

On the Trail of “Economy”

By Keith Doman and Alton C. Thompson

Dedication: As this article pertains to Saukville, Wisconsin, we would like to dedicate it to Giles (“Gilly”) Schultz and sons of Saukville. “Gilly” owns and, with his sons Adam and Chad, operates a service station directly across the street from Astronautics Corporation’s headquarters in Milwaukee, where Al is employed. Because Al has his automobiles serviced at Gilly’s whenever possible, and Gilly and his sons are among the finest people that you would want to know—so that Saukville can therefore be proud to have such individuals as residents—we, in turn, are proud to dedicate this article to them.

Our “expedition” began—ironically—as we were viewing a large wall map that depicts the route of the famous Maximilian-Bodmer expedition of 1832 - 1834. The place: the Lichtenberger store in New Harmony, Indiana. The occasion: We were taking a tour of this famous old settlement (located on the Wabash River, a few miles upstream from the point where it enters the Ohio River). The time: May 10, 2007.

While we were viewing the map, the destination for our expedition quickly became evident. We did not then know, however, what course our journey would take; nor could we even be certain whether we would ever reach our destination. We resolved, however, to proceed anyway—and began our journey even before returning to Wisconsin. Was the journey successful? That depends, in part, on how one defines “success”—but our general conclusion is that in certain respects the “trip” was successful, in other respects not. But despite the latter fact, we have no regrets in having undertaken the expedition, for in the process we learned that the “incidental” aspects of a journey (e.g., knowledge gained and friendships made) can be even more rewarding than achievement of one’s intended objective.

Let us, then, begin describing that “expedition”—but first set the stage by making some comments relative to the wall map that we were viewing.

The expedition whose route is illustrated on the map before us was planned and financed by Alexander Philipp Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied [1782 – 1867] (in the west-central part of Germany, the Wied River being a tributary of the Rhine). “Max” (as he is often referred to today) was accompanied by a Swiss artist, Karl Bodmer [1809 – 1893], and David Dreidoppel, Max’s servant—who was a skilled hunter and taxidermist.

Max (a noted naturalist of his day) and his party landed in Boston on July 4, 1832, and from there traveled inland, down the Ohio River and, finally, into the upper reaches of the Missouri River. Along the way, Max recorded detailed information regarding the areas through which they passed, giving especial attention to the Native Americans he

encountered. While Max was making his observations and recording information, Bodmer was producing exquisite watercolors and sketches. When they returned to Europe, Max began working on a book based on his journal entries, and Bodmer began directing the creation of engravings. The result of their efforts was *Reise in des innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834*, published in two volumes between 1839 and 1841. (The aquatints produced from Bodmer's watercolors and sketches were sold separately; ironically, these—and especially the watercolors and sketches upon which they were based—became even more highly regarded than Max's text.)

Why was a map showing the route of this expedition put on display at New Harmony? Because while sailing down the Ohio River, the Maximilian party took a short side trip up the Wabash River to New Harmony, arriving there on October 19, 1832. (This was shortly after the Black Hawk War had concluded; Wisconsin was part of the Territory of Michigan at the time.) While there, Max became ill and, as a consequence, Max and Dreidoppel stayed at New Harmony for almost five months—with Bodmer, meanwhile, traveling to New Orleans during Max's period of recuperation. Max's stay at New Harmony was, for him, a highly enjoyable one because some of America's leading intellectuals of the time were there, two of them having interests close to his own—artist-naturalist Charles Lesueur and entomologist Thomas Say. After Bodmer had returned, and Max had been restored to health, the party departed New Harmony on March 16, 1833.



Bodmer painting of New Harmony. Source: Library of Congress

What was it about this map of the Maximilian-Bodmer expedition that drew our attention, and caused us to ourselves set out on an expedition (of an intellectual sort)? While viewing the map, we noticed a settlement named “Economy” on the Milwaukee River north of Milwaukee. We had not known that there had been a settlement in Wisconsin named Economy, but *were* aware of the fact that an Economy had been established in Pennsylvania. We also knew that the founder of the Pennsylvania Economy—“Father” George Rapp [1757 – 1847]—was none other than the founder of the community that we were visiting—New Harmony. Rapp had sold New Harmony (the whole community!) to the famous reformer Robert Owen [1771 – 1858] in 1825, then moved his religious group to their new community of Economy, near Pittsburgh.

Could it be, we asked ourselves, that this Economy on the Milwaukee River had some connection with Father Rapp’s community in Pennsylvania? We knew that the Economy by Pittsburgh had spawned several other communities (e.g., Bethel and Aurora). Was it possible that one of them had been established in Wisconsin? But if so, why would the settlers have chosen the exact same name—rather than *West* Economy, for example?

We called the tour guide’s attention to this Wisconsin Economy, but she had never noticed its presence on the map, nor was she aware of any Rappite settlement ever established in Wisconsin. Nor did anyone else whom we asked in New Harmony. We resolved, then, that *we* would try to find the answer to this question upon our return to Wisconsin.

Thus, when we returned to Wisconsin, we began by searching the Milwaukee Public Library system for books on Rapp and the communities he established, searched the internet for information, and also sent e-mails to selected organizations and individuals likely to have an answer to our question. Our conclusion, as a result of this search: No Rappite community was ever established in Wisconsin.

