

# Communal Bonds: Contact Between the Amana Society and Other Communal Groups, 1843 – 1932

PETER HOEHNLE

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\* This article was the 1999 winner of the Communal Studies Association Starting Scholar Award and was presented, in a different rendition, at the September, 1999 annual meeting of the CSA, at St. George, Utah.

One largely ignored aspect of communitarian existence in America, which provides a broader view of the entire communal experience, is the variety of connections that were established between different societies. Such bonds, whether economic, religious, or social, produced varying degrees of impact upon the groups involved. This paper focuses on the contacts established between the Inspirationist Amana Society of Iowa (and its predecessor, the Ebenezer Society of New York) and other communitarians. These contacts were often along economic lines, although extended interactions tended to focus on intellectual concerns.

Aside from passing mention in longer studies of specific communal societies, only a handful of publications focus on the extensive interrelations among communal groups in North America. Among these are Kathleen Fernandez' work on the Zoar Society and Otohiko Okugawa's theoretical framework of communal relationships.<sup>1</sup> The present study illustrates some of the types of inter-communal relationships identified by Okugawa, as well as suggesting a few new ones.

Okugawa identifies two major forms of inter-communal contact; relationships established between groups who gave mutual assistance to each other (usually in the form of money or goods) and patterns of migration of individual members between communal societies. A third form of contact -- one that Okugawa does not address -- is that of

intellectual exchange. The Community of True Inspiration, for example, in their two American settlements, engaged in all three of these forms of contact. Through analysis of the Inspirationists, this study suggests that there were many instances of significant contact between a variety of communal groups; that such groups, far from completely withdrawing from the world (as often supposed), freely engaged in contact with like-minded societies.

The present work is based upon research in previously unidentified records and describes specific instances of contact between the Inspirationists and other communal societies.

For example, in the case of Inspirationist contact with the United Society of Shakers (the longest lived and best known American communal group) this study suggests a lengthy dialogue based upon theological similarities as well as differences. This caused the Inspirationists to engage in extensive reflection with regard to the rationale for their distinctive beliefs and practices. Furthermore, contact with the Society of Separatists of Zoar, Ohio (which preceded the founding of the first Inspirationist settlement in the United States), helped solidify Inspirationist leader, Christian Metz' resolve to adopt a communal social and economic arrangement for his own group. The conversion of a leading Zoarite to the Inspirationists further encouraged a nascent communalist form of Inspirationism that was institutionalized at Ebenezer and Amana.

The economic ties between the Inspirationists and such groups as the communal Harmony Society and the French Icarians point additionally to the existence of a network of trade and mutual aid. While this network did not represent massive sales of goods and materials, it is significant that it existed at all. These examples suggest that, rather than existing as completely isolated entities, communitarian groups dealt with one another on various levels.

The roots of the Society of Inspirationists lay within the pietist movement that gripped Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Dissatisfied with what they perceived as the dogmatism of the established Lutheran faith, pietists left the church and met separately as small organized sects. Frequently pietistic groups took on a mystical character; a belief in divine revelation given to specially gifted individuals was not uncommon. The pietistic group that later founded the Amana Society came into existence in 1714, in Germany, holding as its central tenet that God could communicate his will to the modern world through certain inspired individuals or "*Werkzeuge*." Several *Werkzeuge* emerged in the sect's history, although it lacked such a divine instrument from 1749-1817. Scribes recorded the utterances of the *Werkzeuge*, which were regarded as divinely inspired messages from on high, but not of equal importance to the Holy Scripture. American novelist Henry James aptly referred to

“inspiration” as the “*cheval de bataille*” (the battle horse) of the sect.<sup>2</sup>

The Community of True Inspiration held to fairly standard Pietist beliefs, such as pacifism, spiritual baptism (without water), respect for civil authority as divinely ordained, and celibacy as the holiest state. Their unorthodox message attracted many followers. Among them, for a time, was Johann Conrad Beissel, the German mystic who later immigrated to America and founded Ephrata, a monastic communitarian society in Pennsylvania that endured for several decades.

The Inspirationists also came into contact and almost merged with the Moravian Church, led by Count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf. For a few years, Zinzendorf and his followers even shared space with Inspirationists in a castle that served as a refuge for radical religious groups. A clash of personalities among the leaders, however, severed the ties. A body of Moravians, under Zinzendorf’s direction, later emigrated to the United States and formed a communitarian society at Salem, North Carolina, which endured for several years. But the Inspirationists had little or no contact with them.<sup>3</sup>

The Inspirationists’ unorthodox religious views on baptism, pacifism and divine inspiration caused them to come into frequent conflict with the authorities in Germany. After decades of religious persecution the group, under the leadership of *Werkzeug*, Christian Metz, decided to immigrate to America. Metz, along with three companions, went to look for land in the United States. Within months of their October 1842, arrival in New York, they had selected a tract near Buffalo, on former Seneca Indian reservation land. However, difficulties with the Ogden Land Company emerged and at a point when the purchase appeared to be floundering, Metz and one of his companions, Gottlieb Ackermann, left for the state of Ohio. Metz’ stated reason for this trip was to visit Conrad Rensch, a resident of Galion, Ohio, and a friend of Conrad Baier, a religious associate of Metz, in Germany. Rensch had written to Metz during the winter of 1842-1843 inviting him to visit and suggesting that he might wish to purchase land in the area.

Galion was a small farming settlement in north central Ohio which had been platted in 1831, barely eleven years before Metz’ visit, and had reached a population of only two-hundred by 1840.<sup>4</sup> At Galion, Metz was elated to discover a small body of sixty to seventy Germans, including Rensch, who had left the Methodist church two weeks before Metz’ arrival and were meeting as a separate sect.<sup>5</sup> The new separatists were pleased that Metz, a pietistic leader in Germany already known to Rensch and others by reputation, had come to see them. They suggested that land, and possibly the town of Galion itself, might be available for purchase should Metz and his followers wish to settle in the area. Metz may have openly expressed the wish that at least some of his co-religionists, if not the entire group would settle in Galion.<sup>6</sup>

After a month in the Galion area, during which he presented nine inspired testimonies, Metz left the community to return to Buffalo. On the way back, however, Metz and Ackermann detoured in order to visit the separatist community of Zoar, only a few miles south of Canton, Ohio. Presumably, their new friends at Galion had informed them of this small communitarian sect, which had first settled in the Tuscarawaras Valley in 1817.

