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The Richmond Family and the Shakers

By Stephen J. Paterwic

The latter years of the Enfield, Connecticut, Shaker Society have correctly been associated with the large and dominant Copley and Lyman families. Almost forgotten, however, are the Richmonds. This is unfortunate as it was through the Richmonds that the Copleys came to be Shakers. In addition, the last Enfield eldress, Caroline Tate (1859–1937), whose mother was a Richmond, far outlived all of the Lymans and Copleys that remained in the faith. Knowing the story of this family is important not just to add information to Enfield, Connecticut, Shaker history, but also because it offers a very rich glimpse into the dynamics that propelled the Shakers as they progressed through the nineteenth century. Indeed, a study of the Richmonds illuminates so much that has been forgotten.

The first glimpse of a Shaker/Richmond connection appears in a letter written by David Richmond (1816–1891) and William White (1815–left 1854) to the *Day-Star* in October 1846.¹ They wrote to tell about their lives as religious seekers before coming to Shakerism and feeling “the presence of God and the truth of the Everlasting Gospel.”² It would seem from the letter’s address (Ballard Vale, now known as Ballardvale, a section of Andover, Massachusetts) that these two men had not yet joined the Shakers. They state, however, that in spite of opposition from their wives they were planning to do so. From Shaker records, we know that they had visited the Enfield, Connecticut, Shakers that previous June and may have actually joined at that time.³ This anomaly puzzled Brother Theodore Johnson (1930–1986) and in 1982 he sought more particulars of the situation by writing to the reference librarian of the Andover Memorial Hall Library. He was curious because “this letter must have been written in the very last days of Richmond’s Andover residency.”⁴ Although Brother Ted never received any information from Andover that would serve to clarify the matter, it is likely that their visit in June to the South Family or principal Gathering Order at Enfield was a preliminary fact-finding mission. They may have even “opened their minds” (confessed), but they did not stay for

any length of time. Rather, they returned to Ballardvale. In fact David Richmond continued to write letters using that address until at least May 1847.⁵ In one of these letters, dated November 10, 1846, Richmond calls himself “a young believer.” This term was used to designate an adult who had recently joined the society and generally resided at the Gathering Order.⁶ In any event, it seems clear that David Richmond did not settle down at one of Enfield’s gathering families but was allowed to live in far-off Ballard Vale and continue his work in the wool room of the Ballardvale Manufacturing Company. In the meantime his wife and children as well as those of William White were most likely still in England.⁷

David Richmond (1816–1891), the son of a weaver was born January 31, 1816, in Darlington, England. By 1837 he was living in Bradford, England, as an Owenite Socialist. During this time he married Hannah (maiden name not known) (1821–1887) and traveled around the country as a wool comber. In 1841 he became a vegetarian and around that time joined Ham Common, a commune founded by Robert Owen. Not long after joining there, however, he decided to go to America. It is unlikely that his wife accompanied him, and he landed in Philadelphia in June 1842.⁸ He became a Second Adventist and eagerly awaited the fulfillment of William Miller’s prophecy. Greatly disillusioned by its failure, Richmond and his friend William White sought after “Love, Truth and Goodness.”⁹ Examining Shakerism closely, they were convinced of its claims. It was only natural that the Shakers should have come to their attention since many discontented Adventists were joining the Believers. Since they were living in Ballardvale, however, a natural question to ask is why didn’t they seek admission to nearby Harvard or Shirley? The reason they chose to go to Enfield may be that David Richmond knew Robert Aitkin from his days at Ham Common, and Aitkin had joined Enfield on February 22, 1845.¹⁰ The Adventist connection with Enfield was also very strong, and a large conference of Shakers and Adventists was held at the community in February 1847.

Sometime in 1847, David Richmond must have gone back to England to get his family. It is noted that he returned to England two times while he was a Shaker and wore the distinctive Shaker clothing both times.¹¹ This trip in 1847 is likely the first time he went there as a Shaker. It is not clear exactly when he and his family joined, but we do know that their daughter Eliza (1840–left 1864) arrived at the Church Family on June 23, 1847.¹² The practice among Shakers in those days was to place most pre-

teens in the Children's Order at the Church Family. The parents would have been assigned to the Gathering Order with other "young believers." This seems to be the case with the Richmonds, for the 1850 census shows David and Hannah at the South Family. He is listed as a wool carder. It may be assumed then that June 1847, is when the entire family joined the society.¹³ Their son John (also called David by some Shakers) may have been admitted to the Church Family at the same time as his sister since his name is found in a list of other boys admitted during the mid-1840s.¹⁴ If he did not go into the Children's Order directly, he stayed for a short time with his parents at the South Family before being admitted to the Church Family before the federal census of 1850.

David's enthusiasm for "the life" spread to other family members in England. His cousin Thomas Richmond (1822–1894) was the next to join; he signed the Church Family covenant in 1850.¹⁵ This covenant was not signed until a person had been in the community a couple of years so it is likely that he started his Shaker life at the South Family or Church Family around 1848.¹⁶ David and Thomas wrote Thomas's sister Elizabeth Richmond Copley "many long, interesting letters concerning their manner of living and religious faith. Having grown weary of the toil and trial incumbent upon the marital relationship, and longing for something superior, virgin celibacy, as preached and practiced by the Shakers appealed strongly to her."¹⁷ Consequently, a large contingent of Richmonds arrived in New York in April 1852, and made their way "directly" to Enfield.¹⁸ They arrived late in the day on May 4.¹⁹ These were Hannah Teasdale Richmond (1796–1876), her son David (1832–1852), her son Henry (Harry) (1838–1925), her daughter Hannah (1834–1900), and her daughter Elizabeth Richmond Copley (1817–1899). In addition, Elizabeth Richmond Copley brought her five children: John W.R (1841–1908), Elizabeth Susannah (1842–1893), Sarah Emily (1843–1911), Sophia (1846–1898), and Matthew Thomas (1848–1870).