What avenue to pursue next? We decided that we should try to find a copy of the map that we had viewed while in New Harmony on the internet. (Because the book store at the tour headquarters did not have copies of the map for sale, we had left New Harmony without a copy of the Maximilian-Bodmer expedition map.)

That internet search landed us on the David Rumsey map site, from which we learned that the map had been created by Lt. Col. William Thorn [1780 – 1843]. In the course of our research we found an article (based primarily on an unpublished article by Francis Herbert, of the Royal Geographical Society) on Thorn in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (in the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee library), learning from that article that although Thorn had been born in Neuwied, he had spent most of his adult life as an officer in the British army, resigning his appointment in 1814, and thereupon returning (after fighting at Waterloo) to Neuwied. While in the British army, he had spent some time making maps, and after his return to Neuwied continued doing so—especially for the house of Wied. Thereby, he became a friend of Max—so that it is not surprising that Max had Thorn (who was knighted in 1832) create the map of his

expedition for *Reise*—and also supply an appendix, commenting, e.g., on his sources. (We should add that we made e-mail contact with Herbert, but he was not able to supply us with any useful information regarding the map.)

(We should perhaps mention at this point that the map that we viewed at New Harmony—i.e., the Thorn map—is sometimes referred to as the “Schoolcraft Map,” evidently because the lower right portion of the map has an inset containing a small map, made by Henry Schoolcraft [1793 – 1864], showing the source of the Mississippi River. Schoolcraft was a noted American geographer, geologist, and ethnologist of the time, who on an 1832 expedition had discovered the Mississippi’s source. It is an error, however, to refer to the Thorn map as the *Schoolcraft* map.)

To return to the map that we found on the Rumsey site: As the maps on this site are “zoomable,” we zoomed in on the Milwaukee area, and this is what we saw:



Portion of Thorn’s map of Maximilian-Bodmer Expedition. Used with permission.

Several things are of interest on this map: The spelling of Milwaukee (one “e”), the alternate name for the Wisconsin River (“Ouisconsin”), the “Four Lakes” in the Madison area, “Navarino” by Fort Howard, and the fact that the Fox River is ostensibly depicted as flowing into the Wisconsin River *and* into Green Bay! And although we spent some

time researching Navarino (whose naming and history we found interesting), our concern was especially with Economy. And the first thing we did, in examining the Thorn map, was to note carefully the location of Economy on this map relative to a current State of Wisconsin highway map. *We concluded on the basis of this inspection that “Economy” occupied the same basic location as present-day Saukville.*

We therefore contacted the Saukville Historical society (among other local sources), but no one there had heard of “Economy” as a former name for Saukville. We were, though, informed by a society member that Prof. John Boatman of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee had written a book on the history of the Saukville area (*Memories From a Rural Ethnic Community at ‘the Crossroads’: The Saukville, Wisconsin, Area*, 1993), and therefore checked that book for an answer—but found none. (We attempted to contact Prof. Boatman for further information, but learned that he was too ill to provide us with any information.) We then went to the Google book site (<http://books.google.com>), found a number of old books that pertained to Wisconsin history, and downloaded them—including Moses M. Strong’s *History of the Wisconsin Territory* (the cover of which is illustrated below):

HISTORY
OF THE
TERRITORY OF WISCONSIN,
FROM 1836 TO 1848.

PRECEDED BY AN ACCOUNT OF SOME EVENTS DURING THE
PERIOD IN WHICH IT WAS UNDER THE DOMINION
OF KINGS, STATES OR OTHER TERRITORIES,
PREVIOUS TO THE YEAR 1836.

COMPILED BY
MOSES M. STRONG, A. M.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE STATE.



MADISON, WIS.:
DEMOCRAT PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS.
1855.

