 years) lived in separate houses or wings of the main house and were cared for by specialists, not by their biological parents, which freed mothers in particular from child rearing duties and so allowed them to develop their intellectual and physical talents. Learning was highly valued. Adults read to children in the evenings. Children were encouraged to attend universities, e.g., 13 men studied at Yale University and later returned to the community to share their new knowledge.

4) To relieve women of **food preparation**, "the worst kind of slavery," only one hot meal, breakfast, was served each day. Cold or hot food, depending on the cooks in charge on a particular day, was available on a self-service basis for the other two meals. Most of the people in the community were vegetarians. They drank tea and coffee, but not alcohol, and did not use tobacco.

5) Women wore **shortened dresses** and **trousers** under them. While men wore plain, conventional clothing, women wore skirts to the knee, long trousers, and less underwear such as corsets, corset covers, petticoats, ruffled pantaloons, and bustles than was common in the Victorian era.

6) Women cut their **hair short** to save time and trouble and discourage vanity. “Bobbing” only first appeared in the dominant society during the Roaring 1920s.

7) Women were encouraged and mostly did share equally in all **manual labor** -- farm and crafts -- which changed each month to prevent boredom and develop multiple skills.

The outside world had stereotypes about the Oneida community, particularly about their sexual practices which were of greater interest than their communal living, working, and property arrangements.

**Myth 1:** **members distributed themselves by lot at bedtime.** Men and women scheduled sex with each other with a committee which recorded each encounter to assure that no favoritism resulted. Older and more spiritual people were preferred for sex and mating.

**Myth 2:** **they all slept in one big bed.** Sex between men and women was conducted in separate rooms off the main parlor. And afterwards each person slept in their own bed and room.

**Myth 3:** **the children did not know their parents.** Children did know who their parents were and they visited their parents several times a week. Children were raised together by experienced and interested women.

The sexual practices of the Oneida were not just a curiosity but deeply despised by outside religious and secular groups. Intolerance by the outside world created division in the community. By 1873, the Perfectionists were accused of sinning, rape, adultery, and demands were made in colleges, newspapers, and pulpits throughout New York that their “immoralities” should stop. In 1879, Noyes argued that "complex marriage" should be abandoned and in 1880, a joint-stock company, the Oneida Community Ltd., was formed in which each member received shares (Morse 1971). About 220 members continued to conduct business in silverware, chairs, and silk thread. Ironically, today’s brides select Oneida silverware without knowing that in the Oneida community, group marriage was practiced. Despite their persecution and short-lived existence, the Oneida community was the most revolutionary intentional community that ever existed in North America.

The cultural landscape of the Perfectionists was simple: **one large mansion** for the members (Figure 2-I- ) and work buildings for their farming and industrial products. For about 30 years the Oneida “family” lived in one large red-brick mansion with many wings divided into rooms and an underground passage to the children’s house. The Perfectionists worked, learned, and played together, but they slept in very small separate
bedrooms; while the Shakers, on the other hand, who also worked and worshiped together, albeit separated by sex, slept in gender separated communal dormitories.

Each evening the Great Hall was used for practical and religious lectures by members and outsiders, plays for adults and children, concerts, and dancing (Figure 2-I-). Public criticism among members for self-improvement, what they called the "law of love," was expressed in community meetings in the Great Hall. On Sundays, the hall was also used to entertain outsiders (sometimes, over 1,000) who were curious about the community. They were only charged for the food that they consumed: strawberries and cream were a favorite.

At Oneida, socializing occurred in comfortable sitting rooms and lounges for conversation, music, and arranged sex (Figure 4-I-). The reading room and library allowed members to develop their intellectual abilities. The library held the subscriptions of over 100 journals and newspapers and many books. Children had their own library. Because they only worked about 6.5 hours, they read, discussed, and socialized a great deal indoors and outdoors in the gardens.
Part III. Amana Landscapes (1842-1932)

The Community of True Inspiration, later called the Amana community, was formed in Germany in 1714. By 1842, 800 members of the society had immigrated to rural areas near Buffalo, New York, and in adjacent Ontario. Here they built six villages (Middle, Upper, Lower, and New Ebenezer; and two villages in nearby Ontario). Trying to avoid persecution and urbanization, the Amana community of 1,200 sought freedom and isolation on the westward agricultural frontier in the new state of Iowa in 1855. Over the next five years they built another seven villages on either side the Iowa River, twenty miles from Iowa City (Figure 2-III- ): Amana (1855), West Amana and South Amana (1856), High Amana (1857), East Amana (1860), and Middle Amana and Homestead (1861). Villages were located an hour apart by ox. Eventually the colonies held 26,000 acres of land. A mill run and a woolen mill were built in Amana in 1857. After the Shakers, the Amana colonies were one of the longest lasting, most successful of the extinct communal societies. They survived for 90 years, until 1932.

They believed that the only way to find salvation was by studying and following Biblical scriptures. Their communal ownership of property, production, and consumption was considered divinely revealed. Under communalism, all property (houses, furniture, land, livestock, and tools) were held in common. Travelers commented that the Amana villages were

Figure 2-III-. The seven Amana villages. Source: Maps Google 2005 with added labels.
not concerned with aesthetics: houses, fences, and barns were unpainted and streets were unpaved. But women did grow flowers.

The Amana and the Amish are not related, except that each group has German-language origins and shared strict biblical interpretations of the Bible. The Amana were property and social communalists, or Christian communists; the Amish were and continue to be private property owners and have nuclear family units.

**Settlement Pattern**

Similar to villages in Germany, Amana villages are located at the interface between different environments: lowlands are used for pasture and hay; and uplands, for crops and timber products. Figure 2-2 cross section shows that High Amana is located between the 730- and 750-feet contours, above the Iowa River Valley, and the barns are concentrated at lower elevations from the houses. The fields lie above the 750-feet elevation and the forest cover starts at 800 feet.

*Figure 2-III-1. Cross-section of High Amana. Source: Ingolf Vogeler.*

The topographic map of High Amana illustrates the general principles of how human settlements reflect elevational and environmental conditions (Figure 2-2). The map shows the location of houses, water tower, meeting hall, cemetery, and barns, but not other distinctive settlement features such as communal kitchens, bakeries, and smoke houses. On topographic maps, houses are shown as solid black squares or rectangles and outbuildings, or barns, as outlined squares or rectangles. Religious buildings, regardless of denomination and even religion, are designated with crosses, by the USGS, and cemeteries likewise are marked with large crosses within enclosed shapes. Inconsistently, water towers are identified by both solid black circles and labels (WT, water tower).

