1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: BETHABARA

Other Name/Site Number: Bethabara Historic District

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 2147 Bethabara Road Not for publication:__

City/Town: Winston-Salem Vicinity:__

State: North Carolina County: Forsyth Code: NC067 Zip Code: 27106

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	__	Building(s):	__
Public-Local:	X	District:	X
Public-State:	__	Site:	__
Public-Federal:	__	Structure:	__
		Object:	__

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
3	4	buildings
41	__	sites
__	2	structures
__	__	objects
44	6	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 35

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain):

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Domestic	Sub:	Multiple Dwellings
			Secondary Structures
	Religion		Church
	Funerary		Cemetery
	Agriculture		Agricultural Field
	Industry/Processing		Manufacturing Facility
	Commerce/Trade		Store/Tavern
	Defense		Fortification
Current:	Recreation and Culture	Sub:	Museum/City Park

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Early Republic

MATERIALS:
Foundation: Stone
Walls: Stone, Brick
Roof: Wood, Shingle
Other: N/A

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

The Moravian settlement site at Bethabara, located northwest of Winston-Salem, in Forsyth County, North Carolina, was the first place colonized by this sect within their land grant of Wachovia (See Figure 1). This first settlement (1753) attracted Moravian craftsmen, who set standards of excellence that would make their products, such as pottery, admired throughout the Carolina frontier and make possible the successful growth of the Wachovia Tract. Archeological investigations have uncovered the remains of numerous residences, businesses, and craft shops, which have contributed to a detailed understanding of Moravian culture.

Environmental Setting

Bethabara townsite is located within the Piedmont physiographic province of North Carolina, with a topography consisting mainly of rolling hills broken by stream beds. It is a fertile region with "dark humic topsoil of varying depth ... overlying an orange micaceous clay" (Clauser 1988:7). The site of Bethabara is situated on a relatively flat terrace in a bend of the Manorcas Creek (see Figure 2).

When the first Moravian settlers arrived in 1753 they found a small clearing with an abandoned cabin (the Wagner cabin) in a forested area environment. Over the next fifty years the forest was cleared, and houses, gardens, orchards, and cemeteries were constructed. Occupation of the townsite of Bethabara continued, but diminished through the first half of the nineteenth century. From the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries the area of the original settlement was under corn and tobacco cultivation covering the ruins of many of the colonial Moravian buildings, structures and features. Today the area is mostly in grass and woods with visitor trails linking interpreted archeological features and buildings.

Existing Historic Buildings and Sites

While the majority of Bethabara's inhabitants moved to Salem by 1772, enough people remained for the community to retain its Moravian life and identity as a mainly agricultural community even after 1803. In that year the communal structure of Bethabara was abolished by the church and the property was gradually sold to individual Moravians and non-Moravians. Between 1782 to 1803, the three extant Moravian buildings at Bethabara were built. All are distinctive examples of solid, functional Moravian vernacular architecture and reflect the direct influence of building practices of Germanic settlements of Pennsylvania. All are located on the southeast edge of the original town plan. God's Acre, or the Moravian and Dobb's Graveyards have remained in the same location since Bethabara was established in 1753.

The Potter's House. The oldest of the three extant Moravian buildings at Bethabara is the Potter's House, constructed in 1782 and is the oldest known brick dwelling in Moravian Wachovia (Photos 1 and 2). This building was first occupied by Johannes Schaub, a dyer, and later by the potter Johann Gottlob Krause, who occupied the house from 1789-1802, and then sold it to another potter, John Butner, in 1802. Butner served as the master potter for Bethabara and the surrounding rural communities until the mid-nineteenth century. The story-and-a-half building faces east and rests on a full fieldstone foundation plastered smooth and painted to resemble cut stone.

Brick exterior walls above the foundation are laid in Flemish bond. The front elevation presents an asymmetrical, three-bay facade with the entrance located on the left side and reached by a flight of stone steps. The building is two bays deep. The ground slopes gently downward from front to back, allowing a cellar window in the foundation wall beneath the main floor rear window of each gable end. The rear facade is marked by two widely spaced windows; in the foundation beneath each is an exterior cellar door. The front door and all window openings have segmental-arched heads. Windows are of six-over-six sash, and a four-light transom is set above the four raised-panel front door. A large interior chimney rises at the center of the gable roof; a smaller interior gable end chimney is on the south end, flanked by two small attic windows. On the north end a single six-over-six window lights the attic. The wood shingle roof is finished on the eaves with a plaster cove cornice.

The main floor is of two rooms of nearly equal size in a simple variation of what has been identified as the Pennsylvania Continental plan. This plan is defined as two or more rooms arranged about a central chimney, always with one room (the kitchen) running the depth of the house, headed by a large open hearth and usually containing the stair to the attic (Herman 1978:162).

The interior is austerely finished in the Germanic style characteristic of the Moravian design. Each fireplace is a simple arched opening under a wide molded shelf set in the face of the chimney. The chimney faces, like all wall surfaces, are plastered. Rough hewn ceiling joists are exposed in the south room; in the north room these joists are finished and beaded, and a summer beam runs beneath the joists and is set into the face of the chimney. The stair begins its rise from the west corner of the south room and winds enclosed up the south face of the chimney. Beneath this stair is a small storage space reached through a door of four raised panels. Apparently a stair originally descended from this space to the cellar, though it was probably removed by the early nineteenth century.

The attic space appears originally to have been one large room divided by the large central chimneystack, and later partitioned. The cellar is divided into four rooms by load-bearing stone walls. The largest (south) room has a large fireplace served by the small interior gable end chimney; this room probably first served as the kitchen.

A wing extended from the left bay of the west rear facade; this wing has been lost, and its original plan is unknown. The stone foundation of a nineteenth-century addition extends from the south gable end of the house.

The Brewer's House. Constructed in 1803 to replace an earlier building that burned in 1802, the Brewer's House exhibits strong similarity to the older Potter's House in exterior proportion and form, though there are major differences in detail and interior arrangement (Photos 3 and 4). The one-story-with attic house rests on a full fieldstone foundation and is set into a gentle slope rising from front to back. It was first occupied by Hermonn Buttner, who operated the Bethabara distillery.

Exterior walls are of brick covered with stucco; the gable ends at the attic level are weatherboarded. An off-center interior chimney pierces the peak of the gable roof. The front (west) elevation, like the Potter's House, has an asymmetrical three bay division, with the entrance set on the far left side. A shed porch of one bay in width shelters the entrance; because of the height of the foundation at the front under the main entrance, the porch is two-tier, sheltering the cellar entrance directly beneath. A stone wall extending from the right of the cellar door and turning right across the front of the house is back-filled, bringing the ground level nearly to the level of the floor of the porch on the right side. The main entrance is reached from street level by steps cutting through the wall at the front of the house and approaching the porch from the right.

The north gable end is marked by single windows centered under the peak of the gable at the attic and main floor levels; a cellar window on this end is set off-center in the wall of the foundation slightly to the front of the house. This window was originally a door, but the date of alteration is unknown. The south gable end is two bays deep, with a single attic window centered above. Window and door openings (excepting attic windows) have segmental-arched heads; original windows are of six-over-six sash, and doors are batten. A modern frame addition extends off the rear of the house where formerly the distillery probably stood.

The interior follows a second variation of the Pennsylvania Continental plan, here consisting of three rooms about the central chimney. A tiny fourth room -- a shallow vestibule at the main entrance -- is partitioned off the west end of the narrow kitchen room; this vestibule contains an enclosed stair to the attic. The kitchen is heated by a large arched fire opening, and a stair off this room descends to the cellar underneath the attic stair. To the right of the kitchen and vestibule on the opposite side of the chimney are two rooms of equal size, divided by a brick partition parallel to the facade and tied into the chimney; each room is served by a small corner fireplace. All interior walls are plastered. The batten doors are hung in simple frames on HL or strap hinges.

The cellar follows an identical plan with the absence of a vestibule area, and the two parallel rooms are unheated. The attic is unfinished.

The *Gemeinhaus* (Church). The dominant building of Bethabara is the 1788 *Gemeinhaus* (Photos 5-7). This building is composed of two distinct sections under roofs of different height and joined at the gable ends; the taller section contains a hall and a large room with a gallery under a vaulted ceiling that housed the Moravian sanctuary; the second section, which has a gable roof with splayed eaves, shelters four rooms about a central chimney and originally served as the parsonage. The building employs the elements of design and material -- in different combination -- seen in the Potter's and Brewer's Houses: fieldstone foundation, painted stucco wall surfaces to resemble cut stone, arched window and door openings, and simply finished, functional interiors. A graceful octagonal bell tower crowns the church.

The original *Gemeinhaus*, or church, was constructed in 1755-1756 of logs with a field stone foundation. The archeological remains of this structure were excavated by Stanley South in the early 1960s, and the stabilized stone-lined cellar hole of this building is located north of the 1788 church. The deteriorated condition of this building caused the Bethabara Helper's Conference to request in late 1787, that Frederic William Marshall submit a plan for a new church. Marshall submitted his preliminary plan to the Helper's Conference on December 13, 1787, which was approved the same day (Horton n.d.:7). Marshall, who was responsible for surveying the town of Salem and developing the architectural plans for the Community Store in Salem, submitted his final plans on January 4, 1788 (Horton n.d.:7, 13).

Between this date and the consecration of the new Bethabara *Gemeinhaus* on November 24, 1788, numerous members of the communities of Bethabara and Bethania and specialists from Salem worked together to complete the church. Beginning in January, and continuing into March, workmen and teams of oxen from Bethania, quarried and hauled stone to the building site, under the direction of Abraham Loesch, master mason of Salem (Horton n.d.:13-14).

Meanwhile, "the Brethren were cutting (roofing) timbers in great haste as it was felt that this could not be delayed beyond February if relatively sap-free timbers were to be obtained" (Horton n.d.:14). By March 22nd, the digging of the cellar was completed, and by early April "a good part of the foundation and cellar wall stone had been laid" (Horton n.d.:14).

Throughout April and May, Johann Krause, of Salem, completed the door and window frames of the church, which were set into the rapidly rising masonry walls. Toward the end of May, Marshall oversaw the framing of the roof with the timbers cut and hand hewn in the previous February (Horton n.d.:15).

During June and July, between 13 to 14,000 bricks were brought to the site to complete the gables and kitchen chimney. And by July, with the exception of a hole left for the tower the entire roof had been shingled (Horton n.d.:17).

In the months of August to October, the tower was fabricated and installed, while the interior and exterior of the church were plastered, and the interior woodwork was completed (Horton n.d.:17-18). On November 20, 1788, the church bell was installed in the tower, just four days before the church was consecrated.

The Bethabara *Gemeinhaus* is a rectangular stucco over stone building with a high water table. Its plan accommodates both the church and parsonage, each with a separate gable roof. The parsonage roof is slightly lower and features splayed eaves.

The main (east) facade of the church, presents a long eight-bay front. In the church (south) section, the second and fourth bays contain entrances, while the other two contain large segmental-arched windows with geometric tracery and heavy molded sills. The entrance in the second bay is topped by a segmental arch, while the entrance in the fourth bay has a four-light transom and is surmounted by a somewhat higher semicircular arch. Both entrances have four-panel doors with molded architraves. All four bays of the parsonage are marked by smaller semicircular arches containing trabeated windows with six-over-six sash.

The rear (west) facade is six bays wide, including three bays from each section. The church and the parsonage each have an arched entrance in the left bay. The other bays contain windows similar to those on the front or east facade. The two entrances have flat-paneled doors surmounted by four-light transoms.

The south (church) gable end features two segmental-arched windows at the first level with a tiny central arched window above. The top half of the gable is of brick laid in Flemish bond with glazed headers. It is ornamented with a central stone tablet framed by three small circular vents, one on either side and one in the apex of the gable. The tablet is inscribed with "ANNO 1788."

A narrow expanse of the north gable of the church section is exposed above the roofline of the parsonage. This allows space for two very small rectangular casement windows set diagonally, containing three panes each.

The north end of the parsonage is dominated by a narrow, slightly projecting brick chimney that intersects the roof at its apex. The lower portion of the chimney is enclosed by two small brick shed additions that house ovens for the interior kitchen. At the first level the chimney is flanked by rectangular windows with six-over-six sash below segmental arches. The whole gable is constructed of brick laid in Flemish bond and contains windows with six-over-six sash on either side of the chimney. Beyond these windows are single small casement windows each containing three panes. All are surmounted by brick segmental arches. Near the top of the gable are two circular attic vents framed by headers.

The octagonal bell tower rises from the church's north gable. Resting on the octagonal plinth finished with beaded weatherboards is an open belfry surrounded by a balustrade with a rounded handrail and balusters square in section. It is protected by a splayed roof covered with wooden shingles and topped by a brass weather vane.

The interior of the church consists of a large meeting room with a hall across the north end. The meeting room is simply finished with plaster walls and a concave ceiling above a narrow molded cornice. The windows are set in splayed, plastered reveals. The hall, entered through a door at either end of the north wall, features a steep winding closed-string stair to the gallery above. The gallery has a sawn flat balustrade that extends from the end of the balustrade into the curve of the concave ceiling and is pierced by a segmental-arched opening. A winding stone stair descends under the gallery stair to a long narrow basement room with a concave ceiling.

The parsonage, entered from the church hall, consists of four unequal rooms all having plaster walls and windows set in splayed reveals. The southwest and southeast rooms have corner fireplaces with no mantels, while a tile firebox heats the northeast room, which is a replacement for the original. The northwest room features a wide cooking fireplace in the north wall with a large oven located behind the firebox.

A central doorway in the north wall of the church gallery leads to the attic of the parsonage. It is unfinished except for a small room located at the north end, which has plaster walls and is heated by a firebox (Wells 1971).

God's Acre. God's Acre, or the Moravian Graveyard, is reached by a footpath climbing the steep wooded hill to the west of the village (Photos 8-10). The graveyard is laid out in four quadrants according to the Moravian choir system, with married men in the southwest section, married women in the northwest, single men in the southeast section, and the single women in the northeast; the latter two quadrants are further divided into a section for youths and adults and one for infants. Early markers are uniformly modest, being flat slabs inscribed with name, date of death (and sometimes birth), and numbered chronologically. Later markers of this form may include a brief epitaph. The earliest marked grave is dated 1757 (Photo 9).

On the southern periphery of the cemetery are later nineteenth century monuments of various popular designs when God's Acre served the dispersed rural Moravian community.

Dobbs Parish Graveyard. In 1759, to accommodate the mortuary needs of non-Moravians staying at Bethabara, the Moravians laid out a graveyard in the vicinity of the mill complex northwest of Bethabara (Figures 3 and 4; Photo 11). The graveyard continued in operation officially until ca. 1825, although there are later nineteenth century burials outside the graveyard precinct established by the Moravians. The graveyard is presently overgrown with native vegetation and not interpreted.

Archeological Investigations: The first archeological investigations of Bethabara occurred in 1963, when the Southern Province of the Moravian Church requested that Stanley South undertake research to determine what features remained of the Bethabara settlement pictured on the 1760 and 1766 community maps (1972:90) (See Figures 5 and 6). In December of 1963 a series of trenches was cut across various areas of the site to determine the nature and extent of the Bethabara site. It was during this work that the stone floor of Gottfried Aust's pottery shop (1755) was located (Photo 12) (South 1972:90). South also located a small oven built by Aust in April of 1756, an addition to the pottery shop built between 1763 and 1766, and the kiln waster dump where Aust dumped the vessels broken during manufacture between 1756 and 1771 (South 1972:92).

In April of 1964, Stanley South reported 13 building ruins had been located to date and his field technique was to Aclean the area so that soil discolorations indicating the position of the cellars and other features can be photographed and surveyed on the master map of the town@ [South 1964a:1].

He also noted that this work had revealed kiln sagger pins and smoking pipe fragments, indicating the location of ceramic kiln or pottery works, and partial excavation of the wooden stockade that once surrounded Bethabara (South 1964a:2, 5).

The next field report of excavations from June 1965 to November of 1965 had South reporting the excavation of a number of significant features in the Bethabara town, including: the Doctor's Laboratory (1759) stone cellar (Photo 13); the Apothecary Shop (1763) stone cellar (Photo 14); a well (1807) behind the 1788 church; a tavern stone cellar and well; two Garden Houses (1766); Wagner Cabin (1752) area -- no foundations found; Family House (1758) stone floor; 1759 Family House located; 1764 Smokehouse -- no foundations found; Joiners

Shop area -- no foundations found; and portions of the French and Indian War palisade and ditch and gate on the northwest face of the fort (See Figures 5 and 6) (South 1965:1-3).

During the next field season (1966) South oversaw the reconstruction of the wooden palisade on the northeast side of the fort and wooden bell tower. South also aided in the installation of sand and gravel floors in cellar holes, without stone lined floors, so these features could be left open for interpretation (South 1966:1). South continued working in the 1766 Garden Houses area, but no foundations were located although testing located a stone walkway around the 1788 church (South 1966:2).

The most significant excavation in 1966 took place at the Christ-Krause pottery dump-site (See Figure 7). A 5 x 40 foot trench was excavated near the potter's house which recovered numerous examples of discard kiln waster material and part of the kiln. South noted the Rudolph Christ ceramics were "now quite well known as the best pottery in America during the 18th century" (1966:3).

In all, the 1963-1966 investigations uncovered the following 27 features: the defensive palisade (1756-1763), Bell House (post-1759), *Gemeinhaus* or church (1756), Congregation Store (1759), Congregation Store addition (post-1766), Single Brothers House (1754) (Photo 15), *Vorsteher's* or Business Managers House (1758), Flour Bin (1758), Pottery Auxiliary Building (1756), Pottery Shop (1755), Pottery Shop Addition (post-1763), Sleep Hall (pre-1759), Blacksmith's House (1755), Millwright's House (1762), Tailor Shop (1756), Tailor Shop Addition (post-1766), Tavern (1756), New Tavern and Well (1775), Site of Hans Wagner Cabin (abandoned cabin found at site and used by Moravian advance party in 1753), Apothecary Shop (1763), Doctor's Laboratory (1759), 4 wells built between 1763 and 1807, a nineteenth-century woodshed, and one unidentified ruin.

Excavations in 1973 and 1974 at the Potter's House, in conjunction with its restoration, uncovered three additional features: a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century addition, a early nineteenth century addition, and pottery kiln (ca. 1800) (Fehon 1973). The Bethabara pottery kiln uncovered was the only Moravian earthenware kiln excavated in this country, and one of the few central European kilns ever investigated (Clauser 1978).

In 1985 archeological investigations were conducted northwest of the townsite of Bethabara in the area of the Mill Complex and Dobbs Parish (non-Moravian) Graveyard, under the direction of Alan N. Snavely (See Figures 4, 8 and 9; Photos 16 and 17). The Mill Complex and Dobbs Parish are reached from Bethabara by a sunken road (Photo 18). Because of the large numbers of refugees at Bethabara during the French and Indian Wars, it was deemed necessary to provide a Strangers Graveyard for non-Moravians that might die while staying in the town. Established in 1759, it was renamed Dobbs Parish Graveyard in 1769, and continued in operation until ca. 1825. It presently contains about 100 historic graves (Snavely 1985:6). The finding of post-1825 dated headstones and limited testing outside the historic boundary indicates "that graves occur beyond the 1759 and 1825 boundary (Snavely 1985:18). As for the mill complex, very limited archeological investigations uncovered rock foundations of the complex along the mill creek. No detailed investigations of this site were undertaken (Snavely 1985:36).

In 1985, 1988, and 1989, archeological investigations, under the direction of Mr. John W. Clauser, Jr., were undertaken in the Upland Garden area of the Bethabara Site for a proposed reconstruction of the Moravian gardens north of the town (Photo 19). Excavations uncovered features, such as buried pathways, plant beds, garden arbor, and fence postholes, which, combined with archival information, allowed for the identification of two garden plans. The first was a small garden laid out by the first inhabitants in 1754, followed by a larger and more formal garden in 1759. The garden was a communal effort and appears to have been closed around 1766, when a number of the inhabitants of Bethabara relocated to Salem (Clauser 1988, 1989). Many of these features have been incorporated into the present reconstruction of the gardens at Bethabara.

Integrity

With the exception of three extant historic Moravian buildings (Potter's House, Brewer's House, and *Gemeinhaus*) and two cemeteries, the first Moravian town in North Carolina, Bethabara, today exists as an archeological site. Archeological excavations have established, in conjunction with historical research, the boundaries of the eighteenth-century occupation of the area (see Figure 2 for the location of all contributing and non-contributing buildings and archeological features).

Bethabara is administered by the city of Winston-Salem and is open to the public as a historic site. An on-site visitor's center provides information and guides the visitor on tours of the site and three extant Moravian buildings, including the Bethabara Church, the Potter's House, and the Brewer's House. The first Moravian graveyard or "God's Acre" is at Bethabara in Wachovia, as well as the Dobb's Parish graveyard, in which non-Moravians were buried. The Bethabara Mill site is close by the latter cemetery, but is presently not accessible to visitors.

For interpretive purposes several stone-lined stabilized cellar holes marking the sites of original buildings at Bethabara have been opened under the close direction of archeologists. The archeologically-defined French and Indian and Cherokee War palisade of the fort has been reconstructed of vertical posts.

Contributing resources at Bethabara consist of three extant Moravian building, 39 distinct Moravian archeological features, and two historic graveyards (see list of contributing properties below - numbers are keyed to Figure 2).

Contributing Buildings - 3
1. Potter's House (1782)
2. Brewer's House (1803)
3. Gemeinhaus (1788)

Contributing cemeteries - 2 Sites
11. God's Acre (Moravian cemetery) (1757)
12. Dobbs Parish Cemetery (1759)

Contributing Archeological sites - 39 Sites
13. Palisade site (1756)
14. Bell House site (1759)
15. Site of first Gemeinhaus (1756)
16. Unidentified Ruin
17. Well site (1763)
18. Congregation Store (1759)
19. Congregation Store Addition (post-1766)
20. Brothers House (1754)
21. Vorsteher's (Business Manager's) House (1758)
22. Flour Bin (1758)
23. Pottery Auxiliary Building (1756)
24. Pottery Shop (1755)
25. Pottery Shop Addition (post-1763)
26. Sleep Hall (pre-1759)

27. Smith's House (1755)
28. Millwrights House (1762)
29. Tailor Shop (1756)
30. Tailor Shop Addition (post-1766)
31. Well (post-1766)
32. New Tavern and Well (1775)
33. Site of Hans Wagner Cabin (pre-1753)
34. Tavern (1756)
35. Well (1763)
36. Apothecary Shop (1763)
37. Well (1807)
38. Woodshed (early nineteenth century)
39. Doctor's Laboratory (1759)
40. Potter's House Site (late 18th century)
41. Potter's House Rear Addition Site (early 19th century)
42. Kiln (ca. 1800)
43. Mill Complex site (1756)
44. Mill Stockade and Refugee Cabins (1758)
45. Cow Barn site (1758)
46. Road site connecting Bethabara with Mill Complex
47. Stone Cache (18th century)
48. Community Garden Site (1753)
49. First Brewery-Distillery Site (1756)
50. Second Distillery Site (1779)
51. Tannery Site (1754)

Non-contributing resources within the boundaries are the modern visitors center, warehouse, modern building sites, and reconstructed wooden palisade, barn, and garden features (Photos 19-21) (see list of noncontributing properties below - numbers are keyed to Figure 2).

Noncontributing Buildings and Sites -

4. Pou Log House
5. Rental House site (ca. 1940) - razed in 1986
6. Rental House site (early 19th century) - razed in 1982
7. Garage site (ca. 1930) - razed in 1982
8. Warehouse (ca. 1970)
9. Visitor's Center (1988)
10. Calf Barn (moved to site in 1993)
52. Reconstructed wooden palisade
53. Reconstructed Garden area

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide:_ Locally:_

Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B_ C_ D X

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A_ B_ C_ D X E_ F_ G_

NHL Criteria: 1, 6

NHL Criteria Exclusions: 1, 5

NHL Theme(s):
I. Peopling Places
3. Migration from outside and within
II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements
2. Visual and Performing Arts
3. Religious Movements
V. Developing the American Economy
4.Exchange and Trade
XXVI. Decorative and Folk Art

Areas of Significance: Social History, Archeology (Historic--Non-Aboriginal), Religion

Period(s) of Significance: 1753-1803

Significant Dates: 1753

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: Euro-American

Architect/Builder: N/A

Historic Contexts:
II. European Colonial Exploration and Settlement
D. Other European Exploration and Settlement - Germanic

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

SUMMARY

Bethabara was the first colonial townsite established in the Carolina Piedmont. It was created on land acquired by the Moravian church from the Earl of Granville, the last Proprietor of North Carolina. The town was intended to be a temporary town from which the central Moravian town of Salem and outlying farming communities would be developed within the Moravian lands of Wachovia. However, Bethabara continued in operation as a Moravian community long after Salem was established. Bethabara was the only "House of Passage" built by the Moravians at any of their colonial settlements in the New World. The Bethabara community continued in existence to the mid-nineteenth century, beyond what was originally foreseen by the Moravian church. Archeological investigations have demonstrated the Bethabara archeological remains at the townsite are intact and this work has contributed to a significant understanding of the Moravian culture, in particular the manufacture of Moravian pottery.

Archeologist Stanley South summarizes the significance of Bethabara from his past investigations at the site in the following manner:

> From my archeological and documentary research on the Bethabara site it is my opinion that is an outstanding site in the history of the movement in the eighteenth century, of people from the North, down the old Indian trails, into the Piedmont Region of the Carolinas. The archeologically revealed ruins of the houses and shops, surrounded by the fort palisades I placed in the original archeologically excavated ditch, form an interpretative jewel, along with the standing buildings, reflecting a major movement of settlers into the Carolina Piedmont. The Bethabara site provides a major window into the past as a prelude to the town of Salem which followed. As Jamestown presages Williamsburg, so Bethabara presages and augments the story told at Old Salem, a story of national importance to our understanding of the settlement of America [personal communication 1997].

Bethabara is eligible for National Historic Landmark designation under NHL Criteria 1 and 6, for its association with the early colonial Moravian settlement of the Piedmont of North Carolina, and its contribution through historic archeological investigations to the understanding of Moravian folk art -- pottery -- and the place of this craft within Moravian culture. This property has the potential for continuing to contribute important information on the Moravians of South Carolina. NHL Criteria Exceptions 1 and 5 apply because of the inclusion of a religious property and cemeteries. These resources are included as contributing for their historical value.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Moravian Bethabara

The religious group known as the Moravians trace their origin to 1457 with the formation of the original *Unitas Fratrum* (Unity of the Brethren) in Lititz, Czechoslovakia. Although the group attracted thousands of followers, known as Brethren, to the Moravian sect, persecution of Protestant groups during the seventeenth century drove the Brethren underground. Finally, in 1722, Christian David of Moravia secured asylum in

Herrnhut, Germany, for the *Unitas Fratrum* on Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf's Saxony estate of Wachovia (Bivins 1972:255; Hartley 1987:13-14).

While the Moravians prospered in Herrnhut, the Duke of Saxony only granted them limited civil and religious rights. Therefore, it was decided to relocate to the New World, in hopes of establishing Moravian communities and undertaking missionary work amongst the Native Americans. The first settlers were sent to the then Danish West Indies in 1734, and later in 1735 to the British colony of Georgia, and were led by Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg. Although the West Indies settlements prospered, in 1740, the War of Jenkins Ear forced the Georgia Moravians to relocate to Pennsylvania, where they established the town of Bethlehem (1741). From Bethlehem they began missionary work among the Indians and expanded Moravian settlements into other areas of Pennsylvania (Hartley 1987:15-16).

In 1752 their Pennsylvania colonizing and missionary work brought them to the attention of the Earl of Granville, son of Lord Carteret, one of the original Proprietors of the colony of North Carolina. Granville offered to sell to the church a large tract in the western part of his holdings in the Piedmont area of present-day North Carolina. It was the intent of the Moravians to repeat what they had accomplished in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and establish a large and secure Moravian community that would be self-sufficient (South 1972:81).

In the fall of 1752, Bishop Spangenberg, with a representative of Granville, inspected these lands and selected a 98,825-acre tract centered on the three forks of Muddy Creek for the Moravian lands to be called Wachovia, after Count Zinzendorf's estate in Saxony (see Figure 1). In Spangenberg's report to the Herrnhut Brethren he described the land in the following manner:

> It has countless springs, numerous fine creeks; as many mills as may be desired can be built. There is much beautiful meadow land, and water can be led to other pieces which are not quite so low. There is good pasturage for cattle and the canes growing along the creeks will help out for a couple winters until the meadows are in shape. There is also much lowland which is suitable for raising corn, etc. There is plenty of upland and gently sloping land which can be used for corn, wheat, etc. [Fries 1922:59].

Upon establishing a selling price of 500 Sterling, to be paid in four years, plus an annual rent of three shillings per 100 acres, a deal was struck with Granville. Late the following year (1753), a group of Moravians left Pennsylvania and headed south along the Wagon Road through the Blue Ridge to their tract. Arriving on November 17, 1753, at a clearing at the future site of Bethabara, twelve Brethren found an abandoned cabin, which served as a temporary home and the first structure of their settlement. The Brethren comprised various professions necessary to establish a complete town, including a minister, physician, businessman, tailor, baker, carpenter, gardener, shoemaker, tanner and three farmers. Bethabara, meaning "House of

Passage," was intended to be the temporary center from which to colonize the Wachovia Tract (Glander and Wash 1991:44-45). This is the only example of a "House of Passage" settlement undertaken by the Moravians.

The next day the settlers measured off eight acres of land to clear and plant in wheat in the spring, built a bake-oven and set up a grind stone and cooper's bench, in addition to improving the cabin (Glander and Wash 1991:45). In keeping with Moravian planning these first settlers were Single Brothers (that is unmarried men) who were responsible for breaking the ground for planting and building some of the first structures to house themselves and later arrivals. According to Glander and Wash:

> The settlement of Bethabara grew by migration of "choirs." The Moravian choir system was based on age, sex and social standing. Whenever possible, the choirs lived together and shared their meals. The first choir to arrive were the Single Brothers, followed by Married Couples, with additional Single Brothers. No Older Children or Single Sisters arrived until 1766 [1991:46].

By the end of 1754, the Single Brothers had begun construction of a three-story Single Brothers House, and a tannery. They also laid the foundations for an extensive mill complex, situated about .5 km from Bethabara, which took two years to build and comprised a mill house and building, and mill dam and race.

> A [contemporary] drawing of the mill [see Figure 8] suggests that it was a half-timbered structure, three stories high, with a one-story wing. The water wheel powered not only a grist mill, but a saw mill, a bark mill and an oil mill. The bark mill produced powder for use in the tannery, and the oil mill was used to crush flax seeds into linseed oil [Glander and Wash 1991:46].

In the following year (1755), the Brethren finished the Single Brothers House, a kitchen, smith, *Gemeinhaus* or church, two roads, and two bridges (Hartley 1987). One of the roads continued the Great Wagon Road through the Wachovia Tract and connected Bethabara with the Yadkin River and the other went to Deep River, eventually connecting up with the coastal roads.

Moravian settlements were designed to be self-sufficient, and contacts with "strangers," or non-Moravians were usually limited to economic contacts. In 1755 it was noted over 400 strangers had visited Bethabara to have their grain processed in the Moravian mill and to acquire Moravian made goods (Hartley 1987:23).

By 1756, Bethabara assumed additional importance as a fortified frontier town during the French and Indian War. To protect themselves from Indian attack during the French and Indian War, the Moravians in 1756 built a palisade around the town, which then consisted of twelve buildings. Although pacifists by religious teaching, the Brethren elected to assist the non-Moravians of the North Carolina frontier by offering the safety of Bethabara to all who wished to locate to the town. Throughout 1756 and 1757 many refugees built cabins within the stockade of Bethabara.

The Cherokee Nation, at the urging of the governors of Virginia and South Carolina, had attacked the Shawnee on the Ohio, who were allied with the French, but the Cherokee were defeated.

On their way to fight the Shawnee, the Cherokee and their British officers often passed through Bethabara to be resupplied at the Moravian mill. After their defeat, however, the Cherokees, in their retreat to the Cherokee Nation, often attacked isolated farms for supplies. The frightened settlers fled to the protection of the Bethabara fort. Switching their alliance, roving bands of Cherokees attacked English frontier settlements with their new French allies, in what came to be called the Cherokee War (1758-1760) (Hartley 1987:25).

When the Shawnees attacked within 100 miles of Bethabara as the Cherokee War reached a crescendo in 1758, the Moravians erected another stockade around the mill and built refugee cabins there. Several times Indians appeared at Bethabara, but left peacefully after being fed by the Moravians (Hartley 1987:29-30). In 1760 the Cherokees turning upon their former British allies attacked the Yadkin and Town Fork settlements. The campfires of the attacking Cherokees were seen near the Moravian settlement and refugees were attacked near the Bethabara fort. This activity increased the numbers of strangers at Bethabara to between 250 and 300 (Glander and Wash 1991:47-48).

Eventually, in early 1760, British Regulars and South Carolina militia marched into the Lower and Middle Cherokee settlements destroying towns, granaries, orchards, and cornfields, until the Indians sued for peace. During the French and Indian War, Bethabara was the major town and fortification on the North Carolina frontier (Hartley 1987:34-35). Archival evidence indicates the Moravians pulled down the stockade in 1762 (Willis and Marshall 1987:61).

During the last half of the 1750s, Bethabara grew to contain some 16 structures, including a tavern, pottery, tailor's house, *Vorsteher's* (Business Manager's) house, and a store which sold Moravian produce and goods to strangers. By 1759, the Moravians were sending wagon loads of goods monthly to coastal North Carolina settlements to trade (Glander and Wash 1991:48).

Bethabara was never intended to be the central town of Wachovia. Still, in 1765, when the towns people learned they were to move to Salem, they expressed reluctance to exchange their established "House of Passage" for a new town site. Hearing of their discontent,

> The Governing Board of *Unitas Fratrum* in Saxony consulted the Lot, a Moravian means of seeking Divine guidance. The resulting answer was, "We are to tell our Brethren in America that the Savior wills that Salem shall be the town in Wachovia for trade and the professions, and they shall be moved thither from Bethabara" [Hartley 1987:42].

Construction of Salem began in 1766 and took a few years to gain a population larger than Bethabara. By 1772, when Salem was formally occupied, its population had "increased from 57 people to 120, while the population of Bethabara dropped from 104 to 54," as the transition of residents took place. Nevertheless, even the Directors of the Moravian church could see a future role for Bethabara when they wrote,

> Bethabara remains the farm, where agriculture, farming, and brewing can be carried on. It also could become a little village which could be left to those brothers and sisters who would rather carry on brewing and farming and do not understand any profession [Willis and Jackson 1985:80].

After the movement of most professionals and tradesmen to Salem enough people remained in Bethabara to require new buildings, such as a tavern (1775), a distillery (1777), a potter's house (1782), a brewer's house (1803), and in 1788 a new stone church. This latter structure served the rural Moravian population in the neighborhood of Bethabara throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and is still used for ceremonial functions (Hartley 1987:43; Willis and Marshall 1985:82).

Certain industries at Bethabara, such as the mill, also continued to serve a major function beyond 1772. The saw mill was used to cut timbers and boards to construct buildings at Salem. Because the resident population continued to hold out moving to Salem they were told that the new lumber could not be used to construct buildings at the "House of Passage" (Willis and Marshall 1987:62). To circumvent this rule the Brethren at Bethabara took to dismantling the old cabins built by refugees during the Indian Wars for new buildings.

The mill complex with its various grist and saw mills was a valuable asset of the Moravians. Several times during the latter part of the eighteenth century it was renovated, until at last it was sold in 1814 to Casper Stolz, a non-Moravian (Willis and Marshall 1987:63-64). The mill continued in operation at least until the 1860s (Willis and Marshall 1987:68).

In the summer of 1771, war came again to Bethabara as the Regulator Movement challenged Governor Tryon's authority. Eventually, Tryon marched 3,000 men to central North Carolina and destroyed the Regulators at the Battle of Alamance on May 16, 1771. Tryon encamped his army at Bethabara in June of 1771 before returning to his capital of New Bern (Willis and Marshall 1987:63).

Although the Moravians had sheltered non-Moravian refugees from Indian attacks at Bethabara, their refusal to bear arms during the Revolution angered many. They did, however, provide medical care to American wounded as when the entire village was turned into a hospital and supply house for General Greene's troops following the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

During the American Revolution Bethabara, being situated along important Piedmont roadways, was still a strategic site and a valuable source of provisions for military units, American and British.

> On August 30, 1780, following defeat at the Battle of Camden, a force of patriots under Colonel Armstrong marched through Bethabara and took three oxen from the stables, raided the orchard, and confiscated about twenty bushels of corn meal and five bushels of wheat from the mill. On October 31, about 500 Tories under a neighbor, Gideon Wright, passed the mill, probably on the run, because only ten days later a larger army of patriots arrived with over 200 Tory prisoners captured at the victory at King's Mountain. The army settled down in the Bethabara community for all of nineteen days and lived on provisions they "required" from the Moravians [Willis and Marshall 1987:64-65].

In the following year, Bethabara was visited on February 6, 1781, by General Pickens and his American troops who requisitioned "twenty wagon-loads of corn, hay, bread, and brandy" (Willis and Jackson 1987:66). Three days later, an advance column of Cornwallis' army, which was encamped at the nearby Moravian town of Bethania, arrived, following on the 10th by the entire 7,000-man army. The English commissary took "100 gallons of brandy, over 300 pounds of meat" for the English movement into Virginia. As the English left, American troops came into Bethabara and took the rest of the grain and bread and five horses (Willis and Marshall 1987:66).

By 1801 the shared economy or "Oeconomy" of the Bethabara community was discontinued and the communal property over the next fifty years was gradually sold off or rented to individual farmers as the log buildings in the village were taken down or burned. With the exception of the 1788 Moravian stone church, the Brewer's House, the Potter's House, and two log buildings, the old village was buried under fields of tobacco and corn (Willis and Marshall 1987:69).

Bethabara was the original focus of the southern migration of Moravians from Pennsylvania, but it was never intended by the Moravians to be a permanent settlement, but rather a temporary center from which to establish other towns within the Wachovia tract. In the latter part of the eighteenth century residents from Bethabara relocated to Bethania, the main farming community (1759); Salem, the main town of Wachovia (1764); and three small agricultural towns: Friedberg (1771), Friedland (1771), and Hope (1772). Still, Moravians and non-Moravians would remain in diminished numbers at Bethabara until the mid-nineteenth century, and the church would serve the rural Moravians into the early twentieth century. Although other Moravian settlements are

found in Pennsylvania and the United States Virgin Islands, Bethabara is the only example of a House of Passage settlement built by the Moravian church.

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

> Until 1772 the internal and external economics of Wachovia were directed by the principles of "Oeconomy," a mixed economy of agriculture and crafts. The term meant a semi-communal organization, a pooling of the Brethren's labor rather than their fortunes. This arrangement was not intended to be permanent, but was to set Wachovia on a good economic footing in the early years. This was to be done by meeting the internal needs of the Moravian community, providing goods and services for trade with neighbors, and producing commodities for export.
>
> This pooling of resources with support from the broader Moravian community in America and Europe allowed rapid and atypical establishment of the settlement on the frontier of North Carolina. Bethania, for example, came into being as a full-blown town, complete with families, without passing through the usual patterns of frontier town establishment. This pattern of initial occupation by single men had been accomplished at Bethabara. None of the Moravian towns which were to follow in the Tract had to repeat it [Hartley 1987:38-39].

Moravian Folk Art - Pottery

The Moravian settlers of colonial America were just one of many groups of Germanic settlers. What separated the Moravians from their contemporaries was that

> Moravian settlements tended to be considerably more cohesive than other German groups, since the Moravians had brought with them from Europe the concept of a *Gemein Ort*, or congregation town, wherein the citizens, all members of the Unity of Brethren, were sheltered under the gentle but firm umbrella of the various governing boards of the church itself. The church was the town, for it owned all the property, leasing the land only to members of the congregation. Its boards administered both the material and spiritual affairs of the town, and saw to it that the basic *Gemeinschaft* ideology of the community remained unbroken by intrusions of the *Fremden*, or strangers--the outside world, in short. Yet the Moravian *Gemein Ort* was a paradox in its very makeup. The major congregation towns built by the Moravians in North America were intended as manufacturing centers, not agrarian communities. A broad base of crafts was intended to stimulate intensive trade with the English communities, trade which in turn would provide the funds to support Moravian missions on the frontier ... Ultimately, it was the Moravians' highly successful trade with outsiders that led to the general breakup of the social isolationism of the congregation towns during the early nineteenth century [Bivins 1972:255].

The settlement of Bethabara was initially founded by a "nucleus of craftsmen who set standards of excellence that would make them admired and envied throughout the Carolina frontier" (South 1967:33). Again, it was the Moravian emphasis on building manufacturing centers that set them apart from other European colonists in America.

> In the settlement of new towns on the frontier, which were intended to be self-supporting through trades, the Moravians were faced with the problem of finding a sufficient number of master craftsmen, and directing the men to areas where they were most needed. Bethlehem [Pennsylvania] became in effect a huge clearinghouse for craftsmen destined to serve frontier congregations. Each congregation requested the number and type of craftsmen needed in the community. Potters, quite naturally, were always high on the list of tradesmen needed. In North Carolina the trade was considered so important that the church

> designated the pottery a congregational business owned by the church rather than the pottery master [Bivins 1972:256].

Probably the most significant folk art made by the Moravians of North Carolina, and first produced at Bethabara, was the outstanding pottery wares of Gottfried Aust and his apprentices (see Figures 10 to 13). Even during his own time at Bethabara, Aust's pottery was a major source of revenue for the Moravians and in great demand by the colonists. Sales of Aust's pottery brought large crowds to Bethabara, as was noted in an account of May 21, 1770:

> There was an unusual concourse of visitors, some coming sixty or eighty miles to buy milk crocks and pans in our pottery [Photo 22]. They bought the entire stock, not one piece was left; many could only get half they wanted and others, who came too late, could find none. They were promised more next week [South 1967:33].

In 1963, as part of the archeological research at Bethabara, excavations were carried out at Aust's pottery shop and his waster dump used between 1756 and 1771:

> As excavation progressed the stone foundation of the shop was revealed, along with two clay wedging platforms with stone floors on which potter's clay was still lying. From the waster dumps over four thousand fragments of pottery as well as kiln furniture such as trivets, saggers, sagger pins and the spout from a slip cup were found. These undisturbed pottery deposits have revealed over thirty-five ceramic forms being made by Gottfried Aust between 1755 and 1771 [South 1967:33].

Gottfried Aust was born in Heidersdorf, Silesia, in 1722. He had been apprenticed to a Moravian potter, Andreas Dober, in Herrnhut, Germany. By 1754, he was already a master potter when he moved on to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Aust arrived at Bethabara on November 4, 1755, along with the first choir of married couples. Aust was able to locate

> ... a good supply of plastic gray clay only fifty yards from the Brothers House, in the low damp ground beside Manakes [Monarcas] Creek flowing through the valley. With the source of good clay so near the Brothers House, Aust decided that here, on the high point of ground extending like an arm into the lowland of the valley, he would build his pottery shop [South 1972:82-83].

Shortly thereafter, Aust found a source of flint, which was ground to a fine powder in the Moravian's grist mill, to make the covering glaze for his pottery. By December of 1755, Aust began making clay tobacco pipes, from molds he had brought with him from Pennsylvania (Photo 23). Later he made vessels on a potter's wheel for the kitchen, living room, and bed chamber, continuing until February of 1756, when a small brick pottery kiln was ready. By April Aust's tobacco pipes were being given to the Cherokees, and by June a large enough kiln was constructed to fire and glaze large amounts of earthenware (South 1972:83-84).

Starting at the end of 1756, Aust was producing numerous kinds of ceramic wares, roof tiles, and stove tiles from firing of wares every three months for the next fifteen years. According to South,

> The various industries at Bethabara were all part of the Oeconomie, which was operated by a business manager, and all those people belonging to the Oeconomie contributed their skills to its support. In turn, they were supplied with food prepared in the community kitchen and served in the community dining hall, and sheltered in sturdy buildings constructed by the members of the Oeconomie. Without a doubt, the Aust pottery shop at Bethabara was one of the most financially successful enterprises carried out in

> the community, and Aust became one of the most important members contributing to the success of the Oeconomie [South 1972:86].

Strangers, non-Moravians, came to Bethabara in wagons bringing wheat, lead, and other goods to exchange for pottery (South 1972:87). By 1766, the frontier was expanding and so was the demand for Moravian goods.

> Aust's wares were evidently well known in the outlying settlements: "June 15th people gathered from 50 to 60 miles away to buy pottery, but many came in vain, as the supply was exhausted by noon. We greatly regretted not being able to supply their needs." Aust took advantage of the great need by selling to merchants southwest and west of Wachovia, who transported wagonloads of the pottery to Salisbury, North Carolina; Camden, South Carolina; the Waxhaw settlements in South Carolina; and the Watauga settlement in what is now Tennessee [Bivins 1972:257].

Aust expanded his pottery shop and brought in three apprentices, including one Rudolph Christ (South 1972:88). Like Aust, Christ came to Wachovia from Bethlehem in 1764 along with a number of other boys who were to be bound out in the trades and was apprenticed to Aust some time in 1766. Christ's apprenticeship was a stormy one, and repeated conflicts with Aust caused concern among the members of the *Aufseher Collegium*, the board responsible for the operation of the pottery. At one time Aust branded Christ a "silly ass, like many other children of this community" [Bivins 1972:257, 259].

With the founding of Salem in 1766 to be the main town of Wachovia, Bethabara entered a transition phase as shops and industries were transferred to the new central town. In June of 1771, Aust moved his pottery shop and apprentices to Salem (South 1972:89).

Aust had apprenticed under a Moravian potter named Dober in Herrnhut, Germany, beginning in 1743, and from him learned the art of producing the wheel-thrown forms of pottery in the German ceramic tradition. The next potter at Bethabara, Rudolph Christ introduced the techniques of the English ceramic tradition.

Originally trained by Aust in the German tradition, Christ was to become a master potter in his own right, producing "fine Pottery" in the Leeds [England] tradition, as well as tin-ash-glazed "fayanz" [faience], and a wide variety of mold-made plates, bottles and tiles[South 1972:137].

Just before Aust went to Salem in June of 1771, he and Christ were hosts at Bethabara to a traveling potter

> … who had been the superintendent of the "China Manufactory and Pottery" established by John Bartlam in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1770. This factory had failed, and the superintendent offered to teach Aust how to make "Queensware" and "Tortoise-shell" ware and to provide him with the formulas in exchange for clothing and lodging. When the waster dump from Aust's pottery shop in Bethabara was excavated in 1964, a cream-colored ware similar to [Queensware] creamware was found in the top layer of the deposit. This is Aust's 1771 creamware, thought to be the result of the instructions left by this superintendent of the Bartlam factory [South 1972:139-140].

When Aust and Christ relocated to Salem in 1771, another Bartlam employee, William Ellis, joined them and together they turned out Queensware and Tortoise-shell ware in imitation of the popular wares produced by Josiah Wedgwood in Staffordshire, England, and stoneware in a specially made kiln (South 1972:141) (Photo 24). Thus, the Moravian potters carried out the ambitions of

> … John Bartlam in Charleston, South Carolina, who had proudly, if prematurely, announced to the public that he had opened his "Pottery and China Manufactory in Old Church Street," where he made "what is called Queensware, equal to any imported." Bartlam's attempt to compete with imported wares, however,

> was short-lived. Somewhat later, none other than Josiah Wedgwood attributed this failure to the environment, noting that the "change of climate and manner of living, accompanied perhaps with a certain disorder of mind ... carried [the pottery workers] off so fast, that recruits could not be raised from England sufficient to supply the places of the dead men." This shrewd statement was meant by Wedgwood to discourage any of his own people from leaving his employ for America [Bivins 1972:275, 278].

These new kinds of wares, Queensware and Tortoise-shell ware, had been introduced in England by Josiah Wedgwood and had become two of the most sought after ceramic wares in England and her colonies. Now the Moravians were producing large numbers of these wares for sale throughout the Carolinas. Unfortunately, the working relationship between Aust, who produced in the German style, and Christ, who preferred the English wares, led to a break up in Salem resulting in Christ's returning to Bethabara in 1786, because their "two temperaments are too different to get along with each other" (South 1972:148).

> After repeated applications to the Collegium, Christ was permitted in 1786 to move to Bethabara, where he set up his own pottery in the former blacksmith shop. Christ remained in Bethabara until early 1789, when he elected to return to Salem to take over as master of the Salem pottery. Aust had gone to Pennsylvania several months earlier to be cured of a cancer on his face, and had died in Lititz [Pennsylvania] [Bivins 1972:259].

Archeological evidence that Christ made "fine earthenwares" in Bethabara for two years, before returning to Salem in early 1789 after Aust passed away, were uncovered in South's excavations at Bethabara. In 1965, South located Christ's waster kiln dump which produced "tortoise-shell" ware marked with "Rud. Christ" and "R.C." incised on the back (South 1972:149, 152).

This was not the end of Moravian pottery making at Bethabara;

> Gottlob Krause took over the Bethabara pottery shop after Christ moved to Salem in 1789, and probably operated it on the same site until 1796, at which time his neighbors gathered to help him build a new shed, which was likely at the site of his new house and shop which is still standing [South 1972:154-155].

Krause continued to produce pottery at Bethabara until about 1820, in the German tradition of milk pots, milk pans, and other utilitarian items as taught to him by Aust (South 1972:164).

Aust and his apprentices produced all manner of beakers, candlesticks, jugs, lids, braziers, funnels, for use in the kitchens, living and dining rooms, and bed chambers of the colonial frontier of North Carolina. According to Stanley South (1972), archeologist in charge of the earliest excavations at Bethabara, Aust was more than a simple potter -- he was a first rate craftsman whose skill was able to meet the needs of a growing frontier environment. South notes that

> The frontier of North Carolina in 1756 was hungry for pottery wares of many types, and since the need could not be met by the silversmiths, pewterers, tinsmiths, and other craftsmen who may or may not have been in the area, Aust was called upon to produce the needed objects. In this respect, Aust may have been in a situation that was almost unique for colonial American potters. Nevertheless, the point remains that when called upon to produce these needed wares, he had the ability to provide them in a most creative and competent form, not as crude, poorly made, primitive ware, but in thin, skillfully thrown, well proportioned, delicate forms also being used by other artisans of the age ... Aust, who we now know through archaeology [was] a true master of the potter's wheel [South 1972:134,136].

John F. Bivins, in his article "Moravian Potters in North Carolina", saw the ability of the Bethabara potters to produce both fine earthenwares and utilitarian wares as a tribute to the Moravian craftsmen and the Moravian system.

> That earthenware pottery of such sophistication, both decorated and utilitarian, could be produced on the Carolina frontier at an early date should not be considered a mystery. The Moravians were a pragmatic sect; they set out to erect craft-oriented communities on the frontier, where virtually no trades existed, and they gave little thought to the odds against success. They sought the best craftsmen available within their Unity of Brethren, and these men set to work in the new towns with the full knowledge that the integrity of their work would be in part a measure of the success of the Gemein Ort as a whole. Certainly, the work of both Gottfried Aust and his apprentice, Rudolf Christ, amply illustrates the Moravian ideal of Craftsmen "responsible to God and man," who took the fullest advantage of the skills of their hands and minds [Bivins 1972:288-289].

According to Stanley South, the excavations he conducted at the Aust/Christ waster dump, and the work John Clauser conducted at the Krause kiln site (next to the Potter's House), both in Bethabara, are the two major sources of information about Moravian pottery made by the three master potters Gottfried Aust, Rudolph Christ, and Gottlob Krause. The other kiln and dump sites believed to exist in Old Salem have not yet been investigated (S. South, personal communication 1997).

It had been assumed that Moravian pottery remains from Bethabara would reflect a conservative middle European tradition of large thick-walled utilitarian wares used mainly in the processing of farm products. However, Moravian pottery found in the excavations conducted at Bethabara would change this viewpoint. For the first time, it became clear that Aust and Christ were capable of more than simple functional wares. The study of archeological remains from the work at Bethabara demonstrated these potters were producing fine tablewares in the latest styles of the late eighteenth century for use on the Carolina colonial frontier (S. South, personal communication 1997).

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1972 Discovery in Wachovia. Manuscript on file with North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh, North Carolina.

1997 Letter to Cecil N. McKithan, Chief, National Register Programs Division. On file at the Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia. September 30.

Southern, Michael and Jim Sumner

1978 Bethabara Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Copy on file Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

Wells, John B., III

1971 Bethabara Moravian Church, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Copy on file Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.

Willis, Raymond F., and R. Jackson Marshall III
1985 Archeological and Archival Studies at Historic Bethabara Park -- Proposed Visitor Center Site, Forsyth County. Manuscript on file with North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh, North Carolina.

1987 Archeological Survey of the Proposed Historic Bethabara By-Pass Corridor, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina. Manuscript on file with North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register.
Bethabara Moravian Church - September 28, 1971
Bethabara Historic District - November 15, 1978
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
_X_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey:
Bethabara Moravian Church (Gemeinhaus) - 1971 (NC-12-C-4)
Bethabara Parsonage (Brewer's House) - 1971 (NC-193)
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
_X_ Local Government
__ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository):

Historic Bethabara Park
2147 Bethabara Road
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27106

Board of Provincial Elders of the
Southern Province of the Moravian Church
500 South Church Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27108

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 73 Acres

UTM References:

	Zone	Northing	Easting
A	17	4001390	561920
B	17	4001440	562900
C	17	4001360	563150
D	17	4001240	563250
E	17	4001070	563350
F	17	4000860	563220
G	17	4000920	563000
H	17	4001300	562800
I	17	4001300	562740
J	17	4001130	562620
K	17	4001120	562110
L	17	4001300	561920

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundaries of the Bethabara National Historic Landmark comprise two adjoining parcels. The first parcel, approximately 36 acres, is the current National Register Historic District. The second parcel adjoins the first on its western boundary, and comprises some 39 acres. The two parcels are bounded as follows:

1) Existing National Register Boundary

Beginning at the point where the northernmost corner of the lot designated as Lot 2, Block 3459, Forsyth County Tax Books, intersects the southern boundary of said railroad right-of-way in a southeasterly direction a distance of 894 feet, more or less, to the easternmost corner of Lot 5 of said Block 3459, thence in a southwesterly direction along the southeastern boundary of said Lot 5 a distance of 300 feet, more or less, across and to the southern boundary of the right-of-way of Bethabara Road, thence in a southeasterly direction along boundary of said right-of-way a distance of 675 feet, more or less, to the easternmost corner of Lot 27D, said Block 3459, thence in a southwesterly direction a distance of 580 feet, more or less, to the southernmost corner of said Lot 27D, thence in a northwesterly direction a distance of 945.7 feet, more or less, to the westernmost corner of said Lot 27D, thence in a westerly direction a distance of 100 feet, more or less, to the southeast corner of the cemetery lot called God's Acre, thence in a westerly direction a distance of 190 feet, more or less, to the southwest corner of said cemetery lot, thence in a northwesterly direction a distance of 300 feet, more or less, to a point on the western boundary of Lot 27Q of said Block 3459 that is 200 feet from the northernmost corner of said Lot 27Q, thence in a northerly direction a distance of 200 feet to the northernmost corner of said Lot 27Q, thence in a northeasterly direction a distance of 13.7 feet, more or less, to the easternmost corner of Lot 30, said Block 3459, thence in a northwesterly direction along the southwestern boundary of said Lot 30 a distance of 365.8 feet, more or less, to a point, thence a distance of 209.4 feet, more or less, to the westernmost corner of Lot 14 of said Block 3459, thence in a northeasterly direction a distance of 260 feet, more or less, to the northernmost

corner of said Lot 14, thence in a southeasterly direction along the northeastern boundary of said lot 14 a distance of 950 feet, more or less, to a point, thence in a northeasterly direction across Bethabara Road and along the northwest boundary of Lot 2 of said Block 3459, a distance of 355 feet, more or less, back to the beginning.

2) Additional area for National Historic Landmark Boundary

Starting at a point on the original district boundary along Bethabara Road 300 feet west of the intersection of Bethania Station Road sight north 215 feet along the east edge of Block 3457 Lot 17B. At the northeast apex of this lot turn 60 degrees west and sight 220 feet +/- to the north bank of Mill Creek. Follow the north bank of Mill Creek 400 feet +/- downstream to the Old Bethabara Road crossing. Follow the north edge of the private road west of Bethabara Road for a distance of 700 feet +/- to the southeastern corner of Block 3460 Lot 21B. Follow the southern bound of that lot 420 feet +/- and turn 90 degrees north and sight 150 feet +/- to the south edge of Bethabara Park Blvd. Follow the edge of the right-of-way west 1540 feet +/- to the western bank of an unnamed tributary to Mill Creek. Follow the west bank of this tributary south 320 feet +/- to the south bank of Mill Creek. Follow the south bank of the creek 150 feet +/- upstream and turn 90 degrees south. Sight 500 feet +/- and turn east 90 degrees. Sigh east 100 feet +/- to the west edge of Midkiff Road. Turn north and follow this edge of the road, extending the line until it runs into the south bank of Mill Creek, 600 feet +/-. Follow the south bank of Mill Creek until its confluence with the Manorchas Creek, then follow the south bank of the Manorchas Creek until it meets the corner of the original Boundary at Oldtown Drive, 2780 feet +/-. The boundary of the nominated property is delineated by an irregular polygon whose vertices are marked by the above noted UTM reference points.

Boundary Justification:

The district making up the Bethabara nominated property contains archeological features, historic buildings, and historic graveyards constituting the known extent of the historic eighteenth and nineteenth century Moravian occupation of Bethabara. This boundary has been developed on the basis of subsurface testing and excavation, surface observation, and historical documents.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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