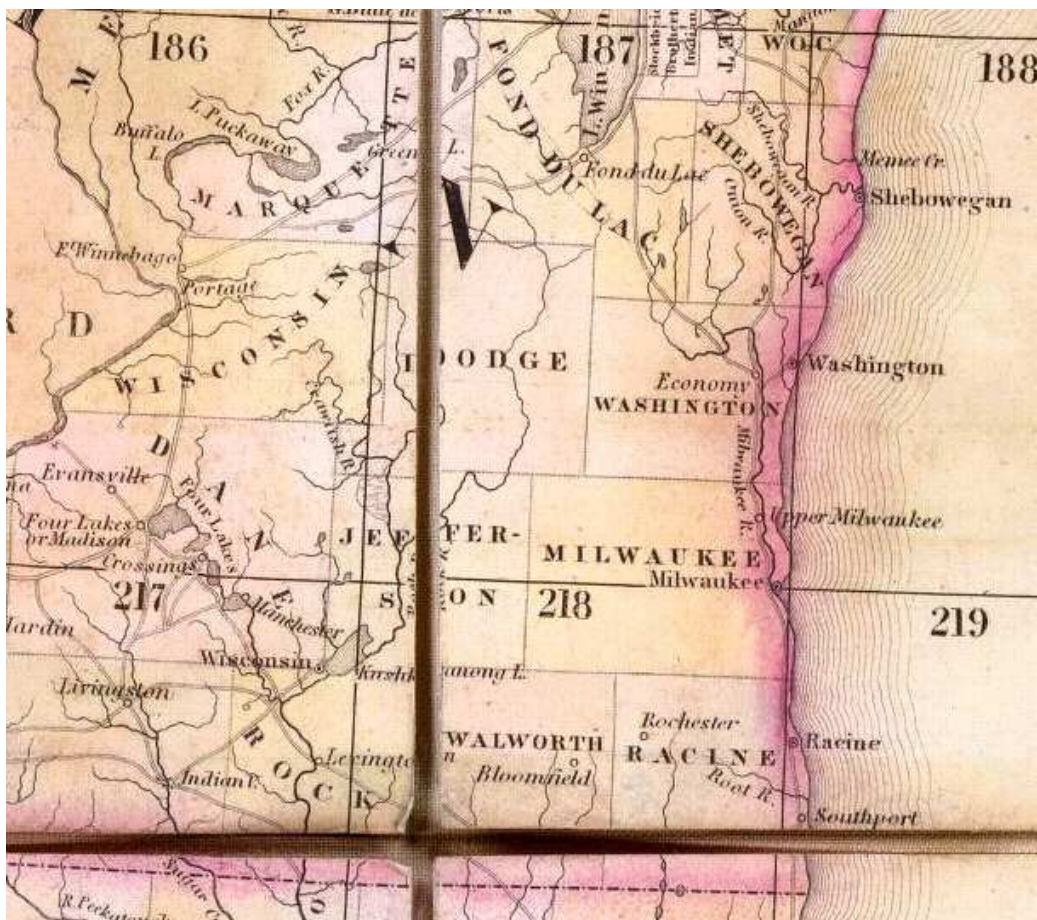
Cover of Strong’s book. Source: <http://books.google.com>

But none of the sources we checked—including the State Historical Society of Wisconsin—could confirm the existence of a former settlement named Economy at the location of today’s Saukville.

We therefore concluded, reluctantly, that **there never was an “Economy” in Wisconsin—at the Saukville location, or anywhere else, for that matter.**

But why, we then asked ourselves, did Thorn put this non-existent settlement on his map? An important clue came from the Arader Galleries web site (on which one can also view the Thorn map), which contains this statement: “Originally thought to be drawn by [Karl] Bodmer, current research suggests that the cartographer was Lt. Col. William Thorn who used Tanner’s Map of the United States of America, 1837 edition, as a source.” *It appeared then, that the reason “Economy” appeared on Thorn’s map is that he had copied it from “Tanner’s Map . . . , 1837 edition”!*

But *was* this the case? And who was this “Tanner”? We went back to the David Rumsey site (because of its zoomable maps) and found an 1839 map by Henry Schenck Tanner [1786 – 1850] of Philadelphia, a portion of the map depicted below:



Portion of H. S. Tanner’s 1839 U. S. Map. Used with permission.

This map also has features of interest: the spelling of Sheboygan (“Shebowegan”), “Four Lakes or Madison,” “Southport” at modern-day Kenosha’s location, and “Washington” for today’s “Port Washington. But of particular interest to us was the fact that our suspicion was confirmed that Thorn had copied his map from a Tanner map, for an “Economy” appeared on this map.

We should note, however, that Thorn had written an appendix for Max’s book (present in the German and French editions, but not the English one), entitled “Geographical Notice Concerning the Map”—this per an English translation of the French edition provided by Rebecca Cho, one of Al’s daughters, with the assistance of Al. (The French edition was located for us, on the internet, by Ms. Angie Cope, an employee of the American Geographical Library at UWM Libraries.) Thorn had stated in his “Note”: “The map of the voyage of the prince of Wied [i.e., Maximilian] has been drawn [by me] according to the most recent large map of the United States of North America, published in 1837 by H. S. Tanner, along with other authentic sources—corrected, moreover, and completed, according to the Journal of the prince.” Thus, although Thorn did not give credit to Tanner on the map itself, he did do so in his appendix to *Reise*.

Although the Thorn map is based especially on a Tanner map, one interesting feature it omits is the roads depicted on Tanner’s map. For example, Tanner’s map clearly shows that Economy was at a junction: A road commencing south of the Wisconsin border passes through Southport, then Racine and Milwaukee (spelled here with an “ee”), continues west of the Milwaukee River to Upper Milwaukee, and then to Economy. South of Economy the map shows a junction with a road going to Washington. From Economy northward the map shows two roads—one heading toward Green Bay, the other to a point north of Fond du Lac, joining there the road following the eastern edge of Lake Winnebago.

We learned later from a contact at the Library of Congress that Tanner had not created any U. S. maps in 1837 (contrary to the information on the Arader Galleries web site—which may have derived this misinformation from Thorn’s appendix) but, rather had created two U.S. maps in 1838, the second of which was not published until 1839. (The latter one is the map on the Rumsey site.) Our contact went on to add that both of these maps had an Economy in Wisconsin, with none of Tanner’s earlier (1829, 1830, 1832, 1834, 1836) or later (1841, 1844) maps having it on. Given this information, the question now before us was: Why did Tanner put this non-existent settlement on these two maps? We learned from Walter W. Ristow’s chapter on Henry S. Tanner (in *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century*, 1985) that Tanner was a highly respected and very competent cartographer. Therefore, we suspected that Tanner had good reasons for putting an Economy in Wisconsin. But what were they? (We didn’t expect to find the answer in Ristow’s book—and didn’t.)