*Figure 2-III-2. The topographic close-up of High Amana shows the distinctive settlement patterns of all Amana villages. Source: Middle Amana Quad 1:24,000.*

**Barns**

The “plain” Amana settlers believed in equality of material and spiritual matters; hence, their communal ownership of all land was reflected in the clustering of the farm buildings as well as their houses. In all Amana villages, barns are grouped at the edge of the villages at lower elevations than the houses. In High Amana, the topographic map shows that barns are grouped together on the south side of the village, nearest to the pasture and hay fields in the Iowa River Valley (Figure 2-III-2). Barns were not originally painted, unlike non-Amana neighbors. Barns were used for...
horses, dairy cows, beef cattle, sheep, hogs, and hay. Wagons of all sorts and carriages were parked near the barns. Both their agricultural and woolen enterprises assured their self-reliance and resulted in surpluses sold to outsiders.

In all Amana villages, the multi-family houses were clustered together in the center of the village. The large residences housed several families in apartments. Two or three chimneys on the main parts of the houses were used for heating the individual family units. Distinctive architectural details on the houses include sandstone foundations and walls or brick walls, return gables, 9-pane-over-6 pane windows (copied from New York where they initially settled in the United States). Houses had grape and fruit tree trellises attached to south-facing walls (Figure 2-III- ). In contrast to other German utopian groups, the Amana consumed wine and brewed their own beer. All houses once had free-standing washhouses and wood sheds. Tobacco was raised and made into cigars for local use (Zug 1975). Because families ate together, some houses had one-story kitchens and eating wings, which kept smells and fire hazards away from living quarters. The colonies once had 50 communal kitchens feeding from 30 to 40 people each, only one survives today. Men and women ate in silence at separate tables.

In back of each communal kitchen was a chicken shed and a large vegetable garden to feed the families and for selling surplus. For example, in one season gardens shipped up to 800 sacks of onions to Chicago (Zug 1975). Girls and women did the gardening, supervised by the “kitchen lady,” and a “handy man” would do the heavier work of wood splitting for the kitchen fire, preparing the soil in the spring, and carrying the harvested vegetables. Unpainted board fences enclosed vegetable gardens with raised beds. Each village had a male broom-maker and an apiary for honey.

**Houses, Communal Kitchen, and Gardens**

In all Amana villages, the multi-family houses were clustered together in the center of the village. The large residences housed several families in apartments. Two or three chimneys on the main parts of the houses were used for heating the individual family units. Distinctive architectural details on the houses include sandstone foundations and walls or brick walls, return gables, 9-pane-over-6 pane windows (copied from New York where they initially settled in the United States). Houses had grape and fruit tree trellises attached to south-facing walls (Figure 2-III- ). In contrast to other German utopian groups, the Amana consumed wine and brewed their own beer. All houses once had free-standing washhouses and wood sheds. Tobacco was raised and made into cigars for local use (Zug 1975). Because families ate together, some houses had one-story kitchens and eating wings, which kept smells and fire hazards away from living quarters. The colonies once had 50 communal kitchens feeding from 30 to 40 people each, only one survives today. Men and women ate in silence at separate tables.

In back of each communal kitchen was a chicken shed and a large vegetable garden to feed the families and for selling surplus. For example, in one season gardens shipped up to 800 sacks of onions to Chicago (Zug 1975). Girls and women did the gardening, supervised by the “kitchen lady,” and a “handy man” would do the heavier work of wood splitting for the kitchen fire, preparing the soil in the spring, and carrying the harvested vegetables. Unpainted board fences enclosed vegetable gardens with raised beds. Each village had a male broom-maker and an apiary for honey.

**Bakeries and Smoke Houses**

The Amana colonists brought with them their food habits from Germany: baked breads, fresh and smoked meats, sausages, fruits, wine, and beer. Each Amana village had a bakery, only one is still operating, and a smoke house, only a couple unused ones still remain (Figure 2- ).
Meeting Halls and Cemeteries

Each Amana village had a centrally-located meeting house for religious services where men and women sat on different sides of the building. As befits a “plain” Christian people, these structures had no steeples, stained-glass windows, crosses, and religious icons inside and outside. These meeting halls are only discernable from houses by their elongated shapes, larger windows, and lack of communal kitchen wings (Figure 2-III). Yet, the topographic maps show these building with crosses! Only a few meeting halls are still used for religious services. The one in West Amana today offers services in German, the original language of the Amana settlers, and English. Unlike the Shakers, the Amana allowed the singing of hymns. Sunday schools were established in each village only in 1931. The colonies had no ministers, similar to the Amish and Hutterites.

All villages also had fenced-off cemeteries on the edge of the settlements. Reflecting the communal values of the Amana society, tombstones were simple and uniform, listing only the person’s name, date of death, age of death in years, months, and days. In this communal society, dead people were buried in single graves; hence, husbands and wives were rarely buried together (Figure 2-III). Elsewhere in the United States, husbands and wives are listed on single tombstones and buried side-by-side.

On 1 June 1932, the Amana experiment was terminated. A disastrous fire had destroyed the flour and woolen mills in Amana and orders for woolen goods and farm produce were being canceled during the Great Depression. Young people were leaving the community to find jobs. The religious and economic life of the community was separated into the Amana Church and the Amana Society Corporation, which farmed the land and operated the remaining businesses. Individual families now worked for wages, individualize their homes, and cooked their own meals. A high-school was built for the remaining children. The heritage of practicality and industrialism of the Amana settlers continues today through the Amana Refrigeration Company, one of the leading manufacturers of domestic appliances in the United States, the Amana Furniture Shop, and the Amana Woolen Mill.
Despite the demise of the Amana colonies, they have become the most popular tourist attraction in Iowa with 1.5 million visitors yearly. This is particularly ironic because they practiced a form of communistic and anti-individualistic Christianity so foreign and alien to most people in the United States with their anti-communist attitudes. As the oldest and largest village, Amana has 40 tourist services, or 30 percent of all such services in the seven colonies, including restaurants, lodging (mainly bed and breakfasts), historic sites, craft demonstrations, wineries, and gift shops. All the other villages, except East Amana, have only a few such services.

