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Progress Report on the New Shaker Bibliography

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Progress Report on the New Shaker Bibliography

By Randall L. Ericson

It has been five years since I first announced that a new Shaker bibliography was in the works. Along with my colleagues Christian Goodwillie, David Newell, and Cassandra Nawrocki, I began working on this project in earnest in 2008. I believe it will take another two to three years before it is finished. Most of us are familiar with the bibliography created by Mary Richmond and published in 1977, so one might ask why a new Shaker bibliography is needed. Why not just create a supplement to cover the years since Richmond's bibliography?

Indeed there has been a great deal of new scholarship published in the last forty years and that material has been incorporated into the forthcoming bibliography; however, so much earlier material is now accessible that a supplement covering only the last forty years would be completely inadequate. The explosion of digitization is the most significant development in terms of access, particularly those projects covering the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not only are we able to identify important writings by their titles, but full-text searching, which virtually all of these digital databases provide, allows us to identify important sections of texts that deal with the Shakers. Without the full-text searching, many of these items would be very difficult to discover—likely discovered by accident, if at all. These digital databases have led to our discovery of several thousand books and articles unknown to Mary Richmond. These works run the gamut from mundane accounts to highly significant ones, including works by Shakers, which have not been identified previously. The following is a list of some of the databases we searched:

- **ACADEMIC SEARCH PREMIER.** Index of nearly 8,000 scholarly journals and popular magazines in all areas of study. Includes the full text for more than 4,600 titles. Coverage varies by publication. We used this database mostly for twentieth and

twenty-first century journal articles.

- AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY HISTORICAL PERIODICALS COLLECTION. Digitized images of 7,500 American magazines held by the American Antiquarian Society, the premier library documenting the life of America's people from the Colonial Era through the Civil War and Reconstruction. This database covers 1691-1877.
- AMERICAN PERIODICALS. Full-image reproductions of more than 1,100 American magazines and journals. This database includes popular, general interest, literary, and women's magazines, with coverage of 1741-1940.
- AMERICAN PAMPHLETS, SERIES I, 1820-1922. From the New-York Historical Society collection.
- AMERICA'S HISTORICAL IMPRINTS. Full image reproductions of virtually every book, pamphlet, and broadside published in the U.S. over a 170-year period. Items include advertisements, almanacs, catalogs, charters and by-laws, contracts, cookbooks, laws, maps, novels, operas, plays, poems, primers, sermons, songs, speeches, textbooks, tracts, travelogues, treaties, and more. It includes Charles Evans's renowned "American Bibliography" and Roger Bristol's supplement, covering 1639-1800; "American Bibliography, 1801-1819," by Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker; supplements to both Evans and Shaw/Shoemaker from the Library Company of Philadelphia; and American Broadside and Ephemera (1749-1900), developed from the American Antiquarian Society collection.
- AMERICA'S HISTORICAL NEWSPAPERS. While we did not include newspaper articles in the bibliography, the scope of this database includes more than what we considered to be newspapers.
- ATLA (American Theological Library Association Religion Database). Index of journal articles, book reviews, and essay collections in all fields of religion.
- GOOGLE BOOKS. Digital scans of over 30 million book and periodical titles.
- HATHI TRUST DIGITAL LIBRARY. Digital preservation repository and access platform representing a collaboration of approximately 100 research libraries and consortia.
- IAPSOP (International Association for the Preservation of

Spiritualist and Occult Periodicals). Digital collection of periodicals published between the Congress of Vienna and the start of the Second World War. This database began in 2010 and continues to grow. It is particularly rich in articles written by Shakers about spiritualist issues, often with no mention Shakerism or identification of the author as a Shaker. This made searching the database particularly time consuming.

- JSTOR. Full text of leading academic journals from the humanities, social sciences, and sciences dating back as far as 1665. We used this database largely for twentieth and twenty-first century journal articles.
- LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SHAKER COLLECTION (via WorldCat).
- MAKING OF AMERICA—MICHIGAN. Collection containing approximately 10,000 books and 50,000 journal articles with nineteenth-century imprints.
- MAKING OF AMERICA—CORNELL. Collection containing over 250 books and almost 1,000 periodical volumes.
- MORGAN ONLINE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OHIO IMPRINTS.
- NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE DIGITAL COLLECTION.
- NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH PAMPHLETS (1545-1931) .
- RESTORATION MUN (Memorial University of Newfoundland Digital Database of Restoration Movement Texts).
- SABIN AMERICANA, 1500–1926 (Based on Joseph Sabin’s bibliography, *Bibliotheca Americana – A Dictionary of Books Relating to America From its Discovery to the Present Time*).
- WORLDCAT (OCLC).

A second reason to produce a new bibliography is to correct errors in Richmond (though inevitably we will make our own errors). The more I work on this project, the greater my respect for Richmond’s accomplishment. Still, there are mistakes to be corrected and duplicate entries to eliminate. See below for examples of changes to some of the titles from Richmond, vol. 1A, Books by the Shakers.

My interest in starting this project grew during the time I served as college librarian at Hamilton College (2000-2011). During that period I developed an interest in the library’s special collections, especially its collection of communal societies material. During the ten years I spent acquiring material for the collection, I focused on works that were not included in Richmond, believing that such material would make the

Hamilton collection relatively unique. Knowing that these materials would be useful to Shaker researchers, I wanted to publicize these acquisitions. The collection at the Hamilton College library was the starting point for this bibliography. We extracted records from the Hamilton library catalog that were identified as “not in Richmond” (NIR). We also made visits, sometimes multiple visits, to the following libraries:

- American Antiquarian Society
- Berkshire Athenaeum
- Canterbury Shaker Village
- Hancock Shaker Village
- Library of Congress
- Pleasant Hill Shaker Village
- Shaker Library, Sabbathday Lake
- Shaker Museum & Library, Old Chatham
- South Union Shaker Village
- Western Kentucky University
- Western Reserve Historical Society
- Williams College
- Winterthur Library

We also searched a number of individual periodical titles either in print or electronically:

- *American Communal Societies Quarterly*
- *American Socialist*
- *Broadside* (Shaker Museum and Library)
- *Circular* (Oneida Community)
- *Clarion* (Friends of the Shakers)
- *Communal Societies*
- *Day-Star*
- *Flaming Sword* and other Koreshan journals
- *Harpers Magazine* (1850-)
- *Harper's Weekly* (1857-1912)
- *Manifesto*
- *Oneida Circular*
- *Pleasure Boat*
- *Portland Pleasure Boat*
- *Shaker*
- *Shaker and Shakeress Monthly*
- *Shaker Historical and Bibliographical Register*

- *Shaker Manifesto*
- *Shaker Messenger*
- *Shaker Quarterly*
- *Shakers World*
- *World's Advance Thought*

Finally, there are a few other sources that were important in identifying items to be added to the bibliography.

- E. Richard McKinstry, *The Edward Deming Andrews Memorial Shaker Collection* (New York: Garland, 1987).
- Bookseller catalogs
 - Scott De Wolfe
 - David Newell
 - Milton Sherman
- M. Stephen Miller collection
- David Newell records

What was especially revealing to us was the great number of journal articles that dealt either in whole or in part with the Shakers. The other important discovery was the correspondence (or other substantial writings) by the Shakers that were incorporated into articles by non-Shakers and which had not been otherwise published.

Even though we have a few more site visits to complete this year, and a few more databases to complete, we are at the point where we need to focus on structuring the data. So while we finish up our current discovery efforts, I have begun work on fashioning the bibliography. There will always be more sources to consult, especially as more works are digitized. But we are approaching the point where we will call a halt to investigating new sources. My hope is that by 2018 this new bibliography will be published. I welcome any suggestions or information that might be helpful to this project.

Emendations and Corrections to Richmond

Here are examples of corrections to the titles Richmond recorded. Note that text printed in green in new entries are additions or changes to what is found in the Richmond entry, and text printed in red in the Richmond entry are not found in the new entry.

Richmond 7 entry:

Albany County, to Wit. At a Court Martial held for the Trial of Delinquents in the 136th Regiment of Infantry, at the house of Jonas Yearsley, on the 17th day of November, in the Year 1828 ...

New entry:

Albany County, to Wit. At a Court Martial held for the trial of delinquents in the 136th Regiment of Infantry, at the house of Jonas Yearsley, *in the town of Watervliet, in the county of Albany*, on the 17th day of November, in the Year 1828 ...

Comment: Richmond did not record the part of the title highlighted in green, nor use an ellipsis to indicate that.

Richmond 207 entry:

Facts Concerning Brown's Shaker Pure Fluid Extract of English Valerian ("valeriana officinalis,") made at Enfield, N.H. ...

New entry:

Facts Concerning Brown's Shakers' Pure Fluid Extract of English Valerian, ("Valeriana Officinalis,") made at Enfield, N.H.; and *Dr. Corbett's Shaker Compound Concentrated Syrup of Sarsaparilla, &c., &c. Manufactured at Shaker Village, Merrimack Co., N.H. Edward Brinley & Co., Wholesale Druggists, No. 3 & 4 South Side of Fanecil Hall, Boston, Sole Agents for the United States and Canadas.*

Comment: Richmond recorded "Shaker" in the title, while I recorded "Shakers'." In addition I thought the title extended further than Richmond recorded, but that could be considered a matter of judgment.

Richmond 248 entry:

Illustrated Catalogue of Shaker Chairs, Foot Benches, Floor Mats, etc. Mt. Lebanon, Columbia County, N.Y.

New entry:

An Illustrated Catalogue of Shakers' Chairs, Foot Benches, Floor Mats, etc. **Manufactured and Sold by the Shakers**, at Mt. Lebanon, Columbia Co., N.Y.

Richmond 273 entry:

Shaker Seed Co.

New entry:

Shakers' Descriptive and Illustrated Annual Catalogue and Amateur's Guide to the Flower and Vegetable Garden. Shaker Seed Co., Mount Lebanon, New York.

Comment: This is very puzzling. Richmond took her description from the Western Reserve Historical Society copy, but so did I. It is hard to believe we were looking at the same item given the different titles we record.

Richmond 276 entry:

Shakers' **Descriptive and Illustrated** Catalogue of Flower and Vegetable Seeds for 1881. Address D. C. Brainard, Ag't, Mount Lebanon, N.Y.

New entry:

Shakers' Catalogue of Flower and Vegetable Seeds for 1881. Address D. C. Brainard, Ag't, Mount Lebanon, N.Y.

Comment: This is another case where Richmond and I both examined the copy at Western Reserve Historical Society, but recorded the title differently.

Richmond 281 entry:

Annual Catalogue of Herbs, Medicinal Plants, with their Therapeutic Qualities and Botanical Names; Also Extracts, Ointments, Essential Oils, Double Distilled and Fragrant Waters, Raised, Prepared and Put Up in the Neatest Style, and Most Careful Manner, at the Botanic Garden, New Lebanon, Columbia County, N.Y.

New entry:

Annual Catalogue of Herbs, Medicinal Plants, **and Vegetable Medicines**, with their Therapeutic Qualities and Botanical Names; Also Extracts, Ointments, Essential Oils, Double Distilled and Fragrant Waters, Raised, Prepared and Put Up in the Neatest Style, and Most Careful Manner, at

the Botanic Garden, New Lebanon, Columbia County, N.Y.

Richmond 330 entry:

One Agent in a Place.

New entry:

One Agent **Only** in a Place.

Richmond 336 entry:

Analysis, Artesian Well Water of Mt. Lebanon, N.Y. by Professor S. C. Chandler, Union College, N.Y.

New entry:

Analysis **of the** Artesian Well Water of Mt. Lebanon, N.Y. by Professor S. C. Chandler, Union College, N.Y.

Comment: At first glance there appears to be an decorative ornament after the first word of the title, but on closer examination it is clearly the words “of the.”

Richmond 344 entry

... Shaker Carpet and Rug Beaters.

New entry:

North Family Shakers, Mount Lebanon, New York, Manufacturers of Shaker Carpet and Rug Beaters.

Comment: Richmond chooses to begin the title with the word “Shaker” indicating that something preceded it by using the ellipses at the beginning of the title. I think the preceding part must be included because it is grammatically connected to what follows.

Richmond 403 entry:

Garden Seeds. Crop of 1872.

New entry:

Garden Seeds **Grown by the Shakers, at South Union, Ky.** Crop of 1872.

Comment: I am puzzled why Richmond did not recognize and include the words “grown by the Shakers, at South Union, Ky.” in the title for this entry as she did for nos. 396-401.

Richmond 404 entry:

Crop of 1873.

New entry:

Garden Seeds Grown by the Shakers, at South Union, Ky. Crop of 1873.

Comment: In this case I believe Richmond neglected to add a 3m dash at the beginning indicating the title carries forward from the previous entry (which itself is a problematic practice). I have chosen not to use a 3m dash to indicate a title is the same as in the preceding entry except in very rare cases and then only if the entire title is the same for the two entries.

Richmond 413 entry:

Catalogue of **Medical** Plants, and Extracts; to which are Affixed their most Prominent Medical Properties. Also Essential Oils, and Double Distilled Fragrant Waters. Prepared, and for Sale by the United Society of Shakers, at Union Village, Ohio ...

New entry:

Catalogue of **Medicinal** Plants, and Extracts; to which are Affixed their most Prominent Medical Properties. Also Essential Oils, and Double Distilled Fragrant Waters. Prepared, and for Sale by the United Society of Shakers, at Union Village, Ohio ...

Comment: Here Richmond transcribed the word “medicinal” as “medical.”

Richmond 415 entry:

Howe, S. D. & Co. Dr. S. [tewart] D. Howe’s Shaker **Extract Compound** Sarsaparilla.

New entry:

S. D. HOWE & CO. Dr. S. D. Howe’s Shaker **Compound Extract** of Sarsaparilla in **Quarter Bottles**.

Comment: Richmond entered the corporate body in an inverted format whereas I do it in direct order format. Those two choices reflect a change in cataloging practices. Also I tend not to make additions to the title in brackets but rather give that information in the annotation if needed. Finally Richmond inverted the order of the words “compound extract” in the title, and I extended to title further than she did because of the

grammatical connection of the words.

Richmond 1095 entry:

The North Family of Shakers, Shaker Station, Conn., will Keep Horses, on Winter Feed, Hay and Grain, for \$ per Week ...

New entry:

The North Family Shakers, Shaker Station, Conn., will Keep Horses, on Winter Feed, Hay and Grain, for \$ per Week, at **Owner's Risk** ...

Richmond 1231 entry:

A Remarkable Old Man. **Elder Evans at the Age of 80 still Bent on Reforming the World.**

New entry:

A Remarkable Old Man.

Comment: Richmond took the title from the caption whereas I took it from the cover and added the caption title in the annotation. The order of precedence I follow for the source of the title is title page, cover, caption. I do not select the one which is most descriptive. I will add a note in the annotation if there is another title which I deem useful for researchers and it will be added to the title index.

Richmond 1309 entry:

——— Mount Lebanon Invite You to Attend a Peace Convention in the Interest of Universal Peace, to be Held at Mount Lebanon, N.Y., Thursday, Aug. 31, 1905.

New entry:

The Shakers of Mount Lebanon Invite You to Attend a Peace Convention in the Interest of Universal Peace, to be Held at Mount Lebanon, N.Y., Thursday, Aug. 31, 1905.

Comment: In my view Richmond's use of the 3m dash at the beginning of the title is confusing. It is up to the reader to determine that it refers only to the first three words of the preceding title in her bibliography. I prefer to record the title in full.

Newly Discovered Eighteenth-Century Commentary on the Shakers

The following are entries for items published before 1800 that are not in Richmond. These are particularly interesting because they are among the very earliest reports by and about the Shakers. There is one book and one periodical article by the Shakers, and fifteen books and eight periodical articles by non-Shakers. This area was of special interest to team member David Newell, whose dogged work led to a number of these discoveries.

By the Shakers: books

ALLEN, LUCY. Hymns, on Various Subjects, Composed by Lucy Allen. Windsor, Vt.: Re-printed by Alden Spooner, 1795. 38 pp. 17 cm.

Hymn XVI (pp. 21-24) is headed: "This hymn being the substance of Lucy Allen's experience of God's mercy, in delivering her from the Shaking Quakers." This lengthy hymn about her experience as a Shaker, with an account of attempts to cast out devils from her, suggests her experience might have been sometime during the 1780s. She recounts that she confessed her sins; thus she was for a time a Shaker. Allen was perhaps the first female Shaker apostate to publish an account of her experience with the Shakers.

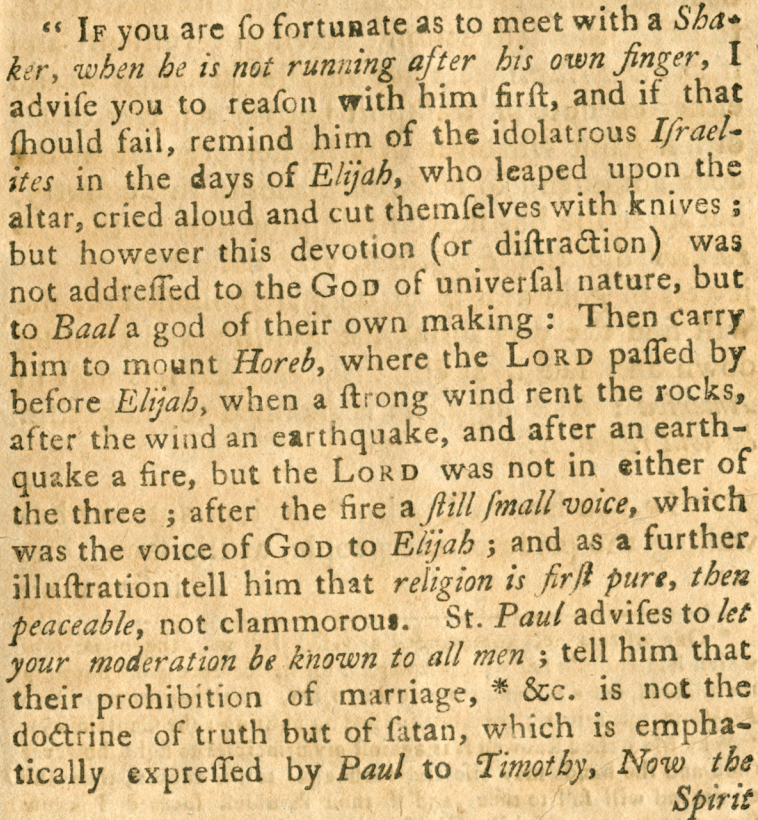
By the Shakers: periodical articles

RATHBUN, VALENTINE. "About the Shakers." *New Star: a Republican, Miscellaneous, Literary Paper*, no. 6 (May 16, 1797): 45.

Originally published in the *Western Star*, Apr. 10, 1797. Rathbun puts readers on notice that two Shaker missionaries, Moral [Morrell] Baker and Rufus Cogswell, are proclaiming that he will soon be returning to the Shakers and that he sees them as the "people of God." Rathbun categorically rejects this, stating, "there is not the least colour of truth" in these claims, and the missionaries' statements are "most shockingly wicked." He warns readers against the Shakers. Reprinted in *Writings of Shaker Apostates and Anti-Shakers, 1782-1850*, edited by Christian Goodwillie, 1:147-50. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013.

About the Shakers: books

A., P. Three Curious Pieces: Being a Ready Way to Unpopularity, or, Truth a General Enemy. Together with a Treatise on Orthodoxy; and another on the Ambiguity of Nothing. By P. A. in Boston. Boston: Printed and sold by E. Russell, 1782. 23, [1] pp.



“ IF you are so fortunate as to meet with a *Shaker*, when he is not running after his own finger, I advise you to reason with him first, and if that should fail, remind him of the idolatrous *Israelites* in the days of *Elijah*, who leaped upon the altar, cried aloud and cut themselves with knives; but however this devotion (or distraction) was not addressed to the God of universal nature, but to *Baal* a god of their own making: Then carry him to mount *Horeb*, where the LORD passed by before *Elijah*, when a strong wind rent the rocks, after the wind an earthquake, and after an earthquake a fire, but the LORD was not in either of the three; after the fire a still small voice, which was the voice of God to *Elijah*; and as a further illustration tell him that religion is first pure, then peaceable, not clamorous. St. Paul advises to let your moderation be known to all men; tell him that their prohibition of marriage, * &c. is not the doctrine of truth but of satan, which is emphatically expressed by Paul to Timothy, Now the Spirit

* I advise you to serve him as I do the Reader, viz. take him aside and tell him that you don't believe they live up to this particular tenet, but rather allow themselves to copulate promiscuously; and this suggestion will serve for a double-headed shot, for he will be as angry in the margin as he is in the body of the work.

Beginning of the passage on the Shakers in *Three Curious Pieces*.

Includes a lengthy attack against the Shakers (pp. 7-9), which is both vicious and humorous. The author accuses the Shakers of frequent promiscuous copulation, embracing doctrines of Satan, and standing as enemies of the American states. The author, no doubt, had read Valentine Rathbun's *An Account of the Matter, Form, and Manner of a New and Strange Religion*, probably the edition that included "A Dialogue between George the Third of Great-Britain, and his Ministers." The author suggests that Ann Lee might be a fitting candidate for execution or transportation. An excerpt from the first of the three pieces is reprinted in *Writings of Shaker Apostates and Anti-Shakers, 1782-1850*, edited by Christian Goodwillie, 1:41-44. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013.

ALLEN, JOSEPH. Last Advice and Farewell [of] Deacon Joseph Allen, to the Church and Congregation [of] Hardwick; Who Departed This Life, August 18th, 1793 in the Eighty Fifth Year of his Age. Made Publick by the Desire of his Children and Friends. To which is Added, Poetry on Various Subjects. Brookfield, Mass.: Rice & Waldo, 1795. 51, [1] pp.

Includes "Observations on the People called Shakers," a significant and very early poem critical of the Shakers, pp. 48-49. It begins:

A sort of people I have seen,
They call the Shaking Quakers,
But can't imagine what they mean,
Who seem to be law breakers.

ANDERSON, ALEXANDER, and JOSEPH YOUNG. An Inaugural Dissertation on Chronic Mania. New-York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, 1796. 32 pp.

"Submitted to the public examination of the faculty of physic, under the authority of the trustees of Columbia College in the State of New-York: William Samuel Johnson, LL. D., president; for the degree of Doctor of Physic. On the third day of May, 1796." An early reference to the Shakers, comparing the epileptic fits of Mahomet to "voluntary convulsions and whirlings of the Shaking Quakers," p. 7.

ANNAN, ROBERT. Brief Animadversions on the Doctrine of Universal Salvation. In which it is Proved to be Utterly Repugnant to the Principles of Moral Government, and Inconsistent with the Word of God. Philadelphia: Printed by R. Aitken & Son, 1787. 55 pp.

A very early reference to the Shakers: “When I see you running after every new projector in religion, methinks I behold you greedily sipping the poison of asps and the venom of dragons.... Only think from the instance of the poor frantic Shakers how far a spirit of delusion may carry men!,” p. 33.

BACKUS, ISAAC. *The Doctrine of Universal Salvation Examined and Refuted: Containing, a Concise and Distinct Answer to the Writings of Mr. Relly, and Mr. Winchester, Upon that Subject.* Providence: Printed and sold by John Carter, [1782]. 40 pp.

Commentary on the Shakers (p. 30): “When a creature’s thoughts, words and actions, exactly agree together, he exhibits the brightest image of God that we know of; but to talk one thing, while they think and act the reverse, is precisely the image of the devil. A notable instance hereof appears in a company from Europe, with a woman at their head, who began openly two years ago to propagate the above doctrine of devils in the county of Albany, with great power, signs and lying wonders. 2 Thess. ii. 7-12. They prevailed so far thereby last summer, as to make their head-quarters house where Shadrach Ireland had been at the head of a like delusion for many years before. The doctrine, both of Balaam and Jezebel, was to draw people into sensuality, and worship objects of sense.” It had been assumed that Backus, the greatest Separate Baptist theologian and author, had never published anything about or against the Shakers, although his manuscript diaries make considerable critical reference to them. This appears to be the second oldest substantial commentary about the Shakers.

BACON, JOHN. *Illustrations Illustrated. Containing a Brief Reply to Some Part of the Illustrations, Annexed to a Piece, Intituled, Letters of Friendship, &c.* Hartford: Printed by Hudson and Goodwin, 1781. iv, 31 pp.

This is one of several publications in response to Joseph Huntington’s *Letters of Friendship*, which contains the first printed notice of the American Shakers. As such, it is a very early reference to the “Elect Lady” and “her apostles,” adding: “This unhappy people, by common report, are wild and enthusiastic,” p. 31. Bacon’s reference to the Elect Lady is a sarcastic response to Huntington, and notes that no Shakers reside near him, thus he knows nothing about them and leaves any necessary “discipline” to Huntington “if he finds their case requires it.”

A spirit can think, speak and act; and the actions or works of God are evidently intended by his *back parts*, which are plainly seen by believers, though no man can see his face and live. Exod. xxxiii. 20—23. When a creature's thoughts, words and actions, exactly agree together, he exhibits the brightest image of God that we know of; but to talk one thing, while they think and act the reverse, is precisely the image of the devil. A notable instance hereof appears in a company from Europe, with a woman at their head, who began openly two years ago to propagate the above doctrine of devils in the county of Albany, with great power, signs, and lying wonders. 2. Theff. ii. 7—12. They prevailed so far thereby last summer, as to make their head-quarters at Harvard, in Worcester county, at a house where Shadrach Ireland had been at the head of a like delusion for many years before. The doctrine, both of Balaam and Jezebel, was to draw people into sensuality, and worship objects of sense. *To seduce my servants, says Jesus, to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.* Rev. ii. 14—20. The reason why God has so exactly described these, and all other events, in his word, even from the beginning of time, is this, says he, *because I knew thee that thou wast obstinate, and thy neck an iron sinew, and thy brow brass. Lest thou shouldest say, mine idol hath done them, &c.* Isai. xlviii. 4, 5. In general their idols are *their own inventions*. Some have gain for their god, others their belly; and, to ease their consciences, many have their *idol shepherds*; trust other men to see for them. Eph. v. 5. Phil. iii. 19. Zech. xi. 16, 17. And the farthest that human invention could ever go in this respect, was

Beginning of the passage on the Shakers in *The Doctrine of Universal Salvation Examined and Refuted*.

BÜSCHING, ANTON FRIEDRICH. D. Anton Friedrich Büschings Erdbeschreibung. XIII, 2, Die vereinten Staaten von Nordamerika. Hamburg: Carl Ernst Bohn, 1794.

Brief reference to the Shakers, p. 813. This may be one of the earliest continental European printed references to the Shakers.

CAREY, MATHEW. Carey's American Pocket Atlas: Containing the Following Maps ... with a Concise Description of Each State. Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey by Lang and Ustick, 1796. 16,

13-58, 79-118 pp. 19 folded maps.

Shaker references: p. 11 (Shakers are one of fourteen Christian denominations listed for the United States), p. 52 (“The Shakers are principally settled at New Lebanon”). Identical statements are found in later editions of this atlas (1801, 1805, 1814).

FREEMAN, SAMUEL. *The Massachusetts Justice: Being a Collection of the Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Relative to the Power and Duty of Justices of the Peace: Alphabetically Arranged, in Two Parts ...* Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1795. iv, 296 pp.

Extract from the act (passed June 22, 1793) regulating militia, mentioning Quakers and Shakers as exempt, p. 222.

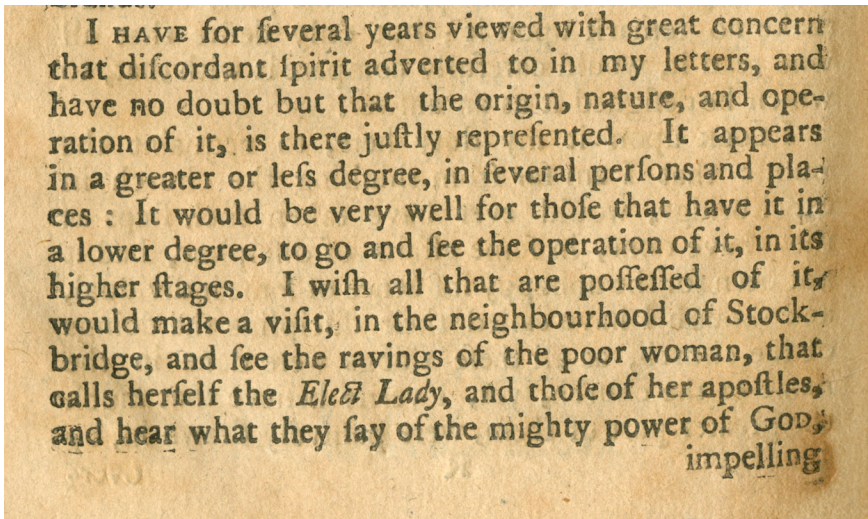
HEMMENWAY, MOSES. *A Discourse on the Nature and Subjects of Christian Baptism.* Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Peter Stewart, 1788. 127, [1] pp.

The author refers to the “delusion of the Shakers, which devoured those called irregular Baptists,” p. 125n.

HUNTINGTON, JOSEPH, 1735-1794. *Letters of Friendship to Those Clergymen Who Have Lately Renounced Communion With the Ministers and Churches of Christ in General: With illustrations From Recent Examples ...* Hartford: Printed and Sold by Hudson and Goodwin, 1780. 134 pp.

Huntington, the Congregational minister of the Church at Coventry, Connecticut, was a prominent figure in New England Congregationalism and a prolific author. In the second part of this work, he addresses in detail his position in the Stockbridge controversy. Stockbridge, in the summer of 1780, was the seat of a number of revivalist “New Lights,” gathered under the leadership of Samuel Johnson, the former Presbyterian minister of the Church at New Lebanon. Thus, it is not surprising that Huntington was acquainted with the Shakers at this very early date inasmuch as many of Johnson’s society were among the earliest Shaker converts. Towards the very end of the second part, as he concludes his scolding of those in Stockbridge who have strayed from the “true faith,” Huntington provides this very early description of the Shakers: “It would be well for those that have [a discordant spirit] in a lower degree, to go and

see the operation of it in its higher stages. I wish all that are possessed of it, would make a visit, in the neighborhood of Stockbridge, and see the ravings of the poor woman, that calls herself the Elect Lady, and those of her apostles, and hear what they say of the mighty power of God, impelling them to all manner of wantonness; hear their prayers for the dead; and attend to all the frenzy and distraction among them, and their doctrine of spiritual marriage in particular. When people once become in their own esteem wiser than the word of God, and follow their own vain imaginations, they do not know what extravagancies they may come to," pp. 130-31. This appears to be the first printed work noticing the American Shakers. *Letters of Friendship* is also published in Huntington's *A Plea Before the Ecclesiastical Council at Stockbridge in the Cause of Mrs. Fisk ... to Which is Added, Letters of Friendship ... Likewise a Droll, a Deist, and a John Bacon, Master of Arts, Gently Reprimanded* (Boston: Printed by N. Coverly and R. Hodge, 1782). The Shaker passage is on p. 121.



Beginning of the passage on the Shakers in *Letters of Friendship* ...

LLOYD, THOMAS. The Congressional Register; or, History of the Proceedings and Debates of the First House of Representatives of the United States of America ... Containing an Impartial Account of the Most Interesting Speeches and Motions; and Accurate Copies of Remarkable Papers Laid Before and Offered to the House. Taken in short hand, by Thomas Lloyd. New-York: Printed for the editor, by Harrisson and Purdy, 1789-1790. 4 v.

The *Register* covers the first and part of the second session only. “The Register was not an official publication, and was continued only during the sessions of the Congress held at New York.”—Evans. Title of v. 4 varies. Imprint of v. 2-4 varies: Printed by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell, and for T. Lloyd, the proprietors. In the context of objecting to a petition to abolish the slave trade, Mr. Smith (S.C.) refers to the Shaking Quakers: “I have heard of a sect of Shaking Quakers, who, I presume, suppose their tenets of a moral tendency; I am informed, one of them forbids to intermarry, yet, in consequence of their shakings and concussions, may see them with a number offspring about them. Now if these people were to petition congress to pass a law prohibiting matrimony, I ask, would gentlemen agree to refer such a petition? I think that if they would reject one of that nature, as improper, they ought also to reject this [the petition on slavery],” 3:336.

[MARSHALL, WILLIAM]. A Catechism for Youth Containing the Principles of Practical Religion, Agreeable to the Doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, Exhibited in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Aitken, 1783. 172 pp.

Includes “A Catechetical Explication of Sundry Terms Belonging to Religion, Alphabetically Digested,” pp. 78-172. In the style of catechisms, a question is posed and an answer given. On pp. 151, the question posed is, “What are the principles and singular practice of the Shakers?” The response gives a brief statement of their origins in America and critically describes their dancing. It presents some “principal doctrines” and then claims that they have become “more violent in their strange gestures; throwing themselves into strange distorted shapes, turning round on their heel with amazing velocity, and men and women forgetting all regard to decorum, dance, jump,

and perform every other frantick gesture naked; and all this under the notion of religious exercises.” This is a very early account of the Shakers, only three years after the opening of the Shaker gospel. This work was also issued in 1784 under the expanded title: *Religious Instruction to the Rising Generation. A Catechism for Youth Containing the Principles of Practical Religion, Agreeable to the Doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, Exhibited in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. To Which is Added, A Catechetical Explication of Sundry Terms Belonging to Religion, Alphabetically Digested*. This version is identical to the 1783 edition except for an additional title page, preface, and contents pages at the beginning. The title page for the 1784 version identifies William Marshall as the author.

MURRAY, JOHN. Bath-kol, a Voice from the Wilderness: Being an Humble Attempt to Support the Sinking Truths of God, Against Some of the Principal Errors, Raging at This Time. Or, a Joint Testimony to Some of the Grand Articles of the Christian Religion. Judicially Delivered to the Churches under Their Care by the First Presbytery of the Eastward. Boston: Printed by N. Coverly, 1783. 4, [v]-xxi, [22]-360, vii, [4] pp.

Murray was a Calvinist apologist for the “Grand Articles of the Christian Religion” and presented this attack on the rising dissident religious movements of the 1780s. While concentrating on deism and universalism, Murray also warns against embracing the tenets of a new sect: “A new sect of religionists appeared in the state of New York in 1779 who have commonly gone by the name of Shakers, from the unnatural motions, and convulsive contortions of the body, which distinguished them from all other societies.” Murray goes on to state that he believes them to be the source of “diabolical influence,” that the Shakers believe themselves capable of overthrowing the Christian religion and entitled to be the “final judges of the quick and dead. These visionaries have dispersed themselves in New England; and given no small trouble to sundry places in each of its states.” (pp. 83-84). Murray returns to the subject of the Shakers, stating, “We are abandoned to the will of Ranters and Shakers; who locusts vomited out of the pit, have spread forth their darkness over the land; and turned all ordinances and every act of worship into burlesque,” pp. 89-90.

A new sect of religionists appeared, in the state of New York, in 1779, who have commonly gone by the name of Shakers, from the unnatural motions, and convulsive contortions of the body which distinguished them from all other sectaries; these shocks of nature, were attended with so much violence, and pain, as to afford ground to conclude them the issue of some diabolical influence, yet, with them, they passed for acts of the

the most exalted devotion: sufficient to authorize them to overthrow the christian religion, and entitle them to be regarded as the final judges of the quick and dead. These visionaries have dispersed themselves in New England; and given no small trouble to sundry places in each of its States.

The passage on the Shakers in *Bath-Kol, a Voice from the Wilderness*.

PERKINS, NATHAN. Letters of Gratitude, to the Connecticut Pleader, the Reverend Joseph Huntington, D.D. for his Letters of Friendship to a Certain Class of Gentlemen, with Illustrations from Recent Examples. By Impartialis. Hartford: Printed by Hudson and Goodwin, 1781. 76 pp.

This is one of several publications in response to Joseph Huntington's *Letters of Friendship*, which contains the first printed notice of the American Shakers. Perkins cites Huntington's reference to the "ravings of the Elect Lady," but does not deal with the Shakers. Attributed to Nathan Perkins by Trumbull.

About the Shakers: periodical articles

"An Account of a Murder Committed by Mr. J----- Y-----, upon His Family, in December, A. D. 1781." *New-York Weekly Magazine* 2, no. 55 (July 20, 1796): 20; and, 2, no. 56 (July 27, 1796): 28.

This account, largely in the words of James Yates, tells the story of his murder of his wife and two children by orders of a spirit voice. Some newspaper accounts claimed that Yates was a Shaker, initially by the *Massachusetts Spy* and then the *Connecticut Gazette*. Christian Goodwillie argues that the claim that Yates was a Shaker was a result of the anti-Shaker feeling by these particular newspapers. Other newspapers, and court documents do not make this connection to the Shakers. For another account of this case, see Rowland Hughes's article.

CAREY, MATHEW. "Some Account of the Shaking Quakers." *American Museum or Universal Magazine* 10, no. 2 (August 1791): 100-101.

A short but early account of the Shakers. "The sect seems rather to be diminishing ... few proselytes are gained; and the severity and constancy of their fatiguing exercises carry them off in a few years."

NICHOLS, JOHN. "Advices from American provinces." *Gentleman's Magazine (London)* 54, no. 6 (Dec. 1784): 950-51.

A very early, albeit generic account, which purports to be about a visit to the Shaking Quakers at Acquakanock, N.Y. (perhaps Watervliet), which had a congregation of about ninety members. It includes a description of a woman turning so swiftly it was hard to "discriminate the object."

"An Obituary for Oct. 1784. Died." *Boston Magazine* October 1, 1784: 541.

Ann Lee (though not by that name) is included in the list of deaths during the month of October: "At Neiqueunia (State of N. York) the Woman who was at the head of the sect of Shaking Quakers, and had assumed the title of Elect Lady, with her brother; bled to death."

[SPECTATOR]. "Some Account of the Tenets and Practice of the Religious Society called Shakers." *American Museum or Repository* February 1, 1787: 148-50.

"Spectator" claimed to present 'Articles' of the Shakers' faith as agreed upon at a meeting of Shaker leaders. This seems highly unlikely, given that some of the supposed 'Articles' are not consistent with anything subsequently published by the Shakers regarding their beliefs, though some do accord with known Shaker beliefs. His account may very well be the earliest printed explication of Shaker

beliefs written by a non-Shaker. Only Amos Taylor's seventeen points of Shaker doctrine published in his 1782 *Narrative* pre-dates the list compiled by Spectator, which comprises nineteen points. We have found no record of a conference of the Shaker leadership during 1784 or 1785 where such 'Articles' would have been agreed upon; however, that was a time of great tumult in the Shaker church where the leadership crisis created by the deaths of Mother Ann and Father William was being resolved. It is quite possible that such a meeting was held and that no other record of it survives. If this is the case then the report by Spectator is all the more crucial to our understanding of the early Shakers." (C. Goodwillie, *Writings of Shaker Apostates and Anti-Shakers*.) Previously published as "The People Called Shakers," *Massachusetts Spy: or, Worcester Gazette*, January 26, 1786, which in turn has been reprinted in C. Goodwillie, "The Shakers in Eighteenth-Century Newspapers. Part One: 'From a Spirit of Detraction and Slander,'" *American Communal Societies Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (July 2010): 177-82; and in *Writings of Shaker Apostates and Anti-Shakers, 1782-1850*, edited by C. Goodwillie, 1:113-17.

"Summary of Late Intelligence." *Worcester Magazine*, no. 2 (2nd week of April 1786): 26.

A news item dated, New York, April 1, in which Capt. Van Deursen tells a story of the Shakers fitting out the ship Ark, commanded by Mr. Barker, and intended to sail to the New-Jerusalem. Van Deursen told them that it was impossible to sail to heaven by water.

"To Our Correspondents." *Boston Magazine* 1 (Sept. 1, 1784): [unnumbered page before 457].

"The editor rejects a submission for publication on the Shaking Quakers because it is 'too indelicate for a chaste ear.'"

"A View of Various Denominations of Christian. IV. Shakers." *Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine* 1, no. 5 (Dec. 1789/Jan. 1790): 575-77.

Draws from the writings of Rathbun, Taylor, and West.

Northern Muscadine Grape

The Northern Muscadine grape was developed and marketed by the Shakers. While it may not be the most important topic for Shaker researchers, it is illustrative of the large number of new entries on a specific topic. I have included both Richmond entries (in black type) and new entries (in purple type) to give an idea of the great expansion of coverage the new bibliography will have. There are ten entries about the Northern Muscadine grape by the Shakers, all new; and thirty-nine by non-Shakers, of which only three are in Richmond.

Writings on the Northern Muscadine grape by the Shakers:

HAWKINS, D. J., and R. F. CROSMAN. “Northern Muscadine Grape.” *Country Gentleman* 6, no. 15 (Oct. 11, 1855): 246.

An advertisement containing a letter signed: *Principal Agents: D. J. Hawkins, R. F. Crossman [i.e., Crosman], Shaker Village, New-Lebanon, Columbia Co. N.Y.*, promoting an “entirely new variety known as the Northern Muscadine or Shaker Seedling.” Also published in 6, no. 16 (Oct. 18, 1855): 262; 6, no. 17 (Oct. 25, 1855): 279; 7, no. 9 (Feb. 21, 1856): 134; *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 3, no. 11 (Nov. 1855); 3rd ser., 4, no. 3 (Mar. 1856): 102; 3rd ser., 4, no. 9 (Sept. 1856): 291.

HAWKINS, D. J., and PHILEMON STEWART. “Notice to the Public.” *Country Gentleman* 5, no. 11 (Mar. 15, 1855): 178.

An advertisement signed: D. J. Hawkins, P. Stewart, New Lebanon, Shaker Village, Columbia Co., N.Y. This notice warns the public of poor imitations of the Early Northern Muscadine grape. Also published in 5, no. 12 (March 22, 1855): 195; *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 3, no. 4 (April 1855): 131; and 3rd ser., 3, no. 5 (May 1855): 167.

LEWIS, JESSE, and D. C. BRAINARD. “Early Northern Muscadine.” *Moore’s Rural New-Yorker* 9, no. 13 (Mar. 27, 1858): 103.

Text consists primarily of a letter from Jesse Lewis and D. C. Brainard describing the Early Northern Muscadine grape, grown by the New Lebanon Shaker for twenty-five years. There is an introductory paragraph by the editor who notes that there is “some difference of opinion” over the merits of this grape.

———. “The Early Northern Muscadine: A Shaker Seedling.” In *Open Air Grape Culture: A Practical Treatise on the Garden and Vineyard Culture of the Vine, and the Manufacture of Domestic Wine ...*, “Early Northern Muscadine,” 259-62. New York, C. M. Saxton, 1862.

A statement by Lewis and Brainard about the virtues of the Northern Muscadine grape developed by the Shakers. There is an introductory paragraph which notes that “some pomologists speak of it in high terms, while by others it has been fiercely condemned.”

———. “The Early Northern Muscadine—a Shaker Seedling.” *Moore’s Rural New-Yorker* 10, no. 13 (Mar. 26, 1859): 103. illus.

Advertisement. Address orders to: Jessie Lewis, D. C. Brainard, Ag’ts., New Lebanon, Col. Co., N.Y., Shaker Box. Includes a notice about their Mountain Seedling gooseberry.

———. “Premium Wine Grape.” *Country Gentleman* 15, no. 12 (Mar. 22, 1860): 196.

Advertisement for the “genuine ‘Early Northern Muscadine.’” Signed: *Jesse Lewis, D. C. Brainard, Agents, New-Lebanon Shaker Village, N.Y.*

LEWIS, JESSE, and PHILEMON STEWART. “Genuine Northern Muscadine Grape.” *Country Gentleman* 9, no. 11 (Mar. 12, 1857): 181.

Signed: *Jesse Lewis, P. Stewart, New-Lebanon, Col. Co., N.Y.* Lengthy advertisement describing the source of the grape, prices, and ordering and shipping instructions. Also published in *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 5, no. 4 (Apr. 1857): 133.

PEASE, RICHARD A. “The Muscadine Grape, a New and Choice Variety. A Shaker Seedling.” *Country Gentleman* 9, no. 17 (Apr. 23, 1857): 280.

Advertisement signed: *Rich’d A. Pease, Albany, N.Y.* Also published in 9, no. 18 (Apr. 30, 1857): 294; 9, no. 21 (May 21, 1857): 342.

STEWART, PHILEMON, and D. J. HAWKINS. “Early Northern Muscadine Grape.” *Country Gentleman* 8, no. 8 (Aug. 21, 1856): 134.

An advertisement signed: *P. Stewart, D. J. Hawkins, New-Lebanon, N.Y.* Also published in 8, no. 9 (Aug. 28, 1856): 151; *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 4, no. 9 (Sept. 1856): 291.

WOOD, JONATHAN, EDWARD FOWLER, and PHILEMON STEWART. "The Shaker Seedling Grape." *Country Gentleman* 4, no. 6 (Aug. 10, 1854): 90.

The bulk of the article is a verbatim quote of a letter from Wood, Fowler, and Stewart. They take issue with a June 15 article in *Country Gentleman* in which it is claimed that the Shakers tried to exhibit a Charter Oak grape variety at the New York Horticultural Society exhibition, and that the grape was so offensive that it was not allowed to be entered. The authors claim that the Shakers have never sent grapes to this exhibition and that the Charter Oak and Northern Muscadine are nothing like each other and cannot be confused. They go on to state that they will exhibit the Northern Muscadine at the state and county fairs in the fall.

Writings on the Northern Muscadine grape by non-Shakers:

"American Grapes." *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 7, no. 11 (Nov. 1859): 350.

In the section on the Hartford Prolific variety, the author describes it as "moderately good, slightly foxy, better than Northern Muscadine, and is probably quite as early."

B., A. "Grape Report" [Horticultural]. *Circular (1851-1870)* 7, no. 40 (Oct. 28, 1858): 159.

Includes a section on the Northern Muscadine grape, introduced by the New Lebanon Shakers. This report is somewhat critical of the grape.

———. "Salt for Roses. Strawberries. The School-Room." *New England Farmer* 14, no. 8 (Aug. 1862): 367-68.

The article has three sections with no overall title. First, the author describes a visit to the Shakers at New Lebanon, N.Y., during which he examined beautiful rose bushes in the garden of George Curtis. After inquiring how the Shakers avoided the rose bush pest, Curtis told him how he used salt for that purpose. Curtis also noted that the original vine of the Shaker Northern Muscadine grape was in his garden. Second, Curtis showed him a strawberry bed which had a "very strange appearance." Third, Curtis offered to have him visit the school-room, but Bacon's schedule would not accommodate it.

BERTHOLET, P. G. "Early Northern Muscadine Grape." *Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* 14, no. 10 (Oct. 1859): 465.

While the Northern Muscadine grape is early and bears well, it is a second-rate grape because "its taste is rather tart and foxy and even its smell is foxy." But the author does recommend including it in one's garden because "it grows rapidly, is hardy, and yields us fruit when many others fail us." The author's name is given as "P. G. Betholet" in the article, but all other articles I found by him give "P. G. Bertholet."

"The Charter Oak Grape." *Country Gentleman* 3, no. 24 (June 15, 1854): 378.

In response to an inquiry about the Charter Oak grape, the editor quotes from a report by Mr. Mead, chairman of the Horticultural Committee of the American Institute. He is very critical of it and notes that "on the second day of the exhibition, the same grape was sent in by the Shakers of Lebanon under the name 'seedling muscadine,' but they were not allowed to be entered because of their offensive smell." The Shakers responded to the *Country Gentleman* with a letter published Aug. 10, 1854.

[DREW, WILLIAM A.]. "Early Northern Muscadine Grape" [Fruits and flowers]. *Drew's Rural Intelligencer* 1, no. 17 (April 28, 1855): 130-31.

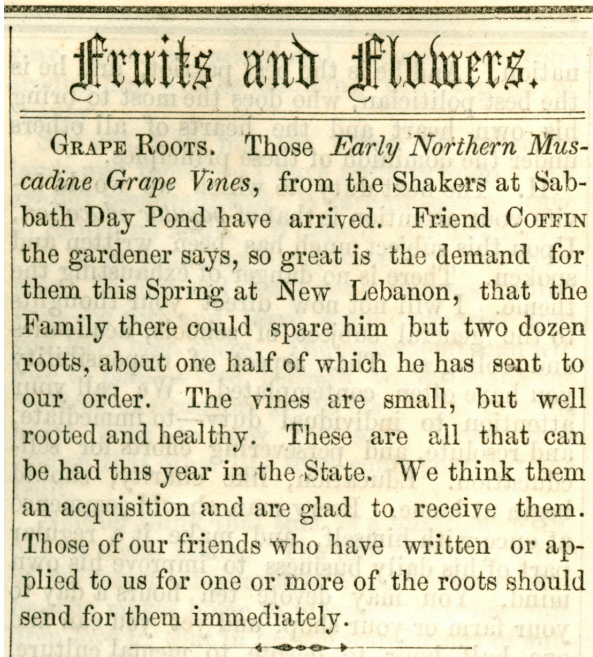
In a P.S. to this article, the author notes that Otis Sawyer reports that the Shakers at New Gloucester have raised the Northern Muscadine grape for six years, that it has been fully tested, and the claims for it are true.

[—]. "Early Northern Muscadine Grape." *Drew's Rural Intelligencer* 1, no. 18 (May 5, 1855): 138-39.

Drew recounts the conflicting information presented in recent issues of his journal and concludes that the Northern Muscadine grape is suitable for Maine. He publishes two letters, from James Coffin, the Shaker gardener at New Gloucester; and J. Stinchfield, who attests to the flavor of the grape and its suitability for northern climates.

[—]. "Grape Roots" [Fruits and Flowers]. *Drew's Rural Intelligencer* 1, no. 19 (May 12, 1855): 147.

Reports that the vines of the Northern Muscadine grape have arrived from the Shakers at "Sabbath Day Pond."



[—]. “The Northern Muscadine Grape.” *Drew’s Rural Intelligencer* 1, no. 16 (April 21, 1855): 123.

Reports on a handbill in which Philemon Stewart extols the Northern Muscadine grape developed by the Shakers.

[—]. “Shaker Fruits.” *Drew’s Rural Intelligencer* 1, no. 41 (October 13, 1855): 323.

The author received a box of fruit containing Northern Muscadine grapes, six varieties of apples, and two varieties of pears, from John Coffin of New Gloucester. He was most interested in the grapes and writes positively about them.

“Early Northern Muscadine Grape.” *Pennsylvania Farm Journal* 5, no. 10 (Oct. 1855): 312. illus.

The author finds the Northern Muscadine grape, supplied by P. Stewart of New Lebanon, to be excellent for northern climates because it can “stand our winters and ripen in our summers,” an ability the Isabella and Catawba lack to some degree.

“Early Northern Muscadine Grape.” *Working Farmer* 7, no. 9 (Nov. 1855): 215.

Reprinted from the *Northern Farmer*. A brief article speaks favorably about the value of the Northern Muscadine grape for producing wine.

“Fay’s Early Ann Peach—Northern Muscadine Grape” [The Horticulturist]. *Country Gentleman* 8, no. 14 (Oct. 2, 1856): 222.

“The Northern Muscadine grape is inferior in quality to the Isabella, but ripens much earlier... At the far north, where the Isabella does not ripen into its peculiar rich and sweet flavor,... the Northern Muscadine [*sic*], fully matured, may compare very favorably with it, and be regarded by some as superior.” Also published in *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 4, no. 11 (Nov. 1856): 355.

FORD, E. J. “Early Northern Muscadine Grape [letter to the editor].” *Drew’s Rural Intelligencer* 1, no. 44 (November 3, 1855): 347.

Ford writes that the Northern Muscadine grape is “superior for cultivation in our climate to any of the well known varieties.”

“Fruit Grower’s Society of Western New-York.” *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 7, no. 11 (Nov. 1859): 330.

“The Northern Muscadine was quite early but dropped its fruit badly.”

G., S. L. “A Chapter on Grapes.” *Maine Farmer* 24, no. 4 (Jan. 17, 1856): 1. Signed: *S. L. G., Saco, Jan. 5, 1856*. Contains a brief mention of the Northern Muscadine grape, “puffed and sold by the Shakers at New Lebanon.”

“Grapes” [Talk and Topics]. *Water-Cure Journal, and Herald of Reforms* 15, no. 6 (June 1853): 138.

The editor of the journal thanks the Shakers of New Lebanon, N.Y., for sending them a “couple of fine grape vines, of the Royal muscadine variety.”

“Grapes. Early Northern Muscadine.” *Home* (Buffalo, N.Y.) 5, no. 6 (June 1858): 291-92.

The editor praises the Northern Muscadine grapes received from Mount Lebanon and also mentions the Mountain Seedling of

Lebanon gooseberry. He provides the address of Jesse Lewis, New Lebanon Shaker Village, Columbia County, N.Y.

“Grapes—A Shaker Seedling—Early Northern Muscadine.” *Water-Cure Journal, and Herald of Reforms* 18, no. 4 (October 1854): 83.

Contains a description by the New Lebanon Shakers of the early Northern Muscadine grape. The article also describes other grape varieties the New Lebanon Shakers cultivate.

[HACKER, JEREMIAH]. “Grapes” [Farmer’s Cabin]. *Portland Pleasure Boat* 15, no. 36 (Nov. 14, 1860): [3].

“A Shaker brother of New Lebanon, N. Y., sent me a box of grapes two or three years since—the Northern Muscatine—that were really good, and these are all I have ever tasted that I consider worth raising.”

[—]. “Grapes” [Intelligence Office]. *Portland Pleasure Boat* 9, no. 31 (July 27, 1854): [4].

Hacker announces the receipt from Philemon Stewart, a New Lebanon Shaker, of a “circular containing a brief description of the ‘Early Northern Muscadine Grape,’ a new variety, a seedling produced by him from the seed of the Native White Grape.” Hacker reprints extensive extracts from Stewart’s circular and announces that he will take orders for vines.

[—]. “Grapes” [Intelligence Office]. *Portland Pleasure Boat* 9, no. 39 (Sept. 21, 1854): [4].

Hacker has received a specimen of the Early Northern Muscadine grape and considers it “very much superior to the Isabella.”

HEDRICK, ULYSSES PRENTISS. “The Grapes of New York,” in *15th Annual Report of the New York Dept. of Agriculture for 1907* (Albany, 1908), Vol. III, pt. 2.

A description of the Northern Muscadine grape originated by D. J. Hawkins and Philemon Stewart of the Mt. Lebanon Shakers, including a full bibliography of sources. This grape was placed on the list of the American Pomological Society in 1862 and dropped in 1871, p. 365. The Union Village grape originated by the Shakers

at Union Village, O., is described with full bibliography of sources. This grape was introduced by Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati and placed on the American Pomological Society's list in 1858 where it remained until 1883, pp. 415-16.

“Inquiries and Answers.” *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 7, no. 11 (Nov. 1859): 330-31. In the section on Northern Muscadine Grape, W. F. sends a query to the editor about the merits of this grape raised by the Shakers. The editor responds that they have examined the specimens sent to them. “It is not essentially different from the best varieties or modifications of the early Fox Grape, and may prove valuable so far north that the Isabella will not ripen, and for those who like the peculiar musky flavor of the Fox grape.”

L., C. S. “The Best Grapes for the North.” *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 12, no. 1 (Jan. 1864): 19.

In a discussion of various varieties of grapes best suited for northern climes, the author notes that the “Northern Muscadine and Hartford Prolific are foxy, but valuable for their early ripening.”

MOORE, A. “Northern Muscadine Grape.” *Drew's Rural Intelligencer* 1, no. 17 (April 28, 1855): 131.

The author, who has no personal knowledge of the virtues of the Northern Muscadine grape, reports that the editor of the *Country Gentleman* states that it is “decidedly inferior” to other varieties, and the editor of the *Horticulturist* called it “totally worthless.”

“The Northern Muscadine.” *Maine Farmer* 29, no. 20 (May 2, 1861): 2.

P. Stewart of the West Gloucester Shakers visited “this city,” selling his Northern Muscadine grape.

“The Northern Muscadine Grape” [Horticultural Department]. *Country Gentleman* 4, no. 21 (Nov. 23, 1854): 330-31.

“G. B. Avery of New-Lebanon, writes us a long letter about our notice of this grape. We wish Mr. A. had put what he had to say in favor of this grape into such a shape that we could have transferred it to our columns without occupying too much space. He thinks the specimens sent us, obtained their foxy flavor from other grapes sent in the box

with them, as he never before heard of any person who had tasted it, pronouncing it foxy. We are certainly, as he supposes, 'ready to correct an error,' and cheerfully give the Northern Muscadine the benefit of this opinion. We cannot, however, agree with him in ascribing to this grape, superior or even equal merit to the Isabella or Catawba. Its earliness will make it a favorite where other and superior sorts will not mature." Also published in "Notes for the Month," *The Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 3, no. 1 (Jan. 1855): 36.

"Northern Muscadine Grape" [Horticulture Department. Inquiries and Answers]. *Country Gentleman* 6, no. 25 (Dec. 20, 1855): 398.

An inquiry signed: *W. F.*, is answered by the editor who states that the Northern Muscadine grape is "essentially different from the best varieties of the early Fox Grape," and that it may prove valuable in the far North where the Isabella does not ripen satisfactorily. See D. C. Smith, "William A. Drew and the Maine Shakers—A Note," *Shaker Quarterly* 7 (Spring 1967): 28-31, for a discussion of the Maine controversy about this grape, "originated by Daniel Hawkins and Philemon Stuart [i.e., Stewart] of the New Lebanon Shakers."

Northern Muscadine Grape." *Country Gentleman* 7, no. 12 (Mar. 20, 1856): 190.

The editor acknowledges receipt of a letter from P. Stewart of New Lebanon who thinks the recent notice in the journal about the Northern Muscadine grape is "wrong and calculated to mislead."

The editor suggests that next fall Stewart send samples to the leading horticultural and pomological societies for their verdict.

"Northern Muscadine Grape." *Country Gentleman* (Dec. 18, 1856): 400.

P. Stewart of the New Lebanon Shakers draws the attention of the editor to the Report of the Fruit Committee of the Worcester Ag. Society, 1855, which selected the Early Northern Muscadine as the grape preferred to be eaten at that point in time, the Isabella being quite immature. The editor comments that they would probably agree with the committee, "notwithstanding Mr. Stewart[']s fears that we are prejudiced against his favorite grape.... If we lived in a climate where no better grape would ripen, we would cultivate the Northern Muscadine, but not otherwise." Published also in *Cultivator*, 3rd ser., 5, no. 1 (Jan. 1857): 29.

“The Northern Muscadine Grape” [Pomological Gossip]. *Magazine of Horticulture, Botany, and All Useful Discoveries and Improvements in Rural Affairs* 22, no. 1 (Jan. 1856): 25.

Reports a very unflattering report from the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, which said the “plant is a seedling of the worthless Fox grape of our woods, and not deserving a place in any Catalogue as desirable for culture, and no more to be compared to our Isabella or Catawba, than a Chicken grape to the White Muscat of Alexandria, and consider it a duty to stamp with emphatic reprobation any attempt to introduce to cultivators an article so utterly destitute of value as the so-called Northern Muscadine.”

“The Northern Muscadine Grape.” *Maine Farmer* 25, no. 43 (Oct. 15, 1857): 1.

“Friend Otis Sawyer, a member of the West Gloucester family, exhibited some of the fruit at the State Fair in Bangor.” Reprinted in the *Plough, the Loom and the Anvil* 10, no. 5 (Nov. 1857): 286-87.

“Notes for the Week.” *Country Gentleman* 4, no. 10 (Sept. 7, 1854): 152.

The editor thanks P. Stewart of the New Lebanon Shakers for sending samples of three varieties of grapes—Northern Muscadine, Sage’s Mammoth, and Lowell’s Imperial.

“Notice of Fruits. Northern Muscadine Grapes” [Horticultural Department]. *Country Gentleman* 4, no. 14 (Oct. 5, 1854): 218.

The editor received two boxes of this new variety of grapes from E. Fowler and P. Stewart of New Lebanon Shaker village. The contents of the first box were somewhat damaged in shipping, but the second box was sound. The editor compared them to the Diana and Isabella varieties and found the Northern Muscadine inferior. Also published in *Cultivator* 2, no. 11 (Nov. 1854): 340; and in “Editor’s Table,” *Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* 11 (Nov. 1, 1854): 515.

“Testimonials” [Fruits and Flowers]. *Drew’s Rural Intelligencer* 1, no. 19 (May 12, 1855): 147.

A series of excerpts from eight different newspapers and journals, all of which speak positively about the Northern Muscadine grape. The article ends with letters praising this grape variety from Albert

 Testimonials.

In No. 17, we published two extracts, sent us by Bro. MOORE of Winthrop, one from the *Country Gentleman*, the other from Barry's *Horticulturist*, expressing doubts as to the superior excellence of the Shakers' Early *Northern Muscadine Grape*. Justice to the whole subject requires, perhaps, that we should publish also what other Editors of equal respectability have said. The first, it will be seen is from the *Country Gentleman* itself—

The *Northern Muscadine*, is a light amber grape, growing in handsome bunches, the berry about the size of the *Isabella*; we are inclined to think it equal in quality to the *Isabella*, and that it is destined to become a very popular variety. [*Country Gentleman*, Sept. 7, 1854.

Northern Muscadine.—We have received some specimens of this grape from Messrs. McNary & Buck, [sign of the good Samaritan.] We have never met with a seedling, that comes so near in fine quality, with the *Isabella* and *Catawba*. Ripening so early as not to be endangered by, frost, it will prove a valuable acquisition to our variety of the grape. Vines can be procured on application to McNary & Buck, of this city. [*Hartford Daily Times*, Sept. 13, 1854.

Grapes.—*The Early Northern Muscadine*.—We have received from those best of Horticulturists, the New Lebanon Shakers, a box of *delicious seedling grapes*, of a variety to which they have given the above name. It is a *rich*, pulpy fruit, of a delicate flavor, and is said by the *best judges* to be *superior* to the *Isabella* and *Catawba* grape, for *making wine*, as it *certainly is for table use*. It ripens much sooner than the *Isabella*, and, we think must be found a very valuable addition to our varieties of this favorite fruit; as it was raised from the seed on our own hills, it has a special claim upon our attention. We hope our citizens will not neglect the opportunity of obtaining a variety of grape which will be likely to supply their tables yearly, with fruit of their own raising. [*Berkshire County Eagle*, Sept. 15, 1854.

Muscadine Grape.—We have received *fine specimens* of this grape, raised by the Shakers, at New Lebanon. We have watched this grape for two or three years, and for aught we can discover, *it is the thing long sought*, a *good grape*, of *hardy* character, and of *early maturity*. Those sent us are fully ripe, and very fine. [*Pittsfield Culturist and Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1854.

Muscadine Grape.—Fowler & Stewart, of¹

New Lebanon, will please receive our thanks for a box of the Early Northern Muscadine grapes, probably as fine a specimen of the grape as is grown in the middle or eastern states. They were truly delicious. [*Daily Albany Argus*, Sept. 27, 1854.

Early Northern Muscadine Grape.—We take pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of a box of *delicious grapes* from the New Lebanon Shakers. They are a *new seedling* of the above name; and, we think it will take *only a single taste*, to *convince* any one, of their *great superiority* both in *flavor* and *sweetness*, over the *Catawba* and *Isabella*, our most frequent grown varieties. It is a *northern grape*, *expressly suited to the climate*,—both *hardy* and *prolific*. [*Weekly Transcript*, No. Adams, Sept. 14, 1854.

We are indebted to our Shaker friends at New Lebanon, for a beautiful specimen cluster of the Early Northern Muscadine Grape. The Northern Muscadine is of a most delicious flavor. To our taste, it has no superior. The Society will be able to supply roots to those who make early application. [*Albany Journal*, Nov. 1, 1854.

In addition to this we subjoin the testimony of one of the Professors and the President of Williams College.

Northern Muscadine Grape.—To P. Stewart:—My friend, I have to thank you for the box of grapes named as above, you were so kind as to send me a few days since. It well sustains your recommendations, and quite equals my somewhat excited anticipation concerning it; it is *decidedly a sweeter* and *earlier* grape than the *Isabella*. I should say sweeter, as ripened here, as the *Isabella* attains greater perfection further south.

ALBERT HOPKINS.

Professor, at Williams College.

Dear Sir:—Please accept my thanks for a box of your Early Northern Muscadine Grapes. The receipt of them would have been acknowledged at once, but for an absence on account of health. I find them excellent. So far as I can judge, they are just what is needed in our climate, and the introduction of them generally, would be a public benefit.

Very truly yours,

MARK HOPKINS.

President, Williams College.

Part of the "Testimonials" for the Northern Muscadine grape.

Hopkins, professor at Williams College, and Mark Hopkins, president of Williams College.

THOMPSON, Z. "Grapes [letter to the editor]." *Drew's Rural Intelligencer* 1, no. 14 (April 7, 1855): 107.

Inquires what the editor knows about the Northern Muscadine grape that the Shakers of New Gloucester were marketing. The editor notes that they knew nothing of this grape. This letter initiated a series of articles in subsequent issues of the journal.

UNITED STATES. COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS. Report for the Year 1856. Washington, D.C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, Printer, 1857. 4 vols. illus.

Description of the Early Northern Muscadine Grape originated by the Shakers "which bears the palm for size," Vol. IV, p. 433. Printed also as U.S. 34th Cong., 3d Sess., Senate Doc, No. 53, Pt. 4.

URE, J. C. "Northern or Shakers' Muscadine Grape." *Prairie Farmer* 2, no. 24 (December 9, 1858): 378.

A letter to the editor wherein Ure recounts his generally positive experience with the Shaker Muscadine grape.