We had, fairly early on in our research, informed Ms. Cope (with the AGS collection at UWM) of our project, and she immediately expressed interest in it, being a resident of Port Washington (located a short distance from Saukville). Ms. Cope’s

research efforts on our behalf led to her finding, on the Google book web site, an old book by Tanner (the cover of which is depicted below):

MEMOIR
ON THE
RECENT SURVEYS, OBSERVATIONS,
AND
INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS,
IN THE
UNITED STATES,
WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF THE NEW COUNTIES, TOWNS,
VILLAGES, CANALS, AND RAIL ROADS, NEVER
BEFORE DELINEATED.

By **H. S. TANNER.**

INTENDED TO ACCOMPANY HIS
NEW MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.

Philadelphia:
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.
Mills & Parry, Printers.
1829.

Cover of Tanner book. Source: Google book site.

This “Memoir” was published in 1829, “intended to accompany” Tanner’s new map. Although we knew that this particular book would not provide us with the answer that we were seeking, the discovery of this book excited us because it suggested that Tanner may have written similar books to accompany his two 1838 maps. However, our search, and

that by Ms. Cope, resulted in finding no such books. Indeed, our contact at the Library of Congress provided us with information to the effect that the 1829 book was the *only* one of its kind authored by Tanner. This was discouraging news, indeed!

However, we thought that Tanner's personal papers and business records surely were archived some place, and that although we would not have the time nor resources to examine those records, some scholar "out there" knew where those archives were, and had even worked in them. Therefore, we began searching for a cartographic scholar who might have conducted research on Tanner—other than Walter W. Ristow [1908 – 2006], who had recently died, we learned. On the internet we found an abstract of a paper by W. L. G. Joerg on Tanner that had evidently been delivered at a meeting of the American Geographical Society, but Ms. Cope's checking of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee AGS holdings resulted in finding nothing, as did our checking with the AGS office in New York City. Not only could we not locate Joerg's paper on Tanner; we discovered an obituary for Joerg on the internet (!), learning that his dates were 1885 – 1952.

Concluding that likely we were not going to locate a Tanner scholar, we next attempted to find out where Tanner archival material might exist. However, in checking with the American Geographical Society, Association of American Geographers, Library of Congress, and National Archives (with which Joerg had been associated), we learned that no archival materials exist on this noted Philadelphia cartographer! We found this difficult to believe, but concluded that we had no choice but to accept this fact (rather than start crying!).

At this point we were unsure as to how to proceed, but decided that it might be worthwhile to address several questions:

- Were any settlements established in the United States with the name "Economy," in addition to the Rappite one near Pittsburgh?
- Of communities established and given the name "Economy," can we determine *why* they were given that name?
- If we found out why the Rappite Economy (and/or any other Economy) was given that name, would that information prove helpful in providing clues as to how *next* to proceed?

In researching these questions we learned that "economy" itself traces back to the Greek word *oikonomos*, meaning (per <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy>) "one who manages a household." The modern meaning of "economy," we learned from that web site, goes back to about 1440. Elsewhere, however, we learned that in pre-modern times "economy" was often preceded with "political"—and spelled "political oeconomy" (<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G1-84426592.html>). Given that the "household" in "household management" was understood as a more-or-less self-sufficient manorial estate, the original meaning of "political economy" could be stated as the art (not

science!) of applying estate-management principles “to the needs and resources of a modern nation state” The latter web site goes on to note that Sir James Steuart’s [1712 – 1790] *Principles of Political Oeconomy* (1767—nine years before Adam Smith’s classic *Wealth of Nations*—used this concept of “political economy” in his pioneering work (totally ignored by Smith!).

As to the reasons Father Rapp chose “Economy” as the name for his new community in Pennsylvania, Karl J. R. Arndt pointed out in his *George Rapp’s Harmony Society, 1785 – 1847, 1965*, pp. 353 – 54) that Rapp’s thinking was very much influenced by his religious ideas, most notably his interpretation of the book of Revelation. Rapp was a believer in certain millenarian ideas, so that even his moves were governed by such ideas: Ten years in Germany, followed by ten in Pennsylvania (at Harmony), followed by ten at New Harmony—so that in 1825 he sold New Harmony (to Robert Owen) and moved his group to a settlement in Pennsylvania he called “Economy.”

Why that name? As Arndt stated: “In the third move [back to Pennsylvania] Father Rapp and [adopted son] Frederick both believed they were keeping up with the progress of the millennium and were therefore setting up that divine Economy which they had read about in the exegesis of the passage in Revelation, from their [German language] *Berleburger Bibel*, stating: ‘Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them, and be their God.’ The exegesis speaks of ‘*die rechte Oeconomie und das rechte Gebäu*,’ and they were now setting up this correct ‘Oeconomie.’ Harmony and New Harmony had been the two stages of preparation which now was to blossom in the true divine economy.”

Thus, Rapp’s particular (peculiar?) religious ideas—his interpretation of Revelation, especially—guided not only his movements, but his naming the new settlement in Pennsylvania “Economy.”

