

First in the West: The Shaker Experience of Visionary Malcham Worley and His Family

Christian Goodwillie

Malevolent spiritual upheaval continued unabated at Union Village in early April 1839 by direction of the visionists. Small boys were made to confess their sins repeatedly by the zealously patient James Smith, who awakened them at three in the morning for a third round after Mother Ann, speaking through twenty-two year old visionist Margaret McBrien, who had recently emigrated from Ireland, claimed their earlier confessions were incomplete. Mother and the spirit of Issachar Bates distributed spiritual guns and ammunition to the brethren and sisters and “set them to shooting, & counselled them to continue on, not only in meeting, but at the table, & about their work.” Seventy-seven-year-old Malcham Worley received a particularly disturbing message from the visionists at North Union.

The next morning Worley found himself under attack from his fellow Believers, besieged upon the land he consecrated for his Shaker brethren and sisters in 1808. The ringing of the morning bell served as a signal for shooting to commence. Worley was walking up to the stairs of the Centre House when “a number of Sisters whose guns were well charged, soon collected & gave him several volleys which seemed to take effect, & he soon put back towards his hiding place.” Along the path of his retreat through the garden “James Hodge (his old, or former friend) gave him several running shot which caused him to wheel & emit portions of venom.”²¹

The aforementioned scenes are directly at odds with nearly everything scholars, and the public, associate with the peaceful life of the Shakers, but they happened. Worse yet, they were perpetrated upon those most deeply committed to, and invested in, the growth and success of the Shaker movement west of the Appalachians. My forthcoming biography of Richard McNemar fully details his remarkable life, both before and after his conversion to Shakerism. The majority of that life was lived in tandem with Malcham Worley, McNemar’s teacher, co-religionist through serious religious tumult, friend, and brother. Although Worley met a similarly tragic fate as McNemar, his road was different in several important ways, and his story deserves a separate telling.

Malcham Worley descended directly from Francis Worley who came to the Pennsylvania Colony in 1682 with his mother Anne Stone Worley Pusey (widow of Henry Worley, m. Jan. 12, 1667) and his stepfather, Quaker Caleb Pusey (1650–1727). Pusey and Anne Stone Worley were wed on May 20, 1681, in the Devonshire House Monthly Meeting of the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting. Pusey was a lastmaker (maker of cobbler's forms) and religious and business associate of William Penn. Pusey published the tract *A Serious and Seasonable Warning unto all People* at London in 1675. Some sources place the Pusey/Worleys aboard the ship *Welcome* with William Penn on his 1682 inaugural voyage to the colony, but hard evidence of this is elusive. Following his emigration to Pennsylvania, Pusey managed the Chester Mills complex for Penn, the first official grist and sawmills in the colony. Remarkably, Pusey's 1683/1685 house still stands. It is the second oldest English house in Pennsylvania open to the public.² Francis Worley was around twelve years of age at the time of his arrival in 1682 or 1683.

Francis Worley married Mary Brassey and worked as a surveyor. They had a son named Caleb around 1695. Caleb married a woman named Rachel about 1729, and they had a son named Caleb Worley in approximately 1730 in Chester County, Pennsylvania. This was Malcham Worley's father. Genealogist H. Clark Dean's outstanding article on Caleb Worley supplies the details of his life. Caleb married a woman named Patience prior to 1751. He apparently was not a Quaker at the time of their marriage, as her Meeting condemned her for "outgoing" marriage, i.e., marrying a non-Quaker. Caleb was subsequently received into her Meeting, but was expelled by May 1758, "having absconded and defrauded his creditors for which disorderly conduct as well as that of attempting to enlist Men and his other [transgressions] of Life this Meeting finds themselves necessitated to disown him as a Member of our Society." The reference to enlisting men likely refers to a claim made in an early Worley family genealogy that Caleb "organized a company of men and carried supplies in Conestoga wagons to the fighting men. This was considered a warlike act and he was expelled from the Quaker Church [or Meeting]." Patience, who was likely dead by this time, was said to have had five children by Caleb.³ The date of her death is unknown but was presumably prior to 1759.

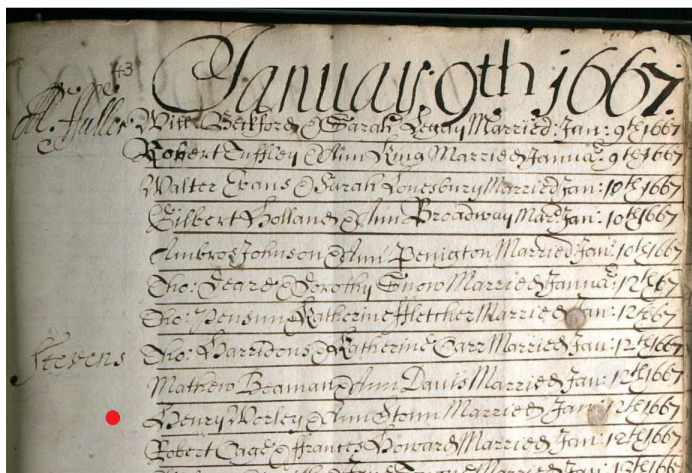


Fig. 1. Marriage register showing Henry Worley's marriage to Anne Stone, January 12, 1667.

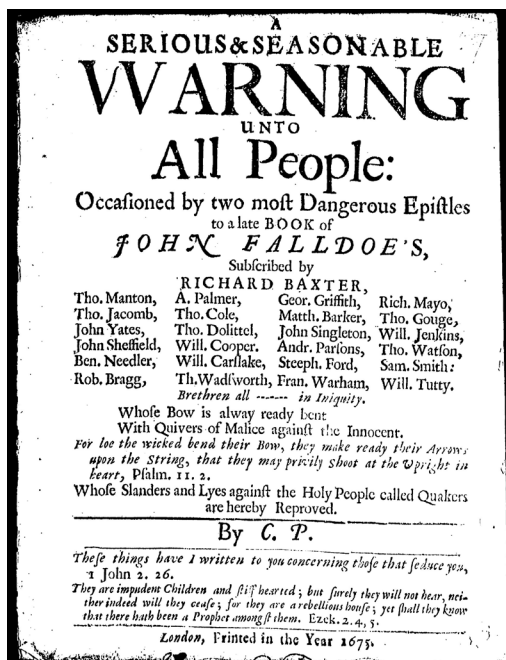


Fig. 2. Caleb Pusey, *A Serious & Seasonable Warning unto All People* (London, 1675).

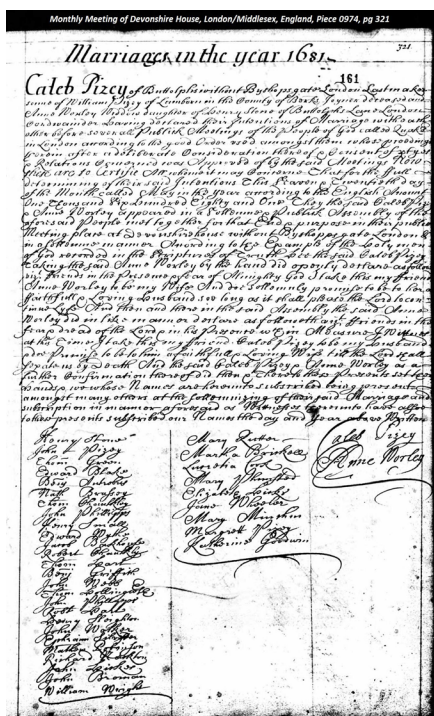


Fig 3. Marriage register showing Caleb Pusey's marriage to Anne Stone Worley, May 20, 1681.

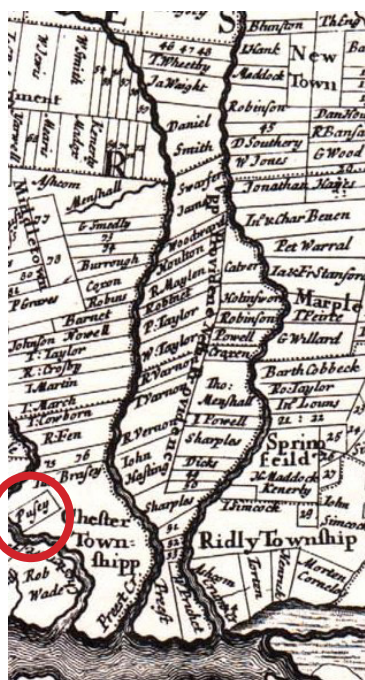


Fig 4. Caleb Pusey's property in Chester Township, Penn., ca. 1685.



Fig. 5. Caleb Pusey's house, built ca. 1683/1685.

By 1759 Francis Worley's grandson Caleb Worley was living in Virginia, and was married to "a Scotch girl" named Rebecca Allen, whose father Malcham Allen was one of the first settlers of Botetourt County. Worley family genealogies place the family along the James River at Pond Bottom. Dean's research instead shows that by the mid-1760s Caleb Worley was involved in land transactions in the central Virginia counties of Albemarle and Amherst. Worley was a slave owner, and a bill of sale existed at one time from Worley's father-in-law Malcham Allen to Caleb for "one negro man."⁴ Caleb Worley and Rebecca Allen had fifteen children, thirteen of whom survived infancy. Among these were Malcham and Nathan, who both figure into the Shaker story. Caleb Worley joined the Presbyterian Church in Virginia, and according to his son Malcham, "raised his family in that order." He also assisted the patriot cause in the Revolutionary War by supplying beef and wheat to the army.⁵

The future Shaker Malcham Worley was born on July 19, 1762, the third surviving child of Caleb and Rebecca. Shaker and non-Shaker manuscript records spell his first name in a variety of ways, including the standard Malcolm with a second "l," Malcom with no second "l," and Malcham. He seems to have preferred Malcham. Caleb Worley was granted four hundred acres for his service in the French and Indian War along the Branch of Salt Fork of the Sandy River in Fayette, County. The land was surveyed in 1785, and according to Malcham Worley's later account, the family relocated to Kentucky that same year. From the time of his early childhood Malcham Worley was "subject to convulsion fits which so affected his nerves that he was in a certain degree an invalid all his life." Remarkably, Richard McNemar was likewise afflicted with epilepsy, which he self-diagnosed and sought treatment for in 1790. Nonetheless, Malcham Worley grew up a well-proportioned man over six feet in height. He was knowledgeable of his descent from a key early associate of William Penn, and also of his Quaker heritage.

Worley and two of his brothers, David and Caleb, and his sister Rebecca, attended a school three miles from their home, living together in a "commodious cabbins" which their father built for them near the schoolhouse. Each week they trekked there with provisions from home, returning every Saturday. By the time Malcham was fourteen his father built a school house on his own land for children in the vicinity where

Malcham taught for two years, after which he went to college.⁶

Malcham enrolled at Liberty Hall Academy, a Presbyterian institution in Lexington, Virginia (known today as Washington and Lee University, also the alma mater of future Shaker Matthew Houston). He is listed among graduates between the years 1782 and 1789. It is likely that he graduated prior to 1785, the year of his arrival in Kentucky, since he taught school at “Harod’s station, between Danville and Harrodsburgh” beginning then.⁷ One of Worley’s students, Joseph H. Daviess, entered Worley’s school at age eleven in 1785 and studied with him for two years, “making considerable progress in the English and the Latin languages.”⁸

Conversion

In the autumn of 1787 twenty-five-year-old Worley attended a Methodist meeting at the home of Harrodsburg’s founder James Harrod. There he experienced “the falling exercise ... which brought him into great trouble of mind.” Worley found relief in reading the sermons of famed evangelist George Whitefield. He joined the Methodists and rode circuit alongside one of their preachers. In 1788 Worley was offered the charge of a new academy built by Baptists in Georgetown, Kentucky, but “his trouble of mind was so great that he declined teaching.” Instead, he “wandered about for some time to find a people with whom he could unite, and by forming an acquaintance with several pious Presbyterians they caught his affections and he determined to abandon every other pursuit and with them to live and die.”⁹

Worley married Polly Coldwell, a “pious Presbyterian.” They settled near her family and the Ashridge congregation in the year 1789. Worley was chosen as a ruling elder in the congregation and was ordained to that office by David Rice, a widely respected Presbyterian minister. In Presbyterian Church polity a ruling elder is allowed to minister the gospel and church doctrines, and also dispense the sacraments. Worley is listed as an elder in the minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery as early as April 24, 1792. He maintained that office into the early nineteenth century, and “was never deposed by any authority.”¹⁰ Worley also remained involved in education. Richard McNemar, newly arrived in Kentucky, studied Latin at Worley’s grammar school during the winter of 1791/1792. The school

was likely located in the vicinity of Paris, Bourbon County, Kentucky, as McNemar was boarding with one Joseph Caldwell, who was a member of the Cane Ridge Presbyterian Congregation. McNemar subsequently boarded with Worley at his schoolhouse from June to December 1792.¹¹ Worley's life was intertwined with McNemar's from that day until their shared tragic end nearly fifty years later. Worley's name is also found as a signatory to a 1796 agreement for the use of the Kentucky Academy in Pisgah, Kentucky, outside of Lexington.¹²

Malcham Worley was appointed to a committee of the Transylvania Presbytery for the examination of the orthodoxy of unknown ministers for the region of northern Kentucky. It is ironic, in light of later events, that Worley's name is misspelled "Worldly" in the notes for the meeting, which took place on October 10, 1794.¹³ The first instances of the type of revival meetings that came to characterize the Kentucky Revival occurred in modern-day Logan County in 1797.¹⁴

...for the North Side
of Kentucky, and Messrs Robert Hinley,
James Crawford, Robert Marshall and
Malcham Worley or any three of them be
a committee for the North-side of Kentucky,
and the ...

63
Moner-Mouth Church Tuesday April
24th 1794.
They met according to adjournment, and was o-
pened with a sermon on Rev. 3.20. by Mr James Blythe
ubi post praece sederunt: The Rev Isaac Wise James
Mc Connell, Andrew Mc Graw, James Crawford,
Samuel Shannon, and Berah Barnpling; Elders,
Mr George Harrison, Jeremiah Nesbit, William
Brother, Malcham Worley, William Scott, & Robert
Dickey.

Fig. 6. Two instances where Worley's name is accidentally, and ironically, rendered as "Worldly" in the minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery.

The work spread throughout the state, reaching northern Kentucky by the winter of 1800–1801 at Richard McNemar’s Cabin Creek congregation. McNemar took bold public steps against key Calvinist tenets of the Presbyterian Church, stating, “Religion would never flourish till Creeds and Confessions were done away, for he believed that they were detrimental to the life of Religion.”¹⁵ At Lexington, on June 28–29, 1801, the Virginia-born Rev. John Lyle attended camp meeting and witnessed Malcham Worley and many others falling to the ground in agony for sinners.¹⁶ Lyle’s Diary is one of the most important contemporary sources about the Kentucky Revival. Kept from 1801 through 1803, it offers candid portraits of many of the camp meetings, ministers, and all the extravagances associated with the Revival.