Metz' visit to Zoar was his first real contact with an established American communal society. Zoar was founded in 1817 by a group of separatists from southern Germany under the leadership of Joseph Baumler.<sup>7</sup> Their history was remarkably similar to that of the Inspirationists. Both groups were ethnically German, had suffered civil and religious persecution and shared fundamental tenets. These similarities would suggest that close ties could be effectively established between the two groups. The primary difference between them was in their different views of "inspiration." While an early leader of the Zoar Separatists had been declared "Inspired," and the current leader, Joseph Baumler, was said to possess a similar gift, the Zoarites did not place the emphasis on revelation that the Inspirationists did. This difference in emphasis was to have a profound impact upon relations between the two groups.<sup>8</sup>

Metz and Ackermann arrived at Zoar on 19 April 1843 and stayed at least until 22 April. During this time they observed the community and visited with its leaders, including Joseph Baumler. But Metz was disheartened with his visit to Zoar. Unlike the separatists of Galion, the Zoarites had, in Metz' view, lost a great deal of religious enthusiasm. Baumler, who Metz felt was not fulfilling his spiritual duties as Society leader, particularly disturbed the Inspirationist leader. Metz was equally harsh concerning the religious service he attended while at Zoar, writing, "[o]n Sunday we went to their meeting, but found no inner life, and heard merely the outward sound of the music which accompanies their singing, and a verbose and spirit-poor sermon from [Baumler]."<sup>9</sup>

On 22 April Metz presented a testimony in Baumler's apartment in the substantial "Number One" house along Zoar's main street. His testimony chastised the Zoarites and their leader for their lack of religious enthusiasm. The Zoarites, however, were not impressed with Metz' performance or his message. Some forty years later, when interviewed by William Hinds, then in the process of writing a book on American communal societies, elderly members of the group recalled Metz' contortions and mode of speaking unfavorably. Metz seems to have been aware that he had failed to make a positive impression at Zoar; while returning to Buffalo, he reiterated his disdain for the spiritual condition of Zoar and its leader in a letter to Baumler.<sup>10</sup> Curiously, following Baumler's death ten years later, the Society's religious services devolved into gatherings where Baumler's old

sermons were read over and over again. This indeed suggests a lack of religious enthusiasm, as the sermons were read without additional comments, to a steadily dwindling congregation of aging members.<sup>11</sup>

But Metz' impressions of Zoar were not altogether negative. Already at the time of his visit, Metz was strongly thinking of organizing his co-religionists into a communal society once they had all arrived in America. At Zoar Metz was able to observe a communal society in action for the first time. Although he found Zoar lacking in its spirituality, he did not allow that fact to dissuade him from promoting communalism as a viable system once he returned to Buffalo.

Despite the generally poor reception to Metz from the Zoar leadership, one member of the Zoar Society was impressed with Metz and his comments. Carl Ludwig Mayer, then age 39, served as a traveling business agent for Zoar. Originally from Calw, Wurtemberg, Mayer had spent time in South America as an agent under the employ of a firm in Philadelphia before becoming involved with the Zoar Society in 1838.<sup>12</sup> On arrival, Mayer invited Metz to visit him in his private rooms and told him that he was unhappy with Baumler and that he found himself religiously drawn to the Inspirationist doctrine. Upon the departure of Metz and Ackermann, Mayer traveled with them for some time and as Metz noted, "parted from us with heartfelt love, in the hope that he might see us again soon."<sup>13</sup>

Metz returned to Buffalo on 28 April 1843 and discovered that the immediate problems with the land purchase had been resolved and that a party of Inspirationist immigrants had already arrived from Germany. This group moved to the land purchased by Metz and named it "Ebenezer," a biblical term meaning "hitherto the Lord hath helped us."<sup>14</sup> Prior to leaving for America, Metz and his fellow elders had formulated a plan whereby the funds of the community would be held in common for a period of time following immigration. This was to enable all the members of the sect to come to America, including those who might otherwise be unable to afford the cost. The money and land was then to be redistributed after the Inspirationists had become established.

Settlement of Ebenezer progressed rapidly as more members arrived from Germany. On 28 August 1844 Carl Mayer also arrived in Ebenezer, after having informed Metz through a letter that he was leaving Zoar. Mayer vowed to use his abilities as a business agent for the communal good and noted that "[the Lord] is leading me from Zoar and calling me to Ebenezer -- so it shall truly mean, 'Hitherto the Lord hath helped' for me as well."<sup>15</sup> Mayer's arrival was a boon for the community. Metz believed that "[i]t was the hand of God which led this man to the society at a time when such support was indispensable."<sup>16</sup> Metz may have felt some pangs of guilt at the departure of Mayer, an important figure in Zoar, for he noted that "he broke off his connection with them and came to us, *without our doing*"

(emphasis added).<sup>17</sup>

Mayer was fluent in English and conversant with American legal practices because of his long residency in the United States and his experience with the business community. Almost immediately upon his arrival he became the new Society's business agent, and soon he became an elder in the Society. Mayer quickly took over management of the land purchase, making numerous trips to Albany and Washington, DC, to clear up misunderstandings resulting from the questionable practices of the land company that sold the Ebenezer property to the Inspirationists. Largely through his efforts, the community was able to complete its purchase. And in the following two decades Metz came to rely heavily upon Mayer, and the two developed a close friendship.<sup>19</sup> Mayer's presence was crucial to the Society's survival amidst a tangle of legal and other problems. As a former member of the Zoar Society, Mayer undoubtedly offered advice and direction to Metz and his fellow elders in establishing and maintaining a communal system at Ebenezer. Mayer helped draft the Ebenezer Constitution of 1846 in which the Society formally adopted a communal way of life on a permanent basis and it is likely that Mayer's experiences in Zoar shaped the writing of this document.<sup>18</sup>

Metz also continued to correspond with the separatists at Galion, Ohio, but, much to his sorrow, they began to drift away from their former positions. Perhaps the death of Conrad Rensch, shortly after Metz' visit, deprived the group of an important leader. Metz made a second visit to Galion in September 1844, during which he presented seven more inspired testimonies. But they did little to stem the tide against a merger with the Inspirationists. Representatives of other religious groups had arrived in Galion and apparently drew members of the Separatists into their ranks. Following his 1844 visit, Metz appears to have abandoned his hopes for this group, as they disappear from the Inspirationist chronicle.<sup>19</sup>

In February 1846 the Inspirationists experienced their most significant instance of contact with another communal group. Carl Mayer, while in Albany lobbying for the passage of an act to formally incorporate Ebenezer, met some Shakers from the nearby community of Watervliet, New York.