When they arrived on May 4, Elizabeth Susannah Copley was admitted to the Children's Order of the Church Family.²⁰ Twenty-year-old David Copley stayed at the Office of the Church family because he was very ill. Indeed, he had left England "dying of tuberculosis [and had to be] carried on a stretcher."²¹ He died six days later on May 10. It is likely that all of the children went into the Children's Order at the Church Family as well, but records do not directly confirm this. Since many of them were so young, they may have simply joined their mother who went

to live at the South Family on May 9.²² Her daughter Averill Ann Copley (1852–1891) was born at the South Family August 4, three months to the day after the family's arrival in Enfield.²³ It cannot be said with certainty where Hannah Teasdale Richmond and her children Hannah and Harry lived after their arrival. Since South Family journals do not mention them, there is a very strong possibility that they lived at the West Family, a branch of the Gathering Order. This small family (1818–1854) had been set up, in part, to receive entire families who joined. No journals from the West Family are known to exist.

During the early part of the period of Mother's Work (1837–ca1852), visionist and Church Family trustee T. Jefferson White (1805–1859) had an epiphany concerning Enfield's future.²⁴ On December 6, 1840, he saw 500 spirits hovering over the West Family dwelling. The message to him was that soon a new ingathering of converts would commence and that they had to be ready.²⁵ As leaders in the society welcomed the heavenly manifestations, they sought reassurance that God would continue to bless their work by sending them new converts. Thus when the Richmonds, Copleys, and Whites joined, it seemed like the fulfillment of their prayers.²⁶ In all, there were fifteen members of the extended Richmond family and nine members of the White family at Enfield by the end of 1852. In every way this was the high-water mark of their involvement with the Shakers. Of these twenty-four people, however, only one Richmond and five of the Copleys would die in the faith.

According to Shaker apostate John W. R. Copley, writing in 1908, the agreement between his mother Elizabeth Copley and father John W. Copley, (1821–1875) was that Elizabeth and the children would stay for just one year and then return to England.²⁷ When the year was up, John W. Copley came to visit his family at Enfield and Elizabeth refused to leave. He returned to England alone and "heartbroken."²⁸ John W. R. Copley's account is not entirely factual.²⁹ The agreement between his parents may have been for one year, but John W. visited that summer after his family had been at Enfield only a couple of months, and no doubt he was there when his daughter was born in August.³⁰ Brother Ricardo Belden (1868–1958) lived at the Church Family with many of the Copleys, and when asked to tell the story of that family remarked that John W. Copley did not understand "how or why the Shakers could agree to raise a whole family without asking any financial aid from him." In payment, before he left for England, in fact, he gave them the bell that was hung in the

new South Family dwelling.³¹ Brother Ricardo's view of John W. may be too benign because it does not take into account the unsettling influence he may have had on his wife's brothers when he visited a second time for two months between January 4 and March 7, 1853. This was the visit that came near to the one-year anniversary of his family's admission to the Shaker community and is the one referred to by John W. R. Copley. He undoubtedly wanted his family back and his extended presence in the village did not bode well for the Shakers. Deborah Burns in *Shaker Cities of Peace, Love, and Union* does a thorough job of describing what happened among the Richmonds during that time.³² It seems that the elder Copley was a man of some means and showed Thomas and David Richmond another side of life as they frequently traveled to nearby Springfield, Massachusetts. So threatening was his influence that his children were removed to the South Family to be with their mother while he stayed in the Office at the Church Family. To make sure that neither John W. nor David Richmond would unduly influence him, Thomas Richmond was transferred to Hancock on February 10, 1853. The three had been visiting there when Thomas' belongings arrived, and he was told to stay at Hancock "and get weaned from David R."³³

Just as David Richmond had been a rover in his younger days, moving from place to place in England, seeking fulfillment, so too did this impulse seem to be too strong for him to remain in the Shakers. By 1853 he had announced to the community that he should be a Shaker missionary. This did not meet with any enthusiasm among the Ministry or elders, but may have been allowed had his religious ideas not become so far removed from Shakerism. Brother Theodore Johnson of Sabbathday Lake said David Richmond got his faith through the "infidel school," commencing with socialism, leading up to Ham Common or Concordism and that "throughout his life ... his thinking seems to have been tinged with a strong Christian Israelite coloration."³⁴ It is not a surprise then that he was formally excommunicated from the South Family of Enfield on February 24, 1853. At first he seemed compliant and said his farewells before leaving for Hancock to say goodbye to Thomas Richmond. Actually this was a ploy to get Thomas and bring him back to Enfield. They arrived there February 28 and were given shelter at the South Family by Hannah Richmond and Elizabeth Copley. On March 3, the Ministry of Hancock and Elder Frederick Evans of New Lebanon arrived and ordered the two men to leave and offered to pay their passage back to England. After

much argument, both David and Thomas Richmond left the Shakers. On March 7, John W. Copley indentured his five surviving children to the Shakers and left for England as well.³⁵ Paradoxically, not long after these family members left, John Richmond, age thirty, arrived from Bradford, England, to join the Shakers on March 13.³⁶ He is almost certainly another child of Hannah Teasdale Richmond and lived at the Church Family until he left with John “David” Richmond on May 4, 1860. They went to live with David and Hannah Richmond, parents of John “David.”³⁷