Malcham Worley later reminisced that although “from the commencement of the Kentucky Revival he attended meetings devoutly as far as they were in his reach, but never partook of the spirit of the spirit of it (altho he believed it to be a good work) until some time in June 1803.” Presbyterian Minister Robert Marshall preached at a camp meeting at Paris, Kentucky, the second weekend of June. Marshall had just returned from Beulah in southwestern Ohio “where the work of the revival was very powerful of which Marshall recd a good portion and returned home full of the spirit.”¹⁷ On Saturday, June 11, John Lyle witnessed Worley and others “leaping up in an unartificial a kind of Dance—clapping their hands & crying glory to God.”¹⁸ This dancing in worship was a serendipitous harbinger of things to come. Worley was greatly affected, stating that he “never was so struck with preaching in his life.”

He felt as tho he would give a thousand worlds to possess the religion that Marshall preached. He went home in deep distress, spent the evening almost stupid with horror of soul till in the twilight he took the key of his school house and went there to pray, entered the door and fell on his knees by a writing table and after a few breathings of soul to God without uttering a word, the power of God came upon him & the heavens were opened and the divine glory appeared in a manner surpassing any thing he ever saw before, but after a few minutes the vision

closed & his distress returned, but again while yet on his knees the light returned most sensibly with a promise of durability and that he should see the end and ultimate object of all this great revival work after which he never fell back into the same degree of death & darkness.¹⁹

Worley's friend Richard McNemar had already fallen afoul of church authorities for preaching Arminian tenets of free-will salvation at odds with the Calvinist Westminster Confession. The newly formed Kentucky Synod, representing the Transylvania, Washington, and West Lexington Presbyteries, met for the first time at Lexington on October 14, 1802. Worley attended for West Lexington Presbytery and McNemar for Washington. Despite complaints of unorthodox preaching by McNemar from both the Cabin Creek, Kentucky, and Turtle Creek, Ohio, congregations, the Synod declined to investigate further. Incredibly, they instead dispatched McNemar to preach at various locations throughout the region.²⁰

Matters rested quietly until the Kentucky Synod met at Lexington on September 6, 1803. This meeting—only the newly formed Synod's second—saw its fracture, with consequences that reverberate across the religious landscape of America to this day. Worley was again present. At issue was the approval of Washington Presbytery's minutes censuring McNemar in absentia and calling him "hostile to the interests of all true religion." Seventeen voted in approval and six in disapproval. Worley was among the dissenters. Battle lines were clearly drawn. The next day the Synod took up the question of Washington Presbytery having assigned McNemar further ministerial duties after his official censure. Although the vote was closer—seven yeas to ten nays—it was decided McNemar should not have been allowed to continue preaching in southern Ohio. Shortly after this, a frustrated minority, including Malcham Worley, absented themselves from proceedings.²¹

Five of these men: Richard McNemar, John Dunlavy, Barton Stone, John Thompson, and Robert Marshall boldly constituted themselves as an independent body—the Springfield Presbytery. They did not wish to withdraw from the Presbyterian Church, and still considered themselves members. However, if their "liberty of reading, studying, and explaining the word of God" was infringed upon, they

had no choice. Regarding the Westminster Confession's authority, they cited the Confession itself, which stated: "the infallible rule of interpreting Scripture, is not the Confession of Faith, nor any human writings whatever, but the Scripture itself."²²

Turtle Creek

By 1803 Malcham and Polly Worley had five children: Rebecca, Caleb, Joseph, Joshua, and Hortense. Their household also included Anna Middleton, a former slave presumably owned by the extended family, but emancipated at an unknown date. Worley moved to Ohio to be nearer to McNemar late in that year. On December 12 he purchased a 160-acre tract of land from David Bradbury for \$1,045.00.²³ Now forty-one years old, he settled his family at Turtle Creek, where McNemar ministered to a strongly New Light congregation. Worley's land abutted McNemar's, and their houses were literally around the corner from each other.²⁴ Worley built a one-story wood frame house, measuring eighteen by twenty feet. Attached to it was an eight by twenty foot "lean to" with a fireplace.²⁵ Years later in conversation with Richard McNemar, he recalled this time, asserting that "he became conversant with those old believers who had left the body he was informed by Father Joseph Meacham [the First Elder of the New Lebanon Ministry who died in 1796] that he was the one that ministered those things to him in the school house & told him to prepare to move to Ohio and afterwards expressly told him to go to Richard and settle in his congregation."²⁶ Retrospectively, at least, Worley had placed himself providentially at Turtle Creek by direction of Father Joseph.

A. H. Dunlevy, a resident of nearby Lebanon, Ohio, and the nephew of the minister and future Shaker John Dunlavy, described Worley years later:

He was a man singularly excitable and was so entirely carried away by the great Kentucky revival that for three or four years he thought of nothing else. Yet he had some earthly tendencies. He lost his first wife in 1804, a most excellent woman; and at her funeral, it was said that he prophesied that she would rise from the dead on the eighth day. But she didn't, and in about three months he

married again, and in about three months more he and his new wife became Shakers. But Malcham Worley was a most conscientious man.²⁷

Others, however thought that Worley's religious enthusiasm exceeded normal bounds. Minister David Purviance, who danced alongside Worley at Cane Ridge in June 1803, said of him, "his mind [was] somewhat unstable, and some of his friends believe he was insane, (or partially so)."²⁸ Purviance, however, penned these observations later in life as a bitter opposer of the Shaker faith. Sane or not, Worley was known to all as a zealously religious man. In March 1804, exercising their new authority, the Springfield Presbytery recommended Worley as a preacher to churches under their care. Barton Stone, in his clerical capacity, signed the recommendation certificate, but he must have eventually regretted giving Worley such license.²⁹

McNemar later argued that the Springfield Presbytery was never intended as a permanent body, but instead a "*pro tempore* ... asylum for those who were cast out." Many Revivalists flocked to its banner, and new churches formed under its ministerial care. On April 20, 1804, the newly organized ecclesiastical session of Schismatics—as the men now referred to themselves—from Turtle Creek congregation declared "the holy scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice, the only standard of doctrine and discipline." Espousing liberty and egalitarianism, they declared Church elders no better than ordinary members, and decided session meetings would be public. A four-point document comprising these sentiments was read out to members and approved by seventy-four of them. Worley was among the signatories.³⁰

The most controversial Schismatic position concerning the nature of atonement was later attributed to Malcham Worley by McNemar, although it was explicated in print by Barton Stone in his pamphlet *Atonement: The Substance of Two Letters Written to a Friend*. The friend in this case was sympathizer Matthew Houston, a Presbyterian minister also trained at Liberty Hall Academy, where Worley was educated. Stone first deconstructs Calvinist theology, working backward to the core question, "What is truth? For what purpose did Jesus Christ come into the world, live and die?"³¹ Stone's second letter argued that Christ's death, or blood, was the price paid by God to the Devil for man's redemption. Schismatics believed that God gave Christ to the

Devil in order to destroy the Devil, which in turn destroys the Devil in man—sin. As Stone wrote:

It may now be asked if Christ, or God in Christ, redeems from the devil and sin, and if he gave his blood as the ransom or price, Who got the price? The apostle to the Hebrews, 2.14 answers: “Forasmuch as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil.” Here we see that the devil had the power of death, and he got the price, which was the death of Christ.³²

Stone and McNemar’s former Presbyterian colleague John P. Campbell was highly offended by the concept of “the devil getting the price,” and Stone subsequently agreed “to eat those dreadful words.” However, this proto-perfectionist sentiment jibed well with ideas espoused by Shaker missionaries.³³

McNemar also epitomized the New Light belief that mankind’s alienation from God had caused mankind to forget God’s true loving nature and caused man instead to fear God. Therefore, Christ’s life, ministry, and execution did not serve to atone for mankind’s sins, but to make an end of sin in the world. Malcham Worley was particularly strident in spreading this idea as a Schismatic preacher. In June 1804, Worley wrote down a list of principles that even McNemar conceded were viewed by some as “ascribed to a disorder in the brain.” Worley believed two opposite natures battled within each person, the “seed of the woman” (good) and “the seed of the serpent” (bad). Thus, since Adam all human beings were “double minded.” Jesus’s human aspect was imbued with the same conflicted natures, and the evil one had died on the cross. This left the immortal spirit, imbued with the “woman’s seed,” to ascend to heaven. Thus, Worley argued, a redeemed “second man” was born, first child of the “woman’s seed.” Jesus opened the way for the advance of the “woman’s seed” in all mankind, culminating in its redemption and rebirth. These ideas proved very popular with many of the Schismatics—and again, remarkably in accordance with those of Shakers.³⁴

“Something to Come and Take the Earth”

In a story that has been often told, most recently in historian Douglas Winarski's award-winning article “The Long Walk,” three Shaker missionaries—Benjamin Seth Youngs, Issachar Bates, and John Meacham—were dispatched from New Lebanon, New York, on January 1, 1805. Their goal was to make contact with the revivalists in Kentucky and Ohio and open to them the new and living way of Shakerism. Having reached southern Ohio, they set out on March 22 with directions to McNemar's house. Around dusk they reached Malcham Worley's house and spent the evening in conversation. Youngs thought Worley's “light was great & singular from other people—though also much lost—believing that the fulness of the Godhead dwells in him,” a first impression that jibes with that of others who questioned Worley's sanity. His first wife Polly had died the previous year and Worley was remarried to a woman named Miriam “Peggy” Montfort/Monfort on October 8, 1804. Richard McNemar officiated at the service. Peggy, as she was always called, was only twenty-eight—fourteen years Malcham's junior. By spring 1805 Peggy was heavily pregnant. The missionaries watched in amazement as she endured an episode of the jerks—a physical manifestation of the revival—in her bed.³⁵

The next day the missionaries heard Worley preach “very promptly against the flesh” at the Turtle Creek meetinghouse. They read a letter addressed to them by the Shaker church at New Lebanon, reducing many among the 250 hearers to tears, while others jerked violently. The Shakers returned to Worley's that evening and conversed, finding their ideas about rejecting the flesh were quite similar. Worley told them of his first wife's death the previous year, and that his second marriage was by the Lord's direction. However, his material wealth and spiritual power subsequently waned. For the previous six weeks he had ominously “been expecting something to come & take the earth.” These words were welcome to the Shaker missionaries, they sought nothing less than the transformation of Worley's life.³⁶

On Wednesday, March 27, the Shakers made their first western converts. At 11 a.m. Malcham and Peggy Worley confessed their sins to Youngs and Meacham. The Shakers called this “opening the mind.” Youngs labored through the afternoon for confessions from Worley's fifteen-year-old daughter Rebecca and former slave Anna Middleton,

after went from Thiner N.Y.C. about a mile N.W. half to Morison who had with whom & wife we tarried abt 3 hours opening the gospel by way of the crops. he appeared struck as it were, & the thing was new to him, but the women feeling were simple & very open to truth at abt 12 noon we eat supper with them & soon after returned to Worley.

The weather all day cloudy with some rain at abt 9 we went to one bed.

March 4 - 27.3 After breakfast at abt 9 a.m. I got out for hunting — At abt 10 we spoke to Worley & wife together suspecting their faith, opening their minds &c. — At abt 11 he opened his mind & soon after the woman — to J. F. P. — In the afternoon I made some labours with H & M & left them to think for them selves — soon after we again spoke to M & together with

Fig. 7. Malcham and Peggy Worley's conversion, as recorded in Benjamin Seth Youngs's Diary, March 27, 1805.

Courtesy, the Winterthur Library:

The Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection

but they were not quite ready. Middleton eventually converted on April 1. McNemar was “staggered” by Worley’s conversion. Peggy Worley seems to have been in some duress relating to her pregnancy at the time. Youngs’s journal entry for March 27 and 28 describes her situation as “critical” and that she was enduring “buffetings.” It is unclear if these buffetings were related to the fetus she was carrying, or if her conversion was in question. Ten days later on April 7, however, Peggy is described as “again in great distress by reason of buffetings,” suggesting it was related to her pregnancy. Sadly, this pregnancy seems to have terminated in stillbirth, as no mention of another Worley child can be found in any Shaker records. It is remarkable that both Peggy Worley and Jennie McNemar (Richard’s wife) were far along in pregnancies at the time of the missionaries’ arrival. Following her successful labor Jennie McNemar “broke out in shouting & crying God has delivered me & now thanks to his name the way has been opened that we shall no more live after the flesh.” Both women had endured the physical consequences of sexual intercourse, dangerous to

both their lives and the lives of the children they carried. It seems that Peggy Worley may have endured the tragedy and danger of losing a child during her conversion.³⁷

In a letter to the Ministry at New Lebanon the missionaries reported their successes in the neighborhood of Turtle Creek. They also described the material situations of their two most prominent converts:

Malcham Worley & Richard McNemar both live on one half Section which is very good land & a beautiful place—Malchams quarter is free from all incumbrance & is brought into midling good order—Richard has paid for his but one fourth part—& as he is unable to pay for the remainder he wishes to have it taken off his hands—Abt 300 Dollars is yet behind, all to be paid within two years from this time—he feels loth that it should fall into the hands of the world, because when he settled upon it which was last summer he believes that he had a special gift of feeling that God would begin to set up his Church on this spot of ground—but in what manner he could not tell—Malcham also has had the same feeling.³⁸

The missionaries took up residence with the Worley family, which they counted as a special blessing. They described their “Principle and best abode is Malchams, ... Fifteen is the Number when we and his family are all together, Besides a continual coming and going.”³⁹ Peggy Worley worked with Jennie McNemar, Richard’s wife, to make a new coat, jacket, and trousers for Youngs.⁴⁰

On June 20, 1805, a meeting was held at William Stewart’s house in the Beulah settlement. In attendance were people both sympathetic and opposed to the Shakers. Nathan Worley, Malcham’s brother, demonstrated particularly remarkable gifts of the spirit through his prayer and singing. Despite his fervor, Youngs and Malcham Worley worked unsuccessfully to convert Nathan Worley.⁴¹

It was decided to build an outdoor stand to facilitate the Shakers’ particular mode of worship. They justified the need to the Ministry at New Lebanon: “The cause of this place being built was that the weather through the summer season was very hot & su[ll]tery

& the houses being all smal & pent & we being also greatly throng by spectators we were pressed upon beyond measure so that many times it was difficult especially for women to keep their breath, several times we were obliged to hold meeting out of doors in the open air.”⁴² McNemar, Worley, and the missionaries selected a suitable spot adjacent to the settlement: “in the woods—shaded by large Oaks & White Walnut—it is a beautiful level spot ... on the quarter Section belonging to Malcham & joins upon Richards on the East—and it is about 300 yds S[outh] of Malchams house.”