As to other settlements in the United States named “Economy,” a gazetteer search resulted in only one “hit”—a community in the eastern part of Indiana. E-mails to two local organizations resulted in return e-mails from Ms. Kathy Oler and Ms. Sue King, the latter an archivist with the Morrisson-Reeves Library in Richmond, Indiana. These messages both referred to a locally-published book, *Economy Times* (1975, 1996), by Lois Beard Lennox. Ms. King supplied us with the following quotation from the Lennox book: “Malaria or swamp fever, sometimes known as ‘chills and aiggy’ (ague) took a heavy toll among the settlers of Puckertown [a precursor to Economy], sometimes wiping out an entire family. But the Quaker preacher [Charles Osborn] and his family were not troubled by the swamp fever, for they lived here on the hill top close to the present Buddy Tutterrow place, it was told. One day he rode down to Puckertown as a group of men were preparing to raise a new cabin. ‘Wouldn’t it be “economy” to build thy town over on the hill?’ he is said to have suggested.”

Thus, whereas Father Rapp had derived “Economy”—actually, “Oeconomie”—from his German-language Bible, and thought of his new community as a divine

economy, the Economy in Indiana was given that name with a meaning identical to our modern “economical.” Thus, our investigation of the meaning assigned to the two “Economy’s” that we discovered did not prove very fruitful—for it did not seem to provide us with any clues as to why Tanner had placed an Economy in Wisconsin on his two 1838 maps. However, the fact that Rapp’s communities were communal in nature suggested the first of our hypotheses to us:

1. We hypothesized: *Someone living in the territory of Wisconsin in the 1837 – 1838 time frame started working out of a plan for a communal settlement in Wisconsin, had knowledge of Rapp’s Economy (perhaps as a visitor to it), had admiration for it, and therefore decided to call the Wisconsin community “Economy” as well. Tanner somehow learned of this plan, and because it was his practice (we learned from his 1829 book, referred to earlier) to map not only existing things but planned ones, he put this planned “Economy” on his two 1838 maps—removing it from subsequent maps, upon learning that this plan had not materialized.*

In our research relative to this hypothesis we discovered a book on the Google books web site by Henry E. Legler (*Leading Events of Wisconsin History: The Story of the State*, 1898) which—interestingly—contained two chapters on communal societies in Wisconsin: Chapter IX (“A Modern Utopia,” pp. 189 – 195) and Chapter XI “[James Jesse] Strang’s Stake of Zion at Voree”). But neither chapter referred to a planned communal settlement to be named “Economy.” We also found Montgomery Eduard McIntosh’s “Co-operative Communities in Wisconsin” (published in the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin State Historical Society*, 1903). And although this latter paper discusses short-lived communal societies in Waukesha County and Sheboygan County, it makes no reference to any planned communal settlement to be named “Economy.”

2. Although we could find no evidence in support of our first hypothesis, that research suggested to us another hypothesis: *Someone in Milwaukee planned to create a non-religious, non-communal settlement at the Saukville site, that person (or someone who knew him) informed Tanner of this plan, and Tanner then put it on his two maps—removing it upon learning, later, that this plan was abandoned.*

Several facts make this hypothesis plausible:

- We knew from Tanner’s 1829 book (referred to earlier) that (p. 9): “A circular letter, of which the following [on pp. 9 – 11] is a copy, inviting fresh information, was extensively distributed among the most intelligent part of the community, and subsequently published in many of the respectable journals throughout the country.” This “circular” constituted a solicitation for information for his map, directed at the more “intelligent” (i.e., knowledgeable) members of the society.
- We knew from Prof. Boatman’s book (also referred to earlier) that (p. 30) on January 13, 1836, Solomon Juneau—the “father” of Milwaukee—purchased 15 acres in Section 26, along with some river frontage and other lands in Section 35—in the Saukville area. Boatman continued: “The fact that a man of Juneau’s status was

purchasing land in the Saukville area lends evidence to the theory that during that time period, it was anticipated that the Saukville crossroads area was to be the site of a viable boom town.” (Boatman failed to specify whether the “theory” he referred to was his or someone else’s.)

However, we abandoned this hypothesis, primarily on the basis of some research completed on our behalf by Angie Cope (with the AGS collection at UWM). Ms. Cope graciously offered to check Milwaukee newspapers of the 1837 – 1838 time period, but was unable to find any references to plans that anyone had to create an “Economy” at the Saukville location (or anywhere in the Milwaukee area, for that matter). Nor was she able to find any Tanner solicitations in those newspapers. This is not to say that such a solicitation for information might not have appeared in other periodicals available to Milwaukeeans, but we made no effort to pursue this matter—and didn’t want to burden Ms. Cope with any time-consuming requests that likely would prove fruitless anyway.