An account by a spiritualist paper later stated that Hannah Richmond followed her husband David in his wanderings, but their son, John “David,” “a mere boy” remained with the Shakers who refused to relinquish him. Consequently David Richmond raised “an action a *cause célèbre* at the time and was ruled he should have access to his son.”³⁸ There are no references in Shaker journals to Richmond’s child custody battle. As we have seen and shall see, David Richmond did not always portray a situation as it was. Given the choice, John David stayed at the Shakers and did not leave the society to join his parents until May 4, 1860. This is consistent with the court ruling that said that David had to have access to his son but that he “must decide for himself.”³⁹

The departure of David and Thomas Richmond may be seen as the spark that ignited a long-term smoldering discontent among the Enfield Shakers. On April 5, 1853, Hannah Teasdale Richmond left, taking her son Harry.⁴⁰ Six months later William White’s son Alfred, age eighteen, left. On June 10, 1854, William White, his wife Mary Ann White and his sister Mary Ann left the community. Seventeen days later his parents, James and Mary White, departed, and William’s son James left that next winter. Finally, the last of the Whites, Nancy and Mary Jane, left in September 1858 and were taken to their parents. The loss of William’s sister Mary Ann White was particularly scandalous since she had been an eldress at the South Family when she left to marry South Family elder Harvey Lyman! This family had been in turmoil ever since the previous March, when Office deaconess Caroline Blodgett and Trustee Edward Lyman left to be married. Thus within a few months a pair from the elder’s lot and a pair from the order of office deacons had left. This left such a void in the leadership that the West Family was closed and the Gathering Order was concentrated at the South Family.⁴¹

On June 21, 1854, Hannah Richmond left and went to live in Springfield, Massachusetts. She eventually married one James Tate and

had five children by him. In the meantime, Elizabeth Richmond Copley left on June 23 for England on a missionary tour. It seems that she had the full sanction of the Ministry and brought back Thomas Richmond with her when she returned on October 12, 1854.⁴²

David and Thomas Richmond had been expelled from the South Family on February 24, 1853. They left on March 3, with the guarantee that their passage back to England would be paid for by the Shakers. In late March or early April they were aboard the Atlantic steamer *Glasgow* bound for Scotland. One Sunday while at sea, David Richmond preached at the Sabbath service “about Shakerism and Spiritualism after which communion was open with the spiritual world.” Indeed, Richmond returned to England with a “seed of a new revelation that was to cause a revolution in spiritual matters in his homeland.”⁴³ When David Richmond entered the Shakers, they were in the midst of the Era of Mother’s Work. New dietary laws and directives about living arrangements were introduced at this time as well. There is no direct evidence that David Richmond had been a visionist at the South Family, but he certainly was very familiar with that work and has been credited with introducing vegetarianism and hydrotherapy there.⁴⁴ In addition, he claimed to have had at least one miraculous experience. While still a Believer, he was walking to another Shaker community (perhaps Tyringham) when he encountered a river that he was unable to cross. He was directed by inspiration to another part of the river which then either dried up or parted so that he could pass.⁴⁵ This occurrence and perhaps others must have caused him much consternation. “Richmond’s adoption of the Shaker path was to prove the bridge between his societal views, his communal experiences, his early inclination to biblical studies and the newer ecstatic individual millenarian revelation of Shakerism.”⁴⁶ As a Believer he was fully introduced to the idea of spiritualism, which in essence requires no Ministry or elders to serve as intermediaries between the living and the dead.⁴⁷

As soon as David Richmond returned to Great Britain he “introduced the subject of modern spiritualism or the phenomenal labour of the Divine Spirit to public notice in Darlington and Keighley.”⁴⁸ The three lectures he gave at the Working Men’s Hall in Keighley in June 1853 are regarded as the first promulgation of this topic in Britain.⁴⁹ When he spoke at Keighley, he was described as being “from the Shakers.”⁵⁰ He may have worn his Shaker garb because he considered himself to be a member in good standing of the sect.⁵¹ He later wrote, contrary to records of the

event kept by the Shakers, “I was sent forth, or had my mission from the Elder of the Shaker Society, and from the chief or First Ministry of the Society at Large;—I had its blessing and good will to preach the Gospel to Mankind.” Thus in April 1853, when they left for Great Britain, “I and Brother Thomas Richmond came forth from the Society on our mission.”⁵² That his relationship with the Shakers was not all bad is attested to by the fact that his cousin Elizabeth Richmond Copley perhaps visited him when she was on her missionary tour in England from June to October in 1854. She certainly was in contact with Thomas Richmond because he came back to the Shakers with her.

By 1857, however, David and Hannah Richmond had returned to the United States and lived in Warehouse Point, Connecticut. This is a riverfront section of East Windsor, the town directly south of Enfield. That year he published *The Word of Jacob to the World of Mankind, with an appendix reviewing the faith and principles of “the United Society of Believers or Shakers,” as published by the Society. Volume 1*. The publication of this 110-page volume, and his lecture tours in England, show that he made good on his promise to be a Shaker missionary. There is no indication, however, that the Shaker Ministry or elders ever supported his claims on their behalf, and he never returned to the community.

The U.S. federal census for 1860 lists David Richmond and his family in the Thompsonville section of Enfield.⁵³ His age is forty-five and occupation a shoemaker. Enumerated with him are his wife Hannah, aged thirty-nine; daughter Eliza, aged twenty; and son John, aged fifteen. The inclusion of Eliza is a mystery since she is also listed in the federal census taken thirteen days earlier as at the Shakers and being twenty years old and a housekeeper at the Church Family. Perhaps, once again, David Richmond supplied the information based on what he wanted to be true. In any event, his daughter Eliza lived as a Shaker until February 20, 1864, when she left to marry another Shaker, Nathan Damon.⁵⁴

In the meantime, David Richmond, his wife, and perhaps his son left America for England again in 1862 because of the conscription law occasioned by the Civil War. He felt that this law took away a man’s freedom.⁵⁵ David continued his work in spiritualist circles, but never forgot his Shaker life. In 1873 his *The Divine Order: An Address to the “Spiritual Brotherhood”*⁵⁶ uses the term “Father-Mother God” throughout and contains numerous references to Shakerism. That same year, he wrote *Created Order: A Lecture to “The Spiritual Brotherhood.”*⁵⁷ This work alludes to Shakerism on

four of its twenty-eight pages. Finally, in 1879, he discusses Shakerism in *An Explanatory Address and Testimony of Light and Truth. To the United Society of Believers or Shakers, in the United States of America, and to Whom it may Concern*.⁵⁸

After he returned to Great Britain in 1862, he lived in Darlington and was a shoemaker. On March 11, 1887, a Shaker journal at Enfield states that Hannah Richmond, David's wife, had died and that Eliza Richmond Damon, his daughter, was planning to go to England to get him.⁵⁹ He may have returned to America for one last visit, but, if so, he went back to Darlington where he died February 15, 1891.

Since the life of David Richmond has been treated so thoroughly, it may be helpful to refocus by recapitulating what happened to the other Richmonds who joined the Shakers between 1846 and 1853.

As we have seen, David, Thomas, and Hannah Richmond left in March 1853. David and Hannah's son John ("David") joined them in May 1860. Their daughter Eliza married Nathan Damon in June 1864. In October 1853, Thomas Richmond came back to the Shakers and lived and worked at the Church Family as a tailor until he was expelled in September 1879. For several months previously, he had been "in bad with the Shakers" and was turned out of the community and given \$25.00. He refused the cash and went to the almshouse in Enfield. The "selectmen didn't see him as a fit subject for town charity and placed him as a boarder at the hotel in Thompsonville and notified the Shakers that they would be responsible for his support." Thomas Richmond, aged fifty-seven, was bewildered and claimed "to be a good Shaker and cannot understand why he was kicked out."⁶⁰ Thomas remained outside of the community, but kept in contact, telling them what the Richmonds were doing and how they were faring. For example, he was the one who visited the North Family in March 1887, and told them of the death of Hannah Richmond and of Eliza Damon's intention of going to England to get her father. Thomas died July 23, 1894, at the age of seventy-two in the house just across the railroad tracks from Shaker Station. This house is where John W.R. Copley and his family lived. Thomas Richmond, though not a Shaker at the time of his death, was buried in the Shaker cemetery at Enfield.

Hannah Teasdale Richmond and her son Harry left in April 1853. They returned June 5, 1866.⁶¹ By the time of the U.S. federal census of 1870 she is listed as "keeping house" at the South Family. Though not considered a member, when she died in 1876 she was buried in the Shaker cemetery. Harry was just fifteen years old when he left with his mother. He

came back to the Shakers on April 7, 1857, but left again on August 26, 1858, to live in New York City.⁶² The census of 1870 lists him, aged thirty-three, as a shoemaker at the South Family. Like her, he was not considered a member. He is not listed with the Shakers for the censuses of 1880 or 1900 but may have lived on the property as a hired man. He perhaps left the Shakers after his mother died in 1876. When the last Shakers left Enfield on October 16, 1917, he went to live at the South Family, Watervliet, New York, with his niece, Eldress Caroline Tate. He died there in 1925 and is buried in the section of the Shaker cemetery at Watervliet reserved for non-members.

Hannah Richmond joined the Shakers with her brothers David and Harry and her sister Elizabeth Richmond Copley on May 4, 1852. From the time of her arrival, until she left on June 21, 1854, she lived at the Church Family. She was twenty years when she went to live in Springfield, Massachusetts.⁶³ She married James Tate about whom little is known, and they had five children: William (1855–left 1870), Joseph (1857–left 1878), Caroline (1859–1937), and twins Lucy A. (1861–1937) and Martha Emily (1861–1931).⁶⁴ It is not certain what happened to her husband, but in March 1861, Hannah Richmond Tate brought her three oldest children, William, Joseph, and Caroline, to the South Family to live with the Shakers. On April 5 the boys were sent to live at the Church Family with their uncle Thomas.⁶⁵ Caroline stayed at the South Family until July 24, 1862, when she went to live at the Church Family. In the meantime, Hannah Richmond Tate gave birth to twin girls five months after she left her other children with the Shakers. These twins never joined the Shakers and may have been given to another couple to raise.⁶⁶ Sometime after this, she rejoined the Shakers and Church family journal entries refer to her living at the South Family in 1866.⁶⁷ She left the Shakers a final time on August 20, 1866.⁶⁸ Eventually, she may have remarried and had at least two other children.⁶⁹ She died in 1900. At the time of her death she was living with her son Joseph and being cared for by a woman named Annie, who may have been Joseph's wife. It is not clear where they lived (probably Montana), but it must have been in a sparsely settled place that usually had harsh winters since Eldress Caroline when speaking of her mother stated that "one winter out in that region may be sufficient to satisfy her."⁷⁰

William Tate left the Church Family on May 18, 1870. In 1900, he "was at work in a shop" in New Haven and had at least one child, a grown son named James.⁷¹ Joseph Tate left the Church on May 21, 1878.⁷² He

had at least three children: Albert, Mamie, and Elsie.⁷³ Caroline Tate, in contrast to so many in her extended family, remained faithful and lived over seventy-six years as a Shaker. She became a great “burden bearer” at Enfield and served as second eldress of the Church from July 6, 1890, until April 17, 1898, when she became first eldress. Lucy S. Bowers took her place as second.⁷⁴ On October 16, 1917, Eldress Caroline and Eldress Lucy, the last of the sisters of the Enfield Society, went to live at the South Family in Watervliet. Eldress Caroline worked as a seamstress making goods for the Shaker store. She died at a nursing home in 1937.

In summary, just one person who came in as a Richmond in May 1852, died in the faith and that was tubercular David Richmond; he passed away shortly after they arrived. Hannah Teasdale Richmond and her son Thomas are buried with the Shakers at Enfield but were not considered Shakers. The same is true for Harry Richmond who died in 1925 and is buried at the Watervliet Shakers in New York.

That three of the Richmonds were not Shakers but still lived with them for many years and were buried in community cemeteries attests to an increasing fluidity of Shaker living arrangements as the nineteenth century progressed. This phenomenon has not been fully explored or acknowledged by scholars but this was not unique to Enfield, Connecticut.⁷⁵

The story of the Copley family and the Shakers has been thoroughly told already and the particulars of that branch of the Richmonds need not concern us here.⁷⁶ What may be of deep interest for future researchers, however, is an analysis of how seemingly unrelated individuals from Great Britain came into the Shakers during the 1840s and 1850s. The above study of the Richmonds opens up various areas where connections have not been previously made.

John Whiteley joined the Shirley, Massachusetts, Shakers in 1849 and in so many ways was responsible for keeping that society going into the twentieth century. Born in Huddersfield, England, in 1819, Whiteley emigrated to the United States in 1842. Though he tried farming in Illinois, he went to work in the wool room of a Lowell, Massachusetts, mill in 1847. From there he went to work in 1848 in the wool room of the Ballardvale Manufacturing Company in Ballard Vale (Andover), Massachusetts. After hearing of his religious views, his co-workers urged him to join the Shakers. These co-workers would have known David Richmond and William White since they had been employed there just the year previous to Whiteley’s arrival. In fact it may be no coincidence that Whiteley went to Ballardvale.

He may have actually known David Richmond. David was an itinerant wool comber who travelled through England and they could have met. Also, David's cousin, John, who joined the Shakers in 1853 was from Bradford, and that is where David Richmond lived for a few years and got married. Huddersfield is in the adjacent borough to Bradford in West Yorkshire. In later years, moreover, Huddersfield became a spiritualist center, providing another link to David Richmond since he was perhaps quite familiar with the town.

It is likely that the Richmonds went to Enfield because David Richmond knew Robert Aitkin from Ham Common. Another connection to Ham Common involves the large Offord family who joined at New Lebanon in 1851. They lived in Richmond, Surrey where Ham Common is located. All of these threads point to relationships between families that until now have not been deeply explored. These geographical connections belie the seemingly randomness of those who came to join the Shakers from England in the decades before the Civil War.

As America changed so too did the Shakers. Before 1826, the majority of large-scale conversions had come from religious revivals. After that time, spiritual seekers who were attracted to spiritualism, Adventism and Owenite socialism also considered the merits of Shakerism and many joined with the Shakers, if only briefly. In addition, in contrast to earlier converts, these "young Believers" joined existing Shaker communities rather than forming new ones. Indeed, as young people brought up in the faith continued to leave in ever-increasing numbers and adult converts from other sources slowed to a handful, these new members played an increasing role in whatever society they joined. For example, those with strong ties to England who stayed, from the Offord, Copley, Whiteley, and Tate families have been familiar to scholars in the field and held up as exemplars of the best Shakers. In addition, they helped bring the Shaker presence into the twentieth century at Enfield, Shirley, and Mount Lebanon. In contrast, the Whites and the Richmonds are part of the vast undercurrent of Believers who had the "gift" for a season and remain relatively unknown, yet they influenced the society in ways that are mostly forgotten today.

Appendix: The Richmond Family

Joined the Shakers: June 1847

David Richmond (1816–1891) and his wife Hannah (1821–1887). They left the Shakers in March 1853.