Barton Stone was alarmed at the incursion the Shakers had made among his former colleagues. He wrote to John Dunlavy (who was also McNemar’s brother-in-law) in June, rejoicing that five people had “come out of the delusion” of Shakerism, which he also referred to as “Worleyism.” Stone accused Worley of having left the Shakers to establish “community of wives & community of goods.”⁴³

Back at New Lebanon, the missionaries’ encouraging reports prompted the Ministry to send more Shakers west. David Darrow, on whose land the Church Family at New Lebanon was gathered, headed the group. Darrow was fifty-five years old, and served as first elder of the first order of the Church Family. Dispatching him was a tremendous sacrifice by his home community and demonstrates how committed they were to consolidating gains made in Ohio. Daniel Moseley, specifically requested by the missionaries as a man whose “gifts and faculties are so calculated as to be very useful to the people here,” was also sent.⁴⁴ Solomon King rounded out the trio. His mother was Ruth Meacham, sister of the first American Shaker leader Father Joseph Meacham. Ruth had married Gideon King, but he had not followed his wife into Shakerism. Their son Solomon, along with Darrow, represented the founding families of Shakerism converted by Mother Ann. The three men left New Lebanon in a covered wagon loaded with clothing on July 1, 1805, exactly six months after the initial mission.⁴⁵ Malcham Worley would come to regard Darrow as a living God.

In August 1805, Worley traveled with the missionaries through Paris, Kentucky, his former home. The party was hailed by a group of Deists, some of whom had been Worley’s pupils. They treated the Shakers to breakfast at the tavern, heard them out, and invited them to visit again. Worley visited his mother and some of his siblings, but their

feelings were “intolerable to the gospel.” In fact, his mother Rebecca eventually specifically excluded him in her will, stating: “Malcham Worley has forfeited his right to any share of my Estate by attaching himself to the Shakers.”⁴⁶

Violence against the Shakers increased as they visibly established themselves through erecting structures and consolidating the newly converted around a central place of worship. Anti-Shaker forces mobilized and set the worship stand on fire, piling the spectator’s seats on the stand to form a pyre. Since the wood was green the stand burned slowly. One of the Worley family realized it was ablaze around 2:00 a.m. and raised the alarm; but the Shakers dared not approach for fear of violence, and the risk of leaving their own dwellings unattended. On Sunday, December 8, a number of men, led by William Green, physically disrupted meeting at McNemar’s, attempting to join in the dance, and abusing the Shakers with blasphemous and “filthy” language. One man stripped off his coat to fight, and threatened Worley that “he would mark him to his grave.” On Wednesday, December 11, Youngs, along with a number of believing families with children, were lodging at Malcham Worley’s house. Just before eleven o’clock ruffians smashed two windows with clubs, and it was thought a gunshot was heard.⁴⁷

As more converts gathered, the Shakers decided to build a two-story frame house, thirty by forty feet, with a gable roof and two chimneys. On June 5, 1806, the missionaries, Darrow, and the other new arrivals moved into the newly completed dwelling. The Worley family was quite upset about losing their holy lodgers.⁴⁸ Worley was still being utilized for public preaching and also regional missionary endeavors. It was observed after he preached at Eagle Creek, Ohio, in October 1806, “Malcham has not those tallents in publick doctrins which many have; yet we find that his faith & Gift is such, that when he goes out, he Greatly Strengthens & refreshes the bowels of the believers: he has a Great Gift to search out enequities, & to purge them away, & is a blessing where ever he Goes.”⁴⁹

David Darrow wrote an especially glowing report about Worley to the New Lebanon Ministry in June 1806.

we feel it our Duty to notis at this time, the honest mind,
the Strong and unshaken faith the kind & Generous Spirit

and good fidelaty which Malcham Worley has Shewed towards us on all occation Ever Since the Brethren first came to this Country we think highly Deserve the Special notis of all those who feel them Selves interested in the general cause of god at this day—it is with out Doubt in our minds that he is a Chosen vessel, called & prepared by the Special Providence of god to Receive his messengers & to Stand in defence of the Gospel in this Part of the world—yea as Really so & as much so as Noah was called to god build an ark for the Preservation of Seed on Earth—or Moses to Lead the Children of Israel out of Egypt of John to bear Testimony of Christ, Malcham has Received us at all times as the angels of god with fear and trembling, he has never yet Shewed the Least couler of wavering or doubting in Respect to the gospel never Shewed any Such thing as flinching, at Persecutions or afflictions but on the contrary has ever counted it his priviledge, & his glory to Share with us in all our tribulation and Reproaches, we have ever been made as well come to any thing that we kneeded as any of the family are, the family have done all in their power to make us comfortable on all occations insted of our feeling burdensome or their being a fraid they Should do too much, their cheaf consern has been Least they Should not do their duty or that we Should not be maid Comfortable—Peggy has felt much tribulation on this ground and has Labourd hard Early and Late, when the Last Company came, they went to them & maid them welcom one by one—We have moved from there to Day on our own Place which is as great a trial there as any think they have met with for a Long time—⁵⁰

Following the Shakers' exit from his household, Worley organized his own communal family with natural brothers William and Robert Wilson.⁵¹ They executed a legal agreement in December 1806 to live with Worley “as ones of his family—& to give ourselves & Services freely, for the purpose above intentioned, without ever bringing any debt or blame on him or any member of his family, on account of any labour

Malcham Worley was born July 19th 1762.

Rebecca Worley was born October 12th 1790.
 Caleb Worley --- September 8th 1794.
 Joseph Worley --- July 26th 1798
 Joshua Worley --- August 12th 1800
 Nancy Worley --- July 31st 1802.

Fig. 8. Worley birth record from the family's Bible, a King James printed at Edinburgh in 1798 by "Mark and Charles Kerr, His Majesty's Printers."
 Courtesy of the Ohio History Connection

[Dec. 1806]
 U.V. Therefore, We do Covenant & Agree, with Malcham Worley, according to our own faith & desire, to live with him as one of this family - & to give ourselves & services freely for the purpose above mentioned, without ever bringing any debt or blame on him or any member of his family, on account of any labour or service that has been, or may be done by us.

And Whereas S^r Malcham Worley, Being of the true faith & community ~~have mentioned~~ & do hereby Covenant & Agree, with the said William & Robert, to live with one as those of my family, without ever bringing any debt or blame on them or either of them, for any comfort or support in sickness or in health that they or either of them do, or may receive from, one or any member of my family.

And We the above mentioned William, Robert, & Malcham, Do Agree, that whenever, either, or all of us shall think it best not to live together any longer, then we shall signify the same to each other jointly - & if it still continues our faith to separate, then we shall be at full liberty so to do - ever exercising the freedom of our own consciences & voluntary choice; but in no wise ever, to act contrary to the true intent of this our Covenant, which is our present faith.

In presence of } We testifying Whereof We have
 hereunto set our hands & seals
 this Day of December 1806

Fig. 9. Covenant between Malcham Worley, William Wilson, and Robert Wilson, December 1806.
 Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society

Jacutie Creek September 9th 1807.
Dear Mother I feel ~~to~~ thankful to God, that
I have the privilege of expressing my thankfulness
to thee, & the Church of Christ at New Lebanon.
Watervliet. Hancock & all the Brethren & Sisters in
the other Churches that ye have sent the Gospel to
me & my house, & to all, who were looking for redemption
in this western country, in the first place, I kindly
thank thee, Mother, & the Church for sending Elders
John, & Jacob & Benjamin to us, at the very time you
did, for it, surely was the appointed time, in the next
place, I kindly thank thee, Mother & the Church,
for sending Elders David, Daniel & Solomon to us & again.
I kindly thank thee, Mother, & the Church for sending
Peter, & Samuel, Elders Ruth Martha, Lucy, Prudence,
Molly & Ruth. & again I kindly thee Mother, and the
Church, for sending Archibald, Maccham, Susan, nah
Loe, Rachel Johnson, Lucy Bacon. Give my love to
John Right, & tell him, I have not forgotten him, but
will near repeat my thankfulness to him, for his labors of
love in conveying the Sisters to Jacutie Creek, I kindly
thank the family out of ^{of which a number} which Constant Mosely came,
that they were reconciled ^{of which a number} living with us for a time. I kindly
thank Maccham David Maccham for the stock buckle, which
he sent by Spooner, and the hat, he sent by Elder John.
I kindly thank Elder Timothy Hubbard of Watervliet for
the comb, which he sent me by Spooner. Give my love to
Lorina Bates, & tell her, I kindly thank her for looking
up her crops in consenting that Spooner might come to
us at first, and bearing the crops, that he might continue
with us. I kindly thank Teen Gage at Watervliet for
the tobacco he sent me by Archibald. Will Mother and
the Church at New Lebanon, Watervliet, Hancock and
all the Brethren & Sisters in the East be so kind as to accept
of my love for I do love you, and for whom, I do renounce
the first Adam with all his generation, & claim the my
Mother & you my Brethren & Sisters in the Gospel
this from thy son in the Gospel.) Malcham Worley

Fig. 10. Malcham Worley's letter to Mother Lucy Wright,
September 9, 1806.
Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society

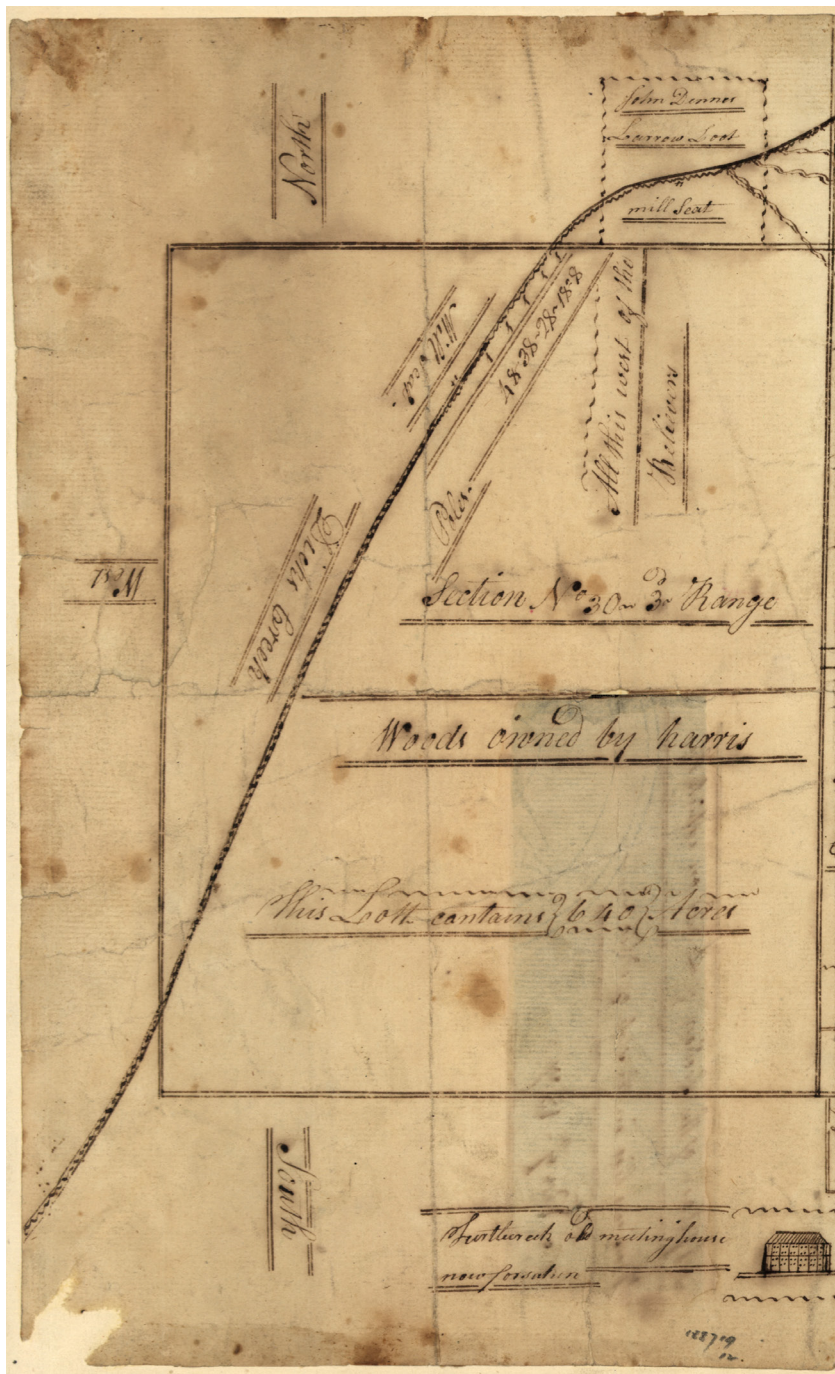


Fig. 11. "A plan of the section of land on which the Believers live in the state of Ohio, Nov. 7th, 1807."

Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.



Malcham Worley's house is circled in red.
 Richard McNemar's is to the right. The old
 Turtle Creek meetinghouse is at center bottom.

or service that has been, or may be done by us.” They further stated that “whenever either, or all of us shall think it best not to live together any longer, then we shall signify the same to each other jointly—& if it still continues our faith to separate, then we shall be at full liberty so to do—ever exercising the freedom of our own consciences & voluntary choice; but in no wise ever [blank], to act contrary to the true intent of this our Covenant, which is our present faith.”⁵² With this act Worley reimplemented a communal economy that had been briefly attempted at Turtle Creek prior to the missionaries arrival and was now being renewed in the context of Shakerism.

Benjamin Seth Youngs began writing the Shakers’ first major theological statement, the *Testimony of Christ’s Second Appearing*, in the summer of 1806.⁵³ Informing the New Lebanon Ministry of the news, David Darrow proposed publishing it under the names of Worley, McNemar, Dunlavy, and Houston, whom he described as “men of good & simple faith, as well as men of learning, who will be able to see that the work is finished according to good sense, & the perfect order of the letter.”⁵⁴ Worley’s inclusion among the trained ministers, with his name actually first on the list, indicates the high regard Darrow had for his spirituality and theological ideas.