Amana and Shaker villages provide ideal historic sites for ethnic tourism. While visitors can see houses, barns, craft demonstrations, and learn about communalism, they can never, and probably would never have wanted to, actually experience communal religious living. Secular and religious individualism contrasts dramatically with religious communalism. Ultimately we can not experience the past, but only the shadows of the past, let alone forms of social organization so different from our own, which probably accounts for the appeal of these historic, and thus safe, communal communities. In sharp contrast to other utopian communities, the remote and scattered villages of the Hutterites in the Great Plains and Prairie Provinces are not tourist attractions. Visiting these villages requires long drives in low-populated areas with few tourist services.

We now turn to nineteenth-century intentional groups that have survived until today: Amish and Hutterites.

Part IV. Amish Landscapes (1727-today)

In the 1690s the Amish represented one of many Swiss Anabaptist groups who had been severely persecuted by the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches and national and local governments. William Penn, a Quaker, invited the Amish and Mennonites, both Anabaptists, to his Colony and they arrived in Pennsylvania from Switzerland as early as 1727. The spread of Amish settlements westward followed the settlement history of North America.

Today the Amish reside in close-knit communities in 22 states of the United States as well as in Ontario, Canada. About 250,000 Old Order Amish, who double in numbers every 25 years, currently live in the United States. About 80 percent of all Amish church districts are located in three states: Ohio, 55,000; Pennsylvania, 47,000; and Indiana, 37,000. They are concentrated in northeastern Ohio, particularly in Holmes County; southeastern Pennsylvania, in Lancaster County, and northeastern Indiana, focused on La Grange County. Other major concentrations are found in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota (Figure 2-IV-1). Several thousand live in southern Ontario, Canada (in Wellington County). In the last 20 years as property taxes, farmland prices, and suburban contestation have increased in the older Amish communities, new communities have been formed in more isolated, lower-value farmland areas, such as in northern Ontario, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.
They believe that God's work must be done in every day life which is reflected by their world view, religious and social practices, and technology -- all of which are rooted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Amish avoid devices and machines using rubber tires and power-line electricity and are slow in changing their cultural and material values and practices. Conservative Amish are slower to change than liberal ones, but they all have changed their assessment of allowable technology. The degree of strictness to traditional practices differentiates conservative from more liberal Amish communities. Stephen Scott and Kenneth Pellman (1999) provide a comprehensive list of changes in household and farm technology used by various Amish communities, from conservative to liberal. For example, until the 1860s they used candles, then kerosene lamps until the 1940s, and then pressure lamps until the 1950s, and today flashlights.

Cultural and religious stability is a virtue, and strong social conformity is enforced. Members who do not follow the rules of the group are shunned (not spoken to) to force them to conform; dissenters may even be expelled from the group. The more “worldly” Mennonites do not shun.

The Amish lack formal religious structures, such as churches or even meeting halls; instead, they meet every other Sunday in a member's house. Sundays are for church and visiting only -- necessary chores, however, are done, such as milking and feeding livestock. Although they have a religious hierarchy of bishops, ministers, and deacons, they have no full-time, paid clergy.

In all Amish communities, gender distinctions between men and women are strong: women do the housework, tend the gardens, and care for the children; men do the barn and field work and are leaders in communities. Because no family planning is practiced, large families of eight or more are common. Married men have beards but not mustaches as a reaction to the military men in Europe who wore mustaches. Unmarried men are clean shaven. Some Amish use hooks and eyes on dress coats; others use buttons, but not zippers. Some Amish use only one-strap suspender; others use two straps to hold up their pants.

Amish communities are small, from 30-40 households, and are spatially compact resulting in distinctive cultural landscapes. Landscape evidence comes in subtle and obvious forms. In large Amish communities, their presence can be identified by the marks of wheels and manure on gravel and paved roads and by the absence of electricity and “humming” in overhead wires.

The oldest Amish settlements are located in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. About 25 different Amish, Mennonite, and Brethren church groups have different interpretations of the Bible and thus have slightly different practices. Amish farmsteads are large and substantial in the Mid-Atlantic. The long-established farm houses are built of either brick or stone and barns are constructed of field stones (Figure 2-IV- ). Cemeteries have a high density of small, plain, and uniform tombstones (Figure 2-IV- ).
The large numbers of Amish in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, attracts thousands of tourists each year to shops, restaurants, and even occasionally to guided tours conducted by the “worldly” Mennonites (Figure 2-IV-1).

Old Order Amish in northeastern Ohio

The Amish landscape of northeastern Ohio is extensive and striking. Well-kept farmsteads with large houses, functional hay barns, and vegetable gardens are set among pastureland, fields of hay and crops. Nineteenth-century farm machinery and horses are used in agriculture (Figure 2-IV-2). The Amish continue the threshing bee tradition while other farmers have long ago replaced community shared labor with individual combines (Figure 2-IV-3). Amish families are as self-sufficient as possible but they usually sell some products: milk, vegetables, eggs, honey, quilts, and furniture. In addition, they frequently operate wood product factories. They do not use banks and credit cards and pay cash for all purchases, even when buying farmland. When they need to buy farms for the next generation, they generally out bid outsiders because they need to keep their members within a horse ride of each other for Sunday worship.
Figure 2-IV- . An Old Order Amish farmstead with a large hay barn and shocked wheat in Holmes County. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-IV- . Amish farmers continue to use nineteenth-century agricultural equipment today. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-IV- . At threshing bees, Amish men help each other with labor and equipment while Amish women prepare and serve hot meals. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Large extended families live in single-family houses, frequently with additions or even with separate smaller houses for parents and other relatives (Figure 2-IV- ). The Amish take care of their elderly population.

Figure 2-IV- . An Old Order Amish farmstead with multiple additions for large families and extended family members in Holmes County. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Canadian and U.S. courts have ruled that they do not have to pay social security taxes, but they do pay local property taxes. Houses are plain in
design, without electricity, telephones, or central heating. Modesty is expressed by dark-colored (black or dark blue) curtains and clothing. In Holmes County, Ohio, some Amish families use solar panels to produce electricity and also use natural gas for cooking while not using power-line electricity.

Highway signs identify the presence of Amish black-colored, horse-drawn carriages with steel-rimmed wheels. Carriages are used to go shopping, visiting, and attending church meetings. Older Order Amish do not use rubber-tired vehicles, be it autos, tractors, or wagons, although some horse-drawn carriages have rubber coated wheels. Amish can ride in cars driven by non-Amish. And tractors on blocks are used as power sources, as are internal combustion engines on horse-drawn bailers, for example. Horses are used for all farm work and carriages.

