



An unknown baby, presumably of the Retallick family of hired workers who occupied the West Family buildings at the Hancock, Massachusetts, Shaker community. The West Family Dwelling is in the background, along with a possibly Shaker-made washtub. Photo courtesy of the Amy Bess Miller Library, Hancock Shaker Village, Hancock, MA.

The West Family of the Hancock, Massachusetts, Shaker Community

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The settlements of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, or Shakers, at one time stretched from Maine to Kentucky. Today, the Sabbathday Lake, Maine, Shaker community remains the home of active Believers, but the remaining eighteen major settlements have been demolished, adaptively reused, or turned into museums. Studying the final closure of each Shaker community affords insights into the general decline of Shakerism. However, deeper investigation into the gradual diminution of the families comprising each of these communities shows that this decline was an extended process—one that began within each community, unfolding gradually as each family closed over an extended period of time.

Today's museums tend to preserve what was known as the Church, or Centre, Family of the Shaker villages. These families were so named because of the presence of the meetinghouse, or the central position it occupied in relation to the other communal families. The Church Family was typically only one of several that made up a village. Smaller families surrounded the Church Family, and were often named for their geographic relation to the Church Family: North, South, East, West, and, in the case of the Hancock settlement and others, a Center or Second Family located between the Church Family and another family. Each family was an independent entity (sometimes in association with another family), complete with agriculture and/or industry, elders and eldersses, trustees, and deacons.

As Shaker populations dwindled the need for the surrounding families declined. Their buildings quickly became a financial liability and safety hazard. According to the Shakers at Sabbathday Lake, "the true separation of Church and State occurs when we act as private citizens and pay like everyone else," and so the society has always paid taxes on their properties¹. When a building outlived its use, it was converted to other uses or, failing that, torn down so that it would cease to be a tax burden. Under these circumstances the surrounding families were closed one by one. When the Church Family became too small to sustain, the village itself would close.

The remains, and by extension the history, of these surrounding

families are generally overshadowed by the preserved Church families. Visitors to Shaker museums are naturally more interested in the surviving architecture of the Church Family rather than the other settlements, of which little often remains. However, these families played important roles within the communal hierarchy of Shaker villages. Each family contributed to the community as a whole. This article will focus on the history of the West Family at Hancock, which was founded only two years after the establishment of the Church Family in 1790 and lasted until 1867. The documentary and physical evidence about this family provides a case study of the small, but important, contribution they made to the community as a whole.

History of the Hancock West Family

The West Family was established in 1792 on property owned by John Tallcott. Much of the property donated to the Shakers at Hancock was given by people who converted to the faith. In 1792 John Tallcott, having consecrated his property to the community, ceased to be a landowner and became the first elder of the West Family.²

Elder John Tallcott died on May 10, 1813, and was replaced by David Terry. Terry appears in a record book as “David Terrey Junr.,” aged 25 and living in the Elias Peese family at Enfield, Connecticut³. It is possible that another elder was appointed to the settlement between 1813 and the 1820 census, when Terry is listed as the elder, but it is clear that at some point Terry moved to Hancock and took charge of the West Family. Terry’s eldership was lengthy and distinguished enough that at least one map of the West Pittsfield/Hancock region produced for a commercial atlas uses his name to mark the location of the West Family (see Figure 1).

Census information offers a detailed view of the population of the West Family. Brethren and sisters were fairly even in number, as the West Family closed shortly after the decline of male converts to Shakerism began. In the 1800 census the population is twenty members; ten years later it was nineteen. In 1820 it grew to thirty-four people, decreased to thirty-one in 1830, and dropped further to twenty-eight in 1840.⁴ When Elder Thomas Damon took stock of the population of each of the Hancock families in 1846, there were seventeen brethren and twenty sisters at the West Family for a total population of thirty-seven. The total population of the Hancock Shaker community in 1846 was 217. This was only exceeded by the 1829

population of 247.⁵ It is possible that 1846 marked the peak population for the West Family.



Figure 1: David Terry's name is clearly visible at the West Family location in Walling's *Map of the County of Berkshire, Massachusetts*, 1858. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

The West Family was located on a hill a short distance west of the Church Family. The site currently lies north of Route 20, on the path of the original Boston-Albany turnpike, or Post Road. This route ascended the small hill instead of skirting it, running directly through the West Family buildings and fields.