At Turtle Creek communal bonds were greatly strengthened on Thursday, January 1, 1807, by a special meeting held at the suggestion of Malcham Worley. At meeting the Sabbath prior, Worley requested the commemoration of “the day of the year in which the three first brethren Set out from N.L. to this country.” On January 1, Worley admonished the western converts to be grateful for the opportunity they now had for salvation. Then, he individually thanked the easterners “from the inermost feelings of his Soul,” addressing John Meacham, Issachar Bates, and Benjamin Seth Youngs, and the later eastern arrivals, for leaving the comforts of New Lebanon and undertaking the perilous western journey to bring the gift of salvation.⁵⁵

Later that year, Worley was given the privilege of writing directly to Mother Lucy Wright, the head of the New Lebanon Ministry. His letter conveys his total spiritual submission to his new faith.

Dear Mother I feel thankful to God, that I have the privilege of expressing my thankfulness to thee and the Church of Christ at New Lebanon, Watervliet, Hancock

and all the Brethren and Sisters in the other Churches that ye have sent the gospel to me and my house, and to all who were looking for redemption in this Western Country—

In the first place I kindly thank thee Mother, and the Church for sending Elder John, Issachar, and Benjamin to us, at the very time you did, for it surely was the appointed time.

Worley named all of the other subsequent eastern arrivals, giving his thanks and sending love to those who had returned. In closing, he asked, “Will Mother and the Church at New Lebanon, Watervliet, Hancock, and all the Brethren and Sisters in the East; be so kind as to accept of my love; for I do love you, and for whom I do renounce the first Adam with all his generation, and claim thee my Mother, and you, my brethren & Sisters in the Gospel—this from thy Son in the Gospel.”⁵⁶

On September 12, 1808, Worley formally consecrated his land and buildings to eastern Shakers Peter Pease and Joseph Allen who served in the legal capacity of trustees for the new Ohio converts. Malcham and Peggy Worley both signed the document, which transferred their assets to “the support & help of the church & community for the support and increase of the gospel and other pious uses as the gospel may require, to be improved according to the understanding and direction of the said trustees and their successors as they shall direct & appoint.” Crucially, the agreement stated, “neither I myself, nor heirs, assigns nor any other person or persons whatsoever shall hereafter have any lawful right, title or demand thereunto—It is expressly understood and agreed by these presents that the aforesaid premises cannot be sold or alienated only by the agreement and consent of said church.”⁵⁷ Of Worley’s five children, all but one, his eighteen-year-old daughter Rebecca, were minors. It is unknown how they felt about their parents’ decision at that time, and doubtless they would have had no say, but in thirty years the consecration became a source of great strife.

Now all men by these presents that I Malcham Worley of Tuscarora
 creek in the county of Warren & State of Ohio, one of the members of the chh.
 and community known and distinguished in the world by the name of
 Shakers, do on this twelfth day of September, one thousand eight hundred
 and eight, according to my own faith and free will offering, and for the love and
 good will I have & do bear unto the said Church & community, give, grant
 and convey unto Peter Pease and Joseph Allen of the Town, and State aforesaid
 being two of the Trustees appointed with the care & oversight of the estate or tem-
 poral interest of the Church and to their successors who may be appointed to the
 like office and care forever, all my right title & interest, that I have or ought to
 have to all that certain tract or piece of land, lying and being bounded as
 followeth, viz, Beginning at the South West corner of the North West quarter
 Section Number 26 the fourth township in the third or military range, and
 running north fifty eight poles, thence East 86 poles, thence Thence south 58 poles
 thence west 86 poles to the beginning, containing thirty one acres twenty eight poles
 To have & to hold the said given & granted premises with all the privileges and
 appurtenances therunto belonging, unto them the said Peter Pease & Joseph
 Allen in their said capacity and to their successors who may be appointed in trust
 to the like office and care agreeable to the order of the chh. and their officers forever
 for the express purposes of buildings, the support & help of the church & community
 for the support and increase of gospel and other pious uses as the gospel may require, de-
 to be improved according to the understanding and direction of the said trustees and
 their successors as they shall direct & appoint. And I do by these presents cov-
 rant with said trustees and their successors that I am lawfully seized of the premises
 and that I have good right to give & grant the same for the above uses & purposes
 free from all encumbrances, so that neither myself, nor heirs, assigns nor any
 other person or persons whatsoever shall ever hereafter have any lawful right,
 title or claim thenceforth to the premises as is expressly understood and agreed by these presents
 that the aforesaid premises cannot be sold or aliened only by the agreement and
 consent of said Church. In testimony of which I Malcham together with my
 wife Peggy who now relinquishes her right of dower have set our hands & seals the
 day & year above written
 Signed, sealed & delivered in presence of
 Malcham Worley
 Peggy Worley
 Nicholas Pascel,
 Constant Monitor }

Fig. 12. Malcham and Peggy Worley's deed to Shaker deacons Peter Pease
 and Joseph Allen, September 12, 1808 (later manuscript copy).
 Collection of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Gospel Order

Worley's compact with the Wilson brothers had apparently dissolved
 by 1809, when he entered a new united interest with Matthew Houston
 and Amos Valentine. Valentine managed the finances, which were

primarily dedicated toward the construction of a new meetinghouse. Worley, however, later admitted to Richard McNemar that applying to Valentine for the use of consecrated funds “was very grinding to his feelings.”⁵⁸ This antipathy to hierarchy manifested itself in various ways through the course of Worley’s Shaker life.

That same year, the young Believers at the nascent community of Turtle Creek expressed concern that their children were not being educated, and Darrow was concerned that “a great part of them would be lost” if a school was not established. This was soon accomplished under the supervision of Worley, a veteran educator. Later in life he asserted that he had been given a spiritual care of the community’s children comparable to that of Father David’s over the adults. Worley had 110 students, for whom he was to “labor for a gift to teach guide & protect them in the way of God.” Malinda Watts taught the girls, and Ebenezer Morrell initially taught the boys, although community politics saw him replaced by James Smith Jr., and then the troublesome John Woods. In order to attend, the students had to confess their sins to their teachers; however, corporal punishment, common in schools at the time, was banned.⁵⁹

Anti-Shaker controversy, violence, and even legislation often centered on the status of children in Shaker communities. Some families, such as that of Kentuckian Col. James Smith, were torn apart by the new faith and sought to reclaim their children or grandchildren from what they viewed as a despotic regime. Worley, as a teacher, often found himself at the center of such controversies. Smith’s daughter-in-law Polly, now the estranged wife of his son and namesake, Shaker convert James Smith Jr., sought to see her children in 1810, but was told by teachers Worley and John Woods that her husband had committed the children to their care, and she could not see them. Smith Sr. “used entreaties, and finally threatened Woods and Worley with the civil law, but all in vain.”⁶⁰

In 1811 Worley journeyed to Pleasant Hill, Kentucky to assist the newly forming community. Richard McNemar and Benjamin Seth Youngs crossed paths with him there on their itinerant ministerial journeys. Worley later claimed that Pleasant Hill’s female lead Mother Lucy Smith told him at that time to “claim and hold fast his place as being before Richard for he was first and ought not to give Richard the lead in anything”—a reference to the primacy of Worley’s conversion.

The
COVENANT of THE CHURCH
 AT UNION VILLAGE, IN THE COUNTY OF
 WARREN and STATE OF OHIO:
 GATHERED AND CONSTITUTED, IN
 THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1812.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
 A concise statement of the nature and founda-
 tion principles of church union: for the inform-
 ation of all concerned.

Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord
 hearkened and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before
 him, for them. And they shall be mine saith the Lord of hosts, in that
 day when I make up my (mass) special treasure. *Malachi.*

✓ Malcham Worley.	✓ Jenny M. Roman
✓ Francis Bedle	✓ Sidoda Monnell
✓ Amos Vallantine	✓ Peggy Worley
✓ Joseph Worley	✓ Peggy Houston
✓ Samuel Rollins	✓ Rosanna Shields

Fig. 13. Covenant, Union Village, Ohio, 1812. Malcham Worley
 is the first signatory on the brothers' side; Peggy Worley
 is the third signatory on the sisters' side.
 Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

During this visit, Worley observed that Pleasant Hill's elders Father John Meacham and Elder Samuel Turner "promoted Richard on all occasions as foremost"—a circumstance Worley cited as "the first instance of his ever thinking that there was any ground for distinction or envy between him and Richard." This was galling, as Worley had "considered their gifts one" ever since the spirit of Father Joseph Meacham had directed him at his Georgetown schoolhouse to move to Ohio to be near McNemar.⁶¹

Despite these inklings of jealousy and self-consciousness of hierarchy, Malcham Worley seems to have lived as a model Shaker through the 1810s, leaving barely a trace of his activities in the manuscript record. Richard McNemar, acting as the community's historian and scribe in 1837, lamented that he "had nothing in [Worley's] own handwriting."⁶² Worley's active work with the community's children and young adults was apparently successful, although controversies surrounded the leadership of the children's order. Darrow had entrusted Darrow reported favorably on Worley's spirits in a March 1815 letter to the New Lebanon Ministry, who had inquired about him.

Good old Brother Malcham has more life than ever and is doing well—no one in this Country has had that deep Work of God, and travel of Soul that he has had—his gift and labour is for the Youth & Children and then that are Called to be helps with him we fully Believe there never was so great a gift for Children on Earth Before not only in their learning but their protection also and Salvation Children from 6 to 12 years old their Spelling Reading Writing and Reading the English Grammer Confounds the learned in these parts and yet they have not had a Grammer book in all their Schools ... We feel great Union with Malchams Obedient faith And Gift he has in Reality become a fool for the Gospel Sake & Bythat means he has obtained the true wisdom of God.⁶³

Worley's status was again confirmed when in April 1816, he, McNemar, and five other early western converts were again granted the privilege of writing directly to Mother Lucy Wright, first eldress

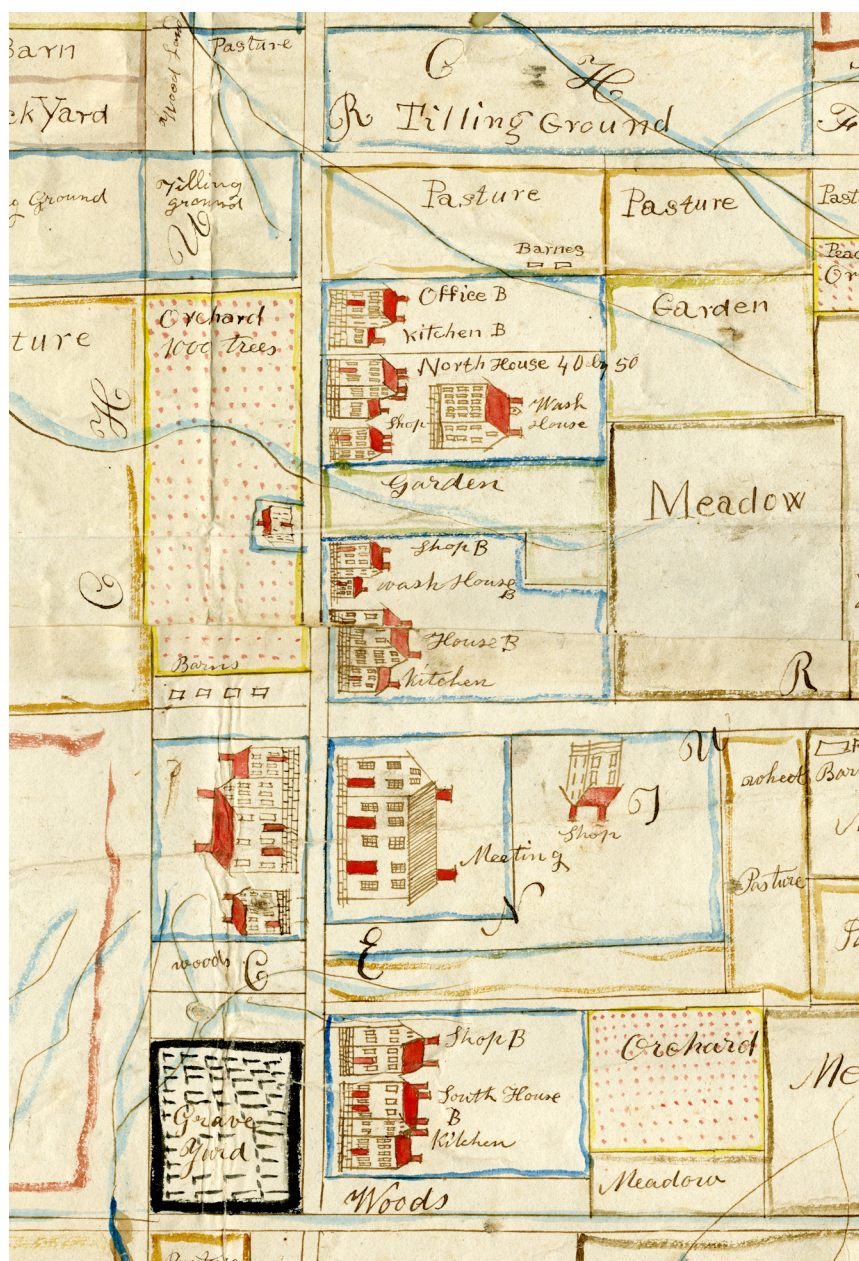


Fig. 14. Map, Union Village, Ohio, 1829, detail showing the Centre Family. Malcham Worley served as elder of a new family of seventy-five young Shakers living in a brick building just north of the meetinghouse beginning in 1821. Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

of the New Lebanon Ministry.⁶⁴ Eleven years after their conversion, having clearly proven their dedication to the faith, they were allowed direct contact with the spiritual fountainhead of the entire Shaker movement, a rare privilege in the theocratic Shaker system.

On January 4, 1820, Worley was appointed first elder in a new family comprising seventy-five young Shakers located just north of the meetinghouse.⁶⁵ This peaceful period came to an end, however, with the apostasy of Worley's fellow teacher John Woods in 1821. Woods published *Shakerism Unmasked* in 1826, an anti-Shaker work wherein he revealed his constant head-butting with Worley due to Worley's approach to educating and disciplining children. Worley favored a non-violent approach centered on prayer and encouragement, while Woods argued for the practical necessity of physical punishment. Woods was relieved from care of the children for a time. He later accused Worley, either through negligence or design, of allowing the children "gratify the propensities of their nature, one with another, like the Sodomites, and in other ways shameful to speak of. Some of them have gone to sheep and cows." Returning to the job, Woods took charge with an iron hand, and even admitted to the "necessity of knocking [unruly boys] down, or choking them."⁶⁶ Shaker leadership at Union Village, including Richard McNemar, convened to investigate the conflict between Woods and Worley. Although Woods was absolved of any serious wrongdoing for his care of the boys, he left shortly thereafter for the Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, community without authorization.