**Old Order Amish in northeastern Indiana**

The Nappanee area of northeastern Indiana has another large concentration of traditional Amish. Although horse-drawn equipment is used to plow, cut hay, and harvest winter wheat (Figure 2-IV-), the Amish communities have adjusted to economic conditions in unique ways. A large number of Amish men ride bikes with rubber tires to factory jobs either to wood working factories operated by the Amish themselves or to RV factories operated by the "English" (Figure 2-IV-). In fact, northern Indiana is the RV capital of the USA. Because many of the Amish in the Nappanee work principally in factories rather than on their own farms, they spend their incomes on new houses with plastic fences and small barns (Figure 2-IV-). The Amish with very little acreage rent their land to the "English."
Many Amish men work in RV factories in Nappanee, allowing them to build large, new houses without barns. The absence of electrical lines and the horse-and-buggy are strikingly Old Order Amish. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Amish schools and are operated and staffed by the Amish community. They are within walking distance of Amish children, and like their houses, have no electricity. Schooling stops with grade school. Unlike the Oneida community, the Amish do not consider “higher” education necessary for a life of simplicity and traditional ways. New and well-maintained schools are also evident (Figure 2-IV-).

Telephones are also common here, but only in locked booths away from houses (to avoid temptation for “idle” gossip); sometimes, telephones are allowed in barns or workshops (Figure 2-IV-). Among the Nappanee Amish, propane gas is allowed and used to run refrigerators, engines, lights, etc. This is a major deviation from other Amish communities in the rest of the USA. But some things stay the same: large kitchen gardens, often with lots of flowers (Figure 2-IV-); Germanic surnames on mail boxes; and horses for farm work and transportation.

Occasionally, Mennonite families operate country stories for the surrounding Amish and Mennonite families. The most distinctive aspects of the merchandise are a variety of dry goods, bulk foods, and large packages of brand foods, such as Jell-O (Figure 2-IV-).

The Amish are plain people in life and death. In the Borkholder cemetery, the tombstones are uniform and modest -- without quotations from the Bible and family afflictions. Only a few Germanic surnames, e.g., Yoder, predominate among the Amish (Figure 2-IV-).
Figure 2-IV-. Amish farmsteads have large, well-kept vegetable gardens. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-IV-. Mennonite-run store in Nappanee. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-IV-. An Amish cemetery with a close-up of one tombstone in Nappanee. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

The center of tourism in this Amish region is Shipshewana, Indiana, with over 100 tourist-related shops which are closed on Sundays, reflecting the Mennonite-Amish tradition. Like other ethnic and natural tourist places, the original attraction of the distinctive Amish way of life and landscape has now been “lost” among the unrelated attractions and activities (Figure 2- IV). The Menno-Hof museum educates visitors on the history and differences between the Amish, Mennonites, and Hutterites. On a much smaller scale, nearby Nappanee and Goshen, Indiana, also promote “Amish tourism.”

**Old Order Amish and Mennonites in southern Ontario**

The Amish and Mennonites went their own ways after the 1850s; the Amish isolated themselves from the world and the Mennonites involved themselves with the world. Old Order Mennonites, who are most like the Old Order Amish, also live in rural areas, or separate from the Amish, as in southern Manitoba, or among them as in southern Ontario. Most liberal Mennonites live and work “in the world,” mostly in cities. In 2002, approximately 20,000 Old Order Mennonite members lived in 150 congregations in the United States and Canada, including 3,000 members in Ontario, Canada (Source: Wenger 2006).
Old Order Mennonites are similar to Old Order Amish, both in practice and theology. They have distinctive forms of dress, frequently drive horse buggies, and may not have electricity. The avoidance of technologies by Old Order Mennonites and Old Order Amish is based not on a belief that the technology is evil, but over a concern of the cohesiveness of their communities. Energy sources, machinery, and practices are rejected if they are deemed to adversely affect community solidarity. Old Order Amish are stricter in their interpretations than Old Order Mennonites who will use electricity, for example, in their milking barns to comply with regulations for cooling milk but not in their houses. Both groups are concerned with *plainness* which regulates their clothing of plain dresses, pants, bonnets, and straw hats. Some Old Order Mennonites own cars but require that they be black without chrome, whereas mainstream Mennonites have no restriction on car colors. Unlike the Old Order Amish, Old Order Mennonites have meeting houses where they worship on Sundays. These buildings are plain and without adornment inside and outside.

The countryside around Kitchener (called Berlin before World War I) and Waterloo in southern Ontario shows the rich variety of Old Order Amish and Mennonite communities. Of the 16,000 Mennonites, the Old Order Mennonite account for 4,000, and Old Order Amish for 1,000. The area around the small town of St. Jacobs has a high density of Amish and Mennonite businesses: 10 blacksmith shops; 10 buggy repairs; 24 home baking, bulk food stores, and butcher shops; 17 horse supplies; 12 shoe repair; and 68 furniture and woodworking shops (Figure 2-IV). On Sundays, the differences between the various Amish and Mennonite communities become very clear. The horse-drawn Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites contrast with the black car (often called "black bumper") Mennonites and the “regular” Mennonites who drive colorful car. 1) The Old Order Amish meet every other Sunday in their homes for all-day religious and social activities; hence, their horses are stabled in the barn and their “open” carriages are left outside (Figure 2-IV). Highway signs also reflect the “open” carriages found here, not typical of Amish communities in the United States. 2) The Old Order Mennonites
have relatively short church services and so leave their horses harnessed to the carriages (Figure 2-IV-). 3) The “black bumper” Mennonites attend Sunday services in “churches” (Figure 2-IV-). 4) Although all Mennonites have meeting halls for Sunday worship, only the most “worldly” ones have Sunday schools and drive cars of many colors (Figure 2-IV-).

Figure 2-IV-. Old Order Amish Sunday meeting at a private Amish family in southern Ontario. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-IV-. Old Order Mennonite Sunday service in a church in southern Ontario. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-IV-. Old Order Mennonite Sunday service in a church in southern Ontario with black cars. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
As elsewhere in North America, the Old Order Amish and Mennonite sell farm and home-made products, such as honey, baked goods, and quilts, to the public (Figures 2-IV- and 2-IV-). Only in southern Ontario are Amish and Mennonite farmsteads differentiated from their “English” neighborhoods by green paint on barn and house roofs, and windows, and door trim.