Formed seventy years previously, the Shakers, with almost four thousand members, in eighteen villages in New England, New York, Kentucky, and Ohio, were at that time the largest and best-known communal society in America. Founded by an English mystic, Ann Lee, the Shakers held a firm adherence to celibacy, permitting no marriage within their society and gaining new members only through conversion. Like the Inspirationists, the Shakers believed in a simple lifestyle, were pacifists, and believed in divine inspiration. In fact the early 1840s witnessed resurgence in revelations among the Shakers in a period known as "Mother Ann's Work." Countless songs, poems, and other religious

writings were composed at this time under inspired guidance. Mayer must have immediately seen the similarities between this sect and his own.

Presumably in the company of the Shakers he had met in Albany, Mayer arrived at Watervliet for a visit on 14 February 1846. Mayer's host during this stay appears to have been Benjamin Seth Youngs. A legendary figure in Shaker history, Youngs had been among the three missionaries who had gone to Kentucky in 1805 to establish the Shaker communities of South Union and Pleasant Hill. Living in retirement at Watervliet, Youngs was 71 years old at the time of Mayer's visit.<sup>20</sup>

Mayer spent two nights among the Shakers, during which time he attended Sunday services. Mayer's appearance at the Sunday evening meeting in the Church Family dwelling house appears to have been the main focus of that gathering; almost the entire entry in the church ministry journal, the official chronicle of religious gatherings, for that day is about him. That meeting included an example of the religious fervor that had characterized "Mother Ann's Work." Toward the end of the meeting, the ministry diarist records, sister E. B. Harrison, "spoke very ardantly [sic] in an unknown tongue."<sup>21</sup> Like the Inspirationists, the Shakers strongly believed in testimonies and in a form of what historian Clarke Garrett terms "spiritual theater" in which public displays of faith, as in the example above, occurred.<sup>22</sup>

To Mayer, who had witnessed Metz' inspirations countless times, this episode seems only to have furthered his belief that the Shakers and the Inspirationists were very similar. He may have shared his views with his hosts, for the Ministry diarist records that the Inspirationist faith "was very similar in many respects to the faith of Believers [Shakers]." <sup>23</sup> Mayer's departure from Watervliet was delayed a day because of the poor weather conditions that appeared to plague his entire visit. Before leaving he was presented with six Shaker publications, including Youngs' own *Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing*, to take with him back to Ebenezer.<sup>24</sup>

Following his return to Ebenezer, Mayer corresponded with the Shakers after having shared his experience with Metz and the other elders. But the Ebenezer leadership quickly detected aspects of Shaker doctrine with which they did not agree. The major contention appears to have been over the veneration of Ann Lee by the Shakers as being the mother figure in the millennial redemption of the world, the female equal of Christ. Mayer wrote the Shakers of this difficulty with their doctrine on 6 May 1846. Mayer's letter, which was read in a Shaker meeting, has unfortunately not survived. However, the subsequent reply from the Shakers suggests that Mayer had expressed himself very favorably toward them and even suggested that "if it please the Lord our only guide, we would cheerfully enter into a near acquaintance & connection between us."<sup>25</sup> Precisely what Mayer meant by this is uncertain, nor is it entirely clear if, by writing to the

Shakers, he had the full sanction of Christian Metz, although it is unlikely that he would do such a thing without at least mentioning it to him. Mayer also extended an invitation to the Shakers to visit Ebenezer and expressed misgivings the Inspirationist Elders held over what they perceived as the "veneration" of Ann Lee.

In early August Mayer received a lengthy reply to his letter from Benjamin Youngs of Watervliet.<sup>26</sup> This reply, written on 30 July 1846, contained a treatise on the Shaker beliefs concerning Ann Lee, her mission, and the role of women in the redemption of humanity.

Youngs was well qualified to address the Ebenezer elders' misgivings about Shaker theology. He had been a highly successful Shaker missionary in his youth and today is often regarded as a leading intellectual figure in Shaker theology. Over a period of two years ending in 1808, Youngs wrote the aforementioned theological work, the *Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing*, with the aid of two Shaker brethren. The *Testimony* advanced a scheme of salvation history that went beyond that constructed by earlier leaders of the sect. In this work, Youngs and his associates clearly stated the need for the Shakers to withdraw from the corrupt world. More significantly, however, it was in the *Testimony* that Youngs articulated the belief that Ann Lee represented the second incarnation of Christ. Youngs suggested that the creation of the world had been through both a male and female creator and, therefore, the redemption of the world had to be accomplished in like manner. Jesus was the male redeemer and the female redeemer, born in similarly humble circumstances, was Ann Lee.<sup>27</sup> In addressing the Ebenezer elders' concerns about the veneration of Ann Lee, Mayer could hardly have found a better spokesman than the very man who had helped to formulate these beliefs in the first place.

Mayer's letter, according to Youngs, arrived on 12 May 1846. Its arrival appears to have been much anticipated by Youngs, as he wrote of his relief in learning that Mayer had successfully pled the Ebenezer case before the legislature.<sup>28</sup> Apparently, the theologian took some pains over the next ten weeks with composing the reply, for a carefully corrected version of it is preserved among the Shaker papers today. Written in a miniature, even, script Youngs' treatise ran to forty-three pages, and must have taken a considerable amount of time, both to compose and to physically set down on paper, first in draft and then in final form. Perhaps Youngs went to such lengths because he was aware that in addressing Mayer he was, in effect, addressing a thriving communal society of over six hundred people who were, Mayer had assured him, interested in closer relations with the Shakers. However, Youngs apparently did not write his treatise in the hopes of affecting a mass conversion to Shakerism, for he wrote, after completing his lengthy arguments, "that we have been this lengthy and particular in giving you so full an exposition of our faith & principles, &



manners of life -- Not that we expect that you are prepared to receive or adopt our faith & principles...but that you might have a correct understanding of the Spiritual & Scriptural ground the Lord has given us to occupy.”<sup>29</sup>

Contrary to what the Ebenezer elders thought, Youngs assured Mayer, the Shakers did not venerate Ann Lee as a divine figure but rather as a holy person in much the same way as holy people had always been venerated. However, they believed in a duality of creation, accomplished by a male and a female creator, and that the redemption of humanity would be replicated with both a male and a female redeemer. In a repetitious way, Youngs suggested that references in the Bible to a bride referred to a female savior just as references to a bridegroom referred to Jesus as the male savior. The appearance of Ann Lee signified the coming of the ultimate redemption of humanity since she was the female savior, the second appearing of Christ. Youngs concluded with a summary of what he had written and closed with a prayer, “[m]ay no sectarian, or any other evil spirit, ever creep in to curtail or lessen our love!”<sup>30</sup>