By 1823 it was thought wise to reprint Youngs's *Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing*, first published in 1808 and slightly revised in 1810. David Darrow convened a meeting on January 28, 1823, with Second Elder Solomon King, Issachar Bates, Matthew Houston, Richard McNemar, and possibly Malcham Worley. Darrow expressed his concern about "the enemy creeping in slyly through the young order, by means of some new doctrine contrary to the Testimony." He rehashed examples of problematic doctrines that had appeared at Union Village in recent years, "all which speculative notions he rejected, as having a tendency to lead the mind off from the gospel." Darrow called for the banning of all books except for the Bible, based on his concern that non-Shaker theological works were used to undergird arguments against Shaker beliefs. Malcham Worley was singled out as an excellent example for all, in that he had left behind all

non-Shaker teachings and focused on “labouring for the Spirit.” The meeting garnered unanimous support for the considerable undertaking of reprinting the *Testimony*.⁶⁷ A worldly printer was hired to supervise the job, and was assisted by Joshua Worley, who managed the press. Bates and Malcham Worley worked with McNemar in folding and cutting signatures, as well as binding.⁶⁸

In 1824 the Shakers held a ceremony commemorating the nineteenth anniversary of the missionaries’ arrival in the west. Bates (the only one of the three then at Union Village) was honored with an exuberant display of singing and dancing. As Carol Medlicott noted in her biography of Bates, “The celebration may have been staged as a surprise for Issachar and Malcham [Worley]... honored as the missionaries’ first convert.” McNemar described the scene in a letter to eastern Shaker Seth Youngs Wells:

Six o’clock P.M. the different families met at the brick house and after opening the meeting & singing & laboring awhile, Elder brother Malcham was placed on a chair & taken up by Ashbel & Caleb Pegg, the company then moved with Elder brother in front across the yard & lane into the public yard front of the Elder’s shop, where they were intercepted by Elder Issachar, who was brought out of his lodging on a chair by two brethren & so the march continued with singing leaping and shouting into the meetinghouse. The Elder and Elder brother being placed on their chairs in the centre and surrounded by brethren & sisters, senior and junior, the following verses were sung.

When the song was over the Believers danced with joy, including a novel form of circular dance surrounding Bates and Worley. McNemar compared this to the Jewish Hag and wrote Wells that “it felt both awful & glorious, to see such a vast body of well trained believers in a solid body of brethren and sisters alternately move round like the rushing of a mighty wind, while the elder & elder brother sustained the mortification of marking the centre of their circular procession.”⁶⁹

Visionary Recluse

This special occasion may have been one of the last truly joyous days in Malcham Worley's life. Since early 1825 Father David Darrow had been in physical decline, and now lay near death. The issue of who would succeed him loomed large. Shortly before his death Darrow had a final spiritual revelation, which he shared with Ministry sisters Rachel Johnson and Eunice Sering, and also Worley and McNemar. Lying in his sick bed at night, "under an extreme burden from difficulties among the leads which he said he had no gift to settle," he heard a voice from heaven declare: "There is no judgment." Quite simply, this gave Darrow the freedom to abdicate any responsibility to mediate between competing factions of Ministry and elders. Darrow declared that his job was to set up the commonwealth and establish the laws of Zion, which contained no controversies or disputes. Therefore, he had no gift to settle such conflicts, and would side with no party. His loyal followers were astonished but yielded to his divine will. Despite this, McNemar wrote, some "some hung on to the last ... as long as they could get a whisper from him on any subject," hoping he would take their side.⁷⁰ David Darrow died around 4:40 a.m. on the morning of June 27, 1825.

Father David's death threw Malcham Worley into an emotional tailspin. Elder Solomon King succeeded Darrow, "assuming" the position, in Worley's judgment, "for it was never given to him by any gift of God." The new ministry of King and Eldress Rachel Johnson removed Worley from his position as elder of the West Brick Family, or "Brick House," on December 13, 1825. It was one of the four families comprising Union Village's Centre Family, where Worley had been elder since 1821.⁷¹ Worley had expected to "hold his gift until he would see the travel of his soul and be satisfied," but the ministry decreed otherwise, leaving Worley in "great grief." The Union Village Ministry informed the New Lebanon Ministry that the decision was made in "consequence of heavy afflictions that he has laboured under of a long time, which rendered him intirely incapable of discharging the duties of an elder in a family." Despite this, Worley was honored as a "very worthy brother, haveing been a real pillar in the work of God her[c] from the beginning."⁷² Richard McNemar was asked to take his place.

Slightly more than a year after Darrow's death, on July 3, 1826, a group of thirty-two Union Village Believers, male and female, wrote

an optimistic letter assuring the New Lebanon Ministry that despite Darrow's death, "the gift of God, in this place, has not even slept, tho it has been changed from one instrument to another." They declared the chief goal of the Union Village leadership was to promote reconciliation. Prematurely, they claimed that the "point has been so effectually gained that not a dog can move his tongue against the order established by Father and Mother and now firmly supported by their successors."⁷³ Malcham Worley did not agree. From this time forward Worley lived as a recluse within his own community. He ceased attending meeting in December 1825, and little evidence survives as to his day-to-day activities. Although, one of King's first acts was, "with a stern and overbearing spirit to order [Worley] out of the little shop where father [Darrow] had left him and Eleazar [McNemar] cutting & folding and binding books." This expulsion from their work in finishing copies of the 1823 *Testimony*—Darrow's last major project—was a bitter pill to swallow.⁷⁴

By 1829 the ripple effects of Darrow's death, in combination with the weakness of his successor Elder Solomon King, caused real internal strife at Union Village. Ministry Eldress Rachel Johnson had a dream in October of that year in which it was revealed to her that since "Malcham [Worley] & Eleazar were the first in the western country that had recd. the gospel & that the right of heirship properly belonged to their natural posterity, & that Joshua Worley & [Tirzah?], Nancy, or Vince McNemar ... were the persons who were justly entitled to that lot & place." She informed McNemar of this dream, but he demurred, waiving "any conversation on the subject & withdrew intending to say nothing or to take any part in the decision of a case so delicate as it related to myself." As it turned out, on November 4 Johnson's plan of natural heirship was implemented. McNemar's second daughter Nancy was appointed second eldress in the Ministry, and Worley's son Joshua was appointed as second elder under Solomon King. This likely engendered resentment of McNemar and Worley among other community members.⁷⁵

In his isolation, Worley's mental state grew increasingly unstable. McNemar visited him on Sunday, July 3, 1831, for a lengthy conversation. Worley declared to McNemar that "his faith was in that invisible spirit which overshadowed the virgin Mary & dwelt in [*Greek word: stomach*]⁷⁶—that in obedience to that invisible spirit he expected

to come forth—and that all souls should know that he was a prophet that the only gift of salvation was given him by revelation.” Recording the conversation in his journal, McNemar professed “an entire misunderstanding of such kind of statements.” For his part, McNemar told Worley that he was obedient to and in union with his visible lead, i.e., the Ministry.⁷⁶

Life at Union Village continued unsteadily on through the early 1830s. The Ministry reported to their colleagues at New Lebanon in July 1833, “Our good aged brother Malcham is yet alive, but labours under much the same affliction that he has 5 or 6 years past but is not confined to his room so but what can occasionally walk out.”⁷⁷ Thus unnamed affliction was to become very public. McNemar, now living at the Watervliet, Ohio, community, visited Union Village on April 29, 1834. He was disturbed to learn:

many strange things concerning Malcham, of his breaking out some ten days ago with a public testimony against the chh. & in favor of apostates. that his testimony was public & private and very clamorous & imposing with great boldness & high claims of inspiration & divine authority: mixed with operations of his high standing in the spiritual ranks, forward of F.D. & next to Mother as her first born, that his redemption & regeneration was consummate & that he is now as holy as god or rather god himself manifested in the flesh A few individuals (not of the best character gave heed to the things which he spake, and expressed some union with general opposition to the order of the Church; but other met him, with a fearless brow, and rejected his whole ministration- J.S. said you have been for this 8 years hatching on cockatrice eggs & have brought forth a salamander C.C. said “You are full of heresy! what the apostle calls Damnable heresy; & W W. was not slow in declaring that God would slap his mouth. so about the time of my arrival all became still & remained so during my stay. On thursday morning May 1. before I started home I hastily wrote him a short address & left it with the Ministry to be used at their discretion.⁷⁸

McNemar's address has not survived. Elder Solomon King decreed that if Worley attempted to speak with other Believers he was not to be let into the house. McNemar lamented, "Some have have pretended friendship to Malcham to get him to talk over his singularities and then go & report his sayings to his injury. I dare not do so, I have never to my knowledge devulged any of his reputed heterodoxy except in order and since I have declined saying any thing about his doctrines to any one, I hear less & have less & less to say disrespectful of him."⁷⁹

By 1835 only three of Malcham Worley's six children survived. His son Caleb died at age nineteen on May 12, 1813. His daughter Hortense died at age twenty-six in 1828. And, presumably, his child by Peggy Worley did not survive. Additionally, his son Joseph Worley apostatized at age thirty-five in 1833, and his daughter Rebecca did likewise at age forty-five in 1835. An embittered Worley lamented to McNemar that his children "once had good faith, but ... by the Ministry their faith was overthrown."⁸⁰ Only his son Joshua remained at Union Village as second in the Ministry.

On September 9, 1835, the community was shocked to the core by the defalcation of Trustee Nathan Sharp. Sharp took with him a horse, saddle, and a large trunk with thousands of dollars cash and legal titles to the lands on which the community sat, titles bearing his name as trustee. The core of those lands was consecrated by Malcham Worley.⁸¹ His authority having been completely undermined, Elder Solomon King was recalled to New Lebanon, and left on October 13, 1835. Second Elder Joshua Worley and Second Eldress Nancy McNemar had each survived the tumult and remained in their positions.⁸² In selecting new leadership for Union Village the New Lebanon Ministry again chose one of their own to journey to the west—thirty years after the initial mission—and once again right the gospel ship. The man selected was Freegift Wells.⁸³

Malcham Worley made his first appearance at a Shaker meeting since December 1825 on Sunday, April 24, 1836, just three days before Wells's arrival.⁸⁴ That same day Richard McNemar interviewed Malcham at length, obtaining from him a singularly bizarre vision of Shaker history and theology, and Malcham's own perceived role in them. Worley stated that following the missionaries' arrival in 1805 he "prayed to Elder John [Meacham] & no other, till Elder David came and took his place—That he then subjected himself to Elder

David as unto God until his death.” Following Darrow’s death Worley announced that the deceased Ministry from New Lebanon “came here to take the charge of matters in the west.” Father Joseph Meacham, who died in 1796, was “his immediate & special guardian for one year & conversed freely with him as a man doth with his friend.” Father Joseph told Worley that now that Darrow was dead “there was not now a man on earth that was able to lead him.” He also assured Worley that he was protected by “himself & father William [Lee], Father James [Whittaker] & Mother Lucy [Wright], and afterward that Mother Ann & Mother Hannah [Goodrich] joined the company, & that not a day passed nor a night but he was visited by some of them & freequently they were all in the room together.” A year later Worley was “committed to the guardian care of Mother Lucy who attended to him for two years & conversed with him daily.” Mother Lucy informed him that after his decease Father David Darrow “lay under deep sufferings for this body of people on account of their rejecting the gift that was visited in him, that it was their opposition to that gift that took his life.” Worley was subsequently cared for by Mother Hannah Goodrich, and “last of all Jesus & his father and Mother came,” to finish the work. Worley, now perfected, declared in language that was heretical for a Shaker, that he had been:

released from under the care & government of all who had ever dwell in mortal flesh & committed to the Mother of Mary ... to the grand-mother of Jesus, that he was taken into her, in whom the Father dwells, and is now the only person in a visible and material body that stands in that relation to God, one with the Father & dwelling in the mother & the Mother in him. . . That the man called Malcham Worley who was begotten by Caleb & Rebecca Worley in the filthy & unclean nature of the flesh is now advanced into that order which on other man ever gained while in the body.⁸⁵

McNemar left no reaction in his journal to Worley’s revelation, which must have deeply stunned him. Matthew Houston, on the other hand, considered that Worley “surpassed all bounds in pride & arrogance.”⁸⁶ Surprisingly, in a letter the following May McNemar responded to

an inquiry regarding Malcham by writing, “Br. Malcham is in good health, usual soundness of mind & faith & comfortable.”⁸⁷

Freegift Wells arrived at Union Village on Wednesday, April 27, 1836.⁸⁸ He retained Joshua Worley as his second elder. Wells assessed the state of the community, identifying longstanding problems that needed correction. Richard McNemar took it upon himself to inform Wells of Malcham Worley’s uniquely problematic status. He found Wells at the Ministry’s Shop and explained “that as the revelation & gift of God for adult Believers was committed to Father David, in like manner the same gift for children & youth was given to Malcham and was supported during Father’s day.” But as Malcham’s gift was dependent on Father David’s gift, it was currently void. He pointed out to Wells that Worley had never resigned from his position working with the community’s youth but had been removed from it. Worley was greatly troubled at the accelerated pace of apostasy among younger Shakers since Father David’s death, including two of his own children. McNemar implored Wells to revive Worley’s gift so “his soul would be at rest.”⁸⁹ Instead, Wells enlisted Malcham’s son Joshua Worley for a very difficult task in June 1837. Worley was to persuade Richard McNemar, heretofore the community’s scribe and self-appointed *custos sacrorum* (guardian of the sacred) to hand over all books and manuscripts in his possession, other than his private papers. In a stunning act of defiance, McNemar refused to comply with Worley’s request—by extension defying Wells.⁹⁰

The New Era

In August 1837 the Watervliet, New York, community witnessed the onset of what the Shakers called the “New Era,” or simply a “revival,” and what scholars refer to as the “Era of Manifestations,” or “Mother’s Work.” It was the beginning of the most extended period of visionary spiritual activity among all the Shaker communities since the supernatural events that attended the work of Mother Ann Lee and her compatriots in the 1780s. Among the many gifts manifested through spiritual visionists, or instruments, were those delivered from personages such as Mother Ann Lee and other deceased Shakers, as well as Biblical and historical figures.

In contrast, McNemar complained that the meetings at Union Village in September 1837 were “flat and formal.” He visited with

Worley following meeting on September 10, and “found him under great excitement.” Despite Worley’s deep spiritual eccentricities, McNemar wrote of his friend, “This much I am bold to say, that he has more light of God & more of the spirit of Christ in him than all his despisers together, and when he has finished his testimony, he is so wide awake that he will not fall asleep.”⁹¹

McNemar visited Worley again in his room on December 16, 1837. They had a far-ranging conversation. Worley reminisced about his childhood, and they shared memories of the Kentucky Revival. Suddenly, Worley looked “earnestly” at McNemar and said: “I have one question to Ask you, Do you believe I am crazy.” McNemar answered in the negative, and also told Worley that he “was the oldest child that he had in the society, the first to whom he had exercised the functions & affections of a father.” This affirmation of Worley’s sanity and spiritual primacy salvaged the old man’s anxious mind and the two parted amicably.⁹²

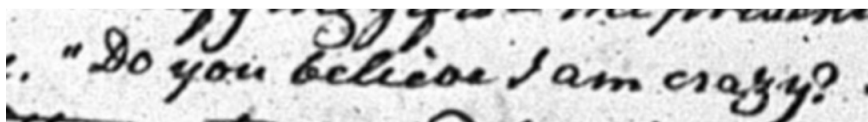
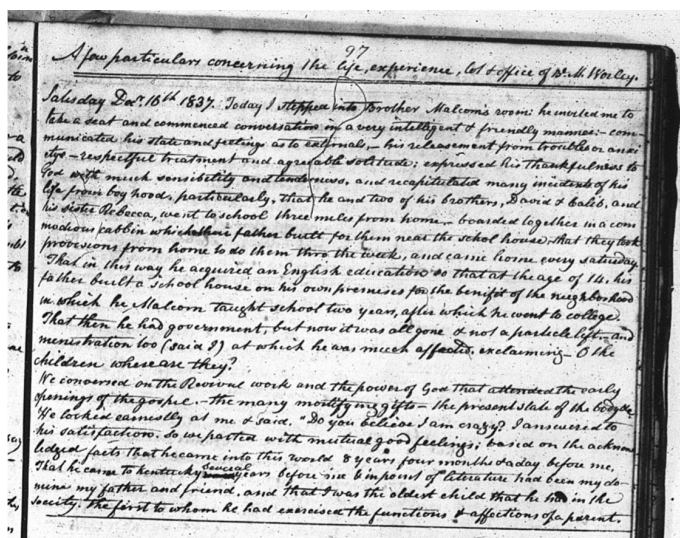


Fig. 15. Richard McNemar’s journal, wherein he recorded his interviews with Malcham Worley.
Collection of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Freegift Wells suffered from vertigo throughout January 1838 and was treated with doses of calomel, as well as blistering on his legs, to draw the disease away from his head. By February his condition had worsened, and he was nearly immobilized by large blisters. While coping with these difficulties he was also preparing for a spring journey to New Lebanon. The party, which also included Elder Joshua Worley, planned to depart Union Village on May 14.⁹³ While they were away Malcham Worley reaffirmed to McNemar his unique spiritual connection with Father Joseph Meacham, stating, “Neither Issachar [Bates] nor Benjamin [Seth Youngs] could touch him with any of their ministrations. That there was something in Elder Joseph [Meacham] that served as an object of faith to which he found his relation.”⁹⁴

Freegift Wells and his party arrived back at Union Village Ministry on July 31, 1838, excited to share news of the spiritual manifestations they had witnessed at New Lebanon. Joshua Worley, however, was undoubtedly disturbed by what he experienced. When he met the visionists at Watervliet, New York, they had the same messages of Mother Ann’s love and spiritual gifts for him as they did for his traveling companions. That changed when the party reached New Lebanon. Visionist Philemon Stewart, the leading spiritual instrument there, declared on behalf of “Jehovah” that Worley was “full of unbelief and had a reprobate spirit, and had not confessed [his] sins.” Confounded by the conflicting messages, delivered within days of each other and only thirty miles apart, Worley was confined to his room and denied permission to go out or speak with anyone but his elders. In a sort of Shaker interrogation, he was visited up to four times daily by Ministry Elder Rufus Bishop, Freegift Wells, and Stewart. When they entered the room Worley had to get on his knees and bow four times to Stewart and twice to the elders, kissing the floor each time. The ultimate resolution of this case is nowhere recorded, but Worley returned to Ohio with Wells, and was, at least for the moment, still second elder in the Ministry. One wonders with whom among his brethren he shared his dreadful experiences with upon returning home.⁹⁵

At sabbath meeting on August 5 the Ministry conveyed love from the East and recounted the wonders they had witnessed there. Wells yearned for the same spiritual work to begin at Union Village. Shortly thereafter, on August 15, Joshua Worley was released from his position. The New Lebanon Ministry noted that Worley’s removal was predicted

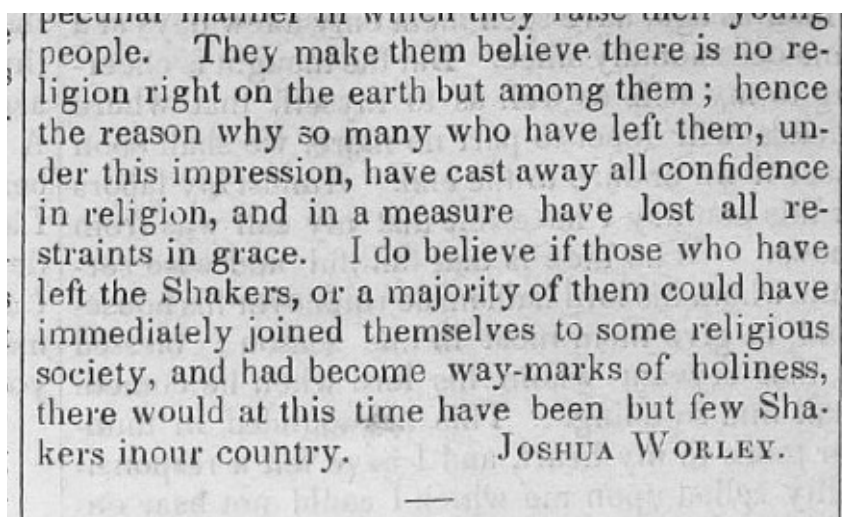


Fig. 16. Joshua Worley's article "Corruptions of Shakerism," published in the spiritualist periodical *The Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings*, reported the harrowing abuse he suffered on his trip to Watervliet and New Lebanon, New York, with Elder Freegift Wells.

by a visionist (or instrument) shortly after his departure. Worley had "despised" this visionist while there, indicating his rejection of the new manifestations, a sentiment shared by Richard McNemar.⁹⁶

On September 5, 1837, while Wells and the Ministry were away from Union Village, Malcham sent for Richard McNemar to come and see him. Worley confided in McNemar "recent abuses and shameful treatment recd from certain junior members of the family too scurrelous to be recorded." Upon his return Wells heard of this meeting and summoned McNemar, asking him to share details of their conversation. McNemar framed the meeting as an orderly and typical opportunity for confession by Worley. He vouched for his friend as a good Believer and recommended that they "let him alone as to his visions and revelations." For the moment, Wells acquiesced to this. McNemar recorded the meeting with relief in his journal, commenting with bemused wonderment, "Thus the various senses have alternately operated pro and con and a general course of conduct been supported toward that singular person, & what the design of providence was in calling him as he did can only be construed from

results.”⁹⁷ Wells’s forbearance may have been shortlived. In his own journal, Wells recorded that on March 4, 1838, Worley’s former slave Anna Middleton recounted to him “a labour that she had been making with Malcham.”⁹⁸ The exact nature of her “labour” is unknown, but perhaps Middleton was attempting to persuade her old master to submit to Wells’s gift as his lead. Worley had tendered this obedience to no one following Father David’s decease.

Back in New York, the New Lebanon Ministry worried that McNemar, in combination with disaffected members of the Worley family, might trigger the long-feared legal challenges to ownership of the land on which the Centre and East Families at Union Village were built—a scenario McNemar had repeatedly warned them of throughout the 1830s. The Ministry wrote their Union Village counterparts that if McNemar and Malcham and Joshua Worley were to “combine together and set up independence at the east house, or what would still be worse, at the center, you might have trouble upon trouble which would be hard to settle.”⁹⁹ The situation was like a powder keg ready to explode, and the sparks to ignite it came from the spirits. Adding fuel to the fire was the revelation to McNemar by his spiritual mentor Benjamin Seth Youngs, who had since returned east, that Mother Ruth Farrington, the first Shaker eldress in the west (who died in 1821) had expressed the sentiment around 1813 that Richard McNemar and Malcham Worley were “dangerous men.” Youngs was informed of this at New Lebanon, New York, when he requested to return to the West to collaborate with McNemar on final revisions to their theological works.¹⁰⁰

The New Era did not begin in earnest at Union Village until October 25, 1838. That evening fifty-seven-year-old Brother Nathaniel Taylor “heard a trumpet sound & immediately heard very beautiful instrumental music.” The next evening Anna Middleton, Malcham Worley’s fifty-eight-year-old former slave, woke up “just before the clock struck 12 & directly heard very melodious instrumental music, which lasted about 10 minutes.” The next night Vincy McNemar—Richard’s forty-one-year-old eldest daughter—heard the same music. Freegift Wells recorded these events carefully in his journal, noting, “The above extraordinary exhibitions were no doubt performed by ministering spirits as a prelude to the great work which Mother has promised to perform among us.”¹⁰¹

By January 1839 Margaret McBrien had emerged as the preeminent visionist at Union Village. Her origins are as mysterious as her sudden ascension to the pinnacle of spiritual power as the voice of Mother Ann Lee. Shaker records indicate that she was born on January 17, 1817, presumably in Ireland. She came to Union Village in 1837 accompanied by a baby boy named Emmet whose place of birth was recorded as the Atlantic Ocean. Evidently, McBrien was a pregnant twenty-year-old who emigrated from Ireland to the United States in 1837 and gave birth during the passage. She traveled with a male companion, although he is never named as her husband. McBrien first became acquainted with the Shakers at the Hancock, Massachusetts, community. She arrived at Union Village in the company of her “weakly husband who soon wandered away from the comforting prizes of heaven.” At first appearance she was described as “a very slight built round shouldered woman with an infant baby in her arms, she was nearly direct from Ireland and had the brogue in full.” No account of her activities appears in Union Village records prior to her takeover of its spiritual life.¹⁰²

By February 1839 individual Shakers were being held to account by the spirits. In meeting on Monday, February 18, Andrew C. Houston read a “solemn and weighty” message from Mother Ann, presumably given through McBrien. Freegift Wells wrote that it caused “deep tribulation in many.” In particular, Joshua Worley was invited to acknowledge “his failing” and ask “forgiveness of the Ministry for the troubles he had made them.”¹⁰³ Reception of these gifts was not forthcoming by Richard McNemar, Malcham Worley, and others of their founding generation.¹⁰⁴ Freegift Wells was charged with reunifying the Union Village community. If McNemar and Worley were seen as impediments to this healing spiritual work and were standing in opposition to their visible lead (Wells), and the spirits, then they were indeed on dangerous ground.¹⁰⁵

On the evening of March 8, a special meeting convened at which McBrien and other visionists manifested heretofore unseen spirits of various ethnicities and historical import. Among many gifts, Mother (McBrien) called forth George Washington, the Marquis de Lafayette, Christopher Columbus, and Anthony Wayne. Thus assembled, these spirits sent their love through motions of “the flourish of the sword over the head & the cross made by the hands,” and then knelt to pat

the floor with their hands. Mother observed pointedly that this “was an example for great men to follow.” McNemar and Worley would surely have gotten the intended message. The spirits of deceased Shakers John Dunlavy, John Houston, and William Morrison also gave sentiments of love. Mother ended with messages “to stimulate us to war, & fight unbelief, & every opposing spirit.” Several bundles of swords were distributed in the course of the meeting and parties of brethren and sisters charged each other in battle.¹⁰⁶ The introduction of spiritual weapons marked a dark turn of events.

Astounding and disruptive spiritual gifts now occurred continuously. A village journal noted that the “extraordinary work has become so all pervading that it is exhibited almost at any time or place—even at the table, as was evinced this Evening.” At Sabbath meeting on March 24 six sisters, including McBrien, demanded a general confession of sins be speedily made and warned that those who failed to do so before next Sabbath would “be exposed, & sent right off to the world.” The goal was “a separation between the faithful & unfaithful.” Mother demanded that all yield to the gospel requirements, and “each promised to be Mothers itty child.” Joshua Worley could not yield and would make no such promise. Instead, he left the community that day. Privately, Daniel Miller wrote “deep tribulation & sorrow abounds.”¹⁰⁷ In the near future Worley would return seeking vengeance for his family.

Malevolent spiritual upheaval continued unabated at Union Village in early April by direction of the nearly thirty visionists in the society: four brethren, eight boys, and the remainder sisters and girls. Small boys were made to confess their sins repeatedly by the zealously patient James Smith, who awakened them at three in the morning for a third round after Mother (McBrien) claimed their earlier confessions were incomplete. Mother and the spirit of Issachar Bates distributed spiritual guns and ammunition to the brethren and sisters and “set them to shooting, & counselled them to continue on, not only in meeting, but at the table, & about their work.” Another village journal describes the commencement of “warring,” effected by “the similitude of shooting,—or motions & noises representing shooting,—and much noise & shouting.” Malcham Worley received a particularly disturbing message from the visionists at North Union, the contents of which are lost. Daniel Miller described the meetings of April 2 with one word: “severity.”¹⁰⁸

The next morning Malcham Worley found himself under attack from his fellow Believers. The ringing of the morning bell served as a signal for shooting to commence. Worley was walking up to the stairs of the Centre House when “a number of Sisters whose guns were well charged, soon collected & gave him several volleys which seemed to take effect, & he soon put back towards his hiding place.” Along the path of his retreat through the garden “James Hodge (his old, or former friend) gave him several running shot which caused him to wheel & emit portions of venom.”¹⁰⁹ McNemar was similarly under attack and moved back to his original homestead at the East House, carrying his possessions away in a wheelbarrow.

Chaos and violence continued on April 4 as the “gifts of noise & war” continued and “fire bangs are poured in from all quarters.” An inspired message assured the community that the gifts were achieving their intended end: “to separate the Evil from the good.” Worley raged at his fellow Shakers in the morning, crying “murder, murder” while McNemar continued “wheeling off plunder to the east house” (as Wells cruelly described). The Ministry asked visionist Oliver Hampton for Mother’s counsel. With regard to McNemar she foresaw that he would leave the community the next Tuesday, April 9, if “he was not forced to go before that time.” The verdict for Worley was more terrible. Mother said:

E. Freegift must go to him & tell him he must put right of the ground, that he must be gone within 2 1/2 hours. And if E. Freegift cannot venture this on his own hook, he may say Mother says so. But E. Freegift must use his authority & he must be courageous, & prompt. Mother says the shooting among the Brethren & Sisters this morning is helping the matter on. Mother says Malcham is an old beast, yea a hound of hell. He is above me, & I can do nothing for him; he is entirely influenced by the old scarlet colored beast, & the Brethren & Sisters must take care, or they will get a tinge of the same.

