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Preserving America's Utopian Dream

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Frank J. J. Miele

Tuning In and Dropping Out
An American Tradition

In the 1960s, many of the so-called hippies of the era heeded the call of their self-styled guru, Timothy Leary, to "turn on, tune in, and drop out" by literally dropping out of mainstream society, which they regarded as corrupt and imperfect, to enter into communes. Such communities would be, at least in their minds, free from corruption and imperfection—utopian social experiments that would shine like beacons for the rest of the world to follow.

Well, they might not have expressed the intent of their communes in exactly those terms; but many, if not most, of the participants in this flight from the mainstream did believe that their communities would serve as microcosms of the perfect society. More importantly, they believed that what they were doing was something novel and unique.

The reality is that the endeavor to at least "tune in and drop out" is a cherished American tradition. The roots of this movement date back to the years following the discovery of the New World, when observers in Europe became infatuated with the possibilities offered by the new land, referring to it as the "New Eden." Sir Thomas More, in fact, believed that before the fall of man, all the world had been America. Elements of this Messianic expectation could be seen in the ideology of the Puritans, who sailed to the shores of Massachusetts Bay with the conviction that they were founding the New Jerusalem, a city upon a hill which would shine like a beacon for all the world to follow.

This conviction spawned a number of utopian social experiments in the United States. Their founders and participants believed that they could create a microcosmic model of the "perfect society," a society whose characteristics would be emulated ultimately in the larger society.

What appears on the pages that follow is an exploration of the history, preservation, and interpretation of a small number of the hundreds of utopian or intentional communities that dotted the American landscape throughout its history. The history of these communities is as diverse and unique as the effort to preserve and interpret them. Some of the communities studied here were strictly sectarian in nature, such as those run by the Shakers, the Moravians, and the Christian Communists who, under the leadership of John Humphrey Noyes, settled the Oneida community (the Oneida Community Mansion House was designated as a National Historic Landmark [NHL] on June 23, 1965).

Other communities were essentially secular in origin, such as that established by the New England Transcendentalists who attempted to set up a self-sustaining community at Brook Farm in Massachusetts (1841-1847; designated as an NHL on June 23, 1965) where it was hoped that intellectual pursuits would be balanced with the manual labor necessary to perpetuate the farming community. Likewise, the Utopian Socialists who, under the influence of Robert Owen, founded the Utopian Socialist Community of New Harmony, Indiana (the New Harmony Historic District was designated as an NHL on June 23, 1965).

It should be noted that while a great deal of emphasis is usually given to those intentional communities that emerged during the Jacksonian period of American history, contemporary scholarship has shown that the drive to create intentional/utopian communities was continuous and quite prolific during the post-Jacksonian period.* Members of the Communal Studies Association have been striving to identify and catalog this vast treasure trove of offbeat Americana. But much remains to be done. Hence, if anything, it is hoped that this special issue of *CRM* will stimulate efforts to identify, register, preserve, and interpret resources associated with, as expressed by one of the contributors to this issue, groups outside the cultural mainstream.

Note

* See, for example, Robert S. Fogarty, "American Communes, 1865-1914" *Journal of American Studies* 9 (August 1975) 146-62, and Timothy Miller, American Communes, 1860- 1960: A Bibliography (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990).

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Brook Farm

A 19th-Century Social Experiment

Brook Farm, one of the many utopian communities which came into being in the mid-19th century in the United States, began in 1841 with high hopes. After six short years, it shut down, with disappointment and in debt. It was a response to certain events of the 1830s, which had left not only laboring classes but intellectual cliques disenchanted with the prevailing state of affairs, in society generally, and in one branch of Protestantism.

The unexpected financial Panic of 1837 had a devastating economic effect on the country, first on the urban laboring poor and then sweeping on to engulf professional and salaried workers. Thousands were thrown out of work and onto city streets, banks folded, and property had to be sold at ruinous prices. In addition to the economic debacle, intellectual challenges had arisen in American Protestantism fermenting since the 1820s, and surfacing gradually in Massachusetts pulpits. In 1838, Ralph Waldo Emerson, to become the "Sage of Concord," had delivered his famous and controversial Divinity School Address at Harvard, in which he questioned certain fundamental Christian teachings, especially those centering on the scriptural stories of miracles. Emerson's questions were echoed by other ministers in the area, among them George Ripley and Theodore Parker, each of whom would become involved with the Brook Farm endeavor.

In 2001, as we begin the third millennium, we like to take satisfaction in having "think tanks," and "brain banks," to address current crises and issues. In Boston in the 1830s, there existed a precursor of our idea incubators. A symposium which evolved into the Transcendentalist Club, originally formed to follow up on Emersonian questions about Unitarianism, extended its discussions from religious topics (Revelation, Inspiration, Providence, Truth) to societal ones (Community Living, Education, Nature, Beauty). By 1841, the Transcendentalists met regularly at the new bookstore, already gaining fame, of Elizabeth Peabody, on West Street in downtown Boston (adjacent to today's Brattle Book Store). It is there where the formidable Margaret Fuller held her Wednesday evening "Conversations"; it is there where the future of *The Dial*, the Transcendentalist magazine, was planned; and it is there where George Ripley and his wife Sophia met and talked with the other communal optimists who would soon join them in the countryside.

The Ripleys had summered contentedly for several years at the Ellis dairy farm, in Roxbury (later West Roxbury), eight miles southwest of Boston over rough roads. They and 18 other hopefuls went there in the spring of 1841, after Ripley had finally resigned his pulpit. This small group wrote up an unincorporated stock company, listing 16 Articles of Agreement and Association, outlining their idealistic purposes and policies, and created The Brook Farm Institute for Agriculture and Education. They spent the next six months getting ready; in October they passed papers on the Ellis farm and a smaller parcel across the road (now Baker Street), and ended up with about 200 acres of land.

Initially, the only buildings were a large barn and the Ellis farmhouse, which became the center of their enterprise, and which they called "The Hive" because of its constant busy activity. It had rooms for a family of boarders, the kitchen, living room, dining room (later enlarged); wings were added for a laundry room and a room where children could be left with supervision while their mothers worked on the farm or keeping house—a forerunner of today's "day care center." The upstairs floor evolved into "Attica," a dormitory for young men.

The Institute next rented the old (1740) house across the road (called "The Nest") and turned it over to Miss Marianne Ripley, George's

sister, as the school's primary teacher. She and others lived there, but went across the street for community activities. The next year, the Institute built a large wooden building on the highest point of land, which became their community center. Ripley and his wife moved into it, bringing his large library. They called this "The Eyrie" (from aerie, a human dwelling on a height).

They also built a cottage, later named for Margaret Fuller (she never stayed there), in the form of a Maltese cross, with rooms to house boarders. Some of the rooms were later used as schoolrooms for the younger children. Then, in 1843, Ichabod Morton of Plymouth built the Pilgrim House. He soon returned to Plymouth and Pilgrim House became available for Brook Farm activities. The last two structures erected were The Greenhouse and The Factory Building.

An 1844 oil painting of Brook Farm by Josiah Wolcott. Photo courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

This, then, was the new community: a combination of farming and schooling ventures. The farming component was in truth a failure: poor soil to start with, but also because of its communalist approach of treating all workers equally, no matter how long they toiled or what tasks they performed. It did, however, provide most of the food the community needed. In contrast, the school component was a success with three levels, in various buildings: a nursery school for the youngest children, a primary division for those up to 10 years old, and an advanced section for those heading for college (six years planned) or farming (three years).

We would call the curriculum "progressive"; teachers and pupils engaged in much open discussion and debate, hours were flexible, adjusting to farming needs, and its informal discipline was a far cry from the rigid standards of most of the schools of that day. As the farming activities faltered, the school endeavors flourished; and only the shock and fears arising from a smallpox epidemic in 1845 forced it to shut down permanently.

Social life, and socializing generally, however, was a thriving and delightful continuing experience at Brook Farm from the beginning. The peace and tranquillity which had first attracted the Ripleys also lured a steady stream of Boston's authors and literati to Brook Farm. As many as 4,000 visited the community in one year which, at its peak, had probably 200 members. The memoirs which survive demonstrate how the intellectual stimulation and discussion at Brook Farm stayed with the participants for the rest of their lives.

The summer of 1843, however, marked a major change in the direction of the Brook Farm experiment. Ripley and other Transcendentalists had for some time been taken with the writings and ideas of the late Charles Fourier, a French socialist reformer. His theories were promoted vigorously in America by Albert Brisbane, a frequent visitor, with his friend Horace Greeley, to Brook Farm. Fourier's main proposal was that society be organized in "phalanxes" which would incorporate all necessary work and education into clusters dealing with all aspects of a community, and do it in a more efficient way. By January, 1844, the Transcendentalists began printing *The Harbinger*, espousing Fourier's formulations. Brook Farm had been converted.

In spite of often vigorous unfavorable reaction to Fourierism (one critic compared it to a "... creature of corruption, which first began to crawl, lizard like, in the filthiest dregs of Parisian society ... [and] offers to encircle in its scaly, glistening folds all ... business, industry, and education"*), the Brook Farm Association pushed ahead. In the spring of 1845, it began to build The Phalanstery, a massive, three-story structure

just below The Hive, with 100 rooms planned as the new nucleus of the Brook Farm phalanx. But tragically, in March 1846, as the finishing touches were being put on this 175-foot edifice—indeed as a celebratory dance was being held at The Hive—the Phalanstery burned to the ground, possibly because of a faulty fireplace which had been installed to dry out its wood faster.

This disaster, together with growing criticism of the switch to Fourierism and the earlier closing of the school, was the final blow to the Brook Farm Association: it had gone into debt to build the Phalanstery; it could not survive. In August 1847, its stockholders authorized three trustees to dispose of Brook Farm. The dream had ended.

The later history of Brook Farm's lands and buildings can be summarized briefly into "site uses." The City of Boston (of which West Roxbury was not yet a part) first bought it at auction in 1849 to use as an almshouse. In 1855, Reverend James Freeman Clarke, one of The Harbinger's contributors, bought it and in 1861 lent it to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the Second Massachusetts Regiment trained there before going south to fight in the Civil War. Mr. and Mrs. John Munroe bought it in 1868 to set up a summer boarding house; and in 1870, Mr. Gottlieb Burkhardt bought it, deeding it over to The Association of the Evangelical Lutheran Church For Works of Mercy. By 1872, the Martin Luther Orphan's Home was in place; this lasted until 1943. Over the next three decades, the Hive, which had survived more than one fire, found use first as a foster home and later as a residential children's treatment center. In 1966, the Secretary of the Interior designated the site of Brook Farm as a National Historic Landmark. Moreover, in 1977, Brook Farm was declared a landmark by the City of Boston Landmarks Commission, and in 1988, under Governor Dukakis, the state's Metropolitan District Commission (M.D.C.) finally acquired Brook Farm.

Recently, in the 1990s, the M.D.C., assisted by various volunteer groups, some affiliated with the West Roxbury Historical Association, have done excavation work, archeological digs, and trail clearing, identifying old building foundations. Even the Margaret Fuller Cottage fell victim to a vandal fire in 1984. In 2000, as part of the City of Boston's new Millennium Park, built on the site of the old Gardner Street landfill, a bridge was included, spanning Sawmill Brook and connecting with Brook Farm.

The old Brook Farm site, readily identified with M.D.C. markers, has reverted as much as possible to its original appearance. Today, the only building left standing is the Print Shop, once the Lutheran publishing center. Efforts are continuing to raise restoration funds for this last remnant. To be sure, there is a contemporary caretaker's cottage for the abutting cemetery; a plaque commemorating the Civil War soldiers' encampment; and some of the pristine views of 160 years ago are altered by a new high school and its athletic fields. The 100-acre Millennium Park offers magnificent views of the surrounding countryside, and two large industrial tracts and three small houses have settled in nearby. Nonetheless, a visitor can imagine without too much effort what those Transcendentalists might have envisioned as they sought to establish their rural American Utopia.

Note

* Quoted in Zoltan Haraszti, *The Idyll of Brook Farm* (Boston: TheTrustees of the Public Library, 1937), 29.

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The Kaweah Colony
Utopia and Sequoia National Park

The Sierra Nevada, stretching north and south for over 400 miles, forms a jagged line of demarcation between California's eastern desert and its interior, the agriculturally-rich Great Central Valley. Mountain peaks push to over 14,000 feet; lakes and streams contribute to a vast watershed of expansive mountain meadows and dense stands of pines and firs. Unique to the middle elevations of the mountains' western slopes are the spectacular groves of Sequoia giganteum–the giant sequoias–among the largest living things on Earth. To walk among them today one would be hard pressed to divine the struggles, politics, and dreams that surrounded the area in the late 19th century: conflicts that culminated in 1890 with the founding of California's first national park.[1]

Into this dramatic setting entered an unlikely group of idealists. Their leader was Burnette Haskell. As a young man, he had wandered through a series of occupations and universities, eventually returning to San Francisco where he passed the bar and began to practice law. In time, he inherited a newspaper from a generous uncle. *The Truth*, as it was called, would become the vehicle for Haskell's latest and most abiding enthusiasm: labor organizing. Throughout the 1880s, Haskell advocated the overthrow of narrow interests with extraordinary zeal, organizing unions (one of which, the Coast Seaman's Union, is still active), publishing, attending meetings, and studying works of political philosophy. He would become "without a doubt the best-read man in the local labor movement."[2]

The intellectual milieu in which Haskell and his comrades operated was secretive by needs and peopled with largely forgotten figures, a shadow-land behind the expansion of industry and metropolitan growth. One such figure was Laurence Gronlund. A Danish émigré, Gronlund was once described as "the foremost Socialist in America."[3] In 1884, he published *Co-Operative Commonwealth*, outlining a model for collective, progressive settlement and replacing Marx's class struggle with the deliberate cultivation of cooperation as the "motor of history." The book was hugely influential and contributed to Edward Bellamy's popular fantasy, *Looking Backwards*.[4] With such a project in mind, Haskell and his circle founded the Cooperative Land Purchase and Colonization Association in hopes of putting Gronlund's principles into practice.