Public schools, flying the Canadian flag, are used by the “English,” but not by the Old Order groups (Figure 2-IV- ) who have their own schools and they do not flying the Canadian flag.
Southern Germany, and, like many other Protestant groups at that time, were an Anabaptist communistic and pacifist sect. For 400 years they lived in isolation, allowing no intermarriage with outsiders. By the early eighteenth century they had moved to Ukraine in the Russian Empire. To avoid Russian conscription in the 1870s, 18,000 Hutterites immigrated to the Dakota Territory. Here, the Hutterites re-established their traditional communal lifestyle.

During World War I, the pacifist Hutterites also suffered persecution in the United States. In 1914 they were “suddenly” viewed as foreigners because they spoke German and refused to participate in the war. English-speaking neighbors raided the colonies and stealing livestock and supplies. In the most famous case, four Hutterite men, who refused to be drafted for military service, were imprisoned and tortured. Ultimately, two died at Leavenworth Military Prison from mistreatment. The Hutterite community responded by abandoning 17 colonies in South Dakota in 1918 and moved to the Canadian provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. With the passage of laws protecting conscientious objectors in the United States, some of the Hutterite colonies ultimately returned to the Dakotas, beginning in the 1930s, where they re-built former colonies and built new ones (Hutterites 2006). By 1940, Canada still had 52 colonies. Alarmed at Hutterites buying large tracts of land, the government of Alberta passed the Communal Properties Act in 1942, which severely restricting the expansion of the Hutterite colonies (the act was repealed in 1973). In 1964, Canadian and U.S. Hutterite colonies numbered 154 with a total population of 14,707. Alberta had 56 colonies (with a population of 5,656); Saskatchewan, 13 (999); Manitoba, 39 (3,842); and the Great Plains, 46 (4,210) (Peters 1967). By 2006, the North American Hutterite colonies had increased to 460 with about 46,000 people (Allard 2006). Figure 2-map shows the growth of Hutterite colonies; in addition, not shown, British Columbia has two colonies; Washington, five; and Oregon, one. When a colony becomes too large (about 120 - 130 people is the maximum size), a new colony is formed even though it is expensive: about $8-15 million (Economist 2000).

Hutterites are Christian communists who share all property and work and live communally. They are “plain people” who live simple personal lives. Women wear more traditional clothing than men: long skirts,
blouses with sleeves, and kerchiefs over their heads. Older men have beards and wear black hats, black trousers, braces (belt-buckles can lead to vanity) and dark shirts. Although “traditional” in their personal lives, they use the latest machinery (electricity, trucks, and combines) for farming. The combination of frugal personal and group lifestyles with the most productive and profitable economic enterprises make the colonies very successful. The Hutterite colonies in Montana illustrate the large scale (commonly, 50,000 acres per colony) and high productivity of their agricultural production. The state’s 49 colonies produce about 60 percent of its pork, 50 percent of its eggs, and about 17 percent of its milk. The combination of plain communal living with the latest farm technology results in very successful enterprises, often resented by many of their farm and small-town neighbors. Being “different” is bad enough but being different and successful is evokes envy and even hatred.

Hutterite men and women have conventional (conservative) gender-based roles and tasks -- there is nothing “revolutionary” about their social organization as it was with the Oneida community. They work at different tasks and eat at separate tables. Women are excluded from meetings concerning money, colony planning, and governance of the church (Hofer 2002). Women do the domestic work and gardening, and occasionally, as needed, some farm work such as milking, which is usually done by men. Men are responsible for the various farming operations and running the business of the colonies.

The cultural landscape of Hutterite colonies consists of compact villages with residential areas, usually at the center of the community, and farm facilities, located on the periphery. Several long multiple-family houses, large communal kitchens, and common laundries surround central community yards. Their schools and churches are close by. Outbuildings are also clustered but on the outskirts of the settlement and consist of shops, garages, numerous barns, grain storage facilities, slaughterhouses, other buildings, and water towers -- often protected by shelter belts.

Blumengart Hutterite Colony, Manitoba

The Blumengart colony is a typical Hutterite village, striking in its appearance and layout from the surrounding individualistic settlement patterns, whether in Canada or the United States. The colony is located in southern Manitoba, close to the International border with North Dakota. The colony is a major agribusiness operation: incorporated and using large modern diesel-powered farm equipment, electrically-operated machinery, and the latest farm building designs and materials (Figure 2-V-sign).

Residential areas are neatly maintained and are joined by sidewalks to a communal kitchen, dining hall, and laundry building (Figures 2-V-). The concentration, number, and size of the farm buildings and equipment is striking (Figure 2-V-) compared to the relatively small-scale neighboring individual farmsteads in the Mennonite shoe-string-villages and in the open countryside (Figure 2-V-maps). The well-maintained cemetery on the edge of the village is as plain as their lives: modest identical tablet-style tombstones with Old German script (Figure 2-V-).
The compact village is divided into four parts by gravel roads: grain elevators and hog barns; other farm buildings and cemetery; livestock barns; and residential area, silos, and sewage treatment facilities and ponds (Figure 2-V-map). In the absence of a high resolution air photo of Blumengart, the air photo of the Beehive Hutterite colony in Manitoba is used to show the distinctive communal village pattern: the residential areas of many small houses contrasts with the large barns and livestock pens (Figure 2-V-air).

Figure 2-V-. The Blumengart Colony Farms are incorporated (Ltd.) and use John Deer farm machinery. Source: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-V-. The land uses in the Blumengart colony. Source: Altona Quad, 1:50,000, labeled by Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-V-. The Beehive Hutterite colony, west of Lauer, MB. Source: Google Earth 2006, labeled by Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 2-V-. Each family lives in its own unit in the long row houses in Blumengart. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
Alternative, communal, and separatist groups are frequently misunderstood, disliked, and even hated. After the National Geographic (2006) ran a story on one Hutterite colony, a reader wrote to the editors: "Apparently the writer [of the article] feels 'comfortable' in a society that is religiously intolerant, treats women as chattel, and does not welcome people of other races. I agree with him [the writer] on one thing. The Surprise Creek Colony is a paradise -- if you are an Anglo male." What the writer ignores is that the Hutterites want to glorify God in their own way -- this is called religious freedom -- and they are not interested in the outside world, regardless of current politically correct views on religion, women rights, and racism. Mostly importantly, they do not want to enforce their views and practices on the outside world, as the Religious Right continually tries to do. They want to be left alone to live their peaceful way of life; this seems to be irritating and resented by some outsiders!