Their children:

Eliza (Elizabeth) Richmond (1840–left 1864), married Nathan Damon, died in Connecticut.

John “David” Richmond (1845–left 1860), returned to England in 1862.

Joined the Shakers: circa 1848

David Richmond’s cousin Thomas Richmond (1822–1894) Left the Shakers in March 1853, but returned that October. Forced to leave the community in September 1879. Died at the home of his nephew John W. R. Copley. Buried in the Shaker cemetery at Enfield, but not a member at the time of his death.

Joined the Shakers: May 4, 1852

Hannah Teasdale Richmond (1796–1876). She left in April 1853 but came back to live with the Shakers in 1866 and died at the South Family in 1876. She was buried in the Shaker cemetery but was not considered a member at the time of her death.

Her children who were Shakers at some time of their lives:

1. Elizabeth Richmond Copley (1817–1899), married non-Shaker John W. Copley. They had seven children.
2. Thomas Richmond (1822–1894). See above for particulars about him.
3. David Richmond (1832–1852). Died six days after arriving at the Enfield Shakers and buried there.
4. Hannah Richmond Tate (1834–1900). She left in 1854 and married James Tate. They had five children. Rejoined the Shakers around 1862 and left again in 1866.
5. Harry Richmond (1838–1925). He left with his mother in April 1853. Rejoined in 1857 but left again in 1858. Came back with his mother in 1866 and lived at the South Family until her death in 1876. He was not considered a Shaker but lived there and worked for them. When Enfield closed, he followed his niece Eldress

Caroline Tate to the South Family of Shakers at Watervliet, New York. He died and was buried there in 1925.

6. John Richmond (1832–left 1860). He joined the Shakers March 13, 1853, not long after his cousin David and brother Thomas had been expelled. In 1860 he left to live with his cousin David Richmond and his wife Hannah.

Hannah Teasdale Richmond's possible non-Shaker children:⁷⁷

1. Joseph Richmond married "Nellie" of Elliot, Ford Co., Illinois. They had a daughter Clara.
2. Jennie Richmond Oliver.
3. Jane Richmond Parks of New York City. She had two sons, Charlie and Albert and two daughters, Nellie and ?

It is likely that these three were the oldest children, nearer the age of Elizabeth Richmond Copley. They were all settled and did not join the Shakers in 1852 when their mother and younger siblings did.

Children of Elizabeth Richmond Copley and John W. Copley:

1. John W. R. Copley (1841–1908). Left the Shakers in 1867.
2. Elizabeth Susannah Richmond Copley (1842–1893). Died a Shaker.
3. Sarah Emily Copley (1843–1911). Died a Shaker.
4. Matthew H. Richmond Copley (1844–1846). Died in England before his family joined the Shakers.
5. Sophia Copley (1846–1898). Died a Shaker.
6. Matthew Thomas Copley (1848–1870). Left the Shakers in the 1860s. Died in Minnesota when he was twenty-two.
7. Averill Ann Copley (1852–1891). Born three months after her family joined the Shakers. Died a Shaker.

Children of Hannah Richmond Tate:

1. William Tate (1855–left 1870).
2. Joseph Tate (1857–left 1878).
3. Caroline Tate (1859–1937). Died a Shaker.
4. Martha Emily Tate Killey (1861–1931).
5. Lucy A. Tate (1861–1937).

Possible other children of Hannah Tate from a second marriage:

1. Maggie____?_____
2. Sammy____?_____

Names in bold were Shakers at some point in their lives.

First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
____?____ Richmond and wife (name not known)	David Richmond married Hannah ____?	1. Elizabeth “Eliza” R. Damon 2. John “David”
David Richmond ⁷⁸ married Hannah Teasdale	1. Elizabeth Richmond Copley married John W. Copley 2. Thomas 3. David 4. Hannah Richmond Tate married James Tate 5. Harry 6. John 7. Joseph	1. John W. R. 2. Elizabeth Susannah R. 3. Sarah Emily 4. Mathew H. R. 5. Sophia 6. Matthew Thomas 7. Averill Ann 1. William 2. Joseph 3. Caroline 4. Martha Emily 5. Lucy A