Mayer evidently was able to digest Youngs’ treatise and to explain its contents to the elders and to Metz, who remained unconvinced by these arguments. They became concerned as to how to reply to the Shakers, particularly after two Shaker brethren, Elisha Blakeman and Peter H. Long, accepted Mayer’s invitation to visit Ebenezer. At the time of their August 1846 visit, Blakeman and Long were nearing the halfway point of a month-long absence from the Shaker community at New Lebanon (near Watervliet), presumably on a business trip.<sup>31</sup>

The Shakers’ 1846 visit to Ebenezer remains one of the most interesting aspects of the early Inspirationists’ history, primarily because Blakeman, a noted Shaker carpenter, teacher, and occasional historian, wrote a detailed report of the short visit which is the earliest known account of the Ebenezer Society by an outsider.<sup>32</sup> Blakeman and Long visited Ebenezer on 12 August 1846. They rented a wagon in Buffalo, and, after several hours of driving, entered the Society property, passing through two “dutch gates” before actually coming in sight of one of the villages. Blakeman noted that the village consisted of “about 40 dwellings 2 story averaging 32 by 24 feet on the base, according to my judgment. These dwellings were painted white outside and were left the common wood color inside there were many barns and out buildings besides two sawmills and a large factory.”<sup>33</sup> The Shakers entered the village and drove down the street stopping before a “conspicuous looking house.”<sup>34</sup> Here they knocked and asked if Mayer were present. An old man answered who did not speak English but deferred to a young woman whom Blakeman, a celibate, noted had “the appearance and look of a pure virgin.”<sup>35</sup> She told them that Mayer was in a meeting, ironically in the very house they stopped at, but that it would soon be over if

they would wait. After twenty-five minutes Mayer and another elder entered and greeted the visitors. Mayer served as the principle interpreter of life in Ebenezer for the visitors since his command of English was vastly superior to that of the other elders.

After a brief conversation Mayer invited the Shakers to his room in another building and they adjourned to the new location, which they found to be "well furnished with household furniture, among which we see a curious apparatus for getting fire."<sup>36</sup> Four elders presently joined the group in Mayer's room and through Mayer as translator a pleasant conversation was held. Blakeman noted that the topics of conversation followed basic religious lines. One topic that did not come up (or, if it did, was not reported by Blakeman for his Shaker audience) was that of Ann Lee. The Shakers noted their agreement with the Ebenezer elders that people should lead pure lives and that this entailed celibacy.

At noon an elderly woman brought the visitors a basket of food from one of the kitchen houses, and the elders departed to allow their guests to eat in private. As with other aspects of his visit, Blakeman recorded the meal in detail, noting in particular "a queer dish of mixed tidbits, being cucumbers, onions, milk and pepper all stirred up together!!!!"<sup>37</sup>

The elders returned after the meal and talked with the Shakers, but Blakeman and Long evidently were frustrated by the need to have everything translated by Mayer and were apparently glad when they were left alone with him. Mayer proceeded to describe Inspirationist doctrine to them, including the annual confessional services or *Unterredung*. This service, during which each member confessed his or her transgressions in public meeting, fascinated Blakeman. Mayer also told them of the division in the church where members belonged to one of three orders or levels and were demoted if they transgressed.

The Shakers were taken on a tour of the village, visiting a meeting house, which Blakeman described as a room about 20 X 30 feet square, and the woolen mill, which he noted was then in the process of assembled. Blakeman was to report that the members were very friendly, and that they urged Blakeman and Long to remain so that they should have time to translate some materials for them. The Shakers refused offers to stay and left at 5:00 that evening.

During the fall of 1846 Mayer continued to correspond with the Shakers, although a serious rift began to develop. At first, feeling about the Shakers appears to have been positive. On 8 November 1846, for example, Metz delivered a testimony in a church service which declared that in various sects and communities people wake up to faith from sin. This, the testimony suggested, was happening among the Shakers as well as among the Inspirationists, "but in another way, with better understanding, light and grace."<sup>38</sup> This testimony indicated that while Metz did not totally

disapprove of the Shakers, neither was their doctrine entirely acceptable. Then an event occurred that forced Metz and others to confront the Shaker issue directly. Philipp Zimmer, an Inspirationist, stood up in a church service on 22 November 1846 and publicly reprimanded Metz for, he believed, having altered the traditional Inspirationist view of celibacy. Zimmer apparently feared that Metz was actually discouraging celibate living. This, and an otherwise friendly eye toward the Shakers, held by some members of the Society, concerned Metz and other elders. In the coming weeks, Metz would deliver two testimonies in which he reasserted the limited view of celibacy held by the Inspirationists and also publicly attacked aspects of Shaker theology in an attempt to finally distance his followers from the spell of Ann Lee.

On 26 November 1846, shortly after Zimmer's attack, Metz delivered a testimony concerning the Shakers during a church service. The testimony noted that all mankind was fallen and by nature sinful. "Who, under the sun, is pure?" the testimony asked. Only Christ, who came from God, Metz expressed, was pure and could bring forth redemption, not a person who set herself "so high in spiritual standing as to present [herself] as a Mother. It is a mistake. It is an ungodly deification...Do not set yourselves so high as to make a God out of one among you who has reached a degree of enlightenment and brilliance, one who has gained perception through sacrifice. Do not deify such a one!" The testimony concluded by reaffirming the trinity and Christ's divinity and position as sole redeemer.<sup>39</sup>

In voicing his affirmation of Christian divinity, Metz rejected Shaker duality. For Metz, versed in the writings of the theologian Jakob Boehme, Youngs' argument that Ann Lee was the female embodiment of the redemption, was particularly unfounded. Boehme had expounded, and Metz accepted, that Christ was "androgynous," representing both the male and female parts of creation, and, therefore, there was no need, as the Shakers asserted, of a female incarnation of Christ.<sup>40</sup> An injunction occurred at the end of the testimony, ordering that it be sent to the Shakers, but not immediately. It also stated that, while the Shakers were misguided in their beliefs, "you should love these people, for they are united in their intent toward self-denial and in their hatred of the way of the flesh."

On 9 December Metz delivered a stinging testimony against the Shakers, condemning their veneration of Ann Lee and stating that while celibacy was good, it should be followed according to an individual's personal dictates, not as an enforced part of communal or religious life. The response from Ebenezer, therefore, was a rejection of the divinity of Ann Lee as presented by Benjamin Youngs. While Metz and the other elders could accept that Lee should be respected as an enlightened soul, they were unwilling to reject standard Christology and to affirm her as the female Christ.