Part VI. Commune Landscapes (late 1960s-today)

Raymond Mango’s Total Loss Farm (1970) captures the spirit and mood of the counterculture: “Listen to your heart and goodwill, and feel your body, and you’ll soon figure out what your natural and sacred role in this insane pageant really is” (p. 11). For the hippies the question was how to be, not what to do. The communes that developed in the late 1960s and
early 1970s had the widest range of social experimentation of all the communal societies. They were inspired by Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Native American religions, no religious, drug, no-drug, socialism, environmentalism, anti-war protestism, social activism, and “doing their own thing.” Although they shared with other utopian groups a simple way of life, they combined earlier ways with new ones. They used home-grown foods, self-made clothing, leather bags, scandles, and macrame crafts; portable and easy to play musical instruments, such as guitars, flutes, harmonicas, and drums; and enjoyed “simple” pleasures of body paint, nudity and sex, and for women, openly breast-feeding their babies. The hippies heated their houses with hand-cut wood, eliminated in outhouses, cut pine shingles with draw-knives, hauled maple sugar sap on sleds, weeded potatoes with their university-trained hands while pushing their long hair out of the way.

The countercounter reacted against mass culture, consumerism, and The Establishment. “Primitive,” or low-energy, technology was often preferred over even nineteenth-century equipment; indeed, material poverty was a badge of greater (spiritual) enlightenment in sharp contrast and in reaction to their middle class backgrounds. Despite their lack of agricultural and survival skills, the middle class counterculture sought refuge in rural areas. Many turned to the Whole Earth Catalog, published twice yearly from 1968 to 1972, to learn how to survive on the land. The catalog was the equivalent of the Sears catalog for the counterculture, offering an amazing array of “alternative” tools, techniques, and how-to books for readers to find inspiration, shape their immediate and personal environments, and thus change the world. Each issue covered topics on shelter and land use, industry and crafts, community and communications, and even on “nomadics.”

Mango (1970) explains that “We till the soil to atone for our fathers’ destruction of it. We smell. We live far from the market-places in America by our own volition” (p. 17). The anti-urbanism in U.S. culture was also embraced by the counterculture, aptly expressed by Steve McQueen in “I would rather wake up in the middle of nowhere than in any city on Earth.” The Easy Rider (1969) film reveals the cultural tension, indeed the physical violence that existed during the 1960s between mainstream and countercultural groups. Released in the year of the Woodstock concert, and made in a year of two assassinations (Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King), the Vietnam War buildup, and Nixon's election, the narrow-mindedness and hatefulness of local residents is vended against the long-haired freedom, drug and sex culture, and anti-establishment of the counterculture. A whole series of events in the late 1960s expressed and consolidated the counterculture movement (Table 2-VI-1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event or Organization started</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>Civil rights movement: freedom rides (1961); March on Washington (1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-70</td>
<td>Anti-Vietnam War demonstrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>National Organization of Women (NOW); Black Panther Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>The Summer of Love; “bell bottom” appear in dictionaries; The Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>American Indian Movement (AIM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Woodstock festival in Upstate N.Y. (500,000 people); Stonewall riots in New York City; People's Park, Berkeley, CA; Friends of the Earth; Easy Rider; Apocalypse Now; Alice's Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>First Earth Day; Greenpeace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Wounded Knee, SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Hippies and others in the Bay Area and Silicon Valley inspired the personal computer revolution (“power to the people”). In fact, money left over from the sale of the Whole Earth Catalog was used to start personal computers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Fellowship for Intentional Communities listed 540 intentional communities in North America in its 1995 Communities Directory -- up from 300 in the 1990/91 edition. Several hundred more communities declined to be listed. Probably over a thousand communes exist altogether (Intentional Communities 2005). Some estimate that about 2,500 communes can be found Canada and the USA (World Communal Space 2005).
Similar to other communal groups, place mattered only for the counterculture as a way to achieve non-spatial goals of self-sufficiency, closeness to nature, physical labor, community, and isolation. Likewise, architecture did not matter per se but only to express “new” inner space. The communalists lived in self-built abode structures, tepees, geodesic domes, and re-cycled materials in a variety of shapes and styles. One style, California Rustic, actually became a mainstream house style throughout the U.S. Geodesic domes were the ideal symbol for the New Age: the shape of the earth (based on the first satellite photos), and new interior spaces (no walls or posts) reflecting the new inner space for personal liberation from sexism, racism, and classism. Although Buckminster Fuller’s geodesic dome had already been patented in 1954, it became the symbol of the earth, self-reliance, and the oneness of people and nature for the counterculture. By combining simple triangles pieces, strong, circular, and open buildings could be constructed by people without any technical training, prefect egalitarian communal ideals. Geodesic domes symbolized the wholeness of the earth and the virtue of individuals working together to create a better world. Cooperation rather than competition were valued and the idea of synergy was born -- the whole was stronger than any one of its parts. Superficially, the geodesic dome was even embraced by the U.S. government in its 1967 World’s Fair pavilion in Montreal (Figure 2-VI-).

Of the vast array of communes, only a few are cited here. In 1963, the Tolstoy Farm became the prototype back-to-the-land hippie commune. By 1965, the community of Drop City was formed in the hills of southeastern Colorado. The four original settlers were art students and writers from the Universities of Kansas and Colorado. People came to stay and work to build the community. Inspired by the architectural principles of Buckminster Fuller, they constructed domes to house themselves, using a system of triangular panels made from the sheet metal of automobile roofs. Hundreds of hippies in the late 1960s and early 1970s established alternative communities. Hippies were attracted to Taos, New Mexico, for its natural beauty and perceived spirituality. Communes such as New Buffalo and Morningstar in Arroyo Hondo, the Hog Farm which appeared in the film Easy Rider, The Family in Ranchos de Taos, and Lama Foundation in Lama were created. The Lama Foundation has existed for more than 35 years and continues to thrive (Cross 2006). Intentional communities in the Southwest were often not welcomed by the local Latino and Indian populations who disliked the filth, nudity, free love, and drug use in the communes. In Tennessee, a large experiment in communal living, called The Farm, was formed in 1971. Communes were particularly concentrated on the Sechelt Peninsula of British Columbia; at one time, probably over 1,000 hippies lived in places like the 31-acre Bayview Project.

