

“We Live at a Great Distance from the Church”: Cartographic Strategies of the Shakers, 1805-1835

By Carol Medlicott

Introduction

While Shakerism was spreading in the several decades following the 1780s, America itself was also expanding territorially. Just as America's territorial expansion was the stimulus for map-making, Shaker expansion produced a need for maps and for the skills of the surveyor and the cartographer. The Shaker movement was long distinctive among American utopian sects, in that it attempted to encompass a large number of communities arrayed across a thousand miles of geographic distance. This expansive geographic structure produced an array of interesting and contradictory strategies among the Shakers. Even while leading Shakers expressed doubt about the appropriateness of geography as a field of study among believers, they nonetheless embraced geographic awareness in ways both explicit and subtle. Shakers learned and practiced surveying, and they relied upon cartography to help them maintain “gospel order” across geographical distance. Additionally, some Shaker maps provide evidence of remarkably sophisticated geographical knowledge, knowledge that indicates that at least some Shakers were following key debates that were ongoing among leading geographers in the Early Republic.

Maps and illustrative “views” of Shaker villages have drawn the attention of some fine scholars, who have analyzed them mainly as forms of artistic expression. Art historian Rob Emlen authored the primary scholarly treatment of Shaker maps in his 1987 book *Shaker Village Views*.¹ Emlen primarily analyzes the pictorial and illustrative qualities of the maps, rather than the cartographic techniques and conventions that they display. In the nearly twenty-five years since his work, there has been little or no serious analysis of Shaker mapping practices. This paper will begin to address that gap. By interpreting the Shakers' geographic attitudes and cartographic strategies in the context of American cartographic practices more broadly, I will argue that the Shakers used cartography and

geographic language to create and reinforce collective identity.

As this paper proceeds, I will first address the climate of geographic knowledge in the Early Republic, with particular attention to the integration of geographic knowledge and cartographic skills into school curricula. All of the Shakers' early converts, east and west, were shaped by early American attitudes towards education, at least to some degree. And America's broader pedagogical standards shaped the ways in which Shaker schools were organized. I will present evidence of Shaker views on geographic education, evidence which bears directly on the interpretation of the maps that Shakers produced in the expansion period. I will present several highlights from early Shaker maps and demonstrate the importance of geographic orientation in early Shaker culture. I will consider the work of George Kendall, who in 1835 produced a series of maps of the western societies based upon the sketch maps of Isaac Newton Youngs. One of his maps has been entirely overlooked, even though it is one of the most unusual of all Shaker maps. I hope in the end to begin building a better understanding of the Shakers' broader cartographic orientation within the American landscape.

Cartography in the Culture of the Early Republic

As the United States assumed its new global stature of "enlightened" nation in the "New World," one response was a flurry of attention from cartographers, publishers, and educators, all of whom scrambled to represent the new America to students, to the European public, and to American citizens. The size, shape, and extent of the new American nation and its various parts became almost a public obsession. The Early Republic witnessed a flourishing of geographic knowledge—maps, globes, and geographic "spellers" were standard fare for all ages of students, from early primary grades to high schools and colleges.² Perhaps at no time in the history of the United States was geographic literacy so openly promoted. Because the new nation was a plural collection of states spread across the eastern edge of a continent, good citizenship required a more expansive geographic knowledge beyond one's own home state or locality. The market for American geography textbooks boomed, and prominent American intellectuals such as Jedidiah Morse began compiling geography texts and geographical lexicons that would remain standard for more than fifty years.³ Geography held a central place in the American classroom and in American intellectual life. The importance

of geography to America's founders helped to ensure that was the case. Besides the fact that several "founding fathers" were trained as surveyors, in Thomas Jefferson's own library, geography books constituted the largest single category outside of law and politics.⁴ With the addition of the Northwest Territories, the young America expanded its western frontier and confronted the challenge of how to effect a smooth social and political integration of trans-Appalachian states. At the same time, the map of the American nation was a work in progress. Since the merging of the nation and the state as a territorial ideal, maps had become crucial components of western statecraft, both signaling state power to citizens and helping to orient and fix cultural identities.⁵ Printed maps of the United States, and of the broader North American continent on which it was situated, became wildly popular decorative objects, produced by the thousands in such publishing centers as Philadelphia and Cincinnati and sold cheaply so that they could adorn the walls of public buildings like schools, town halls, courthouses, taverns, hotels, and post offices, as well as private homes. The map of America became teaching tool, leisure pastime, and status symbol. It was integrated into jigsaw puzzles, sampler embroideries, printed on silk scarves and porcelain china. Family portraits often included maps and globes to signal the family's educational status.

Many American intellectuals believed strongly that the geography of the new American nation could best be represented by maps, atlases, and texts that adopted an explicitly American perspective.⁶ British produced geography texts that had been previously popular were set aside in preference to American-produced work. A generation of American geographers and travel writers embraced this new nationalistic perspective and found audiences for their atlases, texts, and travel accounts.⁷ Maps showing the young American nation situated on the eastern portion of its continent functioned as both reality and promise, arguably contributing to the concept of "manifest destiny" that would later evolve. One key way in which American geographical texts could assert a nationalistic perspective was in the use of an American prime meridian, which refers to the practice of fixing the line of zero degrees longitude at a point in the North America instead of the more commonly used European locations of Paris or Greenwich, England.⁸ Members of the American Philosophical Society had promoted the use of Philadelphia for an American prime meridian. But once the new capital city of Washington, D.C. was laid out in the 1790s, "Jefferson's Meridian" became a widespread standard for

the calculation of longitude.⁹ Philadelphia publisher Mathew Carey was instrumental in promoting the American geographical perspective, and his popular *Complete Historical, Chronological, and Geographical American Atlas* used the Washington-based prime meridian exclusively, placing zero degrees longitude at a line running north and south through Washington, D.C.¹⁰ More commonly, other American maps and atlases included both the American prime meridian and prime meridian that dominated European and British texts, calculated from Greenwich, England. In such cases, atlas pages might read “degrees of longitude west from Washington, D.C.” along one map margin and “degrees of longitude west from Greenwich” along the other. For American map users, the nationalistic implications of using an American prime meridian were obvious. Americans could now determine fixed coordinates for any location in the world relative to *America’s* capital, not relative to a city symbolic of British naval power. Such a standard reinforced America’s arrival on the world stage as a nation promoting science and universal enlightenment.

Geographic Knowledge Among Early Shakers

As the Shakers began to proselytize in the 1780s, the movement absorbed people of all levels of learning. Early Shakers were generally ambiguous towards advanced education. With its origins among illiterate iconoclasts, Shakerism strongly promoted the notion that truth was found in direct inspiration rather than in printed doctrine. However, the first generation of Shakers quickly recognized that establishing “gospel order” would require a standardized belief system, something that would not spring into being unaided. Moreover, transforming converts’ farmland into industrious communities with complex production of both manufactured and agricultural goods required skill and acumen on the part of hundreds of believers. Consequently, highly educated converts became enormous assets to Shaker communities, as theologians, managers, inventors, innovators. The theological contributions of learned westerners Richard McNemar and John Dunlavy are well known, but converts’ academic gifts extended to much more than just theology.

One eastern convert, Seth Youngs Wells, was a gifted young teacher, a principal from a high school in Albany, New York. He persuaded nine of his thirteen siblings to become Shakers, along with his parents and several members of his mother’s family, the Youngs.¹¹ Together, members of the Youngs-Wells families would hold significant leadership positions

at New Lebanon for years to come. From the 1810s, Seth Wells acted as superintendent for the school district of which the New Lebanon, New York, Shaker students were a part;¹² and he wrote extensively about the ideal organization of Shaker schools.¹³ Many Shaker communities corresponded with Wells to seek his guidance on setting up their schools or brought him to inspect their schools and advise their schoolteachers. As school superintendent, Wells was responsible for choosing textbooks and classroom materials, and he passed his recommendations to other Shaker communities.

Annual reports from the New Lebanon school district reflect the regular purchase of geography books, atlases, and charts as well as the purchase of a globe.¹⁴ Several of the most popular American geography textbooks were chosen by Wells for the Shaker schools, including texts by geography pedagogists William Channing Woodbridge, Emma Willard, Joseph Emerson Worcester, Peter Parley, Jedidiah Morse, and Jesse Olney. The choice of Olney's text is particularly interesting. Olney elaborated on the concept of spatial scale, a now common feature in geography pedagogy, in which one considers problems or conditions at successive scales from local to regional to national to universal. He adopted an inductive approach to geography education, developing the student's local knowledge first before proceeding to broader scales of the national and universal.¹⁵ The fact that geographic knowledge necessarily involved contemplation of broader scales seemed to make the isolationist-minded Shaker leadership uncomfortable with teaching geography. Seth Wells wrote,

As to the science of Geography, I must confess I have serious doubts of the propriety of making it a general study in the schools of believers. I know that much may be said in favor of its utility as a science but all that can be said in its favour will go no further than to prove that a knowledge of ... housebuilding or the carpenters art is necessary for all classes because all need houses to live in, or that a knowledge of agriculture is necessary for all classes, both male and female, because all are supported by the fruits of the earth. We rarely find a tradesman, mechanic, or farmer who knows anything about Geography as a science; nor do such people find any real disadvantage in being ignorant of it.

