ENCOUNTERING THE SHAKERS OF THE NORTH FAMILY LOT, UNION VILLAGE, OHIO

A Corner of Wisdom's Paradise–The North Family Lot Archaeological Project

VOLUME 1 OF A 4-VOLUME MONOGRAPH SERIES

Submitted by
Hardlines Design Company
4608 Indianola Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43214

Submitted to
Ohio Department of Transportation
Office of Environmental Services
1980 West Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43223

January 30, 2009

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Submitted to

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Volume 1: A Corner of Wisdom's Paradise — The North Family Lot Archaeological Project
Volume 2: A Clean and Lively Appearance — Landscape and Architecture of the North Family Lot
Volume 3: Tracing Prosperity and Adversity — A Social History of the North Family Lot
Volume 4: Simplicity Comes in All Forms — The Shaker Ceramic Industries of Union Village

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FOREWORD TO THE SERIES

Our ambitious goal for this multi-volume report is to present the archaeological and archival work in a readable and informative style, while at the same time balancing the need to present technical and detailed facts that support our interpretations and conclusions. Nothing, however, stops readers dead in their tracks faster than jargon. A typical jargon-laden introductory sentence for this project might go something like this: This four-volume report for the North Family Lot of the nineteenth century Shaker community of Union Village in Ohio reflects a concerted effort by all consulting parties to the Section 106 Memorandum of Agreement for the mitigation of the adverse effects to the significant archaeological resources impacted by the proposed highway safety project, and to provide a report that not only fulfills the requirements of this process but also enlightens and educates the public, as well as professionals, to a small part of the Western Shakers' significant role in American history.

This kind of writing closes off readers from experiencing the wealth of information contained in the report, simply because interpreting the technical words and phrases is tortuous. Unfortunately, their apprehension that the jargon continues throughout the document is frequently justified with technical reports produced to comply with Section 106 (explained below) reporting standards. But the jargon has its place, since professional consultants writing primarily for professional reviewers produce hundreds of these reports annually. Consequently, standardized, short, precise and contractually accurate phrases evolved which pack a lot of meaning into short passages to streamline the technical authors' and reviewers' jobs. However, they are frequently incomprehensible to the uninitiated.

Appealing to and accommodating the diverse interests of public and professional readership presents a formidable task, especially for authors accustomed to writing and reviewing jargon laden technical reports. Details are not inherently boring; and actually quite interesting when presented appropriately. They occur throughout the four volumes minus the jargon for the most part. Unfortunately jargon occasionally creeps in when the authors cannot find a better word or phrase, but the meaning generally becomes clear from the context in which it occurs. Hopefully, most readers will find the details an enjoyable read.

This report is a required end product of the Section 106 process of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Since the report is the end product, there must a beginning and reason for the Section 106 process. Simply put, the American public recognizes a shared cultural and national heritage embodied in places, buildings and objects. Some of these places, buildings, and objects are better examples (significant is the technical term) of important events, social trends, individuals, inventions, etc. Section 106 of the NHPA establishes a procedure and consultation process that attempts to protect and preserve significant sites from damage or destruction (an effect is the technical term) by federally funded or licensed projects. Contrary to popular widespread misconception, Section 106 does not apply to state, local or privately funded developments, unless they require a federal permit or involve federal land.

The process begins by identifying cultural resources within the area of a federal funded project. The resources are then evaluated to determine which are significant and if any are affected by the project. Significant sites need to be preserved or protected by avoiding them, minimizing the damage, or compensating (mitigating is the technical term) for extensive damage. For archaeological sites, minimization and mitigation usually entails excavating and documenting the features and artifacts (data recovery is the technical term). When avoidance of a significant place, building or object is not an option, the federal agency (in this case, the Federal Highway Administration along with the Ohio Department of Transportation) consults with the State Historic Preservation Office to define the terms for minimizing or mitigating the project's effects. The federal agency must also invite interested and concerned public and private organizations (called consulting parties, which in this case include the Western Shaker Study Group, the Warren County Historical Society, and the Otterbein Retirement Community) to join the discussion. Consultation concludes with the parties coming to an agreement and the federal agency asks the consulting parties to sign a formal document called a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA). The MOA lists the terms and responsibilities (stipulations in the MOA) of the federal agency and consulting parties in completing the data recovery.

Producing this report in four topical volumes in a readable and informative style satisfies one of the stipulations, which hopefully improves over a typical massive technical report. Using topical volumes that integrate the figures, maps, tables, and photographs with the text allows readers with specific interests to select the appropriate volume and not be burdened with searching through one massive document for appropriate text and supporting figures, tables and photographs.

This first volume covers background information, the data recovery plan, and the basic results of the geophysical (remote sensing) survey, archaeological excavation and archival research, which essentially demonstrates the fulfillment (compliance is the technical term) of all aspects of the Section 106 process from identification through evaluation and mitigation. The other three volumes, described below, provide the detailed results of the excavations and archival research for the material remains and their patterns of distribution at the North Family Lot. The patterning provides the context and meaning for interpreting the historical development and use of this relatively small and confined space by one family within the larger Shaker community of Union Village.

Overall, the four volume report complements and brings a new perspective to previously published books and articles on Union Village. In a new way it provides a glimpse from the North Family's point of view on the practical aspects of living within the Shaker tenets as Union Village evolved during the nineteenth century from a frontier settlement to a vibrant religious utopian community. Its transformation allowed for the smooth passing of the Shaker landholdings to another religious organization which continued the communal use of the original Shaker landscape well into the latter twentieth century.

Volume 2: ***A Clean and Lively Appearance—Landscape and Architecture of the North Family Lot***
This volume gives an overview of the historical development of the landscape of the North Family Lot, focusing on the four-acre location of the residential core that was subject to geophysical survey and archaeological excavations. It shows how the landscape reflects the practical application of the idealized Shaker village plan and function, and compares building styles and layout with other Shaker villages.

Volume 3: ***Tracing Prosperity and Adversity—A Social History of the North Family Lot***
This volume focuses on the social and economic history of the North Family Lot and how that history illuminates the culture of Shakers at Union Village as a whole. This volume puts the people back into the buildings and landscape by chronicling the history of the North Lot Family social order and organization. It looks at the population of the North Lot Family and how the membership changed over the nineteenth century. Trash disposal patterns reflect on their diet and how well they conformed to Shaker behavioral norms. Other artifacts recovered not only from the trash but within and around the structures reflect the Shaker's craft industries, while historical accounts provide the context for the North Lot Family's role in the Union Village economy.

Volume 4: ***Simplicity Comes in All Forms—The Shaker Ceramic Industries of Union Village***
This volume discusses the Union Village ceramic industry by examining the Union Village Pottery, concentrating on four specific ceramic products: redware pottery, smoking pipe bowls, drainpipes, and bricks, with a special emphasis on the pottery and smoking pipes for external markets. Ceramic production is a craft industry that we do not usually associate with the Shakers, and therefore the Union Village Pottery presents an opportunity to add a new avenue of research into Shaker industries. Also of interest to us is the compromised quality of their architectural ceramics (the drainpipes and bricks), which contradicts their behavioral norms for perfection at work; and their use of external sources, which runs counter to Shaker concepts of self-sufficiency.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This volume would not have been possible without the assistance of the following people. The 2005 field crew consisted of Steve Martin, April Boyer, Terry Glaze, Johnny Hendrix, Brooke Shouse, Rory Krupp, Katy Mollerud, Krista Wagner, Andy Muskopf, Don Stone, Marsha Pataky, Jay Baril, Vivian Honsinger, Elizabeth Seay, Pat Roach, Seweryn Kosmala, Epie Pius, Sarah McIntyre, Nicole Osswald, Erin Meekhof, Tracy Pattelena and Ben Stewart. The 2004 geophysical survey crew included Steve Martin and Johnny Hendrix of Hardlines Design Company (HDC), and Duane Simpson and Ryan Peterson of AMEC Earth & Environmental, Inc. Roy A. Hampton III and Rory Krupp performed most of the archival research for this project. Anne B. Lee provided logistical support. The staff of ODOT District 8 provided immense support in the field, from handling media inquiries to acquiring heavy machinery and aiding in the excavation.

Finally, we greatly appreciate the assistance of interested researchers focused on Shakers and pottery production, without whom this would be a far less informative document: Robert Genheimer, the Curator of Archaeology at the Cincinnati Museum of Natural History, Greg Shooner, the members of the Western Shaker Study Group, Mary Lue Warner of Otterbein Homes, Cheryl Bauer, Dr. Kim McBride, David Starbuck, Jerry Grant of the Shaker Museum and Library, Shirley Ray, Director of the Warren County Historical Society Museum, and Charles Muller, former editor of the *Ohio Antique Review*.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCING THE SR 741 CURVE

It's 1805 and you are heading down the well-worn trail (which in the next decade will become the Springboro-Mason Road) with your wagon loaded for the market. As you pass the Greentree crossroads heading southwest, the trail turns sharply to the south at almost a 90 degree angle, to avoid the steep ravine of Dick's Creek (Figure 1). You pause before the curve and gaze out to the left at a fellow pioneer farmer's fields and distant woodlot. To the right, the wooded ravine provides shade and cover for the singing birds. Looking straight ahead, you ponder who or what you might encounter over the next rise. The moment of reflection is over and you get the team heading south to find out.

Now it's 2005 and you are zooming down State Route (SR) 741 with a minivan full of anxious children, taking the shortcut to King's Island Amusement Park. Through the Greentree intersection you go, the road signs now flying by warning of the upcoming sharp turn. They advise a speed of 15 mph. To the right, you notice the trees and the park fence, which some other unfortunate souls hit when they came upon the curve too quickly. You hit the brakes hard and look ahead, hoping there are no oncoming cars, since you swung the van down and over the double yellow lines. As you curse under your breath through the curve, you glance off to the left and see the expanse of cultivated fields and a distant woodlot, a possible safety exit if need be. Now, out of the curve and heading straight south at a much reduced speed, you have a moment to reflect and feel the rapid beating of your heart. Another glance to the left, and for a moment, the pastoral scene now reduces some of your frustration.

Figure 1. Overview in 2005 of the SR 741 Curve, prior to the realignment
North is toward the upper left corner. (Photograph by *ODOT-Aerial Engineering*)

Amazingly, for 200 years the alignment of that curve has never changed. Obviously, the trail has widened and been improved from a dirt surface to gravel to asphalt, but the sharp angle was never reduced to meet the demands of newer motor vehicles. The same cannot be said for the serene setting. For slightly more than a century, a vibrant community numbering upwards of 125 to 150 people lived and worked at the curve. Dozens of buildings housed them and provided craft shops and agricultural buildings. This community was the North Family Lot of the Shakers (the United Society of Believers in the Second Coming of Christ). It was only one of nine family lots that composed the nineteenth-century Shaker community of Union Village. For the first half of the twentieth century, the curve served somewhat less vibrantly as part of another communal organization: Otterbein Farms, which originally functioned as an orphanage and nursing home, but today operates as a modern retirement community with no building gs left at the curve.

This four volume monograph focuses on the period when the Shaker community used and transformed the landscape around the curve. This is not to say that the period when Otterbein Homes and Farm used the area is not important. On the contrary, the Otterbein story is one of transition and continuation of some of the Shaker communal practices and beliefs that subsequently become modified by incorporating twentieth-century values into the current retirement community. But, it is another story for a different study. Otterbein's adaptation of the North Family Lot buildings was limited and impacted less on the original Shaker community plan than what occurred at the Center Family Lot. Consequently, the Shakers' mark on the landscape at the curve is better retained as archaeological deposits and accessible through excavation.

The Shakers appear to be passing out of the collective consciousness of American society, except for maybe their collectible furniture and crafts. But the public perception of the context in which these items were made and used seems overgeneralized, somewhat idealized, and static, which is unfortunate. The Shakers followed an alternative lifestyle (not in the modern sense but similar to many other secular and religious utopian communities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), which developed during the religious ferment of the Second Great Awakening and the birth of global capitalism. American society grappled with many fundamental social and moral issues for which the Shakers held their own views. Some outsiders accepted or tolerated the Shakers, while others vehemently opposed them.

The following volumes attempt to provide the context for the historical development of the North Family Lot. Not intended as an end product, they are meant to complement and expand upon previous studies of Union Village and hopefully stimulate future studies of the other family lots before they succumb to the pressures of urban growth and development. Some discussions will resonant with those who follow current events, as simple parallels can be drawn between the social dynamics of the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. However, they should serve as issues for deeper thought and study rather than firm conclusions. To others, the fact that this curve witnessed communal living (in one form or another) for the nearly 200 years of American history will come as a surprise and might stimulate some interest in their local history. Although the Shakers are generally perceived as extremely devout and dedicated to their principles, the volumes contain examples and discussions of

times when the community operated outside of their stated beliefs and tenets. Possibly to some readers, more than mere coincidence lies behind the archaeological excavations taking place during the 200th anniversary of the founding of Union Village.

The curve is the focus and the reason for this study. No opportunity would likely be afforded to explore and document the site if there were no safety issues associated with the curve, if there were better alternatives to fixing the curve than in this particular location, or if there was no federal funding attached to the project. Finding a solution to the high accident rate at this curve brought a number of individuals and groups together to discuss the options available to address the impact of the project on the site and devise the best course of action. The participants include state and federal agencies, Otterbein Retirement Homes (the property owner), the Western Shaker Study Group, the Warren County Historical Society, and the Ohio Archaeological Council. Individuals representing these agencies and organizations developed a plan for recovering, preserving, and reporting what the Shakers left at the North Family Lot and what those items and structures could tell us. As field work and archival research progressed more individuals became aware and interested. Some volunteered information, while others raised more questions. Everyone wanted to know when the curve was going to be fixed. Arrangements were made for local public talks, as well as a weekend tour of the excavations which coincided with a local celebration of the 200th anniversary of the founding of Union Village. Local print and cable media covered the excavations and a news brief occurred in *American Archaeology,* the nationwide publication of the Archaeological Conservancy. So, because of the curve, public archaeology operated as it should to inform and involve the public while adding to our shared heritage.

The Curve's Setting

SR 741 runs north-south through the western third of Warren County in southwest Ohio. From Springboro at the northern edge of the county, the road travels due south across gently rolling uplands to the crossroads community of Red Lion, located at the five-way intersection with SR 122 and SR 123. From there, SR 741 parallels Dick's Creek (subsequently renamed Shaker Creek) at some distance from the east side to the southwest. After passing the Greentree Corners crossroad (CR 20), the road crosses the northern limits of the Shaker landholdings that formed Union Village (Figure 2). The hazardous curve is roughly one-half mile away, marking the point where the road is the closest to the bluff edge of Shaker Creek. If the road were to continue to the southwest, it would have to cross several narrow steep-sided tributaries of the creek and eventually descend to the confluence of Shaker Creek with Miller Creek, which occurs in a former glacial lake bed that was a swamp until it was drained sometime in the nineteenth century. So, SR 741 instead turns due south and follows the high ground.

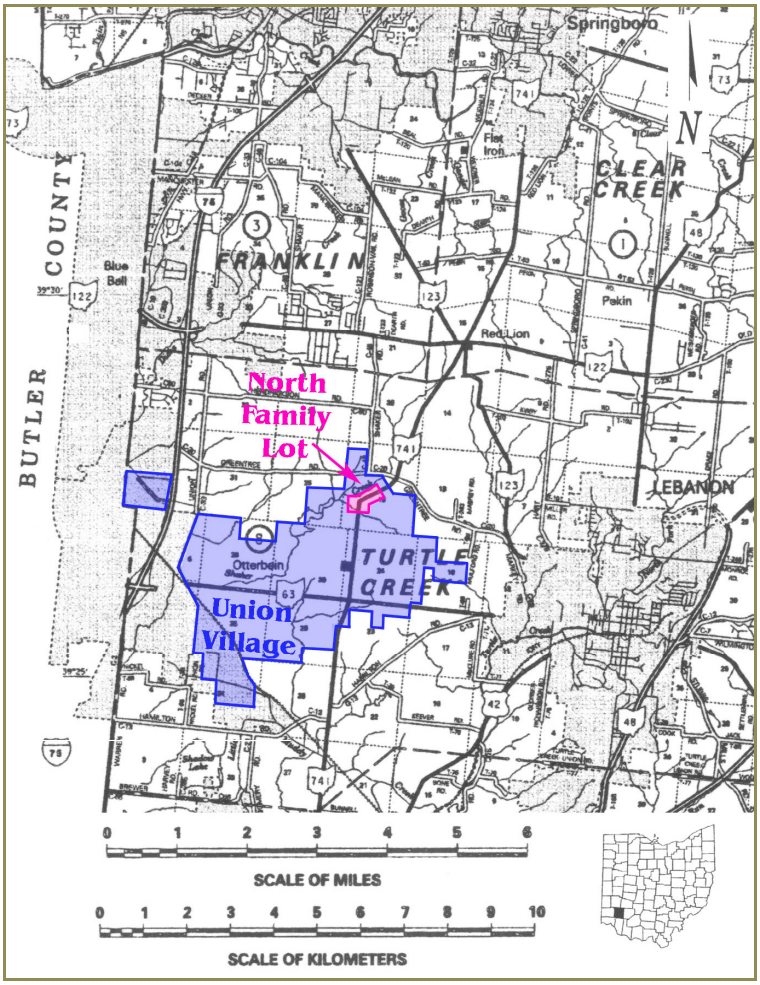

Figure 2. Northwest corner of the ODOT Warren County road map showing the location of the North Family Lot within Union Village

The History of the Curve

Heading south on SR 741 for a mile to the intersection with SR 63 takes you through what was once the heart of Union Village—first the North Family Lot at the curve, then the Center Family Lot midway on the highest ground, and finally the South Family Lot as you approach the intersection with SR 63 (Figure 3). In back of the Center Family Lot to the east was the East Family Lot, while to the west and northwest were the Grist Mill Family Lot and the Square House Lot, which were located along Shaker Creek because it provided water power for the mills. The main Shaker cemetery sits on the northwest corner of the intersection of SR 741 and SR 63. South of the intersection were former Shaker agricultural fields and woodlots and the original site of the Turtle Creek Presbyterian Church, the focal point of Shaker conversion in 1805. To the west and southwest of the SR 63 intersection is the other half of the Shaker landholdings, which constitute the West Brick Family Lot, the West Frame Family Lot, and the West Family Lot; they were located on the high ground overlooking the former swamp.

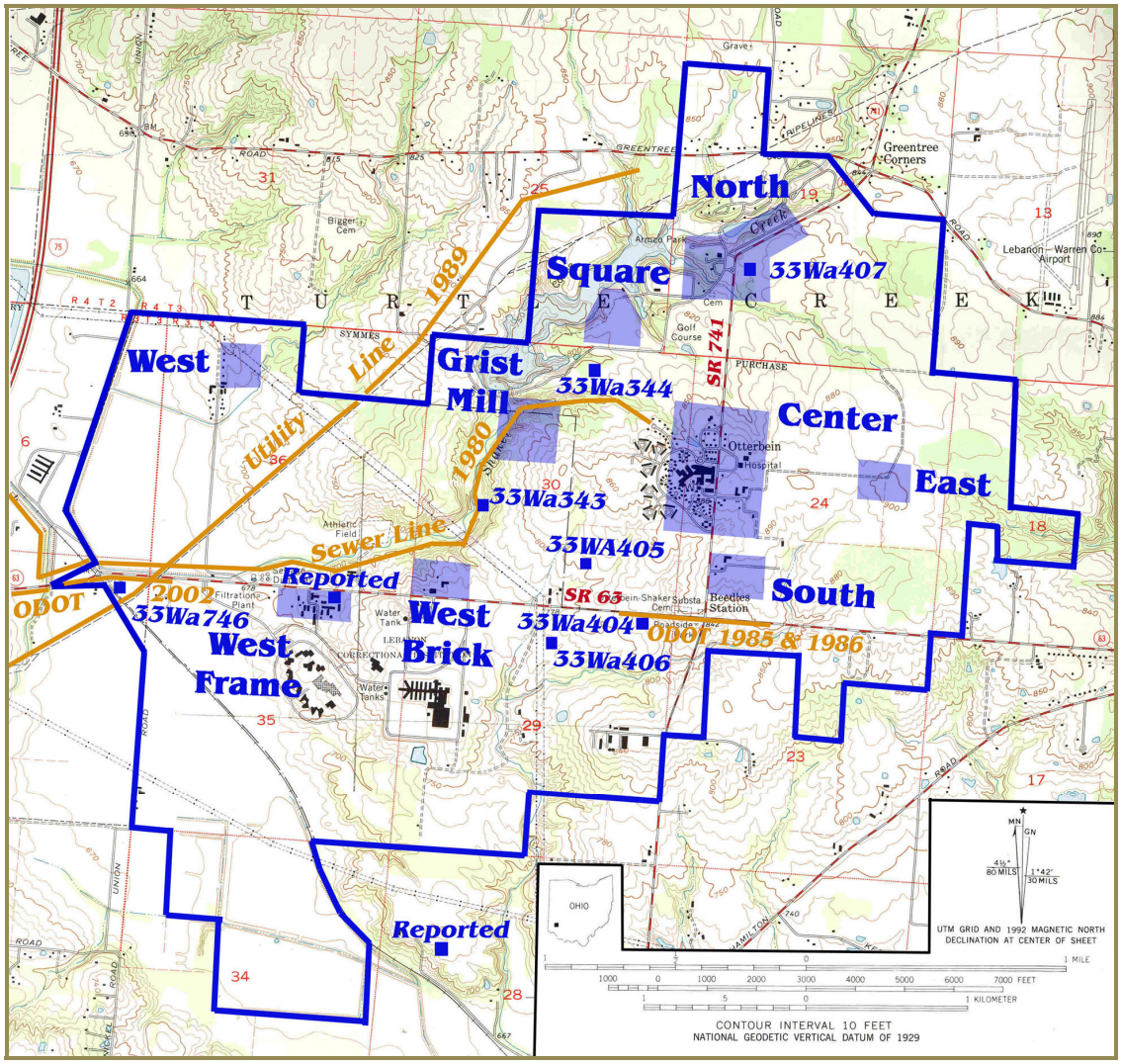

Figure 3. Portion of the USGS 7.5' topographic map (Monroe 1992) with Union Village boundary, family lot and Shaker archaeological site locations

In general, the curve and the North Family Lot served as the northern gateway to Union Village. No other access point from the north was constructed, nor does one exist today. When Warren County began improving the Springboro-Mason Road in 1807, the Shakers already owned the property around the curve, but they would not start constructing the North Family Lot for another 15 years. The Center Family Lot and East Family Lot were planned and under construction, and incipient plans for the North Family Lot were probably being developed. So, most likely the Shakers preferred to not move or substantially change the alignment of the curve. And besides, the public officials had already begun improving the Greentree-Lebanon Road (CR 20) in 1805, which set the intersection with the Springboro-Mason Road (SR 741) diagonally northwest-southeast and northeast-southwest (Bogan 1992:71).

In 1936, the Springboro-Mason Road became part of the statewide highway system as SR 741. Standard design and uniform road treatment were the goals, which mirrored similar improvements on the Interstate Highway System. Brick pavers or macadam provided durable

and relatively smooth driving surfaces, an improvement over the former dirt or loose gravel roads. Apparently, the geometry of the curve was not a design issue at that time, for we found no record of any attempt to realign it before this current project. Likely, the traffic volume and motor vehicle performance was low enough to keep down the accident rates at the curve.

By the mid 1910s, the Shaker property had passed to Otterbein Homes, which was operating a successful dairy farm with a tenant-farm family occupying the North Family Lot, along with a nursing home (in today's terms, an assisted living center). Several lanes provided the necessary access points, roughly coinciding with former Shaker farm lanes. A number of the original North Family Lot buildings remained at that time, and they would have restricted a driver's line of sight around the curve, causing traffic to slow down. Like the Shakers before them, Otterbein Homes had no vested interest in realigning the curve.

By the mid 1960s, the last of the North Family Lot buildings on the corner was razed. Because of the large basements and brick rubble fill, the owners did not farm the corner but instead maintained it as a grass-covered lot. Behind this row of buried building foundations, the remainder of the North Family Lot reverted back to cultivated fields. On the outside of the curve was an entrance to the private ARMCO park, but the gate was set back far enough to provide queuing room for cars to enter or exit the curve. The resulting openness of the area removed all visual cues of how sharply angled the curve really was. Although road signs gave warnings, they did not convey the message as strongly as did the previous wooden fences and massive brick buildings.

The Curve in Modern Times

The Problem: Heavy Traffic and High Accident Rates

As part of the Ohio Department of Transportation's (ODOT) Highway Safety Program, sections of the state highway system that are prone to high accident rates are evaluated and studied for appropriate solutions. The curve of SR 741 at roughly the eight-mile marker in Warren County was a prime candidate, since this 0.4 mile section had an accident rate six times higher than the statewide average, equating to 10 accidents per million vehicle miles. The majority of the accidents were either head-on collisions (crossing the yellow line) or running off the road (failing to negotiate the turn). Personal injuries and moderate-to-extensive property damage were the usual outcomes. In addition, the average daily traffic volume had grown from 2,720 vehicles in 1994 to 6,590 in 2005, with a projected 10,530 vehicles in 2025. One reported accident occurred during the archaeological excavations for this project, but fortunately it occurred when the archaeologists were not at work.

So just what were the causes or factors for the high accident rate at this particular curve? A principal factor was the sharp angle, at almost 90 degrees. But the high accident rate was a fairly recent development, and the geometry of the curve had been the same for 200 years. Classified as a major rural north-south collector, the standard posted speed for this section of SR 741 is 55 miles per hour (mph). However, as suburban developments expanded into the countryside, traffic patterns became more complex: additional access points have been tied

into the state route, and more vehicles now enter and exit the route, contributing a greater mix of vehicles moving at varying speeds.

From a practical viewpoint, SR741 connects the cities of Springboro, Miamisburg, Moraine, Kettering, and eastern portions of Dayton on the north, with the city of Mason and northern Cincinnati to the south. Traffic traveling between these cities now shares the road with the local traffic from the suburban subdivisions to the new regional school complexes, and the corner gas stations and convenient stores at the major intersections. From Memorial Day through Labor Day, it serves as a shortcut between Interstate Route (IR) 71 and IR 75 to Paramount King's Island Amusement Park. On summer weekends, traffic tends to back up through the curve from the intersection of SR 741and SR 63, which lies about one mile to the south. For the rest of the year, during the early morning and mid afternoon, the curve is used by a heavy mix of commuter, school bus, and commercial truck traffic, all of which are likely on a tight schedule.

In the middle of all this activity, the sharp-angled curve slows all of these travelers to a snail's crawl of 15 mph. The larger vehicles routinely cross the double yellow lines or slip off the road pavement on the inside curve. The hazardous curve is well marked, but it simply does not fit into the current lifestyles and expectations of the motoring public. For the archaeological crew (who wore their safety vests and stayed well back from the road edge during the excavations), the sounds of squealing brakes, honking horns, and tires spitting out roadside gravel were daily reminders of the curve's dangers (Figure 4), while an old hubcap found in excavations near the road may have been a relic of one car's failure to stay on the pavement.

Figure 4. Overview of sharp-angled curve at the beginning of fieldwork, looking northeast

The Solution: Realigning the Curve

The current and projected traffic demands on SR 741, as well as the expected principal land use of continued suburban expansion, indicate to many that long stretches of SR 741 need to be improved from a two-lane road to a highway of four or more lanes. Most would also argue for a new and straighter alignment to correct a number of sections of the road that have substandard design, the curve being one of the worst. This regional approach would also require intersection upgrades. Such an ambitious project requires considerable design planning with a whole host of interested parties who all want their concerns heard and addressed. The design and construction of such a major undertaking also requires substantial funding. Therefore, the project competes with hundreds of similar major investment projects across the state for a priority ranking in the funding list. The process takes years if not decades, depending on the need and project status.

However, the substandard geometry of the curve forms a dangerous bottleneck resulting in an already high accident rate. Doing nothing while a major road is planned only results in a continuing and escalating accident rate that is simply unacceptable. The prudent and immediate alternative fix focuses on reducing the extreme deceleration into the curve and the equally extreme acceleration out of it. Maintaining the traffic flow at an acceptable continuous speed but still below the posted maximum will reduce the current accident rate. This still leaves the anticipated increase in traffic volume to be solved by the development of a broader regional plan that accommodates a number of roadway design issues with the expected land use development.

By focusing on improving the geometric design of the curve, all feasible alternatives are limited to a narrow area immediately around the curve. To reduce the angle, or smooth the curve, the roadway needs to move to the east. The further it moves to the east, the gentler the curve becomes, but it also elongates the realigned section, requiring greater amounts of new right-of-way. Since the North Family Lot covers several acres at the curve, the further east the realignment is designed, the greater the project impacts the archaeological remains. The fact that the Shakers fronted their main buildings along and close to the road meant any alignment would encounter substantial deposits. The final curve design balances the safety of highway above a minimum standard, while minimizing the amount of land taken from the North Family Lot. The preferred solution still required about four acres and was expected to impact at least three main buildings, based on the background information at the beginning of the project (Figure 5). To minimize the disturbance, the curve alignment and construction limits were set to limit the number of complete building impacts.

Reducing the degree of curvature is not the only safety improvement over the current roadway conditions. Widening the paved road surface provides for greater maneuverability Both of the travel lanes increase from 10 to 12 feet in width, while the graded 8-foot-wide shoulders include 4-foot paved berms, which substantially upgrades the current narrow gravel berms. The wider new right-of-way limits increase the clear zone along both sides of the road and provides a greater sighting distance for judging the speed and proximity of traffic already in and entering the curve from the opposite end. The wider clear zone also provides a safety valve, although the curve redesign is meant to reduce the number of vehicles careening off the road. Still, there will always be those few individuals who, for whatever reason, will feel the need to test the design limits.

Figure 5. Preferred Alternative Curve Design Plans (left) and overlay with 1960 aerial (right)

CHAPTER 2. INTRODUCING THE SHAKERS

The Shakers were a major religious communal group formally known as the United Society of Believers in the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, founded in the late eighteenth century. Modern views of the Shakers include several misconceptions about this important group of Americans. Although many people believe Shakerism went extinct, one small community remains at Sabbathday Lake, Maine. The last Shakers with direct relationships to the nineteenth century Shakers died during the 1990s, and the current Shakers consist of a few mid to late twentieth-century converts, which have limited direct historical connection with the original Shakers.

Many people think the reason Shakerism failed to survive as a thriving religious movement into the modern era is because the Shakers practiced celibacy and strict separation of the sexes in their daily lives and activities. This is an overgeneralization of the complexities involved in recruiting and retaining members, which plagued all of the nineteenth-century utopian (alternative lifestyle) communes, regardless of religious beliefs and sexual morality. Thus, the practice of celibacy among the Shakers was not a primary factor of the decline of the religion.

Another popular misconception is that the planned serene pastoral setting of their villages was a response to the perceived evils of the newly emerging social order in urban industrialized centers of the time. True, severe social ills developed with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century, which continued to grow and transform into today's global capitalist system. Many groups representing the full spectrum from liberal to conservative within eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century American society recognized and opposed these trends and proposed alternative solutions. The Shakers' response was not simply to reject urban living and industrial production for a return to a rural agrarian lifestyle. In actuality, the Shaker solution to societal problems of poverty and perceived moral depravity was the development of religiously based, self sufficient communes that combined agrarian and industrial pursuits, as well as equally shared labor and production among a community of like-minded true believers. Spread across the landscape, each village reflected heaven on earth. To some extent, the Shaker solution was a matter of scale; their small, self-contained villages dispersed across several states contrasted with large extensive urban industrial/commercial centers supported by broad agrarian hinterlands. Going beyond differences in land use patterns, the Shaker's worldview and their scale of operations affected the management and labor relations, as well as the trade and communication networks they developed.

As the Shaker communities evolved during the nineteenth century, the initially small villages filled with vibrant Shakers practicing a variety of skilled trades transformed into large landholdings occupied by few members and even fewer skilled crafts people. Consequently, agricultural production became the primary income source as craft production declined and shops were converted to other uses, abandoned or torn down. Eventually, the removal of buildings led to the loss of the complex village plan of the original family lots and large-scale craft production ceased altogether. The few remaining Shakers engaged less and less in

agricultural production and became business people, almost landed gentry, engaging tenant farm families and hired hands to tend to Shaker-owned agricultural fields and livestock. Throughout this decline, the Shakers remained loyal to their core beliefs and ideals. The serene pastoral Shaker village setting of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century reflects the period of decline in Shaker history and does an injustice to the vibrant, populous and busy family lots which truly represent the Shakers during most of the nineteenth century.

Another misconception is that the Shakers were a phenomenon of the New England states; many people are unaware of the seven Western Shaker communities, four of which occur in Ohio (Union Village at Lebanon, Watervliet at Dayton, Whitewater at Hamilton, and North Union at Shaker Heights) (Figure 6). Union Village served as the Western Bishopric, the spiritual and political hub in the communication network between the western and eastern villages. Although the major Shaker and utopian community publications contain discussions of the Western Shaker communities, in-depth studies of these villages and their members are rare compared to the body of research performed on the Eastern Shakers (Brewer 1986, Holloway 1951, Nordhoff 1978 [1875], Pitzer 1997, and Stein 1992).

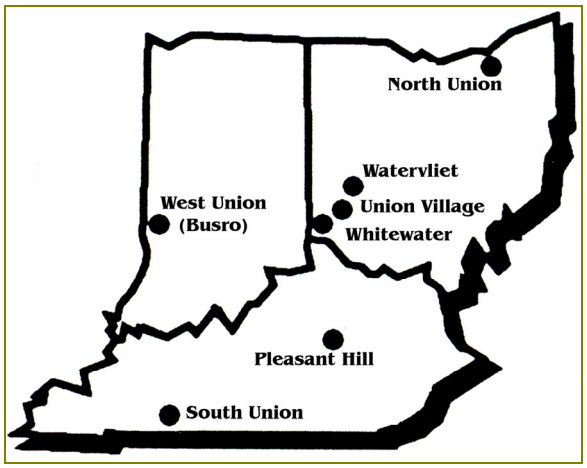

Figure 6. Principal Shaker communities in Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana

Since John P. MacLean's historical accounts of the Ohio Shaker communities were published in 1907, relatively few studies have appeared until recently. Publications specifically on Union Village appear to be written for an audience already familiar with the Shakers and meant for limited distribution (Phillippi 1912, Phillips 1969, 1971, and 1972). More recent popular accounts, which include Union Village along with a number of other Shaker communities, provide brief but important new topical information on the community (Boice et al. 1997, Stein 1992, Muller 1979). During the fieldwork for this project a modern popular account of Union Village was published that critically built on MacLean's earlier history (Maclean 1907), entitled *Wisdom's Paradise: The Forgotten Shakers of Union Village* (Bauer and Portman 2004). This book shares our goal of demystifying the Shakers, particularly at Union Village, and we hope our report complements and develops some of their ideas from an archaeological perspective.

John Murray compiled data from Union Village in a series of Shaker studies (1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998, and 2000). Murray also produced further studies on Shaker economic patterns in conjunction with other Shaker scholars, such as M. M. Cosgel and T. J. Micelli (Cosgel et al. 1997; Cosgel and Murray 1998; Murray and Cosgel 1998, 1999a, 1999b). These studies cover health, demographics, membership retention, and economic production that reflect current research interests not only about the Shakers, but for all communal societies. However, their articles appear in scholarly sociological, medical, economic, and comparative religion journals, which get limited circulation to the general

public. Other recent studies, again in scholarly journals, examine the landscape of Shaker material expressions as they demonstrate gender differences in the Shaker worldview (Savulis 1992, Gorby 2006). Likewise, a recent in-depth material study of Shakers focused on the physical expressions across the landscape of the social and political interactions between the Eastern Shakers and the converted pioneer families during the founding decade at Union Village occurs only as an unpublished dissertation with limited public exposure and availability (Bakken 1998).