Notes

1. The *Day-Star* had been a Second Adventist newspaper based in Cincinnati, Ohio. It was published and edited by Enoch Jacobs who joined the Shakers after the second failure of William Miller's prophecy of Christ's return in 1844. By 1846, it was published irregularly and eventually was printed by the Shakers, first at Canterbury and then at Union Village, where Enoch Jacobs lived. The *Day-Star's* final issue was in July 1847.
2. Letter dated October 12, 1846, from D. Richmond and William White, Ballard Vale, Andover, Mass., to the editor, *The Day Star*, Nov. 7, 1846.
3. David Richmond joined June 5, 1846, according to Thomas Damon's "Memoranda." Shaker Museum and Library, Old Chatham, N.Y. (NOC 13,357).
4. Letter dated January 12, 1982, from Brother Theodore E. Johnson, Sabbathday Lake, Maine, to Shirley McGrath, Reference Librarian, Memorial Hall Library, Elm Square, Andover, Massachusetts. Collection of the United Society of Shakers, Sabbathday Lake, Maine.
5. These letters were dated November 10, 1846; March 10, 1847; and May 26, 1847. They were addressed to *The Regenerator* (Fruit Hills, Ohio) and concern Charles Lane and the Harvard Shakers.
6. At Enfield during this period there were two gathering families, the South and the West.
7. Deborah Burns in *Shaker Cities of Peace, Love, and Union*, (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1993), 130, states that their wives were in England.
8. All previous information in this paragraph is from Gerald O'Hare, *Dead Men's Embers* (York, England: Saturday Night Press, 2006), 23-25. I have supplied the year of Hannah Richmond's death.
9. *The Day-Star*, November 7, 1846.
10. *The Medium and Daybreak*, February 27, 1891. This was a spiritualist weekly published in London until 1895 by James Burns. More information about Aitkin's life may be found in a letter from Aitkin to J. B. Olcott of South Manchester, Connecticut, March 27, 1886. "Enfield, Conn.," in Viola Brackett Hess Shaker Scrapbook, Collection of the United Society of Shakers, Sabbathday Lake, Maine.
11. "Death of a Social Reformer at Darlington," *The Two Worlds*, March 6, 1891, 193.
12. "Record of births and deaths of the brethren and sisters at Enfield." Western Reserve Historical Society, III B-5.
13. It may be of interest to note that William White (1815–left 1853) and his wife Mary Ann (1818–left 1854) joined the North Family at Enfield on October 17, 1849. They most likely came to the South Family at the same time as the Richmonds did in 1847 because their daughter Nancy (1843–left 1858) was admitted to the Church on June 23, 1847, the same day as the Richmond children. Their other daughter Mary Jane (1844–left 1858) joined the Church in 1848. Their sons Alfred (1835–left 1853) and James (1840–left 1855) were both at school and living at the Church for the census of 1850. It is likely that William White's parents were James (1772–left 1854) and Mary Williams White (1786–left 1854). They too joined the North Family on October 17, 1849, and likely were at the South Family before that with all the others. Finally, there is another Mary Ann White listed in the census for 1850. She was twenty-four years

old and likely William White's sister. She left in 1854.

14. WRHS III B-5.
15. We know that David Richmond and Thomas Richmond were cousins from Lucy S. Bowers, "A Brief Review and Memorial Tribute to Sister Sarah Emily Copley Deceased September 9, 1911," 2. Williams College Shaker Collection (32C81 B Box 10 Folder 3).
16. Though an adult, Thomas Richmond was unmarried so he may have gone directly into the Church Family with little or no training (religious formation) at the South Family.
17. Bowers, "A Brief Review and Memorial Tribute."
18. Ibid.
19. Library of Congress Shaker Collection, item #11. This is a South Family journal.
20. Western Reserve Historical Society, III B-5.
21. Bowers, "A Brief Review and Memorial Tribute."
22. Western Reserve Historical Society, III B-5, states that Elizabeth Susannah Copley joined the Church Family that day. David Richmond (1832–1852) is also listed as joining the Church though no date is given. When John W. Copley visited the Church Family in January 1853, it is noted that his children were removed to the South Family to be with their mother. Also manuscript records and the federal census enumerations indicate that all of the Copley children lived at the Church by 1860.
23. Western Reserve Historical Society, V B-12. This record gives both the date of Elizabeth Richmond Copley's arrival at the South Family and when she gave birth to her daughter.
24. The Era of Mother's Work was a period of intense religious fervor within most of the communities, manifested by a withdrawal from interaction with the public, an alteration of religious services, a flourish of ink and watercolor drawings on paper and an outpouring of hymns. Steve Miller provided this explanation.
25. Library of Congress Shaker Collection, item #6.
26. "Letters from Hancock Ministry," June 14, 1853, Western Reserve Historical Society, IV: A-19.
27. John William Copley was a printer by trade and a Methodist by religion.
28. "Dying, Copley Denounced Shakerism," *Springfield Homestead*, December 7, 1908, 6.
29. John W. R. Copley became a very bitter man because he felt that he had been unjustly removed from his position as manager of the North Family farm in 1897. This also meant that he and his family were evicted from a house that his Shaker relatives had built for him in 1893.
30. Deborah E. Burns, *Shaker Cities of Peace, Love, and Union*, (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1993), 130.
31. The Copley story as told by Brother Ricardo Belden, June 1938, Steinert Collection, Hancock Shaker Village, item #36.
32. *Shaker Cities of Peace, Love, and Union*, 131-32.
33. Quoted in *Shaker Cities of Peace, Love, and Union*, p. 131, from Thomas Damon's "Memoranda," February 12, 1853, 127.
34. Johnson to McGrath, January 12, 1882. British evangelist John Wroe (1782–1863) founded Christian Israelitism. It encouraged the gathering of the lost tribes of Israel before the millennium. Wroe was born near Bradford where David Richmond lived for a time. Wroe was engaged in worsted manufacture, a trade shared by