But recognizing that geography would be useful to those Shakers acting in a more public capacity, he continued,

A general idea of the form and figure of this earth and its dimensions, the location and relative situation of its various parts, its natural productions, the varieties of its inhabitants, the difference of its climates and productions, the relative situations of different continents, and the names of the nations who inhabit them, whether civilized or savage, together with some more particular knowledge of the country in which we live, its different parts and relation among nations and other information ... might also be useful to some especially who are called to act in a public capacity.¹⁶

A letter that Wells wrote to Abraham Perkins of Enfield, New Hampshire, in 1833 reflected similar ideas about geography:

The general outlines of it, such as are contained in the small geographies compiled for the use of children, with the help of a good atlas, will generally be sufficient. Cummings, Blake's, & Parley's small geographies for children are good, and with the help of Woodbridge's school Atlas I think quite sufficient.... I should recommend more particular attention to the geographies of our own countries, and less to foreign countries.¹⁷

As an educated man of his times, Seth Wells would have recognized the aesthetic appeal of maps and globes, as well as the liberating potential of geographic knowledge. Other Shakers evidently found globes appealing. At Wells' home village of Watervliet, New York, where he had been admitted in 1798 and where many of his biological family members lived, a globe was put on display — probably in the Church Family dwelling — in February 1822. This fact is recorded in a journal kept by an unnamed Watervliet sister, who wrote succinctly on February 14, "Grove put up our globe in the hall."¹⁸ This simple statement probably documents the Shakers' acquisition of a globe manufactured by James Wilson, America's first globe-maker. Wilson and his three sons operated a globe "manufactory" in Albany, where they began producing globes in three sizes around 1817.¹⁹ Wilson's sales were active in the Albany area, and his globes were heavily advertised in the Albany newspapers specifically between August 1821 and January 1822.²⁰ The Shakers were apparently repeat clients of Wilson's globes. Wells' listing of school supplies purchased in 1829 for the New Lebanon district includes a three-inch diameter globe for around two dollars.²¹ Though this seems small, it was one of Wilson's standard sizes

(along with nine and thirteen-inch globes).²²

Although Wells' was cautious about emphasizing geography in Shaker schools, Shaker pupils nonetheless produced some sophisticated maps and geographic exercises. In that period, the "geographies for children" contained instruction sufficient to fully equip students to conduct meticulous field surveys measuring plots of land, as well as executing hand-made maps that would be far out of reach of most young students today. One can see an elaborate series of mapping exercises in a collection from Watervliet, New York: J. C. Buckingham's "Drafts from Maps of Different Parts of the Globe Executed by the Pen." Within that collection are numerous examples of geographic exercises executed by Shaker students between 1829 and the 1850s. Some are sketch maps of countries, hemispheres, or continents (figure 1), and one is the State of Maine (figure 2). All are meticulously and beautifully done. Another piece of evidence indicating the cartographic

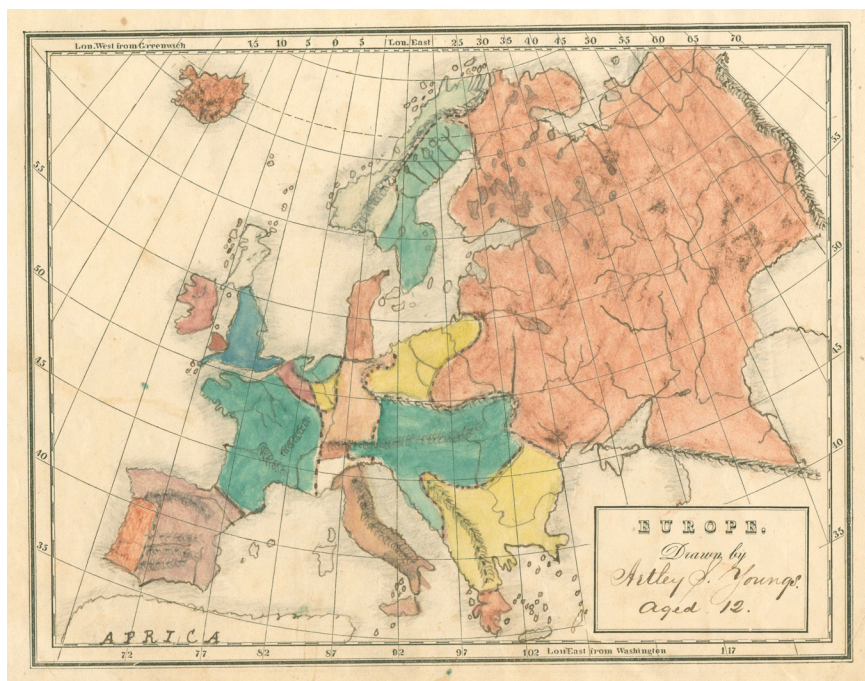


Figure 1. An example of a child's map exercise, contained in J. C. Buckingham's "Drafts from Maps of Different Parts of the Globe Executed by the Pen." This exercise map of Europe is signed "Artley S. Youngs."

(WRHS XIV Folder 12)

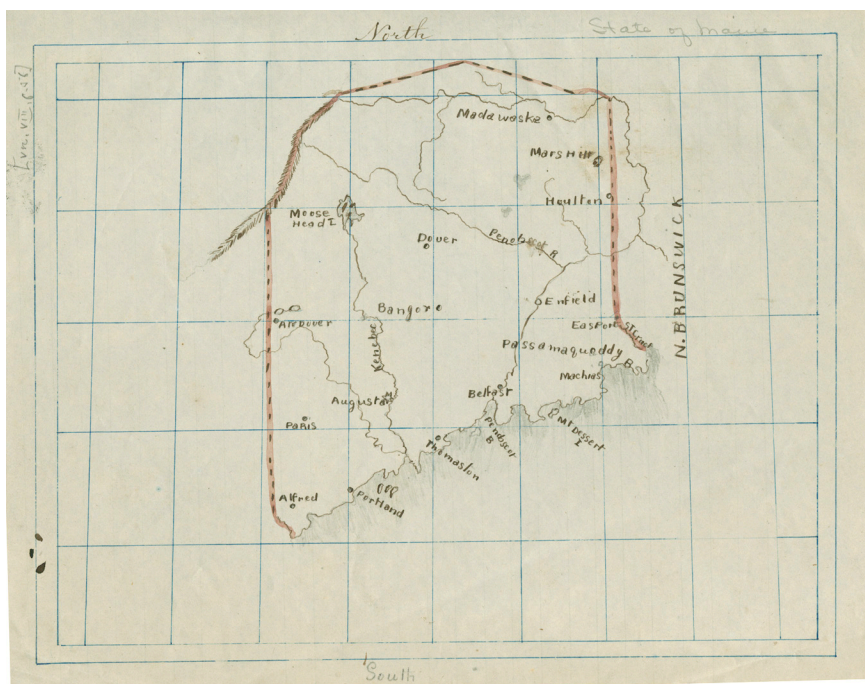


Figure 2. An unsigned example of a child's exercise map of the State of Maine.
(WRHS XIV Folder 12)

skills acquired by Shaker children is found in a passage by Taylor and White about the education of New Lebanon teacher and eldress, Polly Reed, who came to the Shakers at the age of eight and was educated by Calvin Green, a teacher-protégé of Seth Wells²³: “Her penmanship and map drawing were remarkable.... It is hard to believe that the perfect map before the eye is the work of the hand and pen and not the product of the engraver's art.”²⁴

The New Lebanon Church Record suggests that by the early 1830s geographical knowledge was so recognized for its general value that special provision was made to ensure that geography texts were available to the believers, students and adults alike. One common geographic text of the period was a gazetteer-style volume, which would present detailed tabulated data on road distances between towns. Such information would of course be vital to Shaker communities sending out members to market the Shakers' growing array of commercial products. Manuscripts reflect

that individual Shakers compiled their own gazetteers from published gazetteers that might be brought into the community by converts.²⁵ An entry for 1834 addressed the handling of books in the community, directing which books were suitable to be kept in retiring rooms and which should be retained in a library where they would be available to everyone. Geography texts were specifically mentioned in the latter category:

The Church having had some labor of late respecting the proper disposition of the Books which have been gathered into the Church from time to time, chiefly by individuals who have come in & brought books with them. It was concluded to form a family library which should be under the care of a librarian.... It was however judged expedient for the Brethren & Sisters to retain in their rooms ... other books belonging to the youth & children, excepting Geographies, which were to be kept in the Library for general use.²⁶