Clearly, the concept of a landscape of Shaker material expression is complementary to archaeological investigations and gets beyond the mere identification of Shaker artifacts and features to make attempts at understanding the Shakers as a community of individuals. The other research studies fit well with the archival sources and these theoretical perspectives played a part in developing the data recovery plan for this project (see Chapter 5), as well as the interpretations in Volumes 2, 3, and 4. The remainder of this chapter provides a brief historical perspective on what it means to be a Shaker and how Union Village came to be the hub of the Western Shaker communities.

Eastern Shakers and Shaker Fundamentals

The Shakers originated in England with a Manchester mill worker named Ann Lee. She led a typical, harsh life characteristic of the British urban working class during the Industrial Revolution of the mid to late eighteenth century. At the age of 25, she married a blacksmith and eventually had three children, all of whom died in infancy. The agony and pain during the stillbirth of her fourth baby nearly ended her life. Child birth complications were not unique to Ann Lee, but afflicted many women because of their strenuous lifestyles and the state of the art in medical knowledge and health care at that time.

To seek relief from her physical and mental anguish connected with the loss of her children, Ann Lee turned to a sect of the Quakers known as the "Shaking Quakers," named after their inspired trance-like dances and gyrations. The Shaking Quakers were a group of religiously devout sectarians whose worship involved displays of ecstatic behavior that led to inspired visions, and believed they represented the one true religion. This group was known for disrupting the services of other congregations and was often in trouble with the law, and their public disruptions of church services led to violent retaliations. Eventually, the group dispersed under the weight of public disapproval, with a small group of Shaking Quakers (including Ann Lee) immigrating to America in 1774. Eventually, Lee emerged as one of the main leaders of the Shakers in the 1780s, traveling across the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York spreading the gospel of the group until her death in 1784.

Little factual information is available about the early development of the Shakers and their tenets. The official version of the story as provided by the Shakers themselves focuses on the suffering of Ann Lee in England, and the subsequent persecutions of the group in America during the late 1700s. Because the actual founders were discouraged from writing by the illiterate Ann Lee, the official history of the founding Shakers was not produced on paper until after the turn of the nineteenth century. This document was actually produced by one of the founders of Union Village, Richard McNemar, and was called the *Testimony*. The *Testimony* relied on second-hand accounts told to Shaker editors in the early nineteenth

century, and was carefully edited and composed to promote the Shaker faith. The first equating of Ann Lee as the second appearance of Jesus Christ dates to this period, as Shakers began to promote a mythology centered on the divinity of Lee, referring to her as "Mother Ann." The formal name for the Shakers was "The United Society of the Believers in the Second Coming of Jesus Christ," a reference to the belief that Lee was the female counterpart to the earlier expression of God in human form as Jesus Christ. She was not seen as God's wife nor his sister, but the balance for the sexual duality of the godhead and served as the equal complement to "God the Father." Obviously, this did not sit well with the long held patriarchal view of the Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Ghost) amongst the established Christian sects and denominations, and was a source for resentment and persecution (Meacham 1790).

The Shakers shared a millenarian aspect to their beliefs with many other contemporaneous religious utopian societies, preaching that the end of the world was near. But unlike many, they did not espouse a worldly end date when the true believers would be gathered into the rapture. Instead, the presence of Mother Ann signified the millennium was occurring and teachings ascribed to her instructed on proper behavior to create the perfection, peace, and happiness of heaven on earth. Shakers preached the perfection of the individual soul through simple and stringent behavior, which contrasted with the incipient growth of the capitalist view where amassed individual wealth signified successful personal achievement. Competition between individuals for material items had no place in the Shaker belief system, which espoused cooperation between individuals to achieve a set of spiritual ideals. The Shaker community supported and encouraged each other in their individual quests as the means to create an earthly paradise.

During 1774, the Shakers settled near Albany in western New York, at that time the frontier of the soon to be founded United States of America as well as the scene where the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening would shortly erupt. As Shakers more publicly espoused their beliefs about the divinity of Ann Lee, they were often branded as heretics. Although persecuted for their beliefs and pacifism during the American Revolution, their spiritual message eventually found receptive ears and souls. By the end of the eighteenth century, all eleven Eastern Shaker communities had been established, and Shaker missionaries turned their eyes to the western frontier, where the Second Great Awakening was taking hold amongst the pioneers.

The Second Great Awakening and the Shakers

The Second Great Awakening represents a Christian revitalization movement, Evangelical Protestantism, which attempted to replace the highly authoritarian traditional churches with individualism and democratization. The movement brought an emotional aspect and new focus to the Great Awakening of the early eighteenth century, which was a rationalist criticism of the established Christian churches based on the intellectual and philosophical developments of the Age of Enlightenment. The Great Awakening with its emphasis on rational thought and understanding of the world led many people to question and even leave established religions by the end of the eighteenth century.

The Second Great Awakening continued the argument of the initial Great Awakening for self reflection and education, focusing on studying biblical teachings for personal spiritual

knowledge, rather than following the staid, highly structured services and sermons of the traditional clergy. Traditional church congregations relied on leaders, who through formal education in theological seminars, possessed sole knowledge and insight of complex church doctrine and accepted interpretations of scripture. Additionally, a central concept of personal salvation through faith and good works replaced predestination (divine election) and inherent human depravity (original sin). The idea that persons could amend their lives and gain access to heaven through faith, confession of sin, and a commitment to moral living and good works provided hope and meaning to the lower and middle working classes of the cities, as well as the pioneer settlers on the frontier. The highly emotionally charged and less structured aspect of religious services came into play with the revival meetings, where individuals freely expressed their faith and confessed their sins through preaching, witnessing, singing, and dancing. The emotional aspect overshadowed the rational aspect of the First Great Awakening by focusing more on biblical knowledge than broader knowledge gained through the developing philosophical and natural sciences.

The Shakers were ideally positioned, both geographically and philosophically, to take advantage of the growing Evangelical Protestant movement. Although the Shakers did have an authoritative hierarchy and a structured theology, leaders were seen more in the role of a teacher or instructor, as well as something of a parent. It also allowed for any individual with sufficient understanding, devotion, and ability to earn or achieve a leadership position. The equitable opportunity for spiritual attainment linked to labor and reward for both sexes had widespread appeal and initially attracted a diversity of professionals and skilled and unskilled laborers. In western New York, the Shakers established communal villages midway between the urbanized East Coast and the frontier wilderness. They could draw new converts from the increasingly overcrowded cities and provide a safe haven with their newly developed communal village concept, a possibly more attractive proposition than establishing an individual pioneer family farm on the new western frontier (Hayden 1976:16). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Shakers had the people and resources to follow the other evangelical missionaries to the new western frontier of the Northwest Territory, consisting of the future states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

The Shaker Village Concept

The Temple of Solomon as portrayed in scripture was used as a metaphor that the Shakers referred to in organizing both the social and the physical structure of the ideal Shaker village, where the living community and the built environment were united and served as a portal or link between the earthly and heavenly worlds (Hayden 1976:67). The Shakers did not believe that a New Jerusalem with the recreation of the Temple of Solomon would descend from Heaven to gather all the true believers at the end of the world. Instead, they believed individuals experienced the rapture personally and internalized New Jerusalem in their heart and soul when they confessed and renounced their worldly sins. During the rest of their earthly existence, individuals manifested their perfected hearts and souls through their perfected behaviors and actions. Individuals attained and maintained their perfected hearts and souls at different rates, so during their lives they experienced different levels of devoutness. As a community with their shared view of the internalized Temple of Solomon, they were physically grouped according to their individual levels of perfection.

The Temple of Solomon housed at its innermost chamber the Ark of the Covenant, surrounded by a series of courtyards (Figure 7). This was the holiest of holy spaces, with a courtyard that served as an inner sanctum in which only the most devout and pure individuals who served as high priests were permitted entry. The courtyard was walled off with twelve gates from a second courtyard. The second courtyard contained the next highest level of devout individuals, serving as priests, who were not fully prepared to participate in the inner sanctum but served to protect the high priests and the Ark of Covenant from outside intrusion and desecration. In turn, the second courtyard was surrounded by a third courtyard holding a lower level of devout believers, who had similar protective responsibilities towards the second courtyard. The wall around the third courtyard formed the temple exterior and separated and protected the entire temple complex from the outside world of the least devout and unbelievers.

The focal point of an ideal Shaker village is the meetinghouse, which is usually the first building constructed when a community is established. The meetinghouse can be seen as analogous to the inner sanctum housing the Ark of the Covenant. The Church or Center Family Lot containing a communal dwelling, service buildings, shops, and agricultural buildings and fields surrounds the meetinghouse, and is analogous to the inner courtyard of the Temple of Solomon. The most devout and experienced Shakers reside and perform their daily routines in this complex. Depending on the size and composition of a particular Shaker village, more than one communal dwelling may be present at the Church/Center Family Lot to accommodate the number of true believers.

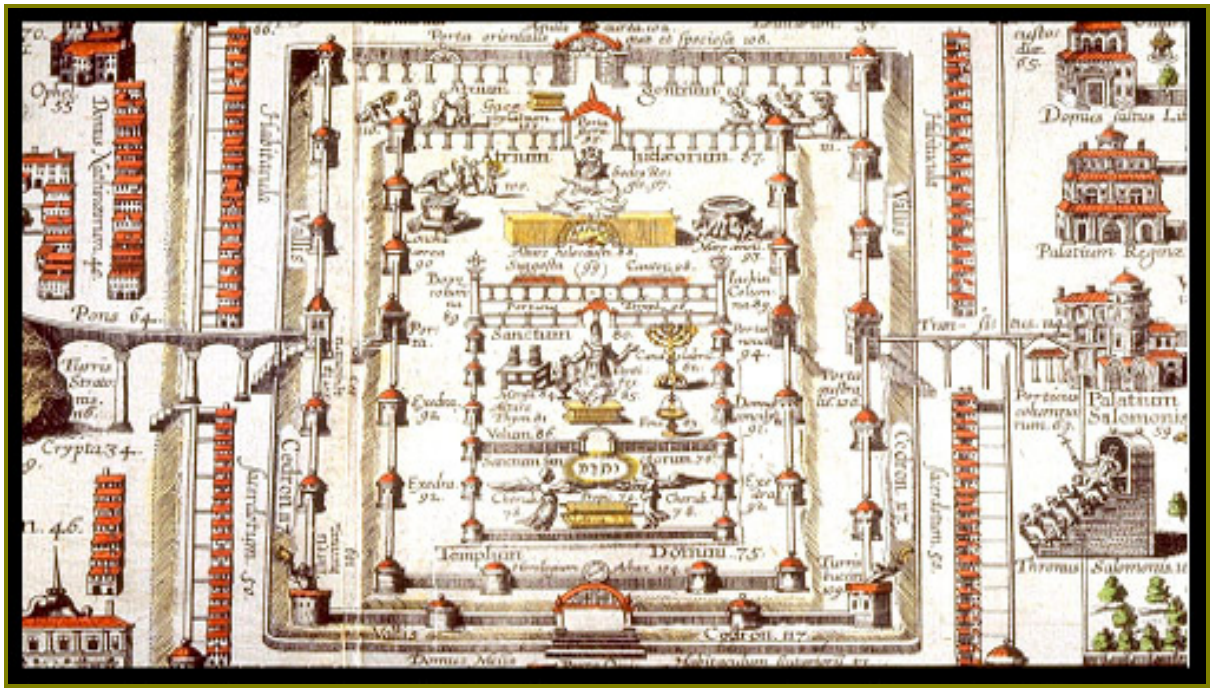

Figure 7. Detail of Solomon's Temple from Christian van Adrichom's 1584 Map of Jerusalem and Suburbs
(Electronic version accessed 25 April 2007 at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Christian-van-acrichom_JERVSALEM-et-suburia-eius_detail-solomon-temple_1-1497x1000.jpg)

Additional similarly composed family lots surround the Church/Center Family Lot, and are analogous to the second courtyard. Although usually located some distance from the Church/Center Family Lot, the other family lots are still connected to the central lot by an internal road system. Generally located at the cardinal directions with the Church/Center Family serving as a focal point, the other family lots controlled the access points to the heart of the community. No individual meetinghouses are ever present at the other family lots, although the communal dwelling at each lot would contain a meeting space for reflection and instruction of Shaker principles to members of the particular family or for meetings when inclement weather prevented attending the meetinghouse.

The distance between the other family lots and the Church/Center Family Lot is pragmatically determined by the amount of area required by each family lot to accommodate the building complex and associated agricultural fields. The placement of the additional family lots serves to insulate the Church/Center Family Lot from any direct boundary contact with adjacent outside property owners, which is equivalent to forming the outer temple wall in the Temple of Solomon metaphor. Depending on the size and composition of a particular Shaker village, these additional family lots could contain families of less devout or newly converted community members.

The metaphor of the third or outer courtyard is not fully realized at some Shaker villages. More than the four cardinally oriented family lots might be established, usually on the periphery of the Shaker village. In some cases, the family lot was specifically located to take advantage of a particular landscape feature, such as a Mill Family Lot located for waterpower along a creek or stream. Access to the Church/Center Family Lot was indirect with farm lanes intersecting the roads between the cardinal point family lots and the Church/Center Family Lot. These additional family lots did not have access points with the outside, unless they were located on one of the established principal roads connecting the neighboring worldly communities. Additional separation from the Church/Center Family Lot would be evident in that the boundaries of peripheral family lots would abut with the other family lots rather than directly with the Church/Center Family Lot.

Since a specialized family lot, such as a Mill Family Lot, serves a few skilled individuals rather than a typical Shaker family, the dwelling house might be smaller and even house the actual kin families of the skilled workers. Also, it would not necessarily contain a meeting space. The compliment of support buildings and agricultural fields would be different because the family lot was planned and functioned primarily for specific craft production. In essence, such a family lot could be in a dependent or reciprocal relationship with one of the other family lots for spiritual and daily needs.

As an analogy with the twelve gates of the inner courtyard, the Millennial Laws provide twelve points that guide an individual to perfect their work and, in so doing, construct buildings reflecting heaven on earth (Krueger 1988:25–26).

1. *Time* is a commodity that is not to be wasted, so unnecessary steps and motions are to be avoided.
2. *Order* is reflected in the separation of males and females.

3. *Space* that ideally relates to heaven contains infinite space and light, so buildings need to be constructed with high ceilings and large windows.
4. *Simplicity* is equated with efficiency of design and relates to *time, utility, thrift,* and *honesty.*
5. *Perfection* is practical and spiritual in all things which ultimately is witnessed by God. Therefore, an imperfect person can is incapable of making a perfect product.
6. *Utility* means the product must be designed solely by its functional requirements.
7. *Cleanliness* relates to the efficient use of time and materials, and to the maintenance of space, in order to increase the functional use life of the structure, while reducing waste.
8. *Health* requires the responsible use of the four earthly elements; air for ventilation, fire for warmth, water for sterilization, and earth for building insulation.
9. *Thrift* is the reduction of waste through proper design and construction and is related to *time* and *simplicity.*
10. *Honesty* reflects convictions of heavens and is exemplified in the lack of heavy ornamentation and dark curtained interiors because they hid true purpose and meaning.
11. *Permanence* reflects the conversion of a finite space and time in the earthly world to the infinite space and time of heaven and is symbolized in architecture by the use of stone for fence post bases, massive walls and steps.
12. *Progress* is related to the *perfection* of the individual and allows for creating and using innovations that are useful and necessary.

The rigidity of Shaker social order reflected in the behavioral rules and regulations known as the Millennial Laws seem paradoxical to today's concept of free will. However, free will during the Second Great Awakening was seen as the freedom to do good, rather than a general freedom of action. It was an individual's chance to earn salvation. Consequently, the Millennial Laws can be viewed more as ultimate goals or objectives to do the most good and achieve the highest level of devotion. Individual levels of achievement varied and were reflected in the social hierarchy of the group, but all members of the community were expected to be ambitious and continue to strive for individual and cooperative betterment.

As individuals accept these points as personal objectives and attempt to achieve them, they become united with the spiritual world through their buildings and the Shaker landscape. This also applies to craft and agricultural production. Thus, the Shakers reward ambition and achievement with something they consider more beneficial than earthly rewards. With all members of the community striving together in all of their daily tasks, they expect to achieve higher productivity and quality products. In this way the entire community prospers and maintains a higher standard of living, allowing them to concentrate more fully on spiritual matters.

The cumulative effect of greater economic benefit for the community through members internalizing the Shaker goals and values for individual perfection also plays out in the Shaker social views. The growing number of devoted individuals leads to communal

perfection which forms a united community. This unity is symbolized in the concept of the family under the dual godhead, where all members are considered as brothers and sisters. This concept does not equate with the biological or nuclear family common to all human societies and cultures, but is analogous to it in the broadest terms. The principal Shaker spiritual leaders, residing at New Lebanon, retained the titles of Father and Mother and provided both spiritual and secular direction and guidance to members of all Shaker communities. The practice of celibacy, serving to alleviate worldly temptation and focus individuals' attentions on achieving personal perfection, made marriage obsolete. Children were technically not community members, with their health and well being the responsibility of the community leaders. They lived separately and interacted with few adults for basic schooling. When reaching sufficient age youth apprenticed with skilled individuals to learn a trade, but still lived separately from committed adult members. At the age of eighteen, the individual decided whether to sign the Shaker Covenant and devote his or her life to the Shakers, or to turn his or her back on the religion and return to the outside world.

The Shaker Family Concept

The Shaker concept of family serves as the foundation of their social and religious hierarchies and operates at several levels. By necessity, the family concept evolved as membership grew and new communities were founded. Likewise, actual families within a Shaker community dissolved and reorganized as individuals progressed (or regressed) differently in their religious perfection. Although fairly simple and straightforward in concept, the Shaker idea of family is more complicated in practice, and uses kinship terminology that can be confusing to the non-Shaker. Two distinctions are important: family as the physical family lot; and family as an Order or group of people at the same level of spiritual development.

Since a Shaker village involves satellite communities arranged around a core, the family designation is usually synonymous with the family lot or their geographical position within the community. However, some family lots (e.g., the Center/Church Family Lot at Union Village) might have multiple communal houses due to the large size of the family, and may also be named for a cardinal direction from the Meeting House (e.g., the North House Family at the Center Family Lot, Union Village). So, finding a reference in a Union Village Shaker diary to the North Family can refer either to the group at the North Family Lot or the group occupying the North House at the Center Family Lot. The Shaker author living in the moment knows the distinction being made, but without additional contextual information provided by that writer, a modern day reader would not be able to infer which family was being discussed.

A Shaker family consisted of individuals from the same order, so the two terms become somewhat synonymous. Orders grouped Shakers and recent converts according to the individual level of devoutness or the amount of knowledge and acceptance of Shaker theology. The most devout members belonged to the Church or Center Order. Believers who were not as experienced, committed or accepting of Shaker doctrine formed the Intermediate Order. Newly converted people just beginning their Shaker education belonged to the Gathering Order. The Youth Order and Children's Order are age-graded Shaker families,

consisting of young people not officially part of the Shaker community, as one had to be at least 18 in order to sign the Shaker Covenant and be accepted as a full member of the society. The Church Order provided the Youth and Children's Orders with practical worldly education, as well as Shaker teachings. Each individual member of these two orders decided on their 18th birthday whether to leave the society, or remain and commit their lives to being a Shaker.

Each order could include multiple families, depending on the number of individuals and how many communal houses were needed to house them. At Union Village, the Center Family Lot served as the exclusive home of the Church Order, following the Temple of Solomon metaphor, and had multiple communal houses within the confines of the lot. Other orders were split among physically separate family lots, such as the Gathering Order, which between 1815 and 1828 was split between the North Family Lot and the East Family Lot at Union Village. Another confusing situation at Union Village was the existence of three family lots designated as West families: the West Family Lot, the West Frame Family, and the West Brick Family. The West Family Lot was the most remote lot, and served to house Gathering Order members prior to abandonment in the 1830s. The designations of the other two lots refer to the construction of the communal house at each lot. Some Union Village accounts refer to the West Family after 1836, when the West Frame Family Lot and the West Brick Family Lot served as Gathering Order families and the actual West Family Lot was abandoned. Thus it seems that some Shaker writers made no distinction between the two West families, since at that time they both consisted of Gathering Order members.

Another distinction related to orders specific to Union Village involves references to Old Believers and Young Believers, dating to the formative years of the community. In this case, Young Believers is not synonymous with the Youth Order. The term "Old Believers" actually refers to the Eastern Shakers living at Union Village, who were considered "old" in the Shaker teachings and clearly refers to the Church Order. The term "Young Believers" refers to the converted pioneer family members who were "young" in the Shaker teachings and belonged to the Intermediate Order and Gathering Order. Again, as a point of confusion for modern researchers, the term "Young Believers" slowly changed in the 1810s from its original meaning to become more or less synonymous with members of the Gathering Order, and no longer referred to the original western converts, many of whom at that point were members of the Church Order.

Within a family, the leadership of the household was dually divided by gender and family responsibility. Because the Shaker emphasized the separation of the sexes, there was a male and female counterpart in the leadership roles related to the spiritual development of the family and the day-to-day practical operations of the lot. The spiritual leaders were known as Elders and Eldresses, and they provided teaching, council and guidance for the spiritual development of all individuals in their family. The Deacons and Deaconesses managed the daily business and domestic operations of the family lot. Besides their spiritual and practical administrative tasks, the family leaders worked alongside their brothers and sisters producing goods and services for the family.

The Shaker village as a whole constituted an extended family which had a similar dual leadership as the individual family lots. The leadership of the community was vested with the Ministry, which consisted of two Elders and two Eldresses who were responsible for the spiritual growth and development of the entire community, as well as the orderly governance of the village following Shaker rules and regulations. They answered to the ultimate Eastern Shaker leaders in the Central Ministry at New Lebanon and needed to be the most devout and experienced Shakers of the village. Because of these two conditions, Eastern Shaker Elders and Eldresses tended to fill the Ministry positions at Union Village during the first few decades. In the Temple of Solomon metaphor, the Ministry represented the high priests secluded in the Holy of Holies of the inner court surrounded the priests. Within the Shaker village, the Elders and Eldresses lived in their own office building or in the meetinghouse at the Center Family Lot. The Ministry also appointed the Trustees and provided advice and guidance on business affairs. The Trustees served as the Deacons and Deaconesses for the entire village in the Shakers' legal and business affairs with the outside world. Besides Shaker devotion, Trustees needed to demonstrate their capacity for business, as well as honesty and trustworthiness. Although in theory the male and female Trustees were equal, it appears in practice that the male Trustee had the final say in most decisions. Indeed, in later years at Union Village, it appears that the Trustee position may have become a solely male province.

Western Shakers and Union Village

The success of the Shakers in establishing a number of villages in the western frontier at the beginning of the nineteenth century rests with the opportunity provided by the religious revivalism of the Second Great Awakening. Charismatic frontier preachers that converted to the Shaker faith, particularly Richard McNemar, and the astute Shaker missionaries with their equally passionate orators took advantage and captured the hearts, souls and aspirations of many pioneers in Ohio. The Eastern Shakers acted quickly and decisively by providing financial, material and spiritual aid as well as additional missionaries to secure and develop the fledgling Shaker communities. The communal lifestyle provided an early impetus and safety net for the Shakers to rise above the risky subsistence level of farming common to all of the pioneer families.

The surrounding individual farms and towns eventually stabilized and grew, and in many cases surpassed the Shakers economically, as capitalism provided individuals with opportunities to accumulate considerable material wealth or lose it through competition in the marketplace. The Shakers operated under a different system for amassing and distributing wealth, which collapsed class inequalities to a common level through cooperation. They measured individual success or status by personal achievement of ever greater levels of devotion to the Shaker faith rather than the possession of valued objects and money. Attracting and maintaining communal members depended on the Shaker leaders' abilities to manage how wide a difference positively or negatively existed between the average American and the average Shaker, both in terms of individual material well-being and individual spiritual well-being.

Although the Western Shaker villages and individual family lots strove to be self sufficient, they simply could not do so over the long term. Shaker leaders constantly dealt with managing the village's population level so as not to outstrip the resources of their finite land holdings while at the same time retaining the range of skilled labors to provide the wide variety of goods and services needed to sustain the village. Membership and the types of members in Shaker communal villages fluctuated up and down as opportunities in the capitalist American society ebbed and flowed. At times, the Shakers needed to rely on outside material and labor resources to fill their needs, increasingly so as membership declined in the later years of the nineteenth century. So, throughout the nineteenth century, the Shaker leaders worked to maintain their communities in a delicate balance of being outside of the world while actually participating in it.

Shakers on the Frontier

The Kentucky Revivals of 1801 served as the impetus for the Eastern Shakers to seek converts amongst the pioneer settlers of the newly opened Northwest Territory. The smoldering internal dissentions created by the Second Great Awakening amongst the Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists sparked on the frontier during the 1800 annual Presbyterian communion meeting of the Red River congregation in Logan County, Kentucky. From there a series of ever growing camp meetings held over the next year culminated with the Cane Ridge Meeting, that lasted for six days with 18 clergy, primarily Presbyterian but including Methodists and Baptist, preaching to a crowd estimated somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000 pioneer settlers. The revival meeting garnered national coverage in newspapers, which caught the attention of the Eastern Shaker leaders.

The Shakers noted similarities between their own religious meetings and the high spirited, less formal revivals that focused on individual divine salvation, and recognized an opportunity to spread their faith in the western frontier. The Eastern Shakers also realized that only charismatic leaders steeped in their faith and with the talent, energy, and ability to carry out the Shaker mission could gather converts and convince them to follow the stringent Shaker code of behavior. Three Shaker missionaries left on a long circuitous route down the East Coast and through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky searching for the camp meeting preachers and their congregations. Eventually, they crossed into Ohio and met with the Turtle Creek congregation and their preacher, Richard McNemar. In McNemar, the Shakers found the charismatic leader they sought.

During the Kentucky Revivals, McNemar was one of the many Presbyterian preachers attempting to break from rigid formal Calvinist traditions and liturgies. He and his Cabin Creek congregation hosted one of the first camp meetings. After the Kentucky Revivals, McNemar took over the ministry of the Turtle Creek congregation from a more traditional Presbyterian preacher. In less than a year, he faced a heresy trial at the Washington Presbytery in Cincinnati for his teaching that individuals could personally receive divine salvation through confession and good works, which directly challenged the fundamental Presbyterian doctrine of God's predetermination of the elected souls and the natural depravity of people. Although the presbytery allowed him to continue preaching, a sizeable opposition remained and by 1803 managed to get a condemnation of his Turtle Creek

ministry. McNemar and the other unorthodox Presbyterian preachers immediately reacted by splitting from the church and forming their own presbytery.

The Eastern Shaker missionaries arrived amongst this turmoil in 1805 and convinced McNemar that his spiritual convictions mirrored the Shakers. With his conversion, McNemar brought his Turtle Creek congregation into the Shaker fold, along with some of the other unorthodox Presbyterian preachers whose congregations become the Kentucky Shaker villages of Pleasant Hill and South Union. In less than a decade the Turtle Creek congregation transformed into Union Village and naturally served as the base of the Eastern Shakers frontier missionary work, depending on McNemar for his organizational skills, local knowledge, and eloquence as an orator and writer (Stein 1992:109).

The revivalist Presbyterian preachers and congregations were known as the New Lights, which was a reference to the internal light of Jesus Christ the Savior which each individual's soul received during their divine salvation. The Shakers interest in the New Lights extended beyond the similarity in doctrine to the apparent similarity in the actual physical manifestation of individuals receiving divine salvation during the meetings. Throughout the sermons and songs, members of the congregation involuntarily expressed their devotion through shouting, jerking of their head and limbs, and collapsing in trance. These involuntarily physical "exercises" reflected the internal casting off of evil and the acceptance of the Savior, which was evident in the changed demeanor of the awakened individual. Individuals publicly and emotionally confessed their sins and petitioned Jesus Christ for redemption as a prelude to receiving their divine salvation. Compared to traditional church ritual and liturgies, the camp meetings exhibited limited structure and organization which provided a fluid and highly charged atmosphere.

McNemar and his followers preferred voluntary dancing with accompanying song tunes as more appropriate individual acceptance of God than the blind impulse to God's power reflected by uncontrolled individual shouting and jerking. By 1805, the Shakers, who traced their roots back to the mid-eighteenth century Shaking Quakers of England, already transformed such individual physical expressions into their well known formal and somber dance that reflected their tenants of simplicity and separation of the sexes. The dancing or "exercises" provided each participant with emotional release in a religious and socially acceptable context, which apparently ranged in intensity from enthusiasm to ecstasy.

The Eastern and Western Shakers shared the concept that individuals had the free will to seek their own divine salvation but differed on the range of individual freedom to interpret God's will from the bible and to express their faith. Their similarities brought them together and distinguished them from the other Christian religions and sects, all of which were adapting their doctrines and practices in response to the issues raised by the Second Great Awakening. Both the Eastern and Western Shakers understood the importance of the group or community to provide a safe haven for like-minded individuals, they differed on how much individual freedom needed to be relinquished to define like-mindedness and to maintain the group.

The Eastern Shakers came from a background of class inequality and developed a religious doctrine with a rigid code of behavior that promoted spiritual and material equality of all individuals through the well being of the Shaker community. Spiritual guidance and the code

of behavior came from the divinely inspired teachings of the original Shaker leaders, in which all converts received instruction from the Elders and Eldresses. All behavior, even mundane daily actions, needed to be performed in divinely acceptable manner, so individuals progressed in spiritually perfection. They lived in a closed community operating daily under these teachings.

On the other hand, the Western Shakers were pioneer settlers on the frontier with relatively equal status. They operated individual farms and resorted to communal efforts as needed, such as a barn raising, or during life-affirming events like births, marriages and deaths. Religiously like-minded individuals formed local churches for camaraderie and moral support, but met infrequently as the circuit minister made his round. Individual freedom and relative isolation allowed them to read, interpret and understand their bibles on their own terms. When they did assemble, they expressed and discussed their own religious views including appropriate behavior. This worldview influenced how the western converts approached the Shaker faith.

The two differing worldviews contributed to social tensions between the Eastern and Western Shakers at Union Village which waxed and waned throughout the community's entire existence (Bakken 1998). The underlying philosophical debate of whether the individuals controlled the community or the community controlled the individuals was never resolved. Regardless of any particular differences in this debate, Union Village still followed the decisions and directives coming from the Central Ministry at New Lebanon. Individual leaders came and went but the community carried on. At times, the Central Ministry sent Eastern Shaker envoys to check on the spiritual, physical and financial well being of the community and took corrective actions as needed, which were always followed by the western communities.

From the beginning, the Eastern Shakers recognized leaders amongst the Western Shakers at Union Village and selected these individuals to accompany them on their missionary journeys to establish additional frontier Shaker villages. Within a decade, the Shaker missionaries established four additional villages (Watervleit, Ohio; West Union, Indiana; and Pleasant Hill and South Union, Kentucky); and within two decades two more Ohio villages, North Union and Whitewater, were started solely by Western Shaker leaders (Stein 1992:109). The importance of Union Village as the political and communication hub of the Western Shaker communities is reflected in the naming of three villages (North Union, West Union and South Union) by their geographical relationship to Union Village (Boice et al. 1997:18).

By establishing a presence on the frontier and developing their villages, the Eastern Shakers provided material symbols of spiritual and economic success to attract more converts to their community and worldview. Perfection, simplicity and permanence reflect the divine in ideal Shaker community plans, architecture and crafts. Yet the reality behind the intertwining of the spiritual and economic successes reveals the social tensions within the Shaker community.

Although the communal lifestyle views all members as equals with each contributing to the best of their abilities, individual variation exists whether by innate differences in ability and

talent or by choice of action. In attempting to achieve perfection, individuals progress at different rates and reach different real or perceived levels of perfection. In order to maintain a self-sufficient Shaker Village, the leaders needed to develop a population of diversely talented individuals who provided for the community's spiritual and physical needs. Without the diversity of talent, the Shaker leaders had to open the community to hired labor and outside resources and services in exchange for Shaker goods and services. Consequently, the ideals for spiritual perfection also played a part in how well the Shakers participated in an open market. Historical factors inside and outside the Shaker village affected how much the community fluctuated between being closed and opened. Diversity in the material symbols over time and throughout the Shaker village should reflect the internal variations as well as the relative openness of the community.

Historical Overview of Union Village

Union Village, a dynamic Shaker community for more than a century, continuously changed the landscape, through its growth, decline and eventual transformation into Otterbein Homes and Farm. As with most frontier Ohio settlements, a general progression from log huts to frame buildings to substantial brick buildings occurred (MacLean 1902:257). However, the replacement of the pioneer family's log hut with a large communal dwelling rather than a single family home clearly distinguished the Shakers from their neighbors. Most major building construction, particularly the large brick buildings, was completed between 1805 and 1836. Most of the frame structures also existed by 1834, but since they were easier to fabricate and dismantle, the Shakers moved or modified them as needed throughout the nineteenth century.

Union Village experienced a rapid population growth that mirrored the early building boom and reached its maximum historical population of 600 residents by the early 1830s. The community followed a basic development plan from the beginning in which all 4500 acres were divided into parcels with specified uses. The Eastern Shakers developed the western villages according to their distinct linear community plan, with established building designs to symbolize their religious worldview, as well as to promote social cohesion for their communal lifestyle (Hayden 1976). Although local building traditions and materials required some design modifications, the Shakers strove to maintain their ideals of orderliness, simplicity, permanence, and perfection so their community represented heaven on earth.

During their first year in the frontier the three Eastern Shaker missionaries shared the small frame home of Malcolm Worley, a prominent member of the Turtle Creek congregation and a neighbor of Richard McNemar. The missionaries held meetings at the homes of recently converted or interested pioneer families, most of who also belonged to the Turtle Creek congregation, until the crowds became too large to be accommodated. McNemar's double log cabin home contained a sheltered open space called a dog trot, which provided sufficient room for the Shakers' dancing. Still, a need existed to separate the Shakers from the on-looking bystanders. So, adapting the Shaker worldview to the frontier conditions, the Shakers raised a wooden platform, reminiscent of the camp meetings, at what would become the focal point of the Shaker village. The platform stood on the corner of the crossroad formed by the

dirt road leading west from McNemar's cabin and the one heading south from Worley's farmhouse. In contrast to the camp meeting platform, all of the Shakers, not just the preachers, assembled on it for the meeting, a clear sign of equality within the group; while spectators crowded around and below, a clear sign of segregation from the outside world (Bakken 1998:87).

The symbolic importance of the platform was not lost on the surrounding neighbors, some of whom vehemently opposed the Shakers and burnt the platform to the ground. The Shakers were not so easily intimidated, and rebuilt the platform, replacing it within three years with a small frame meetinghouse. By 1818, the Shakers moved the first meetinghouse and converted it into a shop, so a larger and more proper Shaker meetinghouse could be erected on the original location of the platform.

In the first year of Union Village, the Shaker missionaries demonstrated their organizational abilities, with successes that convinced the Central Ministry to send supplies, finances and additional Shakers to instruct the new converts and expand the community. Six Shaker sisters and four brothers arrived in 1806 and crowded into Worley's home. Within a year, they acquired a neighboring farm to the south and moved into the log cabin as the Elder Family and began the construction of the first communal house, a 30 foot by 40 foot two-story frame structure with a chimney at either end.

At the time, it represented the largest structure in the surrounding community, except for public buildings in the nearby towns. The Eastern Shaker brethren, with some hired help, constructed the communal house, so the newly converted pioneer families, the Young Believers, could concentrate on their own subsistence needs (Bakken 1998:92). Prior to the 1812 Covenant, the Western Shakers remained on their individual farms, receiving instruction in Shaker beliefs and getting practical experience in communal work activities by constructing the meetinghouse, mill ponds and shops and roads. The Elder Family and the first communal house served as a symbol of an achievable communal wealth and prosperity.