3. The fact (made clear in Prof. Boatman’s book) that land speculation was rampant in the Saukville area during the mid 1830s suggested to us the following hypothesis: *One of these speculators with some degree of education, and a knowledge of Tanner, decided that even though Tanner was not now soliciting information for his maps, and knowing that he himself had no plans to create a community at the Saukville site (to be named “Economy” or whatever), “hit” on a clever scheme: He would somehow “inform” Tanner of his (non-existent) plan to create a settlement at the Saukville site (for which he, for some reason, had chosen the name “Economy”), hoping that Tanner would put this on his maps—thereby (he hoped) increasing the value of his holdings in the area. After all, the Saukville location was a logical place for a settlement, so it seemed likely that Tanner would “cooperate” with his scheme.*

We find this hypothesis a plausible one but, unfortunately, are not aware of any evidence that would provide support for it. Which is not to say, of course, that evidence doesn’t exist “out there” some place in support of the hypothesis.

4. The response that we developed to our third hypothesis did, however, lead to a related one: *Someone in Milwaukee engaged in some cartographic work, and knowing that Saukville was a good location for a settlement, concocted an idea for discrediting Tanner: Get word to Tanner (the falsehood) that someone was planning a settlement at the Saukville location, and planning to call it “Economy.” Tanner, who relied to some degree on solicited information, believed this (mis)information, and put it on his maps—until he learned that no such settlement had been created.*

Again, the hypothesis has some degree of plausibility, but because we gave it little credence, we devoted little or no time investigating it.

5. A related hypothesis, however, was suggested by one of our correspondents (Dr. Michael Hermann, a cartographer with the University of Maine Canadian-American Center): *Tanner deliberately put this “Economy” on two of his maps for copyright protection.*

An e-mail inquiry that we directed to a cartography expert at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (Dr. Matthew H. Edney) resulted in a lengthy response, but that response—although offering several possibilities—was not able to provide us with much help. Indeed, he closed his e-mail with: “Such precise questions as yours are difficult to solve, but they often lead to big findings. So I wish you the best in your explorations! Do let me know what you find.” (Which we did, of course, given the kindness that he expressed toward us.) At the beginning of his e-mail he had noted: “Copyright hooks are common on modern maps, but I’m not sure whether this practice was common in the 19th century”—suggesting to us that he thought this possibility rather unlikely. Therefore, we concluded that our copyright hypothesis likely had little merit.

We did, however, think it worthwhile to explore the matter further with a noted geographer at Syracuse University—Dr. Mark Monmonier. We sent him a letter (because he doesn’t like to receive e-mails!) of inquiry, and this resulted in an e-mail (!) response, which began: “I’m hardly an expert on nineteenth century mapping. That said, I rather doubt that the label [i.e., “Economy” on Tanner’s maps] was a copyright trap, primarily because lawsuits for copyright infringement on maps would seem to be quite rare in the early nineteenth century.”

Not only, then, did the experts we consulted give short shrift to this hypothesis; we had our own reasons for rejecting it:

- Had Tanner purposely placed an “Economy” at the Saukville location on two of his maps for copyright protection, it’s likely that some educated person in Milwaukee (for there surely were some!) would have noticed this as a mistake, and let Tanner know about it. Putting an “Economy” at the Saukville location would have been anything but subtle; certainly Tanner was intelligent enough that if he was going to use a “copyright hook,” he would have placed it at an inconspicuous location that would not be readily detectable.
 - A rhetorical question: If the “Economy” in Wisconsin was, for Tanner, a “copyright hook,” why did he use it only on his two 1838 maps?
6. The sixth hypothesis that occurred to us was: *There was some sort of communication between Tanner and one or more of his employees which resulted in the accidental placement of “Economy” on Tanner’s two 1838 maps.*

The problem with this hypothesis is that given the lack of any Tanner archival material, it’s highly unlikely that any evidence will ever be found to support the hypothesis. In fact, the hypothesis even lacks in plausibility—although not completely.

7. The seventh—and final—hypothesis we developed arose in an interesting manner. We had found a suggestion, on the internet, that a Moravian community in North Carolina was given the name “Economy” for a time. We then searched for a web site in North Carolina that might be able to shed some light on the manner, found one, and sent an e-mail to Ms. Ellen Kutcher. Her response to us lifted our spirits because it

seemed to point to an answer to our question, for it quoted the following from the “National Historic Landmark Nomination” document for the Bethania Historic District (pp. 43 – 44):

What allowed the Moravians to establish whole communities on the frontier of North Carolina was the careful planning executed in America and Europe and ‘Oeconomy’:

. . . the internal and external economics of Wachovia were directed by the principles of ‘Oeconomy,’ a mixed economy of agriculture and crafts. The term meant a semi-communal organization, a pooling of the Brethren’s labor rather than their fortunes. This arrangement was not intended to be permanent, but was to set Wachovia on a good economic footing in the early years. This was to be done by meeting the internal needs of the Moravian community, providing goods and services for trade with neighbors, and producing commodities for export.

We located this document on the internet; and although the author(s) of the document was not listed, the author of the indented paragraph above was identified as Michael O. Hartley (writing in a publication titled *Wachovia in Forsyth*, 1987). We attempted to contact Dr. Hartley, but to no avail. However, we found his statement of considerable interest because it suggested that Moravians were, for a time at least, guided by the principles of “Oeconomy,” as they understood those principles. Those principles evidently:

- Could only be practiced in a semi-communal situation.
- The “situation” referred to economic activities, but specifically (and only) to agricultural and craft activities.
- Furthermore, the situation involved a pooling of labor only.
- The reference to “Brethren’s labor” suggested that a communal settlement wherein the principles of “oeconomy” were followed would be occupied only by “Brethren” (i.e., Moravians).