Despite Wells' reservations as to the suitability of geography for Shaker students, another aspect of geography—surveying—was most definitely recognized by Shakers as a practical and necessary skill. Along with the drawing of simple maps, surveying was a skill needed at many locations, as Shaker villages expanded through the acquisition of new land. In the West, the Shaker missionaries and their new converts actively built the first settlements by surveying the land themselves as they integrated it into the new communities. In December 1806 at what would soon become Union Village, “Peter Pease, Issachar Bates, Malcom Worley, and others went and surveyed Abram Larew’s farm; paid for it, and took a deed.”²⁷ In Ohio and elsewhere in the trans-Appalachian region, the “township and range” system of surveying prevailed, guiding the Shakers’ surveying practices and ensuring that the Shaker landholdings were a coherent part of the mathematical township system on which mapping of counties and states was based. In the East, the older “metes and bounds” system of surveying still predominated, based upon the practice of fixing physical landmarks as points of reference to guide property surveys. The use of the “metes and bounds” approach is evident in a surviving fragment of an early survey from New Lebanon, which fixes and labels specific trees as points of reference.²⁸ The surveying of property was such a common practice among the early nineteenth-century Shakers that the process even makes an appearance in a hymn by Richard McNemar. Titled, “The New

A
SYSTEM
OF
GEOMETRY AND TRIGONOMETRY:
TOGETHER WITH A
TREATISE ON SURVEYING;
TEACHING VARIOUS WAYS OF TAKING THE SURVEY OF A FIELD;
ALSO TO PROTRACT THE SAME AND FIND THE AREA.
LIKEWISE,
RECTANGULAR SURVEYING;
OR,
AN ACCURATE METHOD OF CALCULATING THE AREA OF ANY FIELD
ARITHMETICALLY, WITHOUT THE NECESSITY OF PLOTTING IT.
TO THE WHOLE ARE ADDED
SEVERAL MATHEMATICAL TABLES,
NECESSARY FOR SOLVING QUESTIONS IN
TRIGONOMETRY AND SURVEYING;
WITH A
PARTICULAR EXPLANATION OF THOSE TABLES,
AND THE MANNER OF USING THEM.
FOURTH EDITION,
REVISED AND CORRECTED.
COMPILED FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS,
BY ABEL FLINT, A. M.
HARTFORD:
PUBLISHED BY COOKE & HALE.
.....
1818.

Figure 3. Title page of Abel Flint's popular 1818 *Treatise On Surveying*.

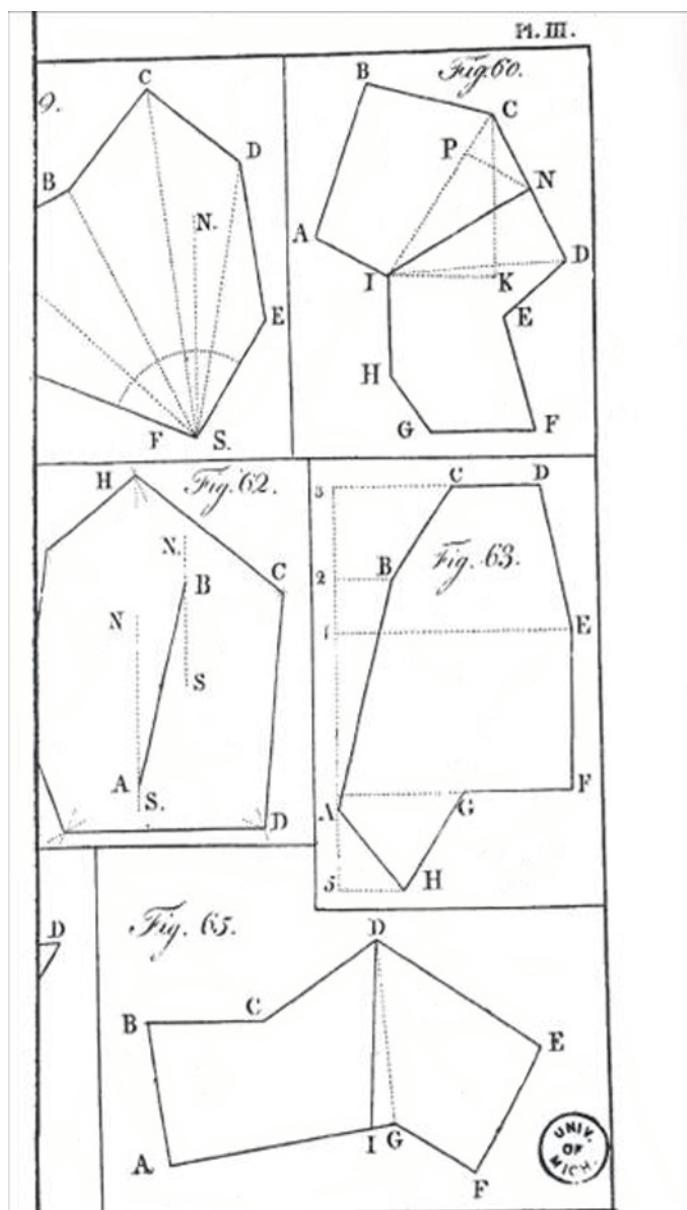


Figure 4. Teaching exercise from Flint's *Treatise On Surveying*.

evidence that surveying was taught to schoolchildren survives in the form of a fragment from a “ciphering book” by D. A. Buckingham, who in 1825 recorded a complex surveying exercise of a 110-acre field, under the heading, “Survey of a Field, or Lot of Land.”³⁰ The use of advanced surveying skills can also be seen in the complex map drawn in the 1830s by Benjamin Seth Youngs of South Union, Kentucky, and copied in 1836 by Lorenzo Martin (figure 6).

Maps and Geographic Orientation Across the Shaker World

Shortly after the Shaker movement expanded to the West, we see the Shakers’ first efforts to use cartography to communicate the West’s

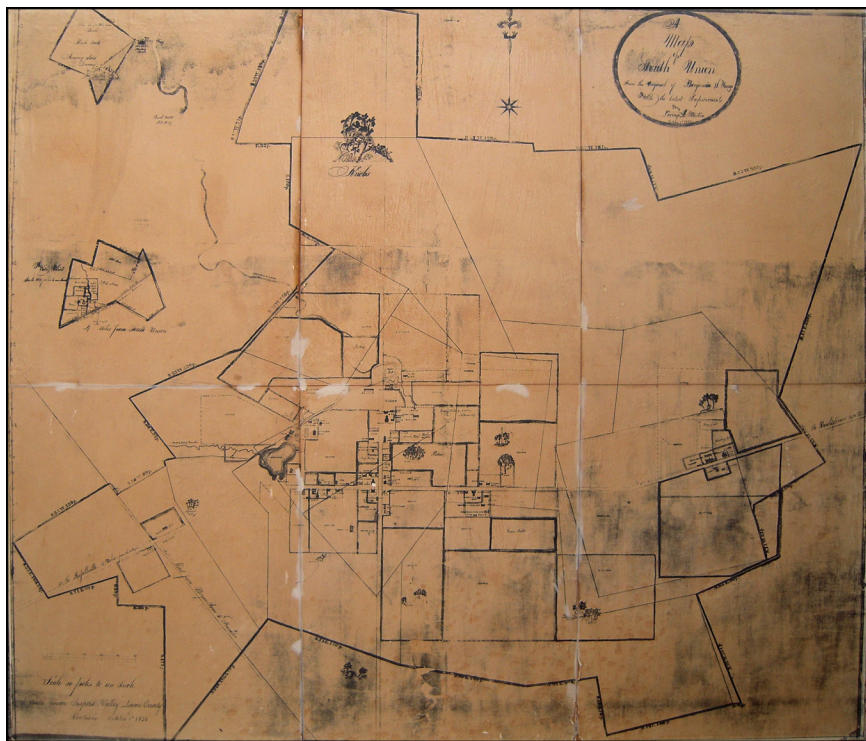


Figure 6. “A map of South Union from the original of Benjamin S. Youngs With the Latest improvements by Lorenzo L. Martin October 1, 1836.” Ink on paper. 48½ x 45½ inches (123.2 cm x 115.6 cm.).