Mother reassured the Ministry, telling them they must feel “comfortable and be assured that her work would effect what it was intended to effect.” She sent her love to Wells as encouragement.¹¹⁰

Girded with Mother's love, Wells delivered her message to Worley at 10 a.m. "in a loud & strong voice" while Worley tried to drown it out by loud and continuous vociferations; but "hear it he must, & hear it he did." Worley refused to go and told Wells that Mother, not he, was "the old scarlet colored whore." While this ugly scene unfolded, McNemar continued moving personal possessions such as "baskets of papers, chairs & such like things to the east house by hand, or in his arms, [and] has now commenced moving heavier articles on a wheel barrow." He had moved three loads in this way. At 5 p.m. that evening Trustee Daniel Boyd and Ithamar Johnson went to the East House at and coldly gathered everything McNemar had brought there, returning it to the Trustees' Office in a horse cart. Wells closed his journal entry describing these events prosaically, writing "very fine weather, warm & smoky."¹¹¹

On Sunday, April 14, Daniel Miller succinctly described Union Village as "Drunk."¹¹² The following Wednesday a new male visionist, forty-year-old Philip F. Antes (who co-signed the newspaper proclamation that closed public meetings) delivered a message directly to Malcham Worley. In his journal, Freegift Wells described it as "the most powerful of any message that I ever heard delivered by a mortal being." Worley was given one last chance to humble himself and confess his sins. Worley remained silent in the face of these demands. Margaret McBrien, present at the scene, immediately went into vision, seeking instruction from Mother Ann. Her decision was that he "should leave the ground, he should not stay in that house another night, & he was accordingly carried out to the old office." Wells's description of these events belies no trace of complicity on his part. He seems to have had full faith in the visionists and their work of separation and described the evening meeting that day as "heavy." For his part, Daniel Miller described it as "deathly."¹¹³

On April 20 Malcham Worley, along with his furniture and clothing, was taken to his new home ten miles from Union Village, where he would board with on Joseph Keenan, also at the Shakers' expense. Worley insisted that he be carried to the carriage by Shaker deacons, and selected Ithamar Johnson and John Baxter to do it. He was cheerful during the ride and noted how much the countryside had changed since he had last seen it, having lived as a reclusive hermit at Union Village since the death of Father David in 1825. Upon arriving

at Keenan's, he told his host that "he felt releas'd, & he believed that Providence had dictated in selecting that place for him &c. He cheerfully walked from the wagon to his room, & seemed well satisfied, & comfortable."¹¹⁴

John S. Houston, an old friend of the McNemar family, informed Richard McNemar Jr. of the harrowing events at Union Village, writing, "The Young order have gone crazy, visions, wild, hollowing, prevail in their meetings; they pretend to see Washington Columbus [and] Malcham & Eleazar denounce this as wild and foolish." Learning of Worley's expulsion, Houston declared, "If I was a son of Worley, or Eleazar I would waid through Hell to Expell him from there and all that damned clan of Young Shakers."¹¹⁵ Richard McNemar was finally expelled on April 24.

Freegift Wells viewed the expulsions of McNemar and Worley as divine justice, writing to his colleagues at South Union that he was not alarmed on account of those who had been "purged out," despite the fact that some of them—in a clear reference to McNemar and Worley—were "eminent by profession, & so elevated by the voice of fame! Mother knows how to humble the high-minded, & bring into confusion, those who exalt themselves above the work of God, & trample on her orders."¹¹⁶

Separated for the first time in thirty-five years, McNemar was heartened to have news of Malcham from his son Joseph Worley, who had apostatized from Union Village in 1833. Joseph related, "That good old man feels quite comfortable. He resigns himself to his lot, and passes his time as happily as circumstances will permit." Additionally, Malcham's health was "better now than it has been for many years past." And, in words that carried immense weight for McNemar, Joseph passed along that Malcham considered Richard to be "his best friend on earth, & he desired much to hear from you." Sadly, this communication never took place.¹¹⁷

Richard McNemar died on September 15, 1839, shortly after his submission to Freegift Wells, a story told at much greater length in my forthcoming biography. A little more than a year later, on September 19, 1840, Worley was "brought back again to the North house; after an absence of about 1 year and 5 months; that is, since the 20th of April 1839, to the present date; he has resided most of this time with his son Joseph: The Trustees have paid the said Joseph for maintaining

him.”¹¹⁸ His second wife Peggy Worley had died on August 25, 1839. Malcham Worley died on August 3, 1844, at the old Trustees’ Office building at Union Village, aged eighty-two. Virtually nothing is known about his final years at Union Village. Despite his expulsion Worley never lamented his fate or seemed anything other than contented with his lot.

Revenge

Malcham Worley’s children, however, were another story. Joshua Worley, formerly second elder in the Union Village Ministry with Freegift Wells, never forgave his peremptory downfall at the hands of the visionists. Following the death of his father he joined his apostate siblings Joseph and Rebecca in a lawsuit against the Shakers. Their goal was the one that the Shakers had long feared: the reclamation of the Worley farm, the core lands on which Union Village was founded. The Worley heirs claimed that their father had been insane, specifically at the time he deeded his land to eastern Shaker trustees Peter Pease and Joseph Allen in 1808. In their suit, Worley’s sought “a quarter Section or 160 Acres,” including “all the buildings north of the Meeting house and Office, that is to say, the new Centre House & both the dwelling houses we occupied before we moved into the new building which move was the 13th of last July, this together with the Barns Wash Houses Shops & all thereto belonging are on the disputed ground.”

Union Village Trustee Peter Boyd expected they would seek to recover the original price of the land with accrued interest from the date of its conveyance to the Shakers. He calculated the original value may have been \$2000. Adding forty years interest in the amount of \$4800 the total damages could be \$6800.¹¹⁹ The suit picked up steam in 1846. The Union Village Shakers hired “Judge G. Smith & Probasco of Lebanon O. & Hon. Thos. Corwin now of the United States Senate & Robert Corwin & McBirney all of Lebanon O.” They had also engaged “the Hon. Henry Clay Sen. & John G. Crittenden U.S. Senator both of Ky.” Boyd optimistically stated that they did not fear the outcome of the case. The Worleys hired attorneys “Bibb and Tilford of Cincinnati & Schank & Connover of Dayton Ohio.”¹²⁰ Boyd had lawyers take depositions from those who knew Worley and could attest to his sanity during February 1846.¹²¹

The New Lebanon Shakers hired a Judge Hilton from Albany to come to their village on March 23 and 24, 1846, to get depositions from those who had known Malcham Worley and could vouch for his sanity.¹²² Among the deponents was Mother Lucy Smith, who administered the Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, Shaker community until her recall to the east in 1829. She affirmed that Worley was in “sound mind and memory; very intelligent in his communications, and firm in the faith of the Society which he had embraced. And further this deponent saith, that she never had any idea of his being insane or deranged in mind, nor heard any suggestion of that kind from any one while she lived in the western country.”¹²³

By November 1846 the Worleys had only secured three depositions, from Nathan Worley (Malcham’s brother), his wife Peggy’s sister, and intriguingly from the Kentucky Revival preacher John Thompson. One wishes that these depositions survived, but their present whereabouts are unknown. The trial was delayed until the spring of 1847.¹²⁴ In the meantime Joshua Worley reached out to his old community on behalf of himself, his brother Joseph, and his sister Rebecca (now married to a man named C. Imely). Joshua asked them to offer them a sum of money in exchange for dropping the court case. The Union Village Ministry conferred with their legal counsel who advised them that they were likely to prevail in the suit. Despite that advice they offered the Worleys \$300, not as an acknowledgment that they were justified in their claim, but to hopefully put an end to the matter. The Worleys rejected the offer, demanding \$2000 instead.¹²⁵

The Worleys apparently lost their case in a lower court, although I have not found a specific record of that. They appealed to the Ohio Supreme Court in May 1847. The court would not sit until May 1848, thus dragging the trial out another year.¹²⁶ The Worleys attempted to gather more depositions through the spring of 1848.¹²⁷ The case was finally heard at Xenia, Ohio, when the court convened in Greene County. The decision was announced on June 2.

The said Malcham Worley, the father of the complaints, at the time of the execution of the deeds, filed in this cause, and dated the twelfth day of September 1808, and the fifteenth day of January 1812, was of sound mind, and of sufficient mental and legal capacity to make,

execute, and deliver said deeds, and that they were made and executed upon good and sufficient considerations that his titles to said lands, included in said deeds passed thereby to the Grantees named therein, in fee in trust &c. And that Complainants in this cause are bound thereby, and precluded from recovering the same

The Worleys were further ordered to pay the Shakers' court costs with interest after forty days had passed.¹²⁸

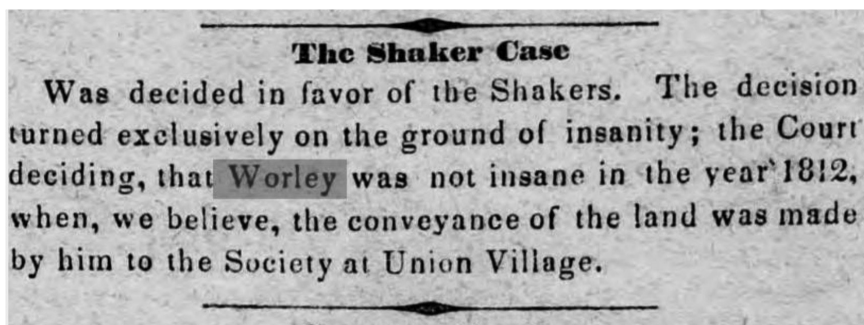


Fig. 17. The decision against the Worley heirs as reported in the *Western Star* (Lebanon, Oh.), June 9, 1848.

The Union Village Ministry wrote exultantly to their colleagues in New Lebanon that “the Judges thought Malcham to be perfectly sane & fully competent to convey or dispose of his land and declared our title good.”¹²⁹ Having failed in their lawsuit, the Worley children were forced to accept the loss of their hoped-for inheritance. The last link of the Worley family to the Shakers, former slave Anna Middleton, lived at Union Village until her death on April 4, 1861, aged seventy-five.

The question remains, was Malcham Worley insane? By our standards, and even those of many of his contemporaries, he certainly endured episodes and manifested behaviors that caused others to question his sanity. He himself questioned in it in a private conversation with his lifelong friend Richard McNemar. Worley was religious visionary to be sure, but it seems clear that he suffered from episodic bouts of some type of mental illness. His visions manifested

themselves in behaviors that contravened authority, both before and after his conversion to Shakerism. Regardless, I have no doubt that he believed himself to have been in sound mind when he made his decision to consecrate his land and life to the Shaker church.

Notes

Location codes:

DeWint: Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum

DLC-MSS: Library of Congress, Manuscript Division

DLC-GM: Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division

NN: New York Public Library

OCIWHi: Western Reserve Historical Society

1. Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHi; Daniel Miller Daybook, Union Village, Ohio, Item 165, DLC-MSS; Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230, OCIWHi. The number of visionists and more information about them can be found in Freegift Wells to Ministry, Pleasant Hill, Ky., March 20, 1839. IV:B-24, OCIWHi.
2. H. Clark Dean, "Caleb Worley (say 1730–circa 1790) of Virginia and Kentucky, Grandson of Francis Worley of Pennsylvania," *American Genealogist* 70 (1995): 75-81; "Caleb Pusey House," en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caleb_Pusey_house; Richard C. Schmal, "Pioneer History by Richard D. Schal: The Worley Family," *Lowell Tribune*, February 23, 1983, 17 (accessed at: lowellpl.lib.in.us/s1983feb.htm); "Caleb Pusey" in *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. X (New York: James T. White & Company, 1900), 447, dates Pusey's house to 1685. Church of England Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1538–1812, St. James Duke's Palace, 1664–1692. Monthly Meeting of Devonshire House, London/Middlesex, England, piece 0974, p. 321.
3. Nothing is known of these children. Malcham Worley told Richard McNemar in 1838 that one of them drowned in the Susquehanna River, and that the fifth was a developmentally disabled girl named Patience.
4. *Kentucky Ancestors* (Kentucky Historical Society, 1965), 12.
5. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS, and Dean, "Caleb Worley." Dean lists thirteen children of Caleb and Rebecca Worley as given in Rebecca's will, whereas Malcham Worley told Richard McNemar in 1838 that there were fifteen children, two having died in infancy, see Richard McNemar, Journal, [Conversation with

- Malcham Worley, March 4, 1838], Item 301, DLC-MSS.
6. Richard McNemar recorded this information on December 16, 1837, in an interview with Worley. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS; also Richard McNemar, Journal, 1837, Item 348h, DLC-MSS.
 7. See *Catalogue of the Officers and Alumni of Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia: 1749–1888* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1888), 52, for Worley's graduation record.
 8. A biography of Joseph H. Daviess contained in William B. Allen, *A History of Kentucky* (Louisville: Bradley & Gilbert, Publishers, 1872), 251, notes that Daviess was born on March 4, 1774, moved to Kentucky in 1779, and "at the age of eleven years Joseph was sent to a grammar school taught by a Mr. Worley, where he continued about two years, making considerable progress in the English and the Latin languages."
 9. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS
 10. Worley is first listed as an elder in the Minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery vol. 1, 63, at their meeting on April 24, 1792. Worley was present at the same capacity at the Presbytery's meeting on July 24, 1793, see Minutes vol. 1, 91; April 22, 1794, see Minutes vol. 1, 108; October 7, 1794, see Minutes vol. 1, 129; Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
 11. McNemar, Diary, Item 255, leaf 116, DLC-MSS. In the Minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery, vol. 1, 114, at their meeting on April 24, 1794 Caldwell was appointed as a collector of funds for the Cane Ridge congregation to support the education of serious students.
 12. *We the subscribers do severally promise to pay or cause to be paid unto the trustees of the Kentucky Academy, and their successors ...* [Lexington, Ky.: 1796]. This broadside is in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.
 13. Minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery vol. I, 138.
 14. [James McGready], "A Short Narrative of the Revival of Religion in Logan County," *Western Missionary Magazine*, February 1, 1803, 27.
 15. Cabin Creek Presbyterian Church Records, 10-11.
 16. John Lyle, Diary, (typed transcript), 8-9. Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky.
 17. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, 301, DLC-MSS.
 18. John Lyle, Diary, (typed transcript), 50. Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky.
 19. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, 301, DLC-MSS.
 20. Kentucky Synod, Minutes, 1802–1883. Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary.
 21. Kentucky Synod, Minutes.