This was exciting stuff! For it suggested to us this hypothesis: *Moravians had planned to create a (semi-communal) settlement in the territory of Wisconsin, had the Saukville site in mind, conveyed this information to Henry S. Tanner, but in doing so stated that they were planning to establish an “economy” at the site, Tanner misunderstanding them, believed that they had told him that they were planning to name it Economy. Tanner then put an “Economy” in Wisconsin on his two 1838 maps, but removed it from subsequent maps upon learning that the Moravians’ plans had been shelved.*

Now, we thought that we finally had a hypothesis that not only had substantial plausibility, but one for which we might be able to find supporting evidence. Therefore, we began in earnest to research this hypothesis. Our starting point here was an old book on the Moravians, Joseph Edmund Hutton’s *History of the Moravian Church* (1909,

second edition), on the www.fullbooks.com web site. Chapter 14 (“The American Experiments. 1734 – 1762) of Book Two of this book informed us that the Moravians “were not sectarians” interested in “trying to extend the Moravian Church at the expense of other denominations” Rather, they preached “a broad and comprehensive Gospel,” tried to avoid theological disputes, and attempted “to unite Christians of all shades of belief in common devotion to a common Lord.”

In addition, they established settlements, doing so in such a way as “to unite the secular and the sacred. At these settlements they deliberately adopted, for purely religious purposes, a form of voluntary religious socialism.” However, “they established their communistic organization, not from any political motives, but because they felt that, for the time at least, it would be the most economical [form of organization], would foster Christian fellowship, would sanctify daily labour, and would enable them, poor men though they were, to find ways and means for the spread of the Gospel.” Also, the Brethren were intent on preaching the “Gospel to all men, civilized or savage, who had not heard it before.”

In the early 1700s the famous German religious reformer Count Nicolaus Ludwig (of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf) [1700 – 1760]—usually referred to simply as Count Zinzendorf—provided asylum to some persecuted religious dissidents from Moravia and Bohemia, permitting them to build the village of Herrnhut on his estate of Berthelsdorf. Not only did Zinzendorf give these people asylum, but he helped organize them—which proved a difficult undertaking. He was, however, successful in this effort, and in the 1730s began sending out missionaries to the West Indies, Greenland (he had a close relationship with King Christian VI of Denmark, which claimed Greenland), North and South America, etc.—and also began to do extensive traveling.

While the Moravian religion was taking shape, another religious group that had developed near Herrnhut—Schwenkfelders, followers of Kaspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig [1489/90 – 1561]—were banished (1733) from the kingdom by the King of Saxony, and Zinzendorf stepped in to help them. He initiated negotiations with the trustees of the colony of Georgia, and arranged for members of this group to resettle in that colony. On the way to Georgia, however, these people changed their mind, and ended up in Pennsylvania. Meanwhile, because trouble was brewing at Herrnhut, Zinzendorf sent his close associate August Gottlieb Spangenberg [1704 – 1792] to negotiate with Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia for land there, Spangenberg was successful, and in 1734 led the first group of Moravians to Georgia.

Later in the 1730s, however, the Moravians in Georgia were forced to abandon their “farm colony” there, and moved to Pennsylvania. Evidently that move had been preceded by Spangenberg’s move there, his move to Pennsylvania having been motivated by the need to look after the interests of the Schwenkfelders. “He attended their meetings, wore their clothing—a green coat, without buttons or pockets—studied the works of Schwenkfeld, and organized them [and here is the important part for our hypothesis] into what he called an ‘Economy.’ In other words, he taught them to help each other by joining in common work on a communist basis. At the same time, he tried

to teach them to be a little more broad-minded, and not to quarrel so much with other Christians”—but without much success!

As the word “Economy” is used eleven (11) more times in this chapter (of Hutton’s book), it is evident that the word was an important one in Spangenberg’s vocabulary. Not only did this fact interest us, but also the fact that he used it to refer to settlements, populated by Moravians, that were relatively self-sufficient—and communal in the sense that the residents of a community were “joined in common work.” Thus, the meaning that we discovered for “Economy” in the (North Carolinian) Landmark Nomination document we found repeated in the Hutton book.

So far, then, we had learned about the Moravians that (1) “Economy” was a part of their vocabulary (for a time at least; (2) “Economy” was used to refer to a certain type of settlement—identified not so much by the kinds of economic activities occurring there as the way work was organized; (3) the population of an “Economy” consisted only of Brethren (i.e., Moravians, in a religious sense); and (4) the Moravians were very much oriented to missionary activity.

We discovered, on the Google book site, an old book (Abraham Ritter’s *History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia*, 1857) that informed us that many Moravians resided in Philadelphia (where Henry S. Tanner had his cartographic business). Ritter’s book also informed us of the fact that at least one of the printers in Philadelphia was a Moravian. (Zachariah Poulson had been editor and proprietor of *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*—but had not arrived in Philadelphia until 1849). And because we knew the above, and also knew (from Prof. Boatman’s book) that a large Native American village existed at the Saukville site, we were led to hypothesize that Moravians in Philadelphia who knew of plans, by Moravian leaders, to build a settlement at the Saukville location to serve as a base for “missionizing” the Native Americans living there, and knew Tanner through their business contacts, informed Tanner of Moravian plans to create an “Economy” in the Wisconsin territory. Tanner, not being familiar with their use of the word “Economy,” understood them to say that Moravians were planning to build a settlement *to be named “Economy”* north of Milwaukee, and therefore put an “Economy” on his two 1838 maps—removing it from later maps after learning that Moravian leaders had abandoned those plans.