- David Richmond as well. Wroe adhered to a strict diet and rules of conduct. David Richmond was a vegetarian and a believer in hydrotherapy.
35. Western Reserve Historical Society, B V-18. This is a Church Family Journal kept by Maria Lyman.
 36. Western Reserve Historical Society, B V-12.
 37. Western Reserve Historical Society, B V-18.
 38. "Death of a Social Reformer at Darlington," 193.
 39. *Dead Men's Embers*, 38.
 40. Western Reserve Historical Society, B V-18.
 41. Perhaps the Shakers had been anticipating closing the small West Family because in 1853 they built a very large brick dwelling at the South Family. This house is where the bell was placed that had been given to them by John W. Copley.
 42. Ibid.
 43. This quote and the one previous are from *Dead Men's Embers*, 23.
 44. *Dead Men's Embers*, 34.
 45. Ibid.
 46. Ibid., 28.
 47. *Dead Men's Embers*, 34, offers a clear, precise and germane discussion of spiritualism in this context.
 48. *The Two Worlds*, December 23, 1950, 1000-01. This quote is from his gravestone and is also found in *Dead Men's Embers*, 61.
 49. Emma Hardinge Britten. *Nineteenth Century Miracles or Spirits and Their Work in Every Country of the World* (New York: William Britten, Lovell and Company, 1884), 198-99.
 50. Ibid.
 51. The first time he wore Shaker clothing in England had been in 1847, if he went back there to get his family in preparation to joining the Shakers. Brother Arnold of the present-day Shakers believes that David Richmond wore Shaker clothing for his entire life (Telephone conversation with the author, January 19, 2012.)
 52. *The Medium and Daybreak*, July 14, 1882, 442-43.
 53. This was a highly industrialized neighborhood specializing in the manufacturing of carpets. It was on the Connecticut River and on a railroad line.
 54. The date of her departure is noted in "A chronicle of a few passing events of interest, and some not much interest, only to the writer." 1861-1872, [Enfield, Connecticut, Church Family journal], item # 840, The Edward Deming Andrews memorial Shaker Collection, Winterthur Museum and Library. Her marriage information may be found WRHS B V-20, a North Family journal.
 55. "David Richmond, The First Missionary of Spiritualism," *he Medium and Daybreak*, February 27, 1891, 130-31.
 56. Keighley, November 2, 1873. Darlington, [Eng.]: D. Richmond, [1873?]
 57. Keighley, December 28, 1873. Darlington, [Eng.]: D. Richmond, 1874.
 58. Darlington, [Eng.]; [Glasgow: Hay, Nisbet and Co., Printers], 1879. Information about these three works is from Mary L. Richmond, compiler and annotator, *Shaker Literature, A Bibliography*, vol. 1, *By the Shakers*. (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1977), 179.
 59. Library of Congress, Shaker Collection, item #174.
 60. *Boston Journal*, Monday morning, September 15, 1879. This newspaper clipping may be found in the Enfield, Connecticut, material at the Shaker Library, Sabbathday

Lake, Maine. This citation covers all the quotes in this paragraph.

61. "A chronicle of a few passing events," June 5, 1866.
62. Western Reserve Historical Society, B V-18.
63. Western Reserve Historical Society, B V-18.
64. Dates for the twins supplied by M. Stephen Miller.
65. Library of Congress Shaker Collection, item #11.
66. Letter dated May 7, 1877, from Uncle Thos Richmond Shaker Station [Connecticut] to My dear little neices [sic] &c. Private collection of M. Stephen Miller and Miriam Miller, West Hartford, Connecticut. This letter mentions that Martha Emily Tate and Lucy A. Tate have a foster mother, possibly named Mrs. Carslake.
67. "A chronicle of passing events," May 30, 1866 and June 13, 1866, Winterthur.
68. "Notes from Shaker Records," 13, Steinert Papers, Hancock Shaker Village Library. These are typed notes taken from the writings of Lucy Bowers. One of the original volumes from which these were copied is at Canterbury Shaker Village Library. It is noted that Hannah Tate left the South Family on August 20, 1866. Perhaps it was as early as 1862 that she rejoined since that is when her daughter Caroline was moved to the Church Family from the South. The Shakers may not have wanted her to be in such close contact with her mother.
69. Uncle Thos Richmond to My Dear little neices [sic]. This letter alludes to children named Maggie and Sammy who may be Hannah Richmond Tate's children by a second husband.
70. Letters dated November 15, 1899, February 16, 1900, and October 14, 1900, from Caroline [Tate], Shaker Station Conn, to Dear Sister [Martha Emily Tate Killey], Allentown, Monmouth County, N.J. Private collection of M. Stephen Miller and Miriam Miller, West Hartford, Connecticut.
71. Letter dated November 15, 1899, from Caroline to Dear Sister.
72. Steinert Papers, 8, Hancock Shaker Village Library.
73. Information supplied by M. Stephen Miller.
74. "Elders Order," 1, Steinert Papers, Hancock Shaker Village Library.
75. Two examples illustrate the point. Mildred Wells lived with the Shakers since childhood, first at Alfred and then at Canterbury where she died and was buried. Though she appeared on a list of Shakers made by Eldress Emma King, it is generally said that Mildred Wells was not a Shaker. At Harvard, Richard Green, husband of Eldress Louisa Green and father of Eldress Ellen Green, lived at the South Family but was not considered a member. He also was buried in the Shaker cemetery when he died in 1885.
76. M. Stephen Miller, "The Copley-Lyman Shaker Family of Enfield, Connecticut: An Annotated Genealogy," *American Communal Societies Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (April 2007): 51-72.
77. Information about Hannah Teasdale Richmond's other children can be gleaned by inference from the Richmond-Tate Letters in the collection of M. Stephen Miller and Miriam Miller of West Hartford, Connecticut.
78. Deborah Burns has conjectured that his name was David. *Shaker Cities of Peace, Love and Union*, 211.