![Figure 2-VI-](image-url) The U.S. Biosphere at the 1967 World’s Fair in Montreal. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

The counterculture tradition of the late 1960s and early 1970s continues, although the number of communities has declined over the years. On a 1,000-acre farm in the Ozarks (Tecumseh, MO), 75 people still practice an intentional community of self-reliance (selling nut butters to the outside world), eating organic foods, owning property in common (money, clothing, transportation), and experimenting with social organization (egalitarian, non-violent, loose-familial relationships) (National Geographic
2005). In Luck, WI, a nine-person voting pacifist commune, named Anathoth, founded in 1986, focuses on anti-war and peace issues against the U.S. government at home and abroad. Environmental sustainability is stressed in their composting toilets, solar power, wood heat, wood-burning water heaters, and greywater system. Their owner-built homes are surrounded by almost two acres of organic gardens and a four-season greenhouse (Figure 2-VI- ).

![Figure 2-VI-](image)

**Figure 2-VI-**. A modified house with passive solar windows on the Anathoth commune. Photo: Anathoth 2006.

**Twin Oaks**, in rural central Virginia, is another intentional community of about 85 adults and 15 children. Since the community's beginning in 1967, the group's values have been cooperation, sharing, nonviolence, equality, and ecology. They beliefs are diverse. They are self-supporting economically, partly self-sufficient, and income-sharing. Each member works 42 hours a week in the community's business and domestic areas. Each member receives housing, food, health care, and personal spending money from the community. Hammocks and casual furniture business generates most of their income; indexing books and making tofu provides much of the rest. Income-producing activities account for less than half their work; the balance goes into a variety of tasks that benefit their quality of life -- including milking cows, gardening, cooking, and childcare. Some members are politically active in the peace, ecology, antiracism, and feminism movements. A Women's Gathering and a Communities Conference are sponsored each summer at which both experienced communitarians and new seekers explore the ideals and practicality of community living. Like earlier communal groups, Twin Oaks gives Saturday tours (Twin Oaks 2005). Elsewhere, only individuals continue the simple alternative back-to-the-land movement in remote places (Figure 2-VI- ).

![Figure 2-VI-](image)

**Figure 2-VI-**. Counterculture life style in the Northwoods of Wisconsin: heating with wood, no running water, and using outhouses. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

The self-reliance and low- and appropriate-technology of the counterculture resulted in alternative lifestyles. **Food** was one of the
differentiating aspects of communes: home-grown organic fresh vegetables, fruits, and herbs; hand-made whole-grain breads, granola, and yogurt; and brown rice and teas. In urban areas, coffee houses and folk music had become synonymous with counterculture communities by the mid-1960s.

The mid-1960s and early-1970s were transformative times which inform today’s issues, actions, and organizations. The natural, organic food revolution had started in North America, harking back to a pre-industrial time. No wonder that the Amish, who have retained the “old” ways, were role models for many of the communes. Today, organic vegetables and fruits are widely available in all metropolitan areas and even in middle-sized towns. **Weekly farmers’ markets**, supported by small-scale White, Amish or Hmong farmers, have also grown in large numbers since the 1970s, from 340 to over 3,000 by 2001 from small towns to New York City’s Greenmarket (Brown 2002). Washington State, for example, had 20 farmers markets in 1986 which had increased to 53 by 1995.

As the popularity of counterculture foods became obvious, corporations co-opted and copied and thus transformed these foods into mass consumer goods. Today, most large grocery chains and “artisan” bread stores bake breads fresh several times a day in a wide range of styles (French, Italian, German, sourdough) with different grains (whole-wheat, bran, oatmeal, rye, millet, multigrain) and other ingredients (poppy seed, walnuts, olives, raisins). Previously, pre-sliced, white, very “compressible” (sticking to the top of the mouth) Wonder Bread was the standard. Even though Wonder Bread advertised that it “Helps build strong bodies in 12 ways,” referring to the number of enrichments added, the counterculture introduced natural wholesome whole-grain breads, with all the nutrients retained rather than artificially added. In retrospect, it is a wonder that Wonder Bread was and still is called bread! Hand-crafted cheeses from cow, goat and ewe milk; grass-fed, hormone-free beef, pork, buffalo, and chicken are also now widely available in specialty and grocery stores. Home beer brewing is the forerunner of the thousands of micro-breweries across North America. And the wine culture of contemporary North America grew out of counterculture values of sociability: wines are drunk with meals and in social settings. “Getting drunk” and “binge drinking” are still common but, they represent earlier, anti-countercultural and anti-social attitudes and behaviors. Afterall, when you are unconscious, you can not interact with others!

Officially, hippies were socially and morally disliked; commercially, many of their ideas and products were mainstreamed. The material aspects of the counterculture ushered in postmodern consumption trends. Natural fibers, like cotton and hemp, are preferred over synthetic fibers like nylon and polyesters, and loose fitting clothing, long dresses, bell-bottom pants, and tie-dye T-shirts are again acceptable. Natural hardwoods re-appeared as trim, flooring, and even as window casements in suburban houses, replacing the aluminum and vinyl materials of the past.

Other counterculture products that have become mainstreamed, and indeed up-scaled, are leather products (Coach), candles, and incenses. Most of the items used by New Age people really are the latest manifestation of hippie culture.

Although agricultural service co-ops date back to the nineteenth century when Scandinavian introduced them to the Upper Midwest, food co-ops are a legacy of the counterculture. In 1974, co-ops were concentrated in Boston, Amherst, Syracuse, Philadelphia, Ann Arbor, Madison, Minneapolis, Lawrence, Missoula, Tucson, Los Angeles, and San Francisco (Figures 2-VI-map). Food co-ops today are found in metropolitan centers, college towns, and other small towns not only in New England and the Midwest -- where their occurrence is proportionally higher -- but also throughout the rest of the country. Although the number of food co-ops has declined nationally since 1974, the general regional and state patterns have persisted (Figures 2-VI-map).

Minnesota has more natural foods cooperatives per capita than any other U.S. state. The Natural Foods Cooperatives organization has eight member-owned co-ops in Minneapolis and St. Paul and another three in Stillwater, St. Peter, and Northfield (Natural Foods 2006). The earliest coop, North Country Co-op, was started in 1971 in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood of Minneapolis, adjacent to the West Bank of the University of Minnesota. The Co-op consists of both members and workers, who value democracy and actively work together for a better world. They emphasize whole foods, organic vegetables, fruits, and grains, locally-grown food, and sustainability. Food co-ops now service all neighborhoods in Minneapolis (Figure2-VI-photo).
Figure 2-VI. All types of co-ops in 1974 and in 2006. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, with help from Brady Foust, based on information from Food Cooperative Directory 1974 and Coop Directory 2006.
Critical Cultural Landscapes

Chapter 2 -- Communal Landscapes

34

Figure 2-VI-. Eastside Food Co-op in northeast Minneapolis. Arabic-speaking immigrants are now common in this former Polish neighborhood.
Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Cohousing communities are another current development that has its roots in the counterculture of sharing space to facilitate social interaction in a caring environment. Even the American Association of Retired People (AARP) magazine features articles on how the aging population is looking at “new” intentional living arrangements. All across the United States, cohousing projects are appearing (Yeoman 2006).

As an outgrowth of the counterculture’s response to the impersonal and secular culture of the late 1960s and early 1970s, civil rights, racial minorities, women’s groups, and homosexual communities became aware of their own subjected roles. They expressed their new identity with pride and political activism, now called Identity Politics. In response to the awareness of “minority” groups, European ethnic groups also took pride in their own (almost forgotten) cultural background. In Canada, ethnic festivals reflected both nineteenth-century rural groups and also post-World War II urban immigrant communities. Ethnic tourism, or “the sale of ethnic culture,” was re-created and even invented in many U.S. cities. The emergence of ethnic festivals in the United States is particularly ironic because the “melting pot theory” of social assimilation has been widely promulgated by schools, media, and politicians. Yet, only a few places have retained their communal cultural landscape features and have been designated as historical tourist sites.

VII. Comparison of Intentional Groups: Past and Present

The spatial and social attributes of North American intentional communities are best summarized in tabular form. Table 2-VII-1 compares the extinct communal societies of the Shakers, Oneida, and Amana. Table 2-VII-2 compares the characteristics of the contemporary intentional societies of the Old Order Amish, Old Order Mennonites, and the Hutterites.

We now turn to consider only one aspect of culture, religion, and its landscape forms. In Chapter 3, the cultural landscapes of historic Mormons in Utah and contemporary Roman Catholics in Quebec and Minnesota are examined. Although historically both religious denominations were intentional communities, they have lost their “alternative” status since their origins to become mainstream groups, although each would not grant legitimacy to the other. While the early Christians, before the Roman Empire adapted Christianity, were a utopian group in the “Old World,” Mormons were a utopian group in early nineteenth-century U.S. Although each religious group has fundamentally transformed itself, and in the process lost its “radical” communalism (except for Catholic monasteries and nunneries), they have maintained strong central church authority. The highly centralized and relatively uniform theologies of these two religious, in contrast to the much looser organization and varied theological interpretations of other Christian denominations, created a distinctive pioneer Mormon and contemporary Roman Catholic cultural landscapes.
### Table 2-VII-1. Comparison of Extinct U.S. Utopian Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Shakers</th>
<th>Oneida</th>
<th>Amana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>settlement patterns</td>
<td>villages</td>
<td>villages</td>
<td>villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>houses</td>
<td>multi-story</td>
<td>one big house</td>
<td>duplexes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barns</td>
<td>clustered</td>
<td>scattered</td>
<td>clustered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>places of worship</td>
<td>meeting houses</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>meeting houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>property ownership</td>
<td>collective</td>
<td>collective</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anabaptists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacifists</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender roles</td>
<td>equal but separate</td>
<td>equal</td>
<td>conventional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head covering</td>
<td>hats &amp; bonnets</td>
<td>nothing distinctive</td>
<td>hats &amp; bonnets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women’s clothing &amp; hair</td>
<td>plain; long hair</td>
<td>pants, short skirts; short hair</td>
<td>plain; long hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>one communal marriage</td>
<td>nuclear family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexual activities</td>
<td>none, celibacy</td>
<td>yes, complex marriage</td>
<td>yes, marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcohol &amp; tobacco</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>formal education</td>
<td>own schools</td>
<td>self educated</td>
<td>own schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equipment &amp; tools</td>
<td>latest technology</td>
<td>latest technology</td>
<td>latest technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnicity</td>
<td>U.S. origin</td>
<td>U.S. origin</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duration of group</td>
<td>1790-1960s</td>
<td>1841-1881</td>
<td>1855-1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maximum members</td>
<td>19 villages: 6,000 (1840s)</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>6 villages: 1,200 (1850s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2-VII-2. Comparison of Contemporary North American Utopian Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Old Order Amish</th>
<th>Old Order Mennonites</th>
<th>Hutterites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>settlement patterns</td>
<td>dispersed farms</td>
<td>dispersed farms</td>
<td>villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>houses</td>
<td>individual</td>
<td>individual</td>
<td>row houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barns</td>
<td>individual</td>
<td>individual</td>
<td>clustered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>places of worship</td>
<td>farm houses</td>
<td>meeting halls</td>
<td>meeting halls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>property ownership</td>
<td>individual</td>
<td>individual</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anabaptists</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacifists</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender roles</td>
<td>male dominate</td>
<td>male dominate</td>
<td>male dominate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head covering</td>
<td>hats &amp; bonnets</td>
<td>hats &amp; bonnets</td>
<td>hats &amp; bonnets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothing</td>
<td>plain &amp; dark colors</td>
<td>plain colors</td>
<td>plain &amp; dark colors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>nuclear family</td>
<td>nuclear family</td>
<td>nuclear family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexual activities</td>
<td>between husband &amp; wife</td>
<td>between husband &amp; wife</td>
<td>between husband &amp; wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcohol &amp; tobacco</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>formal education</td>
<td>8th grade in their rural schools</td>
<td>attend public schools</td>
<td>8th grade in their village schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equipment &amp; tools</td>
<td>no electricity, rubber tires</td>
<td>no electricity, rubber tires</td>
<td>latest technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnicity</td>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>Russia Germans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duration of group</td>
<td>1872 (USA)-present</td>
<td>1872 (USA)-present</td>
<td>1525 (eastern Europe)-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maximum members</td>
<td>253,000; 876 church districts</td>
<td>20,000; 150 congregations</td>
<td>460 colonies; 46,000 members</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>