In the summer of 1885, when Association member Charles F. Keller overheard reports of public land then available in the southern Sierra Nevada, the question of location seemed settled. In September 1885, an advance team from the Association made a quiet visit to "Giant Forest."[5] Under the terms of the Timber and Stone Act, a citizen could legally file for 160 acres. Individually, a tract of this size in the remoteness of Giant Forest held little practical economic benefit, but managed collectively, a block of shared claims could prove viable. A proposed logging venture would be their economic anchor.

By the end of October 1885, 53 Association members had filed indi-

This previously unpublished photograph by photographer and Kaweah Colony member C. C. Curtis shows a gathering of colonists and supporters near the settlement at Kaweah.

vidual but adjacent land claims in the Giant Forest. If all went as expected, after 60 days each claimant would be expected to pay $400 plus a $10.00 processing fee. Legal title to a considerable portion of the Giant Forest would then pass to the members of the newly renamed "Cooperative Land and Colonization Association."

In the "land grab" of the late 19th century, land act provisions, written to favor individuals and families, were customarily abused by larger interests. The size of the Association's filing aroused the suspicions of a local newspaper editor (and former land agent), George Stewart. For the past 10 years, Stewart had advocated the protection of the sequoias and their watersheds, particularly the drainage of the Kaweah River, flowing west from the mountains through the county seat at Visalia; now, he alerted the Land Office of potential fraud. Referring the matter to the Government Land Office in Washington, then under administration of the reform-minded William Andrew Jackson Sparks, all claims within the four townships of Giant Forest (and 14 others in this vicinity) were suspended pending investigation.[6]

Despite the irony of being mistaken for agents of corporate interest, the would-be colonists set to work. By 1886, approximately 160 members had moved to the foothills below Giant Forest and established the "Kaweah Colony."[7] Haskell rhapsodized upon the grandeur of the location in the colony's newspaper and concluded,

> I think our people in the city should get away once in a while, aye, if only for a day, from the rottenness of the city to some place like this. Looking around me now, I can understand why those who live in the mountains are never fully enslaved.[8]

On October 1, 1886, the colonists began the most daunting task before them: building the road to the Giant Forest. The colonists established a headquarters at "Kaweah" and a tent construction camp which they called "Advance." Following impassioned debate, they re-organized their collective assets under the Kaweah Co-Operative Commonwealth Company of California Limited, a joint stock company. They organized a school, arranged evenings of musical entertainment, and began farming on homesteaded land outside the withdrawn townships. As the road work progressed for three arduous years, the colonists remained confident that the outstanding question of title would be satisfactorily resolved.

Finally, in late 1889, with the road nearly complete, an initial report of investigation was filed. Quite enthusiastic about the colonists' enterprise, it found no evidence to support the initial reservations of the Visalia Land Office. In Washington, however, this report languished. A second report, filed in the summer of 1890, again failed to bring resolution. The colonists remained optimistic and, in the summer of 1890, a portable steam-driven sawmill was drawn to the edge of the giant sequoia groves and logging commenced. In the colony newspaper, Haskell proudly described the accomplishment:

> The Eiffel Tower is 1,000 feet high, the Cologne Cathedral, 510 feet; the Great Pyramid but 460 feet; but our road has attained an altitude of nearly 7,000 feet. We are into the timber and Kaweah Colony is no longer, in a material point of view, an experiment.[9]

Meanwhile, George Stewart and his allies had succeeded in persuading the congressman from Ventura, General William Vandever, to introduce legislation that would reserve as a public park two townships containing substantial stands of giant sequoias. Garfield Grove lay south of, and quite distinct from, the Giant Forest area. The bill was introduced, passed quickly through both the House and the Senate, and was signed by President Benjamin Harrison. On September 25, 1890, Sequoia became the first official national park in California and only the second in the entire national park system.

One week after the establishment of the new national park, on the last day of Congress, President Harrison received and signed a second bill, creating Yosemite National Park. A similar bill had been put forward earlier in the year, again by Representative William Vandever, but the bill that passed was a substitute bill introduced at the last minute. Curiously, it now included language expanding the boundaries of the week-old Sequoia National Park and including the four townships of Giant Forest. The colony's claims were suddenly within a national park. Looking back on his experience, J. J. Martin, one of the founders of the colony, clearly attributed the colony's difficulties to the intervention of the Southern Pacific Railroad whose virtual monopoly of timber and timber-transport in the booming Central Valley was threatened by the colony's enterprise.[10]

In the months that followed, the Government Land Office (GLO) investigation was con-

cluded. The GLO Commissioner recommended that the colonists' claims be upheld as language in the park expansion bill allowed for the exemption of "private lands" from inclusion in the park. This was rejected by an assistant attorney general on the grounds that the land claims weren't technically "private lands" at the time the bill became law. The trustees of the colony were arrested, jailed, and convicted of "timber trespass" and U.S. Cavalry troops were dispatched to patrol the new national park. By the end of 1891, the utopian dreams of the Kaweah Colony had begun to fade, to be replaced by others. Several of the colonists remained in the area and several would work in the new park; one former member, Guy Hopping, joined the Park Service in 1918 and eventually became Superintendent of neighboring General Grant National Park in 1930. As for Burnette Haskell, it is reported that he died alone and embittered, addled by drink and drug, in a ramshackle cabin by the ocean on the outskirts of San Francisco.

Few extant cultural resources related to the colonists and their venture remain. The site of the colony's headquarters and tent construction camp lie outside the park's boundaries. The sawmill has long since been removed. The Colony Mill Road, leading from the foothills to the edge of the Giant Forest, is the most enduring evidence of the colony's efforts. This road served for about 30 years as the only vehicle route into Giant Forest. Today, it is a hiking trail. The trail is periodically maintained, but active restoration of colony-related areas is not currently planned. However, interpretation of the colony and its efforts is available through a variety of publications. The ongoing preservation of related features and sites lies in their relative remoteness. To undertake a day hike of the Colony Mill Road is to take on a fairly rugged 10-mile journey, with approximately 4,000 feet of elevation change.

Certainly, the most significant contribution of the experiment, albeit an inadvertent one, is the instrumental role it played in the formation of Sequoia National Park. Today, visitors given to irony may thank a strange collision—of utopian industry, narrow corporate interests, and a grassroots campaign for the broadest public good—for the preservation of this piece of the Southern Sierra Nevada.

Notes

1 The most complete history of the Sierran parks can be found in William C. Tweed and Larry M. Dilsaver, *Challenge of the Big Trees: A Resource History of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks* (Three Rivers, California: Sequoia Natural History Association, 1990).

2 Ira Cross, *Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934), p157. The most complete biography of Haskell can be found in Jay O'Connell, *Co-Operative Dreams: A History of the Kaweah Colony* (Van Nuys, California: Raven River Press, 1999).

3 See Robert Hine, *California's Utopian Colonies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp29-30.

4 A biographical sketch of Gronlund is provided by Stow Persons in his introduction to Laurence Gronlund, *The Cooperative Commonwealth* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1965).

5 East of the valley town of Visalia, Giant Forest sat at an elevation of 6,500 feet, overlooking the Kaweah River drainage. Named by John Muir, this is one of the largest and most beautiful of the approximately 80 groves of giant sequoias.

6 Curiously, filings on timber lands some 10 miles to the north – leading to the acquisition of some 30,000 acres by the Smith & Moore Lumber Company – would be upheld in the coming years. See Hank Johnston, *They Felled the Redwoods* (Fish Springs, California: Stauffer Publishing, 1996), pp. 23-54, and Dilsaver and Tweed, pp. 55-56.

7 The colonists adopted the name of the local river (North Fork of the Kaweah River), itself the phonetic spelling of a local Yokuts Indian tribal group variously spelled "Gawia," "Gawya," or "Kawia." The meaning of the Yokuts word has been variously interpreted to mean "Here I rest," "[place of] crows and water," or a reference to the locally present "red-winged black bird."

8 Burnette Haskell, "Nirvana," *The Commonwealth*, 3:20 (1885): p.168.

9 Burnette Haskell, "A Visit to Kaweah," *The Commonwealth*, 3:20 (1885): p.169.

10 "It was directly after I had personally interviewed President Crocker in regard to the location of a switch to connect our railroad with his that the reservation for the park was made and the persecution of the colony instituted." Correspondence with park naturalist Frank Been, March 3, 1933, in the archives of Sequoia & Kings Canyon National Parks (Manuscript Collection B, Folder 1). It would be 60 years before the colonist's suspicions would find any documentary support; see Oscar Berland, "Giant Forest's Reservation: The Legend and the Mystery," *The Sierra Club Bulletin* 47:9 (1962).

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Dr. Cyrus Teed and the Koreshan Unity Movement

The Koreshan Unity Settlement on the grounds of Koreshan State Historic Site in Estero, Florida, is the remnant of a 19th-century post-Christian communistic utopian community founded by an eclectic physician named Cyrus Reed Teed.[1] Cyrus Teed was born in 1839 near Trout Creek, Delaware County, New York.[2] As Teed grew up, he was surrounded by religious revivalism. In fact, Upper New York State was so saturated with new religious movements, it became known as the "Burned-Over District." In the United States, overall, there were more than 40 known communal societies by the end of the Civil War.[3]

However, the central justification for Teed's leadership and view of life[4] came in 1869, in the form of a supposed mystical experience that Teed called his "divine illumination." In his vision, he claimed to have seen God in the form of a beautiful woman who revealed to him the secrets of the universe and told him that "he would interpret the symbols of the Bible for the scientific age."[5] Furthermore, in 1891, Teed took on the pseudonym "Koresh" from the book of Isaiah 44:28, which states, "I am the Lord . . . who says of Cyrus, 'he is my shepherd, and he shall fulfill all my purpose.'"[6] This was the basis upon which Teed formed the tenets of "Koreshan Universology."

As a precursor to forming his own communal society, Teed joined the North Family of Shakers at Lebanon, New York, in 1878.[7] Two years later, he established the first Koreshan communal home in Moravia, New York. Over the next six years, due to continued financial troubles and religious persecution, the group migrated to Syracuse, New York, and to New York City before finally settling in Chicago. It was there that Teed began to realize his dream. By 1892, at their communal home called "Beth Ophra," the Koreshan Unity had grown to a membership of 110.

Even so, Teed had aspirations of building "The New Jerusalem" where he expected his following to grow to 10 million. He initially considered land in St. James City, Florida, but at $150,000, the price was too high so Teed returned to Chicago, leaving behind some copies of a Koreshan magazine at the cable station. Ironically, a homesteader named Gustave Damkohler, who had 320 acres of land in Estero, Florida, happened upon the literature. Damkohler invited Teed, along with some of the prominent Koreshan women, to Estero and, eventually, transferred the title to the land in 1894.

Between 1904 and 1908, with a population of approximately 250 members, the Unity in Estero was at its height. The Koreshans were remarkably prolific—fashioning homes, businesses, and industries that allowed them to be a

The Koreshans, men and women alike, were very active in the Suffrage Movement. Pictured here are "second generation" Koreshans. The spelling of women "wimmen" was commonly used during the suffrage movement.

Cyrus Reed Teed, founder of the Koreshan Unity, c.1900.

self-sustaining community. They began by building a log house with a thatched roof shortly after their arrival in 1894, and an immense, three-story community dining hall two years later.[8] By this time, the Koreshans had their own sawmill, and the "Master's House," a home for Teed, followed shortly after the dining hall. Eventually, Koreshan enterprise was flourishing;[9] a boat works, steam laundry, printing house, concrete works, post office, and general store were all located on the grounds. The "risin' bread" baked in the Koreshan Bakery was sold in the general store and became a choice commodity of the local public. Also frequented by the public were the many plays and band concerts put on by members of the Unity in their "Art Hall" auditorium. Moreover, from 1916 until 1946, the Koreshans generated their own electricity to electrify the community and sold it as well to homes in the surrounding area.

Ironically, the mounting prosperity of the community inadvertently brought about its decline. In 1904, the Koreshans sought to incorporate the Unity and surrounding area into a city.[10] However, area landowners rejected the idea, fearing an increased tax burden. Nonetheless, in September 1904, a compromise was made, leaving the opposing landowners unincorporated while the Unity and some other adjacent lands, totaling 110 square miles (82 land and 28 water), became the town of "Estero."

Estero's incorporation entitled the town to county road tax funds. Compounded by the prejudicial views of the surrounding society toward the Koreshans' communistic way of life, resentment began to emerge on the part of the neighboring city of Fort Myers which would lose money as a result of it being diverted to Estero. In addition, the Koreshans formed the Progressive Liberty Party to run against the area's established Democrats in the election of 1906.[11] The above, fueled by a misunderstanding over a telephone conversation, finally resulted in an altercation on October 13, 1906, between several Koreshan men, including Teed, and some citizens of Fort Myers, accompanied by the town marshal.[12] Soon after the fight, Teed's health began to fail and it was generally accepted, at least among his followers, that his death, on December 22, 1908, could be attributed to the injuries he received in the brawl.[13]

One aspect of Teed's 1869 "illumination" was that, upon physical death, he would re-incarnate and re-emerge immortal.[14] Accordingly, in the days immediately following Teed's death, the Koreshans awaited his resurrection. Moreover, members within the Koreshan Unity Settlement practiced celibacy and had been promised by Teed that they, too, would become immortal upon his resurrection.[15] Therefore, by the time Christmas Day had come and gone, hope turned to disappointment, and on December 27, the county health officer ordered that the body be interred.[16]

Disillusionment immediately took a toll on the Unity. Younger members began to leave[17] and, dividing into factions, "a power struggle ensued as to who would succeed Koresh as head of the Unity."[18] Unpredictably, though, the supposed persistent faith[19] of about three-dozen members sustained the community, to an extent, for the next 30 years. In 1940, 35 elderly members remained.[20] It was at this time that a Jewish woman named Hedwig Michel, having just fled Nazi Germany, arrived at the Unity. Over the next two years, Michel proceeded to reorganize the Koreshan General Store, adding a restaurant, a Western Union office, and, across the street, a gas station. The Unity experienced a momentary renewal, but, with only four members left in 1960, Michel offered the 300-acre "utopia" to the State of Florida.[21]

The settlement became the Koreshan Unity Settlement Historic District when it was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976. Eleven of the community's buildings now remain within Koreshan State Historic Site, a unit of the Florida Park Service, and house a collection of approximately 5,000 artifacts. Half of the collection is state property and is fully cataloged. The other 2,500 objects were conveyed to the State of Florida by the College of Life Foundation—the nonprofit corporate successor of the Koreshan Unity—in 1998, on a probationary period of six years, and are anticipated to become part of the permanent collection in

Koreshan members during the "Geodectic Survey" on Naples Beach, Florida, that was performed between January and May 1897. The instrument called a "rectilineator" was built and the survey was performed in an attempt to prove the Koreshan belief that the Earth was concave.

2004. These objects are in the process of being cataloged. This author oversees the cataloging and care of the artifacts, along with the buildings, assisted by a part-time registrar and park ranger staff.

The "Founder's Home" and "Damkohler Cottage" on the site were restored in 1992 and 1994, respectively. The restoration of the "Planetary Court" and the "Art Hall" are slated to begin in December 2001. The restorations are funded through grants from the Florida Department of Historical Resources and are matched by the park's Citizen Support Organization. The park's official web site is located at <myflorida.com>, and a virtual tour of the site, along with additional information, can be found at <koreshanshs.tripod.com>.

Notes

1 Howard David Fine, *The Koreshan Unity: The Early New York Beginnings of a Utopian Community* (Unpublished), 1.

2 Peter Hicks, *Cyrus Teed* (Unpublished), 1.

3 Jane Hogg, Conversation with Catherine Ohnemus (March 10, 2001).

4 Howard David Fine, *The Koreshan Unity: The Early New York Beginnings of a Utopian Community* (Unpublished), 4.

5 Peter Hicks, *Cyrus Teed* (Unpublished), 2.

6 Howard David Fine, *The Koreshan Unity The Early New York Beginnings of a Utopian Community* (Unpublished), 4.

7 Peter Hicks, *Cyrus Teed* (Unpublished), 2.

8 Sara Weber Rea, *The Koreshan Story* (Estero, FL: Guiding Star Publishing House, 1994), 28-30.

9 Peter Hicks, *Cyrus Teed* (Unpublished), 6.

10 Sara Weber Rea, *The Koreshan Story* (Estero, FL: Guiding Star Publishing House, 1994), 50.

11 Elliott J. Mackle, Jr., *The Koreshan Unity in Florida: 1894-1910* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami, 1971), 107.

12 Ibid., 116-119.

13 Ibid., 135-142.

14 Ibid., 142; Robert Lynn Rainard, *In the Name of Humanity: The Koreshan Unity* (Tampa, FL: University of South Florida, 1974), 8.

15 Robert Lynn Rainard, *In the Name of Humanity: The Koreshan Unity* (Tampa, FL: University of South Florida, 1974), 31.

16 Elliott J. Mackle, Jr., *The Koreshan Unity in Florida: 1894-1910* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami, 1971), 145.

17 Robert Lynn Rainard, *In the Name of Humanity: The Koreshan Unity* (Tampa, FL: University of South Florida, 1974), 88.

18 Sara Weber Rea, *The Koreshan Story* (Estero, FL: Guiding Star Publishing House, 1994), 58.

19 Robert Lynn Rainard, *In the Name of Humanity: The Koreshan Unity* (Tampa, FL: University of South Florida, 1974), 89.

20 Sara Weber Rea, *The Koreshan Story* (Estero, FL: Guiding Star Publishing House, 1994), 68.

21 Ibid., 71; Robert Lynn Rainard, *In the Name of Humanity: The Koreshan Unity* (Tampa, FL: University of South Florida, 1974), 92; Elliott J. Mackle, Jr., *The Koreshan Unity in Florida: 1894-1910* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami, 1971), 163.

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Photos courtesy Koreshan State Historic Site Archives.

Karen Sweeny-Justice

Thomas Hughes' "Rugby"

Utopia on the Cumberland Plateau

From a visitor's perspective, standing in a grassy clearing looking down upon a quiet pond, it is easy to imagine what Thomas Hughes must have seen when he arrived on the Cumberland Plateau of eastern Tennessee in 1880. Hughes, an English author and social reformer, had selected a rural setting some 70 miles north of Knoxville for the site of Rugby, his planned utopian community.

Winding, twisting roads. Wooded lots. The Clear Fork River. The calmness that certainly met the original settlers Hughes encouraged to join his experiment can almost be felt. Almost that is, until a semitrailer comes barreling along the state road that runs up the center of the community, reminding visitors that time has not stood still in Rugby.

And that is one thing that sets Historic Rugby apart from other utopian villages preserved and interpreted today. Rugby has adapted, and is a village of both the 19th and 21st centuries.

The 19th-century part is the most obvious. In his original plans, Hughes envisioned a town where the second sons of English gentry—deprived of the inheritances that went to older brothers and precluded from engaging in "common" labor by social custom—could mix with others in creating a "community of gentlemen and ladies." Ironically, it was a community that he never lived in for more than periodic visits; his wife looked less than favorably upon the adventure and remained in England.

The 35,000 acres that Hughes and his associates planned to sell to colonists included sites for homes and farms, a school, a public library, dining and lodging facilities, and factories, along with public parks, trails, and gardens. A donation from Hughes built a cooperative commissary for the townspeople; there were tennis courts and croquet games, swimming at the Gentlemen's Watering Hole, and afternoon tea.

Unfortunately, the "laboring" part of life in Rugby did not quite catch on with all the colonists. Despite a library filled with some 7,000 volumes (many donated by American publishers as gifts to Hughes), more novels were circulated than books on agriculture. A tomato cannery, built in anticipation of a fine harvest, closed after processing only a few bushels. In just its first year, Rugby was visited by a harsh winter, a typhoid epidemic that killed seven, a drought, and a hotel fire.

The hope of happier times for the colony came in 1881, with the arrival of Hughes' 83-year-old mother, Margaret, and his 18-year-old niece, who took up residence in Uffington house. The move of Madame Hughes proved inspired

"Kingstone Lisle," the residence built for Rugby founder Thomas Hughes in 1884.

and supportive, re-invigorating the efforts of the now 300-strong community. A newspaper was established and travel to the village increased. There was a dramatic club, a tennis club, and even a coronet band.

Within a few years, Rugby had grown to a population of approximately 350 and the community flourished with some 60 significant buildings. After Madame Hughes' death in 1887, though, the spirit of the colony also began to die. Problems resulting from unrecorded property deeds, poor long-distance management from England, and a poor road and transportation system led to a general decline in the population. With settlers leaving, a governing board was reorganized in 1892; the effort was too little, too late.

While Thomas Hughes' utopian experiment may have died only a dozen years after its beginning, Rugby continued as an unincorporated community in Morgan County, albeit one with a smaller population and fewer physical structures. By 1950, some 40 buildings had either burned or been torn down. More might have followed in the last quarter of the 20th century if not for the efforts of Brian Stagg.

As a teenager, Stagg "discovered" Rugby and began his own passionate experiment—in historic preservation. In 1966, he became executive director of the Rugby Restoration Association. By the early 1970s, he had raised enough funds to save the library, church, and Thomas Hughes' home, and the Rugby Colony Historic District was entered on the National Register of Historic Places.

Barbara Stagg took over as executive director in 1976 after her brother's death. In the years since then, the Rugby Colony has undergone a transformation that would make Thomas Hughes proud.

The remote rural setting that helped lead to the colony's decline a century earlier actually helped with preservation efforts. Little if any "modern" development took place, and the structures that still stood were almost perfect textbook examples of Victorian architecture. Inside the library, time stood still, with none of the 7,000 volumes dating from later than 1899.

"I don't think there is anything else like us in America," says Barbara Stagg. "One thing that sets us apart from utopian sites that try to preserve and interpret that 'one moment in time' is that the story of Rugby is much more complex. This colony didn't just fail and disappear. There has always been residents and descendants here."

And the residential population continues to grow. Using site plans drawn up by Hughes' management, Historic Rugby began offering home sites for sale in the mid-1990s. Known as Beacon Hill, this residential tract of some 28 lots has been plotted from original land maps. The gravel roads leading to new home construction are laid out following the original rights-of-way, and a bandstand that Hughes only dreamed of has finally been constructed.

New housing, which must meet strict design guidelines in keeping with Historic Rugby's preservation plan, must be approved in advance. The number of plans available, many taken from historic architectural drawings, offer prospective home builders a variety of styles to choose from. Utilities are buried, and garages cannot be attached. Further adding to the sense of stepping back in time to a quiet Victorian community is the wilderness of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area which borders Beacon Hill on the northern edge of town.

Interior view of Christ Church Episcopal, highlighting the magnificent woodwork.

Original 1881 Rugby town pump.

"We're trying to continue to develop the publicly accessible historic sites and enhance programming while becoming even more so a wonderful rural community to live in," says Stagg.

"It is certainly challenging to balance the needs and wants of both visitors and residents, but we have never even contemplated trying to turn the whole community into an organization-owned museum," she continues. "Instead, owners of private historic homes have voluntarily restored them and keep them in a good state of preservation. We are also working in a number of ways to help insure that no future incompatible development occurs, particularly in the heart of the historic district."

For visitors, interpretive programming begins at the schoolhouse, which has been converted into a visitor center with exhibits that take a look at 100 years of Rugby history. Next to that is the Hughes Library, while Christ Church Episcopal is just across the street. Next to the reconstructed Board of Aid building is the Commissary, which offers visitors a chance to purchase locally-made crafts.

Although the original colony's hotel is long gone, Historic Rugby offers overnight guests lodgings in quaint bed and breakfasts. The Harrow Road Café, built in 1985, is known for its Welsh Rarebit, a popular dish the colony's namesake restaurant served in the 1880s.

Many of the structures in the community are private; some that are already owned by Historic Rugby are still under renovation. Despite the unique approach that Rugby has for re-inventing itself, funding can be as difficult to find as it is for other non-profit historical sites. Restoration has already begun on Uffington House, and in time Stagg hopes visitors will be able to participate in living history programs.

For more than 25 years, Historic Rugby has lobbied for a truck by-pass around the historic district. The present governor has supported this effort which will help with both resident and visitor safety, and final engineering efforts and right-of-way purchase is now underway.

With the eventual removal of truck traffic and a growing residential population, the day will come when visitors to Historic Rugby can stand in that grassy clearing behind Uffington House and look down on a quiet pond, imagining how it must have been more than a century ago.

And perhaps Madame Hughes will even be able to invite them in for a cup of tea.

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Photos courtesy Historic Rugby.

The Thomas Hughes Free Public Library retains most of the elements that it had when it was built in 1882.

Sande Anderson

Kennecott
Alaskan Utopia

Somewhere between the heavenly vision of Utopia and the hard reality of the company town lies Kennecott, Alaska. Designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1986, and acquired as an addition to Wrangell St. Elias National Park and Preserve in 1998, Kennecott Mines NHL, the nation's largest and last of the great high-grade copper ore mines, is a rare example of an early-20th-century copper mining camp. Nestled deep in the Wrangell Mountains on National Creek alongside the Kennicott Glacier, the mill camp served as home to managers and professional men with their families. The miners themselves lived isolated from the mill camp far up the mountain at the mines. Aerial tramways served as their connection to the mill complex and camp below. In 1911, the Copper River and Northwestern Railroad connected Kennecott to the Alaskan coast 190 miles away.

The mill town, or camp, most of which stands today, was comprised of the concentration mill and associated structures in a central industrial zone. With its many dormers and chutes, the 14-story mill visually dominated the camp. The sound of the dumping of the ore from the tramcars into the crushers, jigs, impact screens, and Wilfey tables—all moving and refining the ore as needed in its journey from the top of the mill to the waiting train cars below—permeated camp life. All wood frame buildings were painted a uniform red with white trim and the leaching plant, machine shop, power plant, and the general office complex completed the industrial center. To the north of the concentrator were shops, warehouses, storage tanks, and cottages for both railroad and mill staff and families. To the south of the concentrator and adjacent to the railroad grade stood the camp support buildings: the hospital, sawmill, company store, dairy, school, and large three-story bunkhouse for single men with more cottages beyond and above. A tennis court that doubled as an ice rink in winter along with a softball field provided formal outdoor recreation space. A small cemetery was located about a mile away from camp.

Management decision making at Kennecott matches the complexity and the magnitude of the resource. Immediate stabilization work is designed to hold the built environment until preservation planning leads to appropriate treatment. Visitor use, local resident concerns, funding availability, and good historic preservation principles are among the factors that park managers must consider in order to choose among restoration, rehabilitation, stabilization, or a combination of treatments. Beyond the built environment, park managers must consider the interpretive and educational significance of Kennecott. There are many compelling stories to tell at Kennecott, from the technology to the people. The consideration of Kennecott as a utopian community is one.

The Kennecott Company, whose origins rested with the combined wealth of J.P. Morgan and the Guggenheims, financed the Alaska development to support the extraction of copper for financial gain. Kennecott doesn't fit Roth's taxonomy of the western company town. The conditions of labor, the standard of living, and the health of the community better fit the definition of the utopian model of the utilitarian community than the pejorative designation of company town.

The makeup of the workforce at camp, which was predominately professional men and the well-educated company managers, precluded the labor unrest that characterized most company towns. Miners, typically the more radical proletariat workforce, lived at the mines and did not have their families on site. The only women employed in camp were the nurses and the schoolteacher. In keeping with the time, they left the workforce when they married. Roughly 50% of the workforce in camp worked in the mill. There was no child labor at Kennecott. A young burly Irishman named George Sullivan, who grew up to become Mayor of Anchorage, Alaska's largest city, lied about his age to work at Kennecott when he was 15, breaking the rule that a worker had to be 18 years old or older to work in the mill. There are no documented cases of labor problems at camp. However, oral history interviews reveal that management social engineering put troublemakers of any ilk on the next train out.