Mayer translated the testimonies and sent them on 16 December 1846 to the Shaker community at Watervliet. His accompanying letter, despite the message of the testimonies, was filled with good cheer. He suggested that, although they disagreed with the Shakers, the Inspirationists apparently would be amenable to continued contact:

It would be entirely superfluous for us to add anything to the testimonies here following in relation to the existing differences in our faith, as the spirit of true Inspiration in our midst has testified himself and expressed much better than we could do it. . . . As we have received a Commandment from the Lord, we do and will love you still; and we only wish that you could and would receive the word of the Lord in meekness and simplicity of heart without being prejudiced by self-assumed doctrines and a false light.<sup>41</sup>

Mayer concluded the letter with a personal greeting and the greetings of his fellow elders. Seemingly, Mayer wished to maintain contact with the Shakers, but realized that a strong bond could not exist, now that the Shaker doctrine had been declared flawed by Metz.

Perhaps in response to this letter, Peter Long paid a return visit to Ebenezer in February 1847. He attended a meeting where Metz presented a testimony. Following Long's visit, Mayer's and Youngs' attempt to bring the two societies into closer unity appears to have ended. The attempt failed, primarily, because of doctrinal disputes and the language barriers. The Inspirationists could not accept the position of Ann Lee; the Shakers could not understand why the Inspirationists would not endorse complete celibacy. Despite their differences, the two societies ended the attempt at close association without any outward enmity. The leaders of both recognized that the other had similar goals and, for the most part, a similar purpose. This did not, however, indicate an end of contact between the two societies.<sup>42</sup>

In the summer of 1851 a Shaker by the name of August Jakobi came to Ebenezer to visit Mayer and to potentially join the Ebenezer Society. Presumably Jakobi had become dissatisfied with the Shakers, with whom he had been associated for two years at Watervliet, for he seems to have impressed Metz and Mayer with his desire to become an Inspirationist. On 24 July, after he had already spent over a week staying in Lower Ebenezer, Jakobi paid a visit to Carl Mayer. Christian Metz was present at this meeting and, while discussing Shaker worship practices and what the Inspirationist chronicler called the "idolization" of Ann Lee, Metz delivered a testimony towards Jakobi. The official chronicle of the Society suggests that Jakobi may have remained for a time, living among the Inspirationists, but, "it was not long before his falseness revealed itself, and thus there was no remaining in the Society for him."<sup>43</sup>

In 1888 a letter arrived at Amana from the Shaker community at Union

Village, Ohio. Written by Julius Preter, an elderly German member of the Society, it accompanied some publications from the Shakers. Preter had read about Amana in Charles Nordhoff's work on American communal societies and suggested that ties between the two societies be reopened. Preter, like Youngs before him, took time to explain Shaker theology and noted that he and other Shakers wondered how the Iowa Society could be so lax in their view of celibacy. Unfortunately no reply to Preter's letter exists and it remains the last known correspondence between two of the longest-lived communal societies in America.<sup>44</sup>

The Ebenezer Society also continued to maintain ties with the Zoar Society. While Metz apparently never came to respect Baumler, the two societies began to carry on a network of trade between themselves, probably due to Mayer's influence. The Ebenezer Society purchased a stove from Zoar and between 1846 and 1872 the Zoarites bought countless copies of the *Psalter Speil*, the hymnal that the Inspirationists printed and used, as well as yarn and cloth from the Inspirationist mills. The fact that the Zoarites were comfortable in using the Inspirationist hymnal, which contained many hymns by Metz and the early leaders of the sect, suggests that there was more commonality of belief between the two groups than the official record suggests. This trade continued until the Inspirationists moved to Iowa. One scholar suggested that it ceased because the increased distance and corresponding freight rates made it too costly.<sup>45</sup>

The relationship between Zoar and the Inspirationists, in the final analysis, suggests several points of significance. The primary importance of this connection is probably the most important example of intercommunal migration in the United States. As noted, the arrival of Carl Mayer from Zoar was a boon to the survival of the Ebenezer Society. Mayer, almost single-handedly, managed to conclude the Inspirationists' difficulties with their land titles, helped write the groups' constitution and establish communalism on a firm footing, and handled the Society's trade with outside business interests. Contact with Zoar also provided Society leaders, particularly Christian Metz, with a working example of a communitarian society and cemented resolve to adopt a similar arrangement at Ebenezer. The limited amount of trade that occurred between the two societies is illustrative of a network of trade that existed between the various American communal groups.

In 1855 the Ebenezer Society had begun a long process of removal to a new site in Iowa, selected because of the availability of cheap and fertile soil and the fact that it was more isolated than Ebenezer, which was becoming absorbed by Buffalo. During this move, Mayer, as chief business agent of the Society, handled the majority of the real estate transactions. His sudden death in March 1862 shocked the Society, particularly Metz, who was moved to write a long poem about it. With Mayer's death, the Society

lost not only an important link with the outside world but with other communal groups as well. As has been noted previously, it was almost entirely through Mayer's efforts that contact had been made and maintained with the Shakers. Similarly, one reason communication with Zoar ceased after the Society moved to Iowa was that Mayer died in the interim.

Shortly after the Inspirationists relocated to Iowa, a new bond, however, was established with the Harmony Society of Pennsylvania. This was similar to that which had existed with the Zoarites. In 1866, R. L. Baker, a member of the Harmony Society, wrote the Inspirationists that his society was no longer able to manufacture woolens and that they wished to purchase woolen goods from Amana. Baker suggested an alternative reason for purchasing from Amana. He argued that goods produced by other firms were often made for the "swindle, sale, and fashion," while the Harmonists expected to receive a "more durable and honest product" from Amana. The Harmonists also appear to have expected a discount from their fellow communalists, for Baker requested that the Amana Society "send us some patterns...with cash wholesale rates."<sup>46</sup>

Christian Metz answered Baker's letter on 27 February 1864. Metz noted that he "had heard much about you and your community," but that the brethren in charge of the woolen mill had informed him that it would not be possible to supply goods for the Harmonists at that time, although Metz hoped that it would be possible in the future. Metz also briefly addressed the Harmonists' doctrine as presented by Baker. Like the Shakers, the Harmonists practiced complete celibacy, which, as noted earlier, was not a step that Metz regarded as practical or necessary for religious fulfillment. "[R]egarding strict observance of celibacy," Metz wrote, "we disagree. We cannot forbid faithful members the married state," although, he noted "[t]here are many among us who choose to remain celibate."<sup>47</sup> It would appear from the fact that Metz only addressed this particular aspect of Harmonist doctrine that he found himself in agreement with many of their other beliefs. The commonality between the two groups would become even more evident in later years.

The leaders of the Amana Society received a visit from Jonathan Lenz, the junior trustee of the Harmony Society, in early August 1877. Lenz was then on his way back to Pennsylvania after having visited the Hutterites, another religious communal group that had just settled in the Dakota Territory. The Harmonists had been asked to provide financial support to the Hutterites, as had the Amana Society. Both societies had responded favorably to the request, but the Harmonists, ever the astute business people, sent Lenz west to judge the situation. Lenz' visit among the Hutterites must have left him with a favorable impression, for the Harmony Society provided significant amounts of aid to the Hutterites.<sup>48</sup>

Lenz' visit to Amana over several days involved a tour of all seven

Amana villages and extended interviews with one of the leading elders of the society, George Weber. Unlike the Shakers, Lenz had a perfect command of German so conversation was uninhibited by the need for translation and proved to be beneficial to both sides. A remarkable part of the visit was Lenz' meeting with Barbara Heinemann Landmann, the last of the nineteenth-century Inspirationist *Werkzeuge*. Landmann, at the time in her early eighties, was the only woman, outside of the Shaker communities, to head a major American communal society in the nineteenth century. Lenz himself appears to be the only visitor to the Amana Society who was ever introduced to an inspired leader. Lenz made favorable comments about the Society and suggested that perhaps closer ties could be instituted between the two groups. Lenz' wish, however, was never fulfilled. Precisely why further contact between the two groups was not instituted remains unknown. There are no records of any such contact in Amana archival sources.

In 1889 Jacob Hoehnle, a German immigrant who had spent several years as one of over 300 hired workers of the Harmony Society, found his way to Amana. He soon became a member of the Amana Society and encouraged his parents and siblings, also employees of Harmony, to join him. While the rest of his family soon left the Amana Society, Hoehnle married and remained a faithful member until his death -- the only human link between two of the most successful American utopian societies.<sup>49</sup>

Curiously, the Inspirationists' ties with the Harmony Society -- next to Zoar, the group most like themselves -- were fairly limited. No ideological debates appear to have resulted between the two groups, and the major sources of intercommunal contact appear to have been one family migration between the societies and a limited amount of trade. However, the connection between Harmony and Amana confirms the interconnectedness of American communal societies and illustrates two important forms of this contact.

Approximately two hundred miles to the southwest of Amana another communal group, the Icarians, also maintained a small settlement. Founded in 1848 by French followers of the philosopher, journalist, and novelist Etienne Cabet, the Icarians eventually became the longest-lived communal society without a sectarian religious basis in the United States. The democratic nature of the Icarian system, based on Cabet's novel about an English nobleman's journey to a mythical island, allowed women to participate in the governance of the society. On their estate, only a few miles from the farming community of Corning, Iowa, the Icarians maintained a large library of books, performed musicals and staged plays that were attended by obliging farmers from the neighboring countryside. While they could not understand French, they doubtless enjoyed this respite from their daily labors.

Contact between Icaria and Amana was, perhaps, inevitable given the fact that they existed within the same state and that, by the late 1800s, Icaria was geographically the nearest surviving utopian community to Amana. However, since the Icarians spoke French a language barrier existed between the two communities. It is unknown how the leaders of Amana viewed the French colony, for no record of their observations appears to have survived. Evidence preserved among Icarian records and memoirs, however, suggests that, by at least 1884, the Icarians were purchasing calico yard goods from Amana. In that year Albert Shaw noted that he “found the Icarian women clad in calicoes manufactured by the prosperous German community known as the ‘Amana Inspirationists.’”<sup>50</sup>

Historian Robert Sutton notes fundamental differences existed between the two societies which, while they did not prevent interaction between the two groups, nevertheless point to the fact that communitarian societies embraced a rich diversity of beliefs. Unlike the Inspirationists, the Icarians never embraced celibacy and, in fact, encouraged marriage. Icarian education was far more intellectually oriented than was that of Amana, which centered on basic skills and religion. Amana also had nothing like the cultural activities of Icaria, which included the frequent performances of operettas and plays.<sup>51</sup>

Icarian autobiographer Marie Marchland Ross, in her book *Child of Icaria*, suggests that contact between the two societies may have extended to other levels beyond mere commerce. Ross noted that, in 1876, the community was visited by John W. Dye, “who had just been spending some time with the Shakers, the Oneida Community and the Amanites [sic].” Ross indicated that Dye was “making the rounds of the American communities and wished to stop in Icaria for a visit.”<sup>52</sup> Dye, a Civil War veteran who, ironically, could not speak French, remained among the Icarians for some time and even started a small paper, *La Revue Icarienne*, for the colony. Dye later left the colony, and eventually ended his travels in a soldier’s home.<sup>53</sup>

The interchange of people and goods between Icaria and Amana, while not overly extensive, is significant in that it illustrates a rare example of contact between a religious and a non-sectarian communal group, a form of contact that Okugawa has identified as the most remarkable of all intercommunal relations.<sup>54</sup> Significantly, the inter-connectedness of Amana and Icaria suggests that bonds of communalism transcended religious and other ideological beliefs. As in the case with the Harmony Society, Amana involved itself in an internal network of mutual aid and trade with another society on the basis of a shared commitment to communalism. Ideological and religious differences did not preclude dealing with a particular group, nor did they preclude migration between the two societies.

Until its demise as a communal society in 1932, the Amana Society



continued to sell woolen and calico goods to other communal groups. In 1898 the Zoar Society ceased to exist; Icaria also dissolved in 1898, and in 1905 the Harmonists officially dissolved. Throughout this period, the Shaker population diminished until only a few villages remained. By 1932, when it became a joint stock corporation, the Amana Society was among the last of the large communal societies. The two other groups of any size in existence at the time, the Shakers and the Hutterites are still in existence, although the former has but seven members. Recently an Amana church trustee established a correspondence with one of the last surviving Shakers. In the end, communal ties may be reasserting themselves.

It may be asserted that contact between the Amana Society and other communal groups tended to be based mainly upon trade but this was in fact probably less significant than the active intellectual discourse that preceded, followed and/or accompanied such trade.

Instances of specific contact of an intellectual nature, as in the case of the Zoarites and the Shakers, did, it is true, not last long. Ties with other groups were maintained with varying degrees of consistency. But the power of ideas continued to be influential. While intellectual contact between Amana and other groups often resulted in the rejection of a particular part of the other group's theology, the leaders of the Amana Society continued to respect the attempt of all communal groups to accomplish a similar aim of spiritual growth through separation from the world. They willingly lent support to such groups as the Hutterites and the Harmony Society as needed. On occasion, members of both the Amana Society and other groups moved from one group to another.

The experience of the Amana Society shows that American communal societies maintained friendly ties of communication between themselves, and were linked in a loose network of trade, visitation and correspondence. However, these groups were founded by individuals with their own peculiar religious and social agendas. They had, for whatever reason, separated themselves from the mainstream culture. Thus, it would be unreasonable to have expected them to temper their views to the degree that would have allowed closer institutional or ideological association.

The Amana Society, for example, wished to continue in its own way. Simultaneously, the Inspirationists respected the course of other alternative societies, though they might be chided for what the Inspirationists viewed as fallacious reasoning.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Otohiko Okugawa, "Intercommunal Relationships among Nineteenth-century Communal Societies in America," *Communal Societies* 3 (1983): 68-82. Kathleen

Fernandez, "Communal Communications: Zoar's Letters to Harmony and Amana," unpublished paper (1985), photocopy in the collection of the Amana Heritage Society, Amana, Iowa.

<sup>2</sup> Henry James, "Charles Nordhoff," in *Henry James: Literary Criticism* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 1984), 362.

<sup>3</sup> Gottlieb Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1729-1817*, translated by Janet W. Zuber (Lake Mills, Iowa: Graphic Publishing, 1978), 85-86.

<sup>4</sup> James E. McJunkin, ed., *History of Crawford County, Ohio* (Bucyrus, Ohio: Crawford County Historical Foundation, 1976), 290-291.

<sup>5</sup> These individuals were probably members of what later became the First United Methodist Church of Galion, who had the distinction of erecting the first church building in Galion in 1840 (James E. McJunkin, ed., *History of Crawford County*, 1976, 321.)

<sup>6</sup> John G. Beard, Galion, Ohio, to Christian Metz, Ebenezer, New York, 11 December 1843, original collection of the author.

<sup>7</sup> Incomprehensibly, Baumler anglicized his name to "Bimeler" because of his frequent dealings with English speakers outside Zoar. Precisely how the name change helped English speakers to pronounce or spell his name better remains a mystery. He was always referred to as "Baumler" in Inspirationist records, and that spelling has been maintained for this paper.

<sup>8</sup> Edgar Burkhardt Nixon, "The Society of Separatists at Zoar" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1933), 160-162.

<sup>9</sup> Kathleen M. Fernandez, "Communal Communications: Zoar's Letters to Harmony and Amana," unpublished paper, n.d., photocopy in collection of the Amana Heritage Society, Amana, Iowa (1985), 13.

<sup>10</sup> William A. Hinds, *American Communities* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1902), 275; Christian Metz to Joseph Baumler April 1843, *Altes und Neues*, microfilm of original manuscript book, collection of the Amana Heritage Society, Amana, Iowa, vol. 5, 98-101.

<sup>11</sup> At some point following Baumler's death in 1853, his discourses, or sermons, which had been transcribed by two young men from the Society, were printed in three large volumes. The Zoarites sent a set of these volumes to Amana, where they are still kept in the church archives. Although Baumler may have been wary of Metz, he apparently found much to agree with, for in 1846, some years before Baumler's death, an order came from Zoar for copies of the Inspirationist hymnal.

<sup>12</sup> Metz noted that Mayer had been at Zoar for five years, a fact supported by a letter in which Baumler gave Mayer power to purchase goods in his name, dated 12 September 1838. This letter is one of only two documents relating to Mayer in the papers of the Zoar Society.

<sup>13</sup> Edgar Burkhardt Nixon, "Society of Separatists of Zoar" (1933), 168.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Samuel, 7:12.

<sup>15</sup> Gottlieb Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, translated by Janet W. Zuber, (Lake Mills, Iowa: Graphic Publishing Company, 1987), 211.

<sup>16</sup> Edgar Burkhardt Nixon, "Society of Separatists of Zoar" (1933), 168.

<sup>17</sup> Christian Metz, *Tagbuch [Diary]*, 28 August 1843, (Amana, Iowa: Amana Society, 1875).

<sup>18</sup> Mayer would also serve as a catalyst in the most important interaction between the Inspirationists and the Shakers.

<sup>19</sup> Ironically, two Galion residents eventually did join the Amana Society after it moved to Iowa. One of these, Eva Rensch, was presumably a relative of Metz' initial contact. Another, Dr. Johann George Beard, joined the Society in the 1860s following a quarter century of correspondence with Christian Metz.

<sup>20</sup> Youngs' early career is discussed in Julia Neal, *The Kentucky Shakers* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982). Youngs was, by profession, a clockmaker. Each Shaker community was organized into one or more separate families, often separated from each other by a few miles. Each "family" was a self-contained unit with its own farm and craft shops. Watervliet had three families. The Church Family, where Mayer visited, was so named because it included the meeting house where gatherings were held.

<sup>21</sup> "A Church Meeting Journal, Kept by Request of the Elders, Wisdom Valley [Watervliet]," 1844 - 1846, Western Reserve Shaker Collection Microfilm, University of Iowa Main Library, 15 February 1846, Reel 48, VB 327. The origins of "Mother Ann's Work" are traced to Watervliet in 1837.

<sup>22</sup> Clarke Garrett, *Origins of the Shakers* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

<sup>23</sup> "A Church Meeting Journal," 15 February 1846, Western Reserve Shaker Collection Microfilm, University of Iowa Main Library, Reel 48, VB 327.

<sup>24</sup> "A Church Meeting Journal," 15 February 1846. The books Mayer was presented with were *Sacred Roll*, *Millennial Church*, *Christ's Second Appearing*, *Plain Evidences*, *Testimonies of the Aged Brethren and Sisters*, and *Juvenile Guide*. The copy of the *Juvenile Guide*, which Mayer received, is today housed in the Amana Church Archives in Middle Amana, Iowa.

<sup>25</sup> Benjamin Seth Youngs, *Treatise* (30 July 1846), 3, Western Reserve Shaker Collection Microfilm, University of Iowa Main Library. The passage quoted here was found in the reply sent to Mayer and the Ebenezer Society by Benjamin S. Youngs. In his letter, Youngs noted that "We cordially united with you in [Mayer's proposed unity]." Youngs actually places the passage cited above in quotation marks, suggesting that he was directly referring to Mayer's letter as he wrote his own. This is likely, as Mayer's letter also contained the questions and problems that the Inspirationist elders had with the Shakers, which Youngs addressed further on in his letter.

<sup>26</sup> Steven Stein, a leading Shaker scholar, has classed Youngs among the "intellectual leaders" of the Society in the early nineteenth century. See Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 213.

<sup>27</sup> Steven Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America* (1992), 69-74. The *Testimony* also served to acquaint a wider public with Shakerism. Thomas Jefferson, it was said, read the book three times and declared it "the best Church History that ever was written, and if its exegesis of Christian principles is maintained and sustained by a practical life, it is destined eventually to overthrow all other religions." Priscilla J. Brewer, *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1986), 35. Although he received a copy of the book, Jefferson's comment sounds apocryphal.