(Courtesy of Shaker Museum at South Union, Ky., which has a photostatic copy of the original which is held by Western Reserve Historical Society)

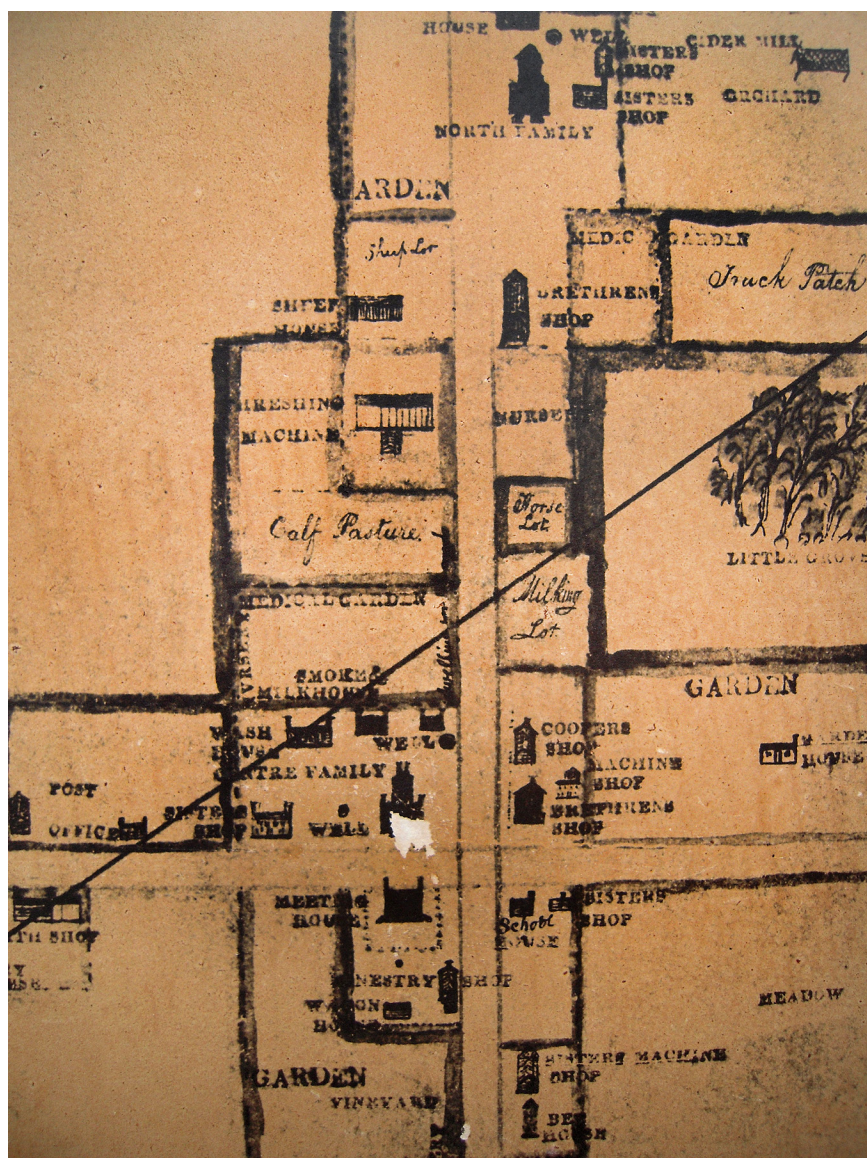


Figure 6a. Detail of "A map of South Union from the original of Benjamin S. Youngs With the Latest improvements by Lorenzo L. Martin October 1, 1836." Ink on paper. 48½ x 45½ inches (123.2 cm x 115.6 cm).

(Courtesy of Shaker Museum at South Union, Ky., which has a photostatic copy of the original which is held by Western Reserve Historical Society)

effigies mark the four quadrants of the section of land, which is identified as Section Num. 24 in Turtle Creek Township. Richard McNemar's account of the period specifically mentions the dates on which each of the four quadrants of Section 24 passed into the Shakers' ownership. The northwest quadrant had been owned by Malcolm Worley, the first convert, and the southwest, northeast, and southeast quadrants were purchased by the Shakers in December 1805, May 1807, and June 1807, respectively.³² The nearby parcel marked as "A. Larew's lot" had been surveyed and purchased in December 1806.³³ The map was likely drawn and sent east sometime after the final quadrant was purchased, thus marking the ownership of the completed section.³⁴ The caption bears this out, reading that this is the "Section that the old Believers Bot."³⁵ The back of the map reads, "Richard McNemar Map—to Deacon David at Watervliet from Archibald." This provides a final clue, as this writer can only have been Archibald Meacham, who did not arrive in the West until August 1807.³⁶ The recipient of the map was almost certainly David Meacham, Sr. As trustee of the Church, David Meacham (who was also Archibald's father) was duly appointed to handle all property transactions.³⁷ In short, this preponderance of evidence allows us to confidently date the map to around August 1807. Prior to that time, not only was Archibald Meacham, the map's sender, not present in the West, but the complete section was not yet owned by the Shakers. Mapping the complete section and marking its four quadrants with angelic effigies was a way of asserting the Church's ownership of the land.

A second map of Union Village was sent to the East sometime later, reflecting many changes that shaped the village's landscape (figure 8). That map is dated November 7, 1807, according to its Library of Congress title. However, it appears that this map, too, has been misdated. It clearly depicts the first meeting house at Union Village, which was begun in June 1808 and used for the first time in January 1809. There is nothing in the overall context of the map to suggest that it intended for anything than to record the actual conditions at Union Village, as opposed to the future projected plans. Thus, it is possible that there has been a simple error in reading the date. A date of November 1809 is far more likely than a date of November 1807. In any case, it seems clear that the Shakers recognized the illustrative value of maps to provide an illuminating window across the distance and afford the eastern Ministry a vicarious glimpse of developments in the West.

Manuscript references suggest the existence of several other early maps of western settlements. Pleasant Hill Shaker Samuel Hooser wrote to New Lebanon in 1821 discussing how best to convey recent building projects onto a map of Pleasant Hill that had already been sent to New Lebanon. He suggests consulting “J. M.”— John Meacham, one of the first eastern missionaries who had served as Pleasant Hill’s first elder and who had already returned to the East by that time.

Br. Rufus desired me to inform him of the new buildings we put up so that he might place them on the Map, this I would like to do but I have no very correct way of doing it as I kept no copy of the map that was sent, but if you feel to put yourself to that much labor as to inquire of J. M. he can point out the place ... There has been some alteration in the outward order of things

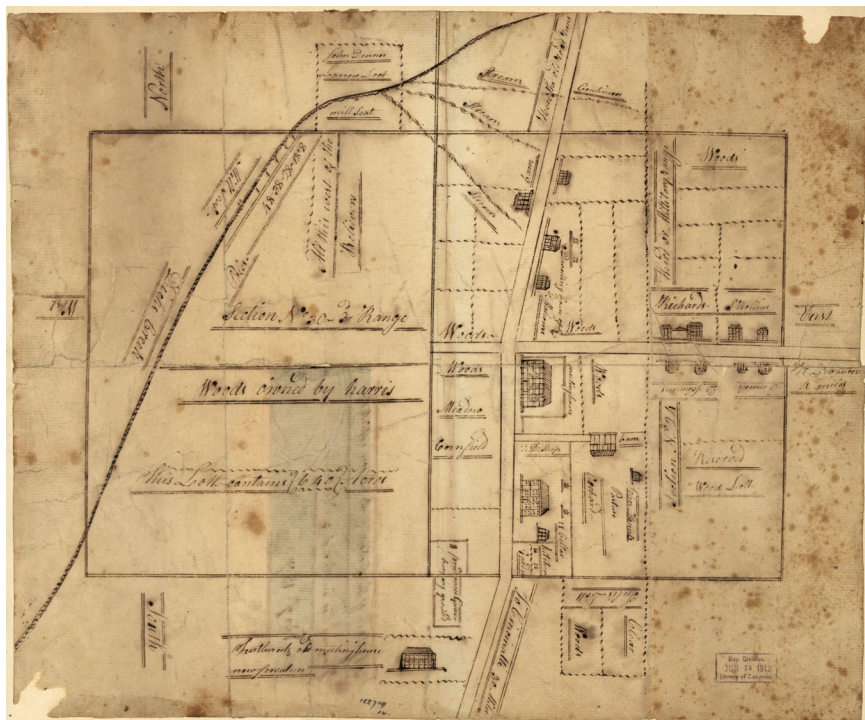


Figure 8. “A plan of the section of land on which the Believers live in the state of Ohio, Nov. 7th, 1807.”
(Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

here since your map was drawn so we have calculated on sending you another one after things become more settled and a way of Conveyance be opened for it, then perhaps we shall be better able to inform you of the improvement of buildings and of the places in which they stand.³⁸

As the number and size of western villages increased, augmenting the geographical scope of the Shaker world, a gradual awareness of the expansive presence of Shakerism seemed to develop. A popular hymn published in the Shakers' first printed hymnal, *Millennial Praises*, included the line, "From Alfred to South Union's plains" to indicate the territorial sweep of the Shaker world from Maine to western Kentucky.³⁹ During the occupation of West Union at the Busseron Creek site along the Wabash River in far western Indiana territory, letters and poems continually reflected an acute awareness of West Union's situation on the far western margin of settled America. It was common for letters to begin with such declarations as, "We live at a great distance from the Church," reiterating the conscious awareness of occupying a distant and marginal place in a sprawling collective.⁴⁰ The geographical circumstances were perhaps felt most keenly by the transplanted eastern Shakers, for whom the log cabins and the hot, flat, and swampy prairie seemed so drastically different than any location they had ever known. Martha Sanborn writes in 1819,

But I am here in Indiana.... We live in the upper part of a log meetinghouse. The house is not big enough for all our little Society to labour in, and when we shall get any other, I cannot tell. It stands on the west side of the big prairie. It is a little island so that in time of high waters, we cannot get out without some watercraft.⁴¹

Notwithstanding the extreme location of West Union on the margins of the Shaker world, by the early 1820s, the remaining Shaker expansion was being undertaken with a notion to knitting together east and west. In a letter to Proctor Sampson, Richard McNemar writes of the plans in Ohio to establish a settlement near Cleveland and Lake Erie. McNemar's enthusiasm for the location is partly based upon its convenience as a stopping point along a new travel route to connect the eastern Ministry at New Lebanon with the Ohio Ministry at Union Village:

The little society at Warrensville hath engaged our particular attention, as there is a prospect of the gospel being kept in that

place, which would be very desirable to us as it is at least 230 miles on the way to New Lebanon, perhaps by the best route, if our information of the country is to be correct. At any rate, the communication that is opening from your country to the lake will afford means of an intercourse on that direction preferable to the old route across the mountain. The country around Warrensville, which is called the Connecticut Western Reserve is principally settled with New England people, and where the society is located the land is middling good and handsomely situated within about four miles of the nearest part of the lake.”⁴²

The establishment of North Union near Lake Erie was soon followed by the acquisition of property at Sodus Bay on Lake Ontario. Kin of Ohio Shaker Richard Pelham lived near Lyons, New York, close to Sodus Bay and in the vicinity of the newly opened Erie Canal. The New Lebanon Shakers responded to the spiritual queries of these New York Pelhams by sending missionaries and scouting out locations for a new settlement at Sodus Bay. The choice of that area seemed to be part of a geographic strategy, both to capitalize on the religious fervor of that Burned-Over District and to establish a location between the Erie Canal and a Lake Ontario harbor.⁴³ It was probably not lost on the Shakers that a journey from Union Village to New Lebanon would be broken almost precisely into even thirds, if taken through way-stations of North Union and Sodus Bay.⁴⁴

As the nineteenth century continued, Shaker expansion reached its apex, and the Shaker Millennial Laws were integrated more thoroughly into daily life, the notion of Shaker Zion being distinct and separate from the world deepened. At the same time, Shaker school children continued to learn and practice the skills of geography. It is not surprising, then, that one student, Nancy Rupe of Pleasant Hill, would later try her hand at composing a descriptive geography of the Shaker world, using a well-known pedagogical technique for inculcating geographical knowledge, namely, a long and entertaining rhyme. Her poem titled “A Small Geography” constructs a verse map detailing the geography and demographics of the entire Shaker world, along with details of its historical origins in England and its early trans-Atlantic transplantation. It concludes:

Altho imperfectly I write
This short geography

It will show you where believers live
And how many there be
And if you ever visit them
You'll find them all indeed
True babes of the same parentage
And Christ their only lead
For farther information, friends,
See the Millennial Church
For this is my authority
And if for it you search
You'll find on page the 76th
And other pages too
That with some few corrections
Now my little sketch is true.⁴⁵

Maps and the Western Societies

In the summer of 1834, a pair of eastern brothers was sent on a tour of the western communities. Visits were a common fixture of the Shaker world. Elders and Ministry members commonly visited the villages and families under their charge. Within the West, this meant that visitors circulating among Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana sites (until 1827 when West Union closed) were fairly common. Also, visits to the East by both western leaders and native westerners occurred periodically. Letters were common and frequent, although mainly restricted to those holding some position of authority. Some easterners and westerners developed warm friendships during visits and maintained these friendships through correspondence. But it was rare for eastern representatives to travel west for a visit. Thus it caused a stir of excitement when it was announced that Isaac Newton Youngs and Rufus Bishop—both representatives of the Church Family in New Lebanon, the highest spiritual order in the Shaker world—would tour the western societies in the summer of 1834. The visitors were charged with the daunting task of gathering as much information about the West as possible, and Youngs recorded their activities in a journal.⁴⁶

A recurring event in Youngs account of the visit is the showing of “our maps.” He is likely referring to a large map of New Lebanon that he brought with him on the journey.⁴⁷ It appears that the visitors displayed this at each location shortly after their arrival. Indeed, the opportunity of the westerners at each site to view and pore over the New Lebanon map seems

Sketches

of the

Various Societies of Believers
in the states of Ohio & Kentucky.

To which is added.

A slight sketch of Sodus Bay
in the northern part of N. York.

Also a map

Containing several of the States.

On which is laid out the route of B.^r
Peafus Bishop and Isaac N. Youngs
New Lebanon: while on a tour to visit
these societies, in the summer and fall
of 1834.

Copied from Isaac N. Youngs
Journal, July 1835, by

George Kendall.

Figure 9. Title page of "Sketches of the Various Societies of Believers in the states of Ohio & Kentucky, To which is added a slight sketch of Sodus Bay in the northern part of New York," made by Harvard Shaker George Kendall in 1835.

(Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

to highlight the reception of the visitors at each village. The following entry, recorded at White Water in July 1834, is typical: "After resting a little while we went into the house, & visited the Brethren & Sisters some; showed our maps &c. &c. & passed the evening pretty much in conversation."⁴⁸ Wergland notes that Youngs had promised a Union Village brother, Andrew Houston, whom he had already met when Houston visited the East in 1828, a map of New Lebanon, and she suggests that Youngs was intending to leave his map in the West.⁴⁹ Youngs was also actively engaged in mapping the individual western sites during the visit, and his journal often remarks that he spends time working on his maps. He would have recognized the need to complete the maps while the details of the sites remained fresh in his mind. Many western Shakers would have been as unfamiliar with other western sites as they were with New Lebanon; and they likely would have eagerly viewed Youngs' sketches of the sites he had already visited. The caption on Youngs' map of North Union specifies that he completed it while journeying down the Ohio-Erie Canal, en route to Union Village.

The surviving maps from Isaac Newton Youngs' journey are contained in the only collection of Shaker maps, "Sketches of the Various Societies of Believers in the states of Ohio & Kentucky" (figure 9), which were copied from Youngs' journal in 1835 by a Harvard Shaker, George Kendall. Youngs' original maps have not survived. Evaluating the maps' accuracy and the cartographic insights that they display is difficult; it is impossible to know what features of the maps represent Kendall's own additions or refinements. What we know of both men's education levels suggest that either would have been well equipped to execute the drawing of good maps. Isaac Newton Youngs had been certified to teach school by a team of New York State District Inspectors in 1820.⁵⁰ George Kendall taught in the Shaker school at Shirley in the early 1830s.⁵¹ As such, both men would have been proficient in the use of the many geography texts recommended by Seth Youngs Wells for Shaker schools. Kendall would have had direct access to the 1818 *Treatise on Surveying* already mentioned and known to be in the Shirley school. Yet, the maps based on Youngs' western visit have not been acclaimed for their sophistication; rather, they are described as "the crudest of any Shaker maps known today." Although Emlen praises their informative potential, he continues, "Small, oversimplified, and often inaccurate, they were obviously made as sketches or diagrams rather than as independent pictorial works."⁵² But in fact the maps display amazing

accuracy that belies their simple appearance and points to the cartographic skills of Youngs and Kendall.

One example well illustrates this point. Figure 10 shows the Youngs-Kendall map of White Water, Ohio, with the added overlay of a contemporary map of the area generated through geographic information systems (GIS) technology. The tiny white rectangles of the GIS layer represent the current structures in the area. Thin pink and green lines represent the current roads, and the Dry Fork of the Whitewater River appears in light blue. A black oval in the lower right portion marks the location of the 1827 meetinghouse and 1832 dwelling, both of which still stand. Amazingly, the locations correspond. A black circle in the upper left portion marks the location of the surviving 1855 trustee's house. That building postdates Youngs' 1834 visit, but it was placed at a location immediately opposite the Center Family dwelling; and uncannily, the GIS overlay shows that structure precisely opposite that dwelling's location.

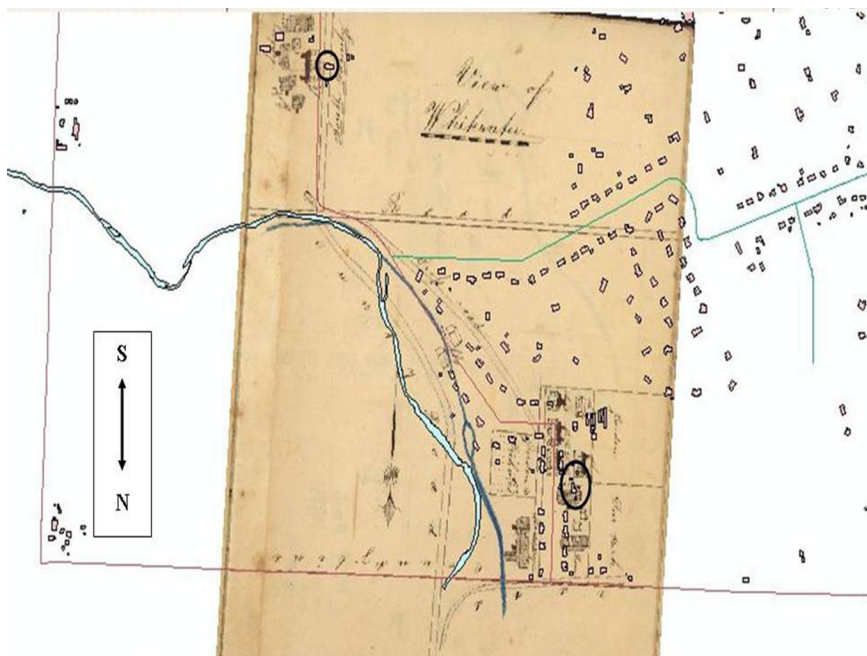


Figure 10. Contemporary GIS map of White Water neighborhood overlays the 1835 Kendall-Youngs map of the White Water settlement.

(Courtesy of Hamilton County Park District Staff Cartographer)



Figure 11. The full-color “A General View of our Journey and of Several States” map from the Youngs/Kendall collection.

(Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division)



Journey and of Several States.

By.

The pink line tracing the modern road almost exactly traces the line of the Shaker road. The skill of the cartographer is particularly indicated in the accurate location of the road's bend, and the accurate placement of the North and Center Family clusters relative to this crucial point. It should be noted that in 1834, the public road ran along the other side of the creek along which the Shaker settled, namely, the Dry Fork of the Whitewater River. A lane private to the Shakers ran from the bend in the road along the opposite side of the creek up to the North Family, and it is along this lane that the modern road runs today. The only significant difference between the two maps is in the curve of the creek bed. This can easily be accounted for by erosion and the fact that early nineteenth-century water levels were notably higher than today's.

“Also a Map Containing Several of the States”

Most of the maps from the Youngs journey have been examined and analyzed by Emlen for the rich detail they reveal about the conditions in the western communities in 1834.⁵³ But one map has been overlooked. That missing map is the full-color “Map Containing Several of the States On which is laid out the route taken by Brs. Rufus Bishop and Isaac N. Youngs” (figure 11). Whether that map is the work of Youngs or of Kendall is unclear. The title page of the entire map collection suggests that it is Kendall's attempt to provide a broader geographical context for the users of the collection. But the caption on the full-color map itself reads, “A General View of Our Journey and of Several States, I.N.Y.,” suggesting that it is the direct work of Youngs. Close examination of the watercolor map image, however, reveals errors that Youngs is hardly likely to have made. In southwest Ohio (rendered in dark blue, making it one of the most difficult parts of the map to interpret), the relative locations of the cities of Hamilton, Dayton, and Lebanon, as well as the Shaker villages of Union Village, Watervliet, and White Water, are rendered with many serious inaccuracies. Dayton is placed due west of Lebanon; White Water is placed north of Hamilton; Union Village is placed north of Watervliet, among others. Youngs is hardly likely to have made any of these errors; but Kendall might have done so, since he did not actually participate in the journey. In any case, analysis of the watercolor map has been overlooked in previous discussions of this collection of the Western maps.

On its face, “Several States” strongly resembles a classroom map exercise such as that depicted in figures 1 and 2. As teachers accustomed

to classroom use of geography texts that presented instruction for such mapping exercises, either Kendall or Youngs would have been able to execute a map of this sort. Examination of the map shows it to be a detail of a conical projection, as evidenced by the fact that the lines of longitude do not run parallel, but angle slightly towards a convergence point to the north. And in one particular feature, this map points to a remarkable choice on the part of the cartographer: the map uses the American prime meridian at Washington, D.C., reflected by a zero-degree line of longitude that runs south from the “0” indicated along the map’s top axis. One can follow that line of longitude southward directly through the circle indicating the location of Washington, D.C. (whose labeling is barely visible against the dark blue coloration of Virginia).

Even more remarkable is the consequence of the cartographer’s choice. The Shaker village of Sodus Bay happens to occupy the same line of longitude as Washington, D.C. Thus, by choosing to orient the entire map to the Washington meridian as the zero point, the cartographer has effectively created a *Shaker prime meridian*, orienting the entire map to a zero-degree longitudinal line that passes through one of the Shaker locations on the map. Indeed, by coincidence, the site of Sodus Bay does in fact sit due north of Washington, D.C. along the precise same line of longitude, which today is reckoned at about 77.03 degrees west, according to the conventional Greenwich prime meridian. The cartographer who drew this map made a conscious decision to adhere to the Washington prime meridian used in only a few atlases and geography texts of the period. This is odd, considering that none of the texts and atlases whose use by the Shakers is documented used the Washington meridian. And it reinforces the notion that the Washington meridian was chosen because of its symbolic significance to a Shaker geographic orientation. In this case, the nationalistic agenda of the Washington meridian could compliment a Shaker agenda of reinforcing an overarching geographically-based identity among the Shakers. If the meridian running through Washington, D.C. marked the axis of the new nation, the same meridian marked the axis of the Shakers’ Zion, a righteous nation *within* that nation.

Knowledge of the Washington meridian would have been available through the very popular Carey and Lea *Complete Historical, Chronological, and Geographical American Atlas* published in Philadelphia in 1822, which uses that prime meridian exclusively, as the detail from the map of New York State shows in figure 12. There are certain elements present in the

GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL, AND HISTORICAL



Figure 12. Detail from map of New York State in *A Complete Historical, Chronological, and Geographical American Atlas* (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea Chestnut Street), 1822, Plate 16.

Carey and Lea atlas that suggest that its use would have suited the Shakers. Many “Shakertown” locations are marked on state maps, including both Kentucky villages, the West Union site in Indiana, Union Village in Ohio, and the Shaker village at Enfield, Connecticut.⁵⁴ A Shaker using this atlas could only have been gratified that its publisher had chosen to literally put the Shaker world on the map by depicting so many Shaker locations.

Would the Shakers have already realized that Sodus Bay occupied such a potentially symbolic location? It is almost impossible that they did not know. Manuscript correspondence recounting the events surrounding the 1826 purchase of the Sodus Bay land certainly emphasize the Shakers’ conviction that Divine Providence was strongly guiding the process. Procter Sampson, a New Lebanon elder who played a prominent role in selecting the land, wrote that the opportunity to buy the ideal piece of land was entirely unexpected and even unsought: “I had no idea at that time that we should do anything about buying the property...than of buying a farm on the moon.”⁵⁵ Calvin Green wrote of the uncanny suitability of the property for the Shakers:

“It was in the order of Providence that believers ought to come in possession of that property. Its extraordinary advantages compared with the price, the circumstances & events which had put it on that situation, the way being always so much hedged up against getting any other place, whatever attempts might be made to effect it; the unanimous feelings of believers in them parts who have viewed the premises ... all combined to establish in my mind that God in his Providence so ordered things that this property should fall into the hands of believers.”⁵⁶

There is even a subtle suggestion in this passage that the “situation”—meaning site location—of the property was part of “the order of Providence.”

According to the work of Herbert Wisbey, New Lebanon Ministry representatives deliberated among several available pieces of property.⁵⁷ Property records made an effort at precision, reflecting specific surveyors’ data, so it is reasonable to assume that the Shaker ministry representatives were aware of geographic details of the sites under consideration. Moreover, the Washington meridian, as it ran through that part of New York, closely corresponded to the location of another important line in the geographic history of New York, namely the Preemption Line. The

Preemption Line referred to longstanding rival property claims on the part of neighboring townships, as well as claims still unresolved between the State of New York and the Huron and Seneca Indians.⁵⁸ Wisbey notes that the land purchased by the Shakers at Sodus Bay was “divided almost in half by the New Preemption Line” (referring to a correction made from an earlier survey of the line). The location of the Preemption Line running due south from Sodus Bay was still being noted in mid-twentieth century New York geography texts: “A pre-emption line was to be drawn due south from Sodus Bay on Lake Ontario,” says one 1966 text.⁵⁹ In fact, the Shakers were well aware that Sodus Bay straddled both the Preemption Line *and* the same longitudinal line as Washington, D.C. Both are indicated on Youngs’ map of Sodus Bay (figure 13), and Emlen notes them in his discussion.⁶⁰ However, the full significance of these notations for the Shakers is lost until one considers the “Several States” map. With a subtle but deliberate choice, the use of the Washington meridian created a Shaker prime meridian, thereby transforming this map of “Several States” into, effectively, a Shaker national map.

It is ironic that the deeper significance of the “Several States” map rests upon the placement of a Shaker village whose location was abandoned by the late 1830s. The Shakers learned in 1836 that the Sodus Canal Company had been authorized to exercise the right of eminent domain in the placement of a canal across the Shaker property. The Sodus Bay Shakers found a solution in the form of a sixteen-hundred-acre parcel of excellent farmland at a bargain price in western New York’s Genesee Valley. The property was purchased and the move was underway by 1838; even the remains of the few Shakers who had died at Sodus Bay were moved to the new site. To the Shakers’ surprise, the Sodus Canal Company folded in 1838 and the investors attempted to back out of the purchase agreement already negotiated. The Shakers refused, probably because the Genesee Valley land was already purchased and the move to the new site was perceived as too far along to be reversed.