(The latter could have occurred because of the depression that hit the country in 1837 and/or the 1835 Treaty of Chicago which resulted in the removal of many of the Native Americans in eastern Wisconsin. Prof. John Boatman, in a 1987 article, had said this: “. . .in 1838, following the 1833 Indian-removal Treaty of Chicago and the subsequent opening of the Milwaukee area to white settlement, United States Army troops rounded-up and forced Milwaukee area American Indians to gather at the ‘Indian Fields’ (near the present-day Forest Home Cemetery in Milwaukee). The Milwaukee Indians were then forced to journey in a caravan to Kansas and Iowa Territory.” The article is available online at: <http://www.uwgb.edu/wisfrench/library/articles/boatman.htm>.)

Unfortunately, we could find little in the way of supporting evidence for this hypothesis:

- Harry Emilius Stocker's *A Home Mission History of the Moravian Church in The United States and Canada (Northern Province)*, 1924) provided no evidence of any plans for a Moravian mission station in the Wisconsin territory in the 1830s. (The Norwegian Moravian community of Ephraim was not established until 1853, with Rev. Andreas Iverson as leader of that group.) There may have been some Native American converts to the Moravian religion in Wisconsin as early as the 1700s, but it is unlikely that any of them planned to build an "Economy," in the Moravian sense, at the Saukville location: they were not among the Moravian leadership; besides, it is unlikely that they would have been involved in "missionizing" activities relative to other Native Americans—thus unlikely that they would have planned a mission station at the Saukville location, to be named "Economy" at that.
- Ritter's history of Moravians in Philadelphia informed us only that there were many Moravians in Philadelphia—containing no references whatsoever to Henry S. Tanner.
- The Moravian Historical Society website states that communal living ended with the Moravians in 1762, and that Moravian communities remained closed to non-Moravians until the 1850s. (See <http://www.moravianhistoricalsociety.org/faq.php>). Thus, it appears unlikely that in the 1837 – 1838 time frame Moravians were giving "Economy" the same meaning that they had in the mid 1700s.

Conclusions

Having identified, and "tested," all of the hypotheses that we had identified regarding the presence of "Economy," in Wisconsin, on two of Henry S. Tanner's maps—some of them being rather plausible, some not—and not finding any firm evidence in support of *any* of them, we decided to cease our research. We were, of course, disappointed that our "detective work" had not resulted in an answer. But, on the other hand, we had to admit to ourselves that our "expedition" had been highly educational (we have reported here but a small part of that education), and interesting besides. Because we thought that others might also find our expedition of interest, we decided that we would write this article. An additional motive for doing so, however, is that we thought that the publicizing of our efforts might result in some reader getting an idea(s) that would lead to a solution to our problem, and would therefore carry our research efforts forward—given that we are no longer interested in pursuing the matter. If, however, some reader *does* take us up on this offer, and *is* able to come up with a solution, we request that you inform us of that fact by sending an e-mail to Al at A.Thompson@Astronautics.com. For we continue to be interested in seeing closure being brought to this matter—even if it is at the hands of someone else.

One of the educational aspects of our research is that we came to realize more fully than we had before that any work of history is based on what the author *knows*. This is a seemingly obvious point to make, but what we have in mind in stating it is to

call attention to the fact that writers of histories are understandably tempted to produce smooth narratives—for, after all, they would like their writing to have some degree of intellectual and literary elegance. In striving to write in this way, however, they inadvertently mislead the reader. *They* know that many of the questions they raised in the course of their research were never adequately answered by them—perhaps never answered at all. But in describing what they have learned, their temptation to tell a *story* may very well interfere with their duty of telling the *truth*.

That is, by not informing the reader of the fact that they were not able to answer some (many?) of the questions that occurred to them, they in effect *mislead* the reader. Not only that; they thereby fail to alert *other* historians of research possibilities that these other historians may be able to grapple with successfully—so that some important historical research never gets done.

It seems to us, then, that a historian should take on the responsibility of telling us not only what s/he *has* discovered, but also *failed* to discover. Having a desire to write well (and thereby perhaps win a literary award) is, we admit, an *admirable* goal; but having a desire to fully *inform* the reader is a *noble* goal. After all, in writing a history, one's goal is—or should be—other than writing a novel.

The Authors

Keith, originally from Crivitz, is employed with the Milwaukee Public Schools; Al, from Mt. Morris, is with Astronautics Corporation of America (an avionics firm in Milwaukee). While Al was an undergraduate at (what was then) Wisconsin State College, Oshkosh, he had the late Dr. William F. Thompson, Jr. (not a relative), as one of his history professors. After leaving Oshkosh, Dr. Thompson continued (until his death) his career with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin—where, e.g., he became editor of the definitive multi-volume history of Wisconsin.