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**Excavating Utopia:
The Archeology
of American Communal Societies**

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Prompted by the research needs of outdoor village museums and the requirements of federal historic preservation legislation, interest in the archeological remains of American communal societies is growing. The above-ground material culture, buildings, and furnishings of Shakers, Moravians, Mormons, Harmonists, and the Seventh-Day Baptists have received much attention in the past. The buried material culture is now helping to reveal how the communal organization of the Mormons made possible settlement in the extremely harsh environment of the Southwest. Archeology is also showing that the organization of the Moravians, Shakers, and the Seventh-Day Baptists facilitated the development of industries which served the surrounding society as well as their own.

While these communal groups shared with the surrounding society the American democratic faith in progress, the mission of America, and the fundamental law, they challenged the societal belief in the traditional family, capitalism, and individualism. With the exception of the Mormons and Moravians, the surrounding society alone has excavated, preserved, and listed the sites of communal societies in the National Register and as National Historic Landmarks. The present interpretive programs of these historic sites frequently minimize the radical character of the communal social experiments and suggest that the rejection of American individualism was an expression of individualism.

This annotated bibliography was compiled to show an important use of archeology in the study of the history and culture of American communal societies and the interpretation of the material evidence of these communities to the public. This bibliography, which is extensive, though not comprehensive, should aid future researchers in building on widely scattered earlier work.



Photo: Walter Smalling, Jr.

Mill, Shakertown at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky.

I. HARMONISTS

Old Economy Village, Ambridge, Pennsylvania

Citron, Henry

1968 Historical-Archeological Excavation of the Bakery at Old Economy, Pennsylvania, 1967-1968. Xerox copy. Old Economy Village, Ambridge, Pa.

An unpublished report of the excavation of an unstratified site undertaken to determine the location of the bakery for possible reconstruction by the museum. The site of the bakery, which was used from 1824 until the community was too small to operate it at the turn of the 19th century, produced many architectural remains, glass fragments, and sherds of utility ceramics.

II. ICARIANS

Fruhling, Larry

1978a Extinct Town Reveals Secrets: Students Find Artifacts from Early Iowa Communists. *Des Moines Tribune* May 29, pp. 1, 6. Des Moines, Iowa.

A news article summarizing the history and archeology of an approximately 100-member community of French Christian communists who lived at the site from 1857 to 1880. Wayne Wheeler of the University of Nebraska at Omaha and Russell Lewis of the University of Evansville directed the excavation.

1978b Archaeologists in Iowa Bare Secrets of Long-ago Communist Utopia. *Minneapolis Tribune* June 11, pp. 1H, 5H. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

A reprint of the above article.

Videtich, John

1978 Students Dig for Foundation of Icaria Colony. *Creston News Advertiser* May 31, p. 2 Creston, Iowa.

A news article discussing the results of the excavation directed by Wheeler and Lewis. They uncovered a circular food processing and storage structure laid out in metric measurements and a dairy or laundry.

Harrington, Virginia S. and J. C. Harrington

1971 *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on Archaeological Excavations*. Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Nauvoo, Illinois.

Refers to the evidence of Icarian reuse of the fire-gutted Mormon Temple after the Mormon exodus.

III. MORAVIANS

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Cotter, John L.

1971 Current Research: Northeast. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 4(2): 6-11.

Mentions the excavation of an 18th-century tannery by Vincent P. Foley. The original Moravian users of the property were remarkably tidy, but after the Civil War the area became littered, the building increasingly abused, to its ultimate 20th-century ruin.

Foley, Vincent P.

1965 Bethlehem, Pennsylvania—A Unique Historic Site. *Florida Anthropologist* 18(3, Part 2): 61-64.

Briefly describes the excavation of "the first waterworks in America," built in 1754. Waterpowered pumps forced spring water through hollowed wooden pipes uphill to a water tower in the center of town. The waterworks were part of a 9-acre industrial complex that included 11 different industries.