When Elder Henry C. Blinn of the Canterbury, New Hampshire, Shaker settlement visited in 1853, his only remark on the West Family was that it had “but few buildings.”⁶ Ex-Hancock Shaker Olive Hayden Austin recalled in a 1983 interview that the “West Family was quite a good size.”⁷ However, it is unclear if she was referring to the population of the family or its acreage.

The West Family was initially distinguished by its burial ground, a plot that likely started as a private cemetery for the Tallcotts. It was known as the West Cemetery, or Post Cemetery (after the Post Road), and the Shakers used it until 1813. In that year, a typhus epidemic struck and forced the Shakers to dedicate the larger plot at the Church Cemetery. Father Calvin Harlow and Mother Sarah Harrison, the founding Elder and Eldress at Hancock, were both interred at the West Cemetery.⁸ Their bodies were exhumed in 1854 for transfer to the Church cemetery. Hancock Bishopric Elder Thomas Damon recorded that “the coffins were in a remarkable state of preservation.”⁹

Photographic evidence of the West Family is sparse, but the surviving images offer some clues as to the settlement’s location. Figure 2 shows a large barn with an earthen ramp leading up to a set of double doors. The Boston to Albany Post Road (old Route 20) runs behind it, and is intersected by an extension of Dublin Road which no longer exists. Telegraph poles line Route 20, and Mount Sinai, the Shakers’ holy mountain, is visible in the background.

Beneath the mountain is a set of buildings, which become clearer under magnification (Figure 3). The building on the right is the dwelling, while the building on the left is a barn (presumably for horses).¹⁰ Between them is a smaller structure, perhaps a shop or carriage shed. Figure 3 shows four buildings attributed to the West Family. The building on the left, with a prominent ell, is likely a barn, as are the two buildings on the right. The structure in the center appears to be a shop of some sort. A separate photo (Figure 4) shows what appear to be the same buildings situated at the foot of the hill where the West Family was located. However, it is unclear if they were part of the West Family, especially given their proximity to the Church.



Figure 2: The “West Barn” with roads at the West Family at Hancock Shaker Village. Courtesy of the Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, SA 361, Winterthur, DE.



Figure 3: Magnification of Figure 2 reveals three buildings on the hill beyond the barn. Courtesy of the Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, SA 361, Winterthur, DE.



Figure 4: Buildings attributed to the West Family of Hancock Shaker Village. Courtesy of The Shaker Museum | Mount Lebanon.

Broom production was likely the main industry of the West Family. Thomas Damon noted on March 16, 1848, that a fire burned through the roof of the West Family broom shop, but the damage was not very serious.¹¹ Agriculture was also an important function of the family, perhaps its overall *raison d'être*. Elvira C. Hulett, a West Family sister, recorded the production of 803 pounds of butter from October 1849 to March 1850.¹² An 1862 journal provides information about some other aspects of the agriculture at the family. The family “planted corn” on May 22 and “commenced haying” on July 19. The author mentions a “sap bush” on April 8, the product of which was used to make molasses on that day and April 12.¹³

A journal entry from New Lebanon details a visit to the West Family on July 1, 1856, and offers the most comprehensive record of buildings on site:

“...we moved forward to David Terry’s family there we found a very agreeable and loving little company. Marcia Boyington and Mary Ann Augur were the Eldresses. The family assembled together both brethren and sisters; we visited sung and danced had a refreshing time. After that we walked about some, to the wash house, cheese house, sisters shop, a very pleasant situation, we then traveled back to the dwelling house where we eat our supper which

they had so nicely prepared for us and made our way back to the Church loaded with love and good feelings.”¹⁴

In addition to the buildings mentioned, there was probably at least one brethren's shop, and perhaps a separate building for broom making. Scattered references in journals allude to the existence of other possible West Family structures. The “West Barn” was raised on June 19, 1860.¹⁵ However, former Hancock hired man Fred Retallick recalled that a building with the same name was part of the Church Family, so it is unclear if this structure was in the West Family.¹⁶ Sister Wealthy Storer's journal mentions the “Goodriches Barn” near the West Family.¹⁷ An 1862 journal entry for April 12 states “Carried the cheese to the dairy house,” likely a reference to sisters' shop or cheese house.¹⁸ The author also mentions a factory three times. On June 25 she says, “cleaned the Factory,” on July 9, “Sophia H. works at the Factory,” and on August 13, “Finished at the Factory.” She may or may not be referring to the North Family's woolen mill, which burned in 1865.¹⁹