Most of the published accounts of the Union Village Shakers focus on the Center Family Lot and the South Family Lot, since these two building clusters housed the Church Order and the administrative offices of the community throughout the entire Shaker occupation. Likewise, more is known and written about the Center Family Lot buildings, simply because they survived in greater number into the twentieth century (Phillips 1969). Historically, as the Shaker community reduced in number they retreated to their core buildings: the meetinghouse, the administrative office and the communal house of the Center Family Lot.

Although community leader Richard McNemar's farm was selected to serve as the East Family Lot, the core membership moved initially to the South Family Lot and the Center Family Lot, while the East Family Lot served as the Gathering Order. In 1812, the East Family dispersed to accommodate the West Union Shakers, who abandoned their Busro, Indiana settlement for health reasons and potential Indian uprisings stemming from the War of 1812 (Bakken 1998:153, Stein 1992:64). When the Busro families returned to Indiana a couple of years later, a frame house replaced McNemar's original log cabin as the communal dwelling and a Children's Order moved to the East Family Lot (Bakken 1998:387, MacLean 1902:258). The Children's Order was then replaced by the main family of the Gathering

Order. By 1828, the East Family Lot housed an Intermediate Order family, while members of the Gathering Order dispersed to the North Family Lot and the West Family Lot. After a devastating flood in 1835 and following an edict from the Eastern Ministry to bring the western communities in line with the eastern villages, a community-wide reorganization took place, with the East Family abandoning their home and dispersing amongst the other Union Village families, with several members replacing the Gathering Order at the North Family Lot (MacLean 1902:284). It was also at this time that the Intermediate Order had its name changed to the "Second Order." The East Family Lot, as well as the West Family Lot, remained unoccupied by the Shakers, with the West Family Lot eventually rented to a tenant farm family while buildings at the East Family Lot were torn down or relocated to other family lots.

The historical Shaker accounts confuse the three western building groups; West Family Lot, West Frame Lot, and West Brick Lot by generally referring to them as the West Family or the West Farm. The initial account of the West Family begins with the Eli Houston family moving in with the David Spinning family in 1812 to form the West Family (Bakken 1998:147). This was the same year the converts signed the covenant and began organizing into Shaker families. A second account indicates construction finished in 1813 on the large frame communal house, as well as numerous barns and sheds that formed the West Frame Family Lot (Phillips 1969:117). They clearly reflect a group of Young Believers distinct from the Center Family which contained the Eastern Shakers and the more prominent Young Believers.

The hierarchical position of the western family lots in comparison with those clustered round the Center Family Lot changed over the course of the Shaker occupation, as the western family lots became more prominent than the families associated the Gathering Order, located to the east and north of the Center Family in the 1820s. During the 1820s and into the early 1830s, the West Brick Family Lot and the West Frame Family Lot housed Intermediate Order families, including many of the skilled laborers that lived at Union Village (MacLean 1902:265). In 1818, the Youth Order organized and operated a brick yard at the West Frame Family Lot and produced bricks for several Shaker building projects, as well as for sale outside of the community (Bakken 1998:388). The proceeds of brick sales went to lower the Shakers' debts. As early as 1824, other western Shaker communities received pottery produced at the West Brick Family Lot (Phillips 1969:126). However, during the community reorganization following the 1835 flood and the dictation from the Eastern Ministry to make the western villages fall closer in line to the organization of the eastern villages, the function of both of these lots was converted to house Gathering Order families, and the skilled laborers were moved to the North Family Lot and the Center Family. By the 1850s, the West Brick House provided accommodations for visitors and potential converts, as well as housing for hired laborers (Edwards 1988:77–79). This effectively sequestered outsiders well away from the devout core of the Shaker community during the period in which Union Village's interactions with the outside world steadily increased.

The question of how "worldly" the western family lots operated in relationship to the core family lots raises the issue of how accurately does the traditional view of the pious, self sufficient, and closed Shaker utopian community apply to Union Village. A growing body of

evidence from recent Shaker and other utopian community studies suggests the traditional account applies to the core group of initial pioneer converts and Eastern Shakers who provided guidance, leadership and unwavering commitment. Their authoritarian control of the community waxed and waned with the periodic rise and fall of religious revivalism that affected all of American society.

The initial period of revival fervor lead to the founding, planning and maximum expansion of Union Village between 1805 and 1825. A subsequent up stirring of Spiritualism and millenarian preaching in the 1840s and 1850s lead to an influx of new converts and the reinstitution of strict enforcement of the Millennial Laws to control and educated the uninitiated. The religious zeal spurred a period of sustained prosperity through the end of the Civil War (MacLean 1902:288), including the construction of the largest brick buildings ever built at Union Village. However, by the beginning of the 1870s, the core group of Shakers was aging, and the long term viability of the community came into question as retention of newer members increasingly became a problem. An educational forum called the Lyceum, established in 1871, forestalled the loss of some younger members to the outside world by providing them with a popular education through drama and debate (MacLean 1902:297). Besides providing some outside contact, the Lyceum doubled as a weekly business meeting meant to promote community interest amongst the youth by giving them a voice in the community's affairs (Nordhoff 1978 [1875]:203).

However, the population decline continued unabated, primarily due to economic and social factors caused by the Civil War and the lack of another revivalist movement (Edwards 1988:80). By the mid 1870s Union Village contained only 215 Shakers, of which 22 percent were under the age of 21, while 36 percent were over the age of 60 (Nordhoff 1978 [1875]:256, Edwards 1988:87). Consequently, the leaders needed to drastically reorganize the community to sustain the daily operations. To compensate for the lack of laborers in farming and the maintenance of buildings, the Shakers intensified their earlier practices of hiring and providing shelter for hired hands and tenant farm families. In the mid 1870s, the total population of 285 individuals at Union Village included 40 people from tenant families and 30 hired single laborers, which together account for almost 25 percent of the entire community (Nordhoff 1978 [1875]:200). The single men hired as laborers lived amongst the Gathering Order and Intermediate Order families and shared rooms in the communal houses or in vacant shop buildings, while the tenant farm families occupied small two-story frame houses, remodeled from vacant Shaker shops and relocated in close association with the farm outbuildings at the different family lots.

The 1890s witnessed the Shaker leaders' final attempt to rejuvenate Union Village with the elaborate renovation in the ornate Victorian style and modernization of the original Center Frame House that served as the administrative office, renaming it Marble Hall. In addition, the Shakers contracted for the repair of ten miles of hedge fence and wire fence, as well as the planting of 1,900 fruit trees were set to replace the losses from an 1886 tornado (MacLean 1902:302). They erected a train station along the newly constructed rail line at the western edge Union Village to receive the materials for the numerous renovation projects. Nearly all of the agricultural fields from the various family lots were rented out in 100 acre parcels, but the Shakers retained for their use all established gardens and orchards. The effort

failed in attracting new converts and by the end of the 1890s, only 60 elderly Shakers remained; within another decade, the number dwindled to 28 (Phillippi 1909:2). The last new members came to Union Village in 1900 from the two recently dissolved Ohio Shaker villages at North Union and Watervleit, and formed their own family occupying the North Family Lot house, but this family disbanded and relocated to the Center family in 1906 (MacLean 1902:301).

The Shaker Buildings of Union Village

The social dynamics and demographic trends of Union Village contribute to an imprecise accounting of the total number of buildings, as well as their periods of occupation and functions. During the first two decades of establishing Union Village, the Shaker families gradually gave up their small farmsteads to live in the communal houses. Some of these farmsteads served as focal points for developing the Shaker family lots. However, other farmsteads, especially those of the far outlying pioneer families could not be feasibly incorporated within the Union Village family lots and the buildings were either abandoned or the materials reused. This factor may account for some of the inventoried and reported early Shaker archaeological sites that occur outside of the known family lots (see Chapter 3).

Prior to the beginning of this study, the current estimated number of Shaker buildings at Union Village was 93 individual structures, including the train station and the Turtle Creek Presbyterian Church, which are not directly associated with any of the family lots but occur on the periphery of the Shaker landholdings (Figure 8).

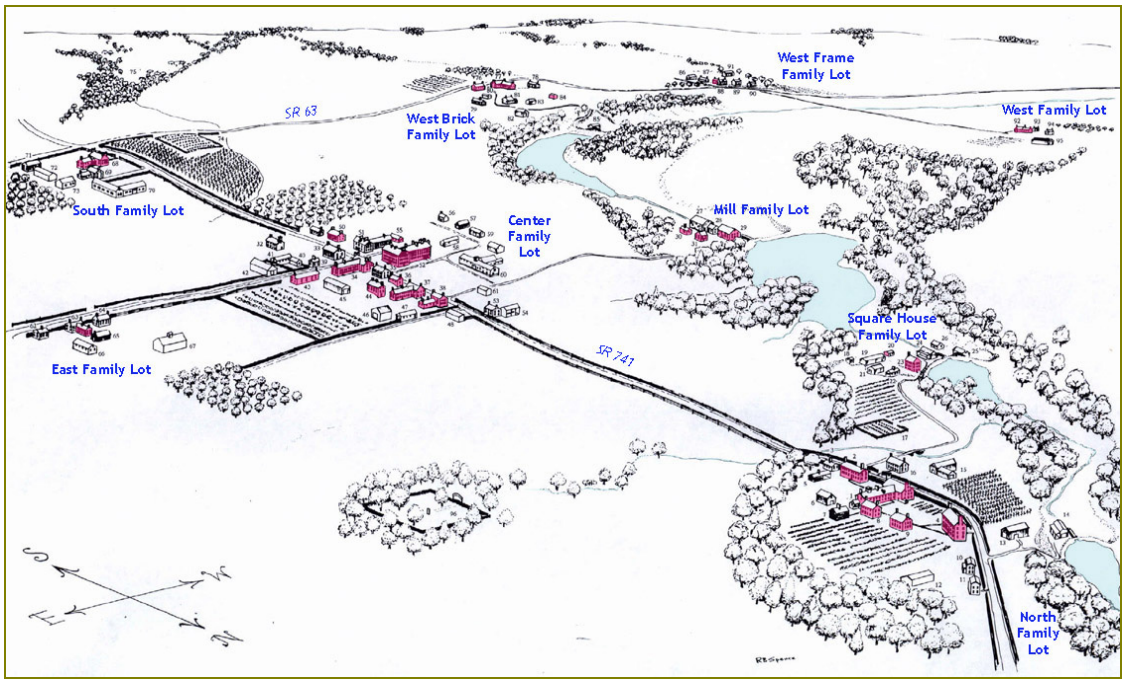

Figure 8. Union Village buildings and family lots
Adapted from Spence's (1989) compilation map, *A View of Union Village, Lebanon, Ohio*
Red denotes a brick building. (Warren County Historical Society).

All of the currently known buildings were not necessarily contemporaneous, although about 90 percent of them were constructed within 30 years of Union Village's founding. Besides the buildings, two cemeteries and an open air meeting ground called Jehovah's Chosen Square represent formally enclosed spaces, while several mill dams and races (not included in the building count) formed a series of ponds along a narrow and entrenched segment of Shaker Creek. The flat ground extending west and south between the West Frame Family Lot and the West Family formerly contained a swamp, until the Shakers ditched and straightened the channel of Shaker Creek. After being drained, this section of land became some of the Shakers' most productive agricultural fields.

In a general scheme, Union Village represented the opening and closing of a portal linking heaven and earth in the Shaker worldview. Shaker influence expanded from the focal point of the Center Family Lot, dominated the local landscape for slightly more than a century, then eventually shrank back to Marble Hall, a building untypically Shaker in appearance. During this 100 year period, the vibrant Shaker community, marked by dynamic social tension resulting from internal and external conflicts and historical and natural contingencies, continuously altered and affected the landscape. The material record of these alterations is barely visible in the modern landscape, but evidence of the Shaker influence still remains in the ground and in the archives.

Historical Overview of the North Family Lot

The North Family Lot remains somewhat of an enigma in the history of the overall organization and function of Union Village. Published histories rarely discuss events occurring at this family lot, but this silence reflects a lack of prior research interest rather than limited archival materials. The few historical accounts reflect the village leaders' perspective on the North Family Lot and how it should be organized and used. The North Family Lot was home to either a Gathering Order or Intermediate Order family for the duration of its existence, so it would always be in a subservient position to the Center Family in terms of influence. But for this very reason, the view from within the family lot becomes an important Shaker research interest. The number, the size, and the substantial construction of the buildings, as well as their proximity to the Center Family Lot suggest the important but overlooked role the North Family Lot played in Union Village.

The following brief overview of the North Family Lot summarizes the limited state of knowledge about the lot available prior to the beginning of the project. The information on the lot that was gathered as part of preparation for the project ended up raising more questions than providing answers concerning the buildings and layout of the family lot.

In 1807, the Eastern Shakers purchased Isaac Morris's 100-acre farm on the tract immediately north of Malcolm Worley's farm (Bakken 1998:126). To solidify their holdings, the Shakers purchased property from unconverted neighbors during a relatively short but intensive period of financial activity between 1805 and 1812. Isaac Morris did not eventually convert, but several other Morrises are listed on Shaker membership rolls, and are presumably members of his family. Isaac Morris vacated his log house and fields, but exactly when the Shakers occupied the farm was unknown. Construction of the North Family Lot

buildings, one of the last family lots developed by the Shakers, occurred in the 1820s. It seems unlikely the Shakers would let the house and fields stand idle, but no account was found during the preliminary research for this project that discussed the use of the farm during this intervening period.

Three large brick buildings fronting the curve in the road at the North Family Lot survived into the twentieth century and are known by name. The Sisters' Carding Shop, the largest brick workshop and probably the last Shaker-constructed brick building in the entire community, occupied the inside of the curve. Immediately south of the curve sat the T-shaped communal house and kitchen, which became known as the Good Samaritan Home after Otterbein Homes and Farm renovated it for a nursing home. Lying about 300 feet south of the communal house, the elongated Brothers' Broom Shop represents another impressive brick workshop.

Completed in 1823 as the focal point of the North Family Lot, the brick T-shaped communal house originally served for less than a year as the trustees' office and visitor's building until the North House of the Center Family Lot was completed and took over those functions (Phillips 1969:124). Since both buildings share similar names and were built in the same year of similar design and construction, they can be easily confused during the reading of the archival manuscripts.

In 1835, the Shakers employed 24 oxen and two spans of horses to move a large, two or three story, 30 foot by 46 foot frame shop from the East Family Lot to the North Family Lot (Phillips 1969:119). Its precise placement within the North Family Lot is not reported. However, this large frame shop cannot be misinterpreted as the Sisters' Carding Shop, since it predates the large brick shop by 20 years. The 1989 compilation map includes only one large frame shop at the North Family Lot, and places it on the opposite side of the road from all the brick buildings (Figure 8).

A quote from the 7 October 1836 Ministry of Union Village correspondence to the Ministry of South Union reporting on the movement of all of the potters from the West Brick Family Lot to the North Family Lot complicates the interpretation of the large frame shop. As part of reassigning the potters, it became necessary to build two considerable sized buildings, one brick and one frame, as well as a large kiln at the North Family Lot to accommodate the pottery business (Muller 1979:100). As of the date of the letter, the buildings were completed and pottery production begun. If the phrase "necessary to build" can be construed to mean to move and refurbish an existing structure, then the large frame shop from the East Family Lot could be synonymous with the frame workshop constructed for the potters. In similar fashion, the reference to building a large brick shop might refer to the Brothers' Broom Shop, in spite of the building's name. Broom manufacturing developed as a major Shaker craft industry during the 1840s and 1850s, so the Brothers' Broom Shop could have functioned as a pottery prior to the mid -nineteenth century (MacLean 1902:289). Depending on how these two references are interpreted, they can represent two, three or four buildings constructed or moved by the Shakers within a year at the North Family Lot.

Further complicating this line of inquiry is a third passage, attributed to an unspecified 1836 document, which states "45 feet was added to the brick Smith Shop at the West family making 80 feet for a fitted up pottery" (Phillips 1969:126). The reported length corresponds closely to the elongated Brothers' Broom Shop and the location of the pottery at the West Family contradicts the reported relocation of potters to the North Family Lot. The reference to West Family is somewhat difficult to interpret, since no known brick shop occurs at the West Family Lot and only one occurs at the West Frame Lot (Figure 3). At least one brick shop was present in 1834 at the West Brick Family Lot and served as a pottery with a separate structure for the kiln behind it (see Chapter 4). If the reference for the West Family refers to the people rather than the family lot, then the brick smith shop could be located at the North Family Lot to which the potters from the West Family were relocated. If this passage actually refers to the North Family Lot and the dimensions for the pottery are accurate, then the Brothers' Broom Shop could be the expanded brick smith shop. Whether the large kiln also represents the conversion of previously existing structure at the North Family Lot is even more highly speculative, but not out of the realm of possibility.

Relatively little is known about the Sisters' Carding Shop, since it goes unmentioned in any of the published historical accounts. The most intriguing aspect of the building is the late construction date and how its large size fits into the overall Union Village plan. Built in 1854 towards the end of the Spiritualism and millenarian revival and just before the Civil War, it represents the only major shop constructed after the reorganization of the family lots in the 1830s. In 1861, the Shakers introduced knitting machines to the woolen factory, but the operation still could not compete with outside manufacturers and the machines were dismantled in 1869 (MacLean 1902:293–295). Whether this account refers specifically to the Sisters' Carding Shop is unclear. If it does, then this enormous building had a short life span of roughly 15 years for its intended function. Presumably, it would have been put to other uses, although the building is documented as vacant and unused at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Although a current lack of narrative accounts exists concerning the North Family Lot, some available maps and photographs document the transformation of the landscape and the streetscape associated with this cluster of buildings at the curve in the road (see Chapter 4). Since the curve existed as a dirt trail in 1807 when road building began and with the placement of the Shaker buildings close to the road edge by the mid-1820s, no appreciable change in the alignment has occurred in nearly two centuries. In comparison to the curve, the limited archival accounts suggest the buildings and layout of the North Family Lot witnessed considerable change. In general, the larger and more substantial (brick) buildings remained as permanent fixtures on the landscape, while frame and smaller brick structures were more likely to be replaced, relocated or razed. The transformation to tenant farming during the later Shaker period becomes evident in the juxtaposition of the small tenant farm family houses constructed from former Shaker shops amongst the enormous and principally vacant brick structures.

CHAPTER 3. PRIOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTEREST IN UNION VILLAGE AND WESTERN SHAKERS

The contemporary public is generally unaware of the role and importance of the Shakers in nineteenth-century Ohio, not to mention American social history, despite the fact that Ohio can boast of the presence of Union Village, the Shakers' Western Bishopric, as well as three other successful Shaker communities: Whitewater at Hamilton, Watervliet at Dayton, and North Union at Shaker Heights. With few exceptions, the communities are vanishing from the Ohio landscape, and historical studies and accounts date to the first half of the twentieth century. Archaeology played no role in studying the Ohio Shaker communities until recently, and still plays a minor role since the work was conducted over limited areas as cultural resource management (CRM) surveys.

The technical reports for these surveys are unpublished with limited circulation among the responsible federal, state and local agencies. The public has access to the technical reports through the state historic preservation office, but they are difficult to find and use, even for full time researchers. In some cases to protect the site and the property owner, individuals must demonstrate a research need before being granted access to the report. More importantly, when checking the catalog of CRM reports, the titles refer to the development project and rarely divulge what archaeological resources, if any, are identified and discussed in the reports.

The inability to readily identify CRM survey reports involving any of the Ohio Shaker communities is somewhat of a mixed blessing. The CRM surveys at Union Village, Watervleit, and North Union are either long narrow corridors or small tracts of five acres or less (Addington et al. 1989, Bevan 1985, Clarke 1984, Cowan and Genheimer 2002, Keener et al 2001, Mooney 1985, Kreinbrink and Ross-Stallings 1990, Mooney and Fassler 1987, Norris 1983, Parish et al. 1999, Perkins and Striker 1998, Riordan 1985 and 1996, Roberts 1987, Roberts and Stehling 1987, and White 1980). They tend to avoid the locations where buildings were clustered and consequently encounter few Shaker remains. Only one CRM survey at Whitewater was designed specifically to locate and inventory remnant Shaker buildings (Janzen 1992).

A few notable and recent archaeological investigations are beginning to change the public's awareness and understanding of Western Shakers. They occur at Pleasant Hill, the restored Shaker village in Harrodsburg, Kentucky and South Union in Logan County, Kentucky (Deiss 1987, Fiegel 1995, Janzen 1981, Mansberger and Deiss 1990, McBride 1995, and Sisk 1993). Listed as a National Historic Landmark with funding from the National Park Service, Pleasant Hill is a major tourist attraction which, in the current public mind, usurps Union Village's role as the principal Western Shaker community. Archaeology played and continues to play an important part in the restoration at both Kentucky Shaker communities.

The most thorough book on Shaker archaeology, *Neither Plain nor Simple: New Perspectives on the Canterbury Shakers*, was published during the consultations for the planning of the North Family Lot data recovery (Starbuck 2004). Although the book deals with the Eastern Shaker community of Canterbury in New Hampshire, one of the main premises that the Shakers might not be living up to their ideals of perfection echoed and reinforced some of the research objectives being planned for the North Family Lot excavations (see Chapter 5). Another main premise, that the Shakers produced identifiable signatures (patterns) on the landscape, also fits well with the North Family Lot research objectives to accurately map the structural remnants and place them in their overall context within Union Village. Producing a report which provides comparable and complementary information from a Western Shaker community became a goal of the project.

The Canterbury study benefitted from 25 years of development, where most buildings and built landscape features remained standing and the entire community could be mapped prior to excavations. A wealth of archival materials provided a rich context in which to formulate research questions. Finally, buildings and locations within the village could be selected for excavation over several fieldwork seasons to specifically address the research questions.

In contrast, the selection of the North Family Lot over any other area within Union Village simply resulted from the impact of the highway project on the buried structures. Their historic context was based on a limited prior archaeological survey and archival information. Considerable archival information for Union Village, and specifically the North Family Lot, actually exists but examining the documents had to occur during the three months of fieldwork and in the months following the fieldwork. The Canterbury study best served the North Family Lot excavations methodologically by identifying what material remains best address the research questions, where they most likely occur within the Shaker community, and how best to recover them.

Previous Archaeological Work at Union Village

Portions of five previous CRM surveys occur within the boundary of the original, approximately 4500 ac (1821 ha), Shaker land holdings (Addington et al. 1989, Cowan and Genheimer 2002, Genheimer 1991, Kreinbrink and Ross-Stallings 1990, and White 1980). All five surveys avoid the nine known Shaker family lots, but not by design, since mapping of the family lots was not readily available at the time of the previous surveys (see Figure 3). In addition, a local amateur archaeologist provided information for a number of Shaker period archaeological sites, which occurred within and adjacent to Union Village. From all of the previous work, nine archaeological sites related to the Shaker occupation have been located and seven have been inventoried.

The actual area surveyed and the methods used are not well documented in the earliest CRM reports. A reasonable estimate of the amount of land previously surveyed within the original Shaker landholdings is 43.9 ac (17.8 ha) or roughly one percent of the total maximum holdings.

The 2005 archaeological investigations are not the first ODOT venture into Shaker archaeology at the North Family Lot and other portions of Union Village. Initial ODOT interest in the Shaker community came with the 1985 and 1986 surveys for improvements to the SR 63/SR 741 intersection. In the nineteenth century, this intersection served as the south entrance to the core of the Union Village community, as well as the east entrance to the three western family lots. The intersection lies approximately 1.25 mile south of the curve and the North Family Lot.

Except for the Shaker cemetery on the northwest corner of the intersection, which was easily avoided, the intersection improvement involved no known buildings of the South Family Lot. So, it was a bit of a surprise when the 1985 archaeological survey exposed an extensive trash dump consisting primarily of domestic (kitchen) refuse (redware bowls, ceramic plates, glass containers, kitchen utensils), with a little architectural debris; (square nails, window glass, bricks and mortar), scattered along the side of a low knoll and into a drainage swale on the opposite of the road from the cemetery and about 0.25 mi from the southwest corner of the intersection (Figure 1). The plates and bowls consisted of ceramic types common to the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, which were replaced by improved wares after 1830. So, the trash related to the early pioneer settlement and the first two decades of the Shaker occupation. Personal objects including a buckle, eyelets, buttons, smoking pipes, eyeglass lenses, and a gunflint were also part of the refuse.

Although the Station Creek Site (33WA404), as named by the archaeologists, was a trash dump, the minor amount of architectural debris and the large ceramic and glass fragments suggested the debris originated close by and the buried remnants of a early nineteenth century pioneer farmhouse could be expected on top of the knoll just outside of the surveyed area (Addington et al. 1989). The site is located in Section 29 of the township and its presence is difficult to explain, because for this part of the State of Ohio, the original land surveys set aside Section 29 as ministerial lands expressly for religious purposes. This explains the early presence of Richard McNemar's Turtle Creek Presbyterian Church in this section, while his home was a mile north in Section 24. After 1803 the newly formed state of Ohio began permitting land leases to settlers within Section 29 and eventually allowed purchase of land in 1833. At the time of the 1985 and 1986 ODOT surveys, the only archival records available indicated the Shakers acquired parcels from Section 29 about 1867 (Genheimer 1991:34). Consequently, conclusive documentary evidence for the Shaker origin of the site was lacking and identifying the site as Shaker rested upon comparative artifact assemblages from known Shaker archeological deposits within Union Village. ODOT recognized the National Register significance of the Station Creek Site and modified the construction plans to avoid it, as well as the Shaker cemetery on the opposite side of the road.

The initial archival research for the current highway project encountered copies of plan maps for Union Village from 1807 and 1829, which provide additional information for interpreting the Station Creek Site as Shaker (See Chapter 4). The 1807 map demonstrates the Shakers already acquired parcels on the southeast and southwest corners of the SR 63/SR741 intersection in Section 23 but not from the ministerial lands. Likewise, the road which would become SR 63 was still a dirt trail, while the Shakers already constructed the north south road (SR 741) and the road east to McNemar's house forming the first crossroads in the

center of Union Village. The 1829 map shows the Shakers acquired control of Section 29 and subdivided parcels into gardens, orchard, pasture and tilling fields. The caption clearly states:

> This section called the Ministerial Section cannot with full propriety be said to belong to believers but is held in a lease for the space of 99 years.

The crossroad at SR 63 and SR 741 is present and clearly shows that these two roads are the principal roads through and out of Union Village. So, sometime between 1807 and 1829 the Shakers gained control of the ministerial lands and maintained the control through the nineteenth century.

Neither map identifies a building on the ministerial lands where the Station Creek Site is located. The 1829 map shows all of the communal houses associated with the nine family lots, so it seems a communal house was not present by 1829 at the location of the Station Creek Site. Also, the amount of domestic refuse argues against the Station Creek Site being a farm outbuilding, which are structures not depicted on the 1829 map

Although the maps do not confirm the presence of a structure, they demonstrate that the Shakers controlled the use of this land early in the founding of their community and could have built a structure. Evidence for a structure comes from short, almost obscure passages, in two separate historical accounts. In one account of the 1830 reorganization of the Union Village leadership and family lots, the following passage occurs.

> Also, a family formerly lived on the south side of the Lebanon road, about a quarter mile from the cross road. It was a school or children's order broken up in 1828 (MacLean 1902:265).

A second account of the organization of the community in 1812, when the pioneer families first began to split into Shaker families noted the Children's Order occupied McNemar's cabin and became the East Family, while a Youth Order occupied a new cabin south of the meetinghouse (Bakken 1998:146–147).

Neither account precisely places a children's or youth's cabin at the Station Creek Site. In fact the traditional interpretation of these accounts places the cabin within the South Family Lot. Such an interpretation requires the reference to the Lebanon Road be viewed as referring to the east-west road the Shakers constructed in 1807 connecting McNemar's house with the main north-south road (SR 741). However, in 1809 the Shakers built a one mile segment of road along their southern property boundary extending east from the north-south road, thus creating the SR63 and SR 741 crossroads (Bakken 1998:108). The Shaker road construction was part of the beginning of public works projects for the Hamilton-Lebanon Road (SR 63) and the Mason-Springboro Road (SR 741) and reflects their desire to be in charge of the work through their property (Bogan 1992:71–73). So, the east-west road connecting to McNemar's house never became a main thoroughfare to Lebanon, and the reference to the Lebanon Road crossroad could just as well refer to the SR 63/SR 741 intersection.

The next concern with the passage is what direction from the crossroads one goes 0.25 mile to find the cabin. For the traditional interpretation the only possible direction is south, because the road did not extend 0.25 mile to the west and 0.25 mile east would be midway between the Center Family and the East Family. But going south would place the cabin on

either the east or west side of the Mason-Springboro Road rather than on the south side of the Lebanon Road. The Station Creek Site is 0.25 mile west of the SR 63 and SR 741 intersection and on the south side SR 63. During the 1985 ODOT survey only prehistoric artifacts were found from the SR 63/SR 741 intersection east for 0.25 mile (Addington et al. 1989). Consequently, the location of the Station Creek Site fits most closely with the historical Shaker accounts of a short lived group occupying a cabin between 1812 and 1828.

Interestingly, the dwelling locations of the Children and Youth Orders indicate the Shakers initially placed the young people on the periphery of the Shaker community in log cabins; while the adults built and occupied the larger frame dwellings in the core of the community. What this says about establishing the Shaker concept of the family and the role or place of children and adolescents in the community needs more thorough study.

Returning to the initial identification of the Station Creek Site as Shaker, comparative artifact assemblages from within Union Village were needed, since none of the artifacts in the Station Creek Site assemblage were directly attributable to Shaker craft production. In 1985 ODOT archaeologists sampled several surface artifact concentrations within the Shaker landholdings but only one came from a Shaker family lot. Designated as Shaker Site D (33WA407), a similar but more extensive assemblage of domestic and architectural artifacts spread along the western edge of the cornfield behind the grassy field containing the buried building foundations of the North Family Lot (Figure 9).

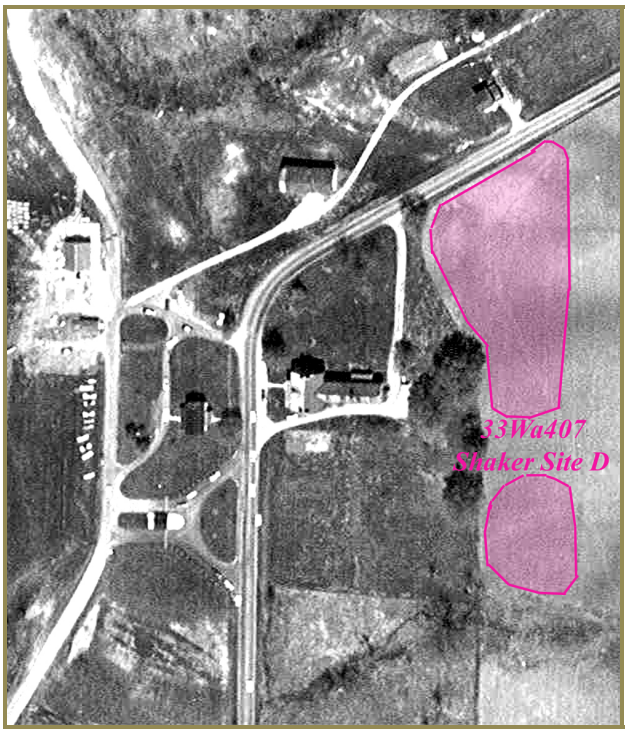

Figure 9. 1960 ODOT aerial map of SR 741 curve showing location of the 1985 ODOT surface collection of the North Family Lot (33WA407)
(Note that the Shaker communal house is still standing)

At the time, ODOT conducted no excavations to determine if the artifacts were from trash dumps or demolished Shaker structures, because the intent was to gather comparative artifact collections and the SR 63/SR 741 intersection improvement did not involve the curve. The current curve realignment also avoids the extensive surface artifact concentration which was still clearly visible twenty years later. The comparative artifact study concluded Shaker Site D (North Family Lot) contained more diverse archaeological resources than the Station Creek Site and demonstrated a higher research potential, but both were significant resources and equally deserving of preservation or additional exploration (Genheimer 1991:83).

The other two comparative surface artifact collections, Shaker Site B (33WA405) and Shaker Site C

(33WA406), also represent trash disposal and come from the slopes of drainage swales in agricultural fields well removed from any of the family lots (Figure 3). Shaker Site B contained kiln furniture and over fired redware sherds, which are waste products associated with a pottery along with broken lead glazed redware and Jackfield-like earthenware. Situated midway between the South Family Lot and the West Brick Family Lot, Shaker Site B provides supporting evidence for the presence of an early nineteenth-century pottery at the West Brick Family Lot, as depicted on 1829 Shaker map. Ceramic production as a Shaker craft, including smoking pipes, as well as the disposal of ceramic waste byproducts (in practice compared to what is prescribed by the Millennial Laws) are under developed but important Shaker research topics. Yet, the preliminary archaeological evidence from Union Village languished in the obscurity of unpublished cultural resource management literature resulting in missed opportunities for developing of research plans at this Ohio Shaker community and contributing to the extensive historical and social studies of the Shakers occurring over the past two decades.

In 2002, an archaeological survey for the one mile long road widening of SR 63 from the IR 75 interchange to the Penn Central rail line included the far western edge of Union Village (Figure 1). The only Shaker structure within this portion of their landholdings was the Union Village Railroad station, which sat to the southeast of the railroad crossing. At this approximate location the archaeological survey encountered a surface scatter of bricks, dressed limestone block, coal and clinkers, window glass, insulator glass, container glass, and ironstone plate sherds. The archaeologists interpreted the Shaker Creek Historic Scatter (33WA746) as a series of trash dumps with the brick attributed to repair of a damaged field drain collector and culvert system (Cowan and Genheimer 2002). They overlooked the possibility the artifacts represent the remains of the Union Village train station.

The original narrow gauge Middletown-Cincinnati Railroad was completed by 1890 and the train station was the last new Shaker building constructed around 1891, about the same time as the Victorian remodeling of the main Shaker administration office into Marble Hall (Bogan 1992:162). Also, during the mid 1890s the planting of extensive orchards and the renovations of shops at the family lots into tenant family houses were attempts to attract new converts and reestablish the profitability of Union Village. The train station served as a hub for bringing in needed materials and for sending livestock and agricultural and dairy products to market. The original frame station with one brick chimney was elongated and a second brick chimney was added (Figure 10), most likely after 1897 when the narrow gauge rail was replaced by standard gauge and the line became part of the Penn railway system (Bogen 1992:164). The station served the Shakers and subsequently Otterbein Home and Farm well into the late 1930s when regular passenger service was discontinued.

Before the ODOT archaeological surveys, a 1980 sewer line survey following Shaker Creek upstream passed around the north side of the West Brick Family lot and through the Grist Mill Family Lot (Figure 3). The survey identified two archaeological Shaker sites adjacent to the proposed sewer alignment (White 1980).

Shaker Settlement Site #1 (33WA343) is a 20 foot (N-S) by 13.5 foot (E-W) brick foundation remnant that occurs on a narrow bench at the base of the steep ravine of Shaker Creek

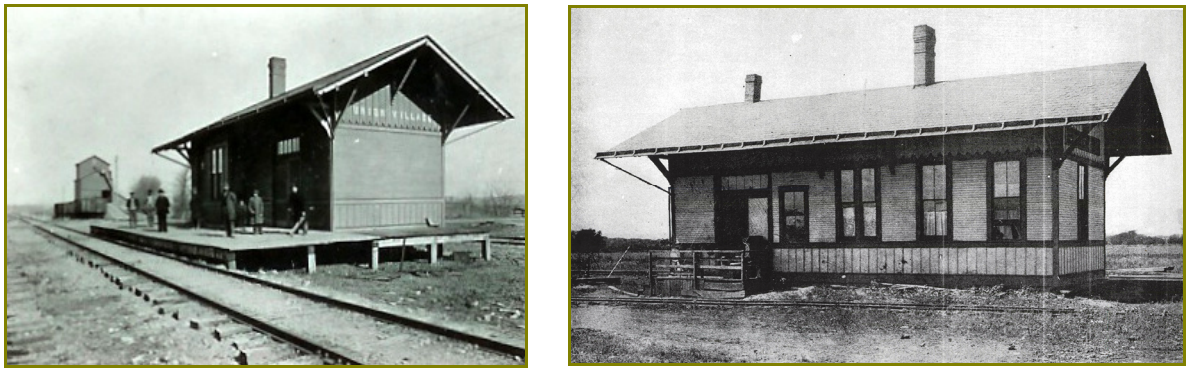

Figure 10. Union Village Railroad Station, before and after remodeling
(Left: Ca. 1890, courtesy South Union Museum archives.
Right: Ca. 1900, courtesy Otterbein Homes Museum and Library)

roughly midway between the two family lots (Figure 3). The thick brick foundation consists of three stretcher courses (Figure 11). The short north end exhibits a 1.5-foot square chimney at each corner, while a centrally placed stone slab for an entrance step, most likely to a single doorway occurs at the south end. Recovery of Shaker stove parts, but no domestic (kitchen) trash led to the interpretation of a brick workshop associated with the Grist Mill Family Lot.