Gill, Bruce C. (Compiler)

n.d. Excavations of the 1761 Tannery (1967, '68, '69, and '71) by V.P. Foley; 1966 Excavations of Tawry-Springhouse complex by V.P. Foley; 1970 Pottery Excavations by V.P. Foley; 1972 Waterworks Excavations by V.P. Foley. Unpublished manuscripts. Historic Bethlehem Inc., Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

National Heritage Corporation

1977 *Bethlehem Pottery and Forge: An Archaeological Investigation*. Report prepared for The City of Bethlehem Bureau of Planning, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania by Na-

tional Heritage Corporation, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

A lengthy report of the excavation of a mid-18th- and 19th-century Moravian industrial site undertaken for historic site development purposes. Under the communal "general economy," 1740-1762, the town was organized into choirs, age and sex based groups that lived, worked, ate, and slept together as a group. The archeologists expected homogeneity of ceramics due to equality of consumption with little fine teaware or other rank-associated social items. Large vessels for cooking and storage for each choir were expected. The "general economy" was dissolved in 1762 and a salary system was instituted for artisans. The choirs declined and the number of individual family units increased. Thus the archeologists expected greater heterogeneity of taste, form, function, and costliness of the ceramics. The available evidence generally supported these hypotheses.

Bethabara, Salem, and vicinity, North Carolina

Bivins, John, Jr.

1972 *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina*. Published for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

This well-illustrated book correlates the archaeological finds at Bethabara and Salem with the extensive Moravian records in order to provide detailed descriptions of the manufacturing process and wares and biographies of the potters and apprentices. The 18th- and 19th-century potteries produced a wide variety of vessels as well as toys, tobacco pipes, water pipes, and stove tile. The potters produced many types of ceramics including plain and slip-decorated earthenwares, copies of 18th-century English creamware, and tin-enameled pottery similar to that of central Europe. The great diversity of form, style, and ethnic influence, despite the German and Swiss background of all the potters and Moravian conservatism indicates that they were attuned to prevailing tastes. The potteries competed successfully as did the other congregation-owned and operated businesses.

1973 *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina, 1756-1821*. In *Ceramics in America*, edited by Ian M. G. Quimby, pp. 255-290. Published for The Winterthur Museum by The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

An excellent, well-illustrated, condensed version of the above book.

Clauser, John W., Jr.