22. Presbytery of Springfield, *Apology*, 37-39.
23. Worley's land was located in section twenty-four of the fourth township of the third or military range. The deed is in the Land Record No. 1, Warren County, 42-43, Edna L. Bowyer Records Center and Archives. Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky* (New York: Robert Carter, 1847), 337, notes with derision Worley's involvement in anti-slavery measures with the Presbyterian Church as early as 1795.
24. See map "A plan of the section of land on which the Believers live in the state of Ohio, Nov. 7th, 1807," DLC-GM, G4084.O825 1807 .P6 Vault
25. David Darrow and John Meacham to David Meacham, March 19, 1806. IV:A-66, OClWHI.
26. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
27. Josiah Morrow, "The First Shaker Convert: West of Alleghany Mountains was Malcham Worley at Turtlecreek, March 1805," *Western Star*, (Lebanon, Ohio), January 25, 1912. Anthony Howard Dunlevy was born in 1793, and would have been twelve years old in 1805, when Worley converted. Dunlevy died December 1, 1881.
28. Purviance, *Biography of Elder David Purviance*, 287.
29. Spinning, "A Short Sketch."
30. McNemar, *Kentucky Revival*, 42-44.
31. Ibid., 53-54. Barton W. Stone, *Atonement: The Substance of Two Letters Written to a Friend* (Lexington: Printed by Joseph Charless, 1805). According to Robert Marshall and John Thompson Stone wrote this work in the winter of 1804, and it is also from them that we know the letters were written to Matthew Houston, see Robert Marshall and John Thompson, *A Brief Historical Account of Sundry Things in the Doctrines and State of the Christian, or as it is commonly called, the Newlight Church* (Cincinnati: Published by J. Carpenter & Co., 1811), 7.
32. Stone, *Atonement*, 24.
33. McNemar, *Kentucky Revival*, 53-54.
34. Ibid., 49-53.
35. Youngs, Diary, 54. ASC 859, DeWint. I thank Carol Medlicott for the use of her transcription of the Youngs journal.
36. Ibid., 55-56.
37. Ibid., 57-60, 67, 72. For McNemar's reaction to Worley's conversion see McNemar, *Kentucky Revival*, 81.
38. John Meacham to Ministry, New Lebanon, New York, June 1, 1805. IV:A-66, OClWHI. Also 1805.06.01, ASC 1048, DeWint.
39. David Darrow to Ministry, New Lebanon, New York, March 17, 1806, ASC 1048, DeWint.
40. Youngs, Diary, 156-58.

41. Ibid., 150-54 .
42. David Darrow, et. al., at Union Village, Ohio to New Lebanon, New York, December 19, 1805. Shaker Library, Sabbathday Lake, Maine, box 25.
43. Youngs, Diary, 156-58.
44. John Meacham to Ministry, New Lebanon, New York, June 1, 1805. IV:A-66, OCIWHI.
45. For more information on the King family see C. Goodwillie, "The Shakers in Eighteenth-Century Newspapers. Part Three: 'Calvin' versus 'A Lover of Truth,' Abusing Caleb Rathbun, the Death of Joseph Meacham and the Tale of His Sister," *American Communal Societies Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (January 2012): 39-63; "Domestic journal of important occurrences kept for the elder sisters at New Lebanon," 1780-1862; V:B-60, OCIWHI.
46. Youngs, Diary, 196-99; Dean, "Caleb Worley."
47. Youngs Diary, 217, 276-77, 281. For additional details on this incident see: David Darrow, et. al., to Ministry at New Lebanon, December 19, 1805, IV:A-66, OCIWHI.
48. David Darrow and John Meacham to "Beloved Elders" [at New Lebanon], June 5, 1806. IV:A-66, OCIWHI; Record Book A, South Union, Kentucky. Special Collections, KyBgW; Journal of Elder Peter Pease, 1806-1815, Item 232, DLC-MSS.
49. David Darrow to Lucy Wright, January 13, 1807, IV:A-67, OCIWHI.
50. David Darrow to Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., June 5, 1806, IV:A-66, OCIWHI.
51. Robert Wilson, who Worley covenanted with in 1806, sued Father David in 1811 and 1812. After an initial loss, Darrow triumphed and Wilson was ordered to pay his court costs for his "false clamor." Robert's brother William Wilson died in the faith.
52. Union Village, Ohio, documents, I:A-19, OCIWHI.
53. Record Book A, South Union, Kentucky. Special Collections, KyBgW
54. David Darrow [et. al.] to [Ministry] [at New Lebanon], August 16, 1806, IV:A-66, OCIWHI.
55. [Union Village Shaker leadership] to Lucy Wright, January 13, 1807, IV:A-67, OCIWHI; Youngs, Pamphlet Journal of Union Village, 1806-1807, #10, 130, NOCaS.
56. Malcham Worley to Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., Sept. 9, 1807, ASC 1048, DeWint.
57. Shaker Correspondence, Item 246, DLC-MSS.
58. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
59. Ibid. David Darrow and Ruth Farrington to Ministry, New Lebanon, July 10, 1809, IV:A-67, OCIWHI.

60. James Smith, *An Attempt to Develop Shakerism*, in Christian Goodwillie, *Writings of Shaker Apostates and Anti-Shakers, 1782–1850*, vol. 1 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 183. McNemar conveyed this to Freegift Wells in 1836, see Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
61. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
62. Ibid.
63. David Darrow to Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., March 25, 1815, ASC 1048, DeWint.
64. Malcham Worley, Richard McNemar, Francis Beedle, Joseph Stout, Calvin Morrel, Samuel Rollins, and Ashbel Kitchell to Mother Lucy Wright, April 14, 1816. Three copies of this letter can be found in IV:A-69, OCIWHI. David Darrow and Ruth Farrington to Mother Lucy Wright, April 15, 1816, IV:A-69, OCIWHI.
65. Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230
66. John Woods, *Shakerism Unmasked*, in Christian Goodwillie, *Writings of Shaker Apostates and Anti-Shakers, 1782–1850*, vol. 2 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 399, 404.
67. Richard McNemar to Seth Youngs Wells, October 27, 1823, IV:A-70, OCIWHI.
68. Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230, OCIWHI. Richard McNemar to Seth Youngs Wells, October 27, 1823. IV:A-70, OCIWHI. In fact, the Union Village Ministry wrote to the New Lebanon Ministry on July 1, 1823, requesting, “Please to tell Brother Seth that we have not received the amendments to the testimony yet—and the printing is now going on fast—we began it rather sooner than what we expected.” Ministry, Union Village, Ohio, to Ministry, New Lebanon, July 1, 1823, IV:A-70, OCIWHI; Richard McNemar to Proctor Sampson, July 4, 1824. Item 245, DLC-MSS; Richard McNemar to Seth Youngs Wells, March 22, 1824, IV:A-70, OCIWHI.
69. Richard McNemar to Seth Youngs Wells, March 22, 1824, IV:A-70, OCIWHI.
70. Shaker Correspondence, Item 245, DLC-MSS.
71. Daniel Miller, Journal of Passing Events, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-237, OCIWHI; Church Record of the Appointments to the Office of the Ministry, Elders, and Trustees, of Union Village, 32, III:B-34, OCIWHI, says Centre House.
72. Ministry, Union Village, Ohio, to Ministry, New Lebanon, New York, July 4, 1826, IV:A-70, OCIWHI.
73. Ministry, Union Village, Ohio, to Ministry, New Lebanon, New York,

- July 3, 1826, IV:A-70, OCIWHI.
74. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
 75. Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230, OCIWHI; Church Record of the Appointments to the Office of the Ministry, Elders, and Trustees, of Union Village, 32. III:B-34, OCIWHI; McNemar, Diary, Item 255, DLC-MSS.
 76. Richard McNemar, Diary, Item 253, DLC-MSS.
 77. Ministry, Union Village, Ohio, to Ministry, New Lebanon, NY, July 1, 1833, ASC 1048, DeWint.
 78. Richard McNemar, Diary, Item 253, DLC-MSS
 79. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
 80. Ibid.
 81. Documents copied from Shaker Communities at Union Village and Watervliet, Ohio, Item 262, DLC-MSS.
 82. Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230, OCIWHI; Ministry, Union Village, Oh., to Ministry, New Lebanon, NY, October 25, 1835. IV:A-71, OCIWHI; Union Village, Ohio: Church Record of the Appointments to Office of the Ministry, Elders, and Trustees of Union Village, compiled from journals and testimonies by Oliver C. Hampton originally in 1878, 1805–1901, 3. III:B-34, OCIWHI.
 83. Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., to Ministry, Union Village, Oh., January 29, 1836, in Mt. Lebanon, New York: copies of letters sent by the Ministry to various communities, 1833–1839, 109-13, IV:B-8, OCIWHI.
 84. Documents copied from Shaker Communities at Union Village and Watervliet, Ohio, Item 262, DLC-MSS.
 85. Richard McNemar, Diary, Item 255, DLC-MSS
 86. July 24, 1836, Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
 87. Richard McNemar to Seth Youngs Wells, May 17, 1837, IV:A-71, OCIWHI.
 88. Documents copied from Shaker Communities at Union Village and Watervliet, Ohio, Item 262, DLC-MSS; Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y. to the community at Union Village, Oh., April 9, 1836, in Mt. Lebanon, New York: copies of letters sent by the Ministry to various communities, 1833–1839, 124-30, IV:B-8, OCIWHI.
 89. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
 90. Richard McNemar to Joshua Worley, June 13, 1837, Item 347b, DLC-MSS. [Calvin Green and Seth Youngs Wells], *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations and Doctrines of Our Ever Blessed Mother Ann Lee ...* Hancock [Mass.]: Printed by J. Tallcott & J. Deming, Junrs., 1816.

91. Shaker Correspondence, Item 355d, DLC-MSS.
92. Richard McNemar, "Journal to and at Whitewater," Item 348h, DLC-MSS.
93. Richard McNemar to Rufus Bishop, May 13, 1838, IV:A-71, OCIWHI.
94. Sabbath, May 30, 1838, Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
95. Joshua Worley, [Letter, Joshua Worley to Mrs. Hollaway], "Corruptions of Shakerism," *Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings of the Kingdom at Hand* 14, no. 7 (May 12, 1847): 56; Ministry, Union Village, Oh., to Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., September 10, 1838, IV:A-71, OCIWHI.
96. Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230, OCIWHI; Daniel Miller, Journal of Passing and Important Events at Union Village, Ohio, V:B-237, OCIWHI; Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., to Ministry, Union Village, Oh., October 10, 1838, IV:B-8, OCIWHI.
97. Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
98. Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI.
99. Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., to Ministry, Union Village, Oh., October 10, 1838. IV:B-8, OCIWHI.
100. Benjamin Seth Youngs to Richard McNemar, March 17, 1838, Church Records, Union Village, Ohio, Item 301, DLC-MSS; Richard McNemar to Benjamin Seth Youngs, November 4, 1838, Item 301, DLC-MSS.
101. Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230, OCIWHI; Daniel Miller, Journal of Passing and Important Events at Union Village, Ohio, V:B-237, OCIWHI; Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI.
102. Susannah Cole Liddell, Notes, Items 348d, 355j, DLC-MSS; Andrew C. Houston supplies nearly the only contemporary account of Margaret McBrien's origins and arrival at Union Village in: Andrew C. Houston to David A. Buckingham, March 21, 1839, ASC 1048, DeWint. This letter survives in two versions, the Winterthur one and a shorter copy found in IV:A-71, OCIWHI. The Winterthur version contains a lengthy postscript dealing with McBrien not found in the Western Reserve Historical Society copy.
103. Daniel Miller, Journal of Passing and Important Events at Union Village, Ohio, V:B-237, OCIWHI; Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI.
104. Freegift Wells, Journal, March 1, 1839, V:B-294, OCIWHI.
105. Freegift Wells, Journal, March 3, 1839, V:B-294, OCIWHI; Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230.
106. Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI; Andrew C. Houston to

- David A. Buckingham, March 21, 1839, IV:A-71, OCIWHI.
107. Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, March 23-24, 1839, V:B-230; Daniel Miller, Journal of Passing and Important Events at Union Village, Ohio, V:B-237, OCIWHI; Daniel Miller Daybook, Union Village, Ohio, Item 165, DLC-MSS; Freegift Wells, Journal, March 24, 1839, V:B-294, OCIWHI.
 108. Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI; Daniel Miller Daybook, Union Village, Ohio, Item 165, DLC-MSS; Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230. The number of visionists and more information about them can be found in Freegift Wells to Ministry, Pleasant Hill, Ky., March 20, 1839. IV:B-24, OCIWHI.
 109. Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI.
 110. Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230; Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI.
 111. Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI.
 112. Daniel Miller Daybook, Union Village, Ohio, Item 165, DLC-MSS.
 113. Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI; Daniel Miller Daybook, Union Village, Ohio, Item 165, DLC-MSS.
 114. Freegift Wells, Journal, V:B-294, OCIWHI.
 115. Ibid. Daniel Miller, Journal of Passing and Important Events at Union Village, Ohio, V:B-237, OCIWHI; Daniel Miller Daybook, Union Village, Ohio, Item 165, DLC-MSS; Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230; John S. Houston to Richard McNemar Jr., John H. James Family Papers, Walter Havighurst Special Collections, OOXM. I thank Etta Madden for bringing the collections at Miami University to my attention.
 116. Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230; April 27 entry in Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230; May 5 entry in Daniel Miller, Journal of Passing and Important Events at Union Village, Ohio, V:B-237, OCIWHI; Freegift Wells to Ministry, South Union, Ky., June 1, 1839, IV:B-24, OCIWHI.
 117. Richard McNemar Jr. to Richard McNemar, August 24, 1839, Item 348c, DLC-MSS.
 118. Sept. 19, 1840 entry in Daily Record of Events of the Church Family, Union Village, Ohio, V:B-230, OCIWHI.
 119. Peter Boyd to Grove Wright, March 21, 1846. IV:A-72, OCIWHI
 120. Peter Boyd to Seth Youngs Wells and Calvin Green, February 15, 1846, IV:A-72, OCIWHI.
 121. Ibid.

122. Rufus Bishop, A Daily Journal of Passing Events, begun May the 19th, 1839, NN 2.
123. "Deposition of Prudence Lucy Smith," I:A-19, OClWHi
124. Union Village November 22nd 1846, IV:A-72, OClWHi
125. Ministry, Union Village, Ohio, to Ministry, New Lebanon, New York, December 16, 1846, IV:A-72, OClWHi
126. Ministry, Union Village, Oh. To Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., May 31, 1847, IV:A-72, OClWHi.
127. Ministry, Union Village, Oh. To Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., May 21, 1848, IV:A-72, OClWHi.
128. Worley Suit Decision, IV:A-72, OClWHi.
129. Ministry, Union Village, Oh., to Ministry, New Lebanon, N.Y., June 14, 1848, IV:A-72, OClWHi.