After Youngs and Bishop returned from the western journey in the early fall of 1834, Shakers throughout the East were eager to hear about the West and to see Youngs’ maps of the western villages. Youngs’ journal toured several eastern sites, where it was read aloud to family after family. This continued for nearly a year. At Harvard, a journal entry for June 1835 mentions visitors from the New Lebanon Church Family, and an entry for July 7, 1835, reports, “A part of Br. Isaac Young’s journal to Ohio

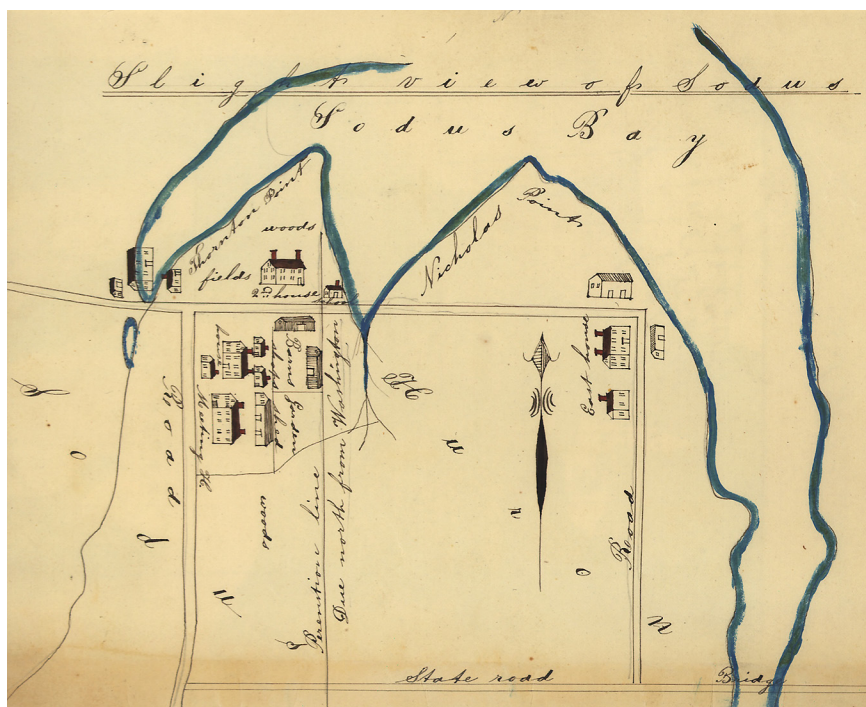


Figure 13. Youngs-Kendall map of Sodus Bay, indicating
 “Peremtion [sic] line ... Due north from Washington.”
 (Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division)

& Kentucky was read.”⁶¹ Probably Youngs’ journal had been carried to Harvard so that its contents could be shared. It was surely during this visit that George Kendall made his copy of the maps contained in the journal, as the title page is dated July 1835.

George Kendall was one of many Kendalls among the Shakers both at New Lebanon and Harvard. His aunt had been Hannah Kendall, first-generation convert who had been a favorite of Mother Ann herself.⁶² That special status explains why she was chosen to go to Harvard when it opened to help gather that community and serve as its first spiritual “mother.” Hannah Kendall had come from a wealthy family, most of whom had become Shakers. Only her youngest brother, Paul Kendall, remained unconverted. According to U.S. Census information and town records, Paul Kendall died in Watertown, Massachusetts, at the age of fifty, leaving

behind a widow and nine children. Perhaps his widow and children made their way to Harvard because Paul's brother Nathan Kendall was then living there (Hannah Kendall had died in 1816). In May 1825 four of the Kendall children entered the Harvard Shaker community, including the twelve-year-old George.⁶³ After he grew older, in addition to serving as schoolteacher at neighboring Shirley, George Kendall also worked in the herb and garden seed industries. Journals for the 1830s find him frequently gathering herbs and working in the seed shop.⁶⁴ In addition, George was given considerable freedom to travel abroad, and he often went on long trips distributing seeds. On some of these, he was accompanied by his younger brother Benjamin Kendall, who lived in the same Harvard family. Interestingly, the mother of the two Kendall brothers, "the Widow Kendall," is mentioned in the Harvard journals as a regular visitor to the community, usually in company with some of her non-Shaker children. In May 1837 Benjamin Kendall left the Shakers, followed by George and another Kendall sibling, Jane, the following month. What became of George is unknown. Several of the Kendall siblings and their mother moved to Rhode Island. Another of the Kendall siblings died young at Harvard, and only one Kendall sibling would live out her life there as a Shaker. What precisely became of George Kendall is not yet known. But in his brief adult life as a Shaker he rendered a profound contribution by copying the Youngs maps and assembling them into the collection that is available to us today.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored the ways in which Americans during the Early Republic were using the language of cartography to create and reinforce national identity. In very much the same way, Shakers of the same period were employing cartographic strategies literally and figuratively to overcome their geographic challenges and build collective identity across expansive space. Shakers' attitudes towards geography as a field of academic study have never been scrutinized, and doing so reveals contradictory results. Shaker leaders seemed dubious about many aspects of geographic learning, believing it to be extraneous to the practical needs of most believers. At the same time, Shaker communities purchased and displayed globes and made geography books available in community libraries. Despite stated misgivings, Shaker educators of the Early Republic were themselves well-versed in geography pedagogy of the

period, as one can see through the books acquired for Shaker schools, as well as the geography exercises mastered by Shaker pupils. Other aspects of geography, such as knowledge of surveying, were essential tools in Shaker life, especially in the frontier West. But regardless of the attitudes towards academic geography, Believers developed an appreciation of the geographic expanse of their world, and they used cartography both literally and figuratively to overcome it.

Many of the maps produced by Shakers have been subjected to penetrating analysis. Others have been somewhat misunderstood and have been due for fresh examination. I have tried to do that in this paper, particularly with the two earliest maps of Union Village. The maps of the western societies produced by Isaac Newton Youngs and George Kendall have been characterized as the “crudest” of all Shaker maps. Closer examination, however, reveals at least some of them to be remarkably sophisticated and to match the proportions of modern maps with uncanny accuracy. The maps of western sites may be simple in terms of pictorial illustrative capacity, but they are very sophisticated cartographic devices.

The “Several States” regional map produced by Youngs and Kendall has never been analyzed. It matches the type of map produced as a classroom exercise by students of the period, and could easily have been executed by either Youngs or Kendall, both of whom were teachers. Its most remarkable feature is its use of the Washington prime meridian. While not unheard of among maps of the period, the texts and atlases known to have been used by the Shakers employed the more conventional Greenwich prime meridian. Because Sodus Bay happens to lie along the same line of longitude as Washington, D.C., using the Washington prime meridian effectively transformed the map into one oriented entirely to the Shaker world. This choice displays remarkable geographic sophistication on the part of the cartographers Kendall and Youngs. Using subtle cartographic language, they managed to assert Shaker Zion’s claim to symbolic spiritual centrality within the American nation.

Like many other features of Shaker life, the displaying of maps eventually came under the scrutiny of the Millennial Laws, the rules of conduct first promulgated in 1821 in effort to impose greater order on Shaker daily life.⁶⁵ The original Millennial Laws are completely silent as to the display of maps or globes in Shaker dwellings; however, the 1845 revision to the Millennial Laws integrated many detailed injunctions, including one pertaining to maps: “No maps, Charts, and no pictures or

paintings shall ever be hung up in your dwelling rooms, shops or Office.” The fact that no such rule existed in the original version, together with the evidence that Shaker villages *did* in fact both purchase and display globes and maps points to the likelihood that the 1845 addition was intended to rein in a practice that had perhaps become relatively common among the Shaker communities. Shakers had come to recognize that maps and geographic knowledge could indeed exert a powerful hold over Americans of the period. As we have seen, the Shakers employed geographic knowledge in ways that complemented and facilitated their movement’s growth and expansion. In that, their experience mirrors that of America itself. Like the United States, they sought unity out of their collective, “E Pluribus Unum.” Perhaps that is the reason that so many aspects of the Shaker experience seem to embody the essence of American culture and to continue to capture our imaginations.

Notes

1. Robert P. Emlen, *Shaker Village Views: Illustrated Maps and Landscape Drawings by Shaker Artists of the Nineteenth Century* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1987).
2. The work of Martin Bruckner has potently revealed the centrality of geographic literacy to emerging American nationalism in the Early Republic. See Martin Bruckner, “Lessons in Geography: Maps, Spellers, and Other Grammars of Nationalism in the Early Republic,” *American Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (1999) 311-43; and Martin Bruckner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
3. For particular attention to Jedidiah Morse’s role, see John Rennie Short, “A New Mode of Thinking: Creating a National Geography in the Early Republic,” in *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999), 19-50.
4. For a description of Jefferson’s library, see Daniel Boorstin, *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).
5. Michael Biggs, “Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and the European State Formation,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 2 (April 1999), 374-405.
6. See John Rennie Short, *Representing the Republic: Mapping the United States, 1600-1900* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).
7. In addition to the work of Jedidiah Morse, prominent geographical writers of the period included John Melish (*A Geographical Description of the United States*, 1826), Timothy Dwight (*Travels in New-England and New-York, in Four Volumes*, 1822) and

- Timothy Flint (*A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley*, 1828). See also Walter Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985)
8. Joseph Hyde Pratt, "American Prime Meridians," *Geographical Review* 32, no. 2 (April 1942), 233-44.
 9. Silvio A. Bedini, *The Jefferson Stone: Demarcation of the First Meridian of the United States* (Frederick, Md.: Professional Surveyors Publishing Co., 1999).
 10. Short, 2006, 97-98.
 11. See the entry for "Seth Youngs Wells," Stephen J. Paterwic, *Historical Dictionary of the Shakers* (Lanham, Md.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2008).
 12. "School Record for District No. 12, Town of New Lebanon, Kept Agreeably to the 23rd Article of the Act for the Support of Common Schools, passed April 12th, 1819," WRHS I.B.32.
 13. "A few remarks upon learning and the use of books, for the consideration of the youth among Believers," Seth Youngs Wells, 1825. WRHS VII.B.255.
 14. The purchase of geography texts and globes is reflected throughout the manuscript, "School Record for District No. 12, Town of New Lebanon," and can be seen on pages 30, 43, 44, and 51, as well as numerous other unnumbered pages in the manuscript. WRHS I.B.32
 15. Simon Baker, "Jesse Olney's Innovative Geography Text of 1828 for Common Schools," *Journal of Geography* 95:1 (January 1996), 32-38.
 16. Wells, "A few remarks," 16-17.
 17. Seth Youngs Wells to Abraham Perkins, New Lebanon, September 9, 1833. WRHS IV.A.36.
 18. "A Memorandum Book Beginning in the Year 1818," New York State Library Shaker Collection on Microfilm, Reel #3. This item is a journal kept by an unnamed Shaker, probably a sister, who lived first in the Second Order, then in the First Order, or Church Family, of Watervliet, New York. It is probable that "the hall" referred to an area of the dwelling house in the family in which she lived. In an earlier entry for November 1820, the writer reported, "I come to the Church to live." No subsequent entries indicate a change of residence. The identity of "Grove" is not entirely clear. The journal lists a "Grove McD" as a brother at the Watervliet Second Order when the writer lived there from 1818 until 1820.
 19. Ena L. Yonge, *A Catalogue of Early Globes Made Prior to 1850 and Conserved in the United States* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1968), 67-71.
 20. LeRoy E. Kimball, "James Wilson of Vermont, America's First Globe Maker," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 48:1 (April 1938), 29-48. James Wilson himself lived in Bradford, Vermont, but his sons operated the globe "manufactory" in Albany. Kimball quotes a piece of Wilson's correspondence with a Boston client in 1817, which reveals an intriguing reference to a "Mr Wells" acting as an agent for some of Wilson's globe sales (38).
 21. "School Record for District No. 12," WRHS I.B.32.
 22. Kimball, 41.
 23. Calvin Green is listed as one of the teachers licensed by Wells in the 1820s in "School Records for District 12." WRHS I.B.32.

24. Anna White and Leila Taylor, *Shakerism: Its Meaning and Message* (Columbus, Ohio: Fred J. Heer, 1905), 157.
25. "Roads and Distances Between Believers' Societies," New York State Library Shaker Collection Microfilm, Reel 5, Item 364.
26. "Records Kept by the Order of the Church," entry for Wednesday Jan. 1, 1834, New York Public Library Shaker Manuscript Collection, Item #7.
27. Elcazar Wright, *A Review of the Most Important Events Relating to the Rise and Progress of the United Society of Believers in the West* (Union Village, Ohio: 1831), 19.
28. "Maps, plats, and surveyors' notes, most of which pre-date 1850." WRHS I.A.25.
29. "The New Purchase," in *A Selection of Hymns and Poems for the Use of Believers*, by Philos Harmoniae (Richard McNemar), Watervliet, Ohio, 1833.
30. "Survey of a Field, or Lot of Land," D. A. Buckingham, 1825, Cyphering Book, New York State Library Shaker Collection Microfilm, Item 356, Reel 5.
31. According to Benjamin Seth Youngs' "Pamphlet Journal Of Union Village," Believers were given permission by county officials to cut a north-south road through their land in March 1807. Manuscript held at Shaker Museum and Library, Old Chatham and New Lebanon, N.Y.
32. *A Review of the Most Important Events*, entries on 18-20.
33. *Ibid*, 19.
34. For a different perspective, see analysis of this map in Emlen (1987), 32-35. Emlen mistakenly characterizes this map as having been copied "years later" by Archibald Meacham and sent "to the neighboring Shaker village of Watervliet, Ohio, for reasons he did not record." In fact, the map was sent to Elder David Meacham at Watervliet, New York. Emlen's conclusion seems to be based mostly on the use of the term "old Believers" in the map, which he takes as an indication that time has elapsed from the initial establishment of a Shaker community. In fact, "old Believers" was used from the outset in the West to distinguish easterners from the newly converted westerners.
35. The term "old Believers" was used in the West to distinguish transplanted easterners from the new western converts.
36. Multiple sources record Archibald Meacham's arrival in the West in August 1807, including *A Review of the Most Important Events* and J. P. McLean, *Shakers of Ohio: Fugitive Papers Concerning the Shakers of Ohio With Unpublished Manuscripts* (Columbus, Ohio: F. J. Heer, 1907), 257.
37. My thanks to Shaker scholar Steve Paterwic for sharing these insights with me about David Meacham, Sr.
38. Winterthur Library, Andrews Shaker Collection, Item 1044 (Pleasant Hill, K.Y., Letters), Samuel Hooser to Rufus Bishop, 5 March 1821.
39. See "How Precious is the Way of God," in *Millennial Praises* (Hancock, 1813). The geographical reference remained popular, because several verses of this hymn were reprinted in McNemar's 1833 *Selection of Hymns and Poems for the Use of Believers*, making it one of only a few *Millennial Praises* texts whose use persisted beyond the 1810s.
40. Many examples of such correspondence can be found in the "Book of Pioneer Correspondence from the West," compiled by Alonzo Hollister.

41. Letter from Martha Sanborn to Elder Sister Rachel and Sister Olive, 21 December 1819, Library of Congress Shaker Collection, Reel 29, Item 351b (Correspondence between Shakers in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky ... 1807-1821).
42. Letter from Richard McNemar to Proctor Sampson, Union Village, Ohio, 4 July 1824. Library of Congress Shaker Collection Reel 18, Item 245 (Assorted letters from Union Village, 1806-1830).
43. See Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., *The Sodus Shaker Community* (Lyons, N.Y.: Wayne County Historical Society, 1982).
44. See Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 112-13, notes 186-87. Stein makes a similar point about Sodus Bay's geographic convenience.
45. Nancy L. Rupe, "A Small Geography" and other poems, 1853. WRHS X.B.33. While not dated specifically, information in the poem bears out a probable date of around 1850. She seems to refer to her source of factual information, probably *A Summary View of the Millennial Church* by Calvin Green and Seth Wells, 1823.
46. Glendyne Wergland's excellent account of the western journey is found in *One Shaker Life: Isaac Newton Youngs, 1793-1865* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 79-94.
47. This map of New Lebanon attributed to Isaac Newton Youngs, 1834, is currently held in a private collection. It is pictured in Emlen, 60.
48. "Tour with Br. Rufus Bishop, through the state of Ohio and Kentucky, in the Summer of 1834. Volume 1st," entry for July 27. Copied from transcription made by Cori Munro, Intern, Hancock Shaker Village, 2008.
49. Wergland, 91.
50. "Certificate Given to Garret R. Lawrence and Isaac N. Youngs," WRHS I.B.32.
51. "Journal of Thomas Hammond at the Church Family," Harvard, Massachusetts. WRHS V.B.40.
52. Emlen, 65.
53. Emlen, 66-89.
54. See state maps of Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and Connecticut in Carey and Lea's *Complete Historical, Chronological, and Geographical American Atlas*, 1822.
55. Letter from Proctor Sampson and Calvin Green, New Lebanon, to the Ministry at Watervliet, New York, March 10, 1826. WRHS IV.A.35.
56. Ibid.
57. Wisbey, 7-8.
58. "The Pre-Emption Line," compiled by A. Glenn Rogers from a manuscript by Hon. Frederick T. Henry, Supreme Court Justice, of Canandaigua. Unpublished manuscript, obtained through New York Public Library Cooperative Services.
59. John H. Thompson, *Geography of New York State* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1966), 141.
60. See Emlen, 68. Youngs' notation indicates that the Pre-Emption Line and the Washington Meridian were one and the same. In fact, they were not. But both lines likely ran across the thirteen-hundred-acre tract purchased by the Shakers in 1826.
61. "Journal of Thomas Hammond at the Church Family," Harvard, Massachusetts.

WRHS V.B.40.

62. For background on the life of Hannah Kendall, see Susanne Thurman, *O Sisters Ain't You Happy: Gender and Family Among the Harvard and Shirley Shakers, 1796-1816* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2002).
63. I am grateful for a copy of a spreadsheet shared by Roben Campbell, containing data on all Kendalls who were members of Harvard, compiled using records at Fruitlands.
64. "Journal of Thomas Hammond at the Church Family," Harvard, Massachusetts. WRHS V.B.40.
65. "Millennial Laws, or Gospel Statutes and Ordinances, Aug. 1, 1821, New Lebanon," Item 25, Shaker Manuscript Collection, New York Public Library.