1975a Report on Salvage Excavation: Old Salem Potter's Meadow. Unpublished man-

- uscript. Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- A descriptive report of a salvage test excavation of the area where the Salem potters obtained their clay. The report contains a brief historical sketch drawn from the Moravian Records and describes the types of clay and their uses.
- 1975b Excavations at the Vierling House, Old Salem. Unpublished manuscript. Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- A descriptive report on test excavations in the rear yard of the community doctor's house. The report discusses the use of imported and domestic ceramics and explains methods of terracing the steep slope to the rear of the house.
- 1975c Excavations on Lot 39, Old Salem. Unpublished manuscript. Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- A descriptive report on the search for a pottery kiln. While the kiln was not located, the search produced information concerning a dwelling.
- 1975d Excavations at the Single Brothers Workshop, Old Salem. Unpublished manuscript. Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- A report describing structural details and materials recovered, to aid in the reconstruction of the structure.
- 1978 The Excavation of the Bethabara Pottery Kiln: An Analysis of Nineteenth Century Potting Techniques. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville.
- Describes the excavation of a 19th-century kiln at Bethabara and a ceramic typology. The thesis discusses methods of manufacture and the efficiency of the operation as well as Moravian theology, church history, and community life. The popularity of the Moravian pottery and the success of the ceramic industry are interpreted in the light of church tradition.
- Fehon, Jacqueline R.
- 1973 Preliminary Excavations at the Krause-Butner Pottery Site, Bethabara. Unpublished manuscript. Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- Gilmore, Kathleen.
- 1978 Single Brothers Industrial Complex Research Plan. Unpublished manuscript. Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- Jackson, Susan
- 1977 Current Research: Southeast. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 10(1):42-45.
- Mentions an archeological investigation and historic site interpretation project directed by John Clauser at the 19th Century Krause-Butner Pottery at Bethabara. At a pottery museum located in the restored potter's house, exhibits composed entirely of excavated materials tell the story of pottery manufacture at Bethabara.
- Newkirk, Judith
- 1977 Archeological Excavations within the Old Salem District: The Benjamin Vierling House and the Charles Alexander Cooper Shop, by Ned Woodall, Principal Investigator and Judith Newkirk, Field Archeologist. Unpublished manuscript. Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- Noel Hume, Ivor
- 1973 Review of *The Moravian Potters of North Carolina* by John Bivins, Jr. *Historical Archaeology* 7:87-90.
- Outlaw, Alain C.
- 1974 Preliminary Excavations at the Mount Shepherd Pottery Site. *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 9:2-12.
- An illustrated article on the excavation of the kiln of an unidentified potter that produced stove tiles, smoking pipes, utilitarian earthenware, and decorated slipware. These wares are closely related to those produced at the Moravian towns.
- Parham, David W.
- 1978 The Decline of the Bethlehem Pottery Industry in Wachovia: An Archaeological and Historical Study. Unpublished masters thesis, Wake Forest University, North Carolina.
- South, Stanley
- 1965 Excavating the 18th Century Moravian Town of Bethabara, North Carolina. *Florida Anthropologist* 18 (3, part 2): 45-48.
- A short report of the first season of excavation at Bethabara, the temporary 18th-century Moravian settlement that preceded Salem. Many ruins of buildings that housed communally owned industries were located and excavated, including the bakery, shoe shop, gunsmith shop, tailor shop, pottery shop and waster dump, millwright's house, smith's house, joiner's shop, and congregation store. Excavated buildings associated with the Moravians' communal life include the single brothers' house, guesthouse, business manager's house as well as the belltower, meeting-house, and fort.
- 1965 Anthropomorphic Pipes from the Kiln Waster Dump of Gottfried Aust, 1755 to 1771. *Florida Anthropologist* 18:(3, part 2):49-60.
- An illustrated article discussing the archeological and documentary evidence for the production of anthropomorphic and plain tobacco pipes. The Moravians distributed their pottery in several areas of the Caro-

linas and Virginia, as well as traded pipes to the Cherokee Indians.

1968 The Ceramic Ware of the Potter Rudolf Christ at Bethabara, North Carolina, 1786-1821. *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 3:70-72.

A brief illustrated report on the surprising and extensive archeological evidence that the Moravian potter was producing wares remarkably similar in glaze and form to fine English wares.

1972 Discovery in Wachovia. Unpublished manuscript.

A book-length manuscript report on the excavation of Bethabara and on the history of Moravian settlement. Copies are on deposit at the Museum of Early Decorative Arts in Winston-Salem, the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, and elsewhere.

1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.

Photographs and mentions of work at Bethabara.

Walker, Ian C.

1969 Note on the Bethabara, North Carolina, Tobacco Pipes. *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 4:26-36.

Discusses the transfer to the United States and the popularization of the central European tradition of sturdy pottery pipes that produced a strong hot smoke.

Winston-Salem Department of Recreation and County of Forsyth.

n.d. Historic Bethabara Park: First Moravian Settlement in North Carolina. Leaflet.

An illustrated Leaflet for visitor orientation at the site of Bethabara. The site has been extensively excavated, stabilized, and interpreted, with a minimum of reconstruction.

IV. MORMONS

Brigham City, Arizona

Ayres, James E.

1978 Current Research: Southwest. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 11(1):39-50.

Mentions test excavations by Lyle Stone that located segments of the walls of the 1876-1880 fortified community: Established as a colonial outpost on the emigration route for future Mormon expansion.

Stone, Lyle, M.