In other remote western company towns, the companies often built housing to prevent workers from building substandard housing. The Kennecott company built housing to attract the best and the brightest managers and professional men which created a sense of solidarity common to the utilitarian community. The company built a bunkhouse for single men and single-family houses for married men and their families. The location, size, and amenities of a house were usually commensurate with position in the workforce hierarchy. But this was not a hard and fast rule. One former resident who lived at Kennecott as a child remembers that her family was recruited to the remote location because her brother was near in age to the camp superintendent's son who needed a playmate. To entice her family to move, the superintendent met her mother's stipulation that they have a three-bedroom house so that the girls and the boys could have separate bedrooms. Further diverging from the norm, when her father was promoted and could have moved to a house with indoor plumbing, her mother refused in order to keep the extra bedroom. This was a particularly strong memory, because the child really wanted an indoor bathroom because she was afraid of bears near the outhouse at night.

The community had a sense of self-sufficiency. The houses were attractive and comfortable, heated with steam through underground utilidors (underground corridors which accommodate utilities), the same as all other buildings. The camp carpenter employed utilitarian innovations in construction, such as drawers in the step risers to the second floor. Families kept chickens and a garden and purchased goods at the company store or from the Sears catalog. Many families had pianos shipped in on the company train. Several former residents reminisced that all the boys had a crush on the piano teacher. There were movies, dances, picnics, and tennis.

The Kennecott Company provided a stable, healthy community with a hospital and school. However, religious practices remained for the most part within the confines of the family, with the mother perhaps reading the Bible on Sunday. The children were well instructed and the husbands were never drunk. The less educated and lower economic class miners were not allowed in camp. Miners passed through on their way into the country or out. The only holidays they enjoyed were July 4 and Christmas. To this day, July 4 in McCarthy, five miles down the tracks, where Kennecott did its sinning, is a celebration not to be missed! The company maintained a quarantine camp outside of camp. As a result, most Kennecott kids never had childhood diseases such as chickenpox or measles.

In many ways, the conditions of life in Kennecott were superior to those in contemporary American society. Families enjoyed the tranquility of a secluded life with little crime, disease, or disruption. The paternalism that was Pullman's undoing thrived in Kennecott because management and labor lived for the most part as equals in camp. At Kennecott, there was a fundamental belief in the solidarity of the community. We do not find the noblesse oblige of Robert Owen, but the common sense of the wealthy young mining engineer, Stephen Birch, who first managed the camp. Kennecott is the utilitarian community somewhere on the continuum between the esoteric, otherworldly utopian dream and the harsh company town.

The well-ordered complexity of the Kennecott Mill Town, c. 1927. Photo courtesy Wrangell St. Elias National Park & Preserve Collection.

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Donald E. Pitzer and Connie A. Weinzapfel

Utopia on the Wabash

The History of Preservation in New Harmony

Upon seeing New Harmony, Indiana, in 1819, one visitor exclaimed, "That wonder of the West." The town stood on an efficient grid plan amid 30,000 acres of heavily forested land along the Wabash River. Some 800 German pietists, members of the communal Harmony Society of George Rapp (1757-1847), began purchasing and settling the wilderness location in 1814. As they anxiously awaited the second coming of Christ in the next 10 years, the Harmonists cultivated 3,000 acres and built a town of 180 buildings including homes, churches, mills, and a huge stone granary.

Welsh-born Robert Owen (1771-1858), cotton mill owner and social reformer of New Lanark, Scotland, purchased New Harmony from Rapp's Harmony Society in 1825. Owen invited anyone attracted to his plan for a "New Moral World" built on education, science, social equality, rational religion, and communal living to join him in making New Harmony its first model. Noted Scottish geologist and philanthropist William Maclure (1763-1840) became his financial and educational partner in this utopian venture in 1826. Maclure brought several of Philadelphia's best natural scientists and Pestalozzian educators to New Harmony. In 1827, the communal experiment ended, but Maclure's protégées, Owen's sons and one daughter, and many others perpetuated New Harmony's educational, scientific, and reform tradition along with its physical presence.

John C. Leffel's *History of Posey County* records that in 1844 the town contained 12 stores, two steam mills, and two tanneries. The streets were raised and the sidewalks graveled. A high levee was built to the river in order to make a road passable to it in all seasons, and at the sides of the levee were canals to admit keelboats and flat boats into the town when the water was high. The town of New Harmony was incorporated in August 1850, and the town board was organized to pass the customary ordinances and bylaws regulating saloons, peddlers, and the rate of taxation. The town board adjourned their meeting April 11, 1867, and their charter lapsed. The town was not re-incorporated until 1881.

Between the Civil War and World War I, the character of the town changed, but Owen/Maclure Community descendants continued to preserve its heritage. In 1894, the Workingmen's Institute, founded by William Maclure in 1838, moved from the New Harmony school to a new Romanesque Revival structure built with funding provided by Dr. Edward Murphy (1813-1900). The oldest continuously open library in Indiana, it houses a museum, an art gallery, a public circulating library, and archives devoted to New Harmony

Left, the Rapp Granary in 1890; right, the Rapp Granary in 2000.

and Posey County history. Murphy also provided the funding for the construction of an auditorium in 1913. That same year, the New Harmony School was erected on the site of the former Harmonist church, and the original doorway of the church was incorporated into the structure. Local historians, in recognition of New Harmony's centennial, noted these accomplishments in 1914.

During that time, two local photographers began photographing people, structures, and special events throughout the town. Two of New Harmony's earliest "preservationists," William Frederick Lichtenberger (1849-1924) and Homer Fauntleroy (1866-1952), documented many of the original Harmonist structures before their demolition or demise. New Harmony resident and amateur historian, Don Blair (1909-1992), collected the glass negatives of Lichtenberger and Fauntleroy and donated them to the University of Southern Indiana in 1985.

In 1925, the Fauntleroy House, home of Jane Dale Owen Fauntleroy (1806-1861) and Robert Henry Fauntleroy (1806-1849), was sold to the Indiana Federation of Clubs to be maintained as a memorial to Indiana women's clubs because the Minerva Society, one of the first womens' groups dedicated to intellectual pursuits, was founded there in 1859. Mary Emily Fauntleroy (1858-1954), sister of Homer Fauntleroy, remained in the home as the caretaker and collected many of its furnishings so the home could be open to the public. She also purchased the Harmonist Community House No. 2, the only remaining three-story Harmonist dormitory, and began gradual restoration. In 1939, the Indiana Federation of Women's Clubs gave the Fauntleroy House to the State of Indiana for its preservation as a historic site, and Mary Emily sold Community House No. 2 to the state for the same purpose.

In 1937, the State of Indiana created the first New Harmony Memorial Commission to oversee early preservation concerns. In their 1942 publication, *The New Harmony Memorial Movement*, the Commission states:

> The New Harmony Memorial is a shrine to idealism—the memorialization of spiritual values and social ideals of our historic heritage that stand the test of time. It is based upon the fact that the little town of New Harmony was the stage of two world-famed experiments in community socialization in the early days of Indiana as a Territory and a new State.

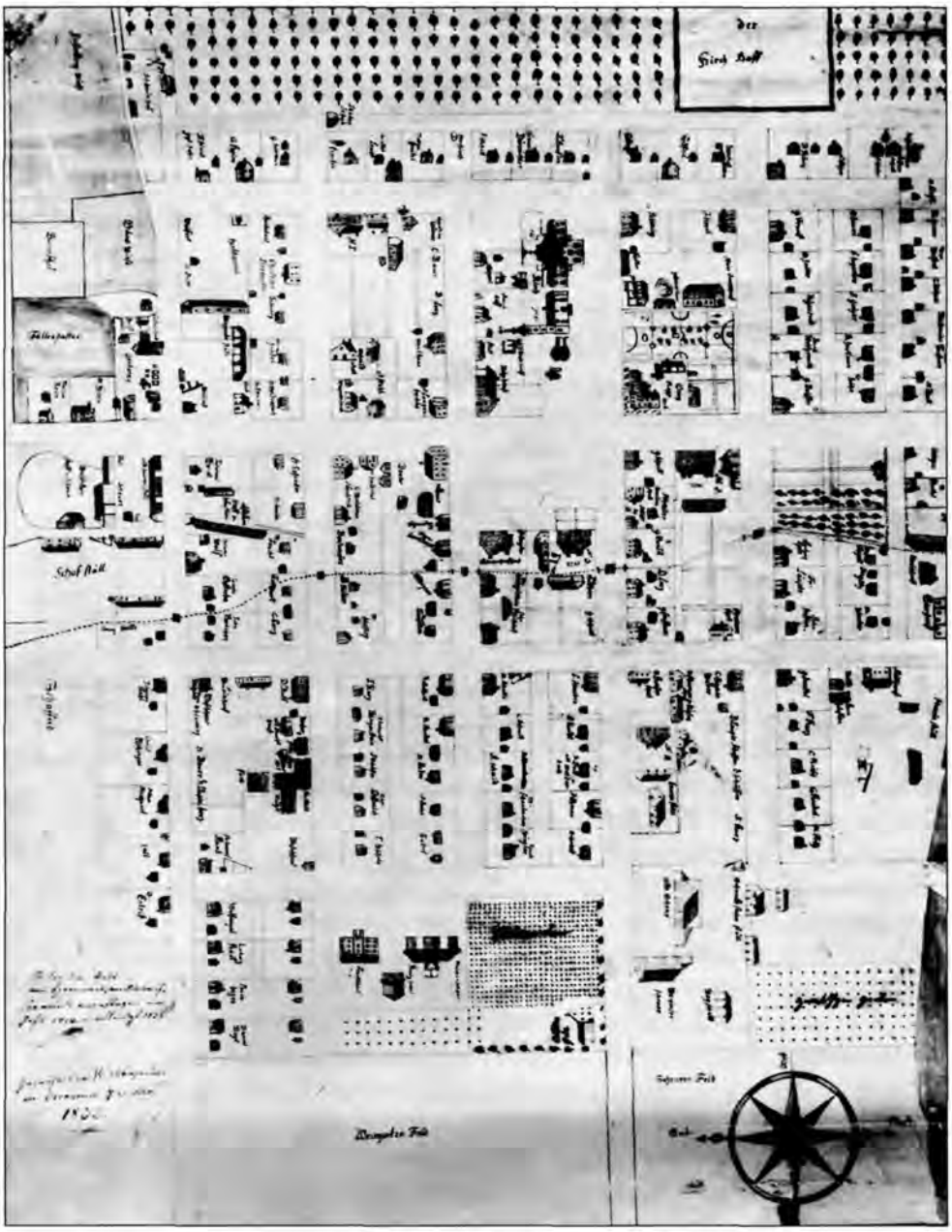
Elaborate plans were conceived to focus the actions of the commission on the remaining historic structures of New Harmony's earliest years. The early work of the Commission laid the groundwork for purchase and protection of key historic properties in the community. Several of these properties were restored and interpreted by the State of Indiana as the New Harmony State Memorial, later renamed the New Harmony State Historic Site.

In 1948, Kenneth Dale Owen, descendent of Robert Owen, bought the Rapp-Maclure House. This large brick structure was originally constructed as Father George Rapp's residence in 1817-18 and was renovated by Owen in 1990. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Robert Lee Blaffer Trust, founded by Owen's wife, Jane Blaffer Owen, restored many of the historic homes in the community. A private, not-for-profit community group, Harmonie Associates, was formed to help with improvements in the town.

In 1965, the Town of New Harmony was designated as a National Historic Landmark district by the United States Department of the Interior. In 1973, the Indiana State Legislature established a second New Harmony Memorial Commission. The new commission's task was to bring statewide assistance for New Harmony's preservation and development. Before the end of 1973, the town raised its share of a state-federal planning grant and adopted zoning. Private investors restored a five-building commercial block.

Between 1974 and 1980, The Lilly Endowment, Inc., provided a generous grant to the private, not-for-profit, Historic New Harmony, Inc., permitting acquisition and restoration of significant properties. The town received the Award of Merit from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for its planning and management efforts. Non-historic buildings were moved to new locations, permitting their continued commercial and residential use. Historic buildings were relocated to an area of prime historic significance. In many cases, the buildings were moved to their original sites; in other cases to replace those with similar characteristics.

In 1985, Historic New Harmony, Inc., became a division of the University of Southern Indiana, promoting cultural and educational programs, and continuing the maintenance and



The 1832 Weingartner map of New Harmony.

preservation of its properties. In 1991, Historic New Harmony combined resources with the New Harmony State Historic Site to become a "unified program" of the University of Southern Indiana and the Indiana State Museum and Historic Sites. The New Harmony Memorial Commission, with membership appointed by the governor, oversees the activities of the unified program.

The Rapp Granary/Owen Foundation, incorporated in 1995 as a private not-for-profit, completed reconstruction of the Rapp Granary/David Dale Owen Laboratory in 1999. In 1999, Historic New Harmony received a grant from the Indiana Department of Natural Resources to prepare a district nomination for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. The nomination was approved at the state level the next year. Currently, New Harmony is working toward expanding the boundaries of the National Historic Landmark district. In addition, in 1998, the American Institute of Certified Planners designated New Harmony as a National Planning Landmark.

In 1982, the United States Department of the Interior, in cooperation with the Federal Interagency Panel for World Heritage, placed New Harmony, Indiana on the Indicative Inventory of Potential Future U.S. World Heritage Site nominations.

Following the progressive traditions of the Harmonist and Owen/Maclure Communities, Richard Meier's award-winning Atheneum/Visitors Center, completed in 1979, welcomes over 50,000 visitors seeking intellectual stimulation and spiritual renewal annually. Enhancing the themes discovered throughout 12 historic sites open to the public are Philip Johnson's Roofless Church and many historic and contemporary gardens and parks. Guided tours, educational programs, and special events are presented from March 15 through December 30. For more information, visit Historic New Harmony's web site at <www.newharmony.org>.

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Illustrations courtesy Historic New Harmony, New Harmony, Indiana.

Rachel Franklin-Weekley

Stewardship and Change in the Amana Colonies

The purpose of our association as a religious Society is . . . no worldly or selfish one, but the purpose of the love of God in His vocation of grace received by us, to serve Him in the bond of union, inwardly and outwardly according to His laws and His requirements in our own consciences . . . .

From the constitution and bylaws of the Community of True Inspiration[1]

More commonly known as the Amana Society, members of the Community of True Inspiration established one of the longest-lived communal settlements in the United States and, arguably, one that continues to the present day. Their descendants value their religious communal heritage and are actively working to identify and preserve its important historical qualities. A mainstay since the early 20th century, tourism provides a market for Amana's heritage along with its products and crafts. Stewards of this National Historic Landmark (NHL) want to enhance well-established business and tourism opportunities while protecting their unique cultural resources.

Christian Metz, the "Werzeug" or divine instrument for the group, brought members of the Community of True Inspiration to east central Iowa in the mid-19th century, settling in a beautiful Iowa River valley approximately 20 miles west of Iowa City and 18 miles south of Cedar Rapids. They initially had settled in upstate New York, near Buffalo, forming the six-village community of Ebenezer in 1842. Soon, however, these German emigres regarded Buffalo's urban growth as a threat to their community, so Metz urged them to relocate to the Midwest. Members moved over a 10-year period, establishing the villages of Amana (1855), West Amana (1856), South Amana (1856), High Amana (1857), East Amana (1860), and Middle Amana (1861).[2] The community purchased the neighboring town of Homestead, Iowa, in 1861 because it provided rail access for the export of Amana produce.

In 1859, the Community of True Inspiration incorporated under the laws of Iowa as the Amana Society. Meaning "to remain true," the Amana Colonies possess 26,000 acres of some of the nation's most fertile farmland.[3] A communal way of life, embraced in New York, was continued in Iowa.[4] Elders elected to the Great Council, led by the "Werzeug," directed the community of believers. Population remained small, hovering around 1,500 souls; "outsiders" provided a welcome supplemental workforce. Each village operated somewhat independently with a centrally-located church, communal kitchen, school, sandstone residences, shops and busi-

The Amana Agricultural Complex, with the corn crib in the foreground and the granary to the rear. The non-historic fire station is between the two. The corn crib dates from c.1940, and the granary from the 1890s. This is all part of the old cattle complex in the main village of Amana.

Two residences on Main Street, Amana. The one to the rear appears to be sandstone and to have been converted into a shop. The one in the foreground is in need of restoration, which includes removal of the asphalt siding. Both buildings date from the 1860s.

nesses, agricultural buildings clustered in a quasi-European fashion, and a cemetery lying on the outskirts surrounded by cedar trees. New mothers cared for their children until the age of two, when the children attended kindergarten, and later school through the eighth grade. At that point, young teens were assigned to a specific task, depending on their gender. Women predictably worked in the kitchens, gardens, and kindergartens; while men labored in fields lying beyond the villages, tended the stock, and worked on construction crews, in light manufacturing, or in retail businesses. Some individuals sought training beyond Amana in the medical, legal, or teaching professions and returned to practice in the community.[5]

The communal life worked well until 1932, the time of the "Great Change." In that year, the Amana Colonies embraced capitalism, a choice determined in 1931 by popular vote. Property was divided and residents were free to find their own livelihoods. The church remained an essential part of life, overseen by the Amana Church Society. Secular matters were directed by the Amana Society, Inc., which functioned as a joint-stock company retaining ownership of a substantial portion of the farm and business operations. Agriculture and light manufacturing, primarily consisting of the production of textiles, furniture, construction materials, and foodstuffs, sustained Amana's economy.[6] The refrigeration plant began operating in the 1930s, providing the most visible trademark for the community.[7]

The cultural heritage of the Amana Colonies provided its second most visible "product." From the early days of settlement, the colonies were by no means cut off from the traditional world around them. Visitors came to Amana as customers for its wares, but also as tourists. The unique cultural heritage of the community soon was recognized by the society as an economic boon. The marketing of Amana products drew upon the "home-made" qualities of purity, wholesomeness, and craftsmanship, and still do. The slogan, "Come for the food, Come for the shopping, Stay for the experience," beckons travelers to detour a mere five miles northward from Interstate 80 to enjoy a respite from the hustle and bustle of modern life. One can also take a virtual tour of Amana through the National Park Service (NPS) web site <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel>.

The Colonies received national attention in 1965 when designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL). Landmark status is proudly heralded as part of Amana's heritage and part of its appeal to visitors. The Amana Heritage Society, established in the 1960s, provides a cornerstone for preserving the community's history. It grounds residents and visitors alike in traditional German folkways and communal life, even while seeking opportunities garnered by heritage tourism. In addition to its standard gift shops, restaurants, and inns, the seven villages also feature the Museum of Amana History and other historic buildings, Amana Arts Guild Center, a brewery and several wineries, 18-hole golf course, Iowa welcome center, 3.1-mile Kolonieweg Recreational Trail, 3.2-mile Amana Colonies Nature Trail, outdoor convention center, recreational vehicle (RV) park, and Old Creamery Theater Company.

Despite its cultural emphasis, new construction, suburban development from Cedar Rapids, inappropriate treatment of historic resources, and unchecked deterioration pose very real threats to the community's historic resources. As a result, the Amana Society, Inc., and Amana Heritage Society have made a concerted effort to identify and protect the community's historic fabric. Funded by an Iowa Certified Local Government (CLG) grant, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, with participation by the NPS Midwest Regional Office, compiled a re-use study for the community's more than 100 agricultural buildings. As an outgrowth of that preliminary assessment, the NPS Midwest Regional Office is now collaborating with the Iowa State

Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and Amana Heritage Society on an intensive inventory and survey of the historic barns and agricultural buildings extant in Amana's seven villages. Funded by a grant from the Getty Foundation and Save America's Treasures, work has already begun in the village of "main" Amana to rehabilitate its agricultural buildings. A primary barn has been converted into a "festhause," used for meetings, festivals, and craft shows, and rehabilitation of others is underway. The cultural landscape corridor of Amana's main street will also receive substantial rehabilitation, through an Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) grant, to provide off-street parking, improved drainage, and handicapped accessibility, while retaining the fabric and character of Amana's charming narrow sidewalks and gutterless streets.

The founding members of the Community of True Inspiration faced daunting challenges before their migration to the United States and during the initial period of settlement. Their descendants have faced challenges, as well, in sustaining the society after the Great Change to capitalism and retaining its historic resources in light of subsequent economic development. Amana residents have succeeded at both, incorporating modern amenities into traditional folkways. In this way, they demonstrate both the strength of their convictions and goals of heritage tourism, acting as vigilant stewards of their historic resources while sharing their unique religious communal heritage with others.

Notes

1 "Purpose," *The Amanas Yesterday: A Religious Communal Society*, 2.

2 "Amana Church Society," *The Amanas Yesterday: A Religious Communal Society*, 2.

3 "Amana Inspired by the Past" in "Willkommen: Free Guide to the Amana Colonies," 1. The term, "Amana," was taken from the *Song of Solomon*, 4:8.

4 Jonathan G. Andelson reports that population ranged from a high of 1,813 residents in 1881 to 1,365 in 1932. See "The Community of True Inspiration from Germany to the Amana Colonies," in Donald E. Pitzer, ed., *America's Communal Utopias* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 195.

5 Ibid., 190-192.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., 200.

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Photos by the author.

NPS Assists in Development of Amana Itinerary

The National Park Service's National Register of Historic Places has participated in a cooperative effort with the Amana Colonies Convention and Visitors Bureau, the Amana Heritage Society, the Iowa State Historic Preservation Office, the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, and the National Alliance of Preservation Commissions to produce a new travel itinerary <www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/amana/intro.htm> which explores 31 historic places that illustrate the fascinating history of one of the longest lasting communal societies in the world.

Created through a partnership, the Amana Colonies itinerary is an example of a new and exciting cooperative project. As part of the Department of the Interior's strategy to revitalize communities by promoting public awareness of history and encouraging tourists to visit historic places throughout the nation, the National Register of Historic Places is cooperating with communities, regions, and Heritage Areas throughout the United States to create online travel itineraries. Using places listed in the National Register of Historic Places, the itineraries help potential visitors plan their next trip by highlighting the amazing diversity of this country's historic places and supplying accessibility information for each featured site. In the Learn More section, the itineraries link to regional and local web sites that provide visitors with further information regarding cultural events, special activities, and lodging and dining possibilities.

Kerry A. Mohn

The Ephrata Cloister
Enigmatic Oasis

From the very beginning, as a religious refuge on the banks of the Cocalico Creek in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, the Ephrata Cloister has been a place of contemplation and curiosity. The vision of the founder, Conrad Beissel (1691-1768), evolved from being a personal refuge away from the world to one of colonial America's earliest communal societies, widely known for its accomplishments in music composition, publishing, and their own expression of German calligraphy known as *frakturschriften* (broken writing).

Colonial visitors drawn to the Ephrata Community (the name members used to refer to themselves) were curious about the spiritual, industrious, and austere communal lifestyle evolving on the edge of Pennsylvania's wilderness. Modern visitors to the National Historic Landmark, Ephrata Cloister, ponder the remains of this legacy—unfamiliar architecture, religious beliefs, and lifestyle—preserved within a green oasis surrounded by a countryside in rapid development. Today, visitors and scholars alike have more questions than there are answers about Beissel's creation on the Cocalico Creek.

The 1743 Sisters' House (or Saron) before its restoration.

Georg Conrad Beissel was born in 1691, in the wake of tumultuous times marked by warfare, famine, and disease in the small town of Eberbach, Germany. Orphaned by the death of his father before his birth and his mother's death eight years later, he was raised by relatives and learned the baker's trade. As a journeyman baker, Beissel traveled the countryside and became exposed to religious beliefs contrary to the official Christian doctrines permitted by the State. Beissel embraced a mixture of Pietist and Anabaptist beliefs and would experience a spiritual awakening in 1715.

He emigrated to North America in 1720, finding his way to Philadelphia. Conrad Beissel was baptized into the Brethren Church and became the leader of a congregation in the Conestoga Valley region of present day Lancaster County. Differences in Beissel's religious teachings, chief among them celibacy and seventh day worship, began to cause controversy in the congregation, and Beissel eventually withdrew to the wilderness of the Cocalico Creek Valley to pursue a life of solitude.

Soon after, some of the members of the Conestoga Brethren congregation began to move to the Cocalico to be near the charismatic Beissel. A number of small dwellings were built in the vicinity of a great bend in the Cocalico Creek by his followers. The buildings were lived in by one or two persons. From this modest beginning and through Beissel's proselytizing, the Ephrata Community would grow to 250 acres inhabited by about 80 celibate men and women known as the Solitary. Large Germanic style, four and five-story, half-timbered and log structures, the largest buildings at the time in the Pennsylvania interior, were constructed for housing and worship. Industrial and other ancillary buildings were also built by the community for various occupations and trades. During the community's ascent, the Solitary authored more than a thousand hymns; operated various mills, including a complete paper making, printing, and book binding operation; produced *frakturschriften* in many forms; and illuminated hymnals and other books. The largest book published in Colonial America, the 1500-page *Martyrs Mirror*, was printed by the Ephrata Community. The accomplishments of the Solitary were part of a strict daily discipline of work and devotions.

Daily life was regimented, with a minimal diet and few physical comforts. The Solitary

General view of some of the Ephrata Cloister buildings. The stone building on the right is the bakery. In the center is the rear façade of the Meeting House (or Saal), with its stone kitchen wing.

received Cloister names and were referred to as Brother and Sister. A long white habit was adopted and worn over their regular clothing. Religious practice consisted of simple services which included preaching, hymn singing, and prayer. Services were held for two hours every night at midnight and on Saturday morning in the Meeting House (or *Saal*). Each Brother and Sister was also expected to spend part of the day in silent meditation. On occasion, the Brothers and Sisters would gather for a love feast that included communion and foot washing. This regimented lifestyle was thought of as the prelude (viz., the *Vorspiel;* to prepare the Solitary to unite with God in the new world to come).

The Solitary were not the only component of the community and not all the members were celibate or lived a life of rigorous physical denial. Married members, known as Householders, also followed Beissel from the Conestoga. The Householders accepted Conrad Beissel as their spiritual leader and worshiped on the Sabbath. Otherwise, their lifestyle and occupational pursuits were much like that of everyone else at the time. The Householders took up lands throughout the area around the Solitary settlement. Over time, they became an important source of support and potential new Solitary members at Ephrata. Predictably, it would be Householder members who would carry forward the vision and assume control of the Cloister proper.

After the death of Conrad Beissel in 1768, the Solitary declined until the last two Sisters died in 1813. The Householder members took control of the Cloister grounds and incorporated themselves into The German Religious Society of Seventh Day Baptists in1814. A town known as Ephrata sprang up alongside the Cloister property. Continuous development, stimulated in large part by the intersection of two major roads and a rail line in the mid-19th century, eventually surrounded the Cloister grounds. Under the stewardship of the new German Seventh Day Baptist Church, the Cloister property was administered by church trustees and the *Saal* continued as their house of worship. The other surviving 18th-century buildings were rented to church members and non-members. Numerous alterations and additions to the buildings created more comfortable living accommodations. But as the Church membership continued to dwindle, the buildings deteriorated and were haphazardly maintained. Some buildings were removed altogether.

By the turn of the 20th century, the majority of the congregation consisted of the descendants of one early Householder family. The remaining Cloister property had been divided roughly into two farms operated by these descendants. Several Cloister buildings were occupied by other members. A growing awareness of the historic nature and value of the remaining 18th-century buildings, furniture, and decorative arts precipitated a discussion in the surrounding town to seek state ownership as a means of preservation.

By 1930, the church was experiencing serious financial difficulty. In early 1934, a court decision ended the German Seventh Day Baptist Church and appointed a receiver of all the real and personal property. Seven years later, the court-appointed administrator conveyed a 28-acre tract of land with nine remaining 18th-century buildings and several 19th-century buildings to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for creation of a state historic site administered by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission.* The purchase also included many original artifacts from the mid-18th century stored on the property. This group of surviving mid-18th-century buildings at one location is unique in North America.

The Commission began immediately with plans to restore the Cloister buildings. The restoration began in 1942 and was completed substantially by 1969. A visitor center was built during this time and a mid-19th-century barn

Visitors view the 1743 Sisters' House (or Saron) on the left, and the 1741 Meeting House (or Saal) on the right.

was renovated for a museum store and volunteer functions. The grounds around the historic area were landscaped into a park-like setting. The restoration is little changed over the ensuing 30 years. Although the restoration has remained static, historical interpretation is evolving into a more meaningful experience for the visitor.

With the recent completion of a historic structure report by the staff and a consultant, more insight may be gained into the original appearance of the surviving buildings. Annual archeological excavations since 1993, along with the findings of several from the 1960s, have yielded new information and posed new questions about the physical improvements and lifestyle of the Ephrata Community. One such find, a glass natural (valveless) trumpet, unique in North America, was found nearly intact in the 1995 excavation and has raised many questions about its origins, how it was used, and how it came to Ephrata. Recent research through a scholars-in-residence program, sponsored by the Commission, has resulted in a new understanding about Ephrata theology and music. Staff research also contributed in several areas to the recent changes in historical interpretation at Ephrata.

Based on information gleaned from these sources, historical interpretation at Ephrata underwent the first significant changes since the 1960s. Previously, the interpretation for visitors centered around architecture and decorative arts and was based on historical writings and interpretations decades old. Beginning in 1998, a new exhibit was installed in the visitor center entitled *Prelude to the New World, An Introduction to the Ephrata Cloister.* Buildings were re-interpreted and the furnishing plans changed. The goal was to create exhibit buildings with a "lived in" appearance. The changes in building interpretation were developed to reflect a more accurate representation of the Ephrata Community as it existed in the 18th century. For example, the building formerly furnished to interpret the Householders, none of whom occupied any of the surviving buildings used by the Solitary during the 18th century, is now furnished to interpret living space and weaving, a craft practiced by the Ephrata Community members. The story of the Householders, spanning parts of three centuries, will be interpreted with a new exhibit in a small log structure moved to the site in the 1940s. The development of historical interpretation and educational programming at the Ephrata Cloister has been made possible through the support of a dedicated community volunteer organization.

The Ephrata Cloister Associates have supported the activities and educational programming at the Ephrata Cloister since 1958. The Associates supply volunteer guides, support an Ephrata Cloister Chorus, provide funding for special craft demonstrators, and operate a successful museum store. The store merchandise is selected to complement the historical interpretation of the site. The Associates have raised funds through their Back to the Cloister Fund for the acquisition of artifacts for the collection and have provided additional funds for the conservation of original artifacts in the collection.

While archeology and research have yielded new insights about the Cloister, there is much that is unknown and may never fully be known. The lack of primary sources about everyday 18th-century Ephrata Community life continues the enigma. Ephrata began as a spiritual retreat in the wilderness away from the world. The wilderness is gone and the world has come to Ephrata, curious about the legacy of one community's spiritual quest.

The Ephrata Cloister can be contacted at <www.state.pa.us> or at 632 W. Main Street, Ephrata, PA 17522-1717.

Note

* The Pennsylvania Historical Commission merged with the State Museum and State Archives to form the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in 1945.

Kerry A. Mohn is the historian at the Ephrata Cloister.

Photos courtesy Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Ephrata Cloister.

Mark R. Barnes

The Moravian Experience in the New World

The *Unitas Fratrum* (Unity of Brethren), commonly referred to as Moravians (as a number of the members came from Moravia), was one of the earliest Protestant religious groups established in central Europe, in the 15th century. During the next 200 years, however, the Moravians endured religious persecution for their beliefs. When John Hus, the founder of the Unity of Brethren was martyred, the Moravians commenced to practice their religion in secret. Eventually, in the early 18th century, the Moravians found a protector in a Saxon nobleman, Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf. The Brethren established a congregation town called Herrnhut, on the count's estate of Wachovia. There they were able to practice their tenets of communal living, non-violence, and promotion of their faith through missionary work.

Throughout the first half of the 18th century, the Moravians worked with sympathetic European governments to establish missionary colonies for the conversion of Eskimos in Greenland, Bushmen in South Africa, and enslaved Africans on the Danish Virgin Islands in the Caribbean. Undoubtedly, their most well known efforts were the creation of Moravian congregations in the North American British colonies of Pennsylvania and North Carolina. In Moravian-founded frontier colonial towns, like Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Salem, North Carolina, the Brethren's communal efforts resulted in planned communities whose industries and skilled craftsmen produced the necessities (including iron, pottery, farm implements, distilled liquors, shoes, finished lumber, and processed grains) for a growing American population.

The Moravians' communal approach to living was based on the social concept of *Oeconomy*, whereby the church elders planned economic development within the Moravian-founded towns. The Brethren were utopian in their beliefs, but were also practical in their everyday lives as their church and its programs were supported by sale of Moravian-produced goods to

Rear view of the Single Brothers House (1768), located in the Old Salem Historic District (Winston-Salem, North Carolina). The Single Brothers House, a National Historic Landmark, was originally used as a trade school for Moravian boys and as a dormitory for craftsmen and apprentices. Today, it holds the administrative offices of Old Salem Incorporated. Photo by the author.

non-Moravians, or Strangers. Moreover, non-Moravians were welcome in the Moravian towns and often worked in church-sponsored industries.

As long as the Moravians were the dominant economic and demographic force in their towns, they were able to control the communities of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Salem, North Carolina. However, a growing non-Moravian population in these communities engendered competition, and the church suspended the *Oeconomy* rule in 1802. The church did continue many of its industries and it planned the development of lands acquired in the mid-18th century well into the late 19th century. As a result, in places like Bethania, North Carolina, the town plan, cemetery, and most of the individual garden plots, farmsteads, and wood lots are preserved down to the present day.

Concern for the preservation of Moravian resources began in the 1950s, as a joint Moravian church and private preservation effort to acquire and restore individual buildings in Bethlehem and Salem (now called Old Salem). Many of these properties (Old Salem Historic District, Single Brothers House, Salem Tavern, Gemeinhaus-De Schweintz Residence) were recognized by the National Park Service as National Historic Landmarks for their historic and architectural significance in the 1970s.

Recently, the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service began to re-assess the contribution of the Moravians to the history of the United States, by looking at Moravian resources from new perspectives. As a result, Bethabara—an archeological site—was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 1999, as the pioneering site from which the Moravian land grant of Wachovia evolved into the town of Salem, North Carolina, with smaller farming communities such as Bethania (1759). The site of Bethabara was also determined to be of national significance for its "ground breaking" contribution, in the 1960s, to development of historical archeology.

The Old Salem landmark district, designated in 1966 for its architectural significance, is currently being re-studied with assistance from the North Carolina Historic Preservation Office to look beyond just the architectural Moravian heritage of the 18th century. Consideration is being given to the examination of the larger planned community of Old Salem, which includes the sites of industrial complexes, the contemporary African-American Moravian community, the Moravian cemetery, and a recognition of Moravian importance into the late 19th century. A joint effort between the National Park Service and the North Carolina Historic Preservation Office was the development of a Landmark nomination for Bethania, a mid-18th-century Moravian planning farming community which has retained its town and farm lot plan nearly intact up to the present day.*

In order to more fully understand the contribution of the Moravian church and people to the United States, the Southeast Regional Office and its preservation partners are beginning to look at the significance of the Moravian church in an expanded geographic framework. Prior to arriving in North America, the Moravians first settled in the Danish (now American) Virgin Islands, where they converted large numbers of enslaved Africans, whose descendants still worship in historic Moravian churches, built with the profits of Moravian-run sugar plantations on these islands.

The Moravians could not advocate abolition of slavery either in the Danish Virgin Islands or North Carolina, due to the then current political realities of the 18th and 19th centuries. They did, however, do missionary work among enslaved Africans in both areas and provided them with many civil and religious opportunities to better their lives. In the Virgin Islands, prior to the 1848 Emancipation, the Moravians, working with the Danish government, built schools and educated the children of slaves in anticipation of the end of slavery. Numerous Moravian-related cultural properties in the Virgin Islands have been identified and the Southeast Region is in discussions with that Preservation Office to develop a long range program of recognition and preservation of these important cultural properties.

It is anticipated that the full story of the contribution of the Moravian church and communities will continue to be re-examined and new resources will be identified as the approach to preservation itself changes.

Note

* On August 7, 2001, the Secretary of the Interior designated Bethania as a National Historic Landmark.

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Bruce M. Moseley and Helen S. Schwartz

Developing the Interpretive Plan for Oneida Community Mansion House

Oneida Community Mansion House (OCMH), a nonprofit museum, begins the 21st century dedicated to preserving and interpreting the Mansion House, a 93,000-square-foot National Historic Landmark. The building is a wonderful artifact of the 19th century. Some of the ideas espoused by the Oneida Community are still relevant and some are still considered radical after over 150 years since its founding. The new interpretive plan seeks to ensure a future in which the Mansion House and its exhibits and programs become increasingly accessible to a larger public audience.

The Mansion House, constructed in stages between 1861 and 1914, was the home of the 19th-century religious utopian Oneida Community which was founded in 1848 by John Humphrey Noyes and his followers when they moved to Oneida, New York, from Putney, Vermont. They called themselves Perfectionists and lived communally until 1880, when the utopian community became the joint-stock company, Oneida Community Ltd. Now called Oneida Ltd., the company is a leading tableware manufacturer.

The Mansion House and south lawn, c. 1875. The south wing (1869) is in the foreground and the porch of the 1862 building is on the right.

The three-story brick structure is owned and operated as a museum by Oneida Community Mansion House, a nonprofit corporation formed in 1987, and chartered by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York. The Mansion House Service Corporation, a wholly-owned subsidiary, manages 35 apartments, 9 guestrooms, and the dining room. The grounds comprise about 33 1/2 acres, including the lawns and gardens immediately surrounding the building, and nearby parkland.

Lasting from 1848 to 1880, the Oneida Community was one of the most successful and long-lived of the 19th-century utopian communities. It was based near the Erie Canal in Central New York in the middle of the "Burned-Over District," an area where religious revivals and utopian communities of the Second Great Awakening flourished to an unusual degree. John Humphrey Noyes, the community's leader throughout its life, had a conversion experience at a religious revival in 1831, which made him dedicate his life to the ministry. He left the conventional Protestant church in 1834, however, when he proclaimed himself free of sin through his faith in Christ. Others also shared his belief in the possibility of personal and societal perfection, but the radical nature of his particular interpretation led to his expulsion from Yale Theological Seminary and the loss of his license as a minister. He believed others could share his self-professed perfection and set out to teach them how.

Noyes, born in Brattleboro, Vermont, made his first attempts at establishing a community in the nearby town of Putney. It was based on what he called "Bible communism," the belief that all should live sharing their possessions and work in common like early Christians. Forced to leave Vermont by the surrounding residents' disapproval, Noyes and his followers went to Oneida, New York, where some perfectionist converts already lived. There, in 1848, Noyes and his community were able to purchase cheaply a large

tract of land. This would be the home of the Oneida Community until its dissolution in 1881.

Perfectionism, bible communism, and complex marriage were the ideological foundations of the Oneida Community. Following Noyes, the Community members believed perfection was possible in this world through dedicating their lives to Christ and his teachings, in this case as interpreted by John Humphrey Noyes. Bible communism led them to live together in what they would call the Mansion House, a complex of connected buildings that underwent construction and modification throughout the community's life. At the height of the community, over 300 people lived there, sharing material resources and necessary labor. There were smaller branch communities in Brooklyn, New York; Newark, New Jersey; and Wallingford, Connecticut.

Complex marriage was the most controversial of the community's beliefs, and the one that most strongly precipitated their retreat from Vermont. Noyes believed that conventional monogamy fostered possessiveness and that women were oppressed by the inability to control the timing of childbearing. Complex marriage connected the community's members in a system which allowed and encouraged them to form sexual relationships with any other adult member of the opposite sex. The community disdained exclusive attachments which might mimic monogamy. Men were in charge of birth control, practicing "male continence," which prohibited ejaculation.

During the life of the Oneida Community, industrialization began to edge out agriculture as the base of the American economy. The community's search for economic stability was similarly affected. They began by selling canned fruits and vegetables, but by the time the community dissolved, their prosperity relied on factories producing animal traps, silk thread, and silverware. In 1879, the Oneida Community abandoned complex marriage; on January 1, 1881, it became a joint-stock company, Oneida Community Ltd. Now called Oneida Ltd., it is still a major producer of tableware.

The original Mansion House was a frame structure built in 1848 when the community consisted of about 50 members. By 1860, the community had outgrown this building and Erastus Hamilton, a community member and an architect, designed a new building in the Italian villa style. The community built the present Mansion House in stages between 1861 and 1914. Hamilton and successive planners constructed the building to fit the needs of the community and to encourage the communal aspects of daily life. At the center of the building was a large meeting hall with a stage suitable for evening meetings, plays, and concerts. Around a central core of rooms open to the public were family sitting rooms and individual or double sleeping rooms.

In 1863, the Tontine, then a separate building, went up. It contained work space for various enterprises. The community added the South Wing, also known as the Children's Wing, to the main building in 1869 to hold the nursery and rooms for the children and their education and entertainment. The final addition before the end of the community period was the New House Wing (1877), which accommodated a large influx of members when the community closed the Wallingford branch and brought those members to Oneida. The Mansion House complex, as it appears today, was completed in 1914, with the construction of the Lounge, built to connect the Tontine to the main building.

After 1880, the Mansion House and Kenwood (as the surrounding neighborhood came to be called) remained the center of the community of descendants who were also the managers of the company. The building was a residence and social center reserved for community descendants and guests of Oneida Community Ltd. In 1988, the Mansion House became a public institution when Oneida Ltd. donated the building to Oneida Community Mansion House.

Since the days of the Oneida Community, visitors have toured the Mansion House. During the life of the community, Noyes was intent on spreading the word of his philosophies and how they were enacted at Oneida. The community published several journals for a national audience and welcomed visitors to the Mansion House from throughout the world. Socialists, social thinkers, celebrities, and the interested public flocked to Oneida and toured the public areas of the Mansion House.

In the early 20th century, Oneida was the object of interest to writers and scholars, such as H.G. Wells, Aldous Huxley, Julian Huxley, and George Bernard Shaw. Shaw included the essay

Elevation of the Mansion House, east façade. Watercolor and pencil on paper, Erastus H. Hamilton, 1821-1894.

"Experiment at Oneida Creek" in *The Revolutionist's Handbook* which was appended to his play, *Man and Superman.*

The Mansion House is still an important destination for both scholars and a general audience. Visitors come to Oneida because of a genuine interest in the story of the Oneida Community and because the issues addressed within the community still resonate for modern Americans. The extraordinary evolution of the Oneida Community from a religious experiment to a prospering industrial corporation both highlights and mirrors trends in American society as a whole.

The Mansion House is open to the public for guided tours on a regular basis, but current offerings are limited. Nine times a week at scheduled times, volunteer guides lead visitors on tours of selected spaces (the Big Hall, the Upper Sitting Room, the nursery kitchen, and a representative sleeping room) within the Mansion House. Also part of the tour is a small exhibit of Oneida Community artifacts and the exhibit, *The Braidings of Jessie Catherine Kinsley,* which presents the unique early-20th-century textile art made by a former member of the Oneida Community. Many of the volunteer guides are descendants of the Oneida Community and some live in the house. The tour varies according to the individual guide, but usually lasts about an hour. The typical tour is based on an outline developed over the past 10 years and consists of background and a chronological narrative, into which are interwoven the themes and ideas that were central to the community.

Realizing the need to expand the audience and adapt interpretive techniques, Oneida Community Mansion House developed a comprehensive Interpretive Plan. It was developed over a 10-month period beginning in December 1999, and culminating with its approval by the Board of Trustees in September 2000. The plan addresses the issues of the relevance of the Oneida Community story to a modern audience and finds ways to tell that story in an interesting and accessible way.

The three-phase process began with a consultation grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, which funded a colloquium of scholars, museum professionals, and descendants that took place in December 1999. The colloquium established the themes and content of site interpretation and provided the intellectual basis for the interpretive plan. The colloquium participants considered how the history of the Oneida Community and of Oneida Community Ltd. relates to the larger American historical experience, which themes and issues can be used to unify site interpretation, how these themes and issues can be integrated into the site interpretation, and how to attract a wider audience.

A grant from the New York State Council on the Arts (NYSCA) funded a planning conference in April 2000. At this meeting, a group of outside museum professionals and Mansion House staff developed the results of the December colloquium into practical program ideas for the Mansion House.

In the final phase, consultant Helen Schwartz and Mansion House staff drafted the plan document, drawing on the results of Phases I and II and on travel to selected communal sites. The plan was approved by the OCMH Board of Trustees in September 2000.

The Mansion House Interpretive Plan draws on the memories of living descendants and on current academic study of utopian societies. It

uses the best practices found in the museum and preservation fields to expand the current offerings of exhibits, tours, and programs. The plan

- defines the institutional philosophy of interpretation;
- determines the content of the interpretation;
- begins to identify the audiences;
- considers various interpretive approaches and techniques;
- begins to evaluate changes needed in the facilities to enhance accessibility for all, regardless of disability.

According to the Interpretive Plan, the central message is that "The Oneida Community was created as an intentional, alternative society designed to achieve perfection in men and women's relationship with God, with one another, to work, and to the community." This message breaks down into five central themes: religion (perfectionism), family, community, work, and change over time.

The plan defines the Main Tour and lays out specialized Focus Tours. The Main Tour will be structured to allow contemporary visitors to re-enact the experience of 19th-century visitors to the Oneida Community, and will take no longer than an hour. Rooms will be furnished with reproductions. Focus Tours will give visitors a behind-the-scenes look into the private and work life of the community. Possible topics are

- Architecture and Technology—including the basements and the Tontine;
- Work—including the chain room in the basement and the Tontine;
- Child rearing—including the expanded nursery area;
- Housework—including the recreated laundry and kitchen areas;
- Gardens and Grounds—self-guided with maps and signs; and
- Daily Life of the Community.

Special exhibits will allow changing and expanded programming.

One of the primary objectives of the Interpretive Plan is the expansion of the Mansion House audience through improved and accessible programming. About 14,000 people visit the Mansion House each year. Of those, the audience for Mansion House museum programs is relatively small, averaging about 4,000 visitors per year. This includes the regularly-scheduled guided tours, special group tours, offsite school programs, and special events, such as concerts and lectures. In addition, the Mansion House hosts special events, such as weddings and banquets, and has nine guest rooms that are open to the public. About 10,000 customers are served at about 130 special events per year and about 1,100 people per year stay in the nine guestrooms.

Central to the success of the Interpretive Plan is the zoning of the building into public and private space. For over 100 years, the Mansion House was private and, therefore, off limits to the local populace. The building has been public since 1988, and OCMH's challenge has been opening up the building and its programs to the local community as well as to descendants and scholars. OCMH needs to make the public feel welcome and define the flow of traffic for the museum and other public activities, while preserving the privacy of the residents who make this a "lived-in museum."

With the new millennium, the Mansion House has entered a new era. For 32 years, the building was the focal point of a radical, social experiment that declared itself a "patent model" for the world. After that, from 1881 until 1988, the building was both the showplace for a successful modern corporation and the ancestral home for Oneida Community descendants. In 1988, OCMH and the Mansion House began the transition from private enclave to public educational institution with private components. The Interpretive Plan marks a major step in that transition and its adoption by the board of trustees affirms the primary role of the building and the organization as public trusts. While perhaps not a radical experiment, the arrangement is certainly outside the norm for house museums in the United States. Embracing the Oneida Community's commitment to both the best ideas and the most efficient means, the tradition of residency allows OCMH to preserve and interpret the building and its history by using it.

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Helen S. Schwartz is a historical consultant based in Utica, New York.

Illustrations courtesy Oneida Community Mansion House.

Kathleen M. Fernandez

Zoar Village State Memorial

The Pilgrims were not the only settlers who came to America seeking religious freedom. One such group of pioneers went to Ohio and founded Zoar Village, one of the most notable experiments in communal living in the nation's history.

This group of German Separatists—so named because they had broken with the established Lutheran church—left southeastern Germany to escape persecution for their religious beliefs. The Separatists thought that the church should be simple and bereft of all ceremony; they emphasized a mystical, direct relationship with God.

The hardy group of 300 arrived in Philadelphia in August 1817, and were befriended by Quakers who provided shelter and helped them find work. But it was the goal of the group and their leader, Joseph Baumeler (later Bimeler), to establish their own community in America.

They soon contracted to buy a 5,500-acre tract of land along the Tuscarawas River, agreeing to pay the purchase price over a period of 15 years. Small groups of Separatists began leaving for Ohio as soon as they could afford to move, and the first cabin in the new village was completed by December 1, 1817.

The settlers called their new community Zoar, meaning "a sanctuary from evil." Named for Lot's biblical town of refuge, the village was to be their sanctuary from religious persecution. At first, however, life for the settlers was far from heavenly.

Food was scarce the first winter. Because some families had not yet cleared their land or bought tools, they had to work on neighboring farms to feed themselves. The next season, each Zoar family cultivated its own acreage, but yields were insufficient to feed themselves and pay the land debt. Thus, in 1819, the original plan of private land ownership and cultivation was scrapped and the commune was born.

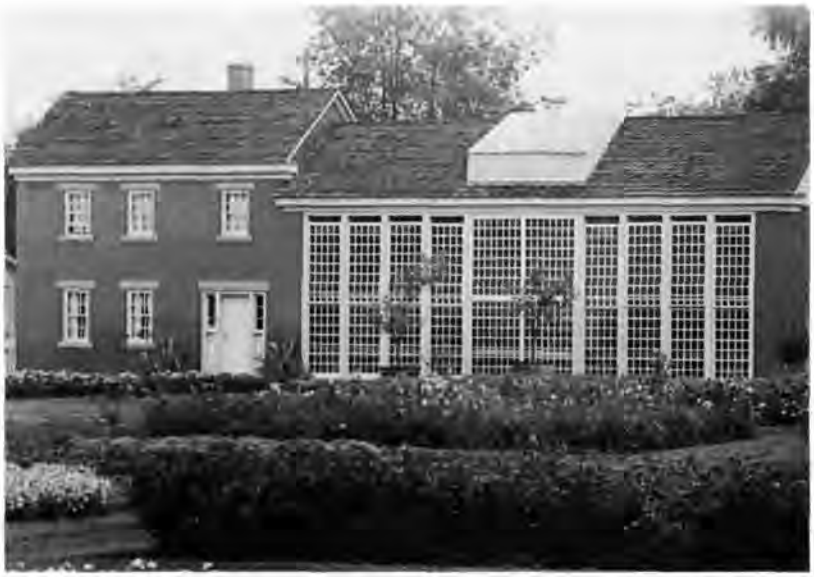
Under the new system, Baumeler remained the community's leader. All property and wealth were pooled and held by an organization known as the Society of Separatists of Zoar. Each member was to follow the decisions of the society's trustees; in return, they received food, clothing, and shelter. The new communal economy, the thrift of its members, and Baumeler's business acumen enabled the society to pay its debts and build a surplus by 1834.

Zoar's political organization was simple and democratic. Men and women had equal rights. The chief ruling body was the annually-elected board of trustees. Most Zoarites had regularly-assigned tasks to perform; those who did not assembled daily to receive their assignments from the trustees.

The village grew. Crops flourished, cattle and sheep farming prospered, and new houses and shops were built. The Tuscarawas River powered a sawmill, flour mill, planing mill, and woolen mill. Brick and rope making were developed as local industries.

By the mid-1830s, Zoar was virtually self-sustaining. The farms produced more food than was needed and many products—such as flour, meat, hides, eggs, poultry, and butter—were sent to other towns for sale. The tinshop and foundry manufactured a variety of goods for general sale. The Zoarites contracted to build the portion of the Ohio & Erie Canal that crossed their land, which added to the society's income. By 1852, the society's assets were valued at more than $1 million.

The Zoar Garden. c. 1890.



The Zoar Garden House, constructed in c. 1835, houses tropical plants and a residence for the gardener. It was restored in 1870.

Skill in gardening gave Zoar one of its most interesting features: the magnificent community garden, laid out with geometric precision. Occupying an entire village square, the garden was planted to symbolize the New Jerusalem described in the twenty-first chapter of Revelation. A Norway spruce at the center of the garden symbolized eternal life; circling the spruce was an arborvitae hedge, representing heaven. Twelve juniper trees, one for each of the apostles, formed a third concentric circle. A circular walk enclosed this area, with 12 radiating pathways symbolizing the 12 tribes of Israel.

The basic religious beliefs shown in the garden's design bound the Zoarites together, as did Joseph Baumeler's leadership. When Baumeler died in 1853, however, the society never fully recovered from the blow. Although the Zoarites lived and labored as a communal body, Baumeler had been the group's spiritual leader and business administrator even before their arrival in America. His energy and foresight largely were responsible for Zoar's success. After his death, the people's initiative gradually declined.

The social and economic environment around the village was changing as well, and this, too, had a major impact on the community. The coming of the railroad to Zoar in the 1880s brought more of the outside world, and the rise of mass-production industries made Zoar's smaller businesses obsolete. With easier access to the outside world, younger members drifted away to make their fortunes and religious orthodoxy decreased.

In 1898, with a growing number of Zoarites expressing their desire to disband and divide any remaining assets, the society was dissolved. Common property was divided among the members, with each receiving about 50 acres and $200.

For 30 years after the dissolution of the Zoar Society, the village became just another rural Ohio town. However, in 1929, under pressure from the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers to move the town to higher ground to accommodate a nearby flood-control dam, the villagers began to recognize their heritage and restored the central garden and opened a museum. A levee was built instead.

The Ohio Historical Society assumed management of the museum and garden in 1942, and began to acquire more buildings. Since then, it has continued to reconstruct and restore parts of the village as it appeared in the period of its greatest prosperity. Ten buildings are open seasonally as a historic site. Other historic buildings are shops, bed-and-breakfast inns, and private residences.

Since 1965, the State of Ohio and the Ohio Historical Society have undertaken an extensive restoration program of original structures built by the Zoar Separatists. Five buildings have been restored and three reconstructed on their foundations since that time. The additions to the site enable our visitors to get a clearer picture of life in Zoar during the 19th century. We have also been able to learn extensively about the German vernacular construction techniques used by the Separatists. We have attempted to restore these buildings as accurately as possible while making them accessible for modern visitation. This year, we are restoring the 1833 Zoar Hotel as a visitor and education center. We are now restoring the exterior and hope to receive state capital improvement funds for the interior and exhibits in 2002.

Restored or reconstructed buildings include Number One House (1835) used first as a nursing home for elderly residents, then as home to the Society's trustees; the Magazine (1851), storehouse and distribution point for community goods; the Kitchen (1835) where meals for Number One House residents were cooked on a

kettle-oven; the Greenhouse (1835) which overlooks the formal garden, also restored, and is home to tropical plants; the Bimeler Museum (1868) which illustrates the society's last decade; the Bakery (1845) where the community's bread was prepared; the Tinshop (1825), a half-timbered structure where metalware was made; the Wagon Shop (1840) where the wheelwright fashioned vehicles; the Blacksmith Shop (1834), where iron implements were forged and horses were shod; and the Dairy (1841), where milk from the society's 100 cows was transformed into butter and cheese.

Zoar Village State Memorial, administered by the Ohio Historical Society, is open from April through October. It is located on State Route 212, three miles southeast of I-77, south of Canton. Write to: Zoar Village, Box 404, Zoar, OH 44697; call 1-800-874-4336; or visit <www.ohiohistory.org/places/zoar> for information or a list of special events.

Kathleen M. Fernandez is Site Manager of Zoar Village State Memorial and Fort Laurens State Memorial for the Ohio Historical Society.

Photos courtesy Ohio Historical Society.

Rustin Quaide

Origins of the Utopian Idea

The western idea of utopia originates in the ancient world, where legends of an earthly paradise lost to history (e.g., Eden in the Old Testament, the mythical Golden Age of Greek mythology), combined with the human desire to create, or recreate, an ideal society, helped form the utopian idea. The Greek philosopher Plato (427?-347 BC) postulated a human utopian society in his Republic, where he imagined the ideal Greek city-state, with communal living among the ruling class, perhaps based on the model of the ancient Greek city-state of Sparta. Certainly the English statesman Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) had Plato's Republic in mind when he wrote the book Utopia (Greek ou, not + topos, a place) in 1516. Describing a perfect political and social system on an imaginary island, the term "Utopia" has since entered the English language meaning any place, state, or situation of ideal perfection. Both the desire for an Edenic Utopia and an attempt to start over in "unspoiled" America merged in the minds of several religious and secular European groups and societies.

The 19th-century utopian sects can trace their roots back to the Protestant Reformation. Following the early Christian communities, communal living developed largely within a monastic context, which was created by Saint Benedict of Nursia (480?-543?AD), who founded the Benedictine order. During the Middle Ages a communal life was led by several lay religious groups such as the Beghards and Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit. In allowing the sexes to live in the same community, these societies differed from the earlier Catholic and Orthodox monasteries.

The Protestant Reformation, which originated with the teachings of Martin Luther (1483-1546) and John Calvin (1509-1564), changed western European societal attitudes about the nature of religion and work. Luther broke with the medieval conception of labor, which involved a hierarchy of professions, by stressing that all work was of equal spiritual dignity. Calvin's doctrines stressed predestination, which stated that a person could not know for certain if they were among God's Elect or the damned. These theological ideals about work were stressed in the various American religious utopian societies.

In the wars and general disorder following the establishment of Protestant sects in northern Europe, many peasants joined Anabaptist and millenarianist groups, some of which, like the Hutterian Brethren, practiced communal ownership of property. To avoid persecution several of these groups immigrated to America, where the idea of communal living developed and expanded.

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Matthew Cooper

Representing Historic Groups Outside the Mainstream

Hancock Shaker Village

How have historic groups outside the mainstream of American society been represented at historic sites? Given the enormous historic and present diversity of American society, this question takes on considerable importance. The National Park Service, for example, in outlining its Cultural Resources Diversity Initiative, points out that

> The Initiative was established to respond to the changing demographics of the United States. Our nation's increasingly diverse population will influence how the nation sees its past; how it uses the past in the present and future; and, importantly, which historic places are identified, preserved, and interpreted for future generations.[1]

While the apparent diversity is increasing, it is certainly true that American society always has been diverse. How has such diversity been considered in historical narratives and other forms of representation? What relevance can be claimed for non-mainstream historic groups for contemporary visitors to historic sites?

View of Hancock Shaker Village, 1997. Shown here is the Heritage Garden, with the Round Barn in the background. Photo by the author.

A historic restoration site that sheds some light on these questions is the Hancock Shaker Village in Massachusetts. The site preserves and interprets the remains of a historic communal society, a group that clearly was outside the mainstream, however defined. Over the last decade, there have been extensive changes to interpretation and the uses of space at this site. In addition, attempts have been made to make it more relevant to contemporary visitors.

Hancock Shaker Village in western Massachusetts was the third Shaker community to be established (1790) and one of the last to close (1960). It consists of 20 original buildings, a historic working farm, and gardens on 1,200 acres. The Shakers, or United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, were millenarians. It has been argued that they differed from many other American sects of the time in that their practices rested on a "plan for the gradual redemption of the world aimed at nothing less than transforming the Earth into heaven" and a "driving sense of communitarian purpose, which unites people, land, and buildings in a mission of millennial redemption."[2] The basic tenets of their faith included celibacy, equality of the sexes, communal property, confession of sins, separation from the world, and pacifism. Moreover, they strove for simplicity, purity, and perfection, seeing all work as equally valuable and, above all, as worship.

At its peak in the 1840s, the Hancock community included over 300 people organized into communal groups called Families, each of which contained as many as 100 men and women, Brethren and Sisters, as well as children for whom they were caring and was overseen by Elders and Eldresses. The community worked at agricultural and craft pursuits, while carrying out an extensive trade with the outside world. Known for the quality of their products, the Shakers manufactured and sold seeds, medicinal herbs,

preserves and candies, wooden ware, baskets, brooms, and other items.

Since the mid-1990s, Hancock Shaker Village has been engaged in a broad-ranging program of renewal. Based on an institutional self-study and the recommendations of outside consultants, staff members produced a detailed interpretive plan to identify and define historical themes, research directions, and practical methods of interpretation to guide the museum into the future. Parts of the site have been re-interpreted to incorporate a diachronic approach, replacing the former, almost static, "golden age" representation of time. A new Center for Shaker Studies, which includes gallery space for changing exhibitions, has recently opened.

Over the last decade, efforts have been made at Hancock to distance the interpretation of the Shakers from the "classic" view developed especially by Edward Deming Andrews, first curator at Hancock, in the 1960s. According to Stephen Stein, Andrews was largely responsible for the growth of the contemporary sentimentalized and static image of the Shakers. He tended to treat them as religious isolates. Furthermore, he focused almost exclusively on the Shakers in their "peak years" before the 1860s, reduced the complexity of their religious experience to "primitive Christianity revived," assumed that the highly ascetic regime they adopted in the 1840s had been their standard of behavior at all times, and, in general, "shut his eyes to conflict and dissent among faithful Shakers."[3] In addition, Andrews helped develop the focus on craftsmanship and objects as symbolic of the Shaker urge for perfection that made them seem almost like creatures from another world.

Of particular importance in pointing toward future directions have been the interpretive plan of 1997, and a very ambitious strategic plan adopted in 2000. The latter sets out a vision in which Hancock Shaker Village would "create a new focus on Shaker values and practices as relevant in today's world, including their experiences of community growth, conflict management, commitment to excellence, gender and racial equality, entrepreneurship, environmental management and spiritual and work ethics." This new focus would "impart to the widest audience possible an appreciation of the unique values of simplicity, industry and integrity held by the Shakers."[4] Moreover, the increasingly diachronic approach taken to interpretation will help to show how the Hancock Shakers related to the wider society. This is particularly true for the period from the late 19th century until the closing of the village, during which the Shakers increasingly adopted the "world's" ways and relied on hired labor. The new approaches to interpretation are an attempt to make them appear less strange to visitors while preserving a sense of their distinctiveness.

Hancock Shaker Village is trying to reposition the society it represents. In the past, it tended to be interpreted as a fascinating but marginal group isolated from the rest of American society and, for contemporary people, largely only of antiquarian interest. As Donald Pitzer writes,

> Communal experimenters have often been portrayed simply as colorful "freaks," psychological misfits outside the "mainstream" who inevitably "failed" because they allegedly were out of step with American life and values . . . . Seldom have such groups been considered effectively as an important element in the larger American social and cultural context of which they were a part.[5]

Today, at this historic museum, an attempt is being made explicitly to connect the group's beliefs and practices both with the larger social context of the time and also with the concerns of contemporary Americans. How well this effort will succeed remains to be seen, yet it must be applauded as a step in the right direction.

Notes

1 National Park Service, Cultural Resources Diversity Initiative web page. Retrieved from the World Wide Web on May 10, 2001 <http://www.cr.nps.gov/crdi/description/prgm.htm>.

2 Hayden, Dolores, *Seven American Utopias*, Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1976, p. 67.

3 Stein, Stephen J., *The Shaker Experience in America*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992, p. 381.

4 *Hancock Shaker Village Strategic Plan*, June 2000, pp. 9, 1.

5 Pitzer, Donald. "Introduction," in D. Pitzer (ed.), *America's Communal Utopias*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997, p. 5.

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Diana B. Ratliff

The Preservation of Pleasant Hill

In August 1805, missionaries from the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing (commonly known as The Shakers) found three Kentuckians who were willing to listen to their testimony. These three men were the first Shaker converts in Kentucky. In a short time, Believers began moving to a farm on the banks of Shawnee Run. In 1807 they purchased a nearby hilltop with beautiful vistas and began constructing a permanent village they named Pleasant Hill.

The Pleasant Hill Shakers were simple, hardworking farmers who were accustomed to overcoming hardships by using strong will, ingenuity, and determination. Their self-sufficiency served them well as they established a utopia in what was then wilderness.

Over a 105-year span, Pleasant Hill's Shakers constructed a total of 270 structures, 33 of which remain today. By 1910, the Shakers had closed their doors at Pleasant Hill as an active religious society. Their last land holdings were deeded to a local merchant with the agreement that he would care for them until their death. Sister Mary Settles, the last Shaker at Pleasant Hill, died in 1923. Shortly after Sister Mary's death, the land, buildings, and all Shaker possessions were auctioned. The once thriving utopian society became just another small country town called "Shakertown" until restoration began in 1961. For the next 37 years, the buildings changed hands many times, some disappeared, and others fell into varying states of decay and disuse. Due to the excellence in Shaker craftsmanship, the larger structures remained sound.

Buildings took on new functions over the years. The Trustees' Office was operated as a restaurant. The 1820 Meeting House became the home of the Shakertown Baptist Church. The Carpenter's Shop served the community as a general store and the Farm Deacon's Shop was a gas station. Many of the smaller workshop buildings were used as tenant houses, with a few Victorian porches obscuring the simplicity of the Shaker lines. The Centre Family Dwelling was leased by Goodwill Industries, although never completely used.

A groundswell of interest in saving these historic structures resulted in the formation of an organization to acquire and restore them in 1961. That year, Shakertown at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, Inc., was formed as a nonprofit, educational corporation. The title is a combination of the community's worldly name, Shakertown, and its original Shaker designation as Pleasant Hill.

Led by Earl D. Wallace, a well-known Kentucky businessman, members from central Kentucky, Lexington, and Louisville joined the effort. Mr. Wallace was elected chairman of the board of trustees, a position he held until his death in 1990.

James Lowry Cogar, the first curator of Colonial Williamsburg, returned to his native state to become the first president of Shaker Village. Mr. Cogar was responsible for the innovative plan for adaptive use of historic buildings and excellence in restoration standards. He insisted upon the purchase of 2,250 acres of orig-

Aerial photograph of Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill in autumn. Photo courtesy Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill, Kentucky.

Centre Family Dwelling on Pleasant Hill. Photo courtesy Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill, Kentucky.

inal Shaker land to act as a buffer against commercial encroachment. The village now owns 2,800 acres of the Shakers' original 4,500 acres.

In 1964, Mr. Cogar hired James C. Thomas who had worked with the restoration of Locust Grove in Louisville, the last home of General George Rogers Clark. The actual restoration began in 1966. It quickly became apparent that no government agency or trust would provide long-term support and that Pleasant Hill would have to be self-sufficient. Admission income also would not be enough to ensure the project's long-term survival. The board of trustees understood the need to create a unique environment where visitors would be immersed in the Shaker experience. Offering dining, overnight lodging, and craft sales would fulfill this vision and assure success.

Work began to bring Pleasant Hill back to its 19th-century appearance. All utilities were buried, walks were repaired or replaced, and original paint colors were discerned and duplicated. In 1965, U.S. Highway 68, which then ran through the center of the village, was re-routed to bypass the village. A group of carpenters was trained by Mr. Thomas to reproduce some 1,400 pieces of Shaker furniture. They had also arranged for thousands of yards of material to be hand-woven into carpets and curtains with which to furnish all buildings in Shaker style. Restoration efforts continued in the main village through 1967. In 1968, the main village road was restored to its original appearance. That same year, a few exhibition buildings, lodging accommodations, the dining room, and first craft sales shop opened to the public. This brought to a close the first stage of the restoration.

Costumed interpreter in window of 1820 Meeting House. Photo by Roger Selvidge.

The second phase of the restoration began in 1968 and included 10 buildings that had been deleted from phase one for lack of funds. From outward appearances at the end of the second phase in 1974, the village had been completely restored, but there were many things left to do.

In 1971, Pleasant Hill was designated as a National Historic Landmark.

Mr. Cogar retired in 1974 and James C. Thomas became the second president of Shaker Village. He brought a wealth of experience to his current position of president and chief executive officer from his years of involvement with every aspect of the restoration and preservation of Pleasant Hill.

In 1986, the West Lot area was acquired. This added a 480-acre tract with three original Shaker buildings. Restoration of the West Lot area was completed in 1992.

In 1990, after the death of Earl Wallace, William T. Young, Lexington businessman and philanthropist, was elected as the second chairman of the Board of Trustees. His first task was to launch a capital campaign to raise funds for the revitalization of Pleasant Hill. Under the direction of President Thomas, the effort of

Costumed interpreters passing the 1820 Meeting House at the end of the work day. Photo by Roger Selvidge.

"restoring the restoration" began. By this time, there were buildings in need of new roofs and replacement of aging equipment. Creating access for the physically challenged was particularly difficult. Because the Shakers were well known for their agrarian pursuits, creating a Historic Farm Program provided new educational opportunities for visitors.

The campaign also funded the construction of two unique architectural projects compatible with the rural environment. The 1820 Meeting House space that had been adapted for use as office space was no longer sufficient and a new administrative office building with a façade resembling a typical Kentucky tobacco barn was built. The new library/collections area was innovatively housed within an existing barn.

It is clear from the renovation and preservation of Pleasant Hill that it is an ongoing process that never actually has an end. Restoring a building is only the beginning. Each building must be maintained and repaired on a regular schedule to ensure the restoration remains at the highest level of quality. Ongoing research is used to verify the adaptive uses put in place. Occasionally, a better or higher use is found. The best example is the East Family Dwelling cellar, which was once used as meeting space. It has been re-adapted to house the *Shaker Life* exhibit area with its changing exhibits, hands-on room, and video viewing room.

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