A few extant West Family documents record the sisters' expenses for 1847-1848 and 1867, offering a glimpse into their lives and necessities. The only food items listed are a box of raisins and 30 pounds of honey, suggesting the relative agricultural independence of the West Family or the Hancock settlement as a whole. The sisters purchased a “Pair of Worsted Pinchers” for three dollars as well as “2 Writing Tables.” Most of the items relate to construction expenditures, the biggest being \$20.32 for “Joiner Work.” Several items listed in 1867 are indicative of sisters' production, such as cloth, warp, and a sewing machine for \$100. Other expenses relate to for the Shakers' domestic lives, including “Chair Cushions,” “Tea,” and “Sundries.”²⁰ Another document lists items West Family members gave to the poor in Christmas of 1852, separating the brethren's and sisters' donations. The brethren gave clothing, while the sisters offered a variety of goods, including clothes, yarn, food, and “2 old Window Curtains.”²¹

Little detailed information survives about long-serving West Family Elder David Terry. Wealthy Storer wrote on October 28, 1846: “David Terry had a cancer taken out of his temple.”²² Perhaps the most detailed description comes from David R. Lamson, whose writing is distinctly anti-Shaker. In his *Two Years Among the Shakers*, published in 1848, he mocked Terry's spiritually inspired speech at a Shaker meeting:

“Feb. 23, 1845...David Terry, who had visited the society, at Enfield, spoke of his visit; and of the beautiful gifts they had there. I have got some love for you, I am going to give it out by and by...He had six baskets, three upon each arm, filled with love, fruit, and other good things. Some of these gifts were from the people at Enfield, and some from Mother Ann and others, in the spiritual world. These presents were accompanied by attending angels. All, both angels and presents and baskets, were invisible to all, except the Seers. So David, after informing us what he had got for us, and of the angels in attendance, steps up to the invisible altar in the space between the brethren and sisters, with his six invisible baskets, loaded with invisible love, wine, fruit, gold chains, &c. And being a very awkward man, he made most woful [sic] work in delivering himself of his burden. He could set down but one basket at a time. And it took him a long minute to set them all down, and the grotesque figures he made with his arm, and body were truly ridiculous. Then the whole audience walked up in irregular order, to receive each a gold chain, and made the same motion as if taking one from the basket, and put around the neck. ‘Now, (says elder brother,) I want every one should do just as though you could see and sense the reality there. For it is just as real as though you could see it with your natural eyes. So when we had received each, the gold chain, we all turned round four times and shouted each time. We then walked up again, and helped ourselves, each, to a bottle of wine, and made the motion to drink it. Then turned round four times again and clapped our hands each time. It being required by those who sent the gifts, that they should be received in this manner. After this, David Terry said, ‘There is one gift I had forgotten. Pocahontas, *he* sent *his* love and *he* sent us a basket of birds. After this they went into the quick manner, and the meeting came up to the highest pitch of excitement and interest.”²³

Lamson also recalled the discovery of an infant “carefully packed in

a willow basket” and left “in one of the buildings on the West family.” Lamson records that Terry “went out into Pittsfield, and made some inquiries of a woman, of whose daughter they had some suspicions.”²⁴ In the end, Lamson says, the child was turned over to the Pittsfield authorities.

The West Family’s new covenant, signed on January 1, 1851, records a population of only eight brethren and twelve sisters: a loss of seventeen members since the 1846 census.²⁵ Such a decrease in five years is an early indicator of the decreasing need for the outlying families; Hancock’s South Family had already closed in 1849.²⁶

As the family neared its dissolution, it attempted to lease mining rights to its property to reap more profit from the land. An iron mine was already in production at Hancock’s East Family. West Family Elder David Terry sold to John Low of Bridgeport, Connecticut, the twenty year rights “to dig for mines and minerals in my Cook lot (so called) situated in said Hancock. Said Low is to make his examination and do all the work at his expense, and to give said Terry one tenth percent of the minerals found and dug out.”²⁷ Given the lack of further information about this transaction, it is unlikely that it succeeded. Fred Retallick recalled the existence of mineshafts in his oral history, though he may have been referring to those at the East Family.

Several entries mention the sickness of “Elder Br” [David Terry]. Although his health improved, on July 24, 1862 a journalist noted the following: “Elder Br. David & Elder Sister Marcia Resigned. the common end of the Family.”²⁸ This proclamation is perhaps overly dramatic. Shaker elders often resigned, or were asked to step down, when they reached an advanced age. What occurred on July 23 was a shakeup in the family’s leadership. Ira R. Lawson, who had been appointed to live in the West Family eldership with David Terry on November 22, 1857, was appointed a Trustee at the Church Family. Elders Terry and Lawson were replaced by Willard Johnson and Richard Wilcox, and Jemima Sneden replaced Marcia Boynton as eldress. Terry died on April 6, 1864, while Boynton lived until 1873. On March 30, 1867, Simon Mabee replaced Johnson, becoming the final elder of the West Family. Mabee had been a Trustee at the Church Family, and was probably appointed at this juncture to oversee to the disposal of the West Family’s assets.

Either the Shakers did not foresee the 1867 dissolution of the West Family or they actively attempted to save the settlement. In July of 1866, and again in April of 1867, the family received plots of land from the Church Family. On May 15, 1867, the family was given \$500.²⁹ Another journal

attributed to Sarah Harrison records events surrounding the breakup of the West Family in 1867.³⁰ She wrote on Monday, November 18, “We go to the West P.M. to talk with them about moving.” On November 22, a faded entry reads, “They commence moving the goods from the West to the other families.” This process took some time, as Harrison records that she and “Lucena” (perhaps Lucena Collins) went to the West on November 25. The last entry regarding the breakup is on November 26, although the official date of closure came a day later: “Rather of a wet day for moving altho there is considerable done. I go West & help pick the Turkies.” A New Lebanon journal comments on the breakup in the midst of the moving process on November 25:

“The West family of Hancock is about breaking up, and removing to the other families of their village. It is a very unprofitable & hard place to support a family; the soil is very cold & wet. The buildings, that is, their foundations difficult to keep in repair, &, they have not able abilities to manage a family there.”³¹

Many items and animals, mostly related to the agriculture of the West Family, were removed to the Church. The West Family officially ceased to exist on November 27, 1867.³²

An 1867 document recording the West Family’s property shows that closing an outlying family was no simple process. Following the removal of the West Family members to the Church, Second, and East Families, a conference of eight brethren from the remaining families was held on February 5, 1868. The meeting identified five different lots that had made up the West Family, each priced at a different dollar value per acre. All told, the brethren calculated that the family comprised 290 acres totaling \$11,420. The value was divided amongst the remaining Hancock families, with the Church Family receiving 40 percent of the money (\$4,496.80) and the East and Second Families receiving 30 percent each (\$3,372.60).³³

The record shows that the East Family retained a 43-acre lot of the West Family property, while the Second Family kept a 38-acre lot. There is no mention of what happened to the other property. The conference also resulted in a significant transfer of land between the families. “To accommodate the East Family they were allowed to take of the Chh Family the Colt Lots East of the R.R.,” the record notes. The East Family made

a transfer of their own, giving the Second Family a twenty-acre pasture lot “north of the Chh’s west Colt Lot.”³⁴

Although all transactions were conducted between members of the Hancock Shaker community, the transfers were conducted as business transactions between independent entities. The East Family, for example, was billed for the \$4,050 value of the Colt Lots as well as the \$860 value of the 43-acre lot, while they received a \$700 credit for the twenty-acre transfer to the Second Family. While the \$3,372.60 due the East Family was noted, the family had still exceeded this amount in their land acquisitions by \$837.40, “which they paid to the Church Family.” The Second Family also ended up owing the Church money, a total of \$199.40.³⁵ The fact that the Shakers conducted such intricate inter-family negotiations demonstrates that the families, while still deferring to the Church for spiritual leadership, essentially functioned as autonomous units within the larger village.

After the Shakers

Some of the buildings at the West Family became lodging for outside workers. The Retallicks, a family of hired hands, moved into the West Family dwelling in 1889 or 1890. Their children attended the Shaker school, and two of them went on to found the Retallick Electric Company in Pittsfield.

Several photos exist of the Retallicks at the West Family site. One shows the family on the steps of the dwelling (Figure 5). The dwelling appears to be a simple building, lacking the scale and workmanship associated with the Brick Dwelling and Round Stone Barn at Hancock’s Church Family. However, it has a solid brick foundation and a stone walkway and doorstep. Fred Retallick described it as having “two floors and two attics,” and a well in the basement (a fact corroborated by Olive Hayden Austin’s oral history).³⁶ Water was also brought to the dwelling from a nearby mountain spring via lead pipes. Nearby, Retallick remembered an orchard, a horse barn, and a large cow barn, suggesting the set of buildings in Figure 2.

According to Fred Retallick, his father lived at the West Family site until 1924 or 1925 before moving to Pittsfield. By this time, the Hancock settlement was well into its decline, though it survived until 1960. The dropoff in male converts after the mid-nineteenth century necessitated hired help, so it is unlikely that the demand for the Retallicks’ services



Figure 5: The Retallick family outside the former West Family dwelling. Photo courtesy of the Amy Bess Miller Library, Hancock Shaker Village, Hancock, MA.

ceased; the family might simply have found other lodging or work. The only possible recorded destruction of property at the West Family is of the West Barn, which a day-book notes as having burned down on October 22, 1897.³⁷ However, it is clear that the West Family buildings eventually outlived their purpose, and were likely torn down to save on taxes, and also to mitigate a potential fire hazard.

When the Retallicks moved out, the wilderness moved in. Between 1974 and 1975, a survey of the site was conducted by John Ott, at that time Director of Hancock Shaker Village. Ott identified the path of the old road, a well, a grouping of three distinct foundations of cut stone, and another grouping of sites suggesting the presence of structures.

Upon reexamination by the author in 2005, the three distinct foundations provided the most useful corroborating evidence of the West Family, as their layout matches the set of hilltop buildings seen in Figure 3. The dwelling's cellar hole, complete with stone sides and pipes, appears to be the only structure that had any underground space. Nearby, the possible shop foundation presents an odd mix of artifacts: nails, a file, the tooth of

a large animal, and an object identified in 2006 by Peter Rentz as part of the frame for a penny farthing bicycle. Beyond that, the hard-to-find set of parallel stones marks the site of a building Ott identified as a horse barn.

While the foundations are all grouped close together, other signs of the West Family are visible elsewhere. Some distance from the barn foundation, a stone-lined spring is cut into a hillside. Another line of stones, possibly marking another foundation, was discovered east of the known foundations. Near this possible foundation were metal artifacts, including a scythe blade and what appears to be a stove door. Unfortunately, clear signs of the buildings may have been lost to development on Route 20, or the regrowth of the forest.

Conclusion

The surviving documents related to Hancock's West Family demonstrate how each family of a Shaker settlement could operate with a remarkable degree of autonomy. The elders and eldersses had to consider the welfare of dozens of people in their community, and were also responsible for managing a significant amount of land with several different productive enterprises.

The West Family had a fairly large amount of land, with 290 acres under its supervision at the time of its closing. The family likely focused on agriculture and raising livestock, especially dairy production, but also produced a significant amount of manufactured goods such as brooms. Although Elder Henry Blinn noted that family had "but few buildings," that might have been in comparison with the other families at Hancock. The Church Family alone had around fifty buildings in its prime, so even if the West Family had several buildings it would have been dwarfed by the Church.

Each of the outlying families contributed to the overall success of the Shaker settlement, but it is likely that this separation created a certain disassociation between the different groups. The Shakers at the West Family could look down the hillside and see the Church Family, and would have seen other members of the village during Sunday services and visits. However, their primary focus would have been on the affairs of their own family.

This separation naturally would have created stronger bonds within

a family than between the different families. Long-serving Elder David Terry was considered such an important part of the West Family that his resignation, as well as that of Eldress Marcia Boynton, was mistakenly considered to be the “common end” of the community. The Shakers in each family were no doubt welcoming and accommodating to visitors; visitors from Mount Lebanon in 1856 noted the “very agreeable and loving little company” at the West Family, as well as a pleasant visit that sent them home “loaded with love and good feelings.” By contrast, the dissolution of the West Family is recorded with the formality of a business merger, as representatives from the Hancock families met to divvy up the West Family’s land and value.

Overall, the West Family provides an excellent example of internal decline in Shaker villages. With three thousand acres originally under its care, the Hancock community was primarily agricultural. The West Family, with its dairy production, played a valuable part in the commerce of the village. The family was likely a small but profitable enterprise. But the resignation and death of David Terry, coupled with a steadily declining population in the family, would have made it harder to maintain the agricultural operations at the West Family. In the end, the settlement simply wasn’t profitable anymore, as proclaimed outright in the New Lebanon journal. The journal blames this on the soil and the state of the buildings, but there is no indication of agriculture suffering before this declaration, and the buildings proved habitable into the 20th century. Fred Retallick even says that the hills provided good pasture ground. The decline of the West Family was more likely a matter of decreasing population and weakening leadership. The closing of the West Family was a harbinger of the trends that were to plague Shaker communities throughout the country.

Gallery of Retallick Family Photos of the West Family Hancock, Massachusetts

The photographs reproduced in this section were taken by the Retallick family circa 1900. Copies were donated by the family to Hancock Shaker Village. All are reproduced courtesy of the Amy Bess Miller Library, Hancock Shaker Village, Hancock, Mass.

A Retallick girl models a Shaker bonnet (right). Note the Church Family buildings, including the Laundry and Machine Shop, Round Stone Barn, and 1910 Barn, in the background of the image below. This appears to be the rear facade of the West Family Dwelling.





A Retallick girl, and
presumably her father,
outside of the West
Family Dwelling.
Note the pent roof,
and wrought iron
bootscraper set into
marble steps.





Church Family buildings on both sides of Route 20 are visible in the background of the image above.

A Retallick girl models a Shaker bonnet while sitting in a No. 0 rocking chair made by the Mount Lebanon, N.Y, Shaker community.

Notes

1. Personal correspondence with Sabbathday Lake. The Shakers state in an e-mail that their tradition of paying taxes is based on Matthew 22:21, which states "Pay Caesar what is due to Caesar and pay God what is due to God."
2. "A book of records kept by Daniel Goodrich, [Jr.], 1794-1824." Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library, # 1314.
3. Ibid.
4. Census information courtesy of Stephen J. Paterwic.
5. John Harlow Ott, *Hancock Shaker Village: A Guidebook and History* (Shaker Community, Inc., 1976), 47.
6. Henry Clay Blinn, "Diary of A Journey From Canterbury in 1853," (photocopy). Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library, # 1865.
7. Olive Hayden Austin, Oral History. Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library.
8. Harlow died on December 20, 1795, Harrison on September 19, 1796. "A book of records kept by Daniel Goodrich, [Jr.], 1794-1824." Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library, # 1314.
9. Thomas Damon, "Memoranda," (photocopy). Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library, #342.
10. A survey of the West Family site, with interpretation of three clear foundations, is available at Hancock Shaker Village, in the Amy Bess Miller Library, it is not accessioned.
11. Thomas Damon, "Memoranda," (photocopy). Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library, #342.
12. [Elvira Curtis Hulet], "The Old Cheese House: A Record of Butter and Cheese made at the Hancock West Family, 1849-1850. " Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library, #2046.
13. [Diary] 1862, Hancock, Mass., Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #823.
14. "Journal kept on a trip to Mount Lebanon, Watervliet, Hancock, and Tyringham by P. Burlingame, R. Aiken, L. Walton, C. Benton, M. Hopkins, and A.H. Lyman." Shaker Collections, Western Reserve Historical Society, V:B-19.
15. [Diary] 1854, 1860, Hancock, Mass., Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #822.
16. Fred Retallick, Oral History. Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library.
17. Wealthy Storer, [Diary], Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #851.
18. [Diary] 1862, Hancock, Mass., Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #823.
19. "Gardener's Journal," New Lebanon, NY. Hancock Shaker Village, Amy

- Bess Miller Library #845.
20. "Bot in the years of 1847 and 1848....," Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #1097. "Expences of West family sisters for 1867," Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #1098.
 21. "[List of goods sent to the office by the West Family], 1852, Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #1154.
 22. Wealthy Storer, [Diary], Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #851.
 23. Ibid, 88-9.
 24. Ibid, 200-201.
 25. West Family Covenant, 1851 (photocopy). Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library #2998, red dot.
 26. Thomas Damon, "Memoranda," (photocopy). Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library, #342.
 27. John Harlow Ott, *Hancock Shaker Village: A Guidebook and History* (Shaker Community, Inc., 1976), 48.
 28. [Diary] 1862, Hancock, Mass., Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #823.
 29. The Shaker Museum and Library, "Record Book Miscellaneous 1833-1899." Shaker Museum | Mount Lebanon, Emma B. King Library, #10,345.
 30. [Diary] 1865-1867, Hancock, Mass. Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Library, #824. Attribution based on reading by Christian Goodwillie.
 31. "Records, Kept by Order of the Church Volume III [1856-August 8, 1871]." Shaker Museum | Mount Lebanon, Emma B. King Library, #1957.10342.1.
 32. "Hancock Record." Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library, #8000.
 33. "Record Book Miscellaneous 1833-1899." Shaker Museum | Mount Lebanon, Emma B. King Library, #10,345.
 34. Ibid.
 35. Ibid.
 36. Olive Hayden Austin, Oral History. Archives, Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library.
 37. "Account- and Day-book, 1837-1913," Hancock, Mass. Hancock Shaker Village, Amy Bess Miller Library, #370.