1977 Archaeological Survey and Test Excavations Near Winslow, Arizona. Prepared by Archaeological Research Services, Tempe, Arizona, for John Carollo Engineers, Phoenix, Arizona.

A 27-page Xeroxed report prepared in advance of a sewer plant improvement proj-

ect. Test excavation located the sandstone and mud mortar wall that enclosed the settlement.

Glen Canyon, Utah

Crampton, C. Gregory

1962 Historical Sites in Glen Canyon: Mouth of Hansen Creek to Mouth of San Juan River. *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* 61. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Describes Hole-in-the-Rock Crossing where a colonizing mission with 83 wagons built a road down the side of the canyon wall and Register Rock where some of the party inscribed their names.

Las Vegas, Nevada

Schumacher, Paul, J.F.

1974 Current Research: Pacific West. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 7(4):24-31.

Mentions an exploratory excavation by Elizabeth Warren of the University of Nevada, of the site of the Old Mormon Fort, built in 1855 and now located near the heart of Las Vegas.

Little Colorado River Region, Arizona

Leone, Mark P.

1973 Archeology as the Science of Technology: Mormon Town Plans and Fences. In *Research and Theory in Current Archeology*, edited by Charles L. Redman, pp. 125-150. John Wiley & Sons, New York.

An essay using evidence from the Little Colorado River region of Arizona showing that technology determines parts of the social or belief systems as much as these systems determine technology.

Nauvoo, Illinois

Bray, Robert T.

1971 The Joseph Smith Stable Site at Nauvoo, Illinois. Microfilm, Archaeological Survey of Missouri, University of Missouri-Columbia.

1972 Archaeological Investigations on the Homestead Lot, Nauvoo, Illinois. Microfilm, Archaeological Survey of Missouri, University of Missouri-Columbia.

1973 Archaeological Investigations at the Joseph Smith Red Brick Store, Nauvoo, Illinois. Microfilm, Archaeological Survey of Missouri, University of Missouri-Columbia.

1974 The Turley Site: An Account of the 1973 Archaeological Work at Nauvoo, Illinois. Microfilm, Archaeological Survey of Missouri, University of Missouri-Columbia.

1976 Times and Seasons: An Archaeological Perspective on Early Latter Day Saints Printing. Microfilm, Missouri Archaeological Survey, University of Missouri-Columbia.

Bray, Robert T. and Gregory Waselkov
1975 Archaeological Investigations of the Hyrum Smith Site, 1974. Microfilm, Missouri Archaeological Survey, University of Missouri-Columbia.

Brose, David S.

1972 Review of *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on Archaeological Excavations* by Virginia S. Harrington and J. C. Harrington. *Historical Archaeology* 6:112-113.

Cleland, Charles

1968 Recent Excavations and Research Projects: Midwestern United States. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 1(2):14-17.

A note on excavations directed by J. C. Harrington and Dale Berge as part of the restoration of the 1839-1864 Mormon town by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormons). Harrington and Berge excavated the sites of the Browning gun shop, the blacksmith shop, the print shop, and the temple.

1971a Current Research: Midwest. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 4(2):18-19.

Briefly summarizes work directed by Robert T. Bray of the University of Missouri-Columbia at the Joseph Smith Homestead House.

1971b Current Research: Midwest. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 4(3):17-18.

Briefly summarizes work directed by Bray at the Joseph Smith Homestead House and the "Bee House," the original burial place of the brothers Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

1972 Current Research: Midwest. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 5(3):12.

A brief report of the excavation by Bray of the Smith Store, built in 1841 and used until 1846 as a general store, church office, and meeting hall.

1974 Current Research: Midwest. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 7(2):29-30.

Mentions excavation by Bray of a log cabin, the first house built by the Mormons at Nauvoo in 1839.

1975a Current Research: Midwest. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 8(7):33-34.

A note on excavations by Bray that uncovered an outbuilding and a 6-foot-deep cylindrical cooling cellar of the Mormon period.