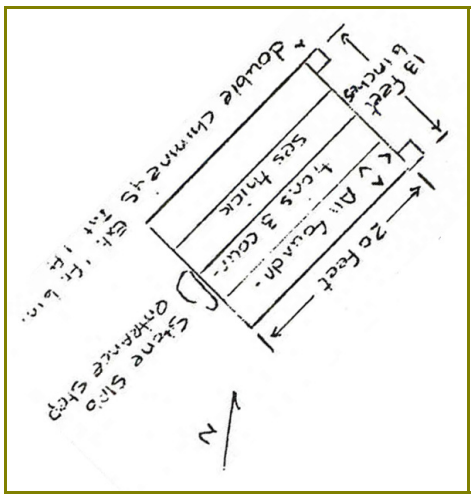

Figure 11. Schematic plan of Shaker building (33WA343)
(Adapted from Ohio Archaeological Inventory Form and reoriented with north to the top of the page)

The 1980 survey predated the ready availability of the 1829 and 1834 Shaker maps, which provide conflicting information for the interpretation of the brick foundation (Figure 12). From the 1829 map, the general location of the foundation roughly corresponds to a sawmill set adjacent to the mill pond for the West Brick Family Lot; however, the building is depicted as frame rather than brick. No building of the West Brick Family Lot on the 1834 map comes close to the foundation plan. The Grist Mill wash house on the 1834 map shows the proper northeast-southwest orientation but the placements of the chimney and door do not conform to the foundation plan (Figure 12). The only building on the 1834 map approximating the foundation plan with a chimney at the north end (but single rather than a double) is the Grist Mill Family Lot communal house. The map also shows the building not oriented to the cardinal directions, but aligned northwest to southeast rather than the foundation's northeast-southwest alignment. The map depicts a 2.5-story, 3-bay house physically separated some distance to the south of the grist mill, with no door illustrated suggesting the entrance is on either the south or west side. In contrast, the 1829 map depicts a 2.5-story, 3-bay house with double doors at the center of the long side, while a single chimney occurs centrally placed at each end. Although the two maps clearly conflict, the only previously archaeologically identified Shaker building at Union Village supports the 1834 Grist Mill Family Lot map as being more accurate.

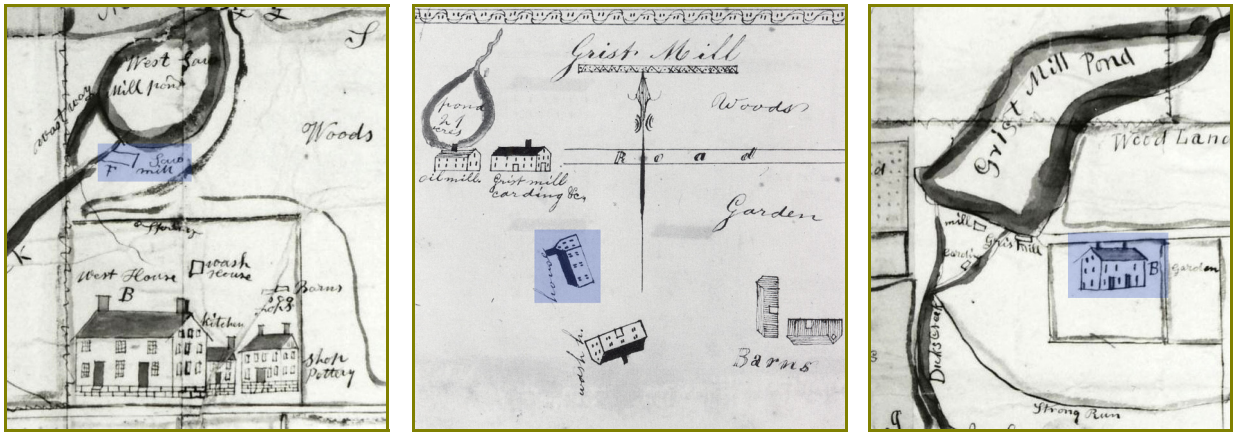

Figure 12. 1829 map of West Brick Family, sawmill highlighted (left), 1835 map of Grist Mill Family communal house highlighted (center), 1829 map of Grist Mill Family communal house highlighted (right)
(1829 map copy of original in Western Reserve Archives Shaker Collection; 1835 map: Emlen 1987:Figure 45)

Historical accounts provide additional evidence for the idea of a smaller communal house, as depicted on the 1835 map, at the Grist Mill Family Lot. They note during the period from 1812 to 1816 when the grist mill was built and brought into operation only six believers lived at the Grist Mill house (Bakken 1998:147). No record has yet been found indicating the number of believers ever substantially increased at the Grist Mill Family Lot. Even by 1828, the Grist Mill Family was under the care of the Center Family with no appointed elders residing at Grist Mill house (MacLean 1902:265). It seems the special status of the Grist Mill Family signifies the few individuals residing at the Grist Mill house were skilled labors with the principal tasks of maintaining and operating the mills.

The other site identified in 1980, Shaker Settlement Site #2 (33WA344), consists of a surface scatter comprised solely of bricks, and is also interpreted as a Shaker workshop because of the lack of domestic trash (White 1980). No excavation was conducted to search for a foundation remnant. The brick scatter occurs across a ravine head well north of the Grist Mill Family Lot and is unlikely to be associated with that group of buildings (Figure 3). It is also too far west to be part of the Center Family Lot. The most likely association is with the Square House Family Lot, although it is well south and away from the bluff edge of Shaker Creek where the brick buildings were clustered.

According to the 1829 Shaker map, the location of the brick pile coincides fairly well with a field immediately south of the Square House Family barn that served as a brickyard (Figure 13). The 1834 Shaker map depicts the barn as the southernmost building of the family lot and well removed to the south of the main cluster of brick buildings. So, in contrast to the foundation remnant, the two maps provide comparable and fairly reliable information indicating the brick scatter represents waste from brick production rather than a Shaker building remnant.

A 1989 CRM survey for a natural gas pipeline diagonally crossed through the extensive West Farm agricultural fields and woods (Figure 3). However, the survey encountered no Shaker-related archaeological deposits or artifacts.

Figure 13. 1829 map Square House Family (left), 1835 map Square House (right)
(1835 map rotated north at top of page. Barn is highlighted in both maps for reference. 1829 map copy of original in Western Reserve Archives Shaker Collection; 1835 map Emlen 1987:Figure 45)

Both the 1980 and 1989 CRM surveys crossed the ditched portion of Shaker Creek that parallels the north side of SR 63 in the western half of Union Village (Figure 1). The Shakers began the artificial channel in the mid 1820s to control the swamp conditions on the low flat ground of the West Farm around the confluence with Miller's Run (Beers 1882:441). By 1830, Miller's Run was being channelized as part of the Lebanon to Middletown (Warren County) branch canal of the Miami and Erie Canal, and Shaker Creek was incorporated as a feeder canal (Bogan 1992:105). The 1980 survey which paralleled the entire length of the ditched segment of Shaker Creek observed no canal features other than the prism remnant (White 1980:11).

In 2003, while ODOT conducted the initial research at the Otterbein Homes Museum and Library for the 2005 excavations, the installation of a new waterline along the north side of SR 63 for Lebanon Correctional Institution trenched through the front half of the West Brick Family communal house (Figure 14). Unfortunate as this incident was, it did provide insight on what could be expected archaeologically during the North Family Lot excavations.

The construction of the West Brick Family Lot communal dwelling predated the one at the North Family Lot by only a few years, being completed in 1819. The buildings were of comparable size and shape, and both were made of brick with stone foundation walls. Both were demolished at roughly the same time in the early to mid 1960s. Their brick walls were collapsed into and filled the void of the basement. At the West Brick Family Lot, the bricks did not spread laterally over the surface very far from the perimeter of the foundation and a foot thick layer of clean dirt fill covered the foundation walls and brick rubble fill (Figure 7).

Although this deposition pattern was expected for the North Family communal house, it did not necessarily apply to the other brick buildings, which may or may not have full basements to accommodate the brick superstructure.

Figure 14. West Brick Family communal house, ca. 1917 (left); waterline trench through communal house basement in 2003 (center); exposed west stone foundation wall of communal house (right)
(1917 West Brick house: Otterbein Homes Museum and Library archives; 2003 trench: ODOT project file)

Information gleaned from the limited previous archaeological work at Union Village provided initial optimism for intact archaeological deposits and features at the North Family Lot which can confirm, correct, or add to the archival information. The removal of 99 percent of the standing Shaker buildings hampers serious study, as well as the actual recognition of the presence of Union Village. Archaeology coupled with remote sensing can uncover the layout of the family lots and determine how they were used. Previous archaeological surveys within the bounds of Union Village have revealed important information about the community. The scattered trash piles and their variable composition indicate areas around living quarters were either routinely or periodically cleaned and such artifacts are not expected to be encountered around such structures; some debris piles reflect specific production areas; and a pottery operated at Union Village, which is not a well recognized Shaker craft. The two identified buried foundation remnants occur close to the surface and are fairly well intact. They coincide with buildings on some early Shaker maps while providing more accurate measurements of their size, shape and composition than the drawings with no scale on the maps.

It is time to turn to the archival sources, both primary and secondary, which were available prior to the fieldwork. They complement the previous archaeological information and together guide the development of research objectives and strategies for excavating the North Family Lot.

CHAPTER 4. ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Because of the previous archaeological investigations, ODOT knew from the beginning the curve realignment would impact buried Shaker foundations and associated landscape features and deposits. The initial question was how extensive would the impact be? What buildings could be reasonably expected and where were they likely to occur within the North Family Lot? Rather than expend a considerable amount of time and effort searching by digging, examination of Shaker archives and published literature provided a list of expected and questionable building locations that could be encountered. This list formed the nucleus around which the historical importance of the North Family Lot was established and the research questions and objectives of the data recovery plan were developed (Aument 2003).

The archival research began locally in Lebanon, Ohio at the Warren County Historical Society and the Otterbein Homes Museum and Library. Within two days, it was evident the amount of primary and secondary documents for Union Village and particularly the North Family Lot would require more time for in-depth analyses than available before the fieldwork needed to begin. Reliance was placed on maps and photographs along with the published early historical accounts of Union Village to provide the initial expectation of the North Family Lot's plan layout. The *Shaker Village Views: Illustrated Maps and Landscape Drawings by Shaker Artists of the Nineteenth Century* (Emlen 1987) served as an invaluable complement to the local archives. It contains published copies of the earliest Union Village plans archived at the Shaker Museum, Old Chatham, New York and the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

The slow on-going archival process eventually equaled the effort and results of the archaeological excavations by amassing considerable and varied information about Union Village from the Library of Congress, the South Union Village Museum and Library in Kentucky, and the Western Reserve Historical Society Library in Cleveland. Specific information was sought to answer contextual questions raised by the excavation results and gaps in the locally available archival resources. The Otterbein Homes Museum and Library archives documents in some detail the use and reuse of Shaker buildings and the changing landscape for the first 30 to 40 years Otterbein operated their orphanage, farm, and nursing home.

From the beginning of the curve realignment project, ODOT viewed Union Village as a socially, economically, and religiously dynamic Shaker community that grew, developed, operated, and declined over slightly more than 100 years. Understanding the dynamics rather than portraying a static "classic" Shaker perspective of the North Family Lot guided the data recovery (see Chapter 5). Clearly each archival source, as well as the archaeological remains provides its own series of narrow glimpses through time interspersed by wide gaps. In some cases, the different sources complement each other and fill gaps in knowledge, while other times they overlap and provide cross checks on the accuracy of each source's information.

This chapter examines the archival resources used to formulate the data recovery plan, and does not include other resources obtained after fieldwork at the North Family Lot was completed. By necessity and to establish the physical and historical context of Union Village, the discussions focus on the readily available landscape and individual building information. The true wealth of archival knowledge occurs in the three separate volumes detailing and interpreting the landscape and architecture, the social history, and the ceramic industry at the North Family Lot. The final section of the chapter provides two examples from the South and Center Family Lots which demonstrate the difficulties involved with analyzing, interpreting, and rectifying the different archival sources.

Map Sources

Lacking any standing North Family Lot structures at the beginning of the curve realignment project, maps provided crucial information for compiling the potential layout of buildings, as well as providing insight on the Shakers' land use practices. A large wall map on display as part of the permanent Shaker exhibit at the Warren County Historical Society in Lebanon documents 93 buildings, two cemeteries, and an open-air meeting grounds clustered in nine separate family lots across the Shaker landholdings (Spence 1989).

Using this map as a reference base for the North Family Lot, sixteen buildings and a burial ground potentially occurred along both sides of the SR 741 curve with the core group on the inside curve (Figure 15). The poster version of the map includes a numbered list of the building types with their construction and demolition dates based on Shaker journal entries, Shaker maps, and photographs. Although the map legend recognizes the unlikelihood that all of the buildings were present at the same time because of the 90-year lifespan of the community, the majority are considered to be contemporaneous during the height of the Shaker occupation between 1820 and 1880. Consequently, the compilation map presumably presents a fairly static picture of Shaker land use at the Union Village for most of the nineteenth century.

Review of the available nineteenth century Shaker maps and the early twentieth century Otterbein Home and Farm maps indicate several discrepancies in the compilation map. Whether these discrepancies reflected Shaker transformations of the North Family Lot or later changes by Otterbein became a concern. Likewise, the variability in the accuracy of map scales and the depicted buildings and landscape features questioned the intent behind what each of the available maps attempted to portray.

Four distinct groups of maps depict the North Family Lot in relationship to the rest of Union Village: (1) early Shaker maps for the initial founding and planning of Union Village from 1806, 1807, 1829 and 1835, (2) late nineteenth-century to early twentieth-century county atlases, (3) early to mid-twentieth-century USGS topographic maps, and (4) early twentieth century insurance and tax inventory maps for Otterbein Homes and Farm. If aerial photographs are considered as maps, then a fifth group is available from the 1920s, 1960s, and 1970s. The most glaring problem with the map sources is the lack of a detailed map from

the mid to late nineteenth century, which is exactly the period that the North Family Lot underwent the most changes in building and community layout.

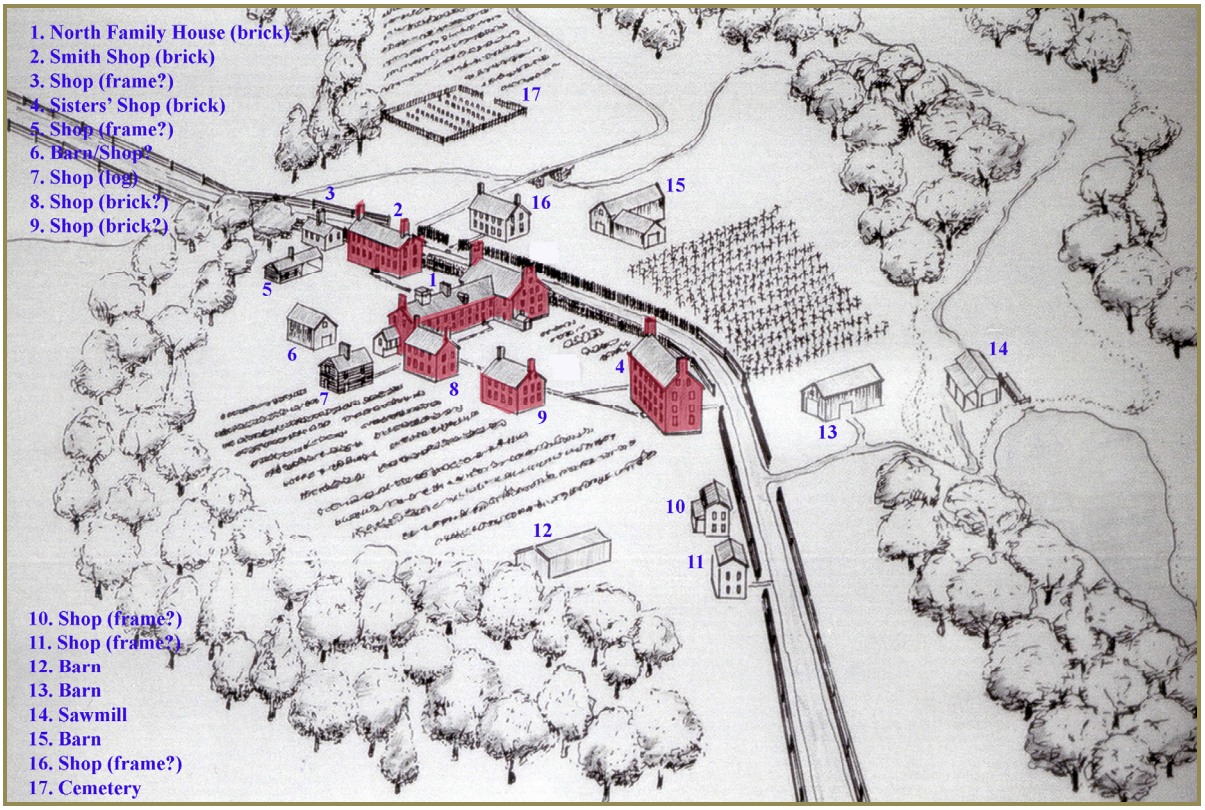

Figure 15. The North Family Lot as depicted on Spence's 1989 Compilation Map of Union Village
Adapted from Spence's (1989) compilation map A View of Union Village, Lebanon, Ohio (Warren County Historical Society). North is at lower right corner.

The 1806 Shaker Map

The 1806 map attributed to Richard McNemar, the local Presbyterian minister responsible for converting most of his congregation to Shakerism, reflects the embryonic Shaker community only one year after its founding. The map portrays the basic core or center of the Shaker community arranged around a crossroad oriented to the cardinal directions (Figure 16). The Brethren's "Little House" (subsequently the framed South Family Lot communal house) completed in August 1806 for the Eastern Shaker Elders and the only Shaker building on the map lies south of the crossroads on Elder David Darrow's property, the first Eastern Shaker minister to lead the community. The small log cabin immediately north of the Brethren's "Little House" was also built in 1806 and served as the blacksmith shop (Phillips 1969:115, Bakken 1998:100).

The remaining buildings and dotted squares represent the converted pioneer families and their farms, which continued to operate as independent subsistence farms for a several more

years (Bakken 1998:95). The farm that would eventually become the North Family Lot was not owned by a converted Shaker family and is not depicted on the map, although sufficient space occurs in the northeast quadrant to include it. The map does not depict all of the converted pioneer family farms, but focuses on those of the core area, with the one exception of the Saren farm in the adjacent section to the northwest where in 1806 the Shakers erected their first sawmill at a convenient place along Shaker Creek for a dam (Bakken 1998:118). Leaving the outlying farms (those two miles or more from the crossroads) off the map could simply be a practical consideration for keeping the map at a manageable size. But the detailed accounting of the one section containing the principal Shaker interests surrounded by the nearly blank non-Shaker space conveys an inward-looking, almost exclusive, Shaker perspective of the landscape.

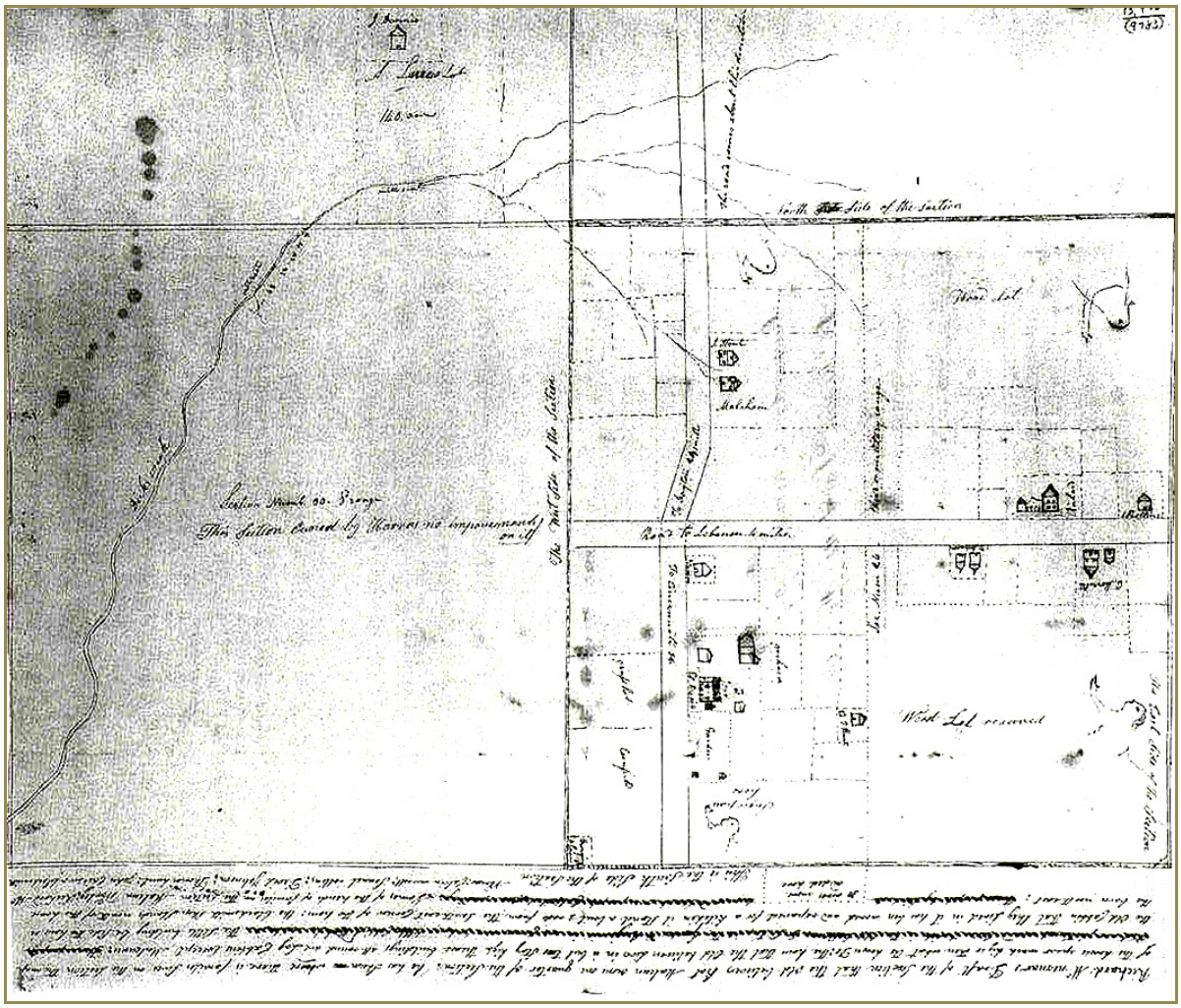

Figure 16. Richard McNemar's 1806 map of the Shaker Community of Turtle Creek (subsequently Union Village)
(Scanned from Emlen 1987:Figure 11)

The 1807 Shaker Map

The 1807 map is considered to be a copy of the 1806 McNemar map, and most likely represents a reporting document by one of the Eastern Shaker Elders sent to the Central Ministry at New Lebanon, showing the progress in establishing the community plan and to secure additional building and land purchasing funds (Emlen 1987:35) (Figure 17). The first meetinghouse, which was under construction and not completed until 1809, is centrally positioned on the southeast corner of the crossroads. It replaced an open elevated wooden platform built in 1805 at the crossroads (corner unknown) that served as the Shakers' first public religious space (Bakken 1998:85, Phillips 1969:15). By its relatively larger size and central location, the new Shaker meetinghouse contrasts sharply with McNemar's former Turtle Creek Presbyterian Church meetinghouse located along the southern edge of the map. The Brethren's "Little House" contrasts even more markedly with the pioneer family farms, where it is portrayed as not only larger, but also with associated farm outbuildings and designated uses of the surrounding fields. The symbolic intent of the map is to convey the physical growth and increased social order and cohesion of the fledgling Shaker community. The inward Shaker perspective from the 1806 map is continued and elaborated upon with the 1807 map.

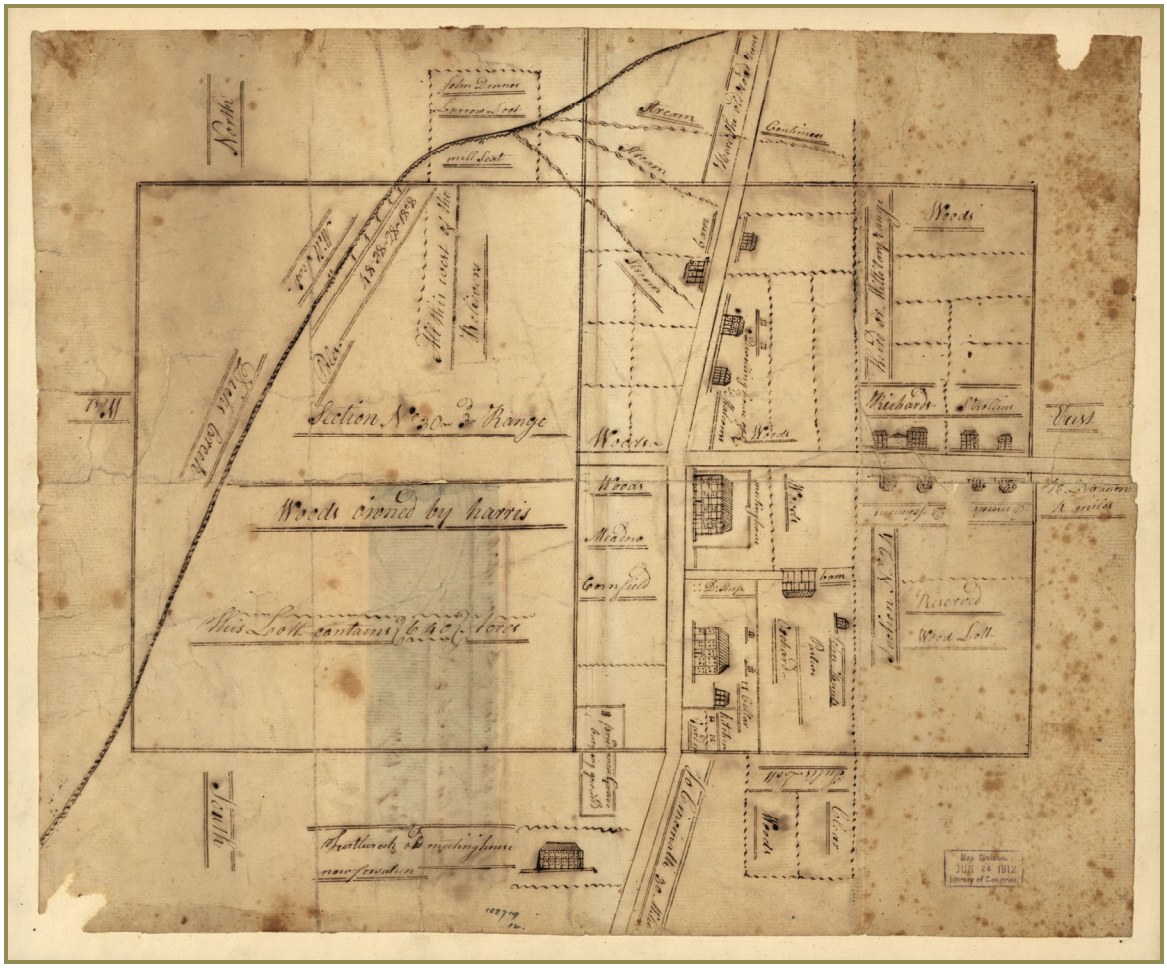

Figure 17. 1807 Map of Union Village
(Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Except for the first Shaker meetinghouse and the crossroads, the map conveys no inkling of the intense building period initiated in 1807 and extending through 1812, primarily at the Center Family Lot, but also including the South and East Family Lots. Likewise, the map continues to exclude Isaac Morris's 100-acre farm purchased by the Shakers in 1807 and destined to become the North Family Lot (Bakken 1998:126). It should occur in the adjacent section immediately to the north along with the sharp curve in the road to the northeast. Also missing from the map is a second crossroad for the unimproved east-west road along the southern edge of Shaker landholdings (coinciding with the section line), even though it provided access to the outlying converted Shaker pioneer family farms further to the west.

Interestingly, road construction played an important role in the initial Shaker building plan with the east-west road from McNemar's residence to the main north–south road planked in 1806, while the main north-south road through the community was improved in 1807 (Bakken 1998:101 and 108). Some of the impetus to the road construction came from outside the Shaker community, since Warren County officials in 1807 initiated the construction of the Mason-Springboro Road (current SR 741) the main north-south road (Bogan 1992:73). Likewise, the Warren County officials decided to avoid the difficult terrain of Shaker Creek and swamp by construct the Hamilton-Lebanon Road (current SR 63) the main east-west road along the southern edge of the Shaker community (Bogan 1992:71). This outside decision led to another period of Shaker road building in 1809, which ultimately eliminated the plank road through the East Family Lot as a main thoroughfare to Lebanon (Bakken 1998:108).

Clearly on both the 1806 and 1807 maps, the crossroads of the main north-south road and the plank road to McNemar's pioneer home formed the focal point around which the Center Family Lot and subsequently Union Village developed. The large box formed by the four adjacent sections of land further highlights the central point of the community, because the crossroads nearly coincide with the center point where the four land sections meet (Figures 2 and 3). The box indicates both maps also serve as the Shaker vision for future development. The two undeveloped western sections not controlled by the Shakers are juxtaposed against the neat and patterned subdivisions of the eastern two sections under Shaker control. The east-west road abruptly terminates at the section line and appears poised to continue as soon as the Shakers acquire the land. Both maps conform well to the Shaker concept of an ideal village and how it should be developed (See Chapter 2). There can be little doubt the source of inspiration for the Union Village plan portrayed on both maps arrived with the first Eastern Shaker elders.

The 1829 Shaker Map

The 1829 Shaker map of Union Village indicates no southern shift in centering the community plan to the new main crossroads (Figure 18). During the construction of the Hamilton-Lebanon Road in 1809, the Shakers erected wooden fence along both sides of the road for the entire length of their property. This effectively made the South Family Lot a gateway to the core of the community. At the same time, the fence sent symbolic messages to the outside world, which the inward-looking Shakers hoped would attract new converts (Bakken 1998:126). First, it clearly demarcated the landholdings of the Shakers' world from

the outside world, which along with the communal houses and meetinghouse were large and expansive in comparison to the neighboring single family farms. Second, fencing the entire property rather than just enclosing the barnyard during the pioneering period in Ohio reflected wealth, luxury and success. Neighboring farms and communities expressed mixed reactions to the landscape symbols and the unconventional Shaker doctrine, which offended some individuals and groups who became antagonistic, confrontational, and violent.

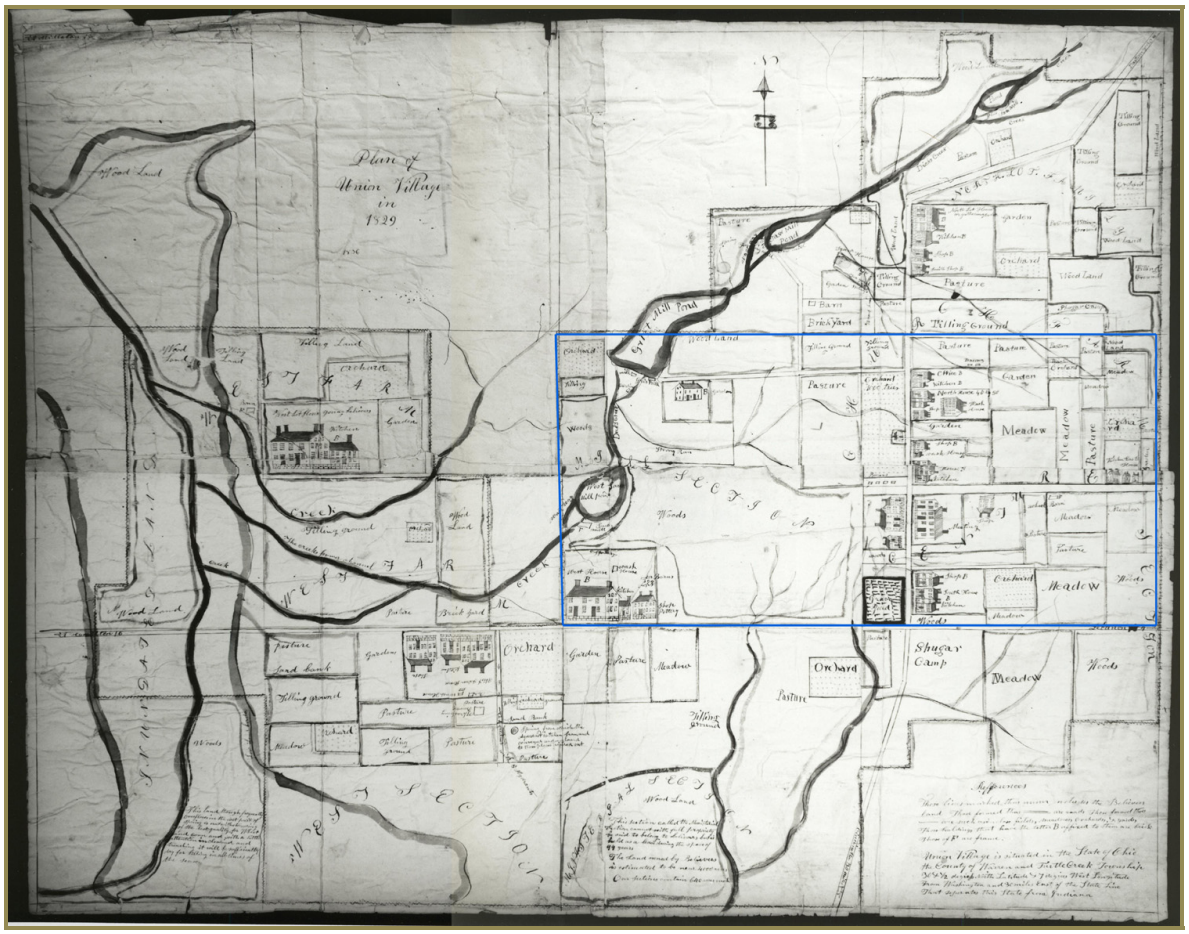

Figure 18. 1829 Map of Union Village
The original four land sections from the 1806 and 1807 maps are outlined in blue.
(Image courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society)

The 1829 map documents the rapid expansion of the Shaker community, as well as the detailed land use planning of their communal property. Whereas the earlier maps portrayed each individual building, there is a question as to how accurately the actual number and types of buildings are depicted on the 1829 map. Seven of the nine family lots are clearly depicted by a representation of their associated communal house and at least one shop (South, Center, North, East, West Brick, West Frame and West Lots). Nearly all of these buildings are brick, as indicated by the letter "B" next to them. With the exception of a couple of barns, none of the frame farm outbuildings are depicted. Agricultural success is symbolically portrayed by the labeling of all of the neat and orderly arranged fields.

The Grist Mill Family Lot communal house is represented (although incorrectly; see Chapter 2), while the Square House Family Lot house is not represented at all. The relatively small size and missing kitchen ell of the Grist Mill Family Lot communal house appears symbolic of the fact that the members of the Grist Mill Family and Square House Family were composed of a small group of skilled laborers for operating the various mills, and were directly supervised by the Center Family elders. Although the dammed mill ponds are depicted quite large, the various mills and shops associated with the Grist Mill Family Lot and the Square House Family Lot occur as diminutive and labeled rectangles with no indication that any one of them was a brick building.

The three East Family Lot buildings also appear relatively smaller and not labeled as being brick, which could symbolize the peripheral development of this lot after the main east-west road to Lebanon shifted south. Shortly after the first East Family formed as a Children's Order and occupied McNemar's pioneer cabin in 1812, they dispersed to other outlying cabins to allow refugees from West Union Village at Busro, Indiana to use the East Family Lot (Bakken 1998:150). They were fleeing possible Native American attacks stemming from the War of 1812, as well as malarial fever due to the poor and swampy conditions around their village. Two years later when the refugees returned to West Union, the East Family was reorganized as the central Gathering Order and in 1816, they replaced Richard McNemar's pioneer cabin with the last frame communal house to be built at Union Village (Bakken 1998:387). During the 1828 reorganization of the entire Union Village community, the Gathering Order at the East Family moved to the North Family Lot while another Children's Order occupied the East Family Lot (MacLean 1902:264). Given the history of the families occupying the East Family Lot, it seems unlikely many shops were constructed there and most were likely frame buildings.

By 1829, the original village plan that was centrally focused on the crossroads and extended in the cardinal directions transformed into two distinctly separate land use patterns. A densely developed corridor of three family lots along the main north-south road maintained the original community core, while a second group of three more widely spaced family lots represented the western expansion along the main east-west road from the newer crossroad. The western expansion incorporated the farms of other converted pioneer families and more than doubled the size of Union Village. The western family lots were developed at the pioneer farms, located on elevated and better ground overlooking the expansive low flats of Shaker Swamp.

Although Union Village does not conform perfectly to the idealized Shaker community, the village layout reflects the practical adaption of the ideal to the local physical realities and historical development. The family lots align with the two main north-south and east-west public thoroughfares and control outside access to the Shaker land holdings. Shaker Creek blocked the western extension of the former crossroad from the central core of the community. Likewise, the western expansion involved extensive and nearly equal amounts of land on either side of the main east-west public thoroughfare. So the western family lots needed to be placed where they would most efficiently manage the fields on both sides of the road, while effectively controlling access to the Shaker property by traffic heading east towards Lebanon.

These six family lots reflected the main social divisions of the Shaker community (Church Order, Intermediate Order, Gathering Order and Youth Order). The Church Order, always associated with the original core area of the Center Family Lot, contained three communal houses and the densest concentration and functional variety of buildings for the most devout Shakers. At the time of the 1829 map, the South Family Lot and the West Brick Lot housed families of the Intermediate Order, while the North Family Lot contained a Gathering Order. Both the West Family Lot and the West Frame Lot contained Youth Orders. Periodically as youth became adults, new converts were added, and individuals spiritually progressed at different rates, families reorganized and individuals moved to different family lots. However, the western family lots housed primarily Gathering Order or Youth Order families and, by as early as the 1850s, also provided for hired outside laborers (Edwards 1988:77–79).

The distance separating the western family lots from the core of the community provided a physical buffer protecting the more devout from "backsliding" or spiritually regressive influences. Even with the physical separation, the western family lots were not more autonomous, but experienced greater social tensions and less cohesion. Strong willed and patient elders, eldresses, deacons and deaconesses controlled and encouraged the western families to be self sufficient and to progress in their individual spiritual perfection. Periodically, moving or "promoting" the more devout individuals to the North, Center or South Family Lots maintained a pool of novice newcomers, "backsliders", and less spiritually ambitious individuals at the western family lots, which perpetuated the social tensions.

All of the communal houses occur as 2½-story buildings with a kitchen ell extending from the center rear side (Figure 19). The kitchen ell is not portrayed but is labeled for the East Family House. With few exceptions, the fronts of all of the communal houses consistently portray three windows on the second floor symmetrically aligned over three windows on the first floor. The double doors are closely placed on either side of the middle window on the first floor. None of the structures exhibit the central front dormer, which subsequent archival research documents by mid-to-late nineteenth-century illustrations or photographs for the communal houses at the North, Center and South Family Lots, but not at the western family lots.

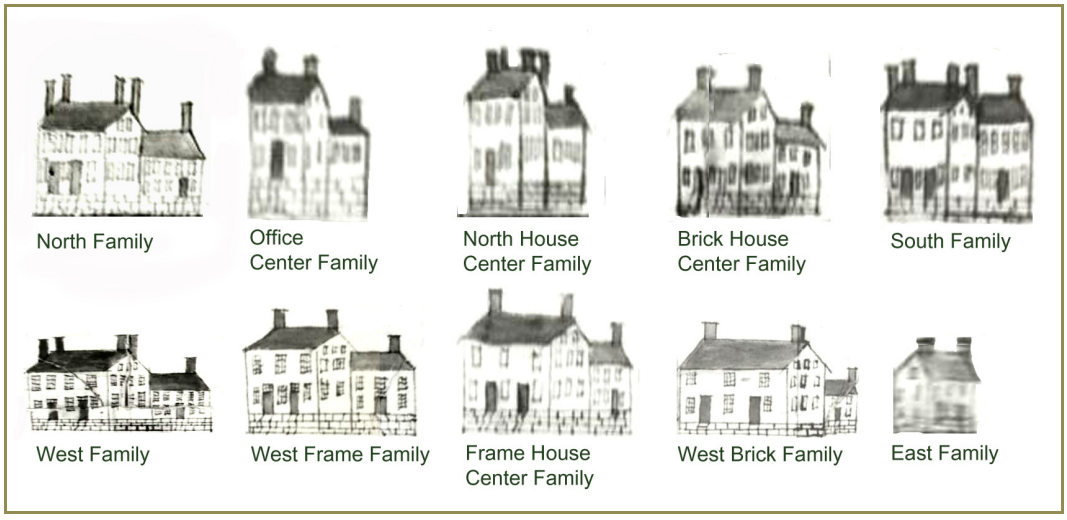

Figure 19. Communal Houses as portrayed on the 1829 map

The ends exhibit either three second story windows over three first-floor windows or two upper-story windows over two lower windows. The uppermost windows in the half story vary the most with one, two, or three portrayed, two being the most common.

The North Family Lot and West Family Lot communal houses differ slightly from the consistent plan with four windows instead of three on the second floor. The two central upper story windows align over the two doors rather than the middle window of the lower floor. The 1829 map actually portrays five second story windows for the North Family Lot House; although subsequent photographs only depict four evenly spaced windows. The West Family House more accurately depicts the North Family Lot House, including the three upper windows of the half story rather than the incorrect two on the North Family Lot House. Since communal house construction occurred last at the North Family Lot and the West Family Lot, the exterior differences could reflect interior floor plan changes to accommodate the anticipated number of occupants. Both buildings initially housed members of the Gathering Order. The archival record is moot on building dimensions, so any size increase for the last two communal houses cannot be demonstrated.

The North House of the Center Family is the third exception to the consistent plan with four upper story windows over three asymmetrically placed windows and one door on the first floor front. The end of the building shows an attempt to portray three windows. The intended representation of the building appears to be a similar design as the North Family Lot and West Family Lot houses, but the narrow space between the office and a shop prevented an accurate depiction. One door is missing on the front and one window in the upper story on the end. Visually in size and shape the North House compares to the adjacent and smaller office, which actually does have a single door. The map includes the dimensions of the North House, which is the only building with dimensions provided, to distinguish the larger communal house from the office. A fuller discussion of whether the North House conforms to the earlier consistent plan design or the later design exemplified by the North Family Lot and West Family houses occurs at the end of the chapter.

A second distinction between the communal houses involves dual or single chimneys at the end of the buildings. The type of chimney generally coincides with the number of windows on the end, with two windows associated with single chimneys and three windows associated with dual chimneys. The dichotomy in chimney types and number of windows is also time dependent and suggests changes in floor plan and building size. According to the 1829 map, all of the frame communal houses exhibit single chimneys, while all of the brick houses, except the West Brick House and the Office at the Center Family Lot, exhibit dual chimneys.

The Center Frame House and the West Brick House do not conform to the dichotomy and through other archival sources apparently reflect mapping errors. The West Brick House contains only two windows on the end, while the Center Frame House does contain three windows on the end because the single chimneys are centrally located rather than on the ends (Figure 20). The West Brick House appears to be the most problematical, since the four upper story front windows in the photograph also conflict with the building's portrayal on the 1829 map and makes it similar to the fronts of the North Family and West Family houses. Subsequent renovation could explain a change from three to four upper story windows for the West Brick House.

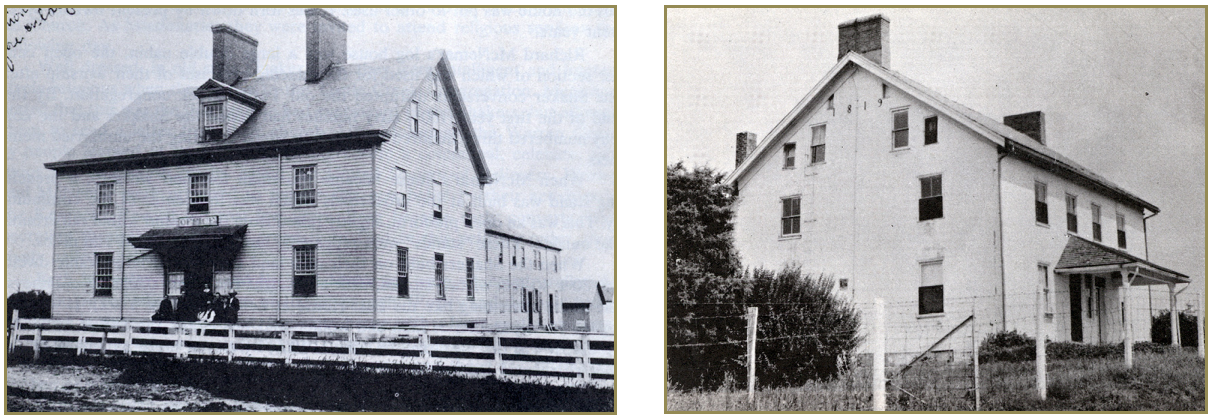

Figure 20. Center Frame House before 1891 Victorian renovation (left) and West Brick House after mid-1910s renovations (right)
(Phillips 1969:116 and 123)

Both the Center Frame House and the West Brick House represent key transitions in history of Union Village, with the Center Frame House being the first communal house and the West Brick House being the first brick communal house. Shared common elements with the house fronts link the two earlier frame East Family and West Frame houses with the subsequent brick construction of the West Brick, South Family, Center Brick, and North houses. These brick houses share common elements for the chimney and house ends with the subsequent brick houses represented by the North Family and West Family houses, which in turn bear little resemblance to the initial frame communal houses. The external changes probably mirror minor interior plan modifications on the basic or ideal sexually dichotomous Shaker communal house plan. The changes most likely involve the number, size, and shape of the Brothers' and Sisters' dormitory rooms, as well as the locations of the fireplaces. Based on the external communal house differences, as few as three and as many as five variations of the floor plan are conceivable but cannot be documented.

Built in 1820 but not depicted on the 1829 map, the Square House presumably reflected its name and was reportedly constructed of brick. Although the 1829 map depicts the Grist Mill House as brick, it could not be conclusively demonstrated from published histories consulted prior to the archaeological fieldwork. The Mill Family organized in 1812 consisted of six believers who occupied the family lot. Except for the Elder's shop at the Center Family Lot, building construction at this early date was primarily frame (Bakken 1998:141). So a frame house would be expected at the Grist Mill family lot, unless the few believers lived in the mill (Bakken 1998:147). The Youth Order began large scale brick production for the construction of shops at the western family lots in 1818, which coincides with the construction of the first brick communal house (Bakken 1998:388). The 1989 compilation wall map poster notes the 1818 beginning construction date of the brick Grist Mill House but provides no specific reference.

Figure 21. Grist Mill house from 1829 map

Regardless of being frame or brick, all buildings (shops included) on the 1829 map except the Grist Mill House are depicted with stone wall foundations or basements. The lack of a foundation is not the only inconsistency in the depiction of the Grist Mill House (Figure 21). The number and placements of the windows conform to the basic building plan, but stylistically are rendered as short vertical lines rather than rectangles (compare to Figure 19). Also, the two single chimneys are placed towards the interior rather than at the ends. It seems a different artist drew the Grist Mill house and possibly at a later date. The portrayal of the windows and the lack of foundation foreshadow the artistic style of the 1835 Shaker map compiled by George Kendall from Isaac N. Youngs' 1834 journal.

On the 1829 map, the brick designations between the communal houses and their associated kitchens seem inconsistent. For example, the North Family Lot House and the Office at the Center Family Lot feature a designation for brick construction for both the house and kitchen. The Office is a smaller version of the communal house that accommodated outside visitors, which is the reason that the building had a kitchen ell. Buildings with only the house designated as brick include the Center Brick, the South, and West Brick houses. These houses followed a similar design plan, but only the Center Brick House in a much later (ca 1890s) photograph can be documented as a completely brick structure. Only the kitchen is designated as brick for the West Family Lot House, which is the most poorly documented family lot in all of the archival resources. So, the type of building material, as well as the building design cannot be independently confirmed. The odd and nonconforming label for the North House at the Center Family Lot provides the building's dimensions rather than the brick designation. Shaker accounts confirm a completely brick structure when it burned down in 1865. Whether the brick designations represent true differences in building materials between the houses and kitchens at this period in Union Village's development, or simply inconsistent labeling by the map artist is unclear.

The portrayal of outbuildings appears to be selective and downplayed with one barn noted at the Square House Family Lot, the West Family Lot and the Center Family Lot, while a barn and a thrashing barn are depicted for the West Frame Family Lot. All of the barns are simple small rectangles and easily overlooked. Instead the functional division of the fields highlights the expansive agricultural aspect of the community and contrasts sharply with the seven focal points of residence and craft production that are accentuated by the sizes of the clustered prominent buildings at each family lot. In similar fashion, the skilled craft shops of the Grist Mill Family Lot and the Square House Family Lot, as well as a sawmill at the North Family Lot, are treated like the barns with small rectangles and individual labels. Most likely this reflects the wider spacing of the mills and shops around the prominent mill ponds along Shaker Creek, which if portrayed as actual buildings would distract from the more important map objective to identify the domestic and craft production nodes along the roads.

The family lots differ in the number and types of shops. Consistently smaller than the communal houses, the shop fronts vary from three windows over two windows with a central door to four windows over three asymmetrical windows and a door, while the ends are uniformly two windows over two windows (Figure 22). Single chimneys at either end occur on all shops except the one associated with the North House of the Center Family Lot which exhibits a third central chimney. All of the brick designated shops occur along the main north-south road in the North, Center and South family lots. The Elder's Shop, associated with the Center Frame House and the first brick building constructed at Union Village, is missing a brick designation on the 1829 map. Whether this labeling error also applies to the shops at the East, West Brick, and West Frame family is not clear. But if the labeling is accurate, then frame shops occur on the periphery, while brick shops fill the core community. The unanswerable question is whether all shops present in 1829 were portrayed, especially frame shops associated with the family lots forming the core community.

Figure 22. Shop buildings from the 1829 map

As for numbers, the North Family Lot House is unique with two associated shops, one of which carries the functional label of a smith shop. All of the other communal houses are associated with a single shop, except the West House which has none. The depiction of the West House as the largest of all communal houses seems to compensate for the lack of an associated shop by filling an approximately equal amount of space on the map as the buildings at each of the other family lots. The only other labeled shop, a pottery, occurs at the West Brick Family Lot, which is rather interesting; most scholarly research on Shaker craft enterprises has not noted the production of commercial ceramics at any other Shaker community. The West Brick Lot pottery and the shop at the West Frame Lot represent the two largest shops portrayed on the map. Whether the shops at the western family lots were actually larger than those of the core community or represented another example of filling map space is not clear. However, if they are accurately portrayed, then frame shops apparently would be larger than brick shops, which would further distinguish the core community from the perimeter family lots.

Figure 23. Ministry Shop at Center Family Lot from 1829 map

Because the Center Family Lot contains three communal houses, shops are concentrated with the core of the community. An "orphan" shop occurs within the Center Family Lot behind the meetinghouse. It is both the smallest shop with two windows over two windows on the sides and ends and the only frame shop portrayed in the Center Family Lot (Figure 23). The unique shop appears accurately portrayed because it served as the Ministry's Shop and used exclusively by the community leaders. Spatially and historically the South Family Lot is closely linked to the Center Family Lot and is nearly indiscernible on the map as a separate family lot. Finally, the diminutive shop at the East Family Lot, like the house and kitchen, symbolically reflects the declining status of that lot rather than relative size of these buildings compared to similar buildings at the other family lots.

Although the scale for all of the buildings is disproportionately greater than the horizontal map scale, the buildings appear to reflect their relative size differences and their spatial arrangement within each family lot. Focusing solely on the North Family Lot, the buildings line up along the east side of the Mason-Springboro Road (SR 741) and reduce in relative size with their distance south of the right-angled curve (Figure 24). The accurate portrayal of the second story windows in the communal house was previously discussed. The second building fits quite well with the typical 2½-story brick shop with 3 bays on the front, 2 bays on the ends, and a single chimney at either end. Although portrayed as a typical brick shop, the third building is both shorter and narrower than the adjacent shop. Furthermore, designating the shop with the blacksmith label suggests the number of stories, bays and/or chimneys is inaccurately depicted. Alternatively, the shops could be identical and the size difference reflects the artist's attempt to fit all three buildings into the allotted map space, or the middle building is actually a larger shop with an incorrect number of bays. What appears consistent and accurate are the depictions of the three buildings as being of brick construction with foundation walls or basements. Consequently, the sizes, shapes and locations of the buildings can be determined archaeologically.

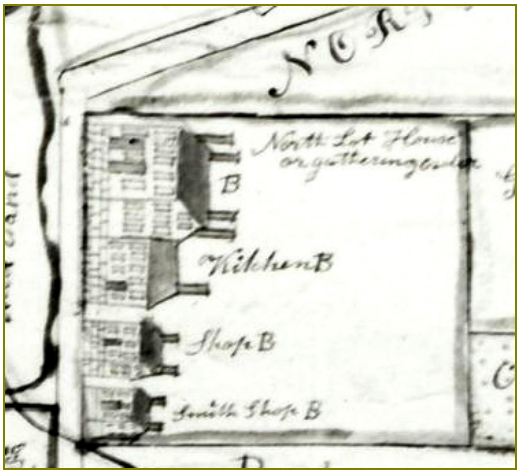

Figure 24. Detail of 1829 map showing North Family Lot

The map served to inform and comfort the Eastern Shakers on their financial and spiritual investment in this western community by graphically demonstrating the growth and prosperity. Therefore, the stylized, enlarged and equally sized houses for the family lots convey the sense of growth and expansion, while the detailed functional divisions of the fields around the family lots indicate the success at self sufficiency for each of the family lots. Although the mill industries are not depicted as actual buildings, they are labeled around the four mill ponds, which are depicted larger than reality symbolizing the amount of community effort in their construction along Shaker Creek. Likewise, the density of the core communal buildings, the interconnecting roads and lanes, and the quilt work pattern of the fields and family lots provide a sense of integration, social cohesion and security.

On first impression the 1829 map provides a sense of commonality or equality among the family lots. The repeating map elements delineate small domestic and craft production nodes supported by surrounding agricultural lands, which, although individually self sufficient, interlock to form a tightly fit and introspective community. It stylistically resembles the 1806 and 1807 maps, but just at a larger scale. However, variability or individuality of the family lots becomes evident, when the details of the map elements are examined.

The dichotomy between the widely spaced western family lots and densely packed family lots along the main north-south road is the most readily apparent difference. While it reflects the basic Shaker village plan of insulating the core of devout members from worldly

temptations, it also highlights the internal tensions and differing worldviews between the staid Eastern Shakers (Old Believers) and the enthusiastic newly converted western pioneers (Young Believers) that affected the establishment of a highly ordered social community. The depiction of the North Family Lot serves as a good example. All of the buildings are designated as brick and the communal house is the largest based on the number of windows. It also serves as the northern gateway to the dense core of buildings along the main north-south road. The permanence of the structures, the orderly pattern and diversity of the adjacent fields and its location represent successful growth and development with close conformity to Shaker ideals and most likely a family of devout members. Yet it was necessary to label the family lot as the home of a Gathering Order.

The 1835 Shaker Map

The 1835 Shaker map provides considerably more detail about the spatial organization of each family lot, but unfortunately it is schematic with no accurate scale for determining precise distances between structures or the precise dimensions of the buildings. The map covers several pages as it consists of a series of panels with the layouts for each of the family lots compiled by Brother George Kendall from Brother Isaac Youngs' journal sketches. Youngs, an eastern Shaker, toured all of the western Shaker communities in 1834 to provide an accounting of the extant conditions at each community (Emlen 1987:70). In contrast to the 1829 map the emphasis is placed on the family lots, which Youngs sketched and described as he visited them. Consequently the sketches depict very little of the functional divisions of the fields surrounding the family lots. Since the layout of each family lot occurs separately, the depicted buildings appear to be a fairly accurate accounting of the actual number of structures and their relative orientations to each other and the road along which they occur. Close examination of the panels reveal discrepancies in building details between the panels, as well as in comparison to the 1829 map.

One panel provides a schematic overview of the community with the relative spatial relationship of all family lots to the focal meetinghouse at the center of the community (Figure 25). Since the Center Brick House and the North House are excluded, the sketch map reflects the family lots rather than the communal houses. According to the individual family lot panels, the Grist Mill Family Lot is represented by the grist mill/carding shop rather than the communal house, while the East Family Lot is represented by a second house that lacks a kitchen ell (Emlen 1987:Figures 45 and 46). Unlike the 1829 map, the Grist Mill and Square House family lots receive equal treatment in the 1834 sketch maps. Also in contrast to the 1829 map, all but two communal houses uniformly portray single chimneys at each end of the house, while many of the shops depict a single chimney interiorly located. The two exceptions occur on the individual North and South family lot sketch panels where the communal houses show dual chimneys at both ends (Figure 26).

A most interesting dichotomy between the communal houses concerns the number of doors. On the schematic overview panel, the North Family House and the South Family exhibit a single door, which also occur on their individual family lot sketch panels. The other communal houses (West, West Frame, West Brick and Center Frame) exhibit the typical double front doors on the overview and individual sketch panels (Figure 25).

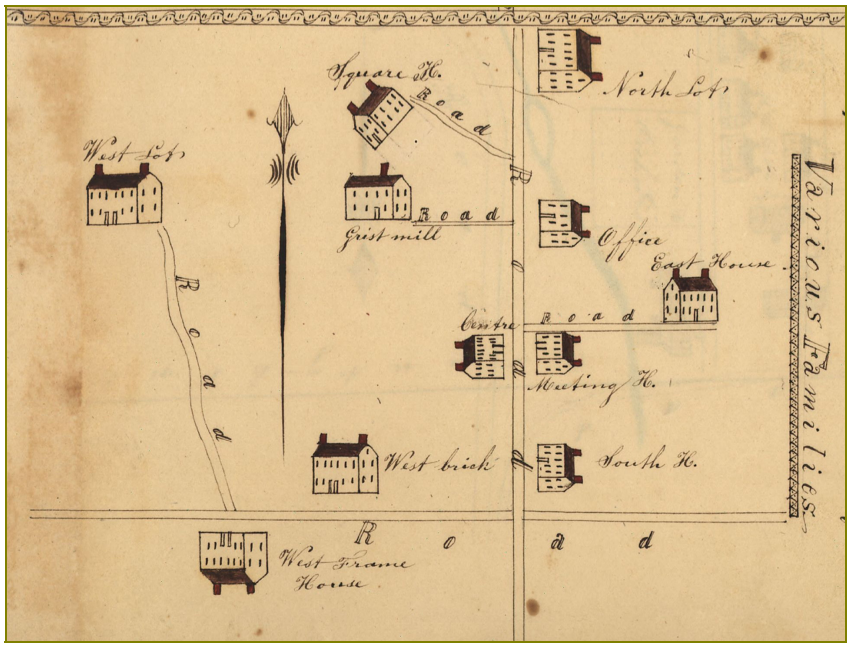

Figure 25. 1835 Shaker map of the schematic overview of the nine family lots at Union Village in relation to each other and the main north-south and east-west roads.
(Image courtesy of the Library of Congress)

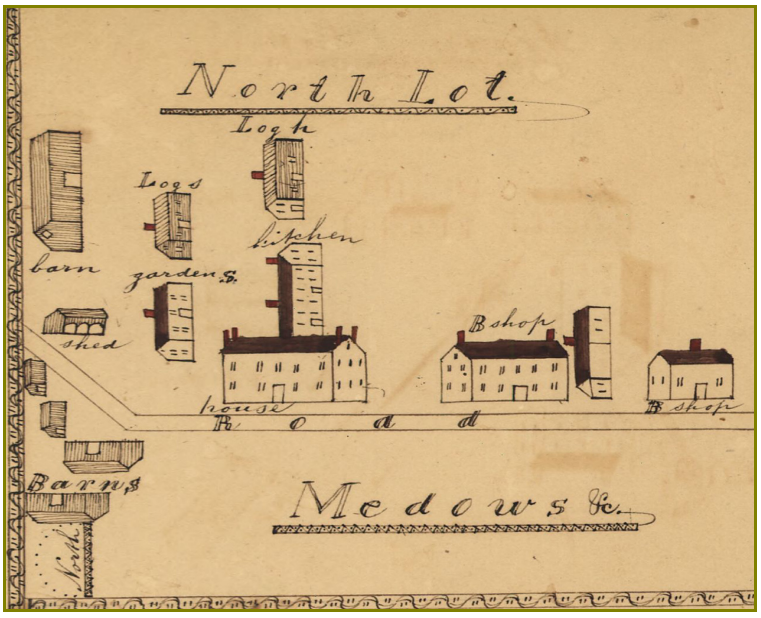

Figure 26. Individual panel from 1835 Shaker map for the schematic plan of the North Family Lot buildings.
Map is oriented with north to the left.
(Image courtesy of Library of Congress)

The East House shows a single door on the overview sketch panel, but this is a second house and on the individual family lot panel the other East House with the kitchen ell does show double front doors. The Center Family Lot panel shows the Center Brick House and the North House with single front doors. The Square House is simply a unique house built for the mill operators and skilled craftsmen and the single door most likely reflects only Brothers occupied the building. The four communal houses with single front doors represent the brick construction period of the 1820s when these buildings most likely followed the same building plan. Published historical accounts make no mention of these communal houses being used exclusively by one sex, so explaining the portrayal of single front doors remains unresolved.

For most of Union Village, the 1835 map provides a good accounting of the maximum extent of growth and development at each of the family lots, because the community attained its peak population maximum and new building construction would be replaced with building maintenance and increased craft production. Also, it immediately predates the devastating 1835 flood and provides the most complete picture of the Grist Mill and Square House and West Brick family lots just prior to the severe damage and destruction of many of those buildings, which would not be repaired nor replaced. Likewise, it shows the greatest extent of the East Family Lot before its abandonment in 1836. Interestingly, the West Family Lot was considered peripheral to the community by the map artist, because it housed a Gathering Order or young believers (not necessarily youth) and was so small with so few buildings a sketch map was not warranted (Emlen 1987:77).

In contrast, the North Family Lot presents a schematic plan of the buildings just prior to its reorganization and new building period following the 1835 flood. The 1835 map predates the construction of two of the three principal large brick buildings that survived into the early twentieth century. Only the communal house was in place and complete except for minor alterations in late 19th century. Additionally, a large two-to-three-story frame shop would be moved to the North Family Lot shortly following the abandonment of the East Family Lot.

The plan layout of the North Family Lot includes 13 structures and confirms the presence of the communal house and two associated shops fronting on the east side of the road as indicated on the 1829 map. However, in this case, the letter "B*"* indicates a Brother's shop rather than a brick building. Since the frame and log buildings are distinguished by the rendition of boards or logs, the contrasting depictions of the communal house and shops as reflecting brick can reasonably be inferred. The portrayal of the communal house as two-and-a-half stories with five windows over four windows and a central door on the front and three windows over three windows on the end with dual chimneys does not differ substantially from its 1829 depiction. In contrast, the shop adjacent to the communal house shows the same front as the communal house which is substantially longer than the three windows over two windows and a central door shop front on the 1829 map. The other shop is depicted as reduced to one story with a single centrally located chimney completely differs from its rendition on the 1829 map. However, the 1835 depiction would better approximate a blacksmith shop, as labeled on the 1829 map.

Two other brick shops occur on the 1835 map, but it is not clear if they represent construction after 1829 or were simply left off the earlier map. The partially open, one story shop with a central chimney oriented perpendicular to the road also resembles a blacksmith shop. If this actually is the third building on the 1829, its size, orientation, and distance from the road is completely different and the southernmost shop on the 1835 map with the conforming location and orientation would have to represent a building not portrayed on the 1829 map.

The remaining brick building, labeled a garden shop, is considerably small and narrow with two stories, three windows over two windows and a central door, and one window over one window on the end. The single centrally placed chimney seems characteristic for the smaller shops on the 1835 map. Situated behind the communal house, it is oriented perpendicular to the main north-south road along with a cluster of farm outbuildings and a log shop, which could indicate a farm lane, farm yard or field boundary. The small size of the garden shop and its position away from the road could explain why it is not portrayed on the 1829 map. Since the 1829 map identifies the field behind the communal house as a garden, it seems reasonable the shop would also be present at that time.

A two-story log house sits directly behind the communal house with its long axis oriented perpendicular to the road. Because Youngs sketched the map in 1834, the log house could not represent the large 2½-story frame shop moved from the East Family Lot to the North Family Lot in 1835. Given the historical accounts for the initial development of the other family lots, the log house is plausibly the original Morris' homestead and served to house the initial North Family members as they constructed the brick communal house.

The 1835 map provides the first indications of two large frame barns and two smaller frame buildings on the west side of the road and north of the sharp angled curve. The field directly across from the communal house and shops switched from a woodlot to a meadow, which suggests the felling of trees for buildings and furniture. So the community pattern suggested by the 1829 map is brought into clearer focus with the core of brick residential and craft production buildings set immediately south and to the interior of the curve, while the focus of agricultural production surrounds them to the west, north and east. The sketch map focuses on the curve and provides no information of whether the sawmill portrayed on the 1829 map as further north on Shaker (Dick) Creek was still standing and operational. The removal of trees across from the communal house suggests it was, although the logs could have been processed by the sawmill at the Square House Family Lot.

The two Shaker maps are both complementary and contradictory. The core of the North Family Lot consists of three brick buildings of decreasing size situated close to and along the east side of the road south of the curve. The maps differ in the size, shape and architectural elements of the three buildings, suggests some elements may be accurately drawn while others are symbolized or schematic representations. Not for about a 75 year period, after the United Brethren Church purchased the Shaker property, would additional maps of the North Family Lot be available to compare the buildings present on each map.

Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century County Atlases

The county atlases from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provide the outside world's perspective on the Shaker community of Union Village. Where the early Shaker maps subdivided their landholdings into a grid work of functional fields with the outside world appearing as broad undifferentiated space, the county atlases reverse this view (see Figure 27 though Figure 29). The subdivision of the township into a patchwork of small to medium sized individually owned farms contrasts with the broad open space of the Shaker landholdings which cover several sections. The map makers' intent is to provide graphic information to the broader mainstream public concerning their patterns of land use and ownership.

The Shakers form a clearly anomalous pattern with a vast landholding and only four entrance points oriented to the cardinal directions. The family lots that function as the gateway communities are set well back from the actual entrance points, but all of the family lots cluster along the two main axis roads through the community. The Shaker infrastructure of farm lanes which appear on their maps are not depicted. In contrast all of the small to medium sized farms are interconnected through a network of public roads and lanes. Although the farmhouses generally occur along these roads, neighboring farms maintain considerable distance between their residences. Clearly the concept of self sufficiency as witnessed in the land use patterns differs between the Shakers and their outside neighbors, with one promoting communalism and the other favoring individualism.

The county atlases provide an overview on the maximum extent of the Shaker landholdings for Union Village and its initial reduction in size, as the community began to die out and consolidated its holdings. Interestingly, the county atlases also demonstrate a continual process of the subdivision in the surrounding small individually owned farms signifying an apparent increase of the township population. What the county atlases cannot clearly show is the reduction in the Shaker population with an increasing amount of their property being rented to tenant farmers. The county atlases contain minor variations in certain Shaker landholding details, for which the map scale brings into question the accuracy of the map details The 1875 atlas shows the building clusters for five of the family lots and names four of them (Figure 27).

The West and East Family Lots are not depicted, but the West Family name is applied to the West Frame Family Lot, while the West Brick Family Lot, although depicted, remains unnamed. A grist mill, the only building symbolized around the mill ponds, points out the abandonment of the Grist Mill Family and the Square House Family Lots following the 1835 flood. Of particular interest are the eleven structures symbolized on the east side of the curve at the North Family Lot. Since the county atlases normally do not depict outbuildings, the 1875 map suggests an increase from the seven brick or log shops and house on the 1835 Shaker map. The increase of buildings at the North Family Lot most likely reflects the consolidation rather than the growth of the community which began as early as the 1830s and actually resulted in the reduction the number of functioning buildings as permanent fixtures on the landscape by the mid to late nineteenth century.

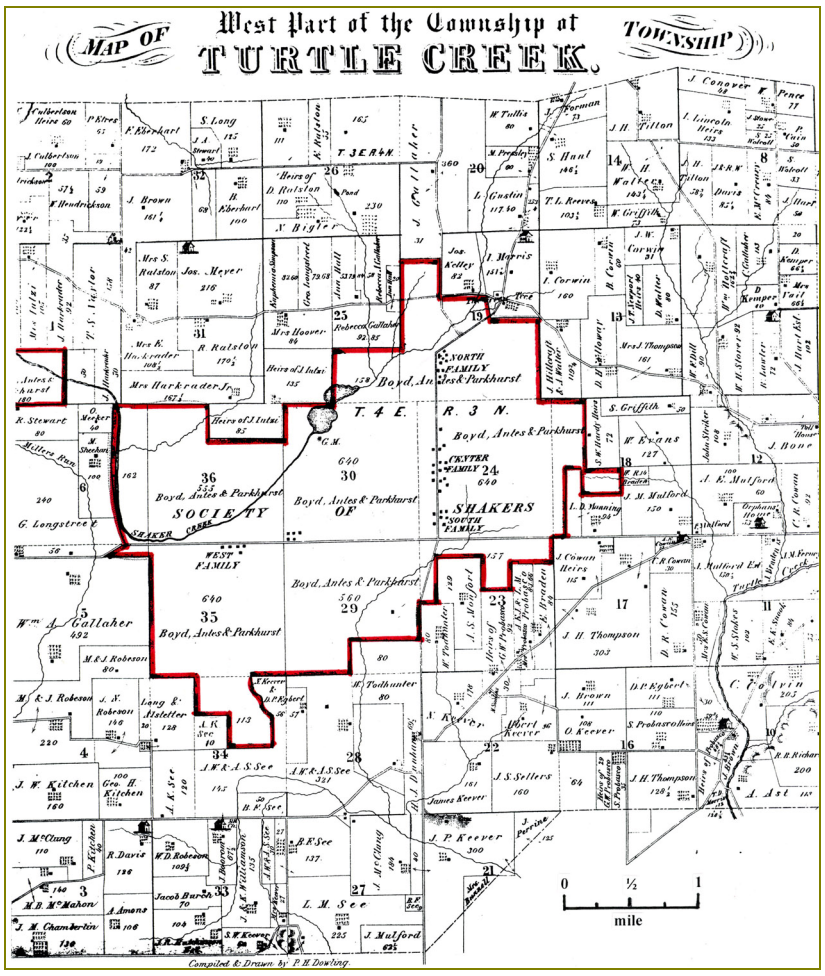

Figure 27. Detail of 1875 Warren County atlas showing Union Village property
Union Village landholdings outlined in red. Adapted from Everts 1875.

The 1891 and 1903 county atlases show further reductions in the number of buildings associated with the North Family, Center Family and West Frame Family Lots, as well as the loss of the grist mill and eventually the mill ponds (Figure 28, Figure 29).

Although the reduction of the number of symbolized buildings could simply reflect variability in the map makers recording of detailed information, the occurrence of a devastating tornado in the mid 1880s could account for the change. It destroyed or severely damaged a number of unspecified buildings in the community, which were not repaired, as the dwindling and aging Shaker population no longer used them and could not afford to repair them.

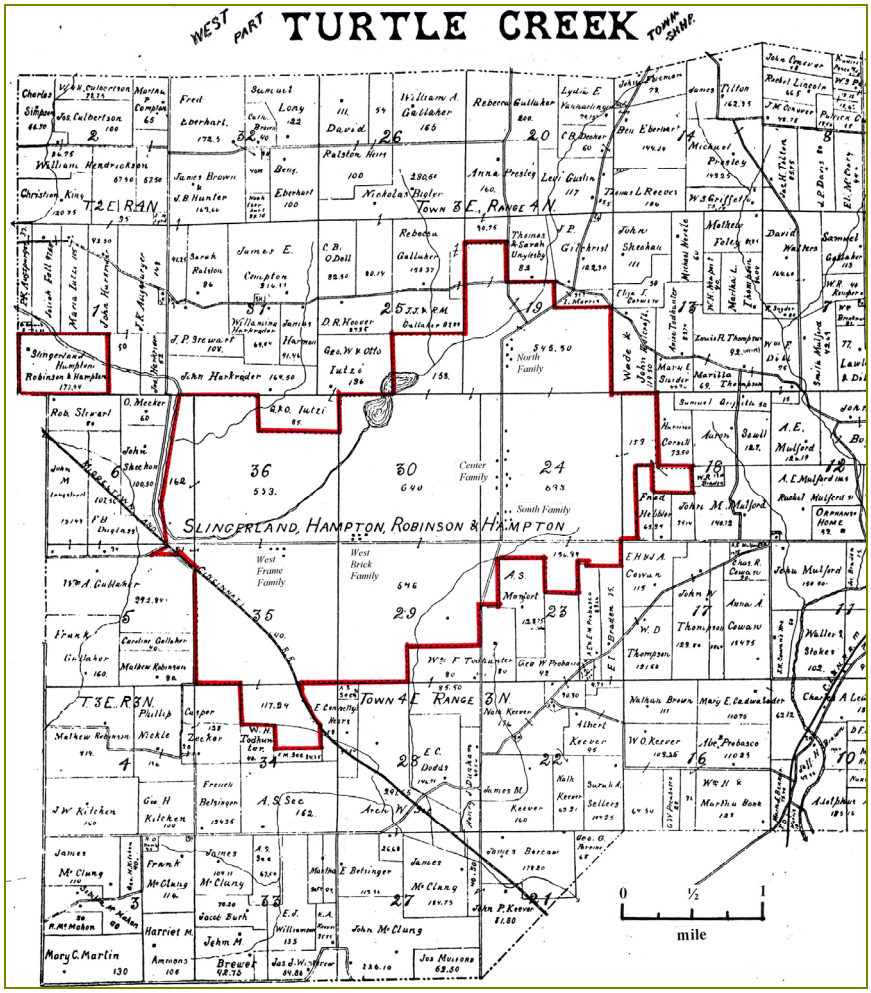

Figure 28. Detail of 1891 Warren County atlas showing Union Village property
Union Village landholdings outlined in red. Adapted from Bone 1891.

Another aspect of the late transformation of Union Village during the 1890s which is not clearly depicted in the county atlases involves the renovation of select communal houses for the consolidation of the remaining Shaker population at the Center Family and North Family Lots, as well as the renovation and movement of older buildings or the construction of new buildings for tenant farm families renting 100-acre outlying parcels. The minor variations in the county atlases suggest a period of relative stability that masks the true social dynamics occurring within Union Village.

Several other map features distinguish the county atlases from the early Shaker maps, two of which may postdate the early maps. Clearly, the construction of the railroad line and the Union Village train station are late additions to the community, occurring during the late 1880s, although this belies the fact that the Shakers made use of the railroad system earlier to transport goods, as well as for personal travel. The train station is also a direct outgrowth of the failed Warren County Canal (1830s to 1850s), for which the Shakers had channelized Shaker Creek to feed the canal that followed Millers Run. The rail line roughly follows the abandoned canal line and passes through the extreme southwestern edge of Union Village (Figure 28, Figure 29).

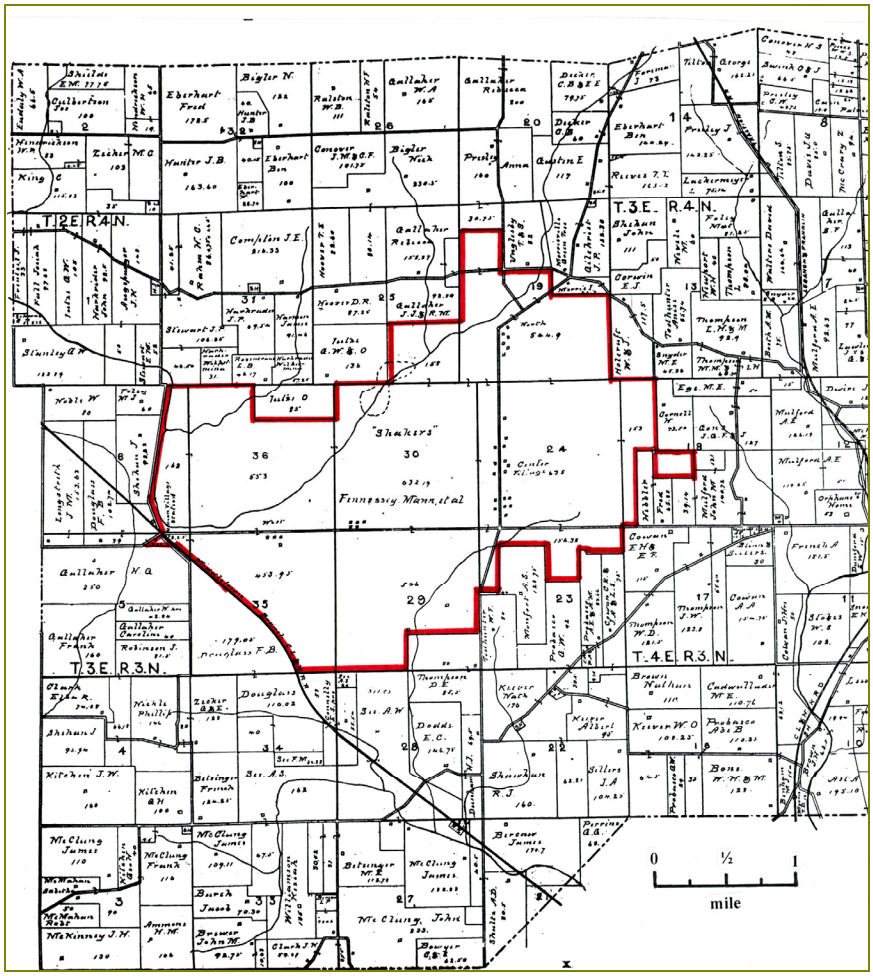

Figure 29. Detail of 1903 Warren County atlas showing Union Village property
Union Village landholdings outlined in red. Adapted from McKay 1903.

The second distinguishing and enigmatic feature is the isolated quarter section of Shaker property at the far western edge of the county (Figure 27, Figure 28). No early Shaker map records it and no Shaker journal discusses an established family lot on it. Plausibly it represents one of the early pioneer families, who converted to Shakerism but their outlying farm was too distant to be effectively included with one of the family lots in the developing Union Village plan. Consequently, it most likely was one of the rented outlying parcels, since the county atlases consistently portray the presence of a farmstead.

The third distinguishing and enigmatic map feature is a residential symbol along the northern edge of the southeast quarter of Section 29, which is unaccounted on the 1829 Shaker map. The location closely corresponds with the Turtle Creek Presbyterian Church, depicted on the 1807 Shaker map as the original meetinghouse of McNemar's congregation. Presumably the Shakers abandoned the after the construction of their first meetinghouse in 1808. The chance the building survived until the mid 1870s without some maintenance seems unlikely. To date no passage from a Shaker journal has come to light that discusses the continued presence of the church or any later building at that location. The building symbol occurring as early as the 1875 county atlas predates the beginning of the Shakers' tenant farming system and

suggests the outside mapmakers perceived something on the Shaker landscape that the Shakers did not. By the 1850s, the Shakers routinely employed hired hands for short term tasks and housed them with the Gathering Order at the western family lots (Edwards 1988:79). However, it seems unlikely the Shakers would permit outside help to live separately and unsupervised at any distance from one of the family lots.

The 1917 and 1929 Otterbein Homes and Farm Maps

The two Otterbein Homes survey maps from the early twentieth century provide detailed information on the transformation of the buildings and their layouts for the North Family, Center Family and South Family Lots. The 1917 map inventoried the extant Shaker buildings at the time the property was purchased by the United Brethren Church and served as a planning tool for long term development of the property as an orphanage and nursing home, primarily for Methodist congregations and missionaries. Orphanages at the time served much like modern day foster homes and halfway houses. The tenant farming system continued with the long term goal of bringing all the farms under the direct control of Otterbein Farms which operated at the Center Family Lot. The 1929 map documents the taxable structures following a decade of demolition and/or renovation of older structures and construction of new facilities for the Otterbein homes and farm. Terminology for the various buildings came from the few remaining Shakers at the time of the property transfer.

From north to south, the three principal brick buildings of the North Family Lot include the three story Sisters' Carding Shop, the T-shaped communal house and kitchen, and the two story Brothers' Broom Shop (Figure 30). They provide a distinctly different arrangement of the three brick buildings fronting the road from the house and two shops on the 1829 and 1834 Shaker maps.

A precise date is currently unavailable for the end of craft production at the Brothers' Broom and Sisters' Carding shops. They were clearly standing idle and vacant for nearly a decade prior to the sale of the property. In 1900 the last members of two dissolved Ohio Shaker communities, Watervliet and North Union, relocated to Union Village and occupied the North Family Lot, but it is not clear if they operated any shops (MacLean 1902:301). By 1906 they removed to the Center Family Lot and a tenant farm family occupied the front of the communal house. Shortly after acquiring the property the United Brethren moved the tenant family to another farmhouse and in 1917 renovated and used the communal house as a nursing home, which they named the Good Samaritan Home.

Of all of the available maps, the 1917 map provides the most accurately scaled plan of the North Family Lot buildings. The problem then becomes rectifying the 1917 map with the 1829 and 1834 Shaker maps without any information about possible changes over the intervening 80 year period.

The accurate interpretation of the wide gap between the communal house and the Brothers'/Broom shop on the 1917 map is the most critical question (Figure 30). Clearly, this map conflicts with the impression on the early Shaker maps of close spacing between the Communal House and the two adjacent shops to the south. If the wide spacing on the 1917 map accurately reflects the distance between the communal house and the first two story shop on the earlier Shaker maps, then the third shop should lie much further south and the core building area

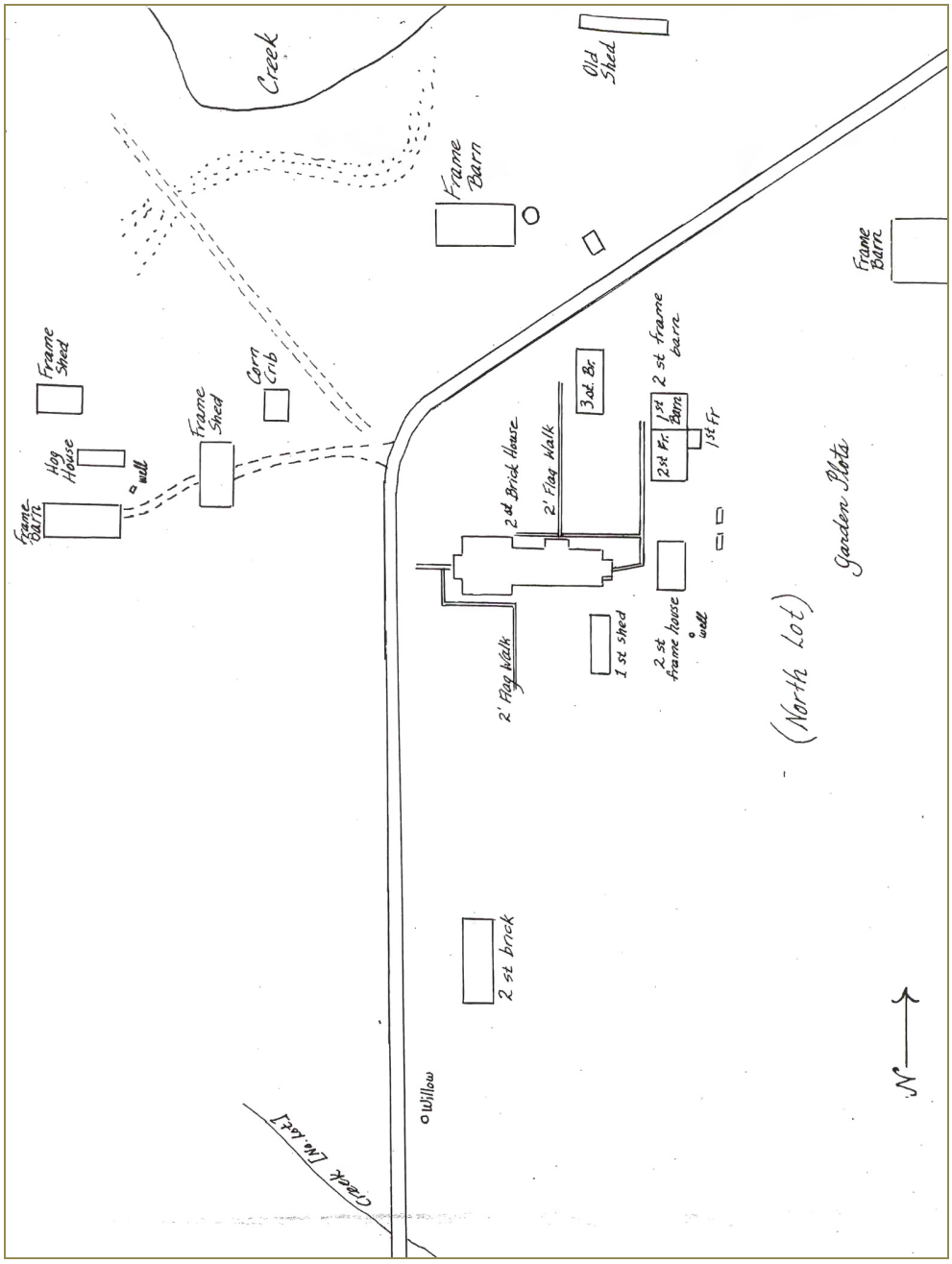

Figure 30. North Family Lot from 1917 Otterbein Homes and Farm map
(Traced from original archived at Otterbein/Lebanon Homes Museum and Library)

of the North Family Lot is considerably broader and more spread out than portrayed on the Shaker maps. Likewise, if the wide spacing accurately depicts the house and first shop, then sufficient room exists along the road frontage for an additional building between them, which could influence the interpretation of where the large frame shop moved from the East Family Lot in 1835 was placed at the North Family Lot. On the other hand, if the Brothers' Broom Shop represents the third, southernmost and smallest brick building on the early Shaker maps, then the

Shakers substantially remodeled it after 1834, and a larger two story brick shop that fit in the gap had to be razed by the Shakers prior to 1900.

Behind the communal house and the Sisters'/Carding Shop, three frame buildings and two small unlabeled, presumably shed, structures form a second row of buildings aligned parallel with the brick buildings fronting the road to the west. Two of the frame structures are two-story buildings, one a rectangular residence and the other a nearly square barn with two one-story additions. They do not conform to the size, shape and orientation of the log house and log shop on the 1834 Shaker map. Either building could be the frame shop moved from the East Lot in 1835, but the barn is closer in shape to the stated square dimensions of the shop (36 by 40 feet). However, the rectangular residence would more closely match the original exterior and interior design of the original frame shop than the barn, providing it is a barn. Without the one story additions, the building is much smaller than any other frame barn. The barn designation could reflect the tenant farmer reusing and refurbishing a vacant Shaker frame shop.

The 1917 map depicts a cluster of frame barns and farm outbuildings on the west and north sides of the curve. They occur in relatively the same places but in different positions as the four frame barns and sheds on the 1835 Shaker map. It's extremely doubtful the original farm buildings survived for 80 years given the accounts of several devastating tornados and the propensity of the Shakers to move, build, and/or rebuild outbuildings as needed. The two maps demonstrate the continuous organization and use of this space at the North Family Lot for a variety of farming and animal husbandry activities rather than residence or craft production.

The period between the 1917 and 1929 maps witnessed considerable changes with the North Family Lot buildings. By 1929, the Brothers' Broom Shop along with all the frame structures behind the communal house were removed (Figure 31). On the 1929 map, the building south of the communal house is a two story barn located one-half mile away in the Center Family Lot. The fate of the two frame structures is not as clear, since they could have been moved or reused in much the same manner as the Shakers reused buildings and materials (see Volume 2 for resolution of their fate). Two small square frame dwellings appear for the first time on the north side of the road, opposite a barn and well northeast of the Sisters'/Carding Shop. Likewise, a stucco house appears directly opposite the communal house on the west side of the road in previously open space south of the farm outbuildings. One new and one probably moved outbuilding occur in the cluster.

By the time of the 1929 map, the focus of activity at the North Family Lot shifts away from the core area, which is depleted of buildings. Tenant farm and hired hand residences shift to the opposite side of the road and tenant farming continues unabated around the isolated lot containing the vacant Sisters' Carding Shop and the Good Samaritan Home. The nursing home depended on support services from the Otterbein Homes facilities at the Center Family Lot rather than the tenant farmer and hired labors living around them. Although planned as hospital annex to the nursing home, the Sisters'/Carding Shop remained vacant, unused and unmaintained due to lack of funds for refurbishing during the Great Depression. Because of poor structural integrity, the building was razed in the 1940s.

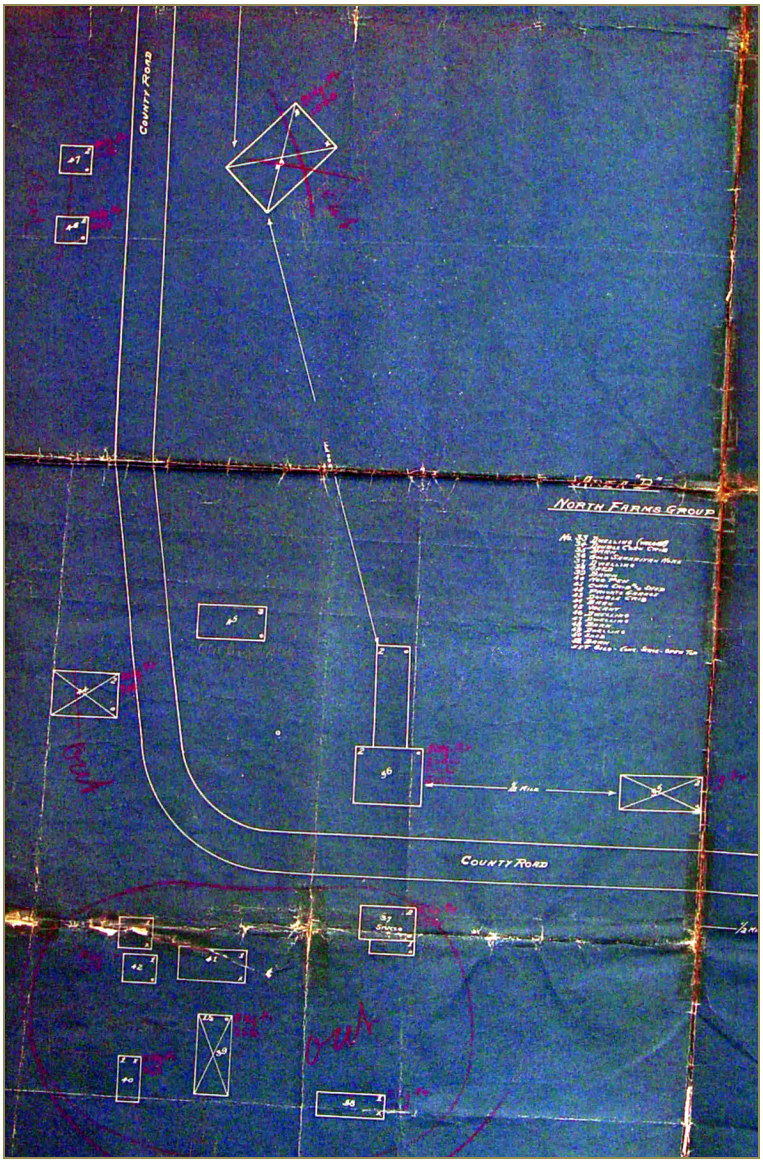

Figure 31. North Family Lot from 1929 Otterbein Homes tax survey map
North is to the left, and the structure south of the communal house is a frame barn located one-half mile to the south

Photographic Sources

Although Union Village served as the Western Bishopric, relatively few photographs of the buildings and village scenes appear in the major Shaker architecture books. The popular view of a Western Shaker community comes from Pleasant Hill in Kentucky, which benefited from decades of research and restoration. Part of the interest in Pleasant Hill focuses on Micajah Burnett, a member of the Shaker community. A renowned self-taught architect and master carpenter, he planned the Pleasant Hill community and designed the buildings, as well as aided the development of other Shaker communities (Thomas 1970:50). Although Pleasant Hill and Union Village went through similar periods of extensive building

growth during the 1810s and 1820s, no record currently exists of Burnett advising the Union Village elders about their community plan or building designs.

The few published and widely accessible Union Village photographs highlight Marble Hall. Originally the Center Frame residence and office for the Elders, it was ornately remodeled in Victorian style and renamed in 1893 (Figure 32). As the part of a comprehensive last effort by the Shakers to attract new converts, the luxurious, mainstream accommodations failed to attract individuals to the Shaker communal lifestyle. Part of the reason for the popular use of Marble Hall photographs is the simple fact that it is one of the few surviving Shaker buildings at Union Village and it stands out on the current rural landscape because of its size and ornate architecture. However, it presents a skewed and limited view of the Shaker lifestyle not experienced by the vast majority of the Union Village Shakers, who would not recognize it as the communal house of the most devout.

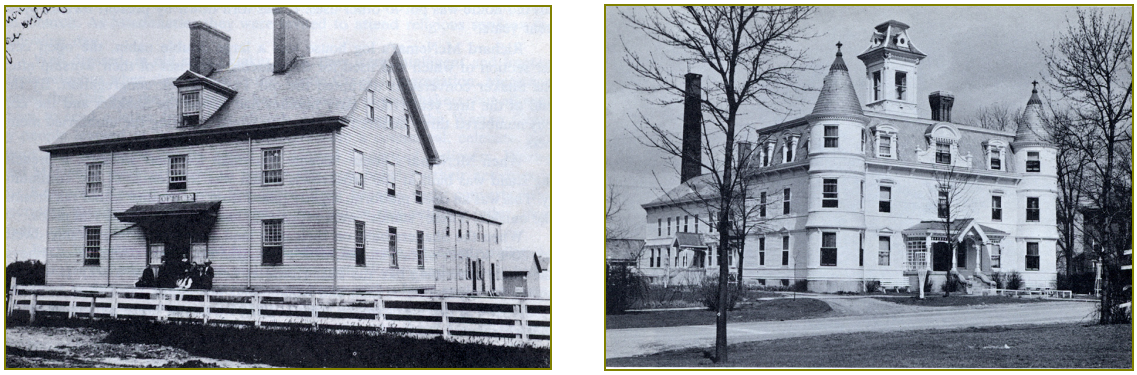

Figure 32. Center Family office, before and after 1893 renovation
Images courtesy Otterbein Homes Museum and Library.

The other standing building which also receives wide but occasional photographic circulation is Bethany Hall (former Center Great House). Constructed in 1844 as the largest Union Village communal house, it fit into the core of the established Center Family Lot. Built during a decade of nationwide spiritual revivalism, the Center Great House structurally overshadowed the other communal houses, but the anticipated major influx of new converts never fully materialized. However, Union Village remained vibrant for another 20–25 years. Where Marble Hall's atypical Shaker architecture symbolizes the death throes of this community, the Center Great House, standing immediately adjacent to it, architecturally symbolizes the apogee of the Shaker communal lifestyle (Figure 33).

The Sisters' Shop at the North Family Lot is the only other Union Village building with widespread publicly available photographs and architectural drawings through the Library of Congress' Historic American Building Survey (Poppeliers and Stephens 1974). Unfortunately the building is mislabeled as the South Family Residence in their record. The brick South Family House built in 1822 closely resembled the other brick communal houses built in the 1820s and destroyed by fire in the 1890s. Built in 1854, the Sisters' Shop is the last major building constructed at Union Village and shares with the Center Great House the distinction of being the only three story buildings in the community (Figure 34). So it too symbolically reflects the apogee of Shaker lifestyle as it pertains to their craft production.

Figure 33. Remaining Shaker structures at Union Village
Marble Hall (former Center Frame House) at left and Bethany Hall (former Center Great House) at right. ODOT project file.

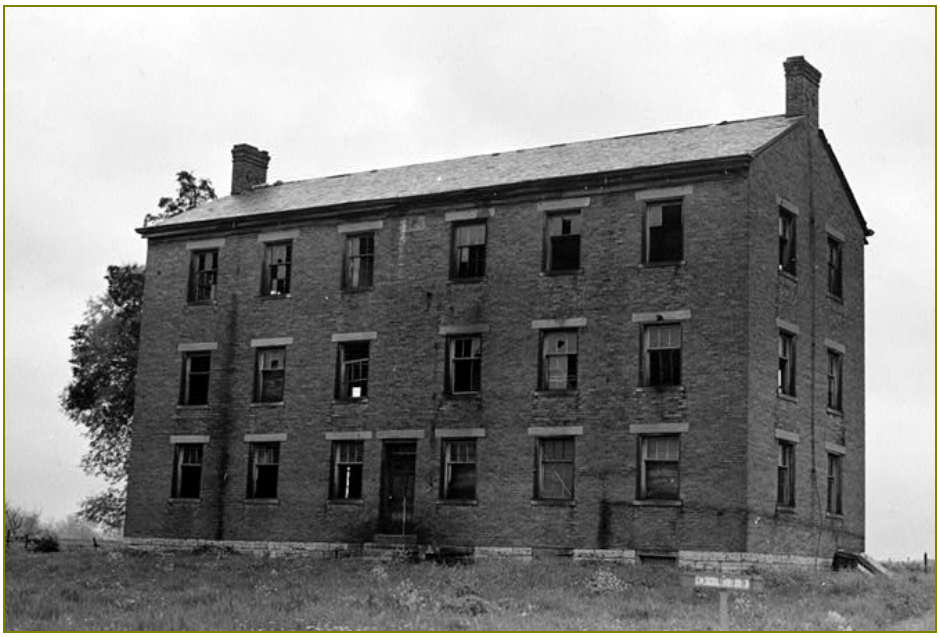

Figure 34. Sisters' Carding Shop, 1937
Image from Historic American Buildings Survey.

Other published photographs of Union Village architecture and scenes exist but are limited to local distribution. Nearly all of these photographs document the period between 1890 and 1925 when ownership of Union Village transferred from the Shakers to the United Brethren Church. They reflect the transformation of the Shaker community and buildings into Otterbein Homes and Farm, an orphanage, retirement home, and nursing home. None of the photographers is a Shaker but most are directly or indirectly associated with the land transfer and shared a common concern to document the Shaker heritage.

John P. MacLean's (1902) brief historical account of Union Village's nearly 100 year existence includes photographs of three buildings (Marble Hall, Center Great House and a new cow barn), and one Center Family Lot street scene of the meetinghouse from the about a decade prior to the sale of the property, as well as portraits of some of the few remaining Shakers. This was one of several articles MacLean produced to document the Ohio Shaker communities prior to their closings during the first quarter of the twentieth century. He was instrumental in acquiring and preserving primary documents (journals, diaries, covenant lists, publications, etc.) from these communities. Much of the initial archival information for the North Family Lot came from his article. Important facts and events of the North Family Lot were chronicled but no photograph was apparently available.

Joseph. M. Phillippi's (1909) newspaper article on the Union Village Shakers contains several photographs of the last remaining Shakers, the principal buildings of the Center Family Lot, and one street scene of the North Family Lot from the curve in the road. Based on his tour of Union Village, he became an admirer of Shakerism and the leading proponent for the purchase of the community by the United Brethren Church. After which, he served as a trustee for Otterbein Farms during the formative decades. Ten photographs occurred in his book on Shakerism and Union Village, including the same North Family Lot street scene, two Shaker portraits, and seven Center Family Lot structures (Maclean 1912). The United Brethren Church published the book to solicit funds for the development and operation of their newly acquired Shaker property, which served roughly equal numbers of orphans and elderly (most were retirees), all of whom worked communally to provide for the daily operation of Otterbein Homes and Farm.

The North Family Lot photograph taken from the sharp curve documents some of the buildings present within a decade before the 1917 map (Figure 35). It's the only photograph of the communal house showing the cupola near the rear of the kitchen ell. The hidden building at the center of photograph with a single chimney at each end conforms to the location of the two story frame house on the 1917 map. Another faint chimney barely appears behind the other clump of trees between the corner of the Sisters' Carding Shop and the hidden building, and conforms to the location of the two story frame barn on the 1917 map.

Figure 35. North Family Lot, Union Village looking southeast from curve in the road, communal house (right) and corner of Sisters' Carding Shop (left)
(Phillippi 1912:96)

Otterbein Homes and Farm produced an annual report journal from 1913 through 1930, which switched to a bimonthly newsletter, both of which circulated to church members keeping them informed on how their donations aided the development and operation of the orphanage, nursing home and farm. During the first 10 years photographs of the restoration, relocation, dismantling and reuse, or demolition of Shaker buildings predominated as visual records of progress in the community development plan. New building construction following current designs and using modern materials at the former Center Family and South Family Lots received considerable graphic attention. The few street or action scenes highlighted successes in the farm operations and the orphanage.

Toward the mid 1920s, a major thematic shift occurred with street and action scenes numerically replacing buildings as the principal photographic subjects in Otterbein publications. The renovated buildings serve as background for portraying various community activities, as well as framing for portraits of the orphans and elderly residents. At the same time, articles discussing the spiritual and physical connections between Otterbein Homes and Farm and the Shakers become less frequent and virtually disappear in the 1930s to be replaced by discussions of various activities conducted by the children and elderly during each year. These trends reflect the nearly complete physical transformation and social assimilation of the original Shaker ideals and family lots with the new religiously oriented commune of orphans, elderly, hired help and tenant farmers.

The Otterbein Homes and Farm's publications provide the first true pictures of the North Family buildings symbolized or drawn on the maps. Unfortunately they are from the end of the Shaker community and present as many conflicts and contradictions as the maps. Volume 2 provides extended discussions of these issues, while the intent here is to raise the questions. The earliest photograph of the North Family communal house presents a front that does not match with the illustrations on the two early Shaker maps (Figure 36). The photograph predates the 1917 Otterbein Homes' restoration, but the porch and doorway suggest probable alterations during either the Shakers' early 1890s renovation or the mid 1900s tenant farm family conversion. Regardless, the building is not as large as portrayed on the Shaker maps. Additionally the middle bay differs from the other brick communal houses at the Center Family and South Family Lots, which it chronologically follows in construction date, but matches the front of the West Brick communal house, which was the first brick dwelling constructed. Consequently, the true size and shape of the West Farm Lot House also becomes questioned since it is illustrated the same as the North Family Lot House on the 1829 Shaker map.

Figure 1. Pre-1917 front view of North Family communal house, Union Village
(Otterbein Homes Annual 1915 Volume 1)

The Brothers' Broom Shop provides the most controversy for the interpretation of the North Family Lot because of its size and location. Is it the larger shop and the middle building on the Shaker maps or the smaller southernmost building? Accurate identification of this building establishes spacing between the buildings and a general understanding of the extent of the core buildings at the North Family Lot. On first impression the photograph of a 2½-story building with a long front of seven or eight windows over seven or eight windows and a door clearly represents the larger shop (Figure 37). But two Shaker accounts suggest that the Brothers' Broom Shop was originally the small brick smith shop. One account indicates after the devastating 1835 flood and as part of the 1836 social reorganization of the Shaker families the West Brick Family potters were reassigned to the North Family Lot and a brick shop, a frame shop and a kiln had to be constructed (Muller 1979:100). The other account also attributed to an 1836 Shaker document indicates the brick smith shop at the West Family was extended 45 feet to accommodate an 80-foot "fitted up" pottery (Phillips 1969:126). The length of the renovated smith shop corresponds fairly well with the photograph of the Brothers' Broom Shop. Since the potters reportedly moved to the North Family Lot, the reference to the West Family smith shop appears to be an error or misquote, and the possibility of two competing Shaker potteries seems unlikely. At this point this building plausibly represents either of the two shops on the Shaker maps; see Volume 2 for the resolution of the question of the true identity of this building.

Figure 37. Brother's Broom Shop, North Family Lot, Union Village
(Otterbein Homes Annual 1916 Volume 2)

Two photographs provide additional controversy concerning the tile and stucco house which first appears on the 1929 Otterbein map on the west side of the road opposite the North Family Lot communal house (Figure 31). The first photograph shows a frame house constructed for the North Family Lot tenant farm family from a vacant Shaker building (Figure 38).

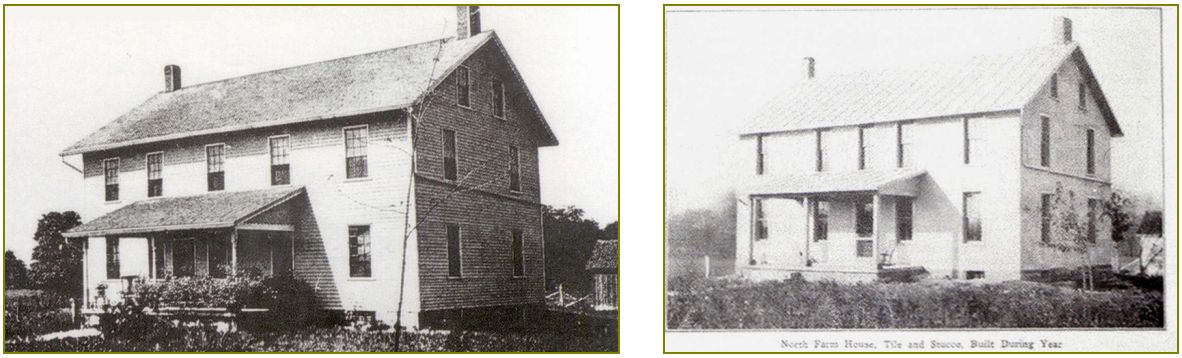

Figure 38. Tenant Farm Family House, North Family Lot, Union Village, several years apart; frame (left), and tile and stucco (right)
(Otterbein Homes Annual 1918 Volume 4 and 1923 Volume 9)

The second photograph, taken several years later, shows a similar house built in 1923 of tile and stucco. The fence post to the left of the house and the corner of a frame shed in the right background of both photographs demonstrate it is the same building portrayed in both pictures. So the questions are how did a frame house become a tile and stucco house and from where did the vacant Shaker frame building come?

The final North Family Lot building photograph in the *Otterbein Homes Annual* is the frame barn and concrete silo just north of the curve on both Otterbein maps (Figure 39). The frame barn occupies the same location as a barn from the 1835 Shaker map, but it seems unlikely the same barn lasted for 80 years with the 1886 tornado and the switch from Shaker farm operation to tenant farm operation. Most likely, the barn reflects the 1890s Shaker renovations, while Otterbein Homes and Farm made a priority to add the concrete silos to the barns at all of the family lots as one of their first improvements.

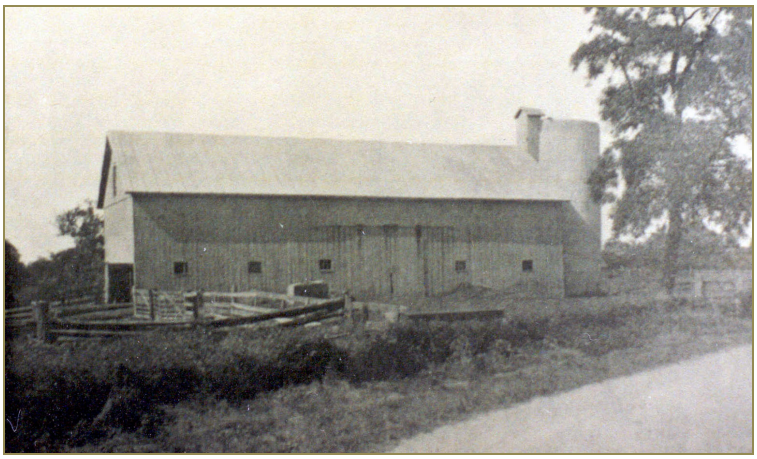

Figure 39. Frame barn and concrete silo, North Family Lot, Union Village
Otterbein Homes Annual 1916 Volume 2

The last published photographic account of the Union Village Shaker buildings is one chapter in Hazel S. Phillips' (1969) book on traditional architecture in Warren County. All but four of the sixteen photographs portray buildings from the Center Family Lot and range in date from the late nineteenth through the mid twentieth century. The only North Family Lot photograph that depicts the communal house prior to Otterbein Homes and Farm's renovation and is the same photograph as the one in the inaugural issue of *Otterbein Homes Annual* (Figure 40). Of particular interest is the single dormer on the kitchen ell which does not occur on the opposite side of the ell based on an unpublished post 1917 street scene (Figure 41).

The unpublished street scene, even with its poor quality, provides the first visual evidence of the two small square frame houses, a barn and a frame outbuilding on the north side of the road and east of the curve, as depicted on the 1929 Otterbein map. A 1925 aerial photograph (not published until 1946) of the Otterbein Homes and Farm, with a little help from modern technology, confirms the arrangement of the North Family Lot buildings in the poor quality street scene (Figure 42).

Figure 40. Pre 1917 North Family Lot communal house, Union Village
Otterbein Homes Annual 1915 Volume 1 and
Phillips 1969:126

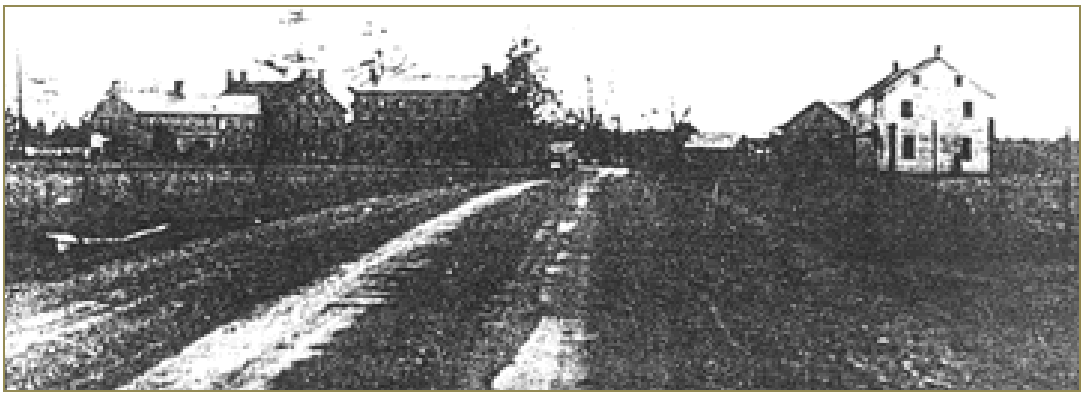

Figure 41. North Family Lot, Union Village, facing southwest
Otterbein Homes Museum and Library

Figure 42. 1925 Overview of North Family Lot, Union Village cropped from background of original Otterbein Homes and Farm aerial photo
(Otterbein Homes News 1946 Volume 16 Number 1)

Although limited in number, variety, and chronological depth, the available photographs of the North Family Lot depict most of the principal brick buildings along with several frame shops and farm outbuildings before and after Otterbein Homes and Farms' renovations. The two street scenes and the aerial photograph document the changes in the placement, spacing and orientation of buildings, as well as the use of space around and between them. Recent digital photographic techniques allow for enlarging and enhancing small details usually in the background or partially hidden by the main subjects of the photographs. Results of the detailed photographic analysis are incorporated in the building and landscape discussions of Volume 2.

The most severe limitation of the photographic record is the lack of interior views. Except for one view and the floor plans of the Sisters' Carding Shop in the HABS files (Figure 43) and some unpublished views of the renovated Marble Hall rooms, interior partitioning of space in the various buildings is not documented.

Figure 43. 1937 HABS photo of Sister's Carding Shop interior, Union Village
Image from Historic American Buildings Survey.

From the beginning of this project and during the production of this report, two publications on Union Village were released with both containing some of the previously unpublished or limitedly circulated photographs archived at the Otterbein Homes Museum and Library and the Warren County Historical Society. An updated history of Union Village greatly expands on MacLean's earlier work with new information and insight on the community as a whole (Bauer and Portman 2004).

The most recent publication, a photo journal, relies on intricately interweaving the photographs from the last decades of the Shakers and the early formative decades of Otterbein Homes and Farm with photographs of Shaker ephemera highlighting labels and advertisements for agricultural products, garden seeds, herbs and medicinal syrups (Bauer 2007). As a pictorial overview of Union Village's history, it clearly points out the limitations of the photographic record for this Shaker community.

Missing from the available photographs are animated views of vibrant, densely packed family lots with their mixture of craft shops and farm outbuildings spaced around the slightly larger administrative and spiritual hub that characterized Union Village for most of the nineteenth century. The pastoral view of an expansive agrarian Shaker community is somewhat of a common myth for it reflects a terminal period when the Shaker community was nearly fully integrated with the surrounding mainstream American communities (Figure 44). By the 1870s, the reduced and aging Shaker population relied more and more on hired farm labors and eventually instituted a tenant farming system for most of the family lots. The interweaving of the late Shaker and early Otterbein Farm photographs in the most recent publication simply documents the ease in transfer of land ownership and management of the tenant farm system.

Figure 44. Post 1910 hand-colored postcard of Union Village, looking north from the SR 741 and SR 63 intersection at the Center Family Lot
(Otterbein Homes Museum and Library)

Examples of Limitations and Complications with Archival Sources

The overview of the archival resources points out a number of discrepancies and probable errors amongst and between them, which questions the accuracy of the 1989 village reconstruction wall map, especially for the North Family Lot. The map provides a good first approximation of the community layout and serves as a baseline for evaluating new and reinterpreting current information. Even the legend on the poster version advises the reader not to view it as static but as a compilation of all known buildings within a nearly 100-year

period, although the prevailing sentiment expressed in the legend argues for the contemporaneous presence of the majority of the buildings, as well as their concurrent use.

The limitations and complications of the archival record result from two main sources: temporal gaps in documents for critical periods and the fact that the Shakers (and later Otterbein Farm's managers) moved, refurbished and reused the buildings. Sometimes the historical accounts, maps, illustrations and photographs complement each other and fill in the gaps of missing information. In other cases, they provide conflicting and contradictory information. Volume 2 addresses the issues raised concerning specific buildings and the dynamic use of the North Family Lot. The following examples are meant to demonstrate the detailed archival studies necessary to resolve issues concerning an accurate identification and history of use for a particular Union Village building.

The first example traces the discrepancies in the historical account of the Brethren's "Little House" (South House) or the first Shaker dwelling constructed at Union Village. Built in 1806 to house the Eastern Shaker Elders, the two story frame was relocated in 1822 and converted into a wash house behind the newly built and larger brick T-shaped communal house. Beginning in 1812 the South Family occupied the original frame house until the larger brick house was completed (Bakken 1998:146). Both the Brethren's "Little House" and the brick communal house occur on the east side of the main north-south road according to the early Shaker maps. A Shaker journal entry for April 29th, 1890 indicated an arson fire destroyed the brick South House, the wash house with all of the laundry equipment, and several outhouses (MacLean 1902:300). Previously, about two weeks prior, the woodshed and a two-story shop were set ablaze. The extent of damage forced the South Family to disband and relocate with the other families.

Figure 45. Undated photo of South Family House, Union Village
(Phillips 1969:114)

If the historical account is accurate, then an undated photograph of the South House must predate 1890 (Figure 45). However, the few documented early Union Village building photographs are generally attributed to the early 1890s immediately preceding the extensive renovation period between 1891 and 1895. The photograph provides no useful foreground or background details to determine whether this building was located on the east or west side of SR 741. There is no reason to doubt its location at the South Family Lot, but its identification as the original South House is questionable, since the shadow cast by the porch obscures whether the entrance is a double doorway. Even a single doorway would not negate the possibility this was the original South House, since it originally served only the Eastern Shaker Elders. Even with its conversion to the South Family communal house, which most likely required the addition of a second door, it could be removed when the building became the wash house in 1822. If not then, the conversion of the building to accommodate a tenant farm family or hired hands in the

1890s would be another opportunity to install a single door. Without the double doors it would be difficult to distinguish the house from a frame Shaker shop.

For the photographed building to be the early South House, it had to survive the fire with any damage repaired. This is a distinct possibility, if the building was not a total loss, given the extensive renovations and repairs conducted throughout Union Village during the mid 1890s in order to attract new converts and tenant farmers. The 1917 Otterbein map shows a distinctly different number and arrangement of building types at the South Family Lot from the 1835 Shaker map (Figure 46).

Since the Otterbein Homes and Farm's board did not authorize any work at the South Family Lot before 1918, the Shakers made all of the changes to the buildings on the east side of the road after the 1890 fire. Of particular interest are the two one story frame buildings on the west side of the road which are older Shaker buildings based on the undated photograph, and possibly salvaged and relocated following the fire, or they reflect an earlier Shaker expansion of the South Family Lot, not currently corroborated by Shaker journal accounts. Either scenario could accommodate the relocation of the original South House/wash house. Based on size and shape the undated photograph most likely represents one of the two frame buildings on the west side of the road. The 1917 Otterbein map erroneously records them as single story frame structures.

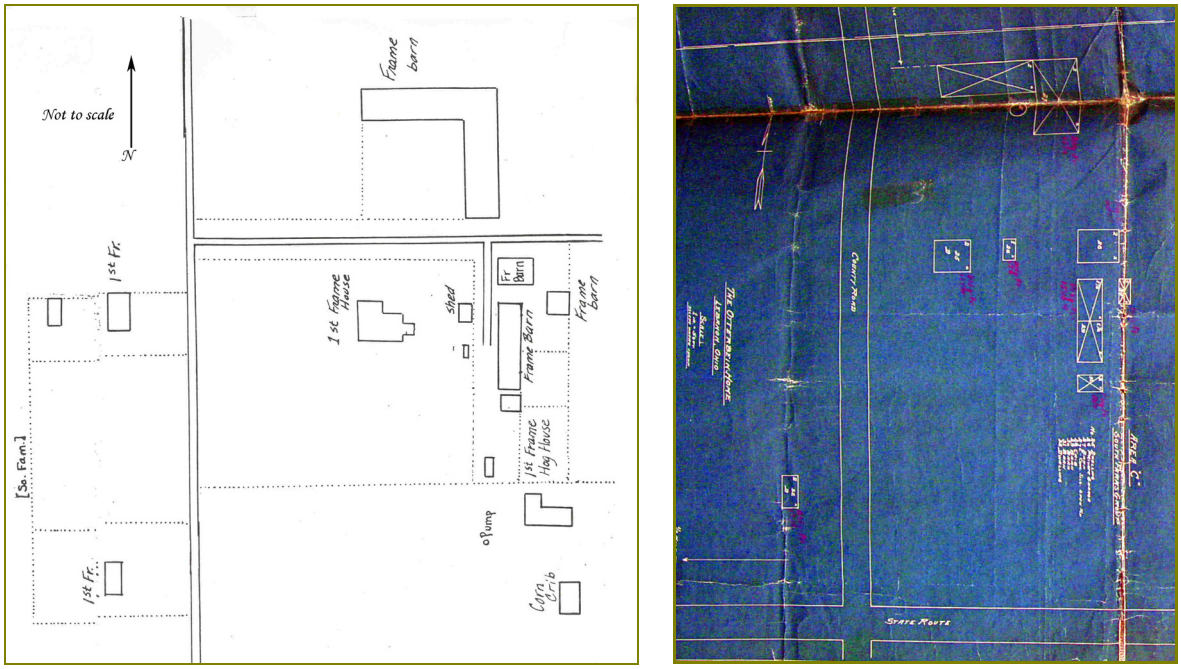

Figure 46. South Family Lot, Union Village, from the 1917 Otterbein building inventory map (left) and the 1929 tax map (right)
(Otterbein Homes Museum and Library)

The 1929 Otterbein map rectifies the error on the 1917 map and records a two story frame house as the sole remaining building at the south end on the west side of the road (Figure 46). Otterbein Homes moved the northern building in 1918 to the Center Family Lot and

renovated it as a dormitory known as the Large Girls' Annex and subsequently in the 1940s as Sunbeam Cottage for the smaller girls. Photographs of the renovated building indicate a two story frame with a stucco facing (Figure 47).

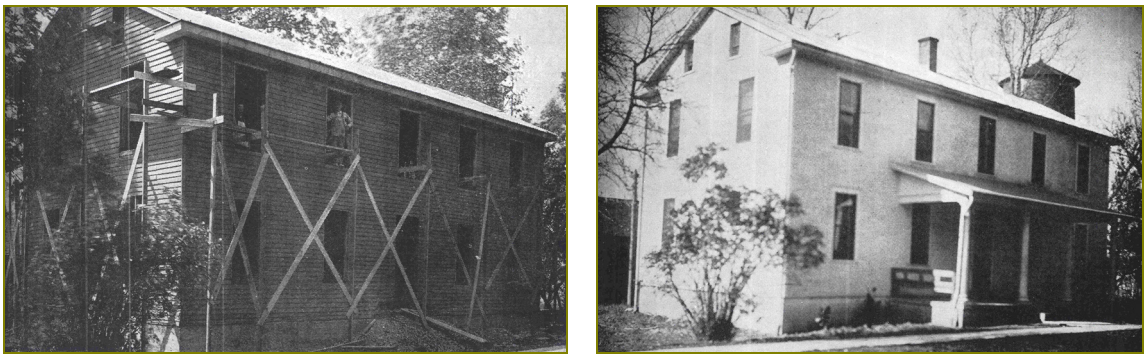

Figure 47. South Family Lot two-story frame moved to Center Family Lot in 1918 and renovated as girls' dormitory
Left photo: Otterbein Homes Annual 1918 Volume 4; Right photo: 1919 Volume 5

The tenth annual report of the superintendent for Otterbein Farms noted this building as "a seed house moved more than a quarter of mile into the quadrangle and remodeled [to provide] quarters for 28 larger girls (King 1923:20)." The term "seed house" should not be misconstrued to mean a Shaker seed workshop. It is closer to the alternative meaning of worn out, shabby, or deteriorated, as in "seedy" or "gone to seed." A second account by a board member for Otterbein Farms substantiates this interpretation.

In the fiscal year of 1918–1919, a two-story frame building that had gone to pieces except for the good frame, was moved from the South group a quarter of a mile into the Central group, remodeled, stuccoed, and set apart for the larger girls, known as the Girls' Annex (Phillippi 1923:36).

The front remodeling changed the structure from three widely spaced to five narrowly spaced windows, and while the ends still retained the wide window spacing to accommodate the single chimneys, they were replaced by a single interior one. The overall size and shape of the building matches the South House in the undated photograph.

An alternative interpretation argues for the undated photograph representing the other two-story frame dwelling remaining at the south end of the South Family Lot on the west side of the road. Referred to as the old red house near the graveyard, repairs were made in 1939 and the house painted white (Traylor 1940:2). A water line and hydrant were installed to relieve the tenants from carrying water from the old barn across the road.

Both South Family Lot frame structures on the west side of the road from the beginning of the twentieth century are clearly Shaker buildings, and they survived until the mid twentieth century. The undated photograph could represent either building, and if truly a photo of the original 1806 South House, it means one of them experienced nearly 150 years of continuous and varied uses by the Shakers and Otterbein Homes and Farm. Interestingly, neither Shaker

building occurs on the 1989 Union Village compilation wall map, most likely because the Otterbein Homes and Farm maps were not source material.

The other example involves the brick South Family Lot communal house for which no photographic record exists because it was destroyed in the 1890 fire. However, the Lebanon Gazette reported the fire on May 8th, 1890 and provided a presumably accurate illustration of the building (Figure 48).

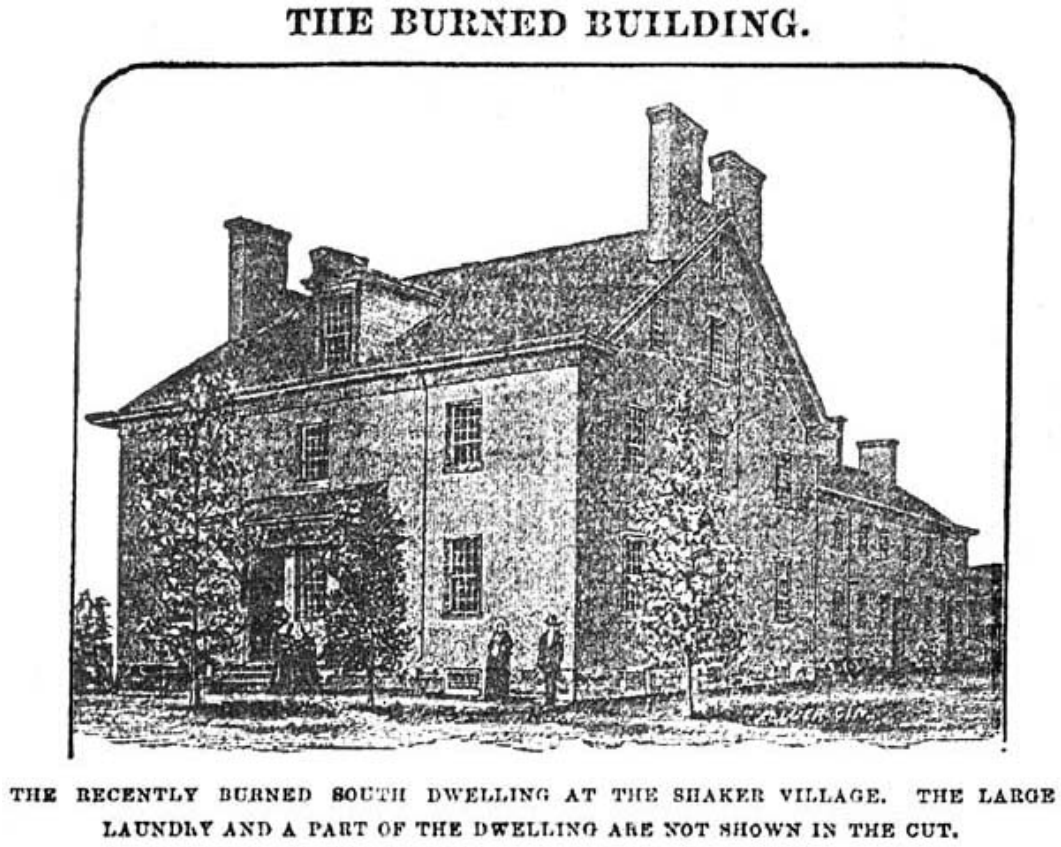

Figure 48. South Family Lot brick house from 1890 Lebanon Gazette
Reprinted from the Union Village and Shakers of Warren County Ohio website, www.rootsweb.com/~ohwarren/Shakers/photo.htm

However, the same illustration used in a pamphlet promoting Shaker sarsaparilla identifies the building as the medical laboratory, located in the North House of the Center Family Lot (not to be confused with the North Family Lot house). Although the poor quality of the microfilmed copy of the print obscures some details, the identical placements of trees, as well as the Shaker man and woman standing at the corner of the building documents the same illustration is being used for two different contexts (Figure 49).

The pamphlet is a curious document, since it is undated and purports to tell a brief history of Union Village, but primarily promotes the exceptional quality of the Shakers' extract of sarsaparilla process. The Graham brothers served as wholesale agents of the sarsaparilla for

Union Village. The pamphlet's illustrations depict the primary buildings of the Center Family Lot and include two interior views of the sarsaparilla laboratory. The pamphlet ends with a reproduction of a resolution from the Lebanon Medical Society dated October 29, 1849 attesting to the exceptional purity of the Shakers pharmaceutical preparations. It is undersigned by Peter Boyd, a Shaker trustee in charge with all medicinal production, and includes his testimonial that they still make and offer the original extract of sarsaparilla. The whole intent of the pamphlet is to convince the public the Shakers produce an exceptional product which the Graham brothers distribute for them.

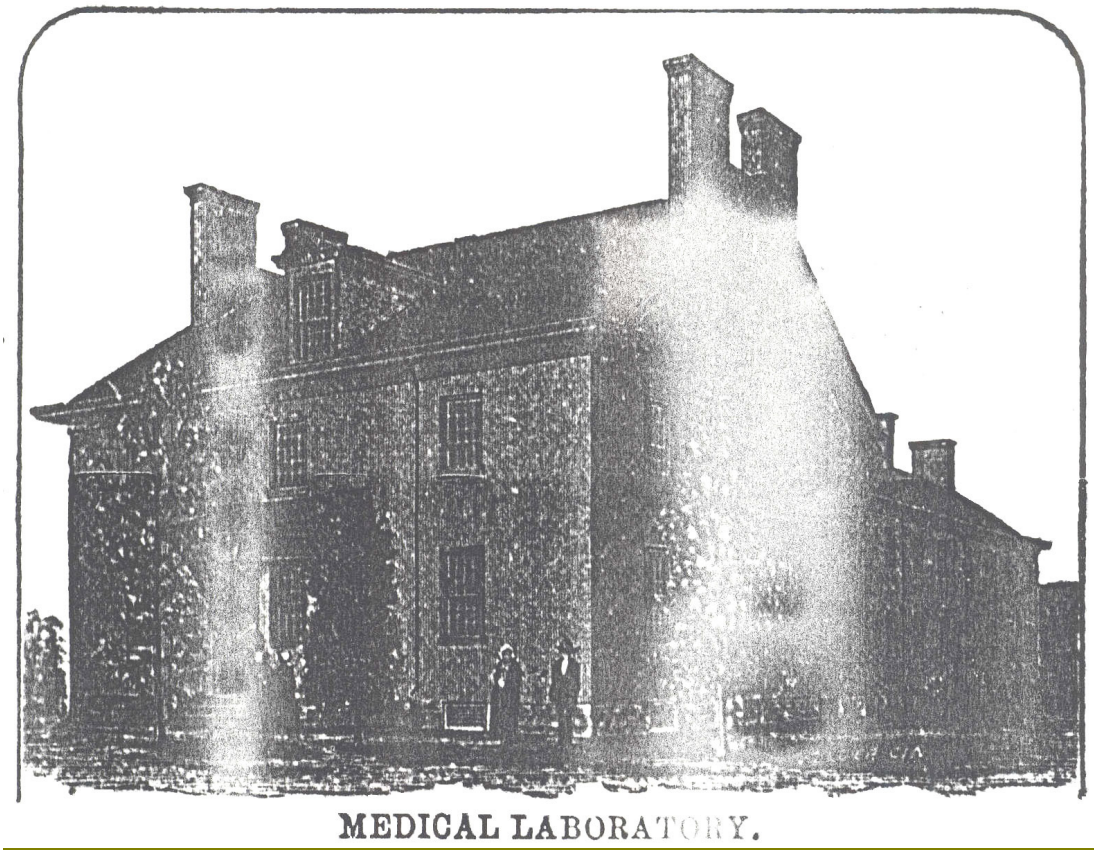

Figure 49. Medical (Sarsparilla) Laboratory in the North House, Center Family Lot
(Graham Brothers ca. 1890)

Historical accounts document the loss of the sarsaparilla laboratory, along with several other craft shops, during a fire on 04 March 1865 that completely destroyed the North House (MacLean 1902:293). No historical account exists concerning the rebuilding of the sarsaparilla laboratory anywhere within the Shaker community. So, one could reasonable argue the pamphlet postdates 1849 and predates 1865, except for two passages and one illustration. Peter Boyd's portrait on the first page of the pamphlet contains the caption "Peter Boyd–82 years a Shaker" noting his age at death in 1889. One passage claims the public benefited from the use of the Shakers' extract of sarsaparilla for the past sixty years, while a second passage indicates medicinal production began in 1833 at Union Village. This would

place the production of the pamphlet around 1890 and possibly into the early 1890s coinciding with or shortly after the loss of the South House.

Quite likely the pamphlet relates to the community revitalization efforts of the mid 1890s and simply was not as prominent as some of the more flamboyant undertakings. Other medicinal manufacturers are known to produce Shaker sarsaparilla and use Peter Boyd's testimonial and signature to assure the public of the product quality (Miller 2007:82). Most likely these were earlier arrangements and reflect Boyd's attempt to maintain production levels for an exceptionally profitable business after the loss of the laboratory.

The use of the same illustration in two different publications is more readily understandable when both publications occur within a short period of time, rather than decades apart. Presumably, the Shakers controlled to some extent the proper use and veracity of the illustrations and text for the pamphlet, which clearly focuses on the Center Family Lot. Whether the pamphlet reflects deceptive advertising implying the Shakers continued to produce sarsaparilla extract into the 1890s or reflects the actual rebuilding and operation of the medical laboratory in a different Shaker building (historical account versus testimonial) is not the main issue and awaits additional research. The issue concerns the accurate portrayal of the North House of the Center Family Lot and/or the South House in the two publications.

The illustration of a 2½-story brick, three windows over two windows and central doorway, building with dual chimneys at each end and a single centrally placed front dormer closely matches a late nineteenth-century photograph of the Center Brick House (Figure 50). As previously discussed, the three brick communal houses (South, Center Brick, and North) at the South and Center Family Lots were constructed in rapid succession between 1819 and 1822, and apparently followed a single plan. Consequently, the Shakers could reasonably and accurately use a single illustration to depict both the South House and the North House of the Center Family Lot. It further suggests the Center Brick House served as the subject of the illustration, since the North House and probably the South House were already destroyed.

Figure 50. Ca. 1890 Center Brick House, Center Family Lot, Union Village
(South Union Village Museum and Library)

The insight from the archival resources, previous archaeological investigations and Shaker history and theology provide a contextual base for developing achievable research goals and

objectives at the North Family Lot. What are currently seen as limitations in our existing knowledge of Union Village, actually serve as opportunities to acquire missing information or clarify existing conflicts and contradictions. The following chapter lays out the plan for what information buried in the ground and in the archives can and should be retrieved.

CHAPTER 5. THE PLAN TO REVEAL THE NORTH FAMILY LOT

The past three decades saw a surge in historical, social, and religious studies of communal and utopian societies, partially spurred by the numerous twentieth-century communes, both religious and secular, and their comparisons to societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Going beyond mere histories, these studies delved into issues concerning communal organization and function, such as men's and women's social, political and economic roles, social mores and family organization, commitment and membership retention, social boundaries and commune longevity. As one of the largest and longest operating communal societies, the Shakers, primarily the eastern villages, figure prominently in these studies. As these scholarly studies become adapted for popular literature, the public becomes aware and is drawn to the comparisons and historical connections with current social issues. For Union Village, *Wisdom's Paradise: The Forgotten Shakers of Union Village* (2004) and for Shaker archaeology, *Neither Plain nor Simple: New Perspectives on the Canterbury Shaker* (2004), published just before the 2005 archaeological excavations began, provide such popular accounts from contemporary perspectives which apply directly to the North Family Lot.

Union Village's Significance

For this highway project to contribute to scholarly and popular Shaker knowledge, it must first be demonstrated that the curve realignment detrimentally impacts a significant source of American history, or technically a National Register of Historic Places property. Because of its size and planned construction, Union Village represents a National Register historic district demarcated by the former legal property boundary of the maximum Shaker landholdings, within in which occur contributing elements (Shaker buildings, landscape elements, and archaeological remains) as well as non-contributing intrusions (retirement community, prison facilities, and park facilities). The North Family Lot contains multiple contributing elements, several of which the curve realignment will permanently remove.

In terms of the four significance criteria for a property to make the list as a National Register of Historic Places, Union Village qualifies as follows:

Criterion A. The community served as the administrative center for the expansion and the social and political control of all of the Western Shaker villages. Therefore, Union Village is associated with numerous events and trends that significantly contributed to broad patterns of American history.

Criterion B. The principal local leaders founded the Shaker community on their original pioneer landholdings and along with the first Eastern Shaker leaders lived at and developed Union Village, while aiding the establishment and development

of the other Western Shaker communities. Therefore, Union Village is associated with lives of several significant persons in American history.

Criterion C. The Eastern Shaker leaders provided a unique community and landscape design based on Shaker beliefs and values as developed at the New England Shaker villages and pragmatically adapted to the western frontier. Therefore, the Union Village community plan embodies distinctive characteristics that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

Criterion D. The archaeological remains from most of the family lots can address inconsistencies and incomplete accounts in the archival record, while providing a broader base of comparative data amongst the family lots within the community and between the other various Shaker communities. Therefore, Union Village, and specifically the North Family Lot, have yielded and may be likely to yield information important in history.

The archaeological remains for most of the family lots, especially the five associated with the Intermediate and Gathering Orders, appear intact and relatively undisturbed. This assessment is based on comparing reported family lot locations with twentieth century maps and aerial photographs, which indicate the parcels containing some of the family lots lay in fallow and undeveloped fields. Archival research on these family lots languishes well behind those for the South Family and the Center Family Lots, which form the core area of the devout Church Order. Although the Otterbein Retirement Community developed much of the Center Family and South Family Lots, open spaces still remain and parking lots seal basements of several prominent Shaker buildings. Consequently, the archaeological remains across the entire Shaker land holdings can potentially provide considerable material insight and a broader holistic interpretation of the physical organization and differential use of space at Union Village.

Historical accounts about Union Village highlight the social, political, and economic tensions between the Shaker community and the outside world, while portraying an internal harmony and communal stability based on a fervent belief in a millennial worldview. From such an interpretation, one would expect a high degree of uniformity in the material remains of the community as being symbolic of the common belief system. This normative approach forms the classic interpretation of Shaker art, architecture, and community, based primarily on studies of the Eastern Shakers.

More recent research focuses on how strongly the members were committed and for how long a term they remained as Shakers, a topic which is concerned with internal social tension within Shaker communities. Such tension would exist between the most devout members in the Church Order and the novice members and newcomers in the Intermediate and Gathering Orders. The community plan attempted to balance authority and control versus innovation and voluntary participation, as well as to balance common and private space and property (Hayden 1976:5). Since the family lots at Union Village are subdivided or segregated according to family orders, a degree of variability can be expected in the material remains occurring between them, particularly amongst portable and personal items.

The North Family Lot as a Contributing Element

The North Family Lot contains important information within its significant archaeological resources for clarifying and complementing archival resources. Discrepancies and contradictions in the limited currently known information on the North Family Lot allows for the development of a series of research questions which can be addressed through the recovery of the archaeological data and intensive archival research. The preceding chapters established a basic land use history for the North Family Lot, which indicated a continuous Shaker use of the property during the nineteenth century with a combined Shaker and tenant farm family use at the end of the nineteenth century and into the first decade of the twentieth century. Despite the removal of the last North Family members to the Center Family in 1906, and the transfer of ownership to the United Brethren in 1913, the dual use of the North Family Lot for tenant farming and a communal elderly home that characterized the last decades of Shaker use continued through the mid twentieth century. The United Brethren rearranged and reused some of the frame buildings and modernized the communal house, which altered some Shaker architectural elements. However, most of the buildings went unused and were eventually razed, and the only new structures built at the lot were a concrete silo added to one of the barns and a carport behind the Kitchen. Consequently, much of the Shaker land use pattern remains preserved in archaeological deposits and buried structural remnants.

Even though published accounts and maps contain a number of inconsistencies in the reported number, types and placement of buildings, they demonstrate the curve realignment impacts a minimum of three foundation remnants and probably two more. Differences in map details and scales bring into question the precise locations and sizes of all buildings except the communal house. Additionally, the limited published information of the North Family Lot chronicles a few specific events, which results in inconsistencies as to which Shaker cottage industries operated in which buildings and for what duration of time. The limited information appears to reflect a research bias, where previous efforts and interests concentrated on the more devout Shakers and their leadership residing at the Center Family Lot. Additional archival studies can provide a broader picture of the Shaker families occupying the North Family Lot and their role in Union Village.

As the home of the Intermediate Order, the North Family Lot appears to increase in importance as a focal point for the Shaker craft industries within Union Village following the devastation of the Grist Mill Family Lot and the Square Family Lot by the 1835 flood. However, the current record provides no comparable measures of how well the North Family Lot competed or cooperated with the other family lots in economic production. Although some of the largest permanent shops are associated with the North Family Lot, they appear to have been in full use for a relatively short duration in the mid nineteenth century. Furthermore, a chronicle of the number and types of craft industries operating contemporaneously at the family lots does not currently exist. So whether specific crafts were exclusively produced at the North Family Lot becomes an important research topic.

Data Recovery Plan

The historic context developed for the North Family Lot provides a basis for research questions that examine the North Family Lot's role in the historical development and operation of Union Village. Because of the limited information found in secondary sources consulted in developing the historic context, the organization and operation of the North Family members amongst themselves, as well as with the other family lots at Union Village, remains unclear. However, the contextual information provided in the preceding chapters can be summarized into themes useful for investigating the development of the North Family Lot.

Historic Context of the North Family Lot

Initially, the North Family Lot, as one of the last two family lots established at Union Village, was meant to house a family associated with the Gathering Order. As such, the North Family Lot appears to be somewhat peripheral or of lower priority in the initial community plan. The layout of buildings conformed to the other family lots and it was meant to be a self reliant family of the Shaker community. A variety of agricultural fields enclosed the cluster of the shops, which in turn surrounded the communal house, and all of which supported the internal needs of the resident family.

However, within a few years of the lot's completion and occupation, the Shaker community reorganized and the role of the North Family Lot reversed with those of the western family lots. The Intermediate Order moved to the North Family Lot and its members continued to occupy it throughout the remainder of the Shaker occupation. Shortly before the reorganization, the 1835 flood destroyed most of the buildings at the Grist Mill and Square House Family Lots. At the same time, either new large shops were added or existing shops were enlarged at the North Family Lot. Although the new North Family Lot shops were not a direct functional replacement of the mills and shops destroyed by the flood, it reflected an organizational change in the Shakers economic production to participate more in outside markets.

The reorganization transformed all of Union Village, not just the North Family Lot. The larger shops coupled with Shaker mechanical inventions for processing and producing goods appear to mark the beginning of cottage industries supplanting or equaling in importance the agricultural production. Additionally, the expanding relationship of the Shaker community with the outside market system required the devout core to be more insulated by placing Intermediate Order families to the north and south and sequestering the Gathering Order to the western periphery of Union Village. The devout members of the Center and South Family Lots produced a wide variety of craft goods, but it remains unclear how many of the family members, other than the leaders, actually interacted with outsiders. The North Family Lot appears to play an important role in Union Village's transformation process because the large permanent shops represent the last major building construction events for the entire Shaker community. The only major building constructed outside the North Family Lot in this period was the Center Family's Great House, begun at the Center Family Lot in 1844 in response to a spike in Shaker converts from the nationwide spiritual revivalism of the 1840s.

After the Civil War, another major organizational shift occurred at Union Village with the collapse of the cottage industries and a return to a reliance on agricultural production. The remaining Shaker crafts involved processing agricultural crops into seeds, wine, herbs, jams and jellies, and a variety of medicines. Agricultural production focused on cash crops and livestock for the market. With a continually dwindling number of members, the Shakers increasingly depended on a share cropping system for operating their vast landholdings. Still a community of devout members, Union Village took on a completely new symbolic and practical appearance because property management of the various farms replaced the religious worldview of the perfected village representing heaven on earth.

The transfer of ownership from the Shakers to the United Brethren prolonged the communal aspect because the primary function of the community remained unchanged, only the members and their religious worldviews differed. Through the mid twentieth century, Otterbein Homes and Farm operated the share cropping system in order to support nursing and retirement homes and an orphanage for members of their various congregations. The youth received training and education and eventually left the community. The analogy to the latter period of Shaker occupation is clearly evident.

The juxtaposition of the frame single family dwelling and barn used by the tenants among the Shakers' large vacant brick shops exemplifies the transformation of the North Family Lot to tenant farming during the late period of Shaker occupation. A second tenant farm house with farm outbuildings was located a quarter mile northeast of the curve on the south side of the road and at the boundary of Shaker land holdings. As part of the land transfer, the second tenant farm must reflect the Shaker policy during the 1890s to rent outlying 100-acre parcels to tenants. Whether the farmstead represents relocated and reused Shaker frame shops and farm outbuildings from the North Family Lot or new construction by the tenant farmer remains to be determined.

The maintenance and expansion of the tenant farming system under Otterbein Homes and Farm shows a shift in occupation and daily agricultural activities to the west and north side of the curve opposite the core area of the North Family Lot. Post-Shaker use of the core area was restricted to the communal house which is renovated and used as a nursing home through the mid twentieth century. Planned reuse and renovation of the Sisters Carding Shop and the Brothers Broom Shop as a hospital and annex to the nursing home never materialized. At best, the orphans cultivated the former Shaker gardens east of the vacant brick shops.

How accurately and completely this historic context interprets the changing role of the North Family Lot is the principal question to be answered. The chronology of the North Family Lot developed from the published maps, historical accounts, and the photographs need to be tested with excavation of the archaeological record and additional archival research. Viewing the North Family Lot through a developmental or adaptive historical perspective is a dynamic model providing an alternative to the widely popular static Shaker model of unchanging, like-minded individuals operating a religious utopian community in peace and harmony. The approach reflects a current research trend in documenting the social histories of American utopian communities (Pitzer 1997), but differs on two main points. For Shaker

studies, the approach focuses on one family lot within a Shaker village, and one that is not part of the devout core of the community. Secondly, it gives equal or greater weight to the material remains in the archaeological record as primary evidence for clarifying inconsistencies, filling gaps and addressing questions in the current historical accounts. As such, documenting the variability in the material remains takes on a greater significance for understanding social changes and inequalities, rather than for identifying the typical Shaker materials to reaffirm or amend the classic perception.

Research Design Objectives

The initial research objective is determining the community layout of the North Family Lot. Specific questions to be addressed include:

1. What is the accurate placement and orientation of the Sisters' Carding Shop?
2. Are there any foundation remnants of the earlier Garden Shop and Log Shop, and if so, how do they relate to the Sisters' Carding Shop?
3. Is there any foundation remnant of the earlier double pen log house, and if so, can it be demonstrated that it is Isaac Morris' pioneer home?
4. What is the accurate placement and orientation of the Brothers' Broom Shop?
5. Are there any foundation remnants of the two early brick shops south of the communal house, and if so, how do they relate to the Brothers' Broom Shop?
6. Is there any evidence that the Brothers' Broom Shop served initially as the Pottery Shop?
7. Is there any remnant of the pottery kiln, and if so, does it relate to the early Blacksmith Shop?
8. Is there any foundation remnant of the large frame shop moved in 1835 from the East Family Lot to the North Family Lot?
9. Are there any foundation remnants of the later tenant farm family's house and outbuildings, and if so, how do they relate to the moved large frame shop?
10. Are there any foundation remnants of two brick shops in a second row of buildings behind the communal house, or are they the misidentification of the frame tenant family's house and barn?
11. Are there remnants of walkways, fence rows and planned gardens in the open public spaces?
12. Are there any remnants of privies and refuse disposal areas?
13. Is there any evidence for the reported East Shaker Cemetery in the southeast corner of the North Family Lot?

Once the layout of the North Family Lot is established, excavation units of varying sizes and shapes are strategically placed to sample inside and outside foundation remnants, the nature and extent of non-building features, and content of open space. The resulting information can

be used in conjunction with intensive archival research to address a number of broader research questions concerning changes in the social landscape.

1. Since all of the family lots were constructed during the earliest Shaker period and primarily within the decade 1815–1825, is there any significant difference between the design and construction of the various communal houses? If so, can the variation be attributed to status differentiation of the Order/Family occupying the structure?
2. Since the Millennial Laws were not codified and formally distributed to the various Shaker communities until 1821, how homogeneous are the family lots and the buildings and how well do they conform to the regulations?
3. Since the three primary buildings at the North Family Lot reflect construction during different periods is there any evidence of changing building methods or materials? Are bricks made on site or are they purchased from the outside in later periods?
4. Since the large brick shops postdate the 1835 flood and are part of the development of the Shaker cottage industries and outside markets, are there building design differences from the earlier shops (i.e., change from self-sufficient lots, changes in economics of scale)?
5. Is there any status or functional difference between frame and brick shops (i.e., agricultural vs. cottage industry)?
6. Is there any structural evidence for renovation and/or refitting of the structures for different functions?
7. Is there any variability in builders' trench debris, formal refuse area debris, and/or open space debris indicating status differentiation between the family orders occupying the various lots (i.e. conformity to the Millennial Laws and percentage differences in amount and types of worldly items)?
8. Is there any variability in the amount and types of debris and their spatial occurrences at the North Family Lot, which could indicate the switch from primarily Shaker production to primarily tenant farmer/hired laborer production?
9. Was hired labor used exclusively for agricultural production or did they serve in the cottage industries (i.e., maintenance of status differentiation skilled labor [Shaker] vs. unskilled labor [Gathering Order and hired labors])? How is this reflected in the abandonment of shops and the relocation and refurbishing of shops into single family homes? Any quality differences in later renovation and maintenance performed by hired labor on the more permanent buildings? How well did hired labor conform to production standards set by the Millennial Laws?
10. How does the amount of area designated for agriculture and cottage industry activities at the North Family Lot compare to the other family lots? How competitive were the family lots in production outputs for the various cottage industries? Is any cottage industry restricted to a particular family lot? How many cottage industries moved out of the Center Family Lot following the 1865 fire in the North House?

By understanding the social dynamics of the Shaker community through the variability in the material remains as well as the archival accounts, more deep-seated research topics can be addressed.

As one of numerous American communal societies based on millennialism, which is the belief that the Second Coming of Christ is imminent, the Shakers viewed the rest of the world as moving away from Christian teachings and becoming more corrupt. They strove to live an earthly existence that mirrored and linked them with a heavenly existence, while developing highly effective craft industries that competed well within the American free market system, linking the Shakers with a worldly demand for their products. The first question that arises is: how much of this worldly interaction and success was planned by the Shaker leaders? The second question is: who benefitted from the success?

Shaker communities maintained a good standard of living with the most modern conveniences of the time, as a means to attract new converts. However, the standard of living had to be tempered so worldly desires did not compromise them from attaining their individual perfection and heavenly reward. The Shaker Millennial Laws served to define and refine the limits of common good through proper action. Consequently, variability in the material remains from the standards expressed in the Millennial Laws can show how well groups occupying the various family lots conformed to acceptable behavior. A greater degree of variation from the standards would signify an increase in the degree of social tension between and within the Shaker families.

Variations from the Millennial Laws relate to the maintenance of both internal and external social boundaries. Public symbols differentiating the Shaker village from the outside world are the most fundamental, highly visible and well maintained. Within the Shaker community, individuals conforming to prescribed ritual behaviors and dress symbolize group solidarity by promoting and maintaining private symbols of equality or sameness. Some private symbols function as public symbols, such as Shaker dress outside of the village or Shaker dancing when visitors attend meetings. However, their primary purpose is to aid individuals in their quests for perfection. This classic view of the Shakers, which equates simplicity and functionality in form and design with expert craftsmanship in all aspects of material cultural, actually defines the social boundaries and provides a means to measure how well they are maintained over time. Increased social tension should be reflected in greater variations in the public and private Shaker symbols.

Individuals vary in skill and ability, so considerable variation should be evident in attributes of craft production. Variation is measured by the degree of deviation from a norm or idealized final product form. Therefore the level of craftsmanship relates to quality control of the final product. Poor production quality can be documented in greater waste byproducts and higher numbers of product rejects. Such material remains can reflect either intentional poor work or limited ability on the part of the individual craftsman, but also demonstrates a degree of acceptance by those in authority over the production. The use of inferior materials or construction methods, while maintaining the preferred form and design produces a facade of conformity to the observer. Such material remains reflect conscious behavior on the part of the craftsman, as well as the authority figure over the production. Rather than being a fake

or poor example of classic Shaker manufacture, the poorly constructed items, providing they can be properly provenienced, provide a measure of social tension in the Shaker community.

Innovations or improvements to the production process or the final product should be functional rather than stylistic. Artistic or aesthetic embellishments actually reflect poor production quality to the Shakers. To some extent they can be used to distinguish Shaker invented or improved tools and machines from those they acquired from outside. The same might be true for some Shaker products with limited formal and decorative variation for internal use and greater variation to meet the fashion demands of outside markets.

Personal items are one other group of objects which could display a range of artistic embellishments. More diverse occurrences are expected among the Gathering and Intermediate Order families, since these individuals are new or not fully committed. Depending on personal conviction, the embellished objects could range from an open display of a rebellious symbol to the Millennial Laws to a hidden display of an alternative symbol of individual perfection. Regardless of how open the symbol, it still reflects an individual's conscious choice of nonconformity to the group and a sign of social tension. More stylistic variation expressed in personal items reflects a higher degree of internal social tension.

The demise of the Shakers came from their inability to attract and maintain sufficient numbers of converts, which they found somewhat surprising because of their villages' relative economic successes. The practice of celibacy appears to be an overstated reason for the lack of converts; although it seems reasonable it affected retention of the youth raised by the Shakers who needed to commit to the village covenant or leave when they reached adulthood. It cannot account for the lack of middle aged converts who already produced families. Likewise, other nineteenth century communal utopian societies which did not require celibacy suffered the same inability to attract converts.

An alternative explanation for the inability to attract and retain converts rests on the potential of individually achieved wealth to exceed communally achieved wealth, even though communal wealth provides greater stability and security for more individuals over the long term. In other words, individuals who take greater risks and exert greater efforts can achieve greater rewards than other individuals, while groups sharing their risks and efforts at reduced individual levels would share their rewards also at reduced individual levels. This is the popular basic distinction for most Americans today between capitalism and socialism/communism.

Shaker community population levels provide some justification to this interpretation because they tend to vary inversely with booms and busts in the national economy. Although population statistics poorly track individuals' actions, Shaker villages gradually and continuously lost skilled laborers as different specialized craft industries succumbed to growing industrialization and American frontier expansion. Higher turnover rates of individuals are expected amongst the families of the Gathering Order and the Intermediate Order where individuals participating in the early stages of conversion are not fully committed.

Amassing individual material wealth or status appears to be the antithesis to the Shaker worldview, with all members striving to maximize their individual potential for the community's benefit. Yet the family order system established a status ranking of groups according to their level of devoutness. Each group contains individuals who achieved a similar hierarchical level of individual spiritual perfection. However, the family leaders come from only the most devout and instruct the other members in their personal quests, as well as evaluate their progress. So social inequalities exist at the group and individual level, which can serve to promote internal tension and which can be symbolized in material remains. It is the degree or the extent to which these individual and group status positions are maintained that influences the amount of social tension in the community.

The Union Village leaders, primarily the Eastern Shakers, lived in separate quarters from the Families occupying the communal houses. Whether their accommodations differed appreciably in size and furnishings from the rooms in the communal house remain to be documented. Likewise, a few skilled craftsmen originally occupied the communal houses at the Grist Mill and Square House Family Lots, to be close to the mills they operated. They apparently remained somewhat autonomous, being under the direction of the Center Family, but without assigned Elders living with them. Whether apprentices were assigned or worked their ways into one of these houses is unclear. Since the skilled craftsmen appear to form something different from a typical Shaker family, the question of individual differences in room sizes and furnishings for these two communal houses becomes pertinent. Likewise, any differentiation in trash contents from these two houses could reflect greater individual freedoms for the skilled craftsmen from the Millennial Laws.

The importance of individuals in Union Village's development needs further exploration. The few published historical accounts of Union Village members focus on select important leaders, and indicate a generally cohesive social group. In contrast, accounts by apostates provide contrasting views, which hint at inherent social inequalities within the Shaker community. Examination of the Union Village journals, sermons, and publications could focus on the number of recorded instances where individuals are promoted as good examples of Shaker behavior. Another line of inquiry could examine how many members of the founding Shaker families achieved and maintained leadership or skilled craft positions as compared to individuals from later convert families. For individuals from the later convert families who attained leadership positions, one could examine how much wealth or skill they brought to Union Village in comparison to other convert families or individuals. Still another line of inquiry should examine the lengths of time for skilled craftsmen to advance from the Gathering to the Intermediate to the Church Order in comparison to unskilled laborers. Shaker accounts indicate that movement through these orders reflect each individual's growing acceptance of and conversion to Shaker beliefs rather than any worldly considerations. However, at a minimum, published accounts indicate the Shakers hesitated to accept new unskilled converts of little means, since they drained the village's resources.

Clearly, social reproduction of a Shaker community is non-kin based group selection, although there is a conscious effort to reformulate the family concept. The survival of the Shaker village requires altruistic members, where communal wealth is some measure of the community's long term viability. At the time of conversion, the family members relinquished

direct control of their present or future assets to the Shaker community. Individuals judged their levels of commitment on how well their needs and desires were and would be met in relationship to the assets they could generate, which in turn relates to their perceptions on how well the community's assets were being managed. The Millennial Laws set the Shaker community's acceptable standard of living to which individuals could judge whether they wanted to fully commit to the Shaker lifestyle. The outside world served, to some extent, as a "safety valve" for the Shaker community, providing an outlet for those members that chose not to commit to the lifestyle or proved to be a negative influence on other members. However, all internal tensions were not necessarily alleviated by loss of troublesome members.

Controlling the production and redistribution of wealth, as well as changing the Millennial Laws, necessitates political authority and organization. The Millennial Laws provided for an institutionalized hierarchy of political positions, which although are positions theoretically achievable by any Shaker, appear to be approved at the highest levels. The Eastern Shakers apparently wanted to maintain a strong centralized authority over the Western Shaker communities by periodically rotating and maintaining Eastern Shaker Elders amongst the community leadership positions. Local leadership appears to be provided and maintained by the initial founding families. Therefore, one factor in the loss of stability and viability of the Shaker community appears to be the lack of internal community selection and training for the generational transfer of power and authority. This problem can be viewed as a variant of the individual status issue and can be explored along similar archival and archaeological lines.

The sacrifice and hard work of the pioneer convert families for the first 30 years of Union Village's growth and development set a communal standard of living envied by the outside world. What was the effect of the influence of the pioneer families on Union Village? How many of the pioneer children grew up and moved into leadership positions and from which families did they come? The influence of later convert families at Union Village is largely unknown. What resources did later convert families during the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s bring to Union Village and what sacrifices did they make to maintain and promote the communal wealth? Since the village was already established, their contributions needed to be in the growth and development of the craft cottage industries and agricultural production. Were their sacrifices and contributions perceived as commensurate with those of the pioneer convert families and the Eastern Shaker leaders? Were the new converts afforded the same opportunities to achieve individual spiritual perfection and status positions within the village? Did any of the newly converted possess the business and management skills to quickly move into leadership positions, at least amongst the Gathering and Intermediate Order families?

How well the Shakers dissolved biological families and reconstituted them as Shaker families might be addressed through examination of the organization of the two cemeteries. The first and larger cemetery adjacent to the South Family Lot was replaced or augmented by a second cemetery adjacent to the North Family Lot. Whether they operated sequentially or simultaneously is not entirely clear. If sequentially, the older graves should fill the southern cemetery with younger graves in the northern one. To reflect an egalitarian Shaker community, no differentiation by Shaker Order should be present. In other words, were all

Shakers buried together regardless of their Order, or was the southern cemetery exclusively used by the Church Order, with the northern cemetery allotted for the Intermediate and Gathering Orders? Are individuals from the same biological families clustered within a cemetery? Since Shakers did not consistently use grave markers, considerable forensic studies might be necessary, as well as detailed readings of the Shaker death rolls and journal entries.

The demise of the Shakers is partly attributed to the inability of the craft cottage industries to compete with the mass production of the Industrial Revolution that developed and expanded during the Civil War. This appears to be an economy of scale issue, since several Shaker communities were engaged in an early form of mass production of select products for a number of regional markets. Shaker communities practicing craft industries are somewhat analogous to the company town concept, but the Shakers never allowed themselves to reach beyond a level of mechanization which they perceived as an imbalance between rural and urban, or nature and culture. They were clearly capable of inventing efficient machinery within the parameters of their power base. Community industries not expanding beyond a certain technological level brings the whole issue of technology into the realm of the previous discussion of communal wealth and social boundaries.

Foremost in the minds of the devout Shaker leaders were their shared view of the Shaker Village as a reflection of heaven on earth or as a portal to paradise, which is created and maintained by individuals renouncing worldly desires and communally striving for individual spiritual perfection. Although preaching a separation from the world and self-reliance, the leaders were apparently comfortable with each village's level of interaction with outside markets and the level of communal wealth it provided Union Village.

Where Union Village was initially the largest and most efficient community in the region, they quickly found themselves as small, circumscribed, and isolated. They reached their maximum output and level of sustainability within their landholdings. Expanding Union Village to incorporate the necessary resources and technology to grow and develop meant an open and fluid boundary. The principled and devout Shakers simply could not condone a full return to the outside world and opted to readjust the village's level of communal wealth.

This tipping point in Union Village's history is poorly understood. Had the craft industries maximized their economic output and strained the sustainability of the Shaker land holdings? Did the growth and development of craft industries provide the level of communal wealth considered appropriate by the Shaker leaders, as well as by the rest of Union Village? Was territorial expansion possible? Would Shaker leaders consider acquiring or building commercial industries if it could be done within the confines of Union Village?

For nearly 50 years, the Shakers developed the Union Village landscape. The classic and static view of the Shaker community equates with its spiritual height, during the revivalism of the 1840s, and coincides with the height of the community's outside economic contacts. Numerous research topics can be linked to the Shaker landscape. How static did the Shaker landscape remain over the latter half of the nineteenth century? How were the buildings used and reused? Which buildings continued to serve Shakers' cottage industries into the late nineteenth century? Which buildings did they convert for tenant farmers and hired laborers?

For how long were the Shakers able to maintain control of their public symbols and over how much of their property did this control extend? At what point were the Shaker leaders satisfied with the proportion of agricultural lands to cottage industries at each of the family lots? Was this point reached before or after the Civil War? How many tenant farmers were allowed to build homes on their rented parcels? How extensively did the tenant farmers and hired laborers transform the family lots?

The North Family Lot contains significant archaeological remains which can begin to address some of the above questions, first by clarifying inconsistencies and filling gaps in the archival records concerning the organization and historical use of this one portion of Union Village. Map sources indicate relatively good preservation of the spatial segregation of the buildings from the various periods of Shaker occupation, which allows for archaeological testing of research questions pertaining to the height of Shaker influence and its demise during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Coupling the archaeological remains with in-depth archival research for the period between 1830 and 1900 brings to light an understanding of the presently enigmatic North Family Lot during the period of greatest Shaker activity and achievement. Addressing the changing role of the North Family Lot in the social organization of this Shaker community opens avenues of inquiry into Union Village's position among the other Western Shaker communities, as well as to how the Shakers maintained the social and physical boundary between their village and the outside world over time. The end result of the development of the research themes is to move beyond the static classical model of Shaker material culture and examine the social history of the Shakers.

Two-Stage Archaeological Fieldwork

The initial attempt to discover the layout of the North Family Lot buildings relies on geophysical or remote sensing techniques as the most expedient and effective means to map the site. Since no indications of building locations remain visible at the surface, the remote sensing can record spatial patterns of electrical and magnetic anomalies that can be correlated to the size, shape and distribution of known or suspected buildings, as well as other structures not readily apparent in the archival documents (sidewalks, cisterns, wells, privies, dumps, etc.). The remote sensing needs to occur over a broader area than the construction limits of the curve realignment in order to record the spatial orientations of entire structures and areas of ground disturbing activities, as well as their spatial relationships to each other. In some instances, the remote sensing results provide sufficient information to address some of the research questions without any archaeological excavation.

However, archaeological excavations provide more information about the nature and extent of the geophysical anomalies than the remote sensing results can by themselves. The finely scaled remote sensing maps allow for the accurate placement of appropriately sized test units to verify the locations and sample the various anomalies. The resulting efficient use of field time allows for greater sampling of the buildings, features and open spaces. In contrast to the remote sensing, the verification and sampling of the anomalies must be restricted to the new highway right-of-way or the portion of the North Family Lot impacted by the curve realignment.

First Stage: Remote Sensing and Site Mapping

The remote sensing survey area covers the entire open grass-covered parcel bounded by the existing SR 741 right-of-way boundary of the curve on the west and north sides, with an intermittent drainage demarcating the south side, and the cultivated field edge on the east side. For compatibility with any future archaeological investigations of Union Village, the UTM coordinate grid system was selected to serve as the base map reference. Nearly all of the North Family Lot lies with a 1000-meter square block defined by the UTM coordinates Zone 16 Easting 73400 Northing 4370000 at the southwest corner of the block. A few of the outlying buildings would lie within the southern half of the next 1000-meter square block to the north. The remote sensing survey grid, site datum points, and excavation units are placed and oriented to facilitate fieldwork and the recovery of pertinent information. Corner points for the grid, site datum points, and each unit are referenced to the UTM coordinate grid system.

Because base maps and highway construction plans are in different map scales, dual units of measurement need to be reported. The metric system is the universal standard for archaeological methods and reports and serves for the site grid, test unit sizes, and excavation procedures. Since Union Village was constructed and operated under the English Standard system, the buildings, features, deposits, and anomalies, as well as their spatial relationships also need to be measured and compared in feet and inches. Artifact measurements will be made in whichever system provides comparative information to previous studies. For reporting, the system used for the actual measurement will be presented first followed by the converted measurement in parentheses.

The open grassy parcel is a parallelogram encompassing about 3.9 acres (1.5 hectares) with the long sides being approximately 600 feet (183 meters) and short sides approximately 300 feet (91 meters) in length. For the southern two-thirds of the parcel, the width between the existing right-of-way and the cultivated field edge is about 275 feet (84 meters) and narrows to about 250 feet (76 meters) for the northern third. The proposed eastern edge of the new right-of-way separates the north and west half of the parcel, which includes the area slated for excavation, from the south and east half. In order to collect data in a controlled manner for the remote sensing, the grassy parcel was subdivided into 66 feet square (20 meters square) blocks. Since the roadway on the west and the cultivated field edge on the east form parallel lines and are the longest sides of the parcel, the survey grid was oriented to align with the eastern and western sides of the parcel, and not along the UTM grid system. The grid was offset 25 feet (7.5 meters) from the edge of road pavement to match the existing highway right-of-way boundary and eliminates ground disturbed by buried utilities. The resulting grid contained 35 complete blocks, in which the majority of the buildings and associated features of the North Family Lot were projected to be located. The easternmost row of blocks extended out about 10 to 15 feet (3 to 4.5 meters) into the cultivated field. For consistency with the verification and sampling stage of the fieldwork, the survey grid system was maintained as the field reference map and the corner points of each block were staked and labeled. Since the survey grid was not oriented with the UTM coordinate system, an arbitrary grid designation was used, with the most southwest corner point labeled N600E300 and increasing to the north and east. However, all corner points had their UTM coordinates determined by GPS to serve as a cross reference for the survey grid.

Magnetometer survey complemented by soil resistivity survey were used to remotely sense for structural remnants of buildings and associated features or activity areas in order to address the fourteen specific research design questions concerning the spatial organization of the North Family Lot. The preliminary archival research suggested a complex pattern of overlapping and sequentially used structures and activity areas, reflecting the dynamic use and transforming functions of the North Family Lot over a hundred-year period. The maps produced from the resulting remote sensing data served to guide the second stage of fieldwork in which the anomalies impacted by the road construction were systematically examined, recorded, sampled and interpreted.

The type of magnetometer used for this survey is known as a fluxgate gradiometer. The fluxgate gradiometer measures subtle differences or distortions in the earth's magnetic field due to ground disturbances and/or conductive buried objects. This technique is passive, meaning that it measures the magnetic field without affecting it. Metal and ceramic items displaying higher readings than the surrounding soil are typically identified as roughly circular anomalies on contour maps of the readings. The size and shape of the anomalous readings can be used to estimate the actual depth and mass of the object producing the reading. However, for a similar anomalous reading the mass of brick or burnt earth ranges from 100 to 1000 times greater the weight of an iron object (a cluster of several bricks produces a similar reading as a single nail).

In contrast, soil resistivity survey is an active technique, which introduces an electrical current into the ground. The impedance of the flow through subsurface materials is measured by a loss in voltage between the point of induction and a distant point of observation. Factors influencing the resistance of subsurface materials to the flow of an electrical current include porosity, permeability, saturation and the chemical nature of any entrapped fluids. Soil in general is a poor conductor of electricity, but sand, gravel and stone have higher resistance than clayey soils, saline soils or saturated soils, since they are better drained. Metals have the lowest resistivity, which makes this technique a good complement to magnetometer survey. Resistivity survey is particularly useful for identification of constructed features, such as foundations, walkways, compacted soils, and filled excavations.

The lateral spacing of the probes affects the target depth for recording the best possible contrasts between the resistance readings of the subsoil and any buried materials. The more closely spaced the probes, the closer to the surface the instrument reads the measurements. Since the North Family Lot was thought to possess an overburden of brick rubble fill 1.0 to 2.4 feet (0.3 to 0.7 meters) thick from spreading the debris of the demolished buildings over the parcel, the probes were spaced at an appropriate distance to survey for constructed features and building remnants below the expected fill. Additionally, using multiple paired probes spaced at regular intervals provides three dimensional mapping of cellars, basements, and possibly wells and privies. Because the multiple probes require extended reading and recording time, they were used after the initial resistivity survey identifies where the structures and features occur within the parcel.

The magnetometer and electrical resistance readings provide maps of suspected building foundations, constructed features, and probable activity areas. They also provide volume

estimates for buildings with rubble-filled basements. The geophysical archaeologist, the historical archaeologist directing the excavation, and archaeologists from the Ohio Department of Transportation and the Ohio Historic Preservation Office reviewed and discussed the remote sensing results along with the best available archival information. Prior to excavating they developed the following testing guidelines to assess the remote sensing results and select the appropriate placements of specific excavation units, blocks and trenches to address the numerous research objectives. The testing guidelines required weekly site visits of the principal archaeologists which provided flexibility to react to situations arising during the excavation which required decisions on changes to the placement or size of excavation units.

Second Stage: Structure/Feature Verification, Recordation, and Sampling

Although the remote sensing survey covered the entire grassy parcel, archaeological excavations were limited to the new right-of-way for the road project. Outside of the right-of-way, the remainder of the grassy parcel as well as the adjacent cultivated field to the east and woodlot to the south containing archaeological deposits from the North Family Lot were not impacted by construction activities.

Since the planning of the archaeological excavations depended to a considerable degree on the remote sensing results, the extent of archaeological sampling, in terms of precise numbers and sizes of excavations units was not determined prior to the commencement of the fieldwork. Structural remnants of the three main brick buildings were expected to be encountered with all of the Sisters' Carding Shop and the western half of the Communal House within the project area. Some of the research questions include determining the number of buildings and their locations south of the Communal House. The front third to half of the Brothers' Broom Shop was expected to occur within the project area. Brick rubble-filled basements were expected to be encountered at these three structures, and because of their sizes, were expected to involve a substantial amount of fieldwork for verification, recordation and sampling.

Sampling of these large structures was projected to require excavation units at building corners, as well as at various locations along the foundation walls to record the horizontal building dimensions, building materials, and evidence for maintenance repair or additions. Plan mapping of all exposed structural remnants and features allows measured comparisons between the actual physical remains and the anomalies on the remote sensing maps.

Interior sampling was planned to use excavations units to determine basement depths, presence of prepared floors, presence of interior support columns or walls, remnants of large machinery and/or their mountings, stratified post-occupation refuse deposits below the rubble fill, and samples of the variety in building materials from the superstructure within the rubble brick fill. If the walls were pushed into the basements, as reported, then the variable distribution of building materials within the rubble could reflect possible additions or areas of repair for specific sections of the superstructure. The building material classes and types needed to be representatively sampled to determine if the materials were produced within

Union Village or purchased from outside sources, as well as to determine changes in the production processes of building materials from earlier to later structures.

Exterior sampling of structures was planned to use excavation units overlapping the foundation walls and selectively placed to examine areas around doorways, chimneys, and open areas adjacent to the different sides of each building. Initially, these units were intended to document the extent of the projected overburden fill and whether the original topsoil has been incorporated with the overburden. In areas with minimal or no disturbance of the original ground, the exterior excavation units needed to document building methods of the foundation remnant, sample builders' trenches for early period artifacts, sample for yard loss during repair and maintenance of exterior features, and sample for the variability in the density of casual loss and discard of items with distance from the building and/or along paths of travel.

Besides the three main buildings, the remote sensing was expected to reveal linear and areal (circular, oval, rectangular, etc.) anomalies indicative of Shaker or tenant farm family features. Linear anomalies were expected to represent sidewalks, drain or water lines, and gravel lanes. Selective small excavation units were to be placed to provide windows of identification on these types of anomalies, with points of intersection between two or more linear anomalies being of particular interest. Units which were placed on suspected sidewalks or gravel lanes needed to be wide enough and long enough to determine if fence lines paralleled them.

Since the uncovering of sidewalks and gravel lanes would establish the depth of the original ground surface, additional test units could be placed in the adjacent open spaces at appropriate depths to determine whether they served as yards, gardens, or activity areas. Soil samples were planned to be taken from these open areas are to be analyzed for soil chemistry and plant remains called macrobotanicals and phytoliths, as well as pollen. Soil core samples needed to be a minimum of 80 grams with the number and placement of the sample locations decided in the field based on the spatial pattern of the open areas to the building remnants.

Areal anomalies can be structural remnants, such as foundation walls, privies, and wells; or open air activity areas and dumps associated with the various workshops. Since the curve realignment impacts the front and side yards of the main buildings, privies and wells were not expected to be encountered. However, they should be identified by the remote sensing in the other half of the grassy parcel outside of the right-of-way. Any additional foundation remnants discovered through the remote sensing survey within the right-of-way would be explored in the same manner as described for the three main buildings.

Formal refuse dumps were not expected to be located within the right-of-way for this project. Formal refuse dumps at Shaker villages are not well documented, historically or archaeologically. The few inventoried archaeological sites at Union Village indicate the ravines or swales away from the family lots served for domestic as well as workshop refuse disposal. At other Shaker villages, archaeological deposits demonstrate Shakers used abandoned structures for refuse disposal during later periods of occupation. Additionally, dumps documented adjacent to workshops at some Shaker villages do not always contain refuse associated with the known function of the workshop. Historical accounts indicate

periodic cleaning of the open areas at the family lots was necessary to remove built up trash piles and scatters. Such cleaning episodes suggest secondary refuse areas exist away from the family lots and can be extensive, while remnants of the trash piles adjacent to workshops exist as discrete truncated buried deposits of limited duration and space.

Areal anomalies that appeared to be shaft features or pits needed to be exposed and recorded in plan view. Depending on the anomaly's size, an appropriate cross section excavation method was to be used to explore and reveal any internal stratigraphy. Following the recordation of the cross section profiles, the feature fill was to be appropriately sampled for soil chemistry, macrobotanical, and pollen/phytolith analyses. The remaining feature matrix would be appropriately excavated and screened for artifacts.

Sampling of the rubble filled basements of the three main brick buildings, as well as any additional building with a cellar or basement was not planned to remove all the fill within the structures. Rubble-filled basements are considered unsuitable fill for highway construction and are typically removed as waste. Since the sampling technique provides adequate examination and documentation of the internal stratigraphy of the fill, the remainder was to be systematically removed and stockpiled on the Otterbein Retirement Homes' property for future investigation. A supervisory level archaeologist was required to monitor the removal and stockpiling of the fill to assure an adequate level of provenience is maintained. In turn, Otterbein Retirement Homes was responsible for selecting a site on their property which would not compromise the integrity of any of the contributing elements to Union Village. The fill could be placed in such a manner as to provide aesthetic landscaping, providing no mixing of the fill from different buildings is allowed. Mounding is preferable to wide thin spreading, as well as maintaining separate mounds for each building's fill. All of the fill will be seeded to provide a protective grass cover.

Archival Research

The intensive archival research of the North Family Lot was planned to build upon the current information by focusing on the poorly documented period between 1830 and 1900. During this period, Union Village attained its maximum growth and expansion in population, land holdings, and craft industries; dealt with internal conflicts over the degree of worldly interactions; and transformed into a business managing tenant farms and select Shaker crafts produced by outside agents. All of these social processes affected the layout and function of the North Family Lot, which struggled along with the rest of Union Village to maintain its Shaker identity and holdings.

Although the primary research objective focuses on chronicling the landscape transformations taking place at the North Family Lot, understanding those physical changes is not possible without delving more deeply into the nineteenth century social dynamics within and outside of Union Village. Recent Union Village research has explored fairly well the social history and landscape of the formative decades, before the establishment of the North Family Lot. However, the period of growth and expansion remains limited to the histories of individual leaders and events viewed from the Center Family Lot. By changing

the perspective to the social history of the North Family Lot, the archival research opens additional avenues of information which complement and expand upon the information generated during the remote sensing and archaeological excavations.

The initial archival research presented in Chapter 4 did not exhaust all of the available primary and secondary Union Village documents at the Warren County Historical Society and the Otterbein Retirement Homes Museum and Library. The Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland maintains an extensive Shaker manuscript collection including journals and correspondence of Union Village leaders. Additionally, John P. MacLean donated much of the original Union Village materials he collected to the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. The museums and libraries of the Eastern Shaker villages contain some correspondence from Union Village, but not as complete a collection of journals and diaries for the community. The archival research was to focus on the Library of Congress and Western Reserve Historical Society collections for accounts of Union Village and specifically the North Family Lot.

The current archival and archaeological efforts are limited and cannot be expected to fully address all of the broader and fundamental research questions that were developed as a result of producing the historic context for Union Village. Instead, the efforts will provide a better and more detailed picture of the life and landscape at one family lot at Union Village. At the same time, understanding the North Family Lot's role requires some initial considerations of the influences of nineteenth century religious fervor, communalism, industrialism and urbanism on Union Village's broader relationships with the growing American national social identity. Hopefully, the results of this project will encourage additional investigations, both archival and archaeological, into the roles the other family lots played at this community.