<sup>28</sup> The arrival of Mayer's letter was also significant enough to be noted in the official diary of the church family.

<sup>29</sup> Benjamin S. Youngs, "Treatise" (1846), 42-43.

<sup>30</sup> Benjamin S. Youngs, "Treatise" (1846), 43.

<sup>31</sup> "The Boys Journal of Work [for New Lebanon]" Western Reserve Shaker Collection, reel 36 VB 137 (26 August 1846), records that "PHL and EDB gets home, having been gone 4 weeks & 3 days."

<sup>32</sup> Blakeman's life as a Shaker is fascinating and often humorous. A carpenter by trade, Blakeman also had charge of the boys at New Lebanon for many years, taught school and was a sometime inventor. Among his inventions was a device known as the "piano violin," which combined the two instruments, with a butter churn operated by children on a swing and a fly trap. In later life he presented a long list of 95 reasons why Shaker men should be allowed to wear beards, including the argument that the sisters' distaste for beards would promote celibacy; that God had given men facial hair and to shave was going against God's purpose; and that the Society would save money by freeing up the time men normally spent shaving for work. Presumably disgusted over his failure to win approval for his beard suggestion, Blakeman eventually left the Shakers, wrote a book of riddles for children, married, and died in 1901. For Blakeman's life see Douglas R. Allen and Jerry V. Grant, *Shaker Furniture Makers* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989), 102-109. For his battle over beard wearing see Priscilla Brewer, *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1986).

<sup>33</sup> Elisha D. Blakeman, "A brief account of the Society of Germans called the True Inspirationists residing seven miles South East of Buffalo," photocopy collection of Amana Heritage Society (n.d., Amana, Iowa), 3. The original is in the Shaker collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland, Ohio).

<sup>34</sup> The route taken by the Shakers to Ebenezer was traced by longtime Ebenezer resident and historian Frank Lankes. Lankes asserted that the Shakers entered on Indian Church Road and proceeded to Middle Ebenezer. Curiously Blakeman does not name the village he was in, but his comments about crossing a creek and touring the woolen mill almost certainly place him in the main village of the Society. The "conspicuous looking house" was almost certainly the residence of William Moershel, Metz' childhood friend, and with Mayer, his closest confidant. Moershel's house contained a room in which small prayer services, such as the one the Shakers listened to from outside, were held.

<sup>35</sup> Elisha D. Blakeman, "A brief account..." (n.d.), 4-5.

<sup>36</sup> Presumably a German "Zint machine." These glass containers were an early form of lighter. Approximately six inches in diameter, they were made of glass. A small lever on the brass lid emitted the flame, which was produced through chemical reaction with a piece of zinc suspended inside.

<sup>37</sup> Elisha D. Blakeman, "A brief account..." (n.d.), 11. Blakeman was describing "gumer salat," still a favorite dish in Amana.

<sup>38</sup> Jonathan Andelson, "The Gift to Be Single: Celibacy and Religious Enthusiasm in the Community of True Inspiration," *Communal Societies* 5 (1985): 17.

<sup>39</sup> Janet B. Zuber, translator, Christian Metz, "Testimony, 26 November 1846."

<sup>40</sup> This was essentially the same view as that taken by the Harmony Society of Pittsburgh in rejecting similar Shaker incursions (Daryl Chase, "The Early Shakers," doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1935, 196-197). Jonathan Andelson, "Gift to Be Single" (1985), 19, provides an analysis of Metz' interpretations of Boehme.

<sup>41</sup> "Carl L. Mayer, to Shakers of Watervliet, New York, 16 December 1846," microfilm of the Shaker Collection of the Western Reserve Historical society, University of Iowa, Main Library, reel 25.

<sup>42</sup> Daryl Chase, "The Early Shakers" (1935), 196-197.

<sup>43</sup> Gottlieb Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850* (1987). Other details of Jakobi's visit are in *Sammlung* 26. Shaker records indicate that Jacobi was a member of the Shaker community at Watervliet from 1849-1851. In 1860, another former Shaker came to join the Ebenezer Society. Friedrich Maubach, a native of Koln, Germany, later left the Society in order to fight in the Civil War (an odd action for a man who had belonged to two pacifist religious sects). But he returned to Amana and remained a member until his death in 1886.

<sup>44</sup> Charles Julius Preter to the elders of the Amana Society, March, 1888, translated by Marietta Moershel, original in collection of the author.

<sup>45</sup> Edgar Burkhardt Nixon, "The Society of Separatists at Zoar" (1933), 170; Kathleen M. Fernandez, "Communications..." (1985), 14.

<sup>46</sup> Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971), 63. Arndt apparently drew his quotations from a copy of Baker's letter among the Harmonist papers. Unfortunately, Arndt failed to provide citation for the letter beyond a providing the general date. A search of Arndt's papers, now at the University of Southern Indiana at Evansville, has so far failed to locate this letter. The author is grateful to Dr. Donald E. Pitzer and his staff at the Center for Communal Studies for their efforts in trying to locate this letter.

<sup>47</sup> Henrietta Ruff, translator, "Christian Metz to the Rappite Community [Harmony Society], 27 February 1864." The original copy of this letter, as well as the translation, is in the collection of the author.

<sup>48</sup> The Amana Society, like the Harmonists of Pennsylvania, also lent aid to the Hutterite colonies that were then developing in the Dakota Territory. The Hutterites, who were immigrants from Russia, shared a similar Germanic background to the Inspirationists of Amana, and they received aid both in the form of cash and supplies. In later years the Harmonists purchased significant amounts of calico goods from the Amana Society, but appear to have ended contact with the Iowa group when they began to feel that it had become "too worldly" for their tastes.

<sup>49</sup> Hoehnle was the author's great-grandfather.

<sup>50</sup> Albert Shaw, *Icaria: A chapter in the History of Communism* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1884), 178

<sup>51</sup> Robert Sutton, *Les Icaris: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America* (Urbana, IL: the University of Illinois Press, 1994), 123.

<sup>52</sup> Marie Marchland Ross, *Child of Icaria* (Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, n.d.), 93.

<sup>53</sup> Dye was likely a hired worker of the Amana Society. There is no record of his presence in the Society. Biographical information on Dye can be found in Dale Ross, ed. *Soldiers of Humanity: A History and Census of the Icarian Communities* (Nauvoo, IL: The National Icarian Heritage Society, 1998), 211.

<sup>54</sup> Otohiko Okugawa, "Intercommunal Relationships" (1983), 68.