1975b Current Research: Midwest. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 8(4):24.

A note on the excavation by Bray of one of the sites of the "Times and Seasons," a newspaper published by the Mormons at Nauvoo between 1839 and 1846.

Green, Dee, F. and Larry Bowles

1964 Excavation of the Mormon Temple Remains at Nauvoo, Illinois: First Season. *Florida Anthropologist* 17(2):77-81.

A short report on the excavation of the upper layers of the remains of the large limestone Temple.

Harrington, Virginia S. and J. C. Harrington
1971 *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on Archaeological Excavations*. Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Nauvoo, Illinois.

A descriptive report of the archeological excavations, sponsored by Nauvoo Restoration, of the temple that was commenced in 1841, burned in 1848, destroyed by tornado in 1850, and quarried by stone salvagers. Excavation provided much information on the construction and appearance of the important basement area, where the large baptismal font, supported by 12 stone oxen had stood. This report incorporates material from a half-dozen unpublished manuscripts.

New St. Joseph, Nevada

Schumacher, Paul J. F.

1977 Current Research: Pacific West. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter*. 10(1):54-66.

Mentions the excavation by Claude N. Warren of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, of two houses and a shed in a village with houses arranged in a rectangle, occupied 1866-1868.

Wonderley, Anthony W.

1976 *New St. Joseph: A Case Study of Historic Archeology*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Combines a chronological discussion of events based on documentary sources; information derived from comparison with other societies using group settlement as the means of colonization; and archeological data on this Mormon village.

Paria, Utah

Ayres, Jame E.

1975 Current Research: Southwest. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 8(2):36-38.

Mentions research by Roy D. Hunt for the Museum of Northern Arizona as part of the Kaporowits Power Project on the site of this riverside agricultural community that existed from 1874 until 1890.

Washington, D.C.

1977 The New Mormon Temple in Washington, D.C. In *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things*, edited by

Leland Ferguson, pp. 43-61. *Special Publication Series 2*. The Society for Historical Archaeology.

An essay using a structural analysis to explore the meaning of the Washington Temple and the ceremonies performed there.

V. SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS

Ephrata Cloister, Ephrata, Pennsylvania

Biever, Dale E.

1970 A Report of Archaeological Investigations at the Ephrata Cloister, 1963-1966. *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society* 31:1-53. The Pennsylvania German Society, Breinigsville, Pennsylvania.

A detailed, illustrated report of the excavation of a German Pietist community founded in 1732, which had 300 persons at its height, in the mid-18th century. Excavations were undertaken to aid the museum interpretation program. They revealed the remains of meetinghouses and buildings that had served as the dormitory and refectory for the celibate brothers as well as housed the print shop, an important community industry.

VI. SHAKERS

Shakertown at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky

South, Stanley

1976 Current Research: Southeast. *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 9(2):13-19.

Mentions archeological work directed by Donald E. Janzen of Centre College as part of an interpretive restoration program of the community occupied by Shakers from 1805 to 1910. Work on the mill complex focused on a gristmill, which excavation showed had been converted from water-power to steam in the late 19th century. Janzen is preparing a publication for Shakertown at Pleasant Hill on the archeological work; publication expected in early 1980.

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH

Other work at Shaker sites includes an archeological survey to gather information for nominating to the National Register the dam and mill sites at the North Union Shaker Site, Cleveland, Ohio. The archeological potential of the Watervliet Shaker Historic District was assessed through documentary records when it was nominated to the National Register. A wooden water-main has been excavated there. David Starbuck of Boston University is directing an archeological survey of the 4,000-acre Canterbury Shaker Village, New Hampshire, as part of a major interdisciplinary study of one of the last two operating Shaker communities in America.

Archeologists have carried out excavations at the outdoor museum of Bishop Hill, Illinois, once a community of Swedish Jansenists (Lutherans). At the outdoor museum at New Harmony, Indiana, occupied successively by Harmonists and Owenites, archeologists have uncovered the foundations of the Harmony Society warehouse and commissary and a series of superimposed structures on a site that started as a shoe factory and later became the geological survey headquarters of Owen. Other recent excavations include those at Bethel, Missouri, and the Aurora Colony, Aurora, Oregon. A report by Mark F. Yeager on an archeological survey at the Bethel community was recently submitted to the Gardner Museum in Quincy, Illinois.



Photo: Courtesy of Centre College

Gristmill, Shakertown at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky.

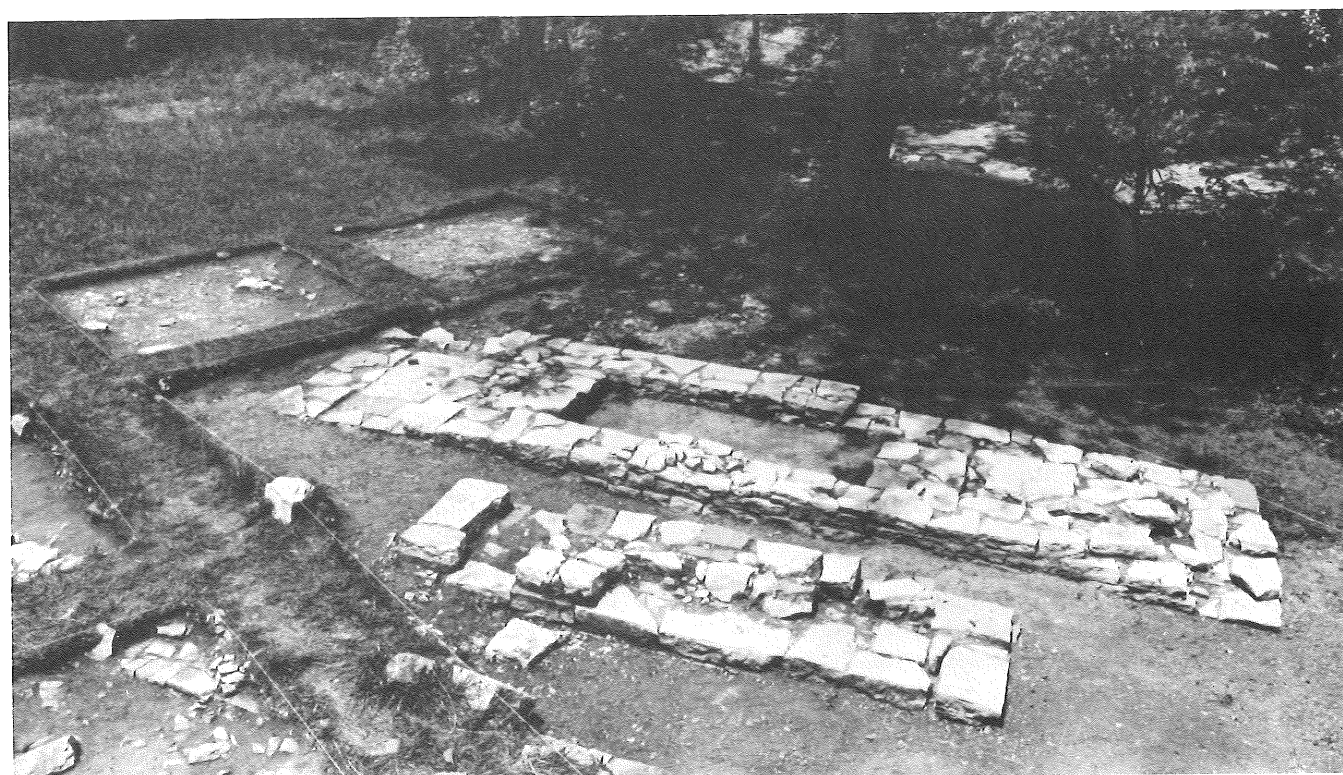


Photo: Courtesy of Centre College

Gristmill